ZANZIBAR:
PRESIDENTIAL AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
ELECTIONS
OCTOBER 2005

Report
by
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NORDEM, the Norwegian Resource Bank for Democracy and Human Rights, is a programme of the Norwegian Centre for Human Rights (NCHR), and has as its main objective to actively promote international human rights. NORDEM is jointly administered by NCHR and the Norwegian Refugee Council. NORDEM works mainly in relation to multilateral institutions. The operative mandate of the programme is realised primarily through the recruitment and deployment of qualified Norwegian personnel to international assignments which promote democratisation and respect for human rights. The programme is responsible for the training of personnel before deployment, reporting on completed assignments, and plays a role in research related to areas of active involvement. The vast majority of assignments are channelled through the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

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Preface

The Norwegian Government was invited by the Zanzibar Office of the Tanzanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation to send observers to the 2005 General Elections. In response, the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs asked NORDEM to identify an assessment group to assess the 2005 Zanzibar General Elections with an emphasis on the Presidential and House of Representatives elections. NORDEM recruited six observers who were deployed on Zanzibar from 6 October to 9 November. Two teams of two were deployed on Unguja Island while one team was deployed on Pemba Island.

The NORDEM assessment group was also to have observed the presidential and parliamentary elections in the United Republic of Tanzania, but due to the death of the CHADEMA vice presidential candidate, the union elections were postponed until 14 December. This report therefore covers only the Zanzibar elections.

Other international observer groups included short term observers from the diplomatic community in Tanzania, The Commonwealth, the African Union, SADC, The East African Community, EISA, National Democratic Institute, the International Institute for Democracy, the Institute for Education in Democracy, and the Unrepresented Nations and People's Organisation (UNPO). The EU deployed two election experts who arrived a few days after the NORDEM assessment group.

The Tanzania Election Monitoring Committee (TEMCO) had domestic observers on Zanzibar during the registration of voters and later during the campaign. TEMCO also deployed poll watchers on Election Day.

According to its Terms of Reference, the NORDEM assessment group was to conduct a comprehensive analysis of the electoral process, to be able to offer an impartial, balanced and informed assessment of its various stages. In addition to observing the conduct of the poll, the group was tasked to assess the election campaign and the administrative preparations for Election Day, as well as the legal framework and the human rights environment in which the elections took place. To the extent possible, the group was also to monitor media coverage of the campaign. The standards to be applied were generally accepted international standards for democratic elections, derived \textit{inter alia} from the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the OAU Declaration on the Principles Governing Democratic Elections in Africa.

During its assignment, the NORDEM group met with political parties and candidates, the electoral administration both at central and district level, regional and district commissioners, the Zanzibar police, representatives of religious organisations, other observer groups, local and international NGOs, local media representatives and ordinary voters. Campaign rallies were observed as well as administrative preparations for polling day and training of election staff and party polling agents. Data was also collected from written reports from other organisations relevant to understanding the election process.

On Election Day the NORDEM assessment group visited five out of ten districts in Zanzibar and observed 35 polling stations out of a total of 1560. The NORDEM group also partially observed the collation of results in three of the ten collation centres.

The report is primarily based on the findings of the NORDEM assessment group, supplemented by information from other observer reports such as the NDI and Commonwealth reports and the November 2004 report on Political Reconciliation and Elections in Zanzibar by Dr. Kjetil Tronvoll. These secondary sources have been drawn
upon because the limited scope of the NORDEM group's observation is insufficient to make a full assessment of the entire election process.

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Summary of Findings

The overall assessment of the NORDEM group is that the elections represented a major improvement on the 1995 and 2000 Zanzibar general elections, in particular with regard to the transparency of the count and the collation of results. However, important shortcomings were noted, including defects in the permanent voters register and a lack of clarity in the legal framework regulating the right to vote in the elections. Also, the failure of the Zanzibar Electoral Commission (ZEC) to publish the full results down to polling station level in a timely manner added greatly to the climate of tension and distrust which marked both the run-up to the poll and the days immediately after.

Only 50 of the 81 seats in the House of Representatives are contested in direct elections. This violates the principles of equal and uniform suffrage, and significantly reduces the accountability and representativeness of the legislature.

Despite the positive achievements of the Muafaka Accord between the Chama cha Mapinduzi ruling party (CCM) and the main opposition party Civic United Front (CUF), the political climate on Zanzibar after the two previous general elections is one of tension and mistrust. This has been noted both during the registration and the campaign period and in the aftermath of the 2005 election.

The restructured seven-member Zanzibar Electoral Commission now includes two members representing CUF and two members representing CCM. This is likely to increase public confidence in the Commission. However, ZEC's appointment procedures, its uncertain financial situation and the fact that the Commission's decisions have on occasion been overturned by the Zanzibar Government, all contribute to weakening the independence of the institution.

The creation by ZEC of a permanent voters register (PVR), including digital photographs and finger prints of all voters, represented a major step forward. However, the registration process was contentious due to ambiguous and controversial provisions in the Election Act allowing members of the security forces to register without fulfilling the residency requirements which apply to other voters. This, together with the non-display of the final, corrected version of the PVR, contributed greatly to a lack of confidence among opposition members and supporters in the electoral process.

The adoption by the main parties of a Code of Conduct for the election campaign was a positive step toward clean and peaceful campaigning. However, steps should be taken to ensure that the Code is upheld locally and to ensure that the political parties can conduct their rallies as scheduled.

Provisions for the fair allocation of campaign funds in proportion to the parties' electoral support appeared to be lacking. The difference in campaign resources between the ruling party and the opposition was striking. CCM dominated the campaign through posters on buildings, billboards and road poles as well as clothing effects and flags, while opposition parties appeared to have few resources in comparison. With the exception of CUF, they also lacked the party apparatus and organisation to match that of CCM.

While the campaign period was generally peaceful, campaign rhetoric was often provocative and derogatory toward the opponent. The focus was usually on person rather
than issue, and on criticising the opponent rather than presenting a constructive political programme. It was noted that CCM at several rallies presented the opposition as being synonymous with disorder and possibly war.

The state-owned print and broadcast media tended to give more coverage to CCM than to other political parties. It was noted, however, that none of the parties made use of the offer of a free weekly quarter page in the state-owned newspaper, Zanzibar Leo, and only CUF and CCM made use of the free weekly half hour on state-owned radio and television.

