PEOPLE'S NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS IN ALGERIA

FINAL REPORT

THE
CARTER CENTER

One Copenhill
453 Freedom Parkway
Atlanta, GA 30307
(404) 420-5188
Fax (404) 420-5196
www.cartercenter.org

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FOREWORD

Following a set of political and electoral reform measures implemented in January 2012, President Abdelaziz Bouteflika called for elections for the People's National Assembly of Algeria on May 10, 2012. Invitations to observe the elections were extended to a number of organizations, including The Carter Center. In lieu of deploying an observation mission, the Center decided to send a small election expert mission to assess particular aspects of the election process as well as the general evolution of the democratic environment in Algeria. The Carter Center team did not assess all aspects of the Algerian elections, nor did it attempt to make a comprehensive assessment of the electoral process. The Center offers this report in the spirit of cooperation and assistance to indicate several areas in which positive progress has been made as well as some areas in which the conduct of elections and their democratic context could be further improved. Finally, this report makes a number of key recommendations for the authorities, political parties, and civil society to consider as the reform process continues.

The People's National Assembly, the lower house of Parliament, is elected by proportional representation from 48 constituencies in Algeria and four overseas constituencies. The powers of the assembly, and of the Parliament as a whole, are relatively limited in Algeria's presidential system. The widely held public perception seems to be that the legislative branch is ineffective and does not adequately represent the people. While President Bouteflika's reform package can be assessed as a positive step, it does not appear sufficient to fully ensure the exercise of fundamental freedoms. The president has indicated that further reforms, including constitutional changes, are planned for the current Parliament.

Carter Center election expert missions are generally comprised of technical and political experts who are based in-country for several weeks to conduct in-depth analyses of one or more aspects of a country's electoral process. Through observation, the Center provides an impartial, objective assessment of the quality of the electoral process and the extent to which the process meets the country's obligations under national and international law. The Carter Center expert mission to Algeria focused on specific aspects of the election process related to the legal framework, the work of election administration and oversight bodies, and the voter lists. The mission was conducted in accordance with the Declaration of Principles for International Election Observation.[1]

[1] Declaration of Principles for International Election Observation and Code of Conduct for International Election Observers

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Carter Center mission reported that key stakeholders indicated that technical preparations for Algeria's 2012 elections were adequate, and numerous parties competed. Despite that, the election process as a whole suffered from a lack of public confidence. The amendment of the election code and other reforms could only redress this situation in a limited way, and citizen interest and participation during the campaign appeared to be low. Thus, in the run-up to the elections, authorities focused on increasing voter turnout. An indicator of the overall lack of faith in the electoral process was confirmed by the low election-day turnout (43.14 percent) and the number of invalid or blank ballots (18 percent). That more citizens chose not to cast a ballot can be interpreted as a warning signal for the current political system.

The Carter Center found that the legal framework for Algeria's elections was generally adequate for the conduct of democratic elections, and the January 2012 reform package offered some improvements. The institution of a commission of magistrates, with some supervisory authorities and increased autonomy for the monitoring body composed of political party and independent candidate representatives, was an important step in electoral reform. The introduction of mandatory quotas for women's representation in elected bodies was also a notable improvement.

To build confidence in the integrity of the election process, a number of issues will warrant further review by Parliament and election administration officials in advance of future elections. One important issue is that the mandates of the two commissions charged with supervising and monitoring the work of the election administration are not currently sufficient or clear. It is difficult, therefore, to view the administration of the elections as fully independent from the state authorities and accountable to voters, political parties, and candidates.

The voter lists leading up to the 2012 elections were the source of repeated complaints by political parties, and from statistical information, they appear to deviate considerably from actual Algerian demographics. There were accusations that the voter lists of sparsely populated constituencies had been padded with soldiers in the armed forces and with other security personnel. There were also widespread reports on election day of voters not being found on the voter list. Ideally, structural voter list problems should be addressed by the planned transition to a national ID card with a unique personal number. In

the meantime, the lists could be made subject to an audit to identify the extent of inaccuracies. As well, rules regarding voting by military personnel could be discussed and clarified in order to ensure their voting is not subject to dispute while their voting rights are guaranteed.

Election day was reported to be generally calm, with limited organizational difficulties. However, the gaps in the transparency safeguards for the voting, counting, and tabulation processes—and the remarkable absence of transparency in the reporting of results—undermined confidence in the declared results. Election-day gaps included overly restrictive rules regarding the presence of party representatives in polling stations, lack of provision for observation by domestic civil society organizations, reported failures to post results protocols in polling stations, reported refusals to provide copies of protocols to party representatives and monitoring commissions as provided by law, and limited access of party observers during the tabulation of results. No official information was available about vote totals at any level or about seat allocation at the constituency level.

Following election day, many parties made allegations of fraud. Of 167 complaints submitted, the Constitutional Council found that 12 were valid and affected the results of the election. The council announced a change in the allocation of seats in 12 constituencies. The council's reasoning was not made available during the assessment mission's mandate. The willingness to correct errors and violations of the law is an important part of restoring public confidence, and publication of the reasoning would be important in this respect.

Overall, the Carter Center's limited expert mission found that in spite of remaining hurdles in reaching international election standards, the Algerian government's electoral reforms represent some progress toward free and fair elections. The Center wishes to express its appreciation for accrediting The Carter Center to observe and report on the electoral environment and election day. The Carter Center offers these key recommendations:

- Facilitate access for citizen observers and international observers to all aspects of the election process
- Update results protocols, such as making tabulation more transparent and posting thorough results widely; have the National Commission for Election Supervision conduct parallel tabulation

- Improve public confidence by strengthening the role of Parliament: consider the addition of equipment and staff members and increasing independent oversight of election management bodies
- Clarify the mandates of the National Commission for Election Supervision and the National Commission for Election Monitoring, which are charged with supervising and monitoring the work of the election administration
- Ensure a broad public discussion of the proposed voter identification system and possible single-ballot system; announce any change well in advance
- In the interim, audit voter lists and increase access to registration data and other information by voters and election observers
- Clarify rules on Increasing Women's Access to Representation in Elected Assemblies clauses and rules on registration and voting by military personnel
- Review and strengthen campaign finance laws
- Review restrictions in the Law on Associations to remove disproportionately restrictive provisions on free speech and civic participation
- Conduct one lottery to determine the number of each party on the ballot and campaign billboards as well as the order of ballots within polling stations (or the order of parties on the ballot)

THE CARTER CENTER IN ALGERIA

On Feb. 10, 2012, President Abdelaziz Bouteflika called elections for the People's National Assembly of Algeria for May 10.[2] At the same time, he made a public statement announcing a number of measures to ensure transparency, including extending invitations to international organizations and nongovernmental organizations to observe the elections. The Carter Center was invited to observe through the embassy of Algeria in the United States and participated in a subsequent exploratory mission organized by the National Democratic Institute (NDI) from March 31–April 5, 2012.

On the basis of that visit, the Center determined that it would not be in a position to deploy a full election observation mission. Nevertheless, in consideration of several positive amendments to the electoral framework in January 2012, the Center decided to deploy a small expert mission to Algeria for a period of two weeks, May 3–17, around election day. The team was composed of Sarah Johnson, assistant director of the Democracy Program; Michel Paternotre, legal analyst; and Jonathan Stonestreet, election analyst. The team was based in Algiers and made visits to Ain Defla, Blida, and Boumerdès.

The objective of the Carter Center team was to assess specific aspects of the election process related to the legal framework, the work of election administration and oversight bodies, and the voter lists in order to make recommendations to the authorities, political parties, and civil society of Algeria for further improvement of the election process. In doing so, the team particularly focused on the transparency of the election process and the independence and accountability of election administration. The team also considered issues related to the broader context of elections, especially in view of recently adopted legislation on political parties, media, and associations. Due to its limited nature, the expert mission did not assess the quality of the voting and counting processes, among other aspects of the election process, and did not make an overall assessment of the election process.

The Carter Center wishes to express its appreciation to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Algeria for accrediting Center observers and for the expedited issuance of visas for team members. The Carter Center also wishes to thank the Ministry of Interior, the Constitutional Council, and other official bodies as well as the political parties and civil society organizations that took the time to meet the team.

[2] Presidential Decree no. 12-67, available at www.interieur.gov.dz/Dynamics/frmItem.aspx?html=40&s=23

Election Observation Methodology

Since 1989, The Carter Center has observed more than 90 elections in 37 countries. Carter Center election observation missions are conducted in accordance with the Declaration of Principles for International Election Observation, which was adopted at the United Nations in 2005 and has been endorsed by 37 election observation groups. The Carter Center was invited and accredited to observe limited aspects of Algeria's electoral process.

