

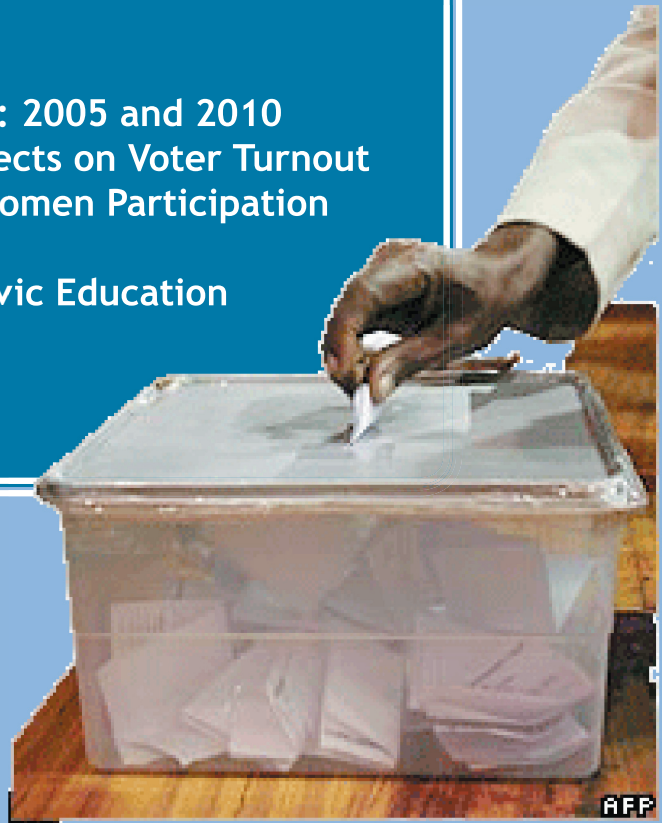
TEMCO NEWSLETTER

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Tanzania Election Monitoring Committee

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VOTER REGISTRATION AND UPDATING OF THE PERMANENT VOTER REGISTER IN ZANZIBAR

1. VOTER REGISTRATION AND THE UPDATING PROCESS

This Newsletter covers the first phase of the voter registration exercise in three regions not covered in the first newsletter. They include Unguja South, Unguja Urban West, and Pemba South. In these regions, voter registration took place between November 2009 and February 2010. During this period, TEMCO was able to increase its coverage of observation by placing its Observers in all the Shehias in the regions.

Overall, the registration of voters in all the regions was conducted smoothly throughout the period of observation. ZEC demonstrated its organizational capacity in terms of abiding to the registration schedule, provision of registration materials to and from the registration centres, provision of generators during the period when Zanzibar was on power blackout, and quick responsiveness in solving problems whenever they occurred. Cases of computer malfunctions were sometimes reported and promptly handled by the ZEC IT team

Registration materials at all registration centers were sufficiently supplied. For instance, at the registration centre of Kidongo Chekundu primary school in Unguja West district, the TEMCO Observer was impressed by how fast ZEC was able to respond when a computer kit failed to operate and thereby causing a long cue. When that incident was reported to ZEC headquarters, the Computer Kit was immediately replaced. Also, despite the fact that from December 10th 2009, Zanzibar experienced a power blackout, ZEC managed to supply generators to all the registration centres. The efficiency of ZEC in the distribution of registration materials was observed more in Unguja Urban West region than in other regions. This is partly due to the proximity of the registration centres to ZEC head office.

Moreover, the registration centers were opened and closed on prescribed times, that is, 8.00am and 4.00pm respectively. However, in all the regions, delays in either opening or closing were observed in a few centres on the first days of registration due to logistical arrangements.

