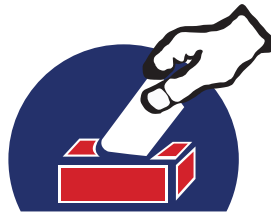


# RESEARCH AND EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY IN TANZANIA

(REDET)



**REDET - LEAD AGENCY OF TEMCO**

## THE 2020 GENERAL ELECTIONS IN TANZANIA

**REPORT OF THE RESEARCH AND EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY  
IN TANZANIA**

**MAY 2021**

## CONTENTS

<b>LIST OF TABLES.....</b>	<b>x</b>
<b>LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....</b>	<b>xiii</b>
<b>FOREWORD.....</b>	<b>xvii</b>
<b>CHAPTER ONE .....</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>BACKGROUND AND METHODOLOGY.....</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>1.1 INTRODUCTION.....</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>1.2 BACKGROUND .....</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>1.3 RATIONALE AND OBJECTIVES OF REDET’S OBSERVATION...2</b>	
<b>1.4 SCOPE OF OBSERVATION .....</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>1.5 RECRUITMENT AND TRAINING OF OBSERVERS.....</b>	<b>4</b>
1.5.1 Recruitment of Observers .....	4
1.5.2 Training of Observers .....	5
<b>1.6 APPROACH AND METHODOLOGY.....</b>	<b>6</b>
1.6.1 Observation Checklists and Data Collection.....	6
1.6.2 Deployment of LTOs and STOs.....	6
1.6.3 Monitoring and Supervisory Visits .....	7
1.6.4 COVID-19 Measures .....	8
<b>1.7 CRITERIA FOR ASSESSING THE ELECTION .....</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>1.8 ORGANISATION OF THE REPORT.....</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>1.9 ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>CHAPTER TWO .....</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>CONTEXT OF THE TANZANIA 2020 GENERAL ELECTIONS .....</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>2.1 INTRODUCTION .....</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>2.2 PERFORMANCE OF THE FIFTH PHASE GOVERNMENT         (2015-2020) .....</b>	<b>14</b>

<b>2.3 POLITICAL PARTY DYNAMICS .....</b>	<b>21</b>
<b>2.4 ZANZIBAR POLITICAL IMPASSE.....</b>	<b>26</b>
<b>2.5 REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL CONTEXTS.....</b>	<b>27</b>
<b>2.6 CONCLUSION .....</b>	<b>29</b>
<b>CHAPTER THREE .....</b>	<b>30</b>
<b>LEGAL AND INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORKS FOR MANAGING THE 2020 ELECTIONS .....</b>	<b>30</b>
<b>3.1 INTRODUCTION.....</b>	<b>30</b>
<b>3.2 LEGAL FRAMEWORKS FOR THE 2020 ELECTIONS.....</b>	<b>30</b>
3.2.1 Media Services Act .....	31
3.2.2 Electronic and Postal Communications (Online Content) Regulations.....	32
3.2.3 Statistics Act .....	33
3.2.4 Electoral Code of Conduct.....	33
3.2.5 Political Parties Act.....	35
3.2.6 Election Expenses Act.....	37
<b>3.3 MANAGEMENT OF THE 2020 ELECTIONS .....</b>	<b>39</b>
3.3.1 Recruitment and Training of Election Officials .....	39
3.3.2 Accreditation of Election Observers and Voter Education Providers .....	42
3.3.3 The Swearing-in of Poll Agents.....	43
3.3.4 Delimitation of Electoral Boundaries .....	48
3.3.5 Funding of the Elections.....	48
3.3.6 Voter Registration Process .....	48
3.3.7 Provision of Voters' Education .....	49
<b>3.4 CONCLUSION .....</b>	<b>53</b>
<b>CHAPTER FOUR.....</b>	<b>54</b>
<b>NOMINATION OF CANDIDATES.....</b>	<b>54</b>
<b>4.1 INTRODUCTION .....</b>	<b>54</b>