Through observation, the Center provides an impartial, objective assessment of the quality of the electoral process and the extent to which it meets Algeria's obligations under national and international law. Election observation demonstrates international support for the democratic process, helps to detect and expose fraud, and enhances the transparency and integrity of the electoral process as a whole. In this way, international election observation contributes to elections as a means of establishing legitimate authority and holding governments accountable to their people.[3] Observers followed the Declaration of Principles for International Election Observation and the Code of Conduct for International Election Observers.[4]

[3] David J. Carroll and Avery Davis-Roberts. "The Carter Center and Election Observation," Election Law Journal: Rules, Politics, and Policy. March 2013, 12(1): 87–93. doi:10.1089/elj.2013.1215

[4] Declaration of Principles for International Election Observation and Code of Conduct for International Election Observers. Commemorated Oct. 27, 2005, at the United Nations, New York. http://www.cartercenter.org/documents/2231.pdf

POLITICAL BACKGROUND

The elections for the People's National Assembly (APN, as French acronym) were the first elections to take place in Algeria since the start of the Arab Spring in early 2011. Although Algeria has not experienced the extended, large-scale protests that have characterized several other countries in the region, the movement for democratic change in neighboring countries generated pressure on authorities to take steps toward reform of the political system. In April 2011, President Bouteflika promised a series of reform measures, and new legislation was adopted in January 2012 to address the organization of elections and political parties as well as women's participation in elected bodies, the media, and local government. Reform efforts have to some degree been tempered by fears of a potential return to the violence suffered by Algerians throughout the 1990s, among other factors.

The APN is the lower house of the bicameral Parliament. The APN is directly elected, while the upper house, the Council of the Nation, is in part elected indirectly and in part appointed by the president. In Algeria's presidential form of government, the constitution accords considerable powers to the president and a much narrower role to the Parliament. The president appoints the government, magistrates, and *walis* (regional governors) and also has a strong influence in the judicial branch.[5] The president has the power to legislate by executive order between sessions of Parliament, although such laws must be submitted to Parliament for approval in the next session. This power has been used frequently, further eroding the institutional position of the legislative power and the perception of its role among citizens. Most interlocutors, even those from official bodies, acknowledged that the Parliament is widely viewed by Algerians as a passive, ineffective institution disconnected from the needs and desires of citizens. President Bouteflika has indicated that further institutional reforms are necessary, requiring that the constitution be revised and that the incoming APN play an important role in this respect.[6]

The Carter Center mission found that interlocutors widely agreed that public confidence in the integrity

[5] The president designates the Head of the Constitutional Council, appoints magistrates, and is the chair of the High Judiciary Council (Conseil Supérieur de la Magistrature). Algerian Constitution, English translation: http://www.servat.unibe.ch/icl/ag00000_.html

[6] "Speech of the President of the Republic on the occasion of the announcement of legislative elections of 2012", Feb. 9, 2012, available at www.interieur.gov.dz/Dynamics/frmItem.aspx?html=52&s=23

of the election process was low, partly due to lack of transparency and persistent allegations of fraud in past elections. Lack of public confidence in the APN and in the election process—together with economic difficulties at the local level, corruption, and the perception that power is held *de facto* by security forces—contributed to a persistent and high degree of frustration with the political situation. These problems are seen as the root causes of the traditionally high rate of abstention in APN elections. In this respect, some parties called for a boycott, and citizen interest and participation in the campaign appeared to be low. Indeed, increasing voter turnout became a prime objective of the authorities in the run-up to election day.[7]

[7] "Algeria's elections loom, but there are no great expectations." Mohamed Ben-Madani. The Guardian: May 9, 2012. http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2012/may/09/algeria-election-no-great-expectations?newsfeed=true

ELECTORAL INSTITUTIONS, FRAMEWORK FOR THE ELECTIONS, AND PRE-ELECTION DEVELOPMENTS

Effective electoral institutions and a sound legal framework are essential to ensuring that a country upholds its international obligations, including, but not limited to, conducting periodic genuine elections that accurately reflect the will of the people for democratic elections.[8]

Legal Framework for the Elections

The Carter Center assessed Algeria's National Assembly Elections on the basis of the 1996 Constitution of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria, the electoral code of 2007, and the 2012 reform package.[9]

The Algerian Constitution guarantees fundamental freedoms such as the right of assembly, freedom of association, and freedom of speech.[10] The legislative framework, however, still includes provisions that limit the full exercise of these rights. While the recent reform package was presented by the government as marking a significant step in the direction of an opening of the political system, additional efforts are necessary. This is, in part, because the impact of the new legal framework appears to have been relatively limited, due to the moderate ambition of some of the reforms as well as the short time between the adoption of the new texts and the legislative elections.

Some of Algeria's new laws, particularly the Law on Associations, have provisions impacting the exercise of constitutionally guaranteed freedoms.[11] Algerian civil society organizations have criticized that law. International human rights organizations, including the U.N. special rapporteur on freedom of

[8] DES Database: International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), Article 25(b); Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), Article 21

[9] Organic Law 12-01 of Jan. 12, 2012, relative to the Electoral regime: JO no. 1 (hereafter referred to as Algerian Electoral Code). Available online at: http://www.joradp.dz/JO2000/2012/001/F_Pag.htm.

[10] Algerian Constitution: Articles 14 and 41

[11] Law 12-06 of Jan. 12, 2012, relative to associations, Articles 41 and 43 http://www.rcd-algerie.org/maj/rcd/download/pdf1213718026Loi_sur_les_Associations.pdf Organic Law 12-01 of Jan. 12, 2012, relative to the Electoral regime: JO no. 1 (hereafter referred to as Algerian Electoral Code). Articles 41 and 43 Available online at: http://www.joradp.dz/JO2000/2012/001/F_Pag.htm.

peaceful assembly and of association, joined in that criticism.[12]

The new law on political parties brought some positive adjustments to the previous regime.[13] It limited the possibility for the Ministry of Interior to freeze the process of political party registration, as had occurred in the past. Yet it maintained moral conditions relative to the values of national identity, the 1954 revolution, national sovereignty, and others, inspired by Article 42 of the constitution, which are expressed in terms that seem too vague to offer stable guarantees. [14] Future practice of this activity will demonstrate how effective the new law will prove to be in enabling the free functioning of political parties.

After the law was adopted, a number of new parties were registered and able to compete in the elections. In some instances, registration came very late, making it difficult for these parties to compete effectively and on an equal basis. For example, the Parti National Algérien was apparently registered only six days before the end of candidate registration, despite having filed for registration as a party in March 2011.

Electoral Reforms

The right to public assembly and demonstration was, for a long period, limited by a state of emergency imposed from 1992–2011. Although restrictions have been officially lifted, peaceful demonstrations were broken up, with some citizens detained after expressing criticism of the authorities. In Algiers, the possibility for meetings and rallies in the public space remained highly constrained.

A new law on information also was adopted as part of the set of legislative reforms.[15] Among other elements, the law includes the end of the state monopoly on electronic media. It also abolishes previous provisions that allowed for penal sentences in press trials but left the possibility for the judge to impose high fines. In this case, too, assessing the effects of the law requires a longer-term perspective,

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[12] "Algeria: Upcoming elections must address civil society's legitimate demands on freedom of association." May 4, 2012. http://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=12110&LangID=E

[13] Organic law 12-04 of Jan. 12, 2012, relative to political parties: JO no. 2. http://www.europarl.europa.eu/meetdocs/2009_2014/documents/dmag/dv/dmag20120125_10_/dmag20120125_10_fr.pdf

[14] Ibid: Section 2, Article 8

[15] "The Lifting of the State of Emergency: A Game of Smoke and Mirrors." Euro-Mediterranean Human Rights Network. Copenhagen, December 2011. p.3 http://www.euromedrights.org/files/lev e tat urgence Alg rie en 558561013.pdf?force&file=lev e tat urgence Alg rie en 558561013.pdf

including any future action of the courts.

Many interlocutors reported to the Carter Center mission that they believe the state media do not leave sufficient space for the expression of all views, as anticipated under the new law. For instance, media monitoring showed that supporters of a boycott of the parliamentary elections received virtually no time in broadcast media. However, observers of the media environment and campaign reported a relatively balanced coverage of the parties during the pre-election period by the state media.

