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**PREPARATION OF THE PERMANENT VOTER REGISTER (PVR)**

**ZANZIBAR UPDATE**

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## **1. Voter Registration Process in Unguja South**

The voter registration process in Unguja South began on 27<sup>th</sup> February, 2005 and ended on 19<sup>th</sup> March 2005. Unlike in other regions, here the process took place in a relatively peaceful environment with no violent incidents. The region happens to be a stronghold of the ruling party, CCM. Indeed, all its Members of Parliament (MPs) and Representatives of the House are CCM members.

In preparation for the commencement of the voter registration process in Unguja South, the Zanzibar Electoral Commission (ZEC) conducted a series of training sessions for relevant stakeholders. A two-day seminar was conducted on 8<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> February, 2005 for Unguja South Regional leaders, including the Regional Commissioner, Regional Administrative Secretary, Regional Security Officer, District Commissioners, District Administrative Secretaries and District Security Officers. On 10<sup>th</sup> February 2005, a one-day seminar was held for security organs. These included the Police Force, TPDF, KMKM, Prisons, JKU and others. Another two-day seminar was conducted on 11<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> February, 2005 for leaders of political parties, local government and CSOs and CBOs in the region. Invited were all councillors in the district, members of the House of Representatives, district level leaders of all political parties, leaders of CSOs and CBOs and religious leaders of different dominations. Also, a six-day training session was held in each district between 20<sup>th</sup> and 25<sup>th</sup> February, 2005, for Registration officers and their assistants. The last seminar was conducted on 25<sup>th</sup> and 26<sup>th</sup> February, 2005 for Political Party agents and Shehas.

While the process was relatively calm, it was not free of controversies, irregularities, and allegations of violations of established laws and rules that guide voter registration in Zanzibar. This was reflected in several incidents. First, incompetence among some of the ZEC Assistant Registration Officers was widely recorded. Some of the camera operators failed to perform their task effectively especially during the first week of registration. For instance, at Mwera School, Muyuni, Charawe, Kajengwa, Dunga Kiembeni and Uzi Ng'ambwa centres, voters had to be repeatedly photographed before an acceptable

picture could be produced. In other centres, a significant number of OMR forms were declared null and void by the Constituency Registration Officers due to improper finger printing. At Jambiani and Muungoni centres, about 30 and 20 voters respectively were instructed to put thumbprints instead of written signatures on the OMR forms. These people were called back to the centre for re-registration.

Secondly, in many centres, the sequential procedures for registration were not followed. Applicants' photos were taken before establishing their eligibility and details recorded in Form IA. This was frequently observed in Muyuni B and C, Kizimkazi Dimbani, and Ubago centre. Also, violation of rules and procedures were observed at Pongwe centre in Chwaka where, due to a small number of ZEC technical staff at the centre, the Sheha and CCM agent assumed the duties of Assistant Registration Officers. The Sheha became the cameraman and the CCM agent took over the assignment of filling in the OMR forms (TEMCO Regional Observer Report, p. 36).

Thirdly, lack of Form 2D continued to be a problem in Unguja South especially during the first week of registration in such centres as Pete, Bwejuu, Uroa, Marumbi, Pongwe, Jendele, Tunduni, Uzini A&B, to name only a few.

Fourthly, as in other regions, partisanship allegations were rampant in several centres in Unguja South. Many Shehas were often accused of favouring applicants supporting CCM and objecting to those "suspected" of being CUF supporters. At Uroa registration centre, one woman entered the centre on 18<sup>th</sup> March, 2005, and shouted in the presence of the party agents, the Sheha and the Assistant Registration Officer: "I am a CUF member. Am I eligible to register?" Everyone in the room was silent for a few seconds before the Sheha escorted the woman outside. She never returned. The TEMCO Observer could not establish the content of the exchange between the two (TEMCO District Observer Report, p. 11)

## **2. Voter Turnout in Unguja South**

Unguja South Region comprises two districts, the Central and the South districts, with an estimated population of 94,244. The region is divided into five electoral constituencies - Chwaka, Koani, Uzini, Muyuni, and Makunduchi. There were 59 registration centres in the region, 18 in the South District and 41 in the Central District. As things now stand, Unguja South is leading in surpassing ZEC estimates of eligible voters in the region. According to ZEC statistics, a total of 64,114 voters were registered, equivalent to 119.4% (see Table 1). This is a very impressive turnout, compared to 106.6%, 85.2% and 83.8% in Unguja North, Pemba North, and Pemba South respectively.

