

**Pemba By-Elections, Zanzibar
United Republic of Tanzania**

18 May 2003

**REPORT OF THE COMMONWEALTH
EXPERT TEAM**

COMMONWEALTH SECRETARIAT

Pemba By-Elections, Zanzibar, United Republic of Tanzania, 18 May 2003
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**COMMONWEALTH EXPERT TEAM TO THE BY-ELECTIONS ON PEMBA,
ZANZIBAR, UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA**

22 May 2003

Dear Secretary-General,

Following your invitation to observe the Pemba by-elections, Zanzibar on 18 May 2003, we are submitting our report to you.

You will see from our conclusions that we believe that these by-elections should be considered a credible expression of the will and intention of the people of Pemba. There was a very high turnout of voters and all were able to cast their ballot in an atmosphere free from fear and intimidation. We were warmly welcomed everywhere we went and were able to gain a strong impression of the electoral process.

The Zanzibar Election Commission deserves commendation for its efforts in ensuring that the arrangements for the elections went smoothly in most respects. This represented a considerable improvement from the problems of the 2000 elections.

There were some concerns and we have reflected these in our report. In this regard we call upon you to continue to offer Commonwealth assistance to consolidate democracy and the electoral process in preparation for the elections in 2005 and beyond.

We thank you for the opportunity to participate in the Expert Team and we would like to convey our appreciation for the support provided by Jeremy Clarke-Watson and Amita Patel.

Mr Sulley Amadu
Singh

Mr Michael Hendrickse

Mr Karamjit

H.E. Rt. Hon. Don McKinnon
Commonwealth Secretary-General
Marlborough House
London SW1Y 5HX
United Kingdom

Acknowledgements

We wish to place on record our sincere appreciation to the many organisations who assisted us during our time in Zanzibar and Dar es Salaam. In particular we wish to thank the Zanzibar Electoral Commission for their co-operation and assistance.

We appreciate the support of the Commonwealth High Commissions, political parties, the police, the media, local and international observers and others whose briefings greatly assisted us in our work.

We thank the Electoral Commissions of Ghana, South Africa and the United Kingdom for allowing us to participate in the Commonwealth Expert Team.

We were grateful for the assistance rendered by the support team from the Commonwealth Secretariat.

The interpreters and drivers deserve special praise for their efforts. We also thank all those we met who warmly welcomed our presence.

We take this opportunity to wish the people of Zanzibar well for the future.

Finally, we thank the Commonwealth Secretary-General, His Excellency Don McKinnon, for this wonderful opportunity to serve the Commonwealth in the promotion of democracy in Zanzibar.

**REPORT OF THE COMMONWEALTH EXPERT TEAM TO OBSERVE THE
BY-ELECTIONS IN PEMBA, ZANZIBAR,
UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA**

18 MAY 2003

INTRODUCTION

This Report covers the work of the Commonwealth Expert Team (CET) to observe the by-elections in Pemba, Zanzibar, which were held on 18 May 2003. An officer from the Political Affairs Division of the Commonwealth Secretariat arrived on 4 May to make initial arrangements in advance of the arrival of the main team on 11 May. The Team met with the Zanzibar Electoral Commission (ZEC), Commonwealth High Commissions, the political parties, civil society representatives, voters on the ground, police, members of the media and other observers.

The Commonwealth has a history of support to the development and consolidation of democracy in Zanzibar and this Expert Team is a further reflection of the Commonwealth's commitment to strengthening electoral best practice.

BACKGROUND

Invitation

Following an invitation from the Zanzibar Electoral Commission to send a Commonwealth Observer Mission to Zanzibar for the by-elections in Pemba on 18 May 2003, the Commonwealth Secretary-General constituted a Commonwealth Expert Team comprising three senior Commonwealth electoral experts supported by two officers from the Commonwealth Secretariat. The members of the Expert Team were as follows:

Mr Sulley Amadu
Regional Director (Brong Ahafo)
Electoral Commission of Ghana

Mr Michael Hendrickse
Senior Manager: Voting, Electoral Democracy Development and Liaison
Independent Electoral Commission of South Africa

Mr Karamjit Singh
Commissioner
United Kingdom Electoral Commission

The Team was assisted by:

Mr Jeremy Clarke-Watson
Political Affairs Division

Ms Amita Patel
Office of the Secretary-General

The terms of reference for the Team were as follows:

The Commonwealth Expert Team for the 18 May by-elections in Pemba, Zanzibar, United Republic of Tanzania, shall observe the:

- *Preparations for the elections;*
- *Polling, counting and results process; and*
- *Overall electoral environment*

And will report thereafter to the Commonwealth Secretary-General, with recommendations for the future management of the electoral process and, if appropriate, Commonwealth technical assistance. The Secretary-General will in turn send the Team's report to the Zanzibar Electoral Commission, the National Electoral Commission, the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania, the Government of Zanzibar, the main political parties, and Commonwealth Governments. It will then be made public.

There were simultaneous elections for 15 seats in the Union Parliament conducted by the National Election Commission (NEC) on the same day as the ZEC elections. It was not within the remit of the Team to comment on these elections.

Activities of the Team

The Team commenced work on 12 May. We were unable to witness first-hand the registration process, as this had been completed before the Team arrived. The Team met twice with the ZEC to be briefed on the preparations for the elections. We also met with all the political parties contesting the elections and attended rallies of the parties. Meetings were held with members of the media, other accredited observers and the Team met members of the local monitoring organisation, the Tanzania Election Monitoring Committee (TEMCO). The Team visited the four electoral districts of Pemba and met with local ZEC staff and witnessed the final phase of training. In all areas we were able observe the preparation of ballot materials for the polling stations and to see the commencement of the distribution of the ballot papers. On election day, the Team split into three groups. We were able to visit 16 of the 17 constituencies, covering 31 (of the 75) polling centres and 172 polling stations (of the 335) situated in all four electoral districts. Collation of results was observed in two centres, although we did not observe the final announcement of results.

The 2000 Elections

The 29 October 2000 Elections were the second multi-party elections in Tanzania since it gained independence in 1961. They were for the Presidency and National Assembly of the United Republic of Tanzania and, in Zanzibar, the Presidency of Zanzibar and the House of Representatives.

Those elections fell far short of minimum standards. In many places polling stations opened very late and there were serious delays in the delivery of materials, some polling stations did not open at all. ZEC eventually annulled the

elections in 16 of the 50 constituencies – home to 42% of the eligible electorate – and in the remaining 34 the voting or counting was suspended, and resumed on 5 November when the 16 elections were re-run.