Monitoring and supervision of the voter registration process involved various stakeholders including local and International Observation teams. They in

cluded the Tanzania Election Monitoring Committee



TEMCO's Administrator Mr. John Jingu and TEMCO's District coordinator for Pemba Mr. Faraja Ndumbaro interviewing CUF District Voter Registration Officer for Wete Mr. Omar Rashid at Shengejuu voter registration centre

(TEMCO), the Zanzibar Legal Services Center (ZLSC), the International Law and Policy Group of Norway (ILP), and the US Embassy. However, TEMCO was the only Observer Group that covered all the registration centres both in the urban and remote areas of Zanzibar. For instance, even in Unguja Urban West, TEMCO Observers did not see other Observers in remote areas of the region e.g. Ukorongoni, Charawe, Cheju and Uzi/Ng'ambwa Islands. In addition, TEMCO Observers were placed to spend the entire day at one or two registration centres. On the contrary, other Observer groups carried out brief visits spending about half an hour at the registration centre.

Moreover, ZEC maintained an elaborate structure of supervision and monitoring involving ZEC Commissioners, ZEC director and other officials from the head office, District registration officers as well as ZEC IT experts. Apart from physical visits, mobile phones were used by ZEC officials to solve some of the problems at the registration centres.

Political parties were also involved in the monitoring and supervision processes. Among all the political parties, CCM and CUF were able to monitor and supervise the registration and updating exercise throughout Zanzibar. In Unguja South region for instance, both political parties had two vehicles used to move the party officials around the registration centers. Yet, there were variations across the districts depending on the popularity of a certain political

party in the area. CUF maintained minimal presence in areas known to be CCM strongholds (e.g. Unguja South region). In this region, CCM was able to wage a very aggressive voter mobilization campaign. CCM officials had camped at the district's party offices at Dunga and Makunduchi for the whole period of the voter registration exercise.

CCM and CUF placed their party agents at every registration center in the regions. CCM was able to place two agents at all the centres compared to CUF which was able to place at least one agent in every center. The TEMCO Observer in Unguja South discovered that CCM's agents were paid Tshs 5000/ per day. In addition, at several centres, party agents were provided with free lunch by CCM leaders and members of the House of Representatives. Agents of other parties were sparingly seen at only a few centres. These parties include, UDPD, NLD, CHADEMA and UMD, CHAUSTA, NCCR-Mageuzi, Jahazi Asilia,

DP, SAU, and PPT Maendeleo. TEMCO observers also found out that some of the agents from the smaller parties were not independently representing their parties but rather acting as 'undercover' agents of the two major parties, CCM and CUF. That is to say, although they claimed to represent their parties, some party agents from SAU, UPDP, NLD seemed to closely 'cooperate and share notes' with the party agents of CCM. In Mkoani district, agents of PPT Maendeleo seemed to be affiliated with CUF. This observation is supported by the fact that many of these smaller parties do not have physical offices on the Islands. According to the voter registration rules and regulations, party agents are supposed to detect any irregularities and safeguard their party's interests.

Government officials were also seen visiting the registration centres on a daily basis. They included Cabinet Ministers, Regional Commissioners (RCs), and District commissioners (DCs). In Pemba South, there was the Chief Minister's team led by the Deputy Minister for Special Assignments.

Security forces also took part in the monitoring of the voter registration exercise in all the regions. However, there were variations in the presence of the security personnel between Unguja and Pemba. In Unguja, each registration center was guarded by two Police officers. In Pemba South, some of the regis-

tration centres were guarded by not only the police officers but also the Field Force Unit (FFU) and special forces including JKU, KMKM and the -Prisons Officers. Guarded road blocks were placed in several Shehias in Mkoani district including Ukutini, Mtengani, Kuku Kangani, Mkanyageni, Chumbageni and Ng'ombeni

Several problems were observed at various registration centres visited by the TEMCO Observers. One, power blackout was the main problem during the first round of voter registration and updating exercises. As a result, ZEC had to realign its budget in order to deal with this unforeseen problem. According to the ZEC Director, ZEC had to secure 19 additional new generators in order to generate constant power supply. These were distributed to various registration centres. Moreover, ZEC had to hire two more technicians to deal with the daily operation and maintenance of the generators; and more fuel was bought to run the generators for extra hours. For instance, at the ZEC head Office, the generators had to operate

for 12 hours daily for the whole period of the power blackout in the Isles.

