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## **Evaluation of Communications Technology Use** for Elections 2002 – Kenya

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#### Background

Kenya conducted elections for President, Parliament, and Civic Councils on December 27, 2002. The elections were widely acclaimed for the peaceful and orderly way in which the voters conducted themselves.

The Election Commission of Kenya has been rightfully commended for its many long hours of work in preparing for and conducting a historic election. However, as the celebration subsides, ECK should take time to review and improve the process. There were a number of technical flaws in the conduct of the elections (e.g. shipments of ballots to wrong polling stations, one ballot which listed the wrong political party for a parliamentary candidate, large numbers of legitimate voters whose names were missing from the registers, failure to establish communications link to the Press Center). As the vote counts came in and it became clear that the opposition had won both the presidency and the majority in the parliament by a wide margin, the focus by media and public was on celebrating the peaceful transition of power. Had this been a closely contested election, the flaws would have taken center stage, with potentially severe consequences.

By acting now to identify problems that occurred in this election, and to implement new procedures and systems addressing those problems, ECK can prevent such problems from occurring in future elections.

### Communication Infrastructure

The ECK used a combination of landline telephones, mobile phones, Motorola satellite network phones operating on the Iridium satellite network, and fax machines to facilitate communications between Nairobi HQ, Returning Officers in the Constituencies, and Presiding Officers at the Polling Stations. Every Constituency office was provided with a fax machine, and a high speed network fax was used at HQ to handle incoming fax transmissions.

The Iridium satellite phones were planned to provide a much-needed communication link with remote Constituencies that lack both landline and mobile telephone service. Due to a series of problems with the delivery and set-up of the Motorola phones these were not used effectively as part of a communication strategy. Because of delays with the vendor, and further delays in clearing US customs, the phones arrived in country only three days before the election. The phones required a setup procedure that involved opening every box, inserting battery and SIM card, and recording the serial number of the phone and of the SIM card to enable activation. IFES and ECK were told by the vendor that the SIM

number was also the phone number for each Motorola phone; after these numbers were recorded and distributed, this turned out not to be the case, and the vendor was only able to provide the actual phone numbers late on December 26.

The Motorola satellite phones could have played an important role in improving communications with remote areas had they arrived earlier; however, the phones alone would not have provided an effective communication flow without an adequately defined strategy. In addition to the communication medium, a communication strategy should outline the type of communication, the frequency, and a protocol that guarantees efficiency and accuracy.

#### Specific Problems to Address

Most of the problems that occurred in the 2002 elections could be prevented in the future by adequate planning and careful attention to a carefully detailed project timeline. A number of sample election timelines is available through IFES and on the ACE Project website and CD; these should serve as a starting point and should be adapted to specific requirements in Kenya.

1. Requirements for communication between the various levels of election administration were too vague to be useful. For example, the Returning Officers Guide defines the requirements for communication from the Constituency Office as "Communicate regularly with the Electoral Commission on the progress of polling and counting. The Returning Officer will communicate immediately to Electoral Commission in case of major problems that require interventions and advice." By contrast, the IFES-developed communication plan included the following instructions, along with forms to be completed with all required information. (The entire set of instructions and forms is included in the appendix.)

Figure 1-Excerpt of Instructions for Returning Officer

The Returning Officer is responsible for reporting to HQ at the following intervals during the conduct of elections:

Event	When
Delivery of Materials to	As soon as RO receives materials from DEC
RO	
Delivery of Materials to	As soon as possible after RO issues materials to Presiding
Polling Stations	Officers
Polling Stations Ready	26 Dec. afternoon/evening
Polling Stations Open	27 Dec. 7:00 a.m.
Progress of Voting Mid-	27 Dec. Noon
Day	
Polls Closed	27 Dec. 7:00 p.m.
Progress of Counting /	27 Dec. – Repeat at 2 hour intervals from 8:00 p.m. until
Receipt of Polling Station	all counting is completed
Declaration of Results	
Preliminary Results	As soon as possible after receipt of results from Polling
Consolidation	Stations