The election administration seemed competent and well prepared for the technical aspects of election implementation. However, opposition parties often expressed a lack of trust in the neutrality of the electoral commission and the returning officers. This is based mainly on the blurred boundaries between CCM party and civil service structures.

The overall impression on Election Day is that voting was conducted without major problems in the majority of polling stations. Turnout was high, over 90 percent overall. Generally, voters seemed well informed of polling procedures. In the countryside, the majority of the electorate had cast their votes before noon, and especially women queued up as early as 05:00. Polling officials appeared competent and the procedures were generally followed, though with some flaws such as inconsistent ink-marking. More than half of polling station staff was women. The police made a good impression, and ensured peace and order at the polling centres.

Procedural safeguards during the count were adequate, and counting in the observed polling stations was transparent. Party agents from CCM and CUF were present at all observed polling stations, and signed the result forms. Party agents were also present at one of the three observed collation centres.

There were violent incidents in Mji Mkongwe (Stone Town) and Mtoni constituencies on Unguja, where CUF supporters attempted to block members of the security forces who were being transported to polling stations to vote. However, observers present were unable to conclude whether these security forces were eligible to vote or to what extent they voted without being registered.

On 31 October, the day after the election, the Tanzania Union anti-riot police, known as the Field Force Unit (FFU), surrounded CUF headquarters in Stone Town. The area was tear-gassed and cordoned off for three days, cutting off the food and water supply of local residents. Excessive use of force by state security forces was observed by the NORDEM teams both during this post-election period and during the campaign, violating the opposition's right to peaceful demonstrations.

Though not required by the Election Act, the failure of ZEC to publish the full results down to polling station level in a timely manner added to the climate of tension and distrust which marked both the run-up to the poll and the days immediately after.

Under the Election Act, only the results of the House of Representatives and local elections can be challenged in court; once the results of the presidential election are announced by ZEC, they are final. This violates the right to effective legal redress.
Political Background

Historical Context

The Zanzibar archipelago is situated off the east coast of Tanzania; the two largest islands are Unguja and Pemba. The present population is estimated at ca. 900,000.

Zanzibar is a semi-autonomous state within the United Republic of Tanzania and elects its own president and legislature (the House of Representatives). All non-union matters are governed by the Zanzibar Constitution.

Zanzibar was under British rule from 1890. The islands gained independence in 1963 as a constitutional monarchy under the sultan. A coalition government was formed the same year between the two parties Zanzibar National Party (ZNP) representing the dominant Arab minority and the Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP) representing the African majority of the people. Dissatisfaction with this government led to a bloody uprising where the African majority overthrew the sultan. During this "revolution" between 4,000 and 10,000 people, primarily of Arab origin, were killed and up to 20,000 were detained.

Zanzibar and Tanganyika united to form the United Republic of Tanzania in April 1964. Tanganyika had gained independence in 1961 with a multiparty system and Julius Nyerere as prime minister. In 1965, Tanzania became a de jure one-party state. The Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), established and led by Nyerere, was the only party allowed on the mainland, while the Afro-Shirazi party (ASP) was the only party on Zanzibar. TANU and ASP merged to form Chama Cha Mapinduzi (The Party of the Revolution, CCM) in 1970. Tanzania reintroduced a multiparty system in 1992. Constitutional amendments allowed the creation of private media, non-governmental organisations and political parties. Civil organisations had hitherto been under the direct control of the state and the ruling party1. CCM has however continued to hold a two thirds majority in both the Union Parliament and in the Zanzibar House of Representatives which is sufficient to change or amend the constitutions of Tanzania and Zanzibar respectively.

Two multiparty general elections have been held in Tanzania since 1992; in 1995 and in 2000. While the elections on the mainland went relatively smoothly, the Zanzibar elections were strongly criticised by domestic and international observers. In particular the capability of ZEC to conduct transparent elections was criticised. CUF refused to accept the announced results of the election in 1995 and called for new elections. When this was not accepted by ZEC, CUF announced a boycott of the sessions in the House of Representatives. The boycott lasted for three years. During this period eighteen CUF officials were detained for a year and a half before being charged with treason2.

In April 1999 CCM and CUF signed a Commonwealth-brokered peace agreement to end the dispute (Muafaka I). The agreement called for an end to the CUF boycott and for a reform of ZEC to ensure a higher degree of independence and technical capacity. But in the period from the signing of the agreement to the 2000 general elections, not much

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1 See also NORDEM election observation report from 2000.

2 See NORDEM report 05/2003.
progress had been made to implement the agreement’s recommendations except that CUF ended its boycott.

As in 1995, the 2000 general election on Zanzibar was marred by irregularities and logistical problems and was criticised by domestic and international observers. ZEC itself nullified the results in 16 constituencies in Urban/West region of Unguja due to late or non-delivery of election materials. A re-run of the elections in these constituencies was held on 5 November 2000. The re-run was however boycotted by CUF and after the election the party boycotted sessions in both the Union Parliament and House of Representatives. In the aftermath of the elections, CUF supporters were harassed and subjected to arbitrary arrest and all CUF rallies were banned. On 27 January 2001, peaceful CUF demonstrations ended in violent clashes between police and CUF supporters when security forces used teargas, batons and live bullets to disperse the crowd, causing the death of at least 30 people and leaving several hundred wounded.

Following the violence after the 2000 election a new peace accord (Muafaka II) was signed by CCM and CUF on 10 October 2001. The agreement called for the implementation of the recommendations agreed on in Muafaka I and also for the restructuring of ZEC to allow for two members appointed from each of the two main parties. A Joint Presidential Supervisory Commission (JPSC) was established to oversee the implementation of the agreement. Muafaka II also called for the creation of a permanent voters register (PVR) and a reform of the Zanzibar judiciary and state owned media.

The Muafaka accord has paved the way for important progress. ZEC has been restructured to include two members each from CCM and CUF, which should result in a higher degree of accountability and trust in the Commission on the part of the opposition. The shehas, who had been criticised for taking on a dominant role in the polling stations, are no longer to be present during the poll; in the amended electoral legislation, their role is restricted to assisting registration officials to verify voters' eligibility. The accord also called for by-elections on Pemba for the seventeen House of Representatives seats declared vacant after the CUF boycott of the legislature. By-elections were held on 18 May 2003. Domestic and international observers agreed that the elections were conducted without serious problems. However, the Muafaka accord is an agreement between two political parties, whereas the implementation of the recommendations depends on the Government.

