

# 1 An Appraisal of Voters Turn Out During the 2010 National 2 Election of Ethiopia The Case of Toke Kutaye Woreda

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## 6 **Abstract**

7 Election is always controversial in Ethiopia. This part of controversies also part of Toke  
8 Kutaye woreda of west shewa zone of Oromia regional state. Public political participation  
9 particularly during election looks like a tragedy in the woreda because the end result always  
10 comes with a dilemma. The ways through which people mobilized for political participation  
11 mainly for election by the ethnic parties of the same ethnic group to solve the claim of the  
12 people also a headache and strike full in this woreda. In contrast, the people of the woreda  
13 were less likely aware of the program and policy of political parties. The election  
14 administrative body makes a baised decision in favor of the ruling regime. The methodological  
15 approach used was both qualitative and quantitative approach to clearly identify the core  
16 problem of electoral practice in the woreda.  
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19 **Index terms**— public political participation, democracy, election, federalism, political culture, voters turnout,  
20 political party, civil society and voters education

21 Introduction a) Constitutional provision to achieve public political participation in Oromia regional state.  
22 independent territorial governance (regional states) and government institutions in which the people actively  
23 participated over its own matter.

24 Again the constitution also recognized the existence of regional state and laid down the ground on which the  
25 autonomous regional state can be established. Accordingly article 46(1 and 2) mentioned as follow:

26 The Federal Democratic Republic shall comprise of States.

27 States shall be delimited on the basis of the settlement patterns, language, identity and consent of the peoples  
28 concerned .In contrast, article 47 of the constitution explicitly recognized nine regional state among which Oromia  
29 is mentioned Oromia regional state has established based on the above provided grounds. As autonomous state,  
30 it has also its own written constitution. The provision which is indicated in the national constitution also  
31 deducted as well as included in the constitution of Oromia regional state in a way it takes in to account the  
32 existing circumstances of the region. As far as classification is concerned, the provision of Oromia regional state  
33 constitution divided in to two general categories-namely Human right and Democratic right respectively the same  
34 to that of federal constitution.

35 The constitution of the region in its article 8 declared that sovereignty is resides in the Oromo people which  
36 can be manifested through their direct participation to elect their representative to government institutions even  
37 though it denied non-Oromo living in Oromia regional state as a decision makers. Moreover, article 38 of the  
38 constitution also mentioned the right to vote of the citizen of the region as per the article 38 of the federal  
39 constitution..

## 40 **1 b) Participation in party membership in the 2010 election**

41 The 2010 election has brought another dimension of public participation in party membership following the result  
42 of the 2005 election. The 2005 was officially declared the crisis of OPDO/EPRDF in every aspects of relation  
43 they want to have with the woreda people. Specifically speaking, having supporter and member in to the party

## **1 B) PARTICIPATION IN PARTY MEMBERSHIP IN THE 2010 ELECTION**

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44 was became taboo due to people hate them so that they designed another fter the derg removed from power  
45 by the EPRDF in 1991, the philosophy of administration of the country is theoretically and little practically  
46 changed. The core point of governance is making people as a central decision maker from federal to kebele level.  
47 In 1994, written federal constitution of Ethiopia adopted in a way it reflects the importance of participation of  
48 the people for any things concerned to the people.

49 The article 8(1) of the national constitution has declared that "All sovereign power resides in the Nations,  
50 Nationalities and Peoples of Ethiopia". This means it is only people who determine over its own affair by actively  
51 participating there in. Moreover, article 39(3) guaranteed such a right. Accordingly it says that;

52 Every Nation, Nationality and People in Ethiopia has the right to a full measure of self-government which  
53 includes the right to establish institutions of government in the territory that it inhabits and to equitable  
54 representation in state and Federal governments.

55 This provision is the provision that most importantly gave chance for participation in all aspects life of  
56 the society and it also allowed the formation of important technique to have member which was nationally  
57 implemented in the EPRDF.

58 There were three political parties in the woreda such as OPDO/EPRDF, OPC which is under Dr. Merera  
59 Gudina, ONC which was spilted by the Tolasa Tesfaye and Bona Tadese from the ONC after the 2005 election.  
60 The OPDO/EPRDF used important ways of scaling up its member and supporter in away it endanger the survival  
61 of oppositions in the woreda in a unique ways. Public service was connected to membership to OPDO/EPRDF.  
62 This is not confined to a particular sector rather it was inclusively done in all sectors and every one explicitly  
63 asked identity card of the ruling party while one goes to compete for vacant job opportunity in the woreda and  
64 elsewhere in Oromia. Following the defeat the OPDO /EPRDF in the 2005 election evaluated its weakness and  
65 designed another direction ?? However, the ruling party terrified farmers that the fertilizer should not be given  
66 and reminded that the people should ask ONC to give them a fertilizer and so that the farmers were regretted for  
67 what they did in the 2005 by forgetting that it is constitutionally guaranteed right . 2 Again, this also has been  
68 part of the life of the high school student of the woreda. It was related with the clearance that is given by the  
69 woreda administration office. If student failed to become member in the ruling party, it couldn't be possible to  
70 get clearance which is needed for competition .Later on OPDO/EPRDF collected farmers in the name of training  
71 on how to improve production of agriculture which was produced Adda dure (Model farmers) and this Adda dure  
72 farmers were those unconsciously became member of OPDO/EPRDF (Ibid).He also mentioned that it was also  
73 impossible to be employed in the government institution without being a member to the ruling party by stating  
74 that he was the very victims of it. Tulu Tadese in his part mentioned that this trend entered in universities and  
75 forced student of universities to register in the party to get job after graduation.