- 2. Tasks that could have been completed in advance were performed at the last minute, allowing no time to handle problems or correct errors. This was apparent to media and observers in the orientation session held at charter hall on December 26. The orientation was scheduled to begin at 10:00 a.m., and there were many present at that time waiting for the session to begin. Around 10:15 a.m. a group arrived to set up sound equipment and lighting. The sound equipment malfunctioned. Had the room been set up the day before, or even two hours before the orientation there would have been time to fix the problem. The same problem plagued delivery of materials. Ballots arrived in Nairobi the day after they were scheduled to be distributed to Returning Officers. In most cases the ROs were able to get materials to Polling Stations on time, but in Polling Stations that received the wrong ballots, there was no time to correct the error before the start of polling.
- 3. There were last minute changes in major policies that had a cascade effect upon electoral staff, and had the potential to damage public confidence in ECK. The most visible example was the change in policy regarding the handling of voters whose names do not appear on the register. In the week before the election it was announced twice that voters whose names appeared in the "black book" containing a log of those who registered in the past would be allowed to vote even if their name did not appear on the register. The day before the election, the chairman announced that the black book would not be used, and only those voters whose names appeared on the register

would be allowed to vote. This created confusion in the polling stations, some of which used the black book while others did not.

- 4. The absence of any formalized quality control allowed errors that could have been easily detected to have a negative impact on voters. In one polling station that I personally visited the party agents told me they had a list of 180 voters who had been turned away. An examination of the list revealed that almost all names started with the letter "A" or "O", indicating that some pages were missing from the voter register. In other polling stations it was reported that the pages were out of order, causing voters to be turned away. A number of voters appeared at the ECK HQ complaining that they were turned away from the polling station, and a search of the database showed that they were actually registered. In another glaring error, a parliamentary candidate was listed on the ballot as a member of the wrong political party, causing a delay in the voting for that municipality.
- 5. The lack of a materials tracking system left the ECK unable to communicate to political parties and the public the exact time that materials arrived at Constituency and at the Polling Station. The parties should be informed when to expect delivery of materials so they can help provide both security and quality control. If party agents had been allowed to go over the inventory of materials with the Presiding Officer they could have detected missing items and erroneously routed ballots in time to correct the problems before the scheduled start of voting.
- 6. The weak flow of communication meant a corresponding weak flow of communication to the press. When the press is unable to get adequate information from the ECK there is a stronger tendency for them to focus on problems in the process. With adequate tracking and reporting systems, the ECK should be able to report to the press a complete status of the delivery of materials, the progress of voting, voter turnout soon after the polls are closed, progress of counting, and progressive preliminary results.
- 7. The political parties and the press informed the public of problems that the ECK should have announced, further eroding confidence in the process. This is related to the previous point; if ECK had an adequate information flow, they could report any potential problems or delays instead of hearing about them on the television. When there are problems that will effect the opening of the polling stations, the ECK should be the first ones to have that information and should proactively announce the problems. This will increase public confidence that the ECK is well informed and actively managing the election process.

**Proposed Improvements** 

**Basic Principles** 

- 1. Major policy decisions should be finalized before development of the training manual. This manual should serve as the final word on policies and procedures at the polling station. Even if changes in decisions can be adequately communicated to all Presiding Officers, last minute changes create confusion and possible contention between the Presiding Officer, Party Agents who may not have been adequately apprised of the changes, and voting public.
- 2. A project timeline should be used as a management tool to coordinate the schedules of all departments and all levels of ECK activities. This will allow tracking of required completion dates, prerequisites for required activities, and scheduling of all activities to be completed as early as possible.
- 3. ECK should provide a steady stream of information to the press. If journalists are given adequate information they are less likely to look for stories to fill time and space. When they are forced to go looking for news, it is always easiest to report on problems and complaints. This assumes that ECK must have a well-planned flow of information from Presiding Officer to Returning Officer to HQ.
- 4. When there are problems, ECK should be the ones to report these to the public, thereby increasing confidence that they are in control of the process. Again, this assumes a well-planned flow of information within ECK.
- 5. ECK needs a formalized methodology for providing quality control on all deliverables. Someone outside the department in charge of procuring, producing, or delivering the materials should provide this control. For example, if the Information Technology Department prints voter lists, someone outside that department should check them and sign off before they are distributed. Some organizations assign various departments to specific quality control tasks; others find it more beneficial to have a separate Quality Assurance department.
- 6. There is a need for a separate Communications Department. The head of the Information Technology Department is often the busiest person in any election commission in the weeks and days leading up to an election. It is unrealistic to add the burden of planning and monitoring a communication plan to this department.
- 7. The elections database should be used to the fullest extent possible to produce materials for the election. A starting list of things that can be produced from the database follows:

Communication forms for Presiding Officer	Pre-printed to indicate times to report and the information required.
Communication forms for Returning Officer	Pre-printed grid with times to report and information required, and columns with all polling stations in constituency preprinted
Logistics planning forms	Grid showing materials to be distributed, numbers of each per polling station, giving weight and volume totals, and summaries at constituency levels. Aids in planning the number and type of vehicles and routes.
Material delivery tracking forms	List of materials with space for date/time delivered, and signatures for departure from warehouse, delivery to RO, transfer to PO.
Ballots	Master ballots can be produced in minutes ensuring greater accuracy and reducing costs of having the ballot masters produced by the print company
Ballot production order	Lists the number of each ballot to be printed based upon the number of voters
Vote count forms for Polling Stations	All candidates / parties pre-printed on the form guarantees consistency in the order, and saves time at the polling station
Vote Tabulation forms for Constituencies and for HQ	Rows for all candidates / parties, with all polling stations printed as row headers. Improves accuracy and saves time at constituency office.
ID cards for ECK staff and for observers	Addition of inexpensive digital camera and ID card printer would improve security and professionalism.

### **Scheduled Flow of Communication**

The following events should automatically trigger a flow of communication from Presiding Officer to Communication Officer to ECK HQ to the media.

- Materials delivery to Presiding Officer
- Polling Stations Ready
- Polling Stations Open
- Mid-day turnout
- Polling Stations Closed, with turnout
- Count of votes

This system must be set up in advance of training so that all staff know their responsibilities and the protocols for this communication, and the communication channels should be tested several times prior to materials delivery. A sample set of forms is included in the appendix to facilitate this flow of communication.

### Recommended Structural Changes of ECK

#### Communications Officer

In the current organizational structure of ECK, the responsibility for managing communications falls to the Director of Information Technology. During the peak demand times before, during, and after an election, the Director of IT is often the busiest person in any electoral commission. We recommend hiring a Communications Officer who would be responsible for the following:

- Ongoing evaluation of available communication channels and media, to recommend the most appropriate solutions in terms of cost and efficiency.
- Maintaining inventory database tracking the deployment of all communication equipment.
- Defining communications policies and protocols for use during peak demand times.
- Creating communication forms.
- Training staff throughout ECK in the use of communications equipment.
- Monitoring communication processes to ensure conformance to communication policies.
- Liaising with the Director of Information Technology to ensure that communication forms meet requirements for data entry and database update.

#### Quality Assurance Department

In the rush to produce lists and reports, print ballots, pack polling station kits, and complete other details required for conducting an election, ECK should not overlook the reality of human error. To ensure that errors and omissions do not have an adverse effect on the electoral process, every product of the ECK should pass through a process of quality control by someone outside the department. The most effective way to accomplish this is through the creation of a Quality Assurance Department. It should be standard policy that no product, form, report, list, kit, or any other item distributed by ECK should be sent from the warehouse before it is approved by the Quality Assurance Department. The role of a Quality Assurance Officer should include the following:

- Define a policy that requires everything distributed by ECK to be approved by the QA Department prior to distribution.
- Document all processes of the ECK that result in a product being distributed to District, Constituency, Polling Station, Parties, Media, or the Public.
- Assess risk for every product of the ECK, including identification of the most likely errors, and definition of a procedure to detect those errors at the earliest possible stage.

• Make recommendations to all departments and to the ECK as a whole concerning changes in process that might improve efficiency and reduce the risk of error.

## **Recommended Results Reporting**

In order to improve transparency, it is recommended that results be published on CD-ROM. If planned in advance, a system could be created that would allow this publication with very little additional work. As results are received from the Polling Stations, each form should be scanned to create an image of the vote count, the ballot accounting, and the signatures of ECK Officers and party observers. After results are announced, a CD-ROM should be published showing the breakdown of results Nationally, by District, by Constituency, and by Polling Station. The CD-ROM should also contain the images of all results forms. This allows parties to view the original forms signed by their own observers, and perform their own tabulations for every level to confirm the accuracy of the results reported by ECK.