**Political Parties**

17 political parties contested the 2005 Zanzibar elections. All 17 parties nominated candidates for the House of Representatives, but only CCM and CUF nominated candidates in all of the 50 constituencies.

The dominant political parties on Zanzibar are the ruling party CCM and the opposition party CUF. While other parties also fielded candidates for the Zanzibar presidency and

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3 For a more detailed description of the background to the re-run of elections in these constituencies, see NORDEM report 05/2003 p. 3.

4 Government appointed local community leaders who in the registration process had the role of verifying eligible voters within their respective wards (shehias).


6 For a full list of parties contesting the 2005 Zanzibar Elections, see Appendix 2.
the House of Representatives, their electoral support is so insignificant that they will not be given a separate presentation here.

*Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM)*

Chama Cha Mapinduzi, the Party of the Revolution, represents the merger between the mainland Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) and the Afro-Shirazi Party of the Zanzibar islands. CCM's stronghold on Zanzibar is in the rural areas on Unguja. Originally, CCM adhered to an "African Socialist" political philosophy, but in the early 1990s the party moved to adopt a broad policy of economic liberalisation and acceptance of a free market economy.

CCM's presidential candidate in the 2005 Zanzibar elections was the incumbent, Amani Abeid Karume. Born 1 November 1948, he became President of Zanzibar on 8 November 2000, having won 67 percent of the votes in the 2000 election. He is the son of Zanzibar's first president, Sheikh Abeid Amani Karume. During the 1970s, Amani Abeid Karume held various positions in the Zanzibar Government. In the 1980s, he worked as a private consultant for a British-based company in Zanzibar. Karume returned to government and politics in 1990 when he was elected to the Zanzibar House of Representatives from the Rahaleo Constituency. In 1995, he was re-elected to that position in multi-party polls. During this period, he served as minister of communications and transport.

*Chama Cha Wananchi / Civic United Front (CUF)*

Civic United Front was founded in 1993. It is a liberal democratic party, supporting a market economy, with an emphasis on agricultural development. The party focuses on the protection of human rights, with "Equal Rights for All" figuring prominently among the party's slogans. As an opposition party, CUF is particularly concerned with combating government corruption. Most of the support for CUF in Tanzania derives from the coast and the islands, and some observers therefore view it as an Islamic party. The CUF leadership however denies that the party's ideology focuses on Islam. CUF's main following is on Pemba Island and in the urban areas of Unguja.

CUF's candidate for the 2005 Zanzibar presidential elections was Seif Sharif Hamad, who has been CUF's candidate for president in all the multiparty elections on Zanzibar. He is also the CUF general secretary. From 1984 to 1988 he was the chief minister in the Zanzibar Government, but later left the CCM party for CUF. In the 1995 Zanzibar presidential election, he won 49.8 percent of the votes against 50.2 percent for the ruling party candidate Salmin Amour.

Generally speaking, political parties on Zanzibar are largely personalised, building their identity on prominent individuals rather than distinct political platforms. The emphasis on persons rather than issues was a characteristic feature of the 2005 election campaign. As far as the NORDEM assessment group could ascertain, only three parties had published a political platform. These were CUF, CCM and CHADEMA. The platforms were all characterised by being general and focusing less on how to achieve the goals than on what they want to achieve.
The Legislative Framework

Zanzibar is a semi-autonomous state within the United Republic of Tanzania, with autonomous decision making powers in all matters defined as "non-union", that is, all matters except foreign affairs, security and monetary policy. Zanzibar elects its own president and legislature (the House of Representatives) and has its own constitution. Economically Zanzibar depends on budget allocations from the Union.

The Tanzania Union elections and the Zanzibar elections are governed by separate legislation. In the following, only the legal framework governing the Zanzibar elections will be described.

The legal framework governing the Zanzibar elections includes the Zanzibar Constitution of 1984 with later amendments, the Zanzibar Election Act of 1 December 1984, and regulations adopted by the Zanzibar Electoral Commission (ZEC).

The Election Act regulates the three levels of elections on Zanzibar: The election of a president, elections to the House of Representatives and elections to the local authorities.

The Act encompasses detailed rules regarding registration of voters, qualification and nomination of candidates, the election campaign, the voting and counting procedure, offences in connection to the elections and the role of the judiciary.

The Act has been amended a number of times in recent years; the latest amendments are dated 15 January 2004. Substantial amendments in 2002 served to address the concerns raised in relation to the fraudulent elections in 1995 and 2000, as a part of the Muafaka II accord. A permanent voters register was introduced, the composition of the Zanzibar Electoral Commission was altered (two members from the government, two members from the opposition and one independent member), the role of the sheha in the election process was restricted and party agents were given the right to receive a copy of the results of the counting at every polling station.

The Act contains no provisions for mobile polling stations. This means that eligible voters in prisons and hospitals and many physically disabled voters are de facto disenfranchised.

Election System

The electoral system in place on Zanzibar is the "first past the post" system common to many former British colonies. Under the "first past the post" system, the candidate who wins a simple majority of votes within each electoral unit is elected.

There are 81 members in the House of Representatives, but only 50 of them are directly elected from single-member constituencies. Ten members are appointed by the president of Zanzibar, five seats are reserved ex officio for the regional commissioners and one belongs to the Attorney General.

The remaining 15 seats in the House of Representatives are so-called special seats for women. The number of women seats allocated to each party is proportionate to the votes the party obtains in the presidential election. In interviews with NORDEM observers, female candidates complained that the existence of special seats makes it difficult for women to be nominated for the directly elected seats.
The Electoral Administration

Administratively Zanzibar is divided into five regions, three on Unguja and two on Pemba. Each region is divided into two districts. The lowest administrative division is the ward (shehia), which is headed by a sheha.

Structure of ZEC

The composition of ZEC is regulated in Chapter 9 of the Zanzibar Constitution. All seven members of the Commission including the chair are appointed by the president. As already noted, following Muafaka II the Election Act was amended to allow for the appointment of two members each representing the two main political parties, CCM and CUF. These commissioners are nominated by the Leader of Government Business and the Leader of the Opposition in the House of Representatives, respectively. Two of the members of the Commission, including the chair, must be qualified to be judges of the High Court, and one member is appointed by the president "as he deems appropriate". The commissioners are appointed for a five year term. All decisions of the Commission are taken by simple majority. This means that the commissioners representing the opposition (CUF) may be outvoted. The current members of ZEC were appointed in October 2002. Only one of seven commissioners is a woman.