Two, a requirement for the Zanzibar Identity Card (ZAN ID) continued to be a hindrance and hence preventing a significant number of potential voters from registering. TEMCO Observers witnessed some people who had voter IDs of 2005 but lacked ZAN IDs who could not be registered. Some of the people interviewed by TEMCO reported that their applications for the ZAN ID are still pending at the DC's office. In Mkoani, there were allegations that some people had to pay a bribe of 500 Tshs to the Sheha so he could 'facilitate' the paper work required for the ZAN ID.

Following this problem, ZEC decided to carry out a mini-survey in order to establish the actual number of people who had the 2005 voter IDs but lacked the ZAN IDs and therefore could not be registered as voters. The survey lasted for seven days from the 22nd – 28th February 2010. According to ZEC records, a total of 3,376 eligible voters were listed. Out of these, 1691 are from Unguja and 1685 are from Pemba. ZEC submitted the list of these potential voters to the Registrar's Office of Zanzibar requesting that ZAN IDs be issued to them. In order to facilitate the process, a copy of the list was

also sent to all the respective District Commissioners. These efforts notwithstanding, TEMCO found out that majority were not informed about the mini-survey and therefore did not go to ZEC to register themselves. In so doing, complaints about the lack of the ZAN ID still persisted even during the second phase of the voter registration exercise.

Three, the overwhelming power of the Shehas continued to interfere with the voter registration process. For instance, at the Chuo cha Kiislam registration centre, upon some misunderstanding, the Sheha grabbed and destroyed the notebook of the CUF agent. No action was taken against the Sheha despite the fact that the incident was reported on the 1st December 2009 to the Police station with file number RB/5918/09 to SGT Haji. Also, at several registration centres, the Shehas were very much used in determining the eligibility of potential voters. The Sheha exercises a great deal of power over who is entitled to receive the ZAN ID. For instance, any person who has lost his/her 2005 voter ID needs to inform the Sheha who then provides a form to be filled for submission to the Police. At the same time, people who have relocated to other areas of residence should also inform the Shehas. In

all these procedures, getting the Sheha's approval and recommendations becomes very critical. At some centres, the Shehas acted as CCM cadres. At the Shehia of Machui in Unguja South region, the Sheha was at the same time the CCM Branch Publicity Secretary.

Four, at certain registration centres, government officials acted contrary to the established rules and regulations guiding the voter registration and updating process. In Pemba South, the District Commissioner of Mkoani ordered the ZEC Registration officer at the Skuli ya Maandalizi Ng'ombeni to register people who were objected to by the CUF agent on the ground that they were not residents.

Five, TEMCO observed that at certain centres, CCM officials were seen near the registration centres recording names of the CCM members who had registered as voters. The CCM's exit voter registration was observed at many centres across the regions. What was disturbing about it was the fact that the exercise was taking place closer to the registration centres. This is against the registration rules that require any person

who does not intend to register to stay 100 meters away from the centre.

Six, the allegation of registering the under-age voters persisted at several registration centres. Some of the people who came for registration appeared too young to be 18 years old. Indeed, registration of the under-age was one of the common objections raised by the CUF party agents.

Seven, TEMCO found out that the modality of handling complaints raised by potential voters and party agents from the opposition parties was not very effective. Many of the complaints were left unattended in spite of the availability of several forms designed by ZEC to deal with different types of complaints. Such forms are supposed to address issues of relocation from one constituency to another (Form 2MU), objected potential voter (Form 2KK), changing information in the permanent voter register (Form 2MS), lost voter ID (Form 2MP), new registered voters (Form 2MA) etc. At certain centres however, these forms were not provided to the intended potential voters.

Eight, the issue of registration of the transferred soldiers created some tension at certain registration centres in Mkoani district. The CUF agents strongly objected to the registration of a group of JKU soldiers at Chokocho registration centre. This incident created a heated debate between CUF agents and ZEC registration officers to the extent of threatening peace at the registration centre.