A new law, Increasing Opportunities for Women's Access to Representation in Elected Assemblies, was a very positive step and a decisive measure that increased women's representation in the APN from 8 to 30 percent.[16] The percentage of women candidates and the percentage of women elected from each list depend on the number of seats to be elected in each constituency. Article 2, which applies to the nomination of women candidates, is clear. However, Article 3, which specifies the allocation of seats to women candidates, is vague and had to be supplemented by an instruction interpreting the law through a formula. As a result of the formula, the percentage of women elected from each list could be less than or greater than the percentage stated in the law but would be mathematically as close as possible to the stated percentage. This contrasts with the language of Article 2 (regarding nomination of women candidates), which sets out the percentages for women's representation on the lists as a minimum requirement, not as a target.

Electoral Systems

An independent and impartial authority that functions transparently and professionally is internationally recognized as an effective means of ensuring that citizens are able to participate in a genuine democratic process and that other international obligations related to the democratic process can be met.[17]

Oversight of Algeria's election process is complex. The National Commission for Election Supervision has the power to investigate alleged violations of the law and to require the relevant authorities to provide remedies. The commission is composed of 316 magistrates (including magistrates from the

[16] Official Journal of the Republic of Algeria, Law 01 20 Safar 1433, Jan. 14, 2012 http://www.joradp.dz/JO2000/2012/001/FP39.pdf

[17] U.N., ICCPR Article 2(3) http://www.ipu.org/PDF/publications/CODES_E.pdf

Supreme Court), is appointed by the president, and is present in all *wilaya*. The commission can act on the basis of complaints submitted to it or as *ex officio*. Prior to election day, the commission had received more than 900 complaints, mostly about the campaign period. Most complaints were relatively minor, dealing with violations of rules regarding campaign posters, but the commission also intervened in cases of denial of candidate registration and the illegal use of administrative resources during the campaign. Some 28 pre-election day cases were referred to the prosecutor for investigation.

A second oversight body, the National Commission for Election Monitoring, was composed of 44 representatives of the political parties competing in the elections, plus one representative for all independent candidate lists. The commission had subcommissions at the *wilaya* and commune levels and thus had some ability to monitor the election process throughout the country. For the first time, the commission had the power to elect its own president.[18]

However, all people involved in the administration and oversight of the elections are either directly employed by the state or are appointed by government authorities at various levels, which limits the degree of independent oversight. Because the law requires the strict neutrality of all people involved in the administration of the elections, it is important to create a more fully independent and cohesive electoral oversight of the election administration.[19]

Election Management

Elections should be organized and regulated by a specific legal framework that is clear, understandable, and transparent and that addresses the various aspects of an electoral system necessary to ensure a democratic election takes place.[20]

To that end, administrative measures were taken during the election preparations, offering some possibilities for political party representatives to follow the tabulation process at each level. Some of the newly introduced measures seem to have been adopted in a hastened manner and required additional clarification. This was the case for the powers of the National Commission of Election Supervision, which were defined in an extremely vague manner and later developed by presidential

[18] Algerian Electoral Code, Article 182
[19] AU, African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance, Article. 17(1). http://www.ipu.org/idd-E/afr_charter.pdf
[20] AU, African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance, Article 17(1)

decree.[21] It was also the case for the quota for women's representation, for which a calculation method of allocating seats was issued only four days before the elections as an instruction by the Ministry of Interior.

The legal framework contains provisions that could create major obstacles to the conduct of credible elections. The electoral law provides an adequate framework. The way this framework is implemented, however, requires a more nuanced assessment. Interpretations of the law or negative practices inherited from previous elections tend to undermine the guarantees offered by the new law. This appears particularly true when it comes to transparency of the voter lists, independent oversight of all aspects of the election administration work at each stage of the process, the process of tabulating and announcing the results, and the possibility for candidates to obtain effective judicial remedy.

Constituency Demarcation

Algeria is divided into 48 *wilaya*, which are subdivided into 1,541 communes (municipalities).[22] *Wilaya* and municipalities combine administrative and representative roles through elected assemblies. Both levels play a significant role within the election administration. *Wilaya* are under the responsibility of *walis* (governors), who are appointed by presidential decree and, structurally, are part of the Ministry of Interior. The *walis* have an extensive mandate as coordinators of state bodies in the *wilayas* and as overall supervisors of the municipal administrations. At the commune level, the administration is under the authority of the president of the municipal council (mayor). Although adjustments to the organization of the *wilaya* and commune levels were recently introduced as part of the reform package, the powers of the *walis* were generally left untouched, including significant budgetary authority on the *wilaya* level.

The largest constituency, Algiers, elected 37 deputies. Within each constituency, deputies are elected by proportional representation in a closed list system. Lists may be presented by political parties or independent candidates. To be eligible for the allocation of mandates, a list must obtain at least 7 percent of the valid votes in a constituency.[23] Mandates are distributed according to the largest-

[21] "Algeria sets election date." Fethi, Nazim. Magharebia, Algiers: Feb 2, 2012. http://magharebia.com/en_GB/articles/awi/features/2012/02/10/feature-02
[22] Official Journal of the Republic of Algeria, July 10, 2002. http://www.joradp.dz/JO2000/2002/047/F_Pag.htm
[23] Algerian Electoral Code: Article 66

remainder method.[24] For lists obtaining seats in a constituency, candidates receive mandates according to their order on the list, with an exception to ensure women's representation.

Campaign Finance

The laws regarding campaign finance have many legal gaps and could be substantially reviewed and strengthened. Partial reimbursement of campaign expenses by the state (25 percent of total expenses) is only available to those lists obtaining at least 20 percent of the vote in a constituency. Given that the threshold for obtaining seats is 7 percent, it is possible that parties could obtain representation in the APN and yet not be eligible for reimbursement. Furthermore, while funds from foreign sources are clearly prohibited, the electoral code does not state whether candidates may accept donations from domestic individuals and legal entities and, if so, in what amount. The code does not specify a deadline for submitting campaign accounts to the Constitutional Council or how campaign accounts should be reviewed, and it does not impose a deadline for the Constitutional Council's decision regarding accounts. There is no requirement for public disclosure of campaign accounts. Finally, the sanctions provided for in the law do not cover all potential violations, and the sanctions that are foreseen appear to be disproportionate.[25]

Voter Registration and Lists

Under Algerian law, voter registration is "a duty for all citizens to fulfill required legal conditions."[26] Voter lists are primarily managed at the commune level by the municipal council administration. International good practice states that voter lists should be comprehensive, inclusive, accurate, and up-to-date, and the process must be fully transparent. [27] The system relies on the active participation of citizens, who have the responsibility to register on the voter lists and, when changing their municipality of residence, to deregister from their previous municipality before registering in their new location. While the lists are permanent, updates are conducted periodically during a three-month review period each year and a shorter review period, established by decree, before elections. A municipal level

[24] Algerian Electoral Code, ibid
[25] Algerian Electoral Code: Title VIII
[26] Algerian Electoral Code: Article 6
[27] International IDEA, International IDEA International Electoral Standards: Guidelines for Reviewing the Legal Framework of Elections, p. 45

commission is in charge of conducting the update of each municipal voter list.[28]

The *wilaya* is in charge of producing voter cards and printing voter lists. The municipal information is, therefore, aggregated at the *wilaya* level, leading to the constitution of a *wilaya* database, which is used on election day to redirect voters who cannot be found on voter lists. Since 2002, the information is also transferred to a national-level, central database. While the possibility to consult the lists and for parties and candidates to obtain a copy of the lists are guaranteed by law, there is no public display of the lists before the elections.

Parties and candidates in Algeria systematically contest the credibility of the lists before each election, and the legislative elections of May 10, 2012, were no exception. Following the review period from Feb. 12–21, the Ministry of Interior announced the figure of 21,663,345 registered voters, which was later adjusted to a final figure of 21,645,841, including out-of-country voters. Total in-country registered voters represented around 57 percent of the actual population (on the basis of the 2008 census figures), a proportion that is compatible with the population demographic structure. There are, however, several indications that the accuracy of the voter lists could be legitimately questioned.

1) The correspondence between the registration figures at the *wilaya* level (the only figures made available by the Ministry of Interior) and the 2008 census figures at the same level show significant variations. Even when the southern *wilayas*, where statistics are likely to be influenced by factors such as remoteness or the registration of military personnel, are not taken into consideration, variations of the relation between number of registered voters and population figures across *wilaya* exceed 15 percent in absolute percentages.