The Commission is financed through the Ministry of State. ZEC officials have complained that the allocation of finances is itemised and slow, which makes the commission's financial situation unpredictable and reduces the financial autonomy of the institution.

ZEC has a permanent headquarter in Stone Town, Unguja, headed by the Director of Elections. During the elections ZEC had a staff of 28 employees on Unguja and 11 on Pemba, and ten provisional district offices, six on Unguja and four on Pemba. Each district office is headed by a district returning officer. Below the district returning officer, there are assistant returning officers in charge of one constituency each. Returning officers (ROs) and assistant returning officers (AROs) are recruited based on their qualifications. The vacancies are advertised and applicants are interviewed and employed by ZEC. Polling stations are run by a presiding officer assisted by the polling station staff.

Responsibilities

ZEC conducts the elections for the Zanzibar presidency, the House of Representatives and local government on Zanzibar. In the 1995 and 2000 general elections ZEC was also responsible for the Union presidential and parliamentary elections on Zanzibar, but as a result of the major problems experienced during these polls the National Electoral Commission of Tanzania (NEC) is now in charge of the Union elections on Zanzibar.

The responsibilities of ZEC include:

- Demarcating constituencies

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7 Overview of districts, see Appendix 1.

8 One shehia may consist of from 3,500 residents in the rural areas up to 7,000 in urban areas.
• Registering voters
• Preparing and maintaining a permanent voters register
• Appointing election officers
• Conducting elections
• Promoting and regulating voters education

Before the 2005 elections the boundaries of some constituencies were changed. The number of constituencies on Pemba was reduced from 21 to 18 and increased on Unguja from 29 to 32. The reason given by ZEC was an increase in population density in urban areas on Unguja. Given that Pemba is a CUF stronghold, the opposition alleged that this was gerrymandering designed to maximize the victory of the ruling party. Given the limited scope of the NORDEM observation, it was not possible to look into the truth of this allegation.

Training

ZEC held a three day workshop for the 10 district returning officers and their assistants some weeks ahead of the elections, and these officials later trained the election officials in the constituencies and polling stations. The election officials in the polling stations (presiding officers and assistants) were all trained by ZEC during two full days a few days before the election.

Assessment of the Electoral Administration

The independence of the Zanzibar Electoral Commission may be questioned. While four members of the Commission are nominated by other entities (in practice, by CCM and CUF), all commissioners are appointed by the president. The degree of autonomy is also weakened by the fact that the Commission’s decisions may apparently be overturned by the executive, as demonstrated when the Zanzibar Government cancelled a contract which ZEC had entered into with a private company for the removal of multiple registrations from the PVR\(^9\). The Commission's dependence on ad hoc allocations of funds from the Government further jeopardises its independence.

The electoral administration seemed to be competent and well prepared for the technical aspects of election implementation. However, opposition parties often expressed a lack of trust in the neutrality of the Commission and the returning officers, as they are seen to be protecting the interests of the ruling party. This is based on several factors, such as the blurred boundaries between CCM party structures and civil service structures as well as the executive's appointment of the Commission.

Despite two days of training on procedures, polling station staff appeared to have some difficulties in managing the poll. Some of the polling staff were young girls who were easily manipulated by more experienced male party polling agents, allowing these to involve themselves in the conduct of the poll in an undue manner.

During the counting of ballots and summing up of results in the polling stations, some polling staff demonstrated lack of calculation skills. However, polling staff in all the observed polling stations seemed to take their responsibility seriously and tried to

\(^9\) See section on Voter Registration, page 11.
conduct their job in the best way possible, focusing on transparency. The team observed that approximately 60 percent of polling station staff were women.

Voter and Civic Education

Voter and civic education on Zanzibar was managed by the Zanzibar Civic Education Reference Group, a coalition of 13 civic organisations on the isles, largely financed by UNDP through a donor basket fund. This reference group developed materials for civic and voter education. Various civic and voter education activities were conducted in all regions of Zanzibar. There seemed to be a constructive relationship between the reference group and ZEC.

Based on the NORDEM group's observations on Election Day, voters seemed well informed of the voting procedure.

Voter Registration on Zanzibar

One of the recommendations in the Muafaka II accord was to establish a permanent voter register (PVR). This register was established by ZEC for the 2005 general elections. The registration of voters started in November 2004 and was completed by the end of April 2005. As the registration of voters was not observed by the NORDEM assessment group, this part of the report is based on other sources, in particular Kjetil Tronvoll’s report on the PVR (June 2005) but also reports from NDI, The Commonwealth and The East African Law Society.

Only Zanzibaris\(^\text{10}\) of at least 18 years of age are eligible to register to vote in the Zanzibar elections. A Zanzibari is defined under the Zanzibari Act of 1985 as:

- A citizen of Tanzania who resided in Zanzibar before and up to 12 January 1964 (the date of the revolution)
- A person who held Zanzibari citizenship before 26 April 1964 (the date of the union) and has not since lost his or her Tanzanian citizenship
- A citizen of Tanzania who was born in Zanzibar before 26 April 1964 by at least one Zanzibari parent
- A citizen of Tanzania with at least one parent with Zanzibari status in accordance with the three points above

Under the Constitution, convicted criminals serving a prison sentence and persons legally declared to be "of unsound mind" are not qualified to vote.

\(^{10}\) Constitution, Section 6.1.
According to the Election Act a voter should register and vote in the constituency where he or she is normally residing. To register and vote in a given constituency he or she must meet one of the following conditions:

- Have a permanent residence and have lived continuously in the constituency for the last three years, or have left that residence within a period not surpassing three years prior to registration
- Reside in the constituency on grounds of public service; that is, being a member of the security forces or the special departments or an employee of an international organisation (in such cases the residency requirement does not apply)
- Be a spouse to a person with resident qualifications
- Be a dependant to a person with resident qualifications
- Be a registered full time student who lives in an officially recognised hostel located in the constituency
- Be a civil servant and have been transferred to the constituency in the course of his or her employment

Thus, civil servants and members of the security forces deployed on the islands are exempt from the residency requirement.

A person who does not qualify to register in his/her present constituency due to non-fulfilment of the residency requirement may return to his/her previous constituency for registration. A person who does not fulfil the residency requirement in any constituency may not be registered as a voter in any constituency. Any person who is refused to register may object to the refusal first to the registration officer and then to the competent resident magistrate's court by filing a complaint in a prescribed form to the registration officer and pay a deposit "of such sum as the commission may, by notice in the Gazette prescribe".