<b>4.2 LEGAL AND INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORKS .....</b>	<b>54</b>
4.2.1 Party Rules and Regulations .....	55
<b>4.3 NOMINATIONS OF PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES.....</b>	<b>56</b>
4.3.1 Nomination of CCM presidential Candidate.....	56
4.3.2 Nomination of CHADEMA Presidential Candidate .....	58
4.3.3 Nomination of ACT-Wazalendo Presidential Candidate .....	59
4.3.4 Nominations in Other Political Parties .....	59
4.4.6 Parliamentary Nominations .....	60
<b>4.4 NOMINATIONS BY NEC .....</b>	<b>62</b>
4.4.1 Nomination of Presidential Candidates.....	62
4.4.2 Nomination of Parliamentary Candidates .....	64
<b>4.5 HANDLING OF APPEALS .....</b>	<b>65</b>
<b>4.6 UNOPPOSED CANDIDATURE PHENOMENON.....</b>	<b>65</b>
<b>4.7 OVERALL ASSESSMENT OF THE NOMINATION PROCESS.....</b>	<b>67</b>
<b>4.8 CONCLUSION .....</b>	<b>68</b>
<b>CHAPTER FIVE .....</b>	<b>69</b>
<b>CONDUCT OF ELECTION CAMPAIGNS .....</b>	<b>69</b>
<b>5.1 INTRODUCTION.....</b>	<b>69</b>
<b>5.2 LEGAL AND INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORKS FOR         CAMPAIGNS.....</b>	<b>69</b>
<b>5.3 CAMPAIGN FINANCING – ENFORCEMENT OF THE         ELECTION EXPENSES ACT.....</b>	<b>71</b>
<b>5.4 REGULATIONS AND ELECTORAL CODE OF CONDUCT.....</b>	<b>73</b>
<b>5.5 USE OF INCUMBENCY ADVANTAGE.....</b>	<b>75</b>
<b>5.6 CAMPAIGN MODALITIES AND STRATEGIES.....</b>	<b>77</b>
<b>5.7 INCIDENTS OF NEGATIVE CAMPAIGNING .....</b>	<b>80</b>
<b>5.8 CRITICAL INCIDENTS DURING CAMPAIGNS .....</b>	<b>81</b>



<b>5.9 ELECTION MANIFESTOS: AGENDA AND ISSUES.....</b>	<b>82</b>
5.9.1 Agriculture.....	82
5.9.2 Corruption .....	83
5.9.3 Education .....	84
5.9.4 Mining .....	85
<b>5:10 SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS AND CONDUCT OF THE POLICE .....</b>	<b>87</b>
<b>5.11 OVERALL ASSESSMENT OF ELECTION CAMPAIGNS .....</b>	<b>90</b>
<b>5.12 CONCLUSION.....</b>	<b>91</b>
<b>CHAPTER SIX .....</b>	<b>93</b>
<b>MEDIA AND ELECTIONS .....</b>	<b>93</b>
<b>6.1 INTRODUCTION.....</b>	<b>93</b>
<b>6.2 MEDIA CODE OF CONDUCT IN THE 2020 GENERAL ELECTIONS .....</b>	<b>93</b>
<b>6.3 MEDIA LEGAL FRAMEWORK FOR 2020 GENERAL ELECTIONS .....</b>	<b>95</b>
<b>6.4 ROLE OF MEDIA REGULATORS.....</b>	<b>96</b>
<b>6.5 ANALYSIS OF THE 2020 ELECTIONS MEDIA REPORTING .....</b>	<b>98</b>
6.5.1 Print Media Coverage.....	98
6.5.2 Electronic and Online Media .....	99
6.5.3 Themes and Patterns of Media Reporting .....	100
6.5.4 Community Radio Coverage .....	105
6.5.5 Newspaper Feature Stories and Exclusive Pull-outs .....	107
6.5.6 Role of Social Media .....	107
<b>6.6 CONCLUSION .....</b>	<b>108</b>
<b>CHAPTER SEVEN.....</b>	<b>109</b>
<b>PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN, YOUTH AND PEOPLE WITH DISABILITY IN THE 2020 GENERAL ELECTIONS IN TANZANIA .....</b>	<b>109</b>

<b>7.1 INTRODUCTION .....</b>	<b>109</b>
<b>7.2 LEGAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE MARGINALISED GROUPS.....</b>	<b>109</b>
<b>7.3 WOMEN, YOUTH AND PWDs IN ELECTION MANAGEMENT .....</b>	<b>110</b>
<b>7.4 VOTER REGISTRATION FOR WOMEN, YOUTH AND PWDs ..</b>	<b>113</b>
<b>7.5 VOTER EDUCATION FOR SPECIAL GROUPS .....</b>	<b>116</b>
<b>7.6 GENDER CONSIDERATION DURING THE NOMINATION OF CANDIDATES.....</b>	<b>118</b>
7.6.1 Nominated Female Presidential Candidates .....	119
7.6.2 Nominated Female Parliamentary Candidates.....	120
7.6.3 Nomination of Women Special Seats .....	121
<b>7.7 PARTICIPATION IN ELECTION CAMPAIGNS .....</b>	<b>122</b>
<b>7.8 TREATMENT OF SPECIAL GROUPS ON THE POLLING DAY .....</b>	<b>124</b>
<b>7.9 ELECTION RESULTS FOR FEMALE CANDIDATES .....</b>	<b>125</b>
7.9.1 Paradox of Women Special Seats in CHADEMA .....	126
<b>7.10 CONCLUSION.....</b>	<b>128</b>
<b>CHAPTER EIGHT.....</b>	<b>129</b>
<b>ZANZIBAR ELECTIONS .....</b>	<b>129</b>
<b>8.1 INTRODUCTION.....</b>	<b>129</b>
<b>8.2 OVERVIEW OF THE POLITICAL CONTEXT PRECEDING THE 2020 ZANZIBAR ELECTIONS.....</b>	<b>130</b>
<b>8.3 NOMINATION OF CANDIDATES IN ZANZIBAR .....</b>	<b>132</b>
8.3.1 Nomination of Presidential Candidates in CCM .....	132
8.3.2 Nomination of Parliamentary Candidates in CCM.....	132
8.3.3 Nomination of Parliamentary Candidates in ACT-Wazalendo .....	133
8.3.4 Nomination by Election Management Bodies and Objections.....	133
8.3.5 Post-nomination Realignment and Alliances.....	137