The 12-person Commonwealth Observer Group (seven eminent persons and five Commonwealth Secretariat staff) recorded that “in many places this election was a shambles”, that the cause was “either massive incompetence or a deliberate attempt to wreck at least part of this election” and that “the outcome represents a colossal contempt for ordinary Zanzibari people and their aspirations for democracy”. It went on to say that “only a properly conducted and fresh poll, throughout Zanzibar, undertaken by a Commission reformed in line with international good practice, with its independence guaranteed in both law and practice and a restructured and professional secretariat, can create confidence in and give credibility to Zanzibar's democracy”. It added that “in this context, the need to review relevant constitutional and legislative provisions, as well as electoral arrangements, should also be addressed”. Other Observer Groups made similar statements and none observed the re-run elections. There was violence in both Unguja and Pemba and the Field Force Unit of the Tanzanian police (riot police) was deployed, using tear gas, rubber bullets and live rounds.

Rather than helping to move the political process on, the elections deepened the political impasse between the Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) and the Civic United Front (CUF). CUF refused to contest the re-run, refused to recognize the results, called for fresh elections under an interim government and refused to take up its seats in constituencies it had won on 29 October. Eventually CUF candidates who had refused to take up their seats were ‘timed out’ and their seats were declared vacant. It is these seats - plus that of the Vice-President (who had to surrender his seat on appointment) - which were contested at these by-elections.

The CUF refused to recognize the new President of Zanzibar, Amani Abeid Karume. Popular unrest continued, and there was violence in a number of places. The Zanzibar Government withdrew treason charges against 18 CUF members amid major peaceful protests both in Zanzibar and the mainland, but rejected demands for fresh elections.

The Muafaka Accord

The impasse was eventually ended with agreement on a new political understanding between CCM and CUF known as the Muafaka (Swahili for agreement), which was concluded on 10 October 2001. The key points were as follows:

- the parties reaffirmed the provisions of the June 1999 CCM-CUF Agreement, and committed themselves to the implementation of its provisions;
- they agreed to the formation of an independent Joint Presidential Supervisory Commission (JPSC) comprised of equal numbers of

members from both parties and appointed by the President; the JPSC's function would be to supervise the implementation of the Accord and promote mutual trust and understanding between the two parties; funding for the Commission to be from a Special Presidential Fund set up for that purpose;

- by-elections for the vacant seats in the Union Parliament and the Zanzibar House of Representatives would be held "upon completion of the implementation of the Accord";
- the parties to the Accord agreed on the role and impartiality of state bodies during elections, the retraining of the armed forces on their duties in a multi-party system, the holding of a review into procedures for recruitment to state bodies (to eliminate political or other favouritism) and the prohibition of *shehas*¹ from any role in the recruitment of public officials and civic education to promote the citizen's right of redress against state officials;
- establishment of an independent Commission of Inquiry into the events of January 26 and 27, 2001² together with withdrawal of charges against those charged in connection with incidents during that period;
- the formation of an Inter-Party Consultative Committee to enable regular consultation and the achievement of consensus on major issues among leaders of all political parties in Zanzibar.

THE ELECTORAL FRAMEWORK

The electoral and legal framework related to election management in Zanzibar is detailed and many aspects work well. There are however a number of issues that have emerged during the course of the by-elections that the Team considers need to be addressed before the next elections scheduled to take place in 2005.

Electoral Legislation

The elections are governed by the Elections Act of 1984. This Act had been extensively amended in 2000, 2001 and 2002. The amendments had dealt with certain provisions of the principal Election Act of 1984 which had been the subject of previous comment. They included:

- introducing a permanent voters register;

¹ *Shehas* are state-appointed community officials

² Throughout late 2000 and January 2001 there were often violent opposition demonstrations demanding new elections. On 26 and 27 January at least 40 people, including six members of the security forces, were killed and 100 injured in clashes between the police and opposition supporters and 400 arrests were made. The following month two prominent CUF leaders, including the Deputy Secretary-General, were arrested and charged with the murder of a police officer during the January demonstrations.

- removing the voters register number of the voter on the ballot counterfoil. The only numbering on ballot papers during this election was for sequential numbering so that the number of papers per polling station could be noted;
- providing for each agent (representing candidates and political parties) the right to receive an authenticated result from election officials;
- limiting the role of *shehas* to the registration process;
- providing for every Registration Officer, Returning Officer, and all other officials carrying out election duties to comply with directions issued by the Director of ZEC.

The Team was concerned that the 1984 Act and 2000/2001/2002 amendments had not been consolidated into a single piece of primary legislation which could be referred to by all persons with an interest in electoral issues. The Team felt that as the electoral laws form the basis of the entire electoral process there was an urgent need to produce a single consolidated set of electoral laws in both English and Kiswahili.

This electoral legislation should be written in simple clear language and, where possible, with the minimum of legalese. This may remove the need for continuous legal interpretation and should allow the electoral practitioners, party agents and the voters to clearly understand its provisions. This would be beneficial to enhancing transparency and trust between all sides involved in the elections.

The legislation also has a direct impact on the training of staff and the development of training support material and appropriate forms that are used during elections. There should therefore be a cut-off date for legislative amendments to allow sufficient time for preparations in advance of elections. The ability to reproduce pocket size copies of the legislation for electoral officers would give them the ability to ascertain the provisions quickly and confidently should the need arise.

Delimitation

Zanzibar has 50 constituencies, 17 of which were contested in the by-elections. The constituencies serve as the political representative unit as well as the election administrative unit. Within the constituency, there are no small administrative geographic voting districts, used as administrative units to determine the boundaries of the constituencies. Rather, voters register at the registration point closest to them. The ZEC had limited registration to maximum of 350 voters per station. This had meant that when a registration point reaches saturation point, an adjacent registration point was opened and so it continued until all the persons had registered. This created a situation of multiple registration points allocated at one centre, normally a school.

In the by-elections for the 17 constituencies, there were 335 polling stations, located at 75 voting centres. These were spread according to the demographic density of a constituency as well as geographic realities, where smaller islands fell within a constituency.

In determining boundaries of constituencies, it is unclear what geographic and other factors were taken into account. The Team had been informed that there were no maps available for this purpose. At least one party we spoke to indicated that while the total number of constituencies were sufficient, the actual delimitation of the boundaries needed to be re-aligned to ensure a more equitable distribution of voters across constituencies. No delimitation exercise had occurred since the 2000 election. It is envisaged that delimitation of constituencies will have to be done following the general registration process.