More than 50% of the estimated voters were registered in the first week of registration. Despite this impressive turnout, in certain centres voter turnout figures are exceptionally high and therefore need closer scrutiny. First of all, it is important to point out that among all the 59 centres in the region, 43 centres registered more than 100% of ZEC's original estimates of eligible voters (see Table 1). This is more than three-quarters of all the registration centres in the region. Ubago School centre in Central District set the record by registering 1,402 voters, equivalent to 317.91% of estimated voters. The ZEC estimate for the Ubago centre was 441 potential voters. In some centres, the number of registered voters far exceeded the total population residing in the area. For instance, according to the 2002 Census, Kitogani School centre in South District has a total population of 849 residents but it has registered about 1,073 voters, equivalent to 197.61% of the estimated eligible voters, estimated by ZEC as 543. At Pongwe School, where the population size stands at 513, ZEC's estimate of eligible voters was 318. However, the registered voters are 912, equivalent to 286.79% of the estimated eligible voters. At Pagali School, the population size stands at 609 but they registered a total of 890 voters, equivalent to 245.18% of ZEC estimated voters. ZEC had estimated to register 363 eligible voters in Pagali centre. This pattern seems to suggest that the census population figures are incorrect, or that the ZEC estimates are incorrect, or that there has been some irregularity.

Indeed, there must be some explanation of the observed discrepancies, although TEMCO has not yet established their cause.

However, centres near military camps and secondary schools registered higher than 100% of estimated potential voters, pointing to a seeming correlation between higher turnouts and the registration of military personnel and students in a particular area. Tables 2 and 3 show the trend.

**Table 2: Voter Turnout in Registration Centres Near Military Camps in Central District**

| <b>Registration centre</b> | <b>Military Camp</b>    | <b>Estimated Voters</b> | <b>Registered voters</b> | <b>% Registered voters</b> |
|----------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| Ubago School               | Ubago TPDF              | 441                     | 1402                     | 317.91                     |
| Machui School              | Machui JKU & FFU        | 696                     | 1060                     | 152.30                     |
| Posta Kaepwani             | Unguja Ukuu Navy (KMKM) | 1268                    | 2076                     | 163.72                     |
| Tunguu School              | Tunguu Fire Brigades    | 520                     | 556                      | 106.92                     |
| Marumbi School             | Marumbi KMKM            | 561                     | 876                      | 156.15                     |
| Dungabweni School          | Dunga JKU & FPDF        | 1520                    | 2106                     | 138.55                     |
| Jendele School             | Jendele JKU             | 907                     | 1366                     | 152.81                     |
| Cheju School               | Cheju Prison            | 971                     | 1163                     | 119.77                     |
| Bambi Sec. School          | Bambi JKU               | 1336                    | 2125                     | 159.06                     |

As in other regions of Zanzibar, registration of military personnel became a source of controversy in Unguja South as well. There were allegations that military personnel not residing in the region were brought to be registered in the centres shown in Table 2. For instance, on 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> March 2005, about 130 and 126 KMKM soldiers respectively were brought to Unguja Ukuu for registration. Asked by the TEMCO Observer about their residence status, one of the KMKM soldiers said that it is true that they reside in Unguja town but they work at Unguja Ukuu camp (TEMCO Regional Observer Report, p. 22). Describing the influx of KMKM soldiers to Unguja Ukuu Kaepwani, TEMCO Registration Centre Observer writes,

*“ The centre has been busy throughout the 21 days due to the large number of KMKM soldiers who come to be registered. Some of them reside in the camp nearby and others are brought in by big trucks from somewhere else. On the 19<sup>th</sup> March 2005, I saw a lorry numbered KMKM 135 ferrying soldiers in their uniforms to the camp nearby. Thereafter, the soldiers changed to civilian t-shirts but still wearing their military trousers and boots. They were more men than women. Immediately after being registered, they boarded the lorry heading back to where they came from (TEMCO Registration Centre Observer, Central District, p.4)*

Another incident was reported in Marumbi on 15<sup>th</sup> March, 2005 where more than 80 KMKM soldiers were registered. It was alleged by the CUF agent at the centre that these soldiers were brought from the Urban District in Urban-West Region. Also the CUF agent in Ubago centre alleged that about 75% of the registered voters were not residents of the area but JWTZ personnel brought from somewhere else. In addition, in a letter addressed to ZEC dated 11<sup>th</sup> March, 2005 with reference number CU/HQ/ZEC/037/17, CUF claimed that a group of Fire Brigade employees were brought from the Fire Brigade Camp of Unguja town to Kitogani centre on 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> March, 2005.