<b>8.4 CAMPAIGN TRAIL.....</b>	<b>139</b>
8.4.1 CCM Presidential Election Campaigns.....	141
8.4.2. CCM Campaign Strategies .....	143
8.4.3 Presidential Election Campaigns in ACT-Wazalendo .....	144
8.4.4 Presidential Election Campaign Strategies of ACT-Wazalendo .....	144
8.4.5 Presidential Election Campaigns in Other Political Parties.....	146
8.4.6 Negative Campaign .....	148
8.4.7 Busing Supporters to Campaign Grounds .....	149
8.4.8 Election Campaign Misconducts and Violence.....	150
<b>8.5 PARADOX OF THE EARLY VOTING.....</b>	<b>153</b>
<b>8.6 VOTING, VOTE COUNTING AND DECLARATION OF RESULTS.....</b>	<b>155</b>
8.6.1 Voting .....	155
8.6.2 Vote Counting.....	156
8.6.3 Declaration of Results .....	158
<b>8.7 POST-ELECTION EPISODES IN ZANZIBAR .....</b>	<b>161</b>
<b>8.8 OVERALL ASSESSMENT OF THE ZANZIBAR ELECTION .....</b>	<b>162</b>
<b>8.9 CONCLUSION .....</b>	<b>164</b>
<b>CHAPTER NINE .....</b>	<b>165</b>
<b>ELECTION DAY AND OVERALL ASSESSMENT OF THE 2020 ELECTIONS .....</b>	<b>165</b>
<b>9.1. INTRODUCTION.....</b>	<b>165</b>
<b>9.2 OPENING, ELECTION MATERIALS AND CLOSING OF POLLING STATIONS .....</b>	<b>165</b>
2.9.1 Commencement of Voting .....	165
9.2.2 Adequacy and Security of Voting Materials .....	166
9.2.3 Setting, Accessibility and Handling of Voters .....	167
9.2.4 Closing of Polling Stations .....	170

<b>9.3 VOTE COUNTING, TALLYING AND DISPLAY OF RESULTS AT THE COUNTING STATION .....</b>	<b>171</b>
<b>9.4 POLICING AND SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS .....</b>	<b>174</b>
<b>9.5 DECLARATION OF ELECTION RESULTS.....</b>	<b>174</b>
9.5.1 Presidential Election Results .....	175
9.5.2 Parliamentary Election Results.....	176
9.5.3 Councillorship Election Results .....	178
<b>9.6 VOTER TURN-OUT .....</b>	<b>180</b>
<b>9.7 POST-ELECTION EPISODES .....</b>	<b>180</b>
9.7.1 Eruption of Violence.....	181
9.7.2 Interruption and Blockage of Social Media Platforms .....	183
9.7.3 Asylum Seeking and Claims of Threats to Life .....	184
<b>9.8 PERFORMANCE AND CONDUCT OF ELECTORAL OFFICIALS.....</b>	<b>185</b>
<b>9.9 PERFORMANCE AND CONDUCT OF POLITICAL PARTY AGENTS .....</b>	<b>186</b>
<b>9.10 ASSESSMENT OF THE VOTING AND VOTE COUNTING PROCESSES .....</b>	<b>187</b>
9.10.1 Assessment of the Voting Process.....	187
9.10.2 Assessment of the Vote Counting Process .....	188
<b>9.11 OVERALL ASSESSMENT OF THE 2020 GENERAL ELECTIONS .....</b>	<b>190</b>
<b>9.12 CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS .....</b>	<b>191</b>
9.12.1 Conclusion .....	191
9.12.2 Recommendations .....	192

<b>REFERENCES.....</b>	<b>196</b>
<b>APPENDICES.....</b>	<b>200</b>
Appendix 1: List of LTOs Deployed .....	200
Appendix 2: NEC Accreditation Letter .....	208
Appendix 3: Photo Gallery .....	209
<b>The TEPO PROGRAM Management Team .....</b>	<b>215</b>