2.VOTER REGISTRATION TURNOUT

Voter Turnout Updated and Compared: 2005-2010

As the first phase of voter registration exercise came to a conclusion on February 14th 2010, the voter turnout in all the regions remained lower compared to that of 2005. The 2005 voter turnout statistics constitute the estimated number of voters from which ZEC measures its progress. Overall, until February 14th 2010, ZEC had registered a total of 271,376 voters. This is equivalent to 53.5 percent of the voters registered in 2005 when a total of 507,225 voters were registered. Table 1 presents the voter turnout data for all the districts in Zanzibar.

Table 1: Voter Registration Turnout in 10 Districts of Zanzibar: 2005 and 2010

Districts	Registered voters 2005	Registered voters 2009	Difference 2009 & 2005	% of achievement in 2010 compared to 2005
North A Unguja	47,838	30,370	17,468	63.49
North B Unguja	32,916	18,072	14,844	54.90
Unguja South	20,675	14,309	6,366	69.21
Unguja Central	43,513	25,457	18,056	58.50
Unguja West	92,591	56,629	35,962	61.16
Uguja Urban	112,973	63,212	49,761	55.95
Sub-total Unguja	350,506	208,049	142,457	59.36
Micheweni	36,281	26,482	10,799	70.24
Wete	45,156	8,916	36,240	19.74
Chakechake	38,689	16,139	22,550	29.88
Mkoani	36,593	12,790	23,803	34.95
Sub-total Pemba	156,719	63,327	93,392	40.41
Grand total Zanzibar	507,225	271,376	235,849	53.50

Source: ZEC Head Office, Zanzibar, March, 2010

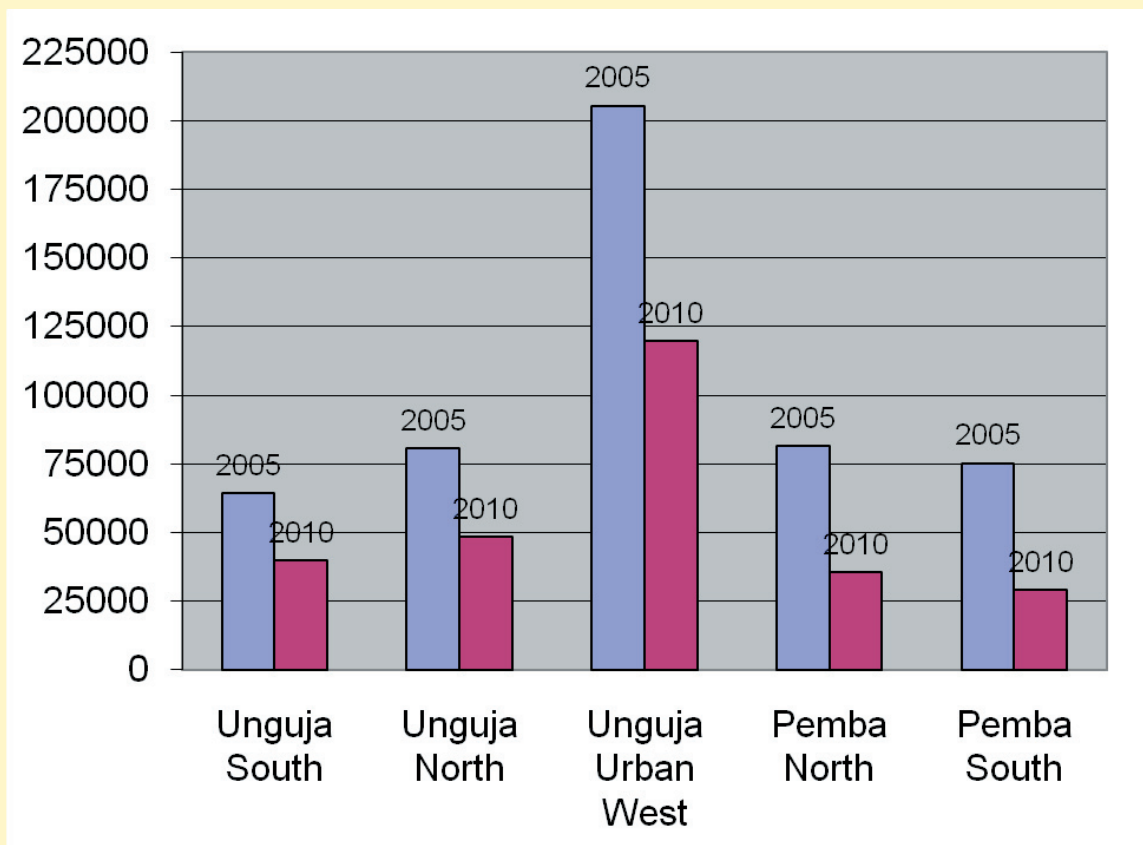
As Table 1 shows, about 60 percent of the estimated voters in Unguja were registered. In Pemba however, only 40.4 percent of the estimated voters were registered by the end of the first round of voter registration and updating exercise. Among all the districts, Micheweni district in Pemba North registered 70 percent of the estimated voters. Unguja South district is second on the list by registering 69.2 of the estimated voters. Moreover, whereas all the districts in Unguja registered above 50 percent of the estimated voters, in Pemba only one district was able to attain that rate, namely Micheweni district. The other three remaining districts had very low rates of voter turnout. These were Wete, Chakechake and Mkoani districts.