**Table 3: Voter Turnout at Registration Centres Located in Secondary Schools in Central District**

| Registration centre     | Secondary Schools   | Estimated Voters | Registered voters | % registered voters |
|-------------------------|---------------------|------------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| Bambi School            | Bambi sec. school   | 1336             | 2125              | 159.76              |
| Kiboje School           | Kiboje sec. school  | 693              | 923               | 133.19              |
| Mpapa School            | Mpapa sec. school   | 790              | 1359              | 172.03              |
| Uzini A (Mitakawani)    | Uzini sec. school   | 561              | 914               | 162.92              |
| Uzini B                 | Uzini B sec. school | 403              | 622               | 154.34              |
| Unguja Ukuu             | Unguja U/sec.school | 661              | 672               | 109.98              |
| Charawe School Michamvi | Charawe sec. school | 376              | 502               | 133.51              |

The registration of the under-aged was also a prevalent problem in many centres especially those located near or at secondary schools. TEMCO Observers witnessed the registration of young-looking students who were not required to provide any evidence of their age in several centres, including Michamvi, Pongwe, Uroa, Uzini School, Kiboje Mkwajuni, Chakarawe and Machui to mention only a few. CUF agents complained to TEMCO Observers about this problem. Their attempts to lodge objections were often ignored by the Shehas and Assistant Registration Officers. For instance, on 11<sup>th</sup> March 2005, at Kiboje Mkwajuni School, the TEMCO Observer witnessed three applicants (names withheld) who were registered without providing birth certificates or any other proof of their age. According to the TEMCO observer, the three applicants appeared to be below 18 (TEMCO District Observer Report, p. 15). The Observer asked the Assistant Registration Officer in charge of the centre as to why he was registering the youth without asking for any evidence as demanded by party agents. He arrogantly replied,

*“I believe what they tell me. Why should they lie about their age? I believe they cannot. I just register them. (ZEC Assistant Registration Officer, Kiboje Mkwajuni, March 12<sup>th</sup>, 2005)*

When one of the party agents expressed doubt on whether a certain applicant had reached the age of 18 and requested that him to provide some legal evidence, the Sheha replied,

*“You have no right to doubt the age of this voter. After all, you did not give birth to this person” (TEMCO Regional Observer Report, p. 33)*

All these allegations and controversies raise a great deal of concern over the voter turnout figures in Unguja South Region.

### **3. Voter Education in Style in Unguja South**

Unlike in other regions where voter education was provided largely through posters, the radio and television, in Unguja South Region, ZEC employed a different style of disseminating information on voter registration. They used plays performed by a group called Theatre for Social Development (THESODE). THESODE was established in 1998 by student teachers at Nkrumah Teachers College. In the year 2003, when celebrating ‘Free Education’ week, the group staged a show titled “Our elections”. ZEC was

impressed by this and decided to sponsor THESODE in preparing a play addressing issues related to the Permanent Voter Register (PVR). A play was thus created by THESODE with some valuable input from ZEC.

Unlike voter education programmes on the radio, TV and billboards, the play was designed to be interactive, involving the audience in a more active and direct way. It aimed at reaching village communities, which have poor access to other voter education programmes. The play was skilfully designed to arouse people's interest to know more about the theme of the show. After the show therefore, the audience was allowed to ask questions on any of the issues raised in the play, including those on the PVR and its laws, rules and regulations. These questions were answered by a top ZEC official who always accompanied the theatre troupe.