76 3 .The competition is made between students to diploma program sponsored by government. Clearance means  
77 is identification of whether he /she is member in the ruling party(Ibid).The student don't want talk about politics  
78 in the class even debate is happen in the civic and ethical education class ?? Contrary, Alemu who is the head  
79 of member recruitment head argued that our party touch the heart of many people of the woreda due to it  
80 extensively provided a social service that helped the party to have enormous amount of supporters and people  
81 also easily identified the different between our arty and opposition .

82 based on what we did for the wellbeing of the people while the opposition did nothing for the people of the  
83 woreda. Moreover, he argued that the opposition took side with the neftanya. 5 Hirphasa badhane ?? This  
84 figure not include the member who changed the living place from the woreda to another and who withdraw  
85 from the party membership after 2005 election the member of electoral executer of the woreda said, the ruling  
86 party was able to posses supporters and members due to the government issued law which most importantly  
87 stop the miss behaviors of the opposition supporters that was prevailed in the 2005 election not to be prevailed  
88 again in the 2010 election. After the 2005 election, OPDO/EPRDF have scaled up the members to 8407 among  
89 which male constituted 6747 while women constituted 1660 in 2010 election(Source; the party office) where 80.2%  
90 was men and 19.8% was women. ?? .From all 80.2% of the members were farmers. The students constituted  
91 7.4%,3.84 were urban small and micro enterprises,3.81% urban residents and 5.4%the rests were civil servants.  
92 The opposition (OPC) recruited member since 2005 less than what have been done in 2005 election within three  
93 months. The figure of party member in the 2010 of OPC was 5027 where 4689 were men while 338 were women  
94 (source;the party office).Of this,93.2% was men while 6.8% was women. This indicated that women participation  
95 in a political activity is less while men soundly participated.

96 Hence, the gender balance was not achieved because in all parties membership except some extent better in  
97 the ruling party, the women participation is not significant. Arguably,it is the reflection of less participation in  
98 other decision making process of the woreda and it is the result of patriarchal administration have broaden its  
99 base in the country. c) Turnout in voter's registration in the 2010 election in Toke kutaye woreda.

100 Voter's registration of the 2010 national election of the woreda also showed a progressive change. This prevailed  
101 from the number of registered voters in comparison with that of 2005 registered voters. According to the report  
102 of NEBE of the 2010, the registered voters in the 2010 election at national level also increased from 27,372888  
103 during 2005 election to 31,926520 during the 2010 national election. This increment also prevailed in Toke Kutaye  
104 woreda even though it is not significant in amount.

105 The total amount of people registered during the 2005 election was 41,173 while it was 41,291 in the woreda  
106 in 2010 election. Despite the increment of voter's turnout in the woreda in the 2010, it was 41,292 voters who

107 were registered out of 56,117 eligible voters. In this regard, 73.5% of eligible voters were registered. However,  
108 the good things was the registered voter had mostly casted the vote. Accordingly, 90% of the registered voter  
109 had casted in the 2010 election the stated woreda. More specifically, 93% of registered men voter had casted vote  
110 and accordingly 86.7% of women also casted vote in the same election.

111 In this view, differences among men and women reflected in registering and vote casting in the 2010 election  
112 in the woreda. The women were less participated in registering in the woreda despite statistically and eligibly  
113 high than men in the woreda as 2007 ECSA mentioned above. Again there also variation between eligible men  
114 and women in registering for voting where 78.4% of eligible men registered while that of women was only 68.9%.  
115 Moreover, registered women casted the vote again less than men. In this regard, there is still an influence women  
116 from the society and government also did not sufficiently worked on women awareness creation and public in  
117 general. See the following table .

## 118 **2 d) Voters turnout in the 2010 general election in Toke Kutaye**

119 Despite this, different argument was raised on the state of public participation in registration for voting in both  
120 elections. Hence, the following section will analyze it as good as possible. Different informant mentioned different  
121 reason for the increment of voter's registration of 2010 from the hot and competitive election of the 2005. The  
122 informant taken from the ruling and opposition parties and purposely selected people of the woreda only for this  
123 paper. Alamu hirko 8 Moreover, the increment of turnout was due to the stimulant memory of the 2005 election  
124 motivated people to participate on the side of OPDO has stated that the woreda people were more participant  
125 and so that showed this reality in participating actively in voter's registration. He further argued that, this is  
126 due to the people has got the long lasted claims through the ruling party i.e. OPDO.

127 Actually, the general voters turnout is not something to be criticized because the highest percentage had  
128 participated. However, it was not purely by the decision of the participants rather it is due external pressure.

129 .Contrary, Feyera Camada has argued that the local cadre registered people who disappointed by the 2005  
130 election by going door to door through intimidating the one who failed to registered for election 10 . Birhanu  
131 Lachisa also shared that the member of ruling party those selected as "Adda duree garee misooma 11 This facts  
132 was the fact that highly prevailed in the woreda " are ordered by the ruling party to go to force other to register  
133 by terrifying those failed to register and mostly it was the kebele cabinets who registered voters in Leencaa kebele  
134 and other kebele due to the order from the woreda OPDO office. This declared that, a defacto compulsory voting  
135 system had practiced in the woreda. Arguably, one cannot admit that accurate democratic consolidated can  
136 be achieved by forcefully increasing voters turn out and it is not the reflection genuine democratization process.  
137 However, It is crystal clear that voter's turnout is high in a country where voting is compulsory and has a penalty  
138 (Blais, Massicotte and Dobrzynska, 2003:1). 12 .In addition, the known supporters opposition in many kebeles  
139 prohibited the kebele ID card not to vote and this was insured by woredas report committee due to the plan of  
140 delivering kebeles ID card was done less than what each kebeles have planned to do so 13 . In this connection,  
141 these kebeles officials responded that number of people who have residents ID card was very few due to they were  
142 limited the number people who asked the resident card based on the assumption that they would have not vote  
143 for the ruling party 14 Despite this, arguably, the general increments was not sufficient as expected following the  
144 hot and . Invalid votes —7323