2) While women represented 49.43 percent of the population according to the 2008 census, they represent only 45.66 percent of registered voters.

3) The growth of the number of registered voters does not reflect natural demographic changes. This would at least justify questioning the efficiency of the currently used continuous registration system.

[28] Algerian Electoral Code: Article 116

Table 1

	Registered voters	Growth	Percentage of Growth
Legislative 2002	17,951,127	-	-
Presidential 2004	18,094,555	143,428	0.79
Legislative 2007	18,761,084	666,529	3.68
Presidential 2009	20,595,683	1,834,599	9.77
Legislative 2012	21,645,841	1,050,158	5.09

Technical or sociological factors could explain a lack of accuracy of the lists. Among others, the disinterest expressed by many citizens in the electoral process is obviously a negative factor for any active registration system. The administrative requirements may, for some categories of citizens, also represent an additional difficulty.[29] The origin of the current register can be traced back to manual lists used for the 1962 referendum, updated and computerized during the 1990s. For this reason, the quality of the data and, therefore, the capacity of the administration to ensure an efficient management of the lists, are not necessarily guaranteed, especially as the use of a unique personal identification number has not yet been introduced.

The electoral administration has demonstrated reluctance to publicly discuss these questions and has offered only limited public scrutiny of the lists. Therefore, the impact of factors such as computerization cannot be measured. In this respect, it is regrettable that the format in which voter lists are made available to parties and candidates does not allow them to carry on any serious examination and that no serious public debate on the lists has opened.

The voter card system, in place for several elections, appeared to cause confusion when new polling centers were created and voters reallocated. Despite efforts to consult a central database and redirect voters to the correct polling center, these difficulties may have disenfranchised a significant number of eligible voters. This problem, noticed by most observers on election day, was especially severe in Algiers, where many media and observer reports mentioned that a significant number of voters could

[29] Algerian Electoral Code: Articles 6–13

not be found on the database and, therefore, could not vote. No official explanations were given for these reports.

The participation of military personnel also appears to represent a recurrent source of allegations and mistrust. The current legislation, following the end of special military voting in 2004, allows the military and other security and public order personnel to register in their last municipality of residence, their municipality of birth, or the municipality of birth of their ancestors. Several hundred thousands of citizens are potentially impacted. There is little doubt that in the southern *wilayas* where population figures are low the vote of the military may represent a decisive factor. Although the law considers voter registration to be a personal action, large numbers of military were alleged to have appealed in aggregate their status on the voter rolls during the complaint and appeals period. Considerable numbers of military and other security personnel were registered collectively in some of these *wilaya* during the claims period following the close of the special registration period. The Ministry of Interior stated that where challenged, such registrations were judicially reviewed and, in some cases, they resulted in deregistration.

While it should be underlined that there is no reason to deprive military personnel of their right to express their choice as citizens, the lack of confidence and transparency surrounding the registration process of these voters and the discussion that accompanied the collective registration of military personnel before the elections justify the introduction of additional measures of transparency and tighter rules regarding their registration.

ELECTION DAY

Background

Voting in Algeria and overseas was conducted on May 10 in over 48,500 polling stations, grouped into approximately 11,500 voting centers. Some 219 mobile polling stations deployed to reach voters in remote areas, beginning their work on May 7. Given the small size of the Carter Center expert mission, this report does not attempt to evaluate the overall conduct of voting, counting, and tabulation. However, the expert mission was able to assess specific aspects of the legal framework, including improvements to the polling process, access of party representatives, and access of domestic observers as well as the transparency of counting and tabulation procedures.

The new electoral code introduced several changes in the polling process that, at the level of the law, constitute positive steps toward increased transparence and accountability. These include inking of voters' fingers to deter multiple voting, reduction to one of the number of proxy votes allowed per voter, introduction of transparent ballot boxes, more detailed provisions regarding results protocols, mandatory distribution of copies of results protocols to the respective presidents of the National Commission for Election Monitoring at the municipal and *wilaya* levels, retention of cast ballots for use in possible recounts, and additional penal provisions for fraud or other violations of the law.[30]

Despite these steps, some elements of law and practice undermined the transparency of the election-day process, contributing to lack of confidence in the integrity of the results by a considerable number of political parties.

Access of Party Representatives

International good practice states that political party and candidate representatives should be allowed in the polling station to observe polling day activities.[31] Political parties and independent candidate lists in Algeria could nominate representatives to be present in polling stations and voting centers. To prevent overcrowding, the law limits their presence to a maximum of five per polling station, to be selected by

[30] Algerian Electoral Code 2012
[31] DES Database: AU, African Union Declaration on the Principles Governing Democratic Elections in Africa, Article 7 http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/compilation_democracy/ahg.htm

consensus. Failing consensus, the law provides for a drawing of lots. Although the law appears to provide that a lottery should be conducted only when necessary, parties in many *wilaya* were required to nominate their representatives in advance, and lotteries were held well before election day. With the high number of lists competing in each constituency, the advance lottery made it extremely difficult or impossible for a party to have full coverage of the voting process in a *wilaya* or even a municipality. There were reports on election day that the representatives of the parties selected in the lottery often did not show up, so polling stations often had fewer than five party representatives present. This combination of factors resulted in an unnecessary limitation on the transparency of the voting process.

Access of Domestic Civil Society Observers

In addition to candidate and party agents, international good practice also indicates that accredited observers should have access to polling stations on election day.[32] The current law makes no provision for the accreditation of domestic civil society observers. The National Democratic Institute (NDI) had recommended in the context of its pre-election assessment that Algerian citizens be allowed to conduct election observation through domestic civil society organizations as a measure for increasing transparency and citizen confidence in the process. No change was made in this respect. However, some civil society groups did manage to do some monitoring of the elections. The Observatoire de la Société Civile pour l'Observation des Elections, a gathering of 11 nongovernmental organizations, conducted a limited observation in 15 *wilaya,* and the Algerian League for the Defense of Human Rights (LADDH) conducted a media monitoring effort together with international partners. The efforts of these groups demonstrate that nonpartisan civil society monitoring can make a positive contribution to the transparency of elections in Algeria and should be encouraged and supported through clear legal mechanisms.

[32] ICCPR, Articles 2 (3) and 25, HRC General Comment No. 25, para. 20 provides that there should be independent scrutiny of the voting and counting process and access to judicial review or other equivalent process so that electors have confidence in the security of the ballot and the counting of the votes. International IDEA, International IDEA International Electoral Standards: Guidelines for Reviewing the Legal Framework of Elections also addresses the presence of party and candidate agents and election observers in the counting, tabulation, and consolidation of votes, p. 77–78.

POSTELECTION DEVELOPMENTS

Transparency of Counting and Tabulation

The accurate and fair counting of votes after the election plays an indispensable role in ensuring the electoral process is democratic. Vote counting considers the vote-counting process and all aggregation and tabulation processes through to the final announcement of results, ensuring the transparency of the process. International obligations indicate that votes should be counted by an independent and impartial electoral management body whose counting process is public, transparent, and free of corruption.[33]

The law in Algeria provides that counting is open to the public, thereby allowing party representatives and other citizens to observe the counting process.[34] The law requires that a copy of the results protocol be posted at the polling station and that copies be given to party representatives and to the president of the municipal Commission for Election Monitoring. [35] These are positive measures, but numerous reports indicated that they were not always respected in practice, affecting the transparency of the processing of results. Protocols were often not posted for public display, and several parties informed The Carter Center that in several cases their representatives were not able to obtain copies of the protocols. The National Commission for Election Monitoring stated that in some cases the president of the commission at the municipal level had been refused copies of the protocols, requiring intervention from the national level of the commission.

At the municipal level, party representatives reported that tabulation was difficult to monitor effectively, as only a limited number of party representatives could be present where the tabulation was taking place. Again, some parties claimed that in some cases they were not permitted to observe the tabulation of results and were not able to obtain copies of municipal level protocols. At the *wilaya*

[33] ICCPR, Articles 2 (3) and 25, HRC General Comment No. 25, para. 20 provides that there should be independent scrutiny of the voting and counting process and access to judicial review or other equivalent process so that electors have confidence in the security of the ballot and the counting of the votes. The best practice of posting detailed election results disaggregated to the polling station level can be extrapolated from paragraph 112 of UN *Human Rights and Elections* which requires that "The process for counting votes, verification, and reporting of results and retention of official materials must be secure and fair." Publication of final results broken down by polling station is prerequisite for this scrutiny.