Qualification for Registration

The registration requirements to be eligible to vote in a constituency required that the person must be a Tanzanian and Zanzibari citizen of 18 years or older and must either be resident within the area of the constituency for a period of 3 years (previously 5 years) or the person is an employee of the State who has been transferred to the area in the course of his/her work. The residency criteria were in response to past claims and fears of constituency loading by persons not from the area.

For the registration process for the Pemba by-elections, registration centres were established in all constituencies. The role of local government officials or *shehas* had in the past been an area of complaint, as often a person's right to vote was subject to whether the *shehas* chose to recognise the voter as a person from his area. Amendments to the legislation have limited the arbitrary power of *shehas* who now, together with party agents, are limited to observing the process and to detecting impersonation.

Registration of Voters

Following the Muafaka agreement, the JPSC agreed to the introduction of a new permanent, computerised voters register. This registration of voters was initially intended to cover the whole of Zanzibar. However, the delay in appointing the new Commissioners of the ZEC had a significant impact on the commencement date for the registration process. In view of the limited time available for registration, ZEC chose to compile a manual register only for the seventeen constituencies where the by-elections were to take place. In addition, the voters information would also be captured using Optical Mark Recognition (OMR) forms as a basis for the future permanent voters register.

Registration for the by-elections commenced on 1 April 2003 until 16 April 2003. Registration had already been postponed and therefore when the OMR forms were not delivered on time, postponement of registration was not an option. Non-OMR forms were created and used in the development of the manual register. This meant that during the first four days of registration, voters who were registered could not be issued with the voter ID cards. Their details were

recorded and they were required to return to collect their respective voter cards at a later date. Despite this setback, the process went smoothly and there were apparently no complaints from any voter or party that persons who were so registered did not receive their voter cards. The voter cards contained a photo, and two unique identifying numbers with all the cost being covered by ZEC.

Due to the fact that the voters register was recorded manually, it meant that it could not be compiled alphabetically. The number of voters per registration point was limited to 350 with adjacent registration centres created in areas with a larger population base. This meant that at a particular centre (normally a school) there were often registration points in a number of classrooms. In order to distinguish the registration points at such centres, each registration point was allocated an alphabetical prefix, commencing with "A". This prefix was also reflected on the voters card. On election day, the same registration points were converted to polling stations and voters were directed to the correct polling station.

It became apparent to the Team that in certain instances there was no proper co-ordination within registration centres and this forced the administrators to create supplementary prefixes such as "A1" or "B1". In some cases, the incorrect voters register number was allocated to a voter, an issue that became apparent on election day. Some voters found that the names in the voters register did not correspond to theirs, or that their names did not appear at all, despite having a voters card. This registration system would theoretically allow someone to discern voting patterns from particular villages on election day.

The ZEC had set its target for the registration at 75% of the eligible persons, and they had confirmed that they had reached their target by registering 107,974 voters out of approximately 140,000 persons identified by the Census. Political parties who were interviewed also confirmed their satisfaction with the process as a whole, and that generally their supporters were given sufficient time to register. They were also satisfied with the level of registration.

On the close of the registration on 16 April, the voters register was compiled and five days were allowed for inspection and the raising of objections. Objections were then determined at hearings held 14 days later. There was no fee attached to lodging an objection. The Returning Officer informed both sides of the date of a hearing where they had an opportunity to state their respective cases and could be assisted by a representative. ZEC confirmed that 217 objections were lodged, of which 20 were upheld and of the 42 objections that were taken on appeal to the Regional Magistrate, 9 were successful.

On the completion of the registration of voters, copies of the voters register for a particular registration point was published at that centre. Persons and parties had an opportunity to inspect the accuracy of these lists which were normally pasted on the wall of the centre. While the ZEC has stated that they would have preferred to give copies of the voters register to participating parties, it was not practical to do so with a manually written register. Parties did, however, have access to the voters register at ZEC offices.

All the political parties raised with us the issue of the delay with the OMR forms at commencement of registration but overall they indicated to us that they were satisfied with the credibility and correctness of the voters register that was to be used in the by-elections. It is also worth noting that for the NEC elections held simultaneously in Pemba, copies of the ZEC voters register were used.

The Nomination of Candidates and the High Court Challenge

The Zanzibar Constitution and the Election Act of 1984 set down the requirements for the nomination of candidates. The election timetable set 20 April 2003 as the date for nomination. Fifty-six candidates, including three women, from five parties contested the Pemba by-elections. These parties were:

- Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) – 17 candidates
- Civic United Front (CUF) – 11 candidates
- Tanzania Democratic Alliance Party (TADEA) – 3 candidates
- National Convention for Reconstruction and Reform (NCCR-Mageuzi) – 13 candidates
- Tanzania Labour Party (TLP) – 12 candidates

In terms of the Section 49(3) of the Election Act, objections must be made by the following day. Only candidates in the same constituency, a Returning Officer or the Director of Elections are allowed to raise objections. An objection must be lodged with the Returning Officer who convenes a hearing where both sides are given an opportunity to present their case, whereafter the Returning Officer makes a ruling. A right of appeal lies with the ZEC.

For these by-elections, ZEC received eight appeals against the decisions of the Returning Officers. One of these was considered and rejected on the grounds that the person who lodged the objection was not a candidate of another party. The second objection was on the grounds that the candidate was an employee of the JPSC and was therefore debarred because he was being paid by the Zanzibar Government. ZEC noted that some Members of the JPSC were Ministers in the Zanzibar Government and were also paid and therefore the appeal was dismissed.

The other objections were raised by NCCR-Mageuzi who objected to six candidates from the CUF on the basis that they were disqualified from standing by the Constitution. These objections had been rejected by the Returning Officer. The NCCR had then appealed to ZEC which had decided to disqualify the six CUF candidates under the provisions of the Constitution dealing with the suspension and disqualification of Members. The sanction is disbarment from participation in elections as a candidate for five years.

CUF appealed to the Zanzibar High Court, which handed down its judgement on 13 May. The Team's understanding of the High Court's decision was that the Court held that, without interpreting the basis of the objections, it did not have the jurisdiction with reference to Section 49(5) of the Election Act to hear the matter at this time. This effectively upheld the decision previously made by ZEC. The Team notes that although this section states that the decision of ZEC

“should be final and conclusive” it does leave open the possibility of electoral petitions being presented to the High Court for registration and nomination issues after the election.

Senior CUF officials assured the Team that whilst they were not happy with the ZEC decision they had told their activists and supporters to remain calm whatever decision was handed down by the High Court. CUF argued that their candidates had not taken up their seats, had not taken the oath, had not drawn their salaries, and therefore were not Members of the legislature. They argued that Section 71 of the Constitution did not apply when seats were vacated. It is our understanding that Section 71 provides that Members may be expelled if they fail to attend three consecutive sessions without the permission of the Speaker.