The registration officer is obliged to hold a public inquiry into all objections duly made. The complainant will be called upon to give proof of his/her qualifications to be registered. If the qualifications are proved to the satisfaction of the registration officer, the name shall be included in the register. If the objection is rejected and the registration officer decides that the objection was made "without reasonable cause", the deposit may not be refunded to the complainant.

The rejection of registration may be appealed to a regional magistrate, who is obliged to hear and determine the case within 14 days of the lodging of the appeal. The decision of the regional magistrate may be appealed further to the High Court which takes the final decision.

Registration officers appointed by ZEC carried out the registration. The role of the shehas in this process was limited to assisting the registration officers (Election Act, Section 11.2-3), whereas they during previous registrations had acted as registration officers. Observer groups present during the registration (TEMCO, Commonwealth, East African Law Society) reported a number of irregularities. In particular, the shehas were reported to interfere in the process, rejecting people wishing to register on the grounds.

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11 Election Law Part III, Article 26 (2).
that they did not meet the criteria of 36 months residency in the constituency. According to Tronvoll, most rejections occurred in CCM strongholds and the majority of those rejected were CUF-supporters. It was also alleged that persons below voting age and non-residents were able to register. The extent of these irregularities is however difficult to ascertain. Another problem during the process seemed to be that the special complaint form for rejected voters was missing in several registration centres. This scarcity of forms made it impossible for some persons to file complaints.

The registration process led to violent incidents both on Pemba and Unguja when security forces tried to register and a young schoolboy was shot dead. As a consequence voter registration was briefly halted by ZEC. A total of 4001 objections were filed to the registration officers. 115 individuals were placed in the register after appeals to the court.

Party agents were present during the registration process. Registered voters were provided with a voter ID. The PVR was displayed in August for public inspection. In order to identify and remove possible multiple registrations, the register then underwent a computer verification process based on facial recognition. This process was however hampered by the Zanzibar Government which cancelled a contract ZEC had signed with an outside company. The verification process identified and removed more than 2000 multiple or double registrations. After this the register was closed for further complaints. The final PVR used on Election Day contained 507,225 voters.

According to the Muafaka accord the corrected PVR was to be displayed in due time before the elections in order to give the political parties and the voters the opportunity to inspect the register. However, the register was displayed only the day before the elections, which was heavily criticised especially by CUF. While the Election Act does not require that the register be displayed, it would have contributed to confidence building had the register been displayed earlier.

Candidate Registration

All candidates for president or member of the House of Representatives must be sponsored by a political party; the law does not allow the registration of independent candidates. A presidential candidate must be nominated by no less than 200 nominators (who must be registered as voters) from each of the five regions on Zanzibar. The candidates for the House of Representatives elections must be nominated by no less than 25 voters registered in the constituency in which the person is a candidate. Candidates are obliged to pay a deposit; 1 million T shilling (864USD) for presidential candidates and 50,000 T shilling (43USD) for candidates for the House of Representatives. The deposit is refunded if the candidate obtains ten percent or more of the votes.

An objection to a nomination for president may be made within 24 hours to the Director of Elections who shall decide on the validity of the objection. Objections may be filed by another candidate and may only be raised on the grounds of insufficient identification of the candidate or inadequate nomination documents. The same applies to the objection to nomination of a candidate for the House of Representatives, but in addition an objection

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12 June 2005.
may be raised on the grounds that the candidate is not qualified to stand for election (non-fulfilment of the provisions of the Constitution). The objection must be made to the Returning Officer who shall decide on the validity of the objections to nominations of candidates for the House of Representatives elections. The decision may be appealed to the Commission for a final ruling.

The nomination of candidates took place on 2 September without any objections or disqualifications.

The presidential candidates were:

- Abdulla Ali Abdulla, DP (Democratic Party)
- Sinai Abdulrahman, NRA (National Reconstruction Alliance)
- Seif Shariff Hamad, CUF
- Amani Abeid Karume, CCM
- Haji Mussa Haji Kitole, Jahazi Asilia
- Maryam Ahmed Omar, Sauti ya Umma (SAU)

219 candidates from 17 parties contested for the 50 directly elected seats in the House of Representatives.

One of the six presidential candidates (from SAU) and 11 percent of the candidates for the House of Representatives were women. Actual representation of women in political parties and the legislative assembly is generally low.

The Election Campaign

The election campaign started on 5 September and continued up to the day before the elections. A code of ethics was initiated by ZEC and adopted by the political parties, regulating when rallies could be conducted and calling for peaceful elections. Also a political parties' code of conduct was adopted in accordance with the Political Parties Act. The code of conduct states that "Each party shall have the freedom and right to hold political rallies" and calls upon the political parties to "avoid the use of abusive language or any acts of hooliganism, violence or use of force" during the campaign.

The Election Act instructs the parties to provide ZEC with their proposed campaign schedule for public meetings. In practice, rallies were scheduled and their times and venues agreed upon by all participating parties, ZEC officials, the district commissioner and the district police commander. A number of scheduled rallies were however cancelled by the parties themselves, usually due to a lack of resources. The smaller parties in particular instead relied on door-to-door campaigning, which is less costly. All the opposition candidates interviewed by the NORDEM teams complained that they had no campaign budget and had to rely on their private means. CCM dominated the

14 The 2005 Political Parties Code of Conduct (drawn in accordance with Section 22 (h) of the Political Parties Act No. 5 of 1992).
campaign scene through numerous posters on buildings, trees and road poles as well as clothing effects and flags. Opposition parties appeared to have few resources compared to the ruling party. They also lacked the apparatus and the organisation to reach out to the same extent as CCM. Women were in the majority at all rallies observed by the NORDEM teams.

In interviews with NORDEM teams, local party representatives often gave the impression of being less concerned with a party platform and political issues than with criticising the opponent.

On three occasions, two of which were observed by NORDEM teams, CUF rallies which had been previously agreed upon and included on the official campaign schedule were hindered by local villagers. One of these occasions ended in the most serious incident during the observed campaign period. The rally was supposed to take place at a school in Region Northern B, Donge Constituency. However, the headmaster of the school refused to have a CUF rally at "his school" and asked the police to stop the CUF supporters already on their way to the venue. The police put up roadblocks to prevent the supporters from reaching the school, causing violent clashes between the supporters and the police. The police used tear gas, batons and bullets\(^\text{15}\) and the incident caused more than ten people to be injured, one seriously. The NORDEM teams were able to interview some of the victims at the hospital, confirming the information we had received from other sources.