[34] Algerian Electoral Code: Article 161

[35] Algerian Electoral Code: Article 123

level, only the president of the National Commission for Election Monitoring at the *wilaya* level and international observers could be present during the tabulation of municipal level results. In Boumerdés, the Carter Center team was informed that the tabulation had been made visible to party representatives through the use of an electronic display. This practice was positive and could be considered for implementation in all *wilaya* and communes to enhance transparency.

Given that the election code states that the respective levels of the National Commission for Election Monitoring have the right to receive copies of all polling station result protocols as well as all tabulation protocols from the municipal and *wilaya* level, the commission could have organized a parallel vote tabulation as an independent check on the preliminary and official results declared by the authorities. This would have increased the transparency of the tabulation process and built confidence in the integrity of the results. However, the commission did not organize such an effort.

Announcement of Results

Election results should be publicly announced, including through posting at counting stations. Good practice is for results of vote counting processes to be published in a timely manner, be publicly announced, and be posted at the polling and tabulation station.[36]

On May 11, based on figures compiled at the municipal level and transferred to the national results reception center at the Ministry of Interior, Minister Ould Kabya announced provisional preliminary results, communicating the total number of seats obtained at the national level by each party, without giving further details regarding the distribution of the votes among parties or the distribution of seats at the *wilaya* level. These results were given before the completion of tabulation at the *wilaya* level. The announcement of the national results by the Constitutional Council took place on May 15, based on the protocols received from the *wilaya* election commissions. The allocation of seats, as announced by the Constitutional Council, was slightly different than the provisional results. In this case, the announcement was accompanied by the gross total of votes cast for the parties and lists having won representation. No complete, detailed results were published, either by the ministry or the Constitutional Council, and partial results were not made available by constituency.

While it can be assumed that parties and candidates might have had access to results at the constituency

[36] ICCPR, Articles 2 (3) and 25, HRC General Comment No. 25, para. 20

level, the results remained unknown for the ordinary citizen. The Carter Center considers the absence of detailed publication of results a significant shortfall in measures to ensure transparency. Furthermore, that absence was unexplainable, especially considering that these results were available at the municipal level for both electoral institutions and at the polling station level by the Ministry of Interior. The ministry had deployed data-capture teams to the municipal election commissions.

The risk of displaying provisional results that could be later modified by the Constitutional Council should not be regarded as problematic since the results in seats—as announced by the Minister of Interior—appeared to have been different from the results announced by the Constitutional Council. On the contrary, transparent publication is likely to improve confidence in the process and increase the understanding of the reasons justifying changes in the allocation of seats. Detailed publication might also assist parties and candidates in efficiently supporting their claims and facilitating the understanding by the general public of the decisions taken by the electoral judge. The lack of published results has negatively impacted overall public confidence in the election process.

Analysis of Results

On May 15, the Constitutional Council announced a final turnout of 43.14 percent (9,339,026 votes cast), compared to the 35.65 percent official turnout of 2007. Although this represented an increase in turnout, it was also accompanied by an increase in the percentage of blank and invalid votes, from 13.78 percent in 2007 to 18.24 percent in 2012. As a result, the number of blank and invalid votes (1,704,047) considerably exceeds the number of votes cast in favor of the first party (1,324,364 for the National Liberation Front). Taking into consideration the number of blank and invalid votes, which are largely considered by most interlocutors to express a protest vote, the net turnout reached only 35.27 percent (against 30.52 percent of valid votes cast in 2012).

In the absence of detailed results by constituency, it is impossible to calculate the number of votes that did not result in any representation, but there is little doubt that dispersion of votes among lists reached an unusual level, with few lists reaching the threshold. A 5 percent threshold could generally be considered reasonable, but in the Algerian context, it has had a very significant effect on the results and on the future composition of the National Assembly. While the increase in the total number of seats (from 389 to 462) could have facilitated the access to representation, the dispersion of the votes produced exactly the opposite effect. The National Liberation Front (FLN as French acronym), with a very small gain of votes since 2007 (about 0.75 percent, corresponding to a relative loss in percentage

of the valid votes), was able to gain 72 additional seats. In this respect, it is worth noticing that the relative value of a FLN seat in 2012 is less than half what it was in 2002, when the FLN had 199 seats out of a total of 389. The National Rally for Democracy party, although having lost votes since 2007, won seven additional seats. The various Islamists parties, more dispersed than previously (in spite of the constitution of the Green Algeria Alliance, an alliance of the previously existing parties), saw their relative representation slightly eroded, although the number of their votes remained somewhat stable.

Electoral Dispute Resolution

Good practice is to have effective dispute mechanisms to ensure that effective remedies are available for the redress of violations of fundamental rights related to the electoral process.[37] The resolution of disputes is relevant throughout the electoral cycle and includes any mechanism established to hear and adjudicate election-related disputes. Specifically, this might include access to alternative dispute resolution mechanisms over the course of the entire electoral cycle. This right is fundamental to ensuring all other human rights may be fulfilled.

The Constitutional Council has limited electoral dispute jurisprudence. In principle, however, it follows the doctrinal evolution of most courts and councils. While it has the option to conduct in-depth investigations, time constraints due to official deadlines might limit the possibility of the council's reviewing all available evidence. At the same time, limitations placed on party and candidate representatives' access throughout the electoral process may have significantly reduced their ability to produce documentation in support of their claims.

The Constitutional Council registered a total of 167 complaints. Following an examination of the complaints, 107 were rejected as ill-founded or unsubstantiated, and 47 were otherwise inadmissible. The council subsequently issued 13 decisions relating to 12 constituencies. Those decisions resulted in the net loss of 13 seats for the National Liberation Front, two for the National Rally for Democracy, and one seat for an independent list. Several parties gained seats, including the Workers' Party (seven seats), the Front of Socialist Forces (six seats), the Green Algeria Alliance (two seats), the Algerian Popular Movement (one seat), and the Justice and Development Front (one seat).[38]

[37] UN, ICCPR, Article 2(3)

[38] In one case, a regional governor is cited for having attended a political rally and therefore breaching the neutrality of the administration. One decision references electoral misconduct at regional voting stations. The remaining decisions cite

ADDITIONAL ISSUES

Use of Ballot Paper

One of the contentious issues in the election period was a dispute between the National Commission for Election Monitoring and the Ministry of Interior regarding whether a single ballot paper for all lists would be used or whether there would be separate ballot papers for each list. The ministry refused the commission's proposal, and separate ballot papers were finally used, as in previous elections. Both types of ballots are used internationally, and there is no best practice regarding this choice. Nevertheless, as a considerable number of parties expressed a preference for a single ballot, a review of the type of ballot that should be used in future elections would be beneficial.

Use of Lottery Procedures

Another issue raised with the Carter Center team was the number of lotteries conducted at various points in the process. A lottery was conducted by the National Commission for Election Monitoring to determine the number assigned to each party to be printed on the ballots. A second lottery was conducted to assign the order in which campaign posters would be posted on official billboards set up for this purpose. A third lottery was held at the *wilaya* level for the order in which ballots would be laid out in polling stations. Several party representatives noted that this was potentially confusing for voters, especially given that a party's ballot number did not correspond to its place on the campaign billboards or its position in the ballots inside the polling station.

Filing of Results Protocol

Finally, the procedure of filling out the copies of the results protocol was lengthy and cumbersome. This was due in part to the fact that polling station members had to fill in the names for each party and independent candidate lists by hand, in the order in which they received votes. Moreover, since this order was usually somewhat different in each polling station, this made the tabulation of results at higher levels slower and opened the door to potential errors. Protocols preprinted with party names, symbols, and numbers would simplify and speed up the processing of results.

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errors in tabulation and/or the lack of signed protocols to support the initial election results. All of the individual decisions, including the repartition of seats, are available on the Constitutional Council's website, http://www.conseil-constitutionnel.dz/jurisprudence12b.html.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Assessing the legal framework against its effective implementation is independent of the factual question of the credibility of a given election. The Carter Center expert mission did not assess all aspects of the Algerian elections, nor did it attempt to make an overall assessment. On the basis of the Center's limited findings, however, the conduct of the 2012 elections appear to have suffered from significant weaknesses and deviations from international recognized best practices that could contribute to undermining the confidence of stakeholders and citizens in the overall results.