ZEC had then considered the position of the six candidates who had all been elected to the House of Representatives during the 2000 elections and took the view that they had been declared as Members but had then boycotted sessions and had been removed from office as a consequence of Section 71.

Notwithstanding this, the Team was told that CUF intended to participate fully in the elections even in the six constituencies where they no longer had candidates. We were told ‘there is no question of boycotts’. The interpretation of the provisions has not been finally adjudicated by the Courts. It remains to be seen whether the matter will be taken back to court after the elections, either by CUF to challenge the exclusion of their six candidates, or by another party as CUF candidates in the remaining constituencies are in the same position.

THE ELECTORAL ENVIRONMENT AND THE CAMPAIGN

The opinion of the Team and that of everyone that we spoke to was that the atmosphere for the 2003 by-elections reflected a dramatic reduction in levels of tension and hostility between the parties. At the political rallies attended by the Team, no tension was visibly discernible. The political parties commented on the improvement in relationships brought about by the Muafaka Accord. However, references were made to a small number of isolated incidents. An example was quoted of where a party rally was taking place near to a mosque and the loudspeaker system there had a tape inserted so that the speeches were being drowned out by religious sermons being broadcast on tape. However because all parties sent ZEC a list of their rallies, tension was reduced by ensuring that these did not occur on the same day in nearby environs.

Parties commented that the conduct of the police had been much calmer and discreet than during previous elections. They noted that the police had not been involved in arresting people arbitrarily as they had done on previous occasions. They also noted that *shehas* in some areas had also included members of other parties in local development committees.

The police informed the Team that they were monitoring the situation and had not seen any tensions. They were aware of potential flashpoints and were

observing these, but generally felt that the situation in Pemba was calmer than for any previous election. Only at one rally were a small number of armed police and army officers present and this reflected the fact that senior elected office holders in the Zanzibar and Union governments were present.

Democracy Education

Voter education is part of the broader democracy education and any programme should not therefore be limited to voter education per se as elections operate within a broader democratic framework.

ZEC has limited its democracy education programme to voter education prior to the registration and elections. ZEC primarily used the radio to convey voter education messages. It also posted sample ballot papers on walls and shops, and distributed copies to political parties. It is alleged that funding for voter education was late in arriving, resulting these minimal programmes. Political parties interviewed all agreed on the importance of voter education. These parties also saw political parties playing an active and important role in general democracy education. They suggested that this would entail parties receiving funding. Before such a step can be considered, it would be advisable that ZEC has the structure in place to develop and co-ordinate democracy education.

In addition to political parties, the relevant government departments and NGOs should be involved in the formulation and implementation of an overall democracy education strategy. There must also be sufficient commitment from funders to ensure the sustainability of democracy education programmes. Programmes which are not capital intensive also need to be developed, so that the lack of funding does not compromise the strengthening of democracy.

Media coverage

Due to language constraints, the Team could not monitor media coverage of the by-elections and political campaigns as much as it would have wanted. The Court case involving the six disqualified CUF candidates did receive wide coverage. The response from the contesting political parties regarding access to media varied from not receiving coverage to insufficient to satisfactory coverage. At least one party commented positively on the intervention of the ZEC to ensure that the local television station ensured equitable coverage of party political campaigns.

In the final few days of the campaign reporting on broader issues related to the election began to emerge. Most of the reporting was focussed on CCM and CUF and the three smaller parties received scant coverage.

Political party liaison

There is currently no permanent forum where ZEC can liaise with all political parties. Before registration, three meetings were held between ZEC and all the parties. Another meeting took place when the Code of Conduct was signed for election campaigning and then subsequently just before nomination day.

Parties expressed the view that ZEC had performed better than its predecessors. These improved relationships with ZEC and its attempts to build confidence were contrasted with the perceptions of parties about NEC which was that they were not transparent. For example, in contrast to ZEC, which had consulted the parties about the appointment of Presiding Officers and Polling Assistants, there had been no such consultation on the part of NEC.

The Team considers that ZEC should now move to establish a formal structure that will not only allow it to communicate directly with the political parties, but such a structure can also serve as a forum for parties to discuss electoral matters *inter se*. This forum would not replace one-on-one interaction with political parties, but could rather be part of an overall election management strategy. The structure should be at national level, and be replicated at district level. It should be an advisory body where every party has the same representation and any recommendation to the Commission is based on sufficient consensus. The forum will provide ZEC with a means of interacting formally with the parties and inform them of electoral interpretations and processes. In addition it would have the added benefit of encouraging greater dialogue between political parties on matters of common electoral interest.

Campaigning

In terms of the election timetable, campaigning for the by-elections commenced on 21 April 2003. All political campaigning, including meetings and rallies, had to end by 6.00 p.m. on 17 May 2003. The political parties contesting the election signed a Code of Conduct to which they pledged to adhere, during the campaign.

Political parties were required to forward a schedule of their respective meetings and rallies to ZEC to ensure that there was no double-booking of venues. Parties readily adhered to this rule which was designed to minimise possible conflict situations erupting. There were allegations that some venues were not made available to certain parties and that some parts of the island were declared no-go areas. The Team was able to observe at least one meeting/rally of each party. No intimidation or infringement to freedom of association and expression was noted and in general speakers could speak freely. The crowds that attended the meetings were exuberant, and many meetings were preceded with campaign music, dancing, and other entertainment. There were also motor vehicles with public address systems which occasionally roamed the streets broadcasting party political messages.

The Team was made aware of the importance of religion and religious practices during the campaigning. At a political rally which took place at a small village in the North of the island, the Team observed that the meeting included a prayer and the speeches appeared to focus on emphasising the religious credentials of the party and candidate. At the rally of another party the meeting was adjourned to allow people to attend afternoon prayers.

The campaigns were on the whole conducted in an atmosphere of calm and tolerance, and there was less tension visible than in 2000. This in part must be largely attributable to the leadership of especially the two main parties, CCM and CUF. Parties, observers and voters all commented on the vast improvement in an atmosphere that was conducive to credible elections. A matter of serious concern was the demonstration by CUF supporters on the night after the close of counting and the declaration of results in the main town of Chake Chake. The situation was confrontational and the possibility of serious violence ever-present. While political parties and supporters have the right to freedom of expression, the events of the evening could have overshadowed what were otherwise very peaceful elections.

The issue of funding was also raised by most parties, with calls for reform of the system of public funding to ensure transparency and equitable distribution to all participating parties. Currently public funding is limited to political parties that have representation in the national Union Parliament and the House of Representatives. There does not appear to be any legislation that specifically covers the private funding received by parties or disclosures of such funding.