Wete district had the lowest voter turnout whereby only 19.74 percent of the estimated voters had been registered. In Chake chake and Mkoani districts only about 30 and 35 percent were registered respectively. These are CUF strongholds where an 'unofficial' boycott against registration had been going on since the beginning of the voter registration exercise. Micheweni's high voter turnout is indeed an exceptional case in Pemba. Figure 2 shows the voter turnout in the five regions for both 2005 and 2010.



Registration officials at Tumbe voter registration centre taking a nap following a low voter turn out and Registration officials and CUF party agent at Wingwi voter registration centre taking a nap as caught by the observer.

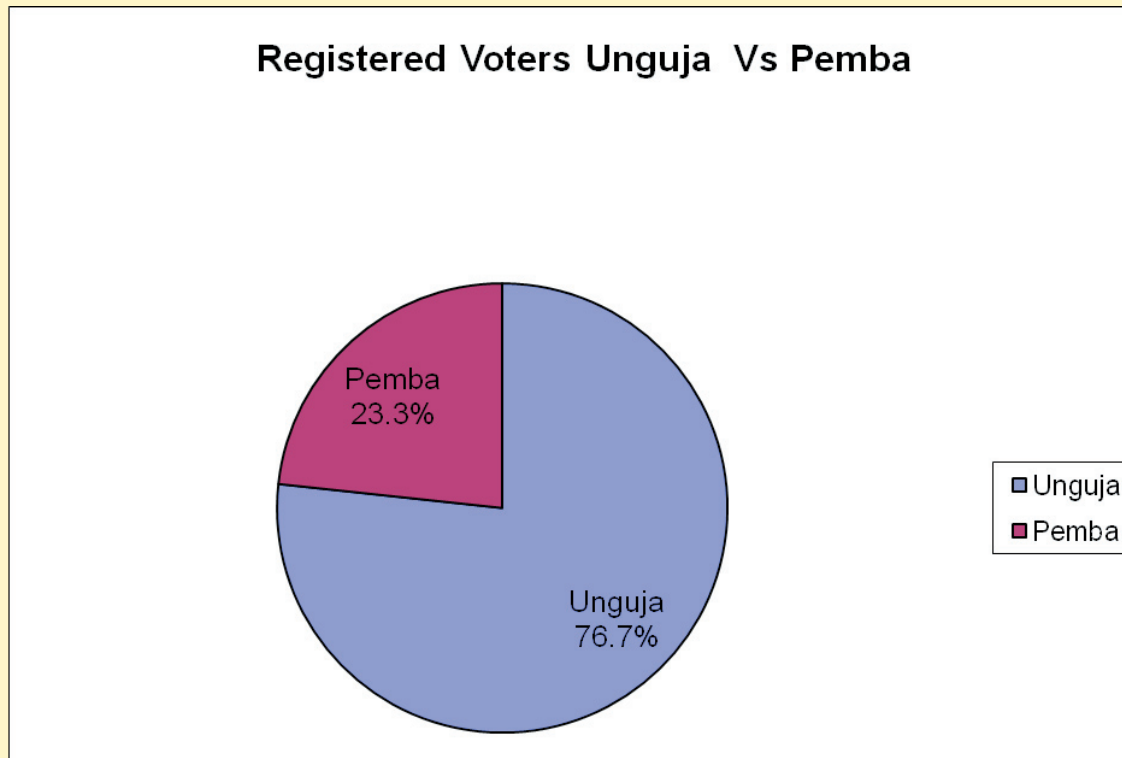
Figure 2: Voter Turnout Compared: 2005 and 2010