On the second occasion CUF supporters organising the rally came to the venue to prepare for the rally, but were turned away by the villagers. In interviews with the NORDEM teams the villagers maintained that the people in the village should be ones to decide who was to hold rallies in their schools. The situation ended peacefully when the CUF supporters packed up their belongings and left the scene.

The Media

The NORDEM assessment group was not able to monitor systematically the media coverage of the elections. The Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA) did however perform media monitoring activities.

The main broadcast media on Zanzibar, the Sauti ya Tanzania Zanzibar radio station (STZ, Voice of Tanzania Zanzibar) and Television Zanzibar (TVZ) are state owned. There are a few private radio stations, but only one of them seemed to bring any news about the elections (Radio Zanj). The daily newspaper Zanzibar Leo (Zanzibar Today) is also state owned. STZ radio broadcasts and election coverage from Pemba were edited on Unguja.

In line with ZEC directives, all political parties contesting the elections were offered the following free of charge:

- A free weekly quarter page in the Zanzibar Leo

\(^{15}\) Confirmed by the operating doctor at the local hospital.
30 or 15 minutes of TVZ programming per week (30 minutes if the party had a presidential candidate, 15 minutes if not)

30 or 15 minutes of STZ radio programming per week (30 minutes if the party had a presidential candidate, 15 minutes if not)

Except for one article from CUF in the first week of the campaign, none of the political parties utilised their free space in the Zanzibar Leo. Only CUF and CCM made use of free broadcasting time on TVZ and STZ, but neither party filled its quota.

The preliminary conclusion of MISA, which monitored the media for three months prior to Election Day, was that the ruling party dominated the campaign coverage in the state owned media. Reference can be made to the day before the elections when both TVZ and STZ broadcast live from the CCM rally while the parallel CUF rally was not covered. MISA also noted that women are rarely used as sources in media articles. The NORDEM group's own findings suggest that opposition parties may not be fully aware of the possibilities they have for using the state media.

State owned media in Zanzibar lack funding and equipment and the journalists are poorly paid. Especially transport is a problem. Usually the media have no vehicle available to transport journalists to the more remote parts of Zanzibar. Interviews with the project manager of a BBC training programme for journalists and the editor of Zanzibar Leo confirmed that bribery is common and widespread. Politicians will provide vehicles and pay money for the journalists to attend their press conferences.

The general awareness of political issues on Zanzibar is fairly low. The focus is more on personalities. People who follow political and government affairs by reading newspapers are mostly urban educated elites. The majority of Zanzibari depend on the radio for political news and information.

Observations on Polling Day

There were a total of 1560 polling stations on Zanzibar. Each station should have the following staff:

- Presiding officer who is also the ballot box controller
- Polling assistant no. 1: Voter register checker and ink marker
- Polling assistant no. 2: Ballot paper issuer

The presiding officer of the last polling station at a polling centre was also appointed as the senior presiding officer.

The day before Election Day, ZEC distributed the election materials as prescribed. The distribution of sensitive materials started at midnight, and was to be completed by 05:00. The army was involved in the distribution of the materials from district election offices to the polling centres. The sensitive materials were escorted by the police.

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16 The donation will be termed travel expenses but the sum will usually exceed the actual travel costs.
Polling Day Procedures

According to the regulations polling stations should open at 07:00 and close at 17:00. All the required material should be present at the opening of the poll, including ballot boxes, ballots and indelible ink. The ballot boxes must be shown to be empty and then sealed. Voters should present a voter ID and be found in the PVR before being allowed to cast their vote. However, a voter who appears in the register but has no voter ID should be allowed to vote provided he or she can present proof of his/her identity. The voter is then given a ballot paper which must be stamped on both sides, the name is ticked off in the PVR, the fingers checked for indelible ink and the voter may go to the booth to mark the ballot paper in secret. After the voter has cast his/her vote, the right thumb must be inked with indelible ink. At the close of the poll, the voters still in line outside the polling station should be allowed to vote.

The counting should take place at polling station level and party agents may be present. The results are filled in a form, signed by the presiding officer and the party agents. Party agents as well as any domestic and international election observers present should be given a copy. As noted before there is no legal requirement for the display of the results outside the polling station. The Muafaka accord however includes such a provision.

Collation and announcing of the results should take place as follows:

Collation of the results from the polling stations should be done by the returning officers at a designated centre. The returning officers should sum up all the results from the polling stations for each constituency in his/her designated district for the presidential and the House of Representatives elections (and for each ward in the local government elections).

The results of the House of Representatives (and local government) elections should be declared by the returning officers after completing the collation forms. The presidential election results from each constituency should be transmitted to ZEC for aggregation.

The results of the presidential election should be officially declared by ZEC within three days of Election Day

Observations on Polling Day on Pemba

Opening of the Poll

The team started the observation at 0600 at a site where four polling stations (PSs) made up a polling centre. A lot of people were already gathered outside the PSs waiting for the voting to begin. During the team's observation three persons of a total of approximately 1200 registered voters did not find their names in the PVR. They were not allowed to vote.

In one of the four PSs the opening was delayed by one hour due to a missing ink pad. In two of the four PSs the opening and polling process went smoothly. In one PS a CUF party agent took control over the process. He arranged the queue, gave instructions to the voters on voting procedures and made arrangements for the inking procedures. The person who marked the voter’s finger with the ink was a CCM party agent. These arrangements were allowed by the presiding officer. In another PS the ink marking was done in a wrong way according to the procedures as they marked the left hand little finger.
Throughout the day the team observed 10 PSs. In general the quality of the voting process varied much from one PS to another, even within the same polling centre. Outside some PSs there were long queues until around 12:00 hrs. In Wete District, however, the team observed that polling was more or less finished by noon.

The checking of voters in the PVR was accurate. In all observed PSs the voters did not vote without a voter ID or without being in the PVR. In one PS party agents told the observers that in the morning there had been chaos because a lot of people claimed that they had the right to vote but were not found in the PVR. The team observed four such votes put aside in an envelope. The presiding officer had calmed down the situation by this move though there is no procedure for tendered ballots in the election law or procedures.

TEMCO claimed that there were a lot of uniformed military personnel at a particular PS. When the team arrived, it observed that approximately one third of the voters lining in the queue were in KMKM (coastal guard) uniform. The team tried to talk to the voters in the queue, but those in uniform declined to talk to the observers. All voters observed, the uniformed personnel included, were registered in the constituency and had voter IDs and thus were legitimate voters. When speaking to the people in the village they told the team that there were military barracks nearby this particular PS.