In several villages, the show was staged on public football grounds and in schools. It ran from 16<sup>th</sup> February 2005 to 13<sup>th</sup> March, 2005. In Central District, THESODE performed at Mwera Ukorongoni, Bambi, Unguja Ukuu and Uroa. In South District, the group performed at Muyuni, Bwejuu, Makunduchi and Kizimkazi. In all these places, the shows were heavily attended. In addition, Zanzibar Television (TVZ) recorded the shows in four villages so that they can be used in future. Indeed, the presence of TVZ at the village level attracted a great deal of attention, thereby contributing to the high level of attendance. Although it is difficult for TEMCO to establish the impact of the play in raising voter awareness on the laws, rules and regulations guiding voter registration in Zanzibar, it is certain that the ZEC approach of using live drama performances is an effective way of reaching voters at the village level.

#### **4. When the Shehas Take Over: The PVR in Unguja Urban-West**

The registration of voters in the Urban-West Region in Zanzibar started on 2<sup>nd</sup> April 2005 only to be temporarily suspended by ZEC on 4<sup>th</sup> April 2005 at about 18.00 hrs. According to ZEC, this action was taken in an effort to rectify some irregularities that had accompanied the exercise which if allowed to continue unchecked, would have resulted

in violence. ZEC's statement did not mention the kinds of irregularities nor did it blame any party or official.

Although ZEC's statement was silent on the irregularities, TEMCO observers have noted the following:

*a. Shehas seriously undermining the powers of the Assistant Registration Officers (AROs)*  
Procedures require the applicant to go straight to the ARO number 1 who is the officer in charge of the centre. The in-charge is assisted by the Sheha and party agents in the verification of the qualifications of the person to be registered. In case of any controversy, the decisions by the officer in-charge are final and conclusive, notwithstanding the Sheha's and party agents' opinions. That is to say, in circumstances where the ARO in charge of the centre is convinced that the applicant qualifies, he/she should register him/her. If the Shehas and party agents are not satisfied or do not concur with the decision of the ARO, they are required to note down the name of the would-be voter so that they can object to him/her when the provisional PVR is displayed for public scrutiny.

In the first three days of registration, this procedure was not followed. In many centres, the Sheha assumed the powers of the ARO. The would-be voters were ordered to first go to the Shehas who interrogated them on their qualifications, especially the residence requirement. Indeed, many of the applicants were refused registration even before they reached the centre's ARO. This usurping of the powers of the AROs by Shehas was fiercely objected to by party agents especially from the opposition, but in vain.

The use of the so-called Sheha's Residence Register created a great deal of problems. The names of many people, especially those suspected of being followers of the opposition, were alleged to be missing from the Register. They were thus refused registration. As a result, the registration centres became places of altercation and chaos. While many people went to the registration centres very early in the morning, and spent

many hours in queues, in certain instances, it took the Sheha only a minute to object and order an applicant out of the room.

The process was not running smoothly because of the acts of disqualifying people on dubious grounds. The AROs in-charge of the centres became “toothless” and completely abdicated their powers to Shehas. Whomever the Shehas rejected could not be registered. Some of the party agents and those who were rejected became very furious while the Shehas and CCM agents on the other side held onto their guns.

The situation was extremely tense in most of the registration centres, particularly the following: Skuli ya Msingi kwa Wazee, Skuli ya Msingi Nyerere, Skuli ya Msingi ya Vikokotoni A & B , Skuli ya Mwembeladu , Skuli ya Mwembeshauri, Kidogo Chekundu “B,” Skuli ya Maandalizi ya Jang’ombe, Skuli ya Muungano A , Skuli ya Sebleni “B”, Skuli ya Kwamtipura, Skuli ya Kilimahewa A & B, and Skuli ya Migombani in the Urban district. In the West district, they included Chuo cha Biashara Mombasa, Kiwanda cha Viatu Mtoni, Skuli ya Sekondari Bububu, Skuli ya Kinunu, Skuli ya Mwanakwerekwe B, Skuli ya Kianga, Chuo cha Kiislamu, Chuo cha Nkrumah B and Walezo.

A few examples below capture the situation. On 3<sup>rd</sup> April 2005, at Chuo cha Biashara Centre, within 40 minutes 18 people were refused registration. At Rahaleo on the same day, within 45 minutes 13 people, 7 of them being men, were refused registration. Again on 3<sup>rd</sup> April at Nkrumah B, within 20 minutes 6 people were rejected. At Bububu Skuli ya Sekondari on 4<sup>th</sup> April 2005, about 30 people stood away from the queue as a sign of boycott because almost everyone was being objected to. At Mwembeladu A and B, 4 and 2 people respectively were objected to in 15 minutes.