Furthermore, the use of the ZAN ID was blamed by CUF members and supporters as being the major cause of low voter turnout in certain areas. A significant number of potential voters lacked ZAN IDs, which is a requirement for registering as a voter. According to the ZEC Director, the rate of voter turnout in 2010 is an indication that the requirement for the ZAN ID has successfully prevented double registration and importation of voters. However, TEMCO has found out that the underground campaign by CUF leaders to discourage its members not to turn up for registration is one of the major reasons. In an interview with the CUF District Secretary for the Central district, he affirmed that CUF leaders were telling its members to refrain from registration during the first phase until contentious issues were resolved following the agreement between President Amani Abeid Karume and CUF Secretary General Seif Sherrif Hamad.

The CUF Secretary of Mkoani constituency also informed the TEMCO Observer that CUF members would not show up for registration until the ZAN ID issue was resolved. Indeed, In Unguja South, TEMCO found out that even CUF agents were not registering themselves at the registration centres which they were monitoring. One CUF party agent at Dunga Kiembeni centre reported in an interview that (Interview, 20 January 2010) he had not received any directive from top party leaders to register. Thus, while CCM was waging an aggressive campaign for voter mobilization, CUF was carrying out a de-mobilization campaign against voter registration. As Figure 3 shows, out of 271,376 registered voters, 76.7 percent are from Unguja and only 23.3 percent are from Pemba.

Figure 3: Registered Voters Unguja vs. Pemba, 2010



Moreover, at the beginning of the voter registration exercise, it was expected that the number of new voters will be significantly high. It is for this reason that ZEC set aside two initial days for the registration of new voters in every constituency. The remaining five days were specifically set aside for the updating of old voters. Contrary to the expectations, the turnout of new voters remained relatively low across the regions. As table 4 shows below, only about 10 percent of all registered voters in Zanzibar are new voters. TEMCO Observers noted that some of the potential new voters were not informed about ZEC timetable that they were supposed to register during the first two days of the voter registration exercise. At some centres the new voters showed up for registration on those days set aside for the old voters, and as a result they were not allowed to register. This may partly explain the low turnout rate of the new voters. TEMCO Observers witnessed several new potential voters who were not registered for showing up on the 'wrong day' at the registration centres of Dunga Kiembeni Maandalizi, Cheju, Jendele, Chwaka and Dunga Bweni in Unguja South region

Table 4: Registration and Turnout of New Voters

Districts	Registered voters 2009	Percentage of New registered voters (%)
North A Unguja	30,370	4.7
North B Unguja	18,072	7.3
Unguja South	14,309	9.9
Unguja Central	25,457	11.8
Unguja West	56,629	9.1
Unguja Urban	63,212	10.3
Micheweni	26,482	5.9
Wete	8,916	16.7
Chakechake	16,139	21.3
Mkoani	12,790	19.3
Grand total Zanzibar	271,376	9.9

Source: ZEC Head Office, Zanzibar, March 2010

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One thing needs to be noted. In those districts where overall voter turnout was low, the number of new voters was relatively higher. These districts are Chake chake, Mkoani and Wete where new voters constituted about 21%, 19% and 17% respectively.