## LIST OF TABLES

<i>Table 2.1: Distribution of Parliamentary and Councillorship Seats in 2015 .....</i>	<i>25</i>
<i>Table 3.1: Number of Poll Agents in Shinyanga .....</i>	<i>45</i>
<i>Table 3.2: Discrepancies in Number of Poll Agents in Shinyanga Urban ...</i>	<i>47</i>
<i>Table 3.3: Provision of Voter Education by EMBs and CSOs.....</i>	<i>50</i>
<i>Table 3.4: Methods Used to Disseminate Voter Education by NEC and ZEC.....</i>	<i>51</i>
<i>Table 4.1: List of Union Presidential Candidates and Running Mates .....</i>	<i>62</i>
<i>Table 4.2: Nominated Candidates for Parliamentary Seats.....</i>	<i>64</i>
<i>Table 4.3: Unopposed Parliamentary Candidates .....</i>	<i>66</i>
<i>Table 4.4: Assessment of the Nomination Process .....</i>	<i>67</i>
<i>Table 5.1: Critical Incidents .....</i>	<i>81</i>
<i>Table 5.2: Election Manifestos on Agriculture .....</i>	<i>82</i>
<i>Table 5.3: Comparison of Party Manifestos across Corruption.....</i>	<i>84</i>
<i>Table 5.4: Comparison of Party Manifestos Across Education.....</i>	<i>85</i>
<i>Table 5.5: Comparison of Party Manifestos across Mining Sector.....</i>	<i>86</i>
<i>Table 5.7: Conduct of Police in Election Campaigns .....</i>	<i>88</i>
<i>Table 5.8: Assessment of Electoral Campaigns.....</i>	<i>90</i>
<i>Table 6.1: Community Radio Coverage .....</i>	<i>106</i>
<i>Table 7.1: Voter Registration Staff by Gender in Selected Constituencies.....</i>	<i>111</i>
<i>Table 7.2: Recruited ZEC Officials by Age and Gender .....</i>	<i>112</i>
<i>Table 7.3: Registered Voters by Age .....</i>	<i>114</i>
<i>Table 7.4: Registered Voters (PWDs) .....</i>	<i>114</i>
<i>Table 7.5: Voter Education to Women, Youth and PWDs .....</i>	<i>117</i>
<i>Table 7.6: Presidential Candidates for the Union Elections by Gender .....</i>	<i>119</i>
<i>Table 7.7: Nominated Parliamentary Candidates by Gender.....</i>	<i>121</i>

<i>Table 7.8: Treatment and Safety of Women Candidates and Women Party Supporters .....</i>	<i>123</i>
<i>Table 7.9: Treatment of Special Groups on the Voting Day .....</i>	<i>125</i>
<i>Table 7.10: Elected Female MPs 2020 Elections .....</i>	<i>125</i>
<i>Table 8.1: Nominated HoR and Councillorship candidates .....</i>	<i>134</i>
<i>Table 8.2: Selected Cases of Disqualifications of Candidates .....</i>	<i>135</i>
<i>Table 8.3: Assessment of Nominations .....</i>	<i>136</i>
<i>Table 8.4: Highlights of Slogans Political Parties Deployed in Zanzibar....</i>	<i>147</i>
<i>Table 8.5: Campaign Strategies Political Parties Used in Zanzibar .....</i>	<i>147</i>
<i>Table 8.6: Assessment of Election Campaigns in Zanzibar .....</i>	<i>152</i>
<i>Table 8.7: Commencement of Voting.....</i>	<i>155</i>
<i>Table 8.8: Adequacy, Arrangement and Security of Voting Materials .....</i>	<i>156</i>
<i>Table 8.9: Commencement of Vote Counting .....</i>	<i>156</i>
<i>Table 8.10: Arrangements and Procedures in the Vote Counting Centres.....</i>	<i>157</i>
<i>Table 8.11: Posting of Election Results .....</i>	<i>158</i>
<i>Table 8.12: Acceptance of Election Results .....</i>	<i>159</i>
<i>Table 8.13: Whether Contestants Accepted Election Results.....</i>	<i>159</i>
<i>Table 8.14: Assessment of Voting, Vote Counting and Declaration of results .....</i>	<i>160</i>
<i>Table 8.15: Overall Assessment of the Zanzibar Elections .....</i>	<i>163</i>
<i>Table 9.1: Opening of Polling Stations.....</i>	<i>166</i>
<i>Table 9.2: Adequacy, Arrangement and Security of Voting Materials .....</i>	<i>167</i>
<i>Table 9.3: Setting, Accessibility and Handling of Voters .....</i>	<i>167</i>
<i>Table 9.4: Voters Waiting to Vote at the Time of Closing .....</i>	<i>170</i>
<i>Table 9.5: Were Voters in the Queue Allowed to Vote? .....</i>	<i>170</i>
<i>Table 9.6: When did the last voter vote? .....</i>	<i>171</i>
<i>Table 9.7: Time for beginning and concluding voting.....</i>	<i>171</i>