However, it should be noted that even in circumstances where the procedures are properly followed, if the Shehas are not satisfied with the applicant’s eligibility, that person is not registered. More seriously, the Sheha’s Residents Register is treated as a classified top secret document, hence the lack of transparency. It is only the Sheha who

has access to it and guards it with his/her dear life. It is the Sheha who checks applicants' names. Even people who are in the Register are sometimes told that they are not in it. For instance, on 7<sup>th</sup> April 2005 at Chuo cha Kiislam, TEMCO observers witnessed a man of about 26 being objected to although his name was in the Register. When he insisted that he saw his name in the Register, the Sheha agreed, but she said he lacked other qualifications related to the residence requirement. In contrast, on the same day TEMCO observers witnessed a woman who was *not* in the register being registered at Chuo cha Biashara on the Sheha's say-so. So even the criterion used by the Shehas is not consistently applied.

What surprised TEMCO observers was the fact that all the Shehas' Registers appeared really new, as if they were prepared only recently. Indeed, some of the Shehas are too old to read or even hear applicants' names. At Kiembe Samaki centre for instance, the applicants had to repeat their names and house numbers several times as the Sheha could not hear them properly. Hence, the Sheha's ability to search for applicants' names in such a big book within such a short time is seriously questionable.

The people objected to have in some instances brought documentary evidence to prove their residence, but to no avail. These documents included marriage certificates, voter registration cards of past years, birth certificates, rights of occupancy, etc. In some instances, applicants were required to show receipts for paying electricity bills when they are not owners of the houses they rented. In some cases members of the same family (father, mother and children) who have never travelled outside the region are treated differently. The father is registered while the rest are not and vice versa. It is within this context that Mr. Seif Sharrif Hamad, a CUF Presidential candidate, was refused registration despite his efforts to present evidence before the Assistant Registration Officer at Mtoni Kidatu centre. Thus, if the Sheha's Register is a necessary document for verification, then people should be involved in its preparation. That means, it should not be prepared secretly and it should be treated as an open public document.

*b. Excessive use of the state apparatus*

The instruments of law and order include the Police (General Duties), Field Force Unit (FFU) popularly known as 'Fukafuka', Central Intelligence Department (CID) and SMZ special Forces of KVZ, JKU, Fire Brigade and Rescue Unit and Chuo cha Mafunzo (Prisons). These are deployed in full attire. Road barriers are found here and there where people and vehicles are thoroughly searched. Some places, such as Darajani including Skuli ya Vikokotoni, are cordoned off. All business activities, including shops, are temporarily closed. Inside the registration centre, there are not less than two police officers. There are many more police officers fully armed around the centres. Several vehicles are on patrol throughout the region. Key offices, including the Municipal Council, ZEC itself and the CCM head office at Kisiwandui, are guarded by armed officers. Some officers are under cover in the Garden opposite Haile Sellasie Secondary School. Passers-by are harassed. In fact, in the first three days of registration, there was widespread fear. At Walezo and Kiwanja cha Watoto centres, the Police went to the extent of interrogating the would-be voters instead of the AROs.

Given the political situation in Zanzibar, there is no problem with the use of the Police in the exercise because their absence may lead to violence. The problem lies in their abundance and the way they behave in collaboration with SMZ forces. But even their numbers would not be a problem if they treated people humanely. For example, what is the justification of interrogating someone who is displaying a ZEC accreditation card, as to what they are doing at the registration centres? People in the West District were harassed, especially in Kinuni and Kianga. It is alleged that this was done by the Green Guards. Some houses were set ablaze, while at least eight others were abandoned by their owners who have fled, leaving behind the children. The Regional Police Commander (RPC) has been quoted as saying that this sabotage takes place in the early morning hours when the police patrols have left. But if that is the case, why should the RPC not arrange shifts in such a way that as one shift leaves, another takes over? It is puzzling whether this is not known or it is being purposely done.