‘Maridhiano’ and its Effects on Voter Turnout in Zanzibar

Voter registration turnout was substantially low particularly in the Civic United Front (CUF) strongholds. TEMCO observers’ reports equate low turnout to the “unofficial” boycott of registration/voter register updating exercises by CUF leadership, members and supporters. The boycott was caused by controversies surrounding the issuance of the Zanzibar Identity Cards (ZAN IDs). CUF members insisted that they were systematically discriminated in the issuance of the identity cards.

The announcement that there was going to be a second round of voter registration and updating made some potential voters not to turn up for registration during the first round. Indeed, TEMCO found that some of the CUF members in Pemba were told that the first round of voter registration was for CCM members and the second round was for CUF members. Low voter turnout in the districts in Pemba may be partly explained by this incorrect information given to potential voters.

The voter turnout trend was very much affected by new significant developments in the political terrain of Zanzibar. The unprecedented meeting held on the 5th November, 2009 between the President of Zanzibar, Dr. Amani Abeid Karume and CUF Secretary General, Maalim Seif Shariff Ahmad unfolded a series of responses thereby shaping public opinion and voter behaviour.

Several events took place during the first phase of voter registration in Zanzibar.

The main political event was CUF’s recognition of the Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar under the leadership of President Dr. Amani Karume. This was followed by President Karume’s appointment of two senior CUF leaders to serve as Members of the House of Representatives. Also, the two leaders held well-attended rallies to explain to their members and supporters why they had finally decided to bury

their differences and work together for the interests and prosperity of all Zanzibaris. On January 16th 2010, CUF Secretary General Seif Sherrif Hamad addressed a public rally at Kibanda Maiti grounds. The main message was on the need for a coalition government in order to resolve the persisting political animosity on the Islands, and he never made reference to the voter registration exercise that was going on at that time. Thereafter, CUF leaders were seen attending important state functions which included the participation of President Karume.

Moreover, CUF leaders have on different occasions been quoted advocating for the adjournment of general elections scheduled for October 2010 to ostensibly extend Dr. Karume’s presidency tenure to give him time to preside over institutional reforms for the government of national unity. Equally important was the fact that the consensual political atmosphere was praised by the Union President Jakaya Kikwete, the media, several Diplomatic Corps accredited to Tanzania, particularly the US Ambassador, HE Alfonso Lenhardt and the Norwegian Ambassador, HE Jon Lomoy.

The leader of the opposition in the House of Representatives (former Attorney General of Zanzibar) presented his private member’s motion seeking to amend the constitution to allow the formation of a coalition government and power sharing in the Isles. Following this, a private motion on Zanzibar national unity government was tabled in the Revolutionary Council and supported by the House. The House resolved to form a six member bi-partisan team to work on the new political dispensation and draw recommendations to the House on the way forward. The Zanzibar House of Representatives also decided to hold a referendum to seek the Zanzibaris’ opinions on the proposed ‘Government of National Unity’ and its structure. The representatives, both from the opposition and the ruling party, agreed that the referendum will be held before May 2010, as proposed by the leader of the Opposition in the House.

Thus, taking into account the preceding events, voter registration and voter register updating received little attention during this period. Indeed, many CUF members and supporters were made to believe that they would have the opportunity to register during the second phase of voter registration after political agreements were firmly concluded. As a result, the ‘Marid-

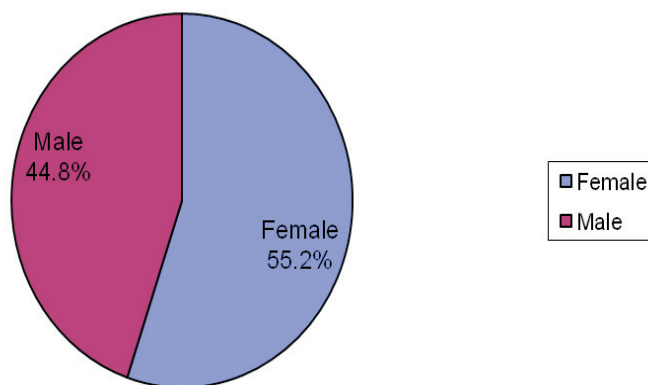
hiano' has in a way 'suspended' the voter registration

exercise until previous issues of contention have been resolved.