The Carter Center recommends that additional steps be taken to strengthen the legal and electoral framework and its implementation in order to increase the accountability of the election administration and improve the transparency of the process. The conduct of the elections in Algeria, under present conditions, does not offer important guarantees in light of the limited information available to the election authorities, political parties, civil society, and the public at large at each stage of the process.

Nevertheless, the 2012 election included several positive steps, including improvement in the electoral legal framework, the intervention of the Constitutional Council to remedy some of the issues found to impact the results of the elections, and the expressed intention to continue reform efforts.

Key Recommendations

In the spirit of cooperation and assistance, The Carter Center offers the following recommendations for the authorities, political parties, and civil society to consider as the reform process continues to help ensure a more transparent, independent, accountable, and democratic election process.

To President Bouteflika

- Measures should be considered to renew the confidence of citizens in the Parliament and in political life. The constitutional reform announced by the president will be an important opportunity to reassess and strengthen the role of Parliament.
- Additional means could be made available to members of Parliament, including greater access to equipment and staff, to effectively play their role as representatives of the nation.

To the Parliament

- Article 3 of the law on Increasing Opportunities for Women's Access to Representation in Elected Assemblies and the formula to be applied should be clarified.
- A thorough review of campaign finance provisions should be undertaken and the election code amended to ensure that campaign finance is transparent, that all parties obtaining a significant percentage of votes are eligible for partial reimbursement, that deadlines are clearly provided for, that campaign accounts are made available for public review, and that sanctions are proportionate.
- Increased independent oversight of the election administration would promote public confidence in its work. This could be accomplished through the establishment of an independent election commission, through an expansion of the roles and functions of the existing National Commission for Election Supervision and the National Commission for Election Monitoring, or through increased collaboration between the two bodies. Establishing subcommittees to divide activities and make public all periodic reports by both commissions is also recommended.
- The election code should be amended to allow explicitly for the presence of observers from Algerian civil society organizations, including accreditation requirements, and should also facilitate access for international observers.
- The law on associations should be reviewed so as to remove disproportionately restrictive provisions on free speech and civic participation.

To the Election Management Bodies

- Given the interest of a significant number of parties in moving to a single ballot, this issue should be reviewed and discussed among parties. Any change to the current system should be made well in advance of an election and be accompanied by relevant adjustments to the legal framework and by thorough voter education.
- The rules for party observers should be amended to be less burdensome regarding the presence of observers in polling stations. If excessive numbers in one polling station require a selection to be made, this should be organized at the level of the voting center on election day.

- The National Commission for Elections Monitoring should conduct a parallel vote tabulation using the certified copies of the protocols from polling stations and election commissions.
- Tabulation of results should be made more visible to party representatives and observers, for example by electronically displaying results at the relevant election commission and by giving certified copies of polling station protocols to party representatives.
- Additional measures should be introduced for registration of military personnel and other security forces. This could include the publication of specific detailed figures. In addition, the law could distinguish between various categories and situations and provide adapted options (for instance, between professional members of the Army and conscripts). These measures would prevent ambiguity and, thereby, reduce protests.

  Detailed and complete results should be systematically announced and posted by all available means at each stage of the process of tabulation. Announcement of the preliminary results at the national level could be accompanied by posting on the Internet preliminary results for the *wilayas*/constituencies, for municipalities, and since a mechanism of electronic data capture and transmission exists, for polling stations.
- Result protocols could be preprinted with the name, acronym, and number of each party to facilitate the filling in of these documents and to limit the risk for data capture errors during the tabulation process.
- For elections held prior to the introduction of a new identification system, adequate measures should be taken to ensure 1) an audit of the current lists to identify the extent of inaccuracies; 2) effective access of election stakeholders to usable registration data; 3) correct information for voters regarding the polling center and polling station to which they belong.
- Authorities should take the opportunity of the introduction of a new model of electronic ID card, as proposed, to reconsider the system of voter registration. The process of issuing a new ID card offers the possibility to build up an improved data collection system, based on the use of unique personal identification numbers and an efficient mechanism of central verification. The possibility to opt for a passive voter registration system should be considered and publicly discussed. The move toward an electronic ID card and a proper voter information mechanism, through convocations, electronic consultation, and publicly displayed voter lists would further

make the use of voter cards obsolete.

- A single lottery could be conducted to decide the number of each party on the ballot, the number of the campaign billboard, and the order of ballots in the polling station (or the order of parties on the ballot).

Election Results

Party	Votes	Percentage of votes	Seats	Representation in ANC (%)
Green Algeria Alliance (AAV)	475, 049	6.2	47	10.17
National Republican Alliance (ANR)	109, 331	1.4	3	0.65
Future Front (FA)	174, 708	2.3	2	0.43
Front For Change (FC)	173, 981	2.4	4	0.87
Front for Justice and Development (FJD)	232, 676	3.1	7	1.52
Algerian National Front	198, 544	2.6	9	1.95
National Front for Social Justice (FNJS)	140, 223	1.8	3	0.65
Front of Socialist Forces	188, 275	2.5	21	4.55
Front for National Liberation (FLN)	1, 324, 363	17.4	221	47.84
Generation of 1954 (G54)	120,201	1.6	3	0.65
List of Independents (LI)	671,190	8.8	19	4.11
Movement of Free Citizens (MCL)	115,631	1.5	2	0.43
National Movement of Hope (MNE)	119,253	1.6	2	0.43
Algerian Popular Movement (MPA)	165,600	2.2	6	1.30
New Dawn (NA)	132,492	1.7	5	1.08
Algerian Party of Light (PAL)	48,943	1.3	2	0.43
Party of Dignity (PD)	129,427	1.5	2	0.43
Party of Youth (PJ)	129,427	3.7	2	0,43
National Party for Solidarity (PNS)	114,372	1.5	4	0.87
Workers' Party (PT)	283,585	3.7	17	3.68
Algerian Rally (RA)	117,549	1.5	2	0.43
National Rally for Democracy (RND)	524,057	6.9	70	15.15
Patriotic Republican Rally (RPR)	114,651	1.5	2	0.43
Union of Democratic and Social Forces (UFDS)	114,481	1.5	3	0.65
Others	1, 743, 734	22.8	4	0.88
Total	7,634,979		462	

Sources: http://www.premier-ministre.gov.dz/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=1973&Itemid=246

Elected Members: National Liberation Front (FLN)