<i>Table 9.8: Arrangements and Procedures in the Vote Counting Centres..</i>	<i>172</i>
<i>Table 9.9: Duration of Vote Counting and Posting of Election Results.....</i>	<i>173</i>
<i>Table 9.10: Reaction of People on Election Results.....</i>	<i>173</i>
<i>Table 9.11: Use of Money to Induce Voters, Presiding Officers or Party Agents.....</i>	<i>174</i>
<i>Table 9.12: Acceptance of Parliamentary Election Results .....</i>	<i>176</i>
<i>Table 9.13: Acceptance of Councillorship Election Results.....</i>	<i>179</i>
<i>Table 9.14: Incidents of Post-Election Violence.....</i>	<i>181</i>
<i>Table 9.15: Number of Election Official in Polling Stations.....</i>	<i>185</i>
<i>Table 9.16: Performance of Electoral Officials.....</i>	<i>185</i>
<i>Table 9.17: Presence of Political Party Agents.....</i>	<i>186</i>
<i>Table 9.18: Assessment of the Voting Exercise .....</i>	<i>188</i>
<i>Table 9.19: Assessment of the Vote Counting Process.....</i>	<i>188</i>
<i>Table 9.20: Assessment of the Polling Day .....</i>	<i>189</i>
<i>Table 9.21: Overall Assessment of the Election Processes.....</i>	<i>190</i>



## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAFP	Alliance for Tanzania Farmers' Party
ACT-Wazalendo	Alliance for Change and Transparency
ADA-TADEA	African Democratic Alliance -Tanzania Democratic Alliance
ADC	Alliance for Democratic Change
AIDS	Acquired Immuno-Deficiency Syndrome,
ASP	Afro-Shirazi Party.
ATCL	Air Tanzania Corporation Limited
BAKWATA	Baraza Kuu la Waislam Tanzania
BAVICHA	Baraza la Vijana CHADEMA
BAWACHA	Baraza la Wanawake CHADEMA
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CCK	Chama cha Kijamii
CCM	Chama cha Mapinduzi
CCT	Christian Council of Tanzania
CDTI	Community Development Institute
CHADEMA	Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo
CHAUMMA	Chama cha Ustawi wa Umma
COVID-19	Corona Virus Disease-19
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
CUF	Civic United Front
CWT	Chama cha Walimu Tanzania
DANIDA	Danish International Development Agency

DC	District Council
DP	Democratic Party
EAC	East African Community
EACJ	East African Court of Justice
EAPCOP	East Africa Crude Oil Pipeline
EEA	Election Expenses Act
EMBs	Electoral Management Bodies
EO	Election Officer
GBV	Gender-based Violence.
GNU	Government of National Unity
ICT	Information and Communications Technology
LGA	Local Government Authority
LGAs	Local Government Authorities
LTOs	Long Term Observers
MAKINI	Chama cha Demokrasia Makini
MCT	Media Council of Tanzania
MP	Member of Parliament
NCCR-Mageuzi	National Convention for Constitutional Reform-Mageuzi
NEC	National Electoral Commission
NEMC	National Environmental Regulatory Authority
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
NLD	National League for Democracy
NRA	National Reconstruction Alliance
OCD	Officer Commanding District

ODK	Open Data Kit
ORPP	Office of the Registrar of Political Parties
PCCB	Prevention and Combating of Corruption Bureau
PNVR	Permanent National Voter Register
PO	Presiding Officer
PPA	Political Parties Act
PWDs	People with Disabilities
REC	Regional Election Co-ordinator
REDET	Research and Education for Democracy in Tanzania
REOCs	Regional Election Observation Committees
RO	Returning Officer
SADC	Southern Africa Development Community
SAU	Sauti ya Umma
STAMICO	State Mining Corporation
STOs	Short Term Observers
TANESCO	Tanzania National Electricity Supply Company
TANU	Tanganyika African National Unity
TBC	Tanzania Broadcasting Corporation
TCF	Tanzania Constitution Forum
TCRA	Tanzania Communications Regulatory Authority
TEC	Tanzania Episcopal Conference
TCF	Tanzania Constitution Forum
TEF	Tanzania Editors' Forum
TEMCO	Tanzania Election Monitoring Committee

TEPO	Tanzania Electoral Processes Observation
THDRC	Tanzania Human Rights Defenders' Coalition
TLP	Tanzania Labour Party
TLS	Tanganyika Law Society
TPSF	Tanzania Private Sector Foundation
TRA	Tanzania Revenue Authority
TTU	Tanzania Teachers' Union
UDP	United Democratic Party
UDSM	University of Dar es Salaam
UKAWA	Umoja wa Katiba ya Wananchi
UMD	Union for Multiparty Democracy
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UPDP	United People's Democratic Party
URT	United Republic of Tanzania
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
ZEC	Zanzibar Electoral Commission