145 9 Personal interview, dhabaa dalasa, march 10 Personal Interview, Birhanu Lachisa, April,2013 11 Adda duree  
146 garee misooma refers to those selected as model farmers of other farmers in performing what the government  
147 delegate to farmers. This model farmers are member to the ruling party . 12 Ibid, Feyera Camada and Birhanu  
148 Lachisa. 13 Interview, the confidential is kept, May 2013 14 ibid than the 2005 election due to the fact that the  
149 2005 election has putted its positive memory in a society. Even, the decline of women participation was viewed  
150 during the 2010 national election. Addisu Hirphasa has argued that the people did not register in 2010 election  
151 due to unexpected victory of the ruling party in the 2005 election.

152 In this connection, he argued that most of the registered voters of the woreda for the 2010 election were the  
153 member of the ruling party. Daniel Hirko stated that election has no change whether we vote or not due the  
154 general result will be the same 15 .In contrast, Dhabaa dalasa (Personal interview, March 2013) mentioned that  
155 the ruling party intimidated the people by saying even though you did not voted for our party we assumes power,  
156 your vote is value less and it is our party who leads you whoever you voted for and hence people became passive in  
157 the 2010 election 16 . This indicated that the electoral system of Ethiopia is also another factor on public political  
158 participation. First past the post electoral system of Ethiopia facilitates the winner to take all in denying the  
159 votes of the minorities. This discourages the supporters of minority political parties not to participate in election  
160 due to the fact that their vote could not bring change on the result of election. Second; the disintegration  
161 of opposition also disappointed people to poorly participate and was a reason for pacification of the overall  
162 situation of the election. Thirdly, local officials were closely regulating people and hence public carelessly been  
163 watching everything ??7 Turnout in voting during the 2010 election in toke kutaye woreda Public participation  
164 in 2010 election has done in different situation. The 2005 election has affected public participation. The overall  
165 environment of the 2010 election was not hot and participatory. The people have participated passively when it  
166 is compared with the 2005 election in the woreda. Birhanu Lachisa who was the electoral officer of one kebele  
167 argued that the participation people in 2010 election is comparing two incomparable things when it is compared

## 2 D) VOTERS TURNOUT IN THE 2010 GENERAL ELECTION IN TOKE KUTAYE

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168 with the 2005 election in the woreda due to the fact that those forcedly registered voters again forcedly voted in  
169 2010 election while in the 2005 the public willingly voted.

170 . Similarly, Hirphasa Badhane also argued that it was somewhat cool when it is compared with the 2005  
171 election. He also argued that the environment of the 2005 election was anarchy which couldn't be considered as  
172 hot participation of people due to the fact that the oppositions were running out of legal frame work. Actually,  
173 Alamu hirko from the ruling party have perceived the 2010 national election also incomparable regarding public  
174 participation on voting day. In this regard he mentioned that he don't know the perfect reason but he said that  
175 it may be because people came back to itself based on its vote of 2005 election for the opposition party which  
176 was not served its interest. Addisu Hirphasa in his part perceived that the 2010 less participatory because of  
177 most of the registered voters were the member of ruling party that pacified eagerness of the people to participate  
178 in election that was prevailed in 2005 election due to less competition among parties for election.

179 Despite this, as indicated in table 2, there was certain increment in terms of voters' participation on voting  
180 during 2010 election than 2005 election. From 41,291 registered voters, 37,167(90%) voters casted their vote in  
181 2010 election in the woreda which was less than the 2005 election where it was 90.1% even though the difference  
182 is insignificant. After the hot and competitive election of 2005 election the increment was only by 59 voters  
183 when it is compared with the 2005 election. This voter voting progress is unsound increments because it was  
184 expected more than really what happen. In the 2005 election the participants were 37,108 while in the 2010 was  
185 37,167 which the 2010 out of 56,117 eligible voters in the woreda. The progress is only by male voters while the  
186 women participant decreased from the 2005 status of women participation. As pointed out in both table 1 and  
187 2, the women participants in the 2005 was 17,567 while in 2010 was decreased to 17,205 participant voters which  
188 decreased by 362 women voters .

189 Furthermore, unlike 2005 election non-caster also increased in 2010 election. In 2005 election noncaster were  
190 4,065 and increased to 4,124 in 2010 election. Of this, it was the women that share the highest amount. In 2005,  
191 from 4,065 non-castes, women constituted 2,360 (58 percent) while men constituted 1705(42 percent).Again, from  
192 4,124 non-casters, it is also the women that shared an exaggerated numbers. In this regard, from 4,124(10%)  
193 non-casters, the women's number was 2619(63.5%) while men share was 1505(46.5%).