An issue that was also raised by a number of parties concerned their perceptions about the possible advantages of incumbency when using State assets for party political purposes. The Team was not in a position to monitor and verify the assertions made in relation to this particular issue.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE ELECTIONS

Logistics

The ZEC contracted a printing company from South Africa to develop and produce the ballot papers. The ballot papers had an array of security features built into them, including the type of paper used. Sample ballot papers were distributed to parties for the purposes of campaigning, and were pasted on walls and buildings over Pemba.

The ballots came in book form with counterfoils and produced in batches of 50 to a book. The ballots and the counterfoils were numbered. Unlike in the past, the voters register number was not recorded on the ballot paper issued to the voter. The need for such an array of security features as well the concomitant expenses in this regard was not very clear. The use of one or two security features, serialised ballot books and ballot papers, together with an effective system of reconciliation with the counterfoils and the voters register should be sufficient. It also again raises the need for liaison with the NEC as to the format and features of ballot papers.

The Team was made aware of perceptions expressed by political parties and others which compared and contrasted the different approaches taken by NEC and ZEC towards election day management. This included the view that there was very little or no communication between the two bodies regarding major issues.

In the last elections there were particular problems with insufficient materials at certain polling stations. Not only were there shortages of ballot papers, but political party agents did not receive copies of the results forms as required. It would appear that ZEC looked at the shortcomings from the last election and put mechanisms in place to prevent any recurrence. There was however during the registration campaign a problem at certain stations in regard to distribution of material. ZEC has put this down to failure on the part of the government to provide the transport required for the task.

While concentrating on preventing these mishaps recurring, there had however been a neglect to plan as effectively for other areas of election management. Security and distribution of ballot papers were, due to past experience, concentrated on, but then there was a neglect of other security items, such as the official stamp which is used to ensure that the ballot paper is valid. A clear distinction must be made between all items classified as security items and those that are not and adequate safeguards put in place. For example, security items should be packaged in transparent packaging and kept separate.

ZEC had gone to great lengths to assure political parties that there would be sufficient materials at polling stations. To counter the possibility of too many ballot papers being available at polling stations, ballot papers were packed in batches of 50. Each polling station therefore received either exactly 350 ballot papers or such number rounded up to the closest 50. In addition, the Registration Officer had an additional batch of 50 in the event of shortfalls. In this regard, it should be remembered that, in most cases, there was more than one polling station at a venue, and any shortage at one polling station could be augmented from another.

Political parties were invited to the airport to oversee the arrival of ballot papers in Pemba. Parties were even allowed to post their own agents to keep an eye on the ballots at venues where they were being stored. The material was distributed to Returning Officers a day before the election, namely, 17 May 2003. The team followed three of the vehicles and the distribution to district centres went smoothly for the most part. Presiding Officers received the material as from 5.00 p.m. on the same day and they were responsible for its safekeeping, including the delivery of materials to the polling stations which commenced at midnight. Party agents were able to verify the ballot papers, but were not allowed to record serial numbers for security reasons. Parties had also been provided with sample ballot papers for use during campaigning. There was general satisfaction with the arrangements.

One political party had instructed its agents not to allow voting to commence unless all materials were present at the polling station. This was in part reaction to the situation during the last elections when there were shortages at several polling stations which led ZEC to close all polling stations, and then subsequently decide that, except for 16 constituencies, polling re-commence where it left off in the other remaining constituencies.

While Returning Officers were given a phone card for use in their personal cell/mobile phones, not all areas have network coverage. In addition, there appeared to be only one number at which they could reach the ZEC office or the Director. There was no formal means of communication between the Returning Officer and the polling stations. The rather rudimentary arrangement was that the Registration/Constituency Officer would visit the stations on election day. There was a definite need to improve the communications structure. It was of vital importance that ZEC establish effective operations centres at different levels to ensure the smooth communication and co-ordination prior as well as on election day. This deficiency was subsequently very apparent on election day, especially after the counting process.

ZEC appeared to be going it alone in terms of logistic arrangements, with limited back-up arrangements in place. This was especially true in relation to transport arrangements, storage of materials and contingency plans for adverse weather. On the day of the distribution of materials the polling materials were exposed to potential damage from the elements due to a lack of sufficient covered storage space, as well as apparent lack of co-ordination in the distribution from the Pemba office. It is important for ZEC to explore securing adequate office and warehousing space prior to future elections.

It became apparent to the Team that ZEC in looking at the lessons learned from 2000 had focussed heavily on arrangements for the front end of the electoral process and may not have given sufficient thought or detailed planning to the collection of counted ballot papers in preparation for collation at the end of the day. Polling teams were unsure of the precise arrangements for the collection of their ballot papers and were also in many cases unsure of where their particular polling station results were to be collated. Polling teams were not given a precise collection time from stations, rather they had to wait until a collection vehicle arrived from the constituency centre or district office. This did lead to delays in the collation of results and had the potential to increase tension among party supporters. It is an area that ZEC must pay particular attention to in planning for 2005 to ensure that it manages to develop a complete election day strategy.

Recruitment and Training

In each local district a Returning Officer was appointed for the constituencies that fall within that district. A Registration Officer was appointed for each constituency. Despite the title, the Registration Officer was responsible for the registration as well as the election in that constituency. The Registration Officer appointed the Presiding Officer and polling officials. Each polling station had three officials, one of which was the Presiding Officer. Where there was more than one polling station at a centre, the Presiding Officer of the smallest polling station within that centre was designated as the senior Presiding Officer for the overall co-ordination of the activities of the centre.

For the posts of Returning Officer and Registration Officer, advertisements were placed in newspapers calling on competent persons to apply. Unlike in the past, the District Administrator was not automatically appointed the Returning Officer.

The minimum qualification for a Returning Officer is a tertiary diploma, and for a Registration Officer is an A-level school certificate. Once a shortlist of applicants is identified, the political parties are given an opportunity to object on a substantive ground. According to one of the political parties interviewed, they had raised an objection but ZEC did not respond. ZEC confirmed that it had only received one objection, but it was rejected as the objection was received after the time allocated for that purpose had lapsed.

The process of recruitment was welcomed by all parties and there was overall satisfaction of the selection, subject to them monitoring the actions of these officials on election day. The majority of elections officials were teachers. It was also noted that no women were appointed as Returning Officers and that women generally occupied non decision-making positions.

In the past the apparent bias or otherwise of government appointed *shehas* had been a serious concern. Due to amendments to the Election Act, the *shehas* had been excluded from playing any official role within the polling station. This was also very clear from the manual for election officers, which clearly set out who was allowed in a polling station at any given time.