## FOREWORD

Elections are processes that give citizens in a polity an opportunity to vote for individuals or groups for public office. Elections are a critical means for sorting out competition for power and domination under liberalism. They constitute a formal act of collective decision-making, comprising several key steps. These steps include agreeing on the rules of the game including constitutions, electoral laws and procedures, nomination of candidates, campaigns, voting, vote counting, declaration of results and, lastly, acceptance or rejection of the results. History has shown that anything can go wrong at any one of these or even all the steps intentionally or otherwise, hence the need for election monitoring.

In addition, the re-emergence of liberal democracy in Africa in the early 1990s relied on election monitoring as a critical component of such experience for three main reasons. To begin with, in many countries democratization was induced by a combination of domestic pressure and international forces; it was not freely and voluntarily given. There was, and still is, suspicion regarding the sincerity of the state and the neutrality of election management bodies. Secondly, the adoption and continued use of single party constitutions and laws albeit with a few minor amendments to accommodate multiparty competition continued to feed into the above-mentioned suspicion. Most of these constitutions provide for strong executives versus other branches and Election Monitoring Bodies (EMBs) with doubtful neutrality. Thirdly, the persistence of single party political practices of suppression of dissent and treatment of the opposition as enemies continued. Furthermore, the persistence of a political culture characterised by subject competence rather than by citizen competence presented an obstacle to the emergence of strong democratic institutions (Almond and Verba, 1963). Overall, most of the people remained quiescent and submissive subjects rather than confident competent citizens seeking to exert influence on the political system (Mushi, 2001).

It is for these reasons that the Department of Political Science and Public Administration at the University of Dar es Salaam, through the Research and Education for Democracy in Tanzania (REDET) and Tanzania Election Monitoring Committee (TEMCO), sought to continue with the tradition first introduced during

the one-party elections in 1965 of researching and monitoring Tanzania's first multi-party elections in 1995.

Was such election observation still necessary after twenty-five years of multi-party polls? The answer was in the affirmative particularly because Tanzania's democratic consolidation had not been smooth and assured, let alone complete as one might have wished. The constitution still lacks critical democratic elements. Meanwhile, efforts aimed to write a new constitution have stalled since 2015. Political parties have not had sustained strengthening. Their impressive performance during the 2014 and 2015 local government elections, for example, have been followed by an implosion that have left them divided and weak as this report illustrates. Civil and political liberties have been conditional and subject to numerous laws and regulations. They are also at the state's discretion through the police and other state organs. Past elections have not been determined to be free and fair. The 1995 elections were determined by TEMCO to have been free but unfair whereas subsequent elections freeness and fairness was qualified. Tanzania has passed Valenzuela's (1992) second election test, which regard to the country moving towards democratic consolidation after holding subsequent elections following the inaugural multi-party polls. On its part, Tanzania has held four elections from 1995 to 2020. In other words, multi-party democracy had survived for 25 years. Thus, Tanzania passes Rustow's (1970) longevity test. Indeed, the competitive political regime had survived long enough. However, Tanzania has not experienced alternation in power between political parties, although some parliamentary and councillorship positions have changed hands between political parties.

In addition, there has been regular leadership succession within the ruling party. The critical threshold of whether a ruling party can readily accept defeat and pass over power to a victorious opposition party, which is regarded as critical in democratic consolidation, has yet to materialise (Huntington, 1991; Przeworski, 1991). Clearly, democratic consolidation in Tanzania remains a game in progress, hence the need for continued election observation. The 2020 elections were supposed to be a low-key affair because the incumbent President Dr. John Pombe Joseph Magufuli was running for second term. The ruling party CCM had ensured

that his candidature was unopposed within the party, hence enforcing an unwritten rule that the incumbent should be allowed to stand for a second five-year term unopposed. Given the normal difficulty of unseating an incumbent president, it was assumed that competition and political excitement would be low. However, REDET determined that it was still important and necessary to observe the 2020 elections, as potential use of incumbency against the opposition political parties was high.

Two developments characterised the run-up to the 2020 elections. First was the COVID-19 pandemic, which hit the entire world, including Tanzania. President Magufuli dispelled doubts regarding whether elections would be held at all early in the electoral season. He refused to adopt a lock-down strategy in fighting the pandemic. As a result, all political pursuits continued unabated, alongside other socio-economic activities.