Voter Registration and Women Participation in Zanzibar

The voter registration exercise in Zanzibar demonstrates one clear trend regarding women participation in politics. The voter turnout figures for the first round of voter registration and updating show that the majority of the registered voters are women. They constitute 55 percent of the total number of registered voters in the Islands. Figure 5 shows the trend clearly.

Figure 5: Voter Registration by Gender -2010



Among all the districts, Unguja South is leading whereby 58 percent of the registered voters are women. It is followed by Unguja North A (57%). As table 6 indicates, in all the districts in Zanzibar, women constitute more than 50 percent of the total registered voters. In general however, it is important to note that, although women show up in big numbers as voters, they remain marginalized in terms of their participation as electoral contestants and leaders in political parties.



At Kojani Constituency (S/Shengejuu voter registration centre) no one wanted to go home unregistered. As caught by the observer a section of women are lining up for registration in long queues.

Table 6: Voter Registration by Gender in Zanzibar

Districts	Registered voters 2009	Percentage of Female registered voters (%)
North A Unguja	30,370	56.9
North B Unguja	18,072	56.2
Unguja South	14,309	58.4
Unguja Central	25,457	53.5
Unguja West	56,629	55.0
Unguja Urban	63,212	55.6
Micheweni	26,482	53.9
Wete	8,916	50.0
Chakechake	16,139	54.1
Mkoani	12,790	56.1
Grand total Zanzibar	271,376	55.2

3. ZEC AND THE PROVISION OF CIVIC EDUCATION

ZEC is charged with the responsibility of providing voter education. In order to sensitize potential voters on the voter registration exercise, ZEC used various instruments for disseminating information on the rules and regulations guiding the registration process. These included the radio, TV, newspapers and vehicles with loud speakers. In addition, ZEC distributed posters, T-shirts and brochures. Sauti ya Tanzania Zanzibar, Zenj FM radio and Television Zanzibar were extensively used in raising people's awareness about the voter registration process. The majority of the people acknowledged that they had listened to some of the ZEC-sponsored programmes especially on Zenj FM radio station. In Pemba South, some people mentioned the REDET TV programme "Sauti ya Demokrasia" as one of their sources of voter education.

However, TEMCO could hardly find evidence of the distributed brochures and posters in many of the constituencies that were visited. In certain areas, only a few posters were seen on the streets. Yet, some of the TEMCO observers found posters and brochures placed in the offices of the District Registration Officers e.g. Unguja South and Unguja Central districts. TEMCO did not find any civil society organization engaging in the provision of voter education in the regions.

TEMCO observed that the ruling party, CCM conducted an aggressive awareness campaign to sensitize its members to show up for registration. CCM leaders at district and regional levels were very active in the mobilization campaign. In addition, some Shehas held public meetings and conducted house to house mobilization for registration. Many people interviewed by TEMCO Observers cited the Shehas as their main source of information about the voter registration process. In an interview, one Sheha pointed out: "We sensitized our people early in the morning on a daily basis by holding meetings and visiting houses. We reminded them about the dates of registration in our Shehia" (Sheha of Magomeni, Unguja Urban)

The effectiveness of voter education was also limited by the power blackout that persisted for three months. Television programmes were seriously affected by the absence of electricity on the Islands.

4.MAJOR LESSONS

1. There is need for both ZEC and the government to facilitate the process of acquiring the Zanzibar Identity cards. There is need for cooperation and coordination among the offices involved in the provision of ZAN IDs including the Sheha's office, ZEC, the DC's office and the ID Registrar's Office.
2. ZEC needs to mount an aggressive voter education campaign to educate the people about the voter qualification requirements, the registration calendar and the importance of voter registration to all members of political parties.
3. A system of handling complaints at the registration centres needs to be improved. ZEC officials should be at the forefront in observing the established rules and regulations guiding voter registration.
4. The major opposition party, CUF needs to sensitize its members and supporters to show up for registra-

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