194 Generally, women participation was decreased by 6.5 percents in 2010 election than 2005 election while that of  
195 men increased by 4.5 percents in the 2010 election when it is compared with 2005 election. Despite the decline of  
196 women participation in the toke kutaye woreda, it is obvious that the women participation in election less than  
197 that of men even in Western Europe where democracy was originated ( Even though the people have passively  
198 participated due to the previously mentioned reasons, there was some complaint between ruling and opposition  
199 parties supporters. The most notable conflict that was raised in the 2010 election of toke kutaye woreda was that  
200 of Ajoo Beedoo kebele. The reason for the conflict was as Fayera Camada mentioned, the observer of the ruling  
201 part attempted to take the vote bag during counting and in this response, the opposition observer prohibited  
202 it not to take the bag. In contrast, the people or voters collected together around the polling station to force  
203 the concerned body to respect their votes 18 . It was in this situation that the federal police came and killed  
204 Alamu degaga the one who is known opposition supporter of the area and the people were also fired motor cycle  
205 of government 19 Furthermore, the federal police have beaten all people including older people indiscriminately  
206 by taking out of their house during that night . 20 .The way electoral executers on each polling stations was  
207 also another problematic issue. Substantially, Fayera camada has noticed that the electoral officer of Guder  
208 02 kebele gave double federal parliament voting one on behalf of regional voting paper for the ruling party's  
209 supporters. Moreover, the federal police prohibited the observer opposition(OPC) in Toke Arfinjo kebele of the  
210 woreda and only the ruling party that has dominate the electoral process 21 "We sent one individual to woreda  
211 electoral officer to take permission paper to be observer of the party that was not participating in the woreda  
212 like CUD and (EDP) and accordingly the electoral office of the woreda gave permission to that person without  
213 the knowledge of the parties to be represented in that polling station. These individuals came and seat as an  
214 observer of CUD and EDP to facilitate the cheating of the ruling party in the woreda. Accordingly, he said when  
215 I go to the polling place to force the people to vote for the ruling party, the observer of opposition (OPC) tried  
216 to stop me from forcing people to vote for the ruling party and immediately the one who came as observer of  
217 CUD asked a question the observer of OPC by saying . Again, the voting and counting became inappropriate in  
218 that election. One of the kebele managers in the woreda have stated that "it was the kebele cabinets and kebele  
219 manager who made X on the voting paper of voters by going in to polling place". In contrast, this kebele manager  
220 has also discussed with me the system by which they cheated the observer of opposition as the following manner;  
221 don't you think that we are the opposition observer? And again he told him that "he was seating to protect  
222 votes of his party from the ruling party and so that he convinced him that I was doing nothing". In this way the  
223 observer of the strong opposition party was became silent while I was voting on behalf of the voters. The voters  
224 were expected only sign to ensure that they were not absent from election. Beside this, he also stated that it  
225 was the ruling party member who counted the vote and disqualified votes of opposition party by adding X on  
226 the side of the symbol of the ruling party on the same voting paper of voters".

227 Ato Sasahulih kebede who is the secretary of CUD has admitted that the party has registered in the woreda to  
228 participate in the 2010 election and delegated representative to the constituency 22 Moreover, EDP also criticized  
229 the action. Wondasen Teshome who is the head of the social affair of the party mentioned that, the party had  
230 not registered to participate in the woreda . However; the electoral officer of the woreda had shown the profile of

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231 our representative to the ruling party. In this connection, the woreda administrator called our representative to  
232 their office and intimidated him. As a result, the party withdrew from election of the woreda at the beginning of  
233 the parties' registration program. Due to this fact, he said that the party has not delegate the party observer.  
234 Finally he concluded that, the representation of observer without the knowledge of the party reflected the usual  
235 cheating of the ruling party we notice in the country.

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237 This was difficult to be resolved by the electoral officer of the woreda due to the fact that the officer were the  
238 ruling party member and come as neutral person .Accordingly; he said that representation of observer without  
239 the recognition of EDP is the unlawful and undemocratic action. In addition, he also said that, the EDP has  
240 accepted by the people due the party's perfect clarification and so the ruling party has used this opportunity  
241 to divide the votes of opposition even at the place where we did not compete. It is obvious that anything  
242 cannot be performed without the knowledge of the specific issue. Knowledge can be obtained from information  
243 and education in general. Democracy and election are a new phenomenon in Africa due to the fact that it was  
244 introduced in post colonialism where societies disintegrated 25 f) Voters Education during the 2010 election in  
245 Toke Kutaye Woreda and not educated. Similarly it is also a new issue to Ethiopian, because it was introduced  
246 in post cold war or post-1990 with coming of EPRDF to power.

247 It is also crystal clear that backwardness and poverty is the very challengers of the nation. To host genuine and  
248 democratic election, the public should know how election can be conducted. In contrast, competition does not  
249 function without information, information requires transparency, competition ensures that political parties reflect  
250 the will of the people and put pressure on the state to deliver (Diwan 2009 :137). Voters education is targeted to  
251 aware the registered voters on the way they vote in election. It is also being given in Ethiopia during election.  
252 People in Toke kutaye woreda as a woreda in Ethiopia experienced voter's education during election in the effort  
253 of making election very participatory and competitive. Moreover, there are different means of educating voters i.  
254 Parties campaigning as voter's education Hangman (2010:5) has argued that the 2010 election of Ethiopia was so  
255 cool and pacified multi-party system as well as back to its very beginning in comparing with the election of the  
256 2000 where opposition gained 0.2 percent in both cases. This was part and parcel of toke kutaye woreda. The  
257 campaigning was not eagerly attended by the people in the area ??6 Hence, we convinced to make people not  
258 to go to the meeting of opposition and not to vote for them. Dhaba in his part said that the cadre of the ruling  
259 party, stayed in the farmer to regulate every activity of the farmers and so that forcefully stopped the movement  
260 of people and affected the political participation and decision of the society. However, there was certain sort of  
261 campaigning to aware people on election during that election. But it cannot be comparable with any criteria with  
262 the 2005 election where voter's education was massively provided. Hence, It was delivered by less degree where  
263 the inter-parties antagonism in that woreda have terrified people up to preferring election .One of the kebele  
264 manager in the woreda whose confidential is kept said "We convinced the people that the leader of opposition  
265 party did not contributed money for road construction in the woreda where an ordinary people did so and people  
266 even stopped the movement of opposition on the road built by the ruling party and the people".In contrast, he  
267 said "We told people that the opposition comes after five election without contributing nothing for that woreda  
268 people".