Closing and Counting

At 17:00 the team observed that there were no queues outside any of the seven PSs in the polling centre where the observation of the counting took place. The closing procedure was conducted according to the regulations.

The counting took place in a very transparent manner. There were no disputes regarding either the procedures or the assessment of the validity of ballots or the results.

The results were posted outside the PS17.

Observations on Polling Day on Unguja

Opening of the Poll

The two teams on Unguja conducted their observations in Central, South and Urban districts. During Election Day the teams visited 28 PSs in two of which opening procedures were observed. Both these polling stations opened on time and a lot of people were already queuing up outside. The opening procedure was conducted according to regulations. In all the observed PSs the voting process went smoothly and without interruptions. In Dole Constituency, Urban West District, two polling stations had not received any ballots for the ward election and in six polling stations there were not enough ballots. In these eight polling stations there will be a local government by-election on 18 December.

No major problems were observed. The polling staff checked and ticked the PVR for each voter and also checked their voter ID. The ballots were stamped and the right thumb was inked according to procedures. Party agents were present at all the observed PSs and the polling staff was competent and efficient even if the process was at times slow. No complaints from voters were filed during the observation. The police guarded

17 For results see Appendix 3
the polling stations but they were in small numbers and did not interfere in the polling process.

Other international observer groups have however reported serious problems during Election Day. NDI and Commonwealth report that at two polling stations in Mji Mkongwe Constituency, security forces fired water cannons to disperse a crowd. The NDI delegation also observed violent actions by security forces against individuals who had allegedly blocked road access to the polling station. These individuals were allegedly attempting to prevent outsiders from voting illegally.

Closing and Counting

The teams on Unguja observed four polling stations during the count. The closing of the observed polling stations was done according to the regulations. The polling stations closed at 17:00 and the voters queuing up outside were allowed to vote. One of the policemen on guard outside saw to it that latecomers were not allowed to join the queue. The counting went on in full transparency and with party agents present. Party agents and these observers were given a copy of the result forms. In some polling stations the results were displayed outside on the wall although this is not required by law. However this procedure contributes to transparency.

The results and all the polling station materials were transported from the polling stations to one collation centre in each district with the assistance of the police. The teams followed the collating of results in two collation centres, Central and South districts. Due to lack of manpower the teams were not able to observe the whole process of collation in these two districts, as the process was not completed until late Monday evening, the day after Election Day. However, the teams observed that in Central District party agents were present observing and commenting on the collation process, while in Southern District no party observers were present during the observed period. During the observation period the process was transparent and smooth.

Comment on the Results

The turnout for the presidential election was 93 percent on Pemba and 90 percent on Unguja which makes for a total turnout of 91 percent. The turnout was highest in the Northern A and Northern B districts with 93% and 94% and in Central and South Districts with 94 percent in both of these. The lowest turnout was in Urban District with 87 percent. For results see Appendix 3.

The results were not very encouraging in terms of gender equality; no women won any of the contested seats in the House of Representatives (so far - there is to be a re-run in Donge Constituency where there are two women contesting the seat).

Post Election Observations

Ahead of the Zanzibar elections CUF announced that they would call for a "people’s power" demonstration copying the "orange" revolution in Ukraine. They would ask their supporters to stay outside the polling stations after they had cast their votes and be ready to mobilise a mass demonstration in the case that CUF was not satisfied with the results. The supporters were asked to stay clear of the 200 meter zone around the polling stations where gathering of people is prohibited, except when queuing up to vote. They were also
asked not to provoke the police. The CUF Secretary for Elections Ayob Bakari stated to the NORDEM teams that the demonstration would be peaceful. After a meeting with the police, where the police made it clear that this action would be deemed illegal and cause violence and possibly injuries, CUF agreed to modify the action, but their supporters would still be on stand-by for a possible mobilisation. However, neither on Election Day nor in the days after the election did any mass mobilisation of this kind take place.

Post Election Observations on Pemba

During the counting process CUF candidate for the Union Parliament Mr. Hamad Rashid told the team that there were rumours that the ballot boxes would be attacked sometime during the night. This was supposed to happen either during the transportation of the ballot boxes from the PSs to the collation centre or after the boxes had arrived.

The team observed that there were many rumours before and on Election Day regarding expected fraudulent behaviour that would benefit CCM. The above mentioned rumour with an identifiable source was one example. No violent incident involving ballot boxes was observed during the night.

At 0800 on 31 October the announcement of the election results started at Godoma Stadium in Chake Chake. 2-3000 people sat down quietly outside the stadium. When the Union Police arrived, the people applauded.

Throughout the day the Unguja results were announced and the people went quietly to their homes. On 1 November a curfew was issued and the team went to Unguja.

Post Election Observations on Unguja

On 1 November the teams were informed that the so-called Field Force Unit (FFU) of the Tanzania Union anti-riot police had surrounded the CUF headquarters in Stone Town. Information was that CUF supporters had been beaten, harassed and tear-gassed. When the teams stopped at Al Rahman Hospital a Médicins sans Frontières (MSF) pick-up car carrying nine injured men arrived. Most of the men had breathing problems but also minor wounds were observed. The teams proceeded to the sealed off area where they observed tear-gassing and harsh treatment of arrested individuals. Approximately 1.500 persons, among them CUF supporters and leaders including the party's presidential candidate Seif Shariff Hamad and vice-presidential candidate Lipumba as well as ordinary residents, were sealed in by the police for three days from 31 October to 2 November without adequate access to food and water. The condition eventually became critical especially for children and elderly persons. The MSF decided to treat the sealed off area as a humanitarian crisis area, and were able to bring in food and water. After international pressure the cordon was lifted on 2 November.

The Review of Complaints Process

Under the Election Act, the presidential results shall be declared by ZEC within three days of the elections. Declaration of the results by persons or organisations prior to the official declaration is subject to a fine or imprisonment or both.
The results of the elections for the House of Representatives and local authorities may be appealed to the High Court (Chapter VIII of the Election Act). The following persons may present an election petition:

- Eligible voters
- A person who claims to have a right to be nominated or elected
- A person claiming to have been a candidate
- The Attorney General

The petitions must be presented within 14 days after the declaration of results. Petitions may be appealed to the High Court where they must be handled within two years.