*c. Reluctance and lack of cooperation by the Assistant Registration Officers.*

This lack of cooperation affected not only TEMCO observers but party agents as well. The AROs were reluctant to give information such as the daily registration statistics, the names and numbers of the first and last person registered, etc. In some places, TEMCO observers were being prevented from entering the centres. It seems they had additional instructions from an authority other than ZEC to behave the way they were doing. The whole process has been unprocedural and non-transparent. The rationale of having party agents at the registration centres is to safeguard their parties' interests by making sure that the rules of the game are adhered to. However, in view of what was going on, their presence was very insignificant

*d. Harassment and victimisation of potential voters.*

People who are refused are asked to adduce evidence. But even when they produce evidence they are still refused. Also form 2D is not issued to them for appeal. Some are told to come with their Deputy Shehas to prove their residence but the deputies are alleged to have gone into strategic hideouts. Some are told to go to the district or constituency offices but when they go there, they are refused entry by furious soldiers. Some are instructed to return perhaps after one or two days to see the constituency registration officer but when they come back the latter sides with the Shehas. After all this dramatic bouncing back and forth, some of the people who were refused registration decided to appeal to ZEC Headquarters. ZEC told them to go back to the district. There they are in turn told to go back to the registration centre where they were rejected. And so the game goes on.

While this was going on, about 300 people on 10<sup>th</sup> April 2005 organized themselves into a demonstration and marched to ZEC's headquarters in order to appeal to the Chairman. They were dispersed by the FFU and about 30 of them, mainly women, were arrested. On 12<sup>th</sup> April 2005 ZEC issued a statement calling upon AROs to issue Form 2D to every person who was refused registration. For some this came too late.

Some people have been beaten up by the Shehas. On 3<sup>rd</sup> April 2005, between 07.00 and 08.00hrs one Fatuma Hija was beaten up at Chuo cha Biashara. Also at the same centre

on 4<sup>th</sup> April 2005 one Asha Haji fainted for about 3 hours after being told by the same Sheha that she was not in the Register. Other kinds of harassment included harsh and humiliating language such as “Simama hapo” (Stop right there), “Geuka huku” (Turn this way), “Usirudi tena” (Do not come back here), etc. TEMCO observers witnessed at several centres people trembling on appearing before the Shehas. At Karume Stadium centre for instance, the Sheha calls the Register, “Buku la **Peponi**” (Register of **Heaven**) because everyone before him was trembling, willing their names to be in the Sheha’s register. When the Sheha says “no”, the gate to “heaven” is closed.

*e. Doubtful handling of registration materials.*

The failure to give registration statistics to party agents as required by law creates loopholes for tampering with them. For instance, at Skuli ya Maandalizi Magomeni, 107 people were registered, but the number given was Z0245001 – Z0245044 which means that only 44 were registered as a form 1A booklet has a total of 50 pages. What happened here is that the party agents were issued the numbers of one booklet while several booklets were used. Consequently in future, it is possible to be told that 207 were registered instead of 107.

*f. The establishment of an unofficial registration centre*

It is alleged that this centre was established by the order of the RPC, for the registration of policemen and women. The centre was created at Jang’ombe Skuli ya Maandalizi and its code number was 240401 which is the number of another centre of Urusi. At this centre an RSM (ranked army officer) acted as Sheha. The only party agents present were CCM, TLP, NLD, and DP who are alleged to be CCM’s allies. CUF got the information and complained to ZEC, who made a follow up. The centre was found operating from 2<sup>nd</sup> April 2005. On 3<sup>rd</sup> April 2005 it was closed down by ZEC and all the issued certificates were declared null and void.

Following all these incidents, ZEC realised that the process was not going well and the situation could not be left to proceed unchecked. They immediately organised a meeting with the Shehas at Bwawani Hotel for 4<sup>th</sup> April 2005. Very unfortunately, the meeting

was boycotted by all Shehas except one who perhaps did not know what was transpiring among his fellow Shehas. This was truly a sad episode for ZEC. One party leader, commenting on this situation a few hours before ZEC announced the temporary two-days suspension of registration, said:

*“The Shehas have not only encroached on the powers of the Assistant Registration Officers but have toppled ZEC itself”.*

ZEC suspended the exercise for 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> April 2005 in order to redress the situation.

On their part, the Shehas claimed that they refused to attend the meeting because it was a conspiracy/strategy to register unqualified people. (“Masheha wapiga chenga mkutano wa ZEC : wadai ulikuwa njama za kuandikisha wasiohusika” Zanzibar Leo 05/4/2005).