Secondly, the passage of new legislation to regulate non-governmental organisations (NGOs), the NGO Act (2019) impacted on the observation exercise. Initially, TEMCO had 22 member-organisations in 1995. Membership increased through the years and reached 183 organisations during the 2015 elections. Membership was anchored by the University of Dar es Salaam, the Tanzania Episcopal Conference (TEC), the Christian Council of Tanzania (CCT), Baraza Kuu la Waislam Tanzania (BAKWATA), and the Tanzania Law Society (TLS). The new legislation under section 2 (b) CAP 337, as amended by Act No. 3 (2019), disallowed faith-based organisations from involvement in political activities. This denied REDET/TEMCO the contributions of seasoned observers from faith-based organisations. Still, REDET was able to assemble a team of competent and dedicated observers for the 2020 elections. We humbly submit their findings.

Professor Rwekaza S. Mukandala

**REDET/TEMCO**

**Chairperson and Head of the Election Observation Mission**

## CHAPTER ONE

### BACKGROUND AND METHODOLOGY

#### 1.1 INTRODUCTION

Election observation plays an important role in promoting transparency and accountability, as well as enhancing public trust in electoral processes and outcomes. It can also help in assessing whether civil and political rights are protected. If carried out professionally and objectively, election observation can lead to the correction of errors or irregularities even while an election process is under way. Moreover, it can deter election manipulation and fraud or expose such problems if they do occur. Positive election observation reports enhance the legitimacy of the government that emerges from the election and conversely, negative reports dent the legitimacy.

#### 1.2 BACKGROUND

The Research and Education for Democracy in Tanzania (REDET) programme has a long and distinguished history of conducting election observation dating back to the time of establishment of the Department of Political Science in 1964 (later Department of Political Science and Public Administration) at the University of Dar es Salaam. During the single party era ranging from 1965 to 1990 the Department carried out dual functions of observing and doing research on elections in Tanzania. Following the re-introduction of multipartyism, in 1992, the Department conceived the Research and Education for Democracy in Tanzania (REDET) as a unit dedicated to research on democracy and provision of civic education to Tanzanians. Its overall objective is to contribute to Tanzania's democratisation process through research, documentation and educational interventions. Specifically, it aims to consolidate democracy and democratic governance. Shortly thereafter, the Department led by REDET decided to pool its resources and collaborate with other organisations to monitor effectively the first multi-party elections in 1995. In 1994, a consortium, namely the Tanzania Election Monitoring Committee (TEMCO) was established by 24 civil society organisations, with REDET serving as the Lead Agency. Since



then, it has observed the 1995, 2000, 2003 (by-elections), 2005, 2010 and 2015 General Elections. REDET supplied TEMCO with technical and professional support during this period.

TEMCO's core founders and members were Faith-Based Organisations (FBOs) such as the Tanzania Episcopal Centre (TEC), the Christian Council of Tanzania (CCT) and Baraza Kuu la Waislam Tanzania (BAKWATA) and trade unions such as Chama cha Walimu Tanzania (CWT). Due to changes, including the new legislation under section 2 (b) CAP 337 as amended by Act No. 3 (2019), FBOs became ineligible to participating in political issues. Similarly, the National Electoral Commission (NEC) prohibited accredited organisations from teaming up with unaccredited organisations in observing the 2020 General Elections. Consequently, in the 2020 General Elections NEC granted accreditation to REDET, the Lead Agency of TEMCO, since TEMCO's base had been shaken by the changes in legislation as already elaborated. In undertaking its election observation, REDET is guided by multiple values of accountability, impartiality, integrity, objectivity, credibility, transparency and professionalism.

### **1.3 RATIONALE AND OBJECTIVES OF REDET'S OBSERVATION**

To promote transparency and accountability, build confidence and enhance public trust in the integrity of the entire electoral processes and outcomes, REDET set out to observe the 2020 General Elections. REDET sought to provide a comprehensive and impartial assessment of the 2020-2021 electoral processes in Tanzania and Zanzibar to:

- i. Facilitate citizens' oversight and participation in elections, consequently building confidence and trust;
- ii. Determine the extent to which elections are credible, free, fair and peaceful;
- iii. Expose electoral irregularities and problems occurring during elections;
- iv. Assess the extent of safeguards for universal and equal suffrage as well as the protection and promotion of human rights, including civil and political rights;
- v. Recommend to electoral stakeholders, particularly the Tanzania government

and the Election Management Bodies (EMBs) measures they could take to improve the management and quality of election to meet acceptable universal standards for democratic elections; and

- vi. expose potential conflict areas to enable electoral stakeholders, including law enforcers, to come up with conflict mitigation strategies.