As for the results of the presidential election, the Election Act states that "No court is allowed to inquire into the election of a presidential candidate who is declared by the electoral commission to have been duly elected". In other words, there is no right to appeal the results of the presidential election.

CUF did not accept the results, claiming that the elections had not been free and fair and that CUF was the real winner of the presidential election. The party filed a complaint to ZEC on the matter, which was handled and rejected within 24 hours. The party did not however bring the case to court.

At a CUF press conference on 11 November the two CUF commissioners criticised the election process and distanced themselves from ZEC (NDI 2005 report).

Conclusions and Recommendations

1. Given that the Election Act predates the introduction of multiparty elections and the many subsequent amendments, the legislation regulating elections is not unified and clear. A review of the legislative framework for elections should be undertaken.

2. The establishment of a permanent voters register is a positive change. However public confidence in the register is low and questions remain as to the credibility of the register. The registration process has been criticised for not being transparent and for the shehas taking on a too dominating role in the process. The right to forward appeals has been restricted by the lack of complaint forms in some registration centres. A review of the registration procedures is therefore recommended.

3. The limited campaign resources for the opposition parties is striking and contributes to the lack of a level playing field for political party election campaigns. Regulations to ensure a level playing field when it comes to election campaign resources, is recommended.

4. The financing of ZEC is a concern as it depends on ad hoc allocations of funds which makes the financial situation of the institution highly unpredictable. The financial autonomy of the institution should be increased.
5. Only 50 of the 81 seats in the House of Representatives are directly elected. The 15 members appointed by the president and the five regional commissioner seats provide the ruling party with a strong power base in the legislature. To increase the number of directly elected seats would be recommendable.

6. The number of female members of the House of Representatives and the way they are appointed is a matter of concern. It is important that the requirement of 30 percent women in the House of Representatives is upheld in practice. The present arrangement of special seats for women seems to have as a consequence that few women are nominated for the contested seats. It is recommended that the arrangement for women's representation in the House of Representatives is reviewed.

7. After the counting of votes at the polling stations, the results were displayed outside some of the stations. This is however not required by law. To increase transparency and accountability the election law should be amended to ensure that the results are displayed at the polling stations immediately after the completion of the count. It is also recommended that ZEC publishes the full election results down to polling station level immediately after the results have been collated.

8. The elections were conducted in an atmosphere of mistrust and mutual allegations both from CCM and CUF. CUF approached the international observers with their concern that the elections would not be free and fair. However, most of the presented allegations have been impossible for this observer team to substantiate. The Muafaka accord provides for arenas for contact between the two main political parties. However, the agreement seems to have come to a standstill. The full implementation of the Muafaka accord should be encouraged.

9. During the campaign and the post election period the authorities on Zanzibar have demonstrated excessive use of force against the political opposition. According to international standards for democratic elections all contesting political parties have the right to express their political views and to hold peaceful demonstrations and it is the obligation of the authorities to ensure that they are able to enjoy these rights. It is recommended that the use of force during and after elections is proportionate to the security situation at hand.
Appendices

Appendix 1: Districts and Constituencies on Zanzibar

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Constituency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unguja</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern A</td>
<td>Tumbatu, Matemwe, Nungwi, Mkwajuni, Chaani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern B</td>
<td>Bumbwini, Kitope, Donge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central</td>
<td>Chwaka, Koani, Uzini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td>Muyuni, Makunduchi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West</td>
<td>Dimani, Kiembesamaki, Mtani, Dole, Mfenesini, Mwanakwerekwe, Fuoni, Magogoni, Bububu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>Mji Mkongwe, Kikwajuni, Rahaleo, Kwahani, Jang’ombe, Mpendale, Magomeni, Amani, Kwamtipura, Chumbuni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PEMBA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wete</td>
<td>Mtambe, Gando, Ole, Kojani, Wete</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Appendix 2: Political Parties Contesting on Zanzibar

Seventeen political parties contested for the 50 seats in House of Representatives.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Number of candidates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CCM</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CUF</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jahazi Asilia</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UPDP</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCCR-Mageuzi</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAU</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHADEMA</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NRA</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TLP</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NLD</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DP</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TADEA</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UDP</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAUSTA</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demokrasia Makini</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPT Maendeleo</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UMD</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
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</table>
Appendix 3: Results

SOUTH REGION-CHAKE-CHAKE CONSTITUENCY:

MICHAKAENI A, POLLING STATION NO: 607

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ELECTION</th>
<th>CCM</th>
<th>CUF</th>
<th>DP</th>
<th>NCCR</th>
<th>REJECTED BALLOTS</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PRESIDENTIAL</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>265</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HOUSE OF REP.</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>254</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COUNCILLORS</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>265</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>318</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This result reflects the total Pemba results after the completion of the counting of votes: CUF 83%, CCM 15%.

ZANZIBAR PRESIDENT RESULTS BY CONSTITUENCY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Constituency</th>
<th>CCM#</th>
<th>CCM%</th>
<th>CUF#</th>
<th>CUF%</th>
<th>Other#</th>
<th>Other%</th>
<th>Total#</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Konde</td>
<td>859</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>7123</td>
<td>89%</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>8008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mgogoni</td>
<td>835</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>6937</td>
<td>89%</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>7823</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Micheweni</td>
<td>1824</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>6661</td>
<td>78%</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>8590</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tumbe</td>
<td>570</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>7777</td>
<td>93%</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>8397</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gando</td>
<td>872</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>6427</td>
<td>88%</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>7318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kojani</td>
<td>601</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>9080</td>
<td>94%</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>9701</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matambwe</td>
<td>351</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>6933</td>
<td>95%</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>7300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ole</td>
<td>985</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>7054</td>
<td>87%</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>8063</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wete</td>
<td>1343</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>8005</td>
<td>86%</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>9362</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chakechake</td>
<td>1708</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>6781</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>8520</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chonga</td>
<td>2496</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>4934</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>7455</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wawi</td>
<td>1898</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>7685</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>9633</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ziwani</td>
<td>1049</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>8303</td>
<td>89%</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>9380</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chambani</td>
<td>618</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>5345</td>
<td>89%</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>5983</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kiwani</td>
<td>1480</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>4831</td>
<td>76%</td>
<td>60</td>
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<td>6371</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mkanyageni</td>
<td>2085</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>4476</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>6575</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mkoani</td>
<td>2123</td>
<td>30%</td>
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*Zanzibar: Presidential and House of Representatives Elections 2005*