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270 .The disintegration of African was due to divide and rule and colonial legacy implemented by European  
271 imperialists. ??6 Interview, Hirphasa Badhane March 2013. not to come. The antagonism was resulted to  
272 the death and arrest of people in the woreda as far as election comes to be conducted.

## 273 **5 ii. Media in voters Education**

274 As far as media is concerned, it was less fair than the 2005 election ??7 . In fact; it was after the 2005 election  
275 that the Oromia Radio and Television has established in addition to Ethiopian Radio and Television. But what  
276 matter is how much of it is accessible to people. Tullu has argued that, even though the radio and television have  
277 opened, it is only economically better people uses it and people who have electric access too. Most of the kebele  
278 in the woreda are out of electric transmission because 86% live in rural area ??8 . Arguably, lack of resource  
279 became another challenge of Ethiopian election and democratization in general. No any print media that can  
280 read and identify the arguments and policy choice of parties that can be provided during election. However, the  
281 ruling party provides Oromia news paper that is the ownership of the ruling party which disseminates the party's  
282 stands and the second is Barisa which is termed as public media ??9 In fact, as he said there is less reading habit  
283 of people in the country as some publication asserts. However, he failed to understand the economic status and  
284 education status of the people of the woreda. The economic capacity of one nation is directly affect electoral  
285 process of the country (Blais, Massicotte and Dobrzynska 2003:4). Everybody knows that the most citizen of  
286 the country worry to cover its basic needs than going away many kilo meters in search of news paper in other  
287 woreda. Surprisingly, he also concluded that everybody have radio in its home and follow information about  
288 election consistently. This cannot be expected in but it is party affiliated media and it is not given out of the

### 6 III. CIVIL SOCIETY IN VOTERS EDUCATIONS

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289 member of the ruling party even for sell. I personally asked the one who distribute the news papers in the woreda  
290 council by payment and he was responded that it is only given for the party members.

291 It is only these two print media that can arrive to that woreda and distributed for the member of the ruling  
292 party and reserved in the libraries of schools and government office. It is in this way that the ruling party  
293 disseminates its program to civil servant. This highly created great difference between the ruling and opposition to  
294 inculcate their program by equal weight. Lijphart (1997:1) argued that unbalanced influence leads to unbalanced  
295 participation. Alemu Hirko mentioned that there is no absence of print media in the woreda but it is due to lack  
296 of reading habit of the people in confidently talking that it is available in neighbor woreda i.e. Ambo woreda. a  
297 country in which many people are not educated and have no financial capacity to do so.

298 Actually, it is impossible to assume that people actively participate in attending media even if it is available  
299 in its woreda due the fact that many people are not experienced it ever before. Even I observed in Ambo town  
300 the degrees of public participation in reading news paper. Needless to add, the writer has asked the one who sell  
301 news paper on the status of public motivation in reading news paper in Ambo town. Accordingly, he said "People  
302 read sport news paper than other news paper". He also said that it is only limited amount of news paper that  
303 arrives the town mainly reporter, Addis zemen, vacancy and sport due to the reason he don't know. However, it  
304 is better than that of the toke woreda in any criteria because of no written news paper in the woreda available  
305 to the people. This does not mean that government should distribute news paper but the writer is arguing that  
306 the government should establish a system through which it can be accessible.

#### 307 6 iii. Civil society in voters Educations

308 The issue of civil society in the woreda is the reflection of what is going on in the country where less CSO at the  
309 county level. In contrast, the role CSO in voter's education in 2010 election in the woreda has almost no role in  
310 voter's education in the woreda. Even, Hirphasa Badhane mentioned that it is less than what has observed in the  
311 2005 election at national level. He mentioned only one civic organization namely Ethiopian patriotic association  
312 that arrived the woreda capital Guder. He again stated that these have not participated in voter's education but  
313 simply came at the eve of the election to observe over all environment of the election. Fayera Chamada has also  
314 stated that he has not observed any CSO in the woreda.

315 Similarly Alamu Hirko shared this idea but he said that government have done voters education role. However,  
316 it is difficult to say that voters education achieved due to the fact mentioned in the previous section which  
317 downgraded the status of voters education in the woreda. Hence, the role of CSO in voter's education was very  
318 less and more likely no CSO in the woreda despite its little positive side in this regard. Arguably; this was the  
319 consequence of unconducive CSO law of the 2009 of the country that undermined the economic capacity of CSO  
320 to participate in voter's education at national level. Hence; the voter's education was subjected to conflictual  
321 relations of political parties during campaigning in which the ruling party had dominated the process in the  
322 woreda.

323 g) The role of the woredas electoral officer in electoral administration in both elections.

324 Since 30 years ago, election management has emerged as part of democratic-building and democratic  
325 consolidation (Lopez-Pintor, 2000:15). To conduct free, fair and competitive election in the multi-party democracy,  
326 there should be independent institution like electoral management bodies to properly judge the competent actor  
327 for political power. In this regard, different democratic countries have established electoral management body at  
328 different time for instance; USA established her federal electoral commission in 1975 while Australia established  
329 1984.