## **Appendix – SAMPLE Instructions for Returning Officers**

1. The Returning Officer is responsible for reporting to HQ at the following intervals during the conduct of elections:

Event	When
Delivery of Materials to RO	As soon as RO receives materials from DEC
Delivery of Materials to Polling	As soon as possible after RO issues materials
Stations	to Presiding Officers
Polling Stations Ready	26 Dec. afternoon/evening
Polling Stations Open	27 Dec. 7:00 a.m.
Progress of Voting Mid-Day	27 Dec. Noon
Polls Closed	27 Dec. 7:00 p.m.
Progress of Counting / Receipt of	27 Dec. – Repeat at 2 hour intervals from
Polling Station Declaration of	8:00 p.m. until all counting is completed
Results	
Preliminary Results Consolidation	As soon as possible after receipt of results
	from Polling Stations

- 2. This packet of reporting forms will assist the RO in tracking and reporting each of these events.
- 3. Each form should be completed and faxed whenever possible to HQ. If the information is transmitted by other means (Fax, Physical Copy) the RO should circle the appropriate selection on the form to indicate this.
- 4. Upon communication of this information to HQ, the RO should receive a Confirmation Number from HQ. In the case of a fax transmission, HQ will phone or fax back the Confirmation Number. This Confirmation Number should be written on the form. If the RO does not receive the Confirmation Number in a reasonable timeframe he should telephone HQ to confirm that the form was received, and to get a Confirmation Number.

## **Appendix – Sample Communication Forms**

The following sample forms were defined in Microsoft Access, and a set was printed for every Constituency, listing all Polling Station Units in each Constituency. Once defined in Access, this set of forms can be printed in minutes. It is recommended that a barcode be printed on every form to facilitate fast and accurate data entry.

MATERIALS DELIVERED

UNIT CODE	DATE	TIME	REMARKS
001			
002			
003			
004			
005			
006			
007			
008			
009	-		
010			
011			
012		_	
013			
014			
015			
016		_	
017			
018			
019			
020	]		

Transmitted to HQ by: (circle one)	Fax	Phone	Physical copy
Date transmitted to HQ:			
Received by:		Confirmation #	·

Polling Stations Reported Ready (All supplies, staff, keys, etc.)

Politing Sta	Illoria Keboi	teu neauy (	All supplies, staff, keys, etc.)
UNIT CODE	DATE	TIME	REMARKS
001			
002			
003			
004			
005			
006			
007			
008			
009			
010			
011			
012			
013			
014			
015			
016			
017			
018			
019			
020			

Transmitted to HQ by: (circle one)	Fax	Pnone	Physical copy	
Date transmitted to HQ:				
Received by:		Confirmation #	:	_

Polling Stations Reported Open

:	Tilons repor		
UNIT CODE	DATE	TIME	REMARKS
001			
002			
003			
004			
005		<u>-</u>	
006			
007			
008			
009			
010			
011			
012			
013			
014			
015			
016			
017			
018			
019			
020			

Transmitted to HQ by: (circle one)	Fax	Phone	Physical copy
Date transmitted to HQ:		·	
Received by:		Confirmation #	

Polling Stations Mid-Day Voter Turnout

UNIT CODE	DATE	TIME	REMARKS
001			
002			
003			
004			
005			
006			
007			
008			
009			
010			
011			
012			
013			
014	_		
015			
016			
017			
018			
019			
020			

ransmitted to HQ by: (circle one)	Fax	Phone	Physical copy
Date transmitted to HQ:			
Received by:		Confirmation #	:

Polling Stations Closed - Voter Turnout

1 Onling Ote		<u>a - voter ru</u>	THOUT
UNIT CODE	DATE	TIME	REMARKS
001			
002			
003			
004			
005			
006			
007			
008			
009			
010			
011			
012			
013			
014			
015			
016			
017			
018			
019			
020			

Transmitted to HQ by: (circle one)	Fax	Phone	Physical copy
Date transmitted to HQ:			-
Received by:		Confirmation #	

## Appendix - Sample Ballot

A complete set of ballot masters can be produced from the Parties and Candidates database. The following ballot sample is part of a set. Once the database report is created, the ballot masters can be printed in minutes, with significantly reduced chance of error.