According to the law, the Shehas in the registration centres are agents of ZEC. So under normal circumstances or in an ideal situation, there was no way the Shehas could fail to heed ZEC’s orders. In fact, this was a command, not a request. However, it seems the Shehas were receiving orders and instructions from another authority. In their normal course of business, the Shehas fall under the Ministry of Regional Administration, Local Government and SMZ Special Forces. It is here where ZEC got itself entangled. And it is here where the autonomy and even the impartiality of ZEC becomes questionable. All in all, the action taken by ZEC to suspend the exercise temporarily was necessary and it was taken at the right time, otherwise the situation could have erupted into violence.

On 7<sup>th</sup> April 2005 the exercise resumed as was promised by ZEC. According to their statement, ZEC met with all relevant stakeholders where further clarification of the electoral law was made and both the Shehas and the AROs committed themselves to respecting the laid down procedures.

TEMCO observers’ experience in the field shows that the state of fear and excessive presence of the state instruments of law and order has at least abated. But it seems as if the powers of the Shehas over the AROs in charge of the centres have been confirmed. And this remained the major source of problems. In almost all the centres, the Shehas

were the final determiners of eligibility. People were refused registration even before they reached the registration tables. The Shehas' Registers and discretionary powers were conclusive determinants of eligibility. Hence, the problem still continued and those refused registration were not issued with Form 2D for appeal. This trend indicates great potential for violence.

**Table 1: Voter Registration Turnout in Unguja South Region by Districts**

| CENTRAL DISTRICT           |                               |                                   |                   |               |               |
|----------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------|---------------|---------------|
| CONSTITUENCY               | REGISTRATION CENTRE           | ESTIMATED FIGURE                  | REGISTERED VOTERS | PERCENTAGE    |               |
| <i>Chwaka</i>              | Skuli ya Charawe              | 376                               | 502               | 133.51        |               |
|                            | Skuli ya Cheju                | 971                               | 1,163             | 119.77        |               |
|                            | Skuli ya Chwaka               | 1,642                             | 1,491             | 90.80         |               |
|                            | Skuli ya M/Dungabweni         | 1,520                             | 2,106             | 138.55        |               |
|                            | Skuli ya Chekechea D/Kiembeni | 818                               | 833               | 101.83        |               |
|                            | Skuli ya Jendele              | 907                               | 1,386             | 152.81        |               |
|                            | Skuli ya Marumbi              | 561                               | 876               | 156.15        |               |
|                            | Skuli ya Michamvi             | 750                               | 602               | 80.27         |               |
|                            | Skuli ya Sekondari Ndjani     | 2,181                             | 1,921             | 88.08         |               |
|                            | Skuli ya Pongwe               | 318                               | 912               | 286.79        |               |
|                            | Skuli ya Ukongoroni           | 423                               | 531               | 125.53        |               |
|                            | Skuli ya Maandalizi Uroa      | 1,153                             | 1,600             | 138.77        |               |
|                            |                               |                                   | <b>11,620</b>     | <b>13,923</b> | <b>119.82</b> |
|                            | <i>Koani</i>                  | Jengo la Nyumba ya Kijiji Binguni | 352               | 690           | 196.02        |
| Jengo la Skuli ya Bungi    |                               | 1,120                             | 1,064             | 95.00         |               |
| Skuli ya Maandalizi Jumbi  |                               | 1,125                             | 1,328             | 118.04        |               |
| Skuli ya Chekechea Kidimni |                               | 1,775                             | 1,704             | 96.00         |               |
| Skuli ya Kikungwi          |                               | 740                               | 648               | 87.57         |               |
| Banda la Karafuu Koani     |                               | 1,233                             | 1,208             | 97.97         |               |
| Skuli ya Machui            |                               | 696                               | 1,060             | 152.30        |               |