330 As far as electoral management body is concerned in Ethiopia, it was established in 2007 by the parliament  
331 after the contentious election of the 2005 election. This does not mean that no electoral management body in  
332 the country but it was not established as independent institutions instead temporarily collection of individuals  
333 for the period of election.

334 In toke kutaye woreda in 2005 election, the electoral officers were the one who closely worked with the people  
335 due to it was delegated in each kebele at the bottom level. There were three challenges from electoral officer to  
336 conduct accurate and impartial vote administration. One, the neutrality of woredas and kebele electoral officer  
337 was questionable. According to the electoral law of Ethiopia, the electoral officers are elected by the people and  
338 work in a neutral way from any political parties influence.

339 However, Dejene debela one of the kebele managers of the woreda said, the electoral officer of kebele were also  
340 ruling party affiliated. Similarly, Merera (2002:168) generally argued that it is handy picked by the ruling party.  
341 Infact, the kebele electoral officer clearly informs the public specially on how one make X on the voting card 30  
342 .He said there were those told us by murmuring whom we have to elect ??1 It was not clear through which these  
343 individuals assigned to that position but know previously that they were member of OPDO and were attending  
344 the OPDO meeting .Eventhough, the electoral officers does good work in providing voters education they were  
345 biased due to they were member in the ruling party. As empirical fact, one of the electoral officers of the woreda  
346 is apparently a mayor of Guder town the capital of the woreda on the place where one is politically assigned.  
347 Hirphasa badhane the member of electoral officer of the woreda said that they were assigned to that position by  
348 government because of they are impartial and free from membership in any political party. This by itself is not  
349 clear due to the fact that government led by ruling party assign them and so that it is unconvincing that they  
350 are impartial. 32 ??0 Interview, Fikadu Chalchisa March 2013. ??1 Ibid. 32 Interview, Daniel Hirko February,

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351 2013 and other whom confidential was kept February 25/2013) . Hirphasa Badhane the electoral officer of the  
352 woreda was not willing to make interview without the permission of the office of OPDO and woreda head who is  
353 politically appointed. In this respect, one can understand that their neutrality is affected by the ruling party to  
354 perform their jurisdiction right and responsibilities as the principle. Similarly dhaba dalasa and Tulu Tadese have  
355 mentioned that they were not observed election when the electoral officer in their kebele have directly elected by  
356 the people. Even this is not true at the woreda level because they were assigned than by public election. Second,  
357 the individuals are not committed and they are temporarily assigned to that position with no payment. In this  
358 regard, Buzayo Kuma has argued that the electoral officer has no their own office for this purpose. The officers  
359 have not documented any profile regarding election, parties registered and case of complaints among parties in  
360 the woreda. This declared that, the institution has no accountability for the duties it is assigned in that particular  
361 woreda.

362 The electoral office of the woreda had restructured following the establishment of NEBE after 2005 election  
363 as an independent local electoral officers. Accordingly, the electoral officer of toke kutaye woreda has established  
364 after the 2005 election as independent institution and performed its first electoral management in 2010 elections.  
365 The institutions draw its channel to kebele level. However, as indicated in the previous discussion, the local  
366 electoral officer elected to that position is not clear 33 . The vote administration by electoral officer also was  
367 too controversial in the woreda due to the reason that they were affiliated to the ruling party 34 Moreover,  
368 the electoral officers of woreda were not committed to proper conducting electoral administration. Hirpasa  
369 badhane has mentioned that the institution properly conducted the responsibility of electoral administration.  
370 In this connection, he argued that lack of finance discouraging to actively perform such tasks. In addition, the  
371 institution, the officers are working this task in addition to their formal activities for which they were being paid  
372 a salary .

## 373 **7 35**

374 .This affects the commitment of electoral officers to perform their task due to the absence of salary for it and  
375 double responsibility 36 Despite this, there was some sort efforts made in facilitating and providing logistic that  
376 can be used for election .However; the officers were not tangibly impartial because most of them were the member  
377 of the ruling party while the others were performs what they were ordered by the ruling party. For instance,  
378 the member of the ruling party, who is going to be electoral officer as impartial exit paper from party when  
379 four months left for election to be conducted and in contrast, . 33 Interview, Barsisa Lamma, May, 3/2013 34  
380 Interview, birhanu Lachisa, April, 2013 and other those confidential is kept). 35 Ibid 36 Informal Interview, Yisma  
381 jirru march 18,2013 the clearance given from the ruling party to the one who request clearance and he/she would  
382 be appointed as electoral officer.Inaddition, some are directly appointed by the ruling party cabinet 37 Practically  
383 speaking, one of the strong opposition party of the woreda (OPC) has that it was difficult to provide complain  
384 to the inistitution. Incontrast, Fayera Chamada who is the OPC office director of the woreda has mentioned  
385 that the institution was clothed the office while we go to provide our complain when the ruling party had arrest  
386 our supporter, intimidated our observer and cheat the polling process in collaboration with the ruling party.  
387 Moreover, it was also not given any remedy for the complain the party had provided .Arguably, in such a way  
388 that it couldn't normally impartial due to the fact that the appointment of the officers was one sided.