For the registration process, the ZEC appointed an NGO from Kenya, the Institute for Education in Democracy, to conduct the training of Returning Officer and Registration Officers. These in turn were responsible for training the rest of the staff, using the cascade method. No substantive guide was provided to the service provider, which prevented adequate preparation. ZEC officials expressed their satisfaction with the quality of training given, notwithstanding the limitations.

Training of officials for the elections was done in-house. Returning Officers and Registration Officers were trained over a period of three days, and who in turn trained their Presiding Officers and Polling Assistants over two days.

At one training session for polling staff that was observed, it was noticed that the number of participants per session was extraordinary large (60 persons in a classroom) and this may have affected the effectiveness of the training. There appeared to be no learning support material and training was conducted classroom style with the presenter making notes on a blackboard. In other cases, the Team was informed that use was being made of outdated NEC manuals and materials. The copy of a ballot paper seemed to be the only support material available.

The consultant who prepared the Procedures Manual for electoral staff indicated that it was done without reference to one of the amendments to the Election Act, as the former was not available in English at the time of preparation. The availability of consolidated electoral legislation, as well as timely translation of documents into either of the two official languages must be addressed by ZEC. Not only do officials run the risk of being incorrectly trained, but it also leads to uncertainty and frustration. The Team was informed that the final draft of the Manual was brought over to Pemba two days before the elections.

It is imperative that training be well structured and that qualified trainers, assisted by ZEC staff, conduct training in advance of elections. It is not advisable that the Director should be caught up in conducting the training, as he has other responsibilities and duties that also require his attention. Up to date manuals and learner support material must be used. These need not be expensive material or equipment and ZEC should liaise with other election management bodies in this regard. A database must be created of all the persons employed by ZEC for and during elections, in order to use the same persons and so create a stable, professional and well-trained core of electoral staff.

On the whole, prior to election day, there was eagerness and a quiet confidence on the part of Returning Officers and Registration Officers that they are well prepared and that all staff clearly understand their roles and duties.

On election day, it was clear that despite the shortcomings that may have been experienced during training, electoral staff in polling stations on the whole performed their duties and functions efficiently and impartially. They clearly kept the party agents informed and when completing administrative duties such as the completion of forms, they explained and worked well with agents. During the counting process some stations were slower than others, but this was more as result of over-cautiousness on the part of Presiding Officers rather than incompetence. In the circumstances, the polling staff performed their functions efficiently and effectively and must be commended.

There was no clarity in regard to training of party agents by ZEC. Responses from parties varied from receiving rudimentary training to not receiving any training. ZEC did provide some sample ballot papers to the parties which had used these as part of their own training for their own agents. The electoral legislation draws a distinction between party agents that represent their respective parties during voting, and candidate agents who represent candidates during the counting. In this document, reference to party agents included candidate agents. Party agents play an extremely important role in ensuring that elections are accountable and as transparent without infringing the secrecy of the ballot. A well trained party agent means that ZEC and political parties have common understandings of the electoral processes, duties and functions, removing suspicion and enhancing cooperation. ZEC, together with the respective political parties, should ensure that training of party agents be completed before election day. Party agents should be invited to sit in on the training of electoral officials. Parties should be allowed to appoint alternates that will be able to relieve one another, as long as the number of agents inside a polling centre never exceeds the prescribed number at any time. It is important that political parties realise that the appointment and revocation of appointment of party agents is their responsibility and therefore they must clearly identify their agents in a timely fashion.

Distribution of Materials

The distribution of materials was done in two phases by ZEC. The first set of materials given to the Returning Officers were the ballot boxes, seals, election

forms, voting screens, indelible ink, etc. This was done before the training of the Presiding Officers and Polling Assistants.

The ballot papers were kept at the office of ZEC in Pemba under tight security. The ballots were given to the Returning Officers on 17 May 2003, a day before the elections. The ballots were put in boxes according to constituencies. In each box they were also batched according to polling stations in smaller boxes. Returning Officers checked the ballots of their constituencies to ensure they had the right ballots in their correct quantities. This was done in the presence of party agents who were also invited to accompany the distribution of ballots to district offices. Also, the ballots were accompanied by armed police to the various district offices of the Returning Officers to ensure maximum security.

The serial numbers of ballot papers for each polling station in a constituency were indicated on the packaging of the box containing the ballots.

At the office of the Returning Officers in the Districts the box containing the ballots of each constituency was opened in the presence of the Registration Officer, party agents and the security personnel. The Returning Officers, Registration Officers and the party agents then recorded the serial numbers of ballots of each polling station within the constituency. Having checked the ballots all Registration Officers and party agents signed to indicate their agreement. The Registration Officers then gave the ballots to the Presiding Officers in charge of the polling stations, who put them into the ballot boxes and sealed them.

THE POLL AND THE COUNT

Polling Station Set-up/Staffing

Polling stations were set up in schools and public buildings. Registration centres were used to create the polling stations. The lowest number of polling stations within a registration centre was one and the maximum was ten. Generally the polling stations were found to be acceptable and very conducive for balloting, however the Team did encounter polling stations that were too small to be polling stations. There was also no consistency in terms of the layout of polling stations which did impact in some case on the free flow of movement within the station. In many instances the open end of the voting booth was facing windows or officials. The Team was aware of resource limitations facing ZEC, and observed that many stations did not take into account the need to facilitate easy access for elderly and disabled voters. Despite these shortfalls, the Team believes that the secrecy of the ballot was not compromised.

Each polling station was staffed by three polling officials. A Presiding Officer was in charge of the polling station and was in control of all the materials. One Polling Assistant was responsible for the voters' register and the other for the ballot papers. The indelible ink was under the control of the Presiding Officer.

The Presiding Officer with the smallest number of voters was designated as the senior Presiding Officer in charge of co-ordinating activities at the polling centre.

Voting Procedure

By 6.20 a.m. when the Teams arrived at polling stations to observe the opening of polling, preparations were already well in hand and voters had commenced queuing. Election officials, party agents and the police were also present and all necessary materials were laid out. From approximately 6.30 a.m. onwards the Presiding Officer and polling staff readied their stations for opening. This involved checking all materials, ensuring that party agents had recorded seal numbers and that they were happy with the process. The ballot boxes were made of a white transparent plastic with a blue plastic lid and were sealed by a numbered seal on two sides of the box. Before the boxes were sealed, Presiding Officers showed the empty boxes to the party agents and voters waiting outside in the queue.