|              |                                 |               |               |               |
|--------------|---------------------------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
|              | Skuli ya Msingi Tunguu          | 520           | 556           | 106.92        |
|              | Skuli ya Kibele                 | 779           | 604           | 77.54         |
|              | Skuli ya Ubago                  | 441           | 1,402         | 317.91        |
|              | Skuli ya Mwera                  | 661           | 533           | 80.64         |
|              | Skuli ya Msingi Pongwe ya Mwera | 661           | 548           | 82.90         |
|              | Skuli ya Unguja Ukuu            | 611           | 672           | 109.98        |
|              | Jengo la Posta Kaepwani         | 1,268         | 2,076         | 163.72        |
|              | Skuli ya Uzi "A"                | 1,134         | 1,052         | 92.77         |
|              | Skuli ya Uzi "B"                | 403           | 622           | 154.34        |
|              |                                 | <b>13,167</b> | <b>15,767</b> | <b>119.75</b> |
| <i>Uzini</i> | Skuli ya Sekondari Bambi        | 1,336         | 2,125         | 159.06        |
|              | Skuli ya Ghana                  | 850           | 1,011         | 118.94        |
|              | Skuli ya Sekondari Kiboje       | 693           | 923           | 133.19        |
|              | Kiboje Banda la Karafuu         | 728           | 875           | 120.19        |
|              | Skuli ya Msingi Mchangani       | 1,055         | 1,130         | 107.11        |
|              | Skuli ya Maandalizi M/Haji      | 542           | 656           | 121.03        |
|              | Skuli ya Uzini "A"              | 561           | 914           | 162.92        |
|              | Skuli ya Miwani                 | 1,171         | 1,892         | 161.57        |
|              | Skuli ya Sekondari Mpapa        | 790           | 1,359         | 172.03        |
|              | Skuli ya Msingi Pagali          | 363           | 890           | 245.18        |
|              | Skuli ya Maandalizi Tunduni     | 737           | 616           | 83.58         |
|              | Skuli ya Msingi Umbuji          | 766           | 952           | 124.28        |
|              | Skuli ya Uzini "B"              | 525           | 653           | 124.38        |
|              |                                 | <b>10,117</b> | <b>13,996</b> | <b>138.34</b> |

|              |               |               |               |
|--------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| <b>TOTAL</b> | <b>34,904</b> | <b>43,686</b> | <b>125.16</b> |
|--------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|

**SOUTH DISTRICT**

| CONSTITUENCY  | REGISTRATION CENTRE   | ESTIMATED FIGURE | REGISTERED VOTERS | PERCENTAGE |
|---------------|-----------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------|
| <i>Muyuni</i> | Skuli ya Bwejuu       | 2,392            | 1,738             | 72.66      |
|               | Skuli ya Jambiani "A" | 1,365            | 1,434             | 105.05     |
|               | Skuli ya Jambiani "B" | 1,278            | 1,267             | 99.14      |

|                   |                               |               |               |               |
|-------------------|-------------------------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
|                   | Skuli ya Kitogani             | 543           | 1,073         | 197.61        |
|                   | Skuli ya Kizimkazi Dimbani    | 816           | 966           | 118.38        |
|                   | Skuli ya Kizimkazi Mkunguni   | 1,109         | 1,237         | 111.54        |
|                   | Skuli ya Muungoni             | 733           | 872           | 118.96        |
|                   | Skuli ya Chekechea Muyuni "A" | 520           | 681           | 130.96        |
|                   | Skuli ya Muyuni Kituo "B"     | 474           | 572           | 120.68        |
|                   | Skuli ya Muyuni Kituo "C"     | 410           | 576           | 140.49        |
|                   | Skuli ya Paje                 | 1,191         | 1,079         | 90.60         |
|                   | Skuli ya Pete                 | 675           | 558           | 82.67         |
|                   |                               | <b>11,506</b> | <b>12,053</b> | <b>104.75</b> |
| <i>Makunduchi</i> | Skuli ya Kajengwa             | 1,241         | 1,389         | 111.93        |
|                   | Skuli ya Msingi Kibuteni      | 268           | 315           | 117.54        |
|                   | Skuli ya Kiongoni             | 2,103         | 2,384         | 113.36        |
|                   | Skuli ya Mtende               | 864           | 1,331         | 154.05        |
|                   | Skuli ya Kusini               | 1,756         | 1,843         | 104.95        |
|                   | Skuli ya Makunduchi           | 1,037         | 1,113         | 107.33        |
|                   | <b>7,269</b>                  | <b>8,375</b>  | <b>115.22</b> |               |
| <b>TOTAL</b>      |                               | <b>18,775</b> | <b>20,428</b> | <b>108.80</b> |

## 5. Major Lessons

### ZEC and the PVR

ZEC needs to assert its authority over the Shehas and Assistant Registration Officers who do not observe voter registration rules by either replacing them or taking legal measures as provided by law.

ZEC should give clarification about the 36-month residence requirement rule. Misinterpretation of the rule has led to conflict and misunderstanding in many registration centres.