## 389 **8 .**

390 Contrary, Hirphasa Badhane reacted to this claim as was a groundless complains raised by the OPC. In addition  
391 he said, the OPC failed to respect the decision of its representative when he was resigned himself from competition  
392 on behalf of the party. Accordingly, the institution had addressed that it is the right of the person and so that  
393 the party cannot force a person to do what he had not want to do 39

## 394 **9 II. Conclusion and Recommendation**

### 395 **10 . a) Conclusion**

396 It is after 1991, that conventional public political participation is explicitly being implemented because it is  
397 constitutionally allowed. However, the implementation became problematic. There were two broad problems.  
398 These are: A. The past trend was still influencing people not to participate in election actively. Eventhough,  
399 popular election is the current means officials appointment, the people is not well informed to distinguish this  
400 regime from the past régimes because of Voter's education is not comprehensive due to the reason that it is a  
401 few people that are well informed and hence, voters awareness creation till not sound to change the past legacy  
402 in the mind of the society to speed up the democratization process of the country B. The uncondusive situation  
403 that prevailed during election discourages people not to participate in election because of undemocratic relations  
404 of political parties competing for power in the woreda. The relation of political parties in Ethiopia is not in a  
405 position to attract the public to participate in political activities and election in general. Usually,as election is  
406 coming to be conducted, parties and supporters competitions is unfairly prevailed due to the fact that they even  
407 physically compete each other where peoples killed during election than in normal circumstance.

408 In this respect, 2010 Ethiopian national elections have shown its own distinct manifestations.

409 The bad consequence of the 2005 election, a strategic change of the ruling party and weakness and pressure  
410 on opposition party has influenced public participation in 2010 election. In this process many people were killed  
411 while other arrested. In contrast, following the victory of EPRDF at national levels the local officials passively  
412 affected people voted for the oppositions and a couple proclamation were unproperly used by local official's and  
413 unclear way of an appointment of electoral officers at different level also another problem in the 2010 election.

414 Moreover, the split of opposition parties disappointed the people not to participate in election from then on  
415 ward. Infact, public voter's registration was increased in degree in the 2010 election. This is the cumulative  
416 result of the ruling party after election mainly; the ruling party has improved after evaluating itself following  
417 the 2005 election and membership connected to the ruling party to get public services. Despite the progress of  
418 voter's registration, the general situation of the 2010 election is cool in comparison with the 2005 election due to  
419 the aforementioned reasons.

420 Toke Kutaye woreda as part and parcel of Ethiopian territory and as a base of opposition supporter, what  
421 mentioned above prevailed in the woreda in full and also in part.

422 The 2010 election similarly observed by some observer at national level despite opposition undermined the  
423 observer as was not impartial and not different from the ruling party while the reverse was happen in the woreda  
424 when it is compared with the 2005 election. Actually, the voters turn out was better than the 2005 election  
425 because it exceed in 180 voters where the women voters turn out was decreased from the 2005 election while that  
426 of men increased and compensate that of women. However, overall situation of the 2010 election was pacified  
427 because the ruling party of the woreda highly dominated the scene in all aspects which minimized competition  
428 among political parties in the woreda.

429 The ruling party has brought a party channel to each public service on which a party cabinet participate.  
430 Farmers, Civil servant, Merchant and university and college graduates have unreservedly joined the ruling party  
431 for survival than accepting it. The farmers were intimidated by the OPDO because of the 2005 election in which  
432 they vote for opposition. The local cadres moved to people not to vote for opposition particularly OPC by  
433 telling them if you vote for them, you will be punished as result of it was alleged opposition terrorist and we can  
434 continue on power because it is obvious to win at national level as was in 2005 election. Civil servant also became  
435 member of the ruling party and some of them became dormant by the calculation of they would lose promotion  
436 and further education opportunity.

437 As discussed above, Voters registration in the 2010 was exceed that of the 2005 in fewer amounts. The people  
438 participation in voter's registration was less hot in comparison with the 2005 election despite its highest turn  
439 out in comparison with the 2005 election in the woreda. The forceful registration was made by going door to  
440 door and through garee misooma which was affiliated by ruling party and existing in each kebele. The absence  
441 voters from registration at the beginning was due to the public did not trust overall environment of the electoral  
442 process and people assumed that the vote would be stolen by the ruling party highly the member of the ruling  
443 party were early registered 40 The other was, the campaigning process by itself was not comprehensively good  
444 to mobilize people to participate in election. The ruling party has dominated the campaigning process by using  
445 lower administrative organ and farmers association who mostly recruited as member of the party after 2005  
446 election. Beside this, the ruling party had also improved itself in number of ways . In general, even though,  
447 the country has not adopted compulsory voting, what happen in the 2010 election was manifested a defacto  
448 compulsory voting system in the woreda where people have forcefully participated in the election to only increase  
449 voters turn out. 41 The voting day was also not good and not participatory as good as 2005 election was. In the  
450 2010 registering and voting was telling to the people at eve of the Election Day by local cadres of the ruling party  
451 of the after 2005 election through building some infrastructure mainly putting a corner stone for hospital in the  
452 woreda. The oppositions in their part were very weak while it was compared with their performance of the 2005  
453 election. They were not moved to the people to teach their program while the ruling party highly changed its  
454 own history of the 2005 election even though government task and party task was impossible to be distinguished  
455 in it and avoided equal field of competition for all party in campaigning. 40 Interview, Damoze Kumasa may  
456 2013. 41 .The ruling party started to closely discuss with the people unlike in the previous elections. Moreover,  
457 youth especially university and college graduates provided two alternatives. One was being a member in OPDO  
458 and getting job after graduation while the second alternative was losing job and become member in opposition  
459 or being neutral. Even being a neutral from any political party cannot help to be employed equally with the  
460 member of ruling party. These were affected public to actively participate during the 2010 election of the country.  
461 woreda. Despite this, 9.98% percent was failed to vote in that election. Electoral officers did not discharged their  
462 own responsibility in protecting miss-behavior of the members and the supporters of ruling party and observer  
463 while they were talking to people to vote for ruling party and even voted by the themselves on behalf of voters  
464 in some kebeles .