Our teams observed polling stations commence voting at 7.00 a.m. and this was a trend that occurred throughout Pemba. There was a good atmosphere at stations with a high turnout of voters from very early in the day. The Team was not informed of any polling stations that were opened late.

Upon opening, the procedures according to the Manual were generally followed. The Polling Assistant at the first table checked the thumb of the voter to ascertain whether he/she had voted. The voter's ID card was then checked by looking at the picture and the serial number of the card. The serial number was used to locate the name of the voter on the register. If the name was located it was ticked and the name read aloud. The card was returned to the voter and he/she proceeded to the next table for the ballot. The Polling Assistant responsible for the ballot paper then stamped the back of the ballot paper twice with the validating stamp and demonstrated how it should be folded. One issue that became apparent as the counting process began later in the day related to the stamping of the ballot paper which in many cases had led to an ink mark being placed in the voting box below some candidates. This caused some confusion during counting and the folding and stamping procedure should be reviewed before the next election.

The voter was then directed to the screened voting booth to select the candidate of his/her choice. After casting his/her vote the voter moved to the Presiding Officer's table for the right thumb to be marked with indelible ink and then left the polling station. It was observed that from the time that the voter presented themselves to the official dealing with the voters register it took a maximum of two minutes for them to cast their vote. It was also realised that by midday the majority of voters on the voters register in most polling stations had cast their ballots. The limiting of stations to approximately 350 voters facilitated smooth election day management and a faster processing of voters.

The Team observed instances where there were discrepancies between voter cards and the details in the voters register. For example, the voters register number on the voter card was not the same as in the voters register, or the

name of the voter was different on the voter's card and voters register. In such cases, officials covered the prescribed procedures to determine whether a voter should be allowed to vote and, if satisfied, processed his/her vote. It should be noted that, while these were isolated incidences from different constituencies, on the whole the manual register was reliable.

During the day most stations maintained an acceptable level of materials except for assisted voters forms. There was a high number of assisted voters, both young and old, and this was a trend that the Team would not wish to see repeated in the future. Appropriate voter education should ensure that young people especially are able to cast their vote without assistance from friends or family members, therefore reducing the possibility of coercion to vote in a certain manner.

Party agents were present in all polling stations. However, in some polling stations situated in constituencies where TADEA, TLP and NCCR candidates were standing, their party agents were not always present. It was also noticed that in areas where they were present some of them left before the counting started. Across Pemba all party agents spoken to on election day said they were happy with the process and none raised any complaints or concerns with members of the Team. Party agents seemed generally aware of their duties and did not seem to hinder or interfere with the process of voting. We are not aware of any formal challenges to the process lodged by party agents.

The Team met a number of other international observers during the day and also noted the presence of TEMCO, the domestic monitoring group, at the majority of polling centres.

The presence of the police was visible at all polling stations and was discreet. The police presence did not deter voters. In order to ensure adequate policing at all stations extra staff were sent from Unguja (the other island of Zanzibar) to Pemba for the voting period.

The voters themselves turned out in high numbers and often queued for more than one hour in very warm conditions. All welcomed the Team's presence. The Team observed that there was a high turnout of women voters, although the procedures relating to equal treatment of men and women voters was not always followed. At some stations male voters in the queue were allowed to vote first and once they had completed then the women were allowed to vote. This ran contrary to procedure.

Counting of Votes at Polling Stations

All polling stations closed on time at 4.00 p.m. After closing, the Presiding Officer checked that all party agents recorded the serial number of the seal being used to seal the slit of the ballot box before the reconciliation.

The reconciliation of ballots was done on the appropriate form. The number of voters who cast their ballots was calculated based on the ticks from the voters

register, cross-checked against the number of unused ballot papers and any spoilt ballot papers.

After reconciliation the party agents were called to check the seals on the ballot box before the Presiding Officer removed the seals and emptied out the ballots for counting to start. The ballots were first sorted out and counted while they were turned upside down. The Presiding Officer then picked each ballot and showed it to party agents for all to see for whom the voter had voted. This was done for every single ballot paper. At the end the votes for each party were counted out aloud. All ballots which did not make the intention of the voter clear were put aside to deal with later. These ballot papers were shown to each party agent for him/her to satisfy himself/herself before a decision was taken. The votes for each party and the rejected ballots were put on the declaration of results form. The form was signed by all party agents and the Presiding Officer. Copies were given to each party agent and a copy posted at the polling station.

The Presiding Officer then put the ballots for each Party in a separate envelope with the Party name and the number of votes at the back and sealed it. The unused ballots, rejected ballots and spoilt ballots were all put in separate envelopes and labelled accordingly. The remaining unused forms and other election materials were all parcelled and put into the ballot box and sealed. The party agents noted the serial numbers of the seals.

Voter Turnout

The Team noted the high turnout for all seventeen constituencies averaged 93% of those persons who were registered to vote. We also noted that overall the percentage of rejected votes was 28%. This election was unusual in our experience for the proportion of rejected votes in relation to total votes cast.

The six constituencies in which the CUF candidates were disbarred from standing saw rejected votes ranging from 61% to 82% with an average of 73% of the total votes cast by electors in those areas. In our experience this is highly unusual.

In this regard the Team considers the following issues pertinent:

- against a background of previous allegations of electoral fraud and manipulation in elections, we have observed substantial improvements in the conduct and administration of elections;
- the by-elections were seen as a precursor for the forthcoming General Election scheduled for 2005;
- the circumstances surrounding the reasons for the by-elections and the continued polarisation of supporters of political parties;
- the high and orderly voter turnout in all constituencies reflected a recognition by voters of the value of their ability to exercise their democratic franchise;

- no political party explicitly campaigned for a boycott of the polls or the deliberate spoiling of ballots;
- it would appear that voters were well aware that they had a choice of showing their dissatisfaction by either remaining at home or deliberately spoiling their ballot papers;
- in our experience other factors which contribute to spoilage of ballot papers include low levels of literacy and a lack of proper voter education.

In the eleven other constituencies the number of rejected votes ranged from 1.4% to 4.3% and an average of 2.5% of the total votes cast. In our experience this is a low proportion and suggests that voters had clearly understood the process of voting against a background of the limited voter education campaign by ZEC and the political parties.

For the purpose of determining the election results only valid votes were used in declaring the results for any particular constituency.

Collation of Results

After counting at the various stations Presiding Officers and their Polling Assistants, as well as the party agents, moved to the collation centre. This was an area in which we were not able to observe the whole process of collation since most of the Presiding Officers were not able to arrive at the centres until quite late. Members of the Team were present at two centres, namely in Chake Chake and Wete from 4 p.m. where polling stations closed in order to observe the counting and when we left at 9 p.m. no constituency results had yet been declared. We understand this was because of a lack of resources for transportation and coordination.