1. ELHAMEL ALI
2. KALLOUM MOULATI
3. MEDAOUAR ABDELKRIM
4. LABDI MOUSSA
5. NAHETE YOUCEF
6. DAHMANI MOHAMMED
7. ABIB ZOHRA
8. KOULLA MALIKA
9. FECHKEUR BRAHIM
10. HOUASNIA FATIMA ZOHRA
11. TORCHE TEWFIK
12. HAMADOU LAZHAR
13. MANSOURI ABDELKRIM
14. MESSIBAH NADJET
15. BOUAICHE CHAFAA
16. DRISS ABDERAHMANE
17. ZEROUAL AHMED
18. KHELLAF BAYA NACIMA
19. MAALOUM HOUCINE
20. BELHATEM DJALEL
21. AMRANI SORAYA
22. LATRECHE NACIR
23. GRAOUI ABDENOUR
24. KHAOUA TAHAR
25. MELAKHESSOU ALI
26. DJILANI AMMAR
27. BEN LARBI NABILA
28. BENGUESMIA ISMAHANE
29. TARHLISSIA FATMA
30. REMILI MOHAMMED
31. OULD HOCINE MOHAMED CHERIF
32. MANI MOHAMED
33. BOUDAOUD NOURA
34. AMRANE NEE DJENANE ZOUBIDA
35. GUEMMAMA MAHMOUD
36. TOUHAMI OUMELKHIER
37. DJEMIAI MOHAMMED
38. LOUAFI SEBTI
39. ZARROUG KAMEL
40. MAKHLOUF LAID
41. HACHICHI AKILA
42. HARAOUBIA RACHID
43. KHERAIFI MOHAMED
44. BOUKHERIS YASMINA
45. LOUH TAYEB
46. BEKHECHI MOHAMMED
47. BENKACIMI MOHAMMED
48. HAMEDI HAFIDA
49. BOULEGANE BRAHIM
50. HANACHI NADIA
51. DJEGHOULA SAIDA
52. KHELIF NARIMANE
53. BENMEDDAH AHMED
54. RASMAL ABDELHADI
55. BOUROUIS FATIMA ZOHRA NACIRA
56. RAHIM HICHEM
57. KHETTABI ABDERRAHMAN
58. MERABET SALAH
59. METALLAOUI FAROUK
60. ARKOUB NABILA
61. TOU AMAR
62. BOUKHALKHAL MOHAMMED
63. LEBID MHAMED
64. AGGAB BOUALEM
65. ABDELAOUI ABDELKADER
66. KERLIFI KHEIRA
67. BENZENATI KHEIRA
68. MEBARKI BRAHIM
69. BRAHMIA MED CHERIF
70. BOURBAI HOCINE
71. AMARA SOUAD
72. MANAA DJAMEL ABDEL NASSER
73. BENCHEIKH ALI
74. NEMAMCHA MOHAMED
75. AROUEL LAILA MESSAOUD
76. LAMA AHMED
77. SEBIANE FODIL
78. DJEBLI CHAHRAZED
79. KADOUS NACERA
80. SEMMOUD MOURAD
81. OUKEBDANE KHALIL
82. BOUKHORS MOHAMED
83. BOUTALEB AZEDDINE
84. BOUGUETOUTA MOKHTAR
85. LAKHDARI SAID
86. MEFTALI YAMINA
87. LEFKI MOHAMED
88. ARIB AMAR
89. BENAYECHE MOUSSA
90. BOUHAMA FAIZA
91. BOUALGA KADA
92. BOUAZA DJILALI
93. GUECHAOUI SAAD
94. HADJ KADDOUR MESSAOUDA
95. KALAKHI CHEIKH
96. OULD KHELIFA MOHAMED LARBI
97. BOUREZAK SALAH EDDINE
98. BOUABDALLAH ABDELWAHID
99. BEKADA ISMAH
100. BRAHIM BOUNAB SAIDA
101. MADI DJAMEL
102. D'BICHI ABDELHADI
103. SAADI LIES
104. BENTURKI OUMESSAAD
105. KERKOUCHE SAMIRA
106. EL HEDDI SMAIN
107. GACEM TAHAR
108. BENSAAD ILHAM
109. KEHILECHE MOSTEFA
110. SBA BOULERBAH
111. AMARI MOHAMED
112. BENHADOU FATIMA ZOHR
113. OUNIS MESSAOUD
114. AKOUBACHE MOHAMED
115. BOUCHAREB MAAD
116. MAIZA HOCINE
117. BOURIAH KHALED
118. BOUSBAA ABDERRAHMANE
119. BEHLOUL HABIBA
120. KIHAL NOURREDINE
121. HABBACHI AHMED
122. KHARCHI AHMAD
123. MESSIKH ASSIA
124. BEDDA MAHDJOUB
125. BENHADDAD MOHAMED
126. AKABA NASREDDINE
127. BOUDRISI MOHAMED
128. BEN TLEMSANI DJAOUIDA
129. BENDAHMANE HAMIDI
130. CHIBANE CHERIF
131. AMMAR KHEMISTI
132. MAHIOUS FATM
133. DERKAOUI HADJ-ADDA
134. BOUATTOU KHEIRA
135. DILMI ABDELLATIF
136. ESSED NOURREDDINE
137. MECHETER SOUAD
138. BOUKERROUCHA ABDELKADER
139. BEHALIL ABDELKADER
140. SI FODIL MOHAMMED
141. BATOUCHE HAKIMA
142. HADJOUDJ ABDELKADER
143. SEGHIER FATIMA
144. TAIBI MOHAMMED
145. KHELIL MAHI
146. MATALLI ABDELKEBIR
147. MEKI EP DELAOUI ZOULIKHA
148. DEROUA EP BELLAHOUEL AMAL
149. SARIANE MUSTAPHA
150. HELEILI SALIM
151. CHADJAA EP DANI AICHA
152. BOUSMAHA BOUALEM
153. MADHOUI ALI
154. TOUAHRIA BRAHIM
155. IBBA JAMILA
156. BENHAMADI MOUSSA
157. DISSA M'HAMMED
158. FERCHICHE NAIMA
159. ZEBIRI ABDELAZIZ
160. SAIDANI AHMED
161. ACHACHA MERIEM
162. DJADI MENOUAR
163. MAHSAS YAHIA
164. OTMANI SALIMA
165. NACER RABAH
166. MEROUDJI NAIMA
167. MOUSSAOUDJA MOHAMED
168. BABOUZID SIDMOU
169. RACHID ELHOURIA
170. SAHNOUNE MOHAMED
171. YECHKOUR KHEDIDJA
172. SADANI AHMED
173. SALEMI NOURA
174. AGUENINI MESSAOUD
175. EDALIA GHANIA

176. RABHI AKILA
177. BOUDJELAL OMAR
178. ABDELLI ZOUBIR
179. FELLAGUE AROUIET ELHADI
180. NOURI MOHAMED
181. KOUREK FATMA
182. HAMOUDI NACERA
183. BOUABDELLAH MOHAMED
184. OTSMANE RACHID
185. FERDI MILOUD
186. BENMAKRELOUF MOHAMED KAMEL
187. BOUDJEMAI FAIZA
188. BOULMAIZ KAMEL
189. BELATTAR MOHAMED
190. BOUGHERARA AMEL
191. DAHMANE EL-HADJ
192. TOUAHRIA EL-MELIANI ABDELBAKI
193. MELOUKA MOHAMMED
194. NEFIDSA MOHAMMED
195. BOUNADJA KHEIRA
196. SADAOUI SLIMANE
197. HADDI MOHAMMED
198. AOUISSAT FATIHA
199. BENMAHDI NOR EDDINE
200. TACHI FATIMA
201. BOUKHARI AHMED
202. BELABBAS BELKACEM
203. AZZI HADJ MOHAMMED
204. LAHMAR AOUED
205. ZEBBAR BERRABAH
206. CHERIF YAMINA
207. MEKKI SAADIA
208. BOURAS DJAMEL
209. HADDOUCHE ABDELKADER
210. DJOUHRI BACHIR CHAKIB
211. BELMEDDAH NOR EDDINE
212. BABOUCHE DALILA
213. BOURAHLA LYAZID
214. BOUCENNA ABDELHAMID
215. BOUDJEMLINE MOSTAFA
216. BALIOUZ SALIMA
217. BADI TAYEB
218. FODIL MALIKA
219. DJELLOUT AHMED
220. SIDI MOUSSA MOHAMED
221. MOHAMED BOUAZZA

Elected Members: National Rally for Democracy (RND)

1. BEKRAOUI ABDELKADER
2. CHENNOUF MOHAMED
3. HAMAMA DJEMAIA
4. SAFI LARABI
5. BARKAT BELKACEM
6. MESSIBAH NADJET
7. ALILAT OMAR
8. OUAGUENI ZINA
9. MENANI ADLENE
10. KADDOUR MOHAMED TAHAR
11. TALHA HOUDA
12. BESSALAH AHMED
13. NOURI LAKHDAR
14. MOUSLI FATIHA
15. BABA ALI MOHAMMED
16. MENAI AHMED
17. BOUDIBA LOUIZA
18. SENOUCI AMINE
19. BELKHODJA NAWAL LEILA
20. BENSAHNOUNE FOUZIA
21. RAHMANI CHERIF
22. CHOUIHA ZINEB
23. DERKOUCHE BELKHIR
24. SELT MOHAMMED TAIEB
25. ABIDAT AMAR
26. BOUILFAN OMAR
27. DEKHILI SALEH EDDINE
28. BOUSSAHA SAMIRA
29. BENMERABET FOUAD
30. SISSAOUI HOSINE
31. BELATOUI ZEHAIRA
32. AMIR MOHAMED
33. BOUNEFLA HACENE
34. BOUFELFEL NACIR
35. CHENINI ABDELKRIM
36. LOUDJERTNI NADIA
37. KACEM ELAID
38. ZEAR OCACHA
39. MESKINI FATIHA
40. BIBI MOHAMED LAID
41. BEN AZZI FARIDA
42. CHORFI MILOUD
43. CHAFI ZOUBIDA
44. KHEMGANI ABDELAZIZ
45. BENATIA KADA
46. AYAD EP.ELMASSAKRI RATIBA
47. BOUKERCHE LAHOUARI
48. GOUNEIBER DJILLALI
49. DJANATI ABDELKRIM
50. MEKHAREF SALIHA
51. SLIMANI ABDELKRIM
52. BENSALEM BELKACEM
53. ABEIRI SID AHMED
54. GUIDJI MOHAMED
55. BOUREZAB FATMA ZOHRA
56. BENAMIROUCHE BELKACEM
57. TORCHI BOUDJEMAA
58. BOUROUAG ABDELHAMID
59. LABIOD NOURA
60. ZAHZOUH LAKHDAR
61. HASCAR ALI
62. KARA OMAR BAKIR
63. SALIM AMIRA
64. SENOUCI AMINE
65. BELKHODJA NAWAL LEILA
66. MOKEDDEM TAYEB
67. BELGACEM CHABANE
68. CHIHEB SEDDIK
69. BOUCHOUAREB ABDESSELAM
70. OURIDA LARFI