465 Even, the way the electoral officer of the woreda have appointed against the law due to most of them appointed  
466 by the ruling party as neutral .In many kebele, the electorates and the one elected as electoral officer were the  
467 member of the ruling party while in other they came as electoral officer by the assignment of the ruling party.

468 In this regard, the public did not know that electoral officer could be elected as the representative and so that  
469 they did not claim this to be so (Interview, Barsisa Lemma, may, 4, 2013). This also because of people is lacking  
470 education in the society that paved the way for cheating of election by parties.

471 The vote counting also was problematic in the 2010 election of the woreda. The observers of OPDO and OPC

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472 had challenged each other on counting and led to dispute where one man has killed by federal police and peoples  
473 were indiscriminately tortured and beat in ajo bedo kebele. In other rural kebele the ruling party has counted  
474 unlike urban kebele due to the local militias avoided the observer of opposition forcefully. Hence, the ruling party  
475 OPDO/EPRDF has won the election in the woreda. This victory was the result of; a) The inter-mixing of the  
476 public power and party responsibility by the ruling party of the woreda which extensively captured students,  
477 civil servant, farmers and merchants as whole. b) The weakness of opposition parties was very remarkable. ONC  
478 which was victorious in the 2005 election was split in to ONC and OPC have disappointed the people not to  
479 vote for them and not to participate again. Moreover, the OPC and ONC did not perform very well to mobilize  
480 people as well as 2005 election. Even OPC who was stronger opposition in the woreda did less work when it is  
481 compared with the 2005 election. It was not arrived even where infrastructure is better than other areas. c) The  
482 carrot and stick approach of the ruling party making opposition out of domain in the woreda in which money and  
483 employment as carrot and imprisonment, intimidation, cheating and beating were used as stick to be successful  
484 unlike the 2005 election. d) The unexpected victory of the ruling party in the 2005 election at national level that  
485 made difficult the aftermath the election where voters regretted for their voting for opposition due to the local  
486 cadres stayed in that place and affected people in many ways.

487 III.

## 488 11 Recommendations

489 As far as recommendation is concerned, the above challenges of public political participation observed in the  
490 woreda can be addressed or reduced by employing the following techniques. ? Proportional representation  
491 electoral system can solve electoral system related problem that affected public political participation. This  
492 kind of electoral system despite its drawback can fill the magnified weakness of majority vote system being  
493 implemented in Ethiopia. Proportional representation (PR) is give the minorities a seat in the parliament  
494 based on the percentage of the vote they get from the public and it help political and Ethnic minority to have  
495 proper seat in a diversified society like Ethiopia . ? In this regard, absolute difference cannot be prevailed  
496 between the winner party or candidate and the defeated party or candidates. Hence, the policy, proclamation  
497 and program cannot be easily approved due to the fact that the difference between the winner and the defeated  
498 parties or candidates is narrow. This encourages the people to participate in election because their vote can  
499 bring change on election result than the majority vote and also increase voters turn out as the study of (Blais,  
500 Massicotte and Dobrzynska, 2003:1) on 61 democratic country following a third wave of democratization since  
501 1990 . ? Electronic voting system should be adopted. Evoting system can minimize any problem on voting  
502 and vote counting because there is no manual contact that can disrupt electoral result and hence all parties and  
503 supporters most probably can accept the result of elections. Moreover, voters can vote without going to polling  
504 area by using an internet. This helps to the increment of voters' turnout and In this regard, democratization and  
505 federal system can be consolidated in advance and creates national consensus among all. ? Uncompromisingly  
506 detaching public responsibility from party responsibility could be a core solution.

507 Hence; the government should design a clear system to control such activities. ? The highest emphasis should  
508 be given to independent public vote than externally disrupting electoral process and result. If this is so, there  
509 will be a consensus among parties and society as whole because it is the public that can mediate political parties  
510 through its vote. ? The legislations made by government should be implemented in way it arbiter all political  
511 parties and supporters in democratization process of the country than unfairly favoring a single dominant political  
party in multiparty democracy. <sup>1 2 3 4 5 6</sup>

## 2

[Note: Source: NEBE (2010)]

Figure 1: Table 2 :

Figure 2:

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Figure 3:

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<sup>1</sup>Interview, Alemu Hirko, February,2013 2 Interview, Dhabaa Delesa,March , 2013. 3 Interview, confidential kept, February 24/2013. 4 Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>.Neftanya refers to an armed group of the northern society came with Menelik II and their collaborator and oppressed Oromo. Hence, they convinced people that OPC (Oromo people congruence) cooperated to bring back the past neftanya system.

<sup>3</sup>Personal interview, Daniel Hirko March, 201316 Interview,Daba Delesa,ibid March,201317 Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid, Fayera Camada19 Ibid.20 Ibid.21 Interview, Demoze Kumasa, March, 2013.

<sup>5</sup>© 2017 Global Journals Inc. (US)

<sup>6</sup>Year 2017

## **11 RECOMMENDATIONS**

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512 Year 2017 ? The electoral officer should be assigned free of other extra responsibility to that position and so  
513 that it increase the commitment of the officers. ? There should be an extensive planned and programmed voter's  
514 education and voting observer in rural Ethiopia where majority of the voters and illiterate's people resides. ? The  
515 Fundamental constitutional provision should me respected particularly article 16 of anti-terrorist proclamation  
516 that was violated article 26(1) of the 1995 constitution which subjected public privacy to police institution should  
517 amended due to it allow arbitrary searching of the house of people without the permission of court .In this way  
518 people can highly participate without any fear and so that it increase accurate voters turnout.

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