# ELECTORAL COMMISSION OF KENYA BALLOT PAPER No. 001

**PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION 2002** 

## In the MAKADARA 001 Constituency 2002

Candidate's Name	Party Symbol	Voter's Mark
GAKUYA SIMON MWAI		
KAGUNDA PETER MAINA	-2	
KARIUKI LAWRENCE NGINYO	調か	
KATIKU JONATHAN KINYANZWII	A STATE OF THE PARTY OF THE PAR	
KHAMATI YVONNE SHIBIKHWA		
KITIVI JOSHUA MUIA		
MACHUA JOHN WAITHAKA		
MAGARA KAREN NYAMOITA		
NDOLO REUBEN OWINO NYANGINJA	WHARE	
NJURURI BLAMUEL OSCAR MUTITU		
WAMBUGU JAMES GICHUKI		

#### INSTRUCTIONS TO VOTER

- 1. Mark the paper in the right-hand column above, apposite the name of the candidate you wish to elect.
- 2. Do NOT place a mark opposite more than one candidate.
- 3. Make no other mark whatsoever on the paper.
- 4. Fold the paper through the centre, top over bottom so as to conceal your vote.

## **Appendix – Materials Delivery Report**

The materials delivery report was defined as a Microsoft Access report. Once defined, these forms can be produced for every Constituency to facilitate accurate tracking of delivery.

## **Materials Delivery Report**

DISTRICT: NBI

NAIROBI

CONST:

001

MAKADARA

UNIT CODE	Register Issued	Recd	Ink Issued	Recd	Forms Issued	Recd	Ballots ssued	Recd	Signsture of PO	Date / Time
001										
002										
003										
004										
005										
006									<u>.</u>	
007									<u> </u>	<del>-  </del>
008										
009							同			
010										
011										
012										-
013							靣			
014										<del>-  </del>
015						一		Ħ		
016								Ħ		
017					Ħ					

## **Materials Delivery Report**

<del></del>										<del></del>	
DISTRICT CONST:			IAIRC IAKA		λ.						
UNIT CODE	Register Issued		ink Issued	Recd	Forms Issued	Recd	Ballots Issued	Recd	Signature of PO		Date / Time
018											
019											
020											
	S	Signatur	es						Date / Time		
Warehouse											
DEC							<del></del>				
RO							<del></del>				
Ĺ											

## **Appendix - Logistics Planning Report**

This report can be produced from the database to estimate the transportation requirements for each District and Constituency. Once the size and weight of a single kit is entered, the report calculates the weight and volume requirements for delivery of the required number of kits.

## **Distribution of Voting Kits by District / Constituency**

DISTRICT: NAIROB	1				
DISTRICT. NAIROD	1				Loaded on Truck Prepared
CONSTITUENCY:	Units	Ballots	Kgs	M 3	d on ruck
001-MAKADARA	20	106,050	360	50	
002-KAMUKUNJI	18	82.250	324	45	
003-STAREHE	17	112,250	306	42.5	
004-LANGATA	15	111,950	270	37.5	
005-DAGORETTI	16	80.800	288	40	
006-WESTLANDS	24	127.450	432	60	
007-KASARANI	19	115,200	342	47.5	
008-EMBAKASI	24	151.950	432	60	
	<del></del>	106,050	2.754	382.50	
DISTRICT: KILIFI					Pr Loa
CONSTITUENCY:	Units	Ballots	Kgs	М3	Loaded on Truck Prepared
016-BAHARI	81	74,000	1458	202.5	
017-KALOLENI	80	60,400	1440	200	
018-GANZE	70	32,850	1260	175	
		74,000	4,158	577.50	
DISTRICT: KWALE				• <del>•</del> •	Loade T Prep:
CONSTITUENCY:	Units	Ballots	Kgs	M 3	ed on Truck Dared
013-MSAMBWENI	86	66,650	1548	215	
014-MATUGA	68	41,700	1224	170	
015-KINANGO	108	44.000	1944	270	
		66,650	4,716	655.00	