Elected Members: Green Algerian Alliance (AAV)

1. BELKAID ABDELAZIZ
2. DILMI BOURAS ABDELKADER
3. ABDELSADEK SALIMA
4. GUEDDOUDA BOUBAKEUR
5. ALLALI LARBI
6. DAHIMI SALEM
7. ATMANIA MOHAMMED EL HADDI
8. GHOUL AMAR
9. ABDELOUAHAB ABDELHALIM
10. HABCHI TAHAR
11. MAHMOUDI RABAH
12. MADJER NAIMA
13. BOUDEBOUZE GHANI
14. MEZAZA SAMIRA
15. MIDA KAMEL
16. KALOUNE RACHID
17. CHERIFI AHMED
18. BOUDJEMLINE FATIMA
19. BELKACEMI KARIMA
20. BENTOURI SHERAZAD
21. HAMDADOUCHE NASSER
22. BOUNAR FATMA ZOHRA
23. LAOUAR NAMMANE
24. MOUNI RACHID
25. HACHEMI FAYCAL
26. NOURI ZAHIA
27. BENABID YASMINA
28. RABAI FATAH
29. BENAYAD DJAMILA
30. BENOUMHANI ABDENNACER
31. GHOUINI FILALI

32. GHERSALLAH NOURRA
33. RAHOU MISSOUM
34. KHIRALLAH LOTFI
35. MEJDOUBI BENABDALLAH
36. BEN FERHAT ABDERRAHMANE
37. SAIDI MOHAMMED LAKHDAR
38. AMOURI NEE HAMEITI FATMA ZOHRA
39. MOUSSAOUI DACI
40. SGHAIER NEE KHALDI HAFSA
41. BENINE YAHIA
42. LATIFI AHMED SALAH
43. BOUCHECHE EL-HANI
44. SAAD MOHAMMED
45. ALI BELHADJ ABDULRAFIA
46. BELARBI ABDELKADER
47. BOUCHIBA ZOHRA

Elected Members: Front des forces socialistes (FFS)

1. DERGUINI AREZKI
2. BOUAICHE CHAFAA
3. ICHALLAMENE SAIDA
4. CHABATI RACHID
5. TAZARART KHALED
6. BOUKELAL YAHIA
7. DJENANE BAYA
8. HALET RACHID
9. TABBOU KARIM
10. BERKAINE NOURDINE
11. ADJLOUT NABILA
12. DIDOUCHE HAMOU
13. SADEG ABDERRAHIM
14. ZAMOUM THAMILA
15. BOUCHACHI MOSTEFA
16. BALOUL KARIM
17. MAHIOUT NORA
18. TAIATI HAYAT
19. LASKRI ALI
20. IHDADENE NADIA
21. AMAROUCHE BELKACEM

Elected Members: List of Independents (LI)

1. ELKHARRAZ MOHAMMED
2. SACI MAHMOUD
3. AISSAOUI ABDELHAMID
4. BECHATA MESSAOUIDA
5. CHENNOUFI SALIM
6. KADDOURI LAZHAR
7. BELLA SOUMIA
8. RAMI MERZEK
9. BEZARI MOHAMED
10. IGUERDIZENE MERIEM
11. HAMMAOUI AZEDDUBE DIT KADA
12. ELROUSSAN HAIZA
13. ABABSA NASSER
14. NEGGADA SALIM
15. KENANA ASSIA
16. DADDI HAMMOU BELHADJ
17. DAOUD TAYEB
18. BOUZAD HACENE
19. HARIZ NACER

Elected Members: Worker's Party (PT)

1. BOUDARENE NADIA
2. HANOUNE LOUIZA
3. DJOUDI DJELLOUL
4. TAZIBT RAMDANE
5. BOUBAGHLA NADIA
6. LABATCHA SALIM
7. ZAIER SAID
8. BOULACHEB NORA
9. BENDJEDDOU NADIA
10. BOUFENARA MOHAMMED
11. BENDJEDOU NASSIMA
12. TEHAMI MOHAMED
13. SNANI MOURAD
14. BENBESSA RAHIMA
15. BEKKAI MOHAMED
16. CHABANE SORAYA
17. GHENOU GHALEM

Elected Members: Algerian National Front

1. KANCHALI AYACHE
2. KHELFI NOUARA
3. OSMANI LAMINE
4. MESSAILI YAMINA
5. BENAISSA AHMED
6. MEDIANI MOHAMED
7. KHEBIZI NADIRA
8. OUALAD KOUIDER MUSTAFA
9. BOUDIAB NOUREDDINE

Elected Members: Front for Justice and Development (FJD)

1. GUIOUS ABDENNACER
2. BOUROUROU MESSAOUD
3. HAMANI MOHAMED SEGHIR
4. BEKHALLEF LAKDAR
5. DERRAHI MERIEM
6. ASKRI AHCENE
7. ARIBI AHCENE

Elected Members: Algerian Popular Movement (MPA)

1. SI HAMDI KHATIR
2. BENDOUKHA BENAMAR
3. BOUHDJAR KARIMA
4. DJEBANE MUSTAPHA
5. ABDELSADOK SID AHMED
6. ABDELSADOK DJAMAIA

Elected Members: New Dawn (NA)

1. DIDAOUI BENABDALLAH
2. ELKACIM ELHASSANI MOHAMED EL MADHI
3. BENKHALED AOUATIF
4. MESSAOUDI MOHAMED
5. BOUKHOBZA EL BEY

Elected Members: Front For Change (FC)

1. AMRANE LOMBAREK
2. MOKRANE SMAHANE
3. RAHMANI OTMANE
4. ABDELAZIZ MANSOUR

Elected Members: National Party for Solidarity (PNS)

1. ABAZI MOHAMED KAMEL
2. HAMIA MOSTAPHA
3. KRELIFA AHMED
4. AHMED KOUAOUI OUADJIRA

Elected Members: National Front for Social Justice (FNJS)

1. BOUBEKEUR MOHAMED
2. BELLAMINE MOHAMED
3. ANNANE BEN HALLEL

Elected Members: Generation of 1954 (G54)

1. BOUCETA NOUREDDINE
2. ADAMMI MOHAMMED
3. MEGHOUACHE ABDERRAZAK

Elected Members: Union of Democratic and Social Forces (UFDS)

1. BRIGHEN ADHMED CHERIF
2. NEMER RAHIMA
3. MENTALCHETA CHAFIA

Elected Members: National Republican Alliance (ANR)

1. SAHLI BELKACEM
2. BALIB MOHAMED TAHAR
3. ARIBI NASSIMA

Elected Members: Future Front (FA)

1. CHAABNA SAMIR
2. GUERROUT MOHAMMED

Elected Members: Party of Dignity (PD)

1. DAOUI MOHAMED
2. BOUSSAHA ABLA

Elected Members: National Movement of Hope (MNE)

1. BOUSSELBA SALAH
2. KORICHI MOHAMMED ELHABIB

Elected Members: Algerian Rally (RA)

1. TAHAR MISSOUM
2. FARGANI SOUMAIA

Elected Members: Movement of Free Citizens (MCL)

1. ZAGAD HABIB
2. BAROUR CHAHRAZED

Elected Members: Patriotic Republican Rally (RPR)

1. HAMOUNI MOHAMMED
2. BENMOKHTAR FATIHA

Elected Members: Party of Youth (PJ)

1. BENGUERNOUS KARIM
2. ZAIDI OUAHIBI

Elected Members: Algerian Party of Light (PAL)

1. BEN TAHAR MOHAMED SEGHIR
2. BOUZIDI LOUBNA

Elected Members: El Infitah Movement

1. SLIMANI ABDELKADER

Elected Members: Party of Algerian Renewal

1. MIMOUNI MOHAMMED SALEM

Elected Members: National Independent Front for Harmony

1. SIA OMAR

Elected Members: National Democratic Front

1. TLIBA BAHA EDDINE

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