Members of the Team returned to the Chake Chake centre at 10 p.m. to find a general atmosphere of disorganisation. The situation deteriorated to the extent that the Team decided to withdraw, and subsequently the police dispersed a crowd gathered outside the centre with tear gas.

Two Returning Officers at Chake Chake and Kigoni were faced with a challenging scenario after the votes cast in their constituencies reflected a pattern (and in four others) where an overwhelming majority were rejected. The Team observed the Returning Officer for Chake Chake was being inhibited from declaring a result for the candidate with the most valid votes by party activists. We understand that in Kigoni constituency the Returning Officer had initially declared the result null and void because of the high number of invalid votes. Both were directed by ZEC after these difficulties emerged to declare candidates with the majority of valid votes as the members who had been elected for those constituencies.

The Team was told by ZEC the following morning (after the election) that all the results with the exception of one constituency had been collated and this result

was expected by midday. We noted that at least one newspaper the following morning was reporting results for seven constituencies and this raises the question to what extent it is possible to accurately collate and distribute results to the media and other interested parties in the shortest timescale.

We are not aware of other Returning Officers experiencing any difficulties in the collation of the results process. The importance of adequate planning, communication and logistic arrangements needs to be emphasised since the electoral process is not complete until this stage occurs, and when those responsible for electoral management issues need to be sensitive to the charged atmosphere that begins to develop in anticipation of the declaration of results on the part of political parties and others.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Conclusions

- The Team is of the opinion that ZEC ensured that the Pemba by-elections held on 18 May 2003 were credible in terms of transparency, electoral management and overwhelming turnout by voters;
- we believe that after the difficulties of the 2000 elections the success of these by-elections has strengthened the voters' confidence in the ability of ZEC to manage elections in Zanzibar;
- the Team commends the people of Pemba for creating an election environment of calm and tolerance and for casting their ballots in a peaceful manner;
- the Team also has high praise for the electoral staff at polling stations who performed their duties and functions in an efficient, impartial and friendly manner;
- the political parties and their agents worked diligently in creating an atmosphere that was conducive to the smooth functioning of the electoral process;
- the police presence both before and during the elections was professional and discreet;
- there were simultaneous elections for Union and Zanzibar Parliaments with election management responsibility being in the hands of NEC and ZEC respectively. Other than the use of a common register we saw no other evidence of any liaison between the two bodies;
- the preparations for the elections in terms of the registration process, and organisational arrangements dealing with logistics, recruitment and training of staff, and distribution of materials were satisfactory;
- challenges do remain for ZEC, most notably the compilation and maintenance of a permanent voters register which is both credible and reliable;
- the lack of a consolidated electoral law remains a major impediment to continued improvements in the performance of ZEC;
- some problems in the early part of the registration period led to a small proportion of voters facing additional hurdles in proving their eligibility when arriving to vote but this was largely resolved;

- the Zanzibar High Court judgement, which effectively upheld a decision by ZEC to disbar six candidates, contributed to a very large number of spoilt ballots in these constituencies;
- lack of sufficient resources and funding had an impact on the capacity of ZEC to deliver certain aspects of the electoral process, particularly voter education;
- there was limited formal contact between ZEC and the political parties. Formal meetings took place in response to specific issues as they arose;
- the Team noted that ZEC had focused heavily on ensuring arrangements for the preparation of materials and that the logistics plans for delivery of materials to the polling stations was sound, but this may have been to the detriment of planning the collection and collation phase of the day;
- the recruitment of electoral officials was carried out in a transparent manner but the Team noted that training and training materials need to be improved;
- the polling station layout was not consistent and the additional duties imposed on Presiding Officers affected the voting process;
- the Team noted that there was undue delay in the collation and declaration of the results;
- although there were disproportionately fewer women as candidates and senior election officials, their presence as temporary election officials in polling stations, as domestic observers and as voters was significant.

Recommendations

1. Since the 2000 elections the Zanzibar Election Commission has been re-structured. We consider that further measures should be implemented to strengthen ZEC's independence and effectiveness.
2. There must be closer liaison between NEC and ZEC in all aspects of the electoral process.
3. Specific technical assistance to ZEC in the following areas should be considered:
 - consolidating and translating the election legislation;
 - training for senior personnel in election management;
 - long term budgetary planning;
 - project management techniques; and
 - development of election training materials.
4. We support the efforts of ZEC in creating a permanent voters register and in this regard we feel that ZEC would benefit from increased interaction

with other Commonwealth election management bodies. ZEC should ensure there is a transfer of skills to its own staff.

5. The infrastructure of ZEC must be strengthened through the appointment of an appropriate level of staff and the establishment of permanent district offices.
6. We recommend that staffing levels and polling station layout should be reviewed by ZEC before the next elections which are due in 2005.
7. There needs to be a greater focus on developing and implementing a broad programme of democracy education in partnership with all relevant stakeholders.
8. A commitment on the part of the Zanzibar Government and the international donor community to sustainable funding is required for the long-term stability of ZEC.
9. ZEC should establish a formal liaison structure dealing with electoral matters in which all political parties are represented.
10. There should be continued training of police officers in regard to their role and duties during elections.
11. ZEC should identify the strategic lessons to be drawn from its experience of these by-elections and identify what immediate and longer term action and resources need to be put into place for future elections.
12. ZEC should ensure the full participation of women at all levels of electoral administration.

BIOGRAPHIES OF THE COMMONWEALTH EXPERT TEAM

Mr Sulley Amadu is the Regional Director of the Ghana Electoral Commission for the Brong Ahafo region of Ghana. He has a long term involvement in election management issues and has held numerous posts within the Ghana Election Commission. He has a particular interest in the delimitation of electoral boundaries and voter and civil registration. Mr Amadu has also participated in international election management projects in Namibia, Kosovo and East Timor.

Mr Michael Hendrickse is a senior manager in the Independent Electoral Commission of South Africa, with particular responsibility for democracy education, training of electoral staff, registration of and liaison with political parties and legal services. Mr Hendrickse is a lawyer by profession. He has a particular interest in fundamental human rights and constitutional practice. He has also previously been a Member of Parliament. Mr Hendrickse has wide experience in domestic election management.

Mr Karamjit Singh, CBE has been a Commissioner with the United Kingdom Electoral Commission since its inception in January 2001 and has a specific interest in Northern Ireland electoral issues. He has had a long career in various positions within the public sector including membership of the Civil Service Commission. Mr Singh has previously observed elections in Kosovo, India and the Republic of Ireland.