The general objective of the programme was to observe, on behalf of the citizens, the 2020-2021 electoral processes to establish the extent to which they were credible, free, fair and peaceful considering national legislation and international standards for genuine democratic elections. The objectives of the Program included to:

- i. Observe the 2020 Tanzania (Union) and Zanzibar General Elections (the archipelago) to determine the degree to which they adhered to the national legislation and universal principles and qualities of genuine democratic elections;
- ii. Observe and assess the fairness of the administration of the elections in general, especially the impartiality of the legal infrastructure (the electoral laws, regulations and directives), the EMBs, and the state machinery for law and order;
- iii. Assess the fairness in the allocation and use of relevant state resources by the contending political parties; and
- iv. Assess the extent to which the elections can be said to have been credible, free and fair.

#### **1.4 SCOPE OF OBSERVATION**

REDET's observation of the 2020 General Elections was comprehensive, covering as it did the whole country and the entire electoral process (see Appendix I). Observation was intensive and involved all the stages of the electoral processes ranging from pre-election activities (updating of the Permanent National Voter's Register (PNVR), provision of voter education, demarcation of constituency boundaries, nomination of candidates and election campaigns), election day activities (opening of polling stations, voting, vote counting and declaration of

results) to post-election episodes. REDET's observation prioritised areas such as: (i) legal and institutional frameworks for the General Elections; (ii) demarcation of constituencies; (iii) intra-party nominations; (iv) nomination of candidates; (v) campaigns; (vi) voting, vote counting and declaration of results; (vii) post-election events; (viii) role of the media; (ix) voter education, and; (x) participation of women, youth and people with disabilities. REDET prepared a separate report on updating of the PNVR, as NEC concluded this exercise several months ahead of the launch of the nomination and election campaigns.

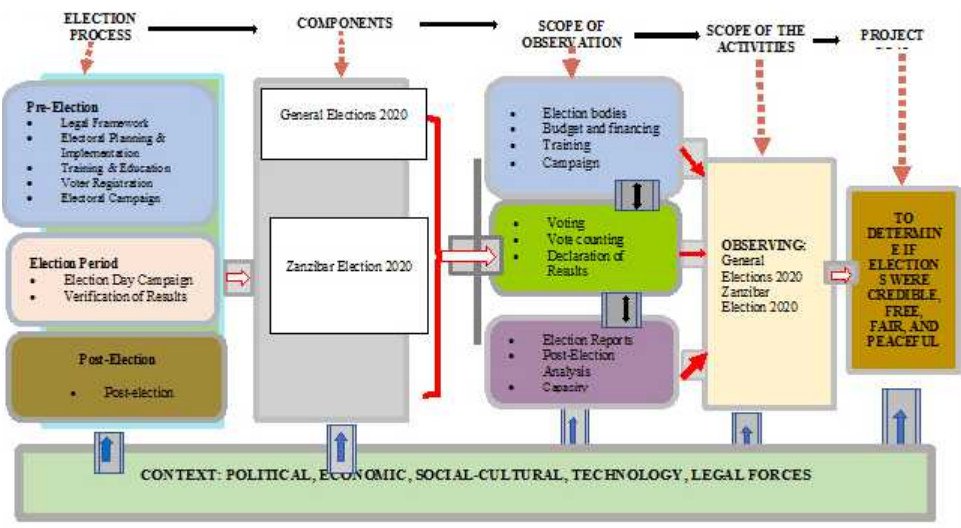


Figure 1.1: TEPO Project Structure

## 1.5 RECRUITMENT AND TRAINING OF OBSERVERS

### 1.5.1 Recruitment of Observers

REDET used a transparent and merit-based approach to recruiting both its Long-term Observers (LTOs) and Short-term Observers (STOs) whereby individuals interested in participating applied. All the applications were thereafter scrutinized and screened by a panel of experts and consequently selections made. Due to consideration measures against Corona Virus Disease (COVID-19), face-to-face interviews were not conducted. In selecting LTOs the panel paid attention to the following criteria: (i) possession of a bachelor's degree from a recognised university,

preferably in social science subjects, (ii) a past track record of working as an election observer in the country, (iii) report writing skills, (iv) integrity, impartiality and non-partisanship, (v) availability, and (vi) gender consideration. Consequently, out of the 200 LTOs recruited, 110 (55%) were males, and 90 (45%) were females.

STOs were drawn from three primary sources, namely university students (i.e., University of Dar es Salaam and the State University of Zanzibar); teachers who are members of the Tanzania Teachers' Union (i.e., *Chama Cha Walimu Tanzania-CWT*), and individuals who had served as STOs in the previous electoral processes. The preliminary condition to serve as a STO was to reside in the respective constituency for which an individual applied. In all, 3,100 STOs were recruited, out of which 1,787 (58%) were males, and 1,313 (42%) were females. Out of the recruited STOs, REDET finally deployed 2,353; the rest could not be deployed due to unavoidable last-minute hitches, hence making it difficult to find replacements.

### **1.5.2 Training of Observers**

All the LTOs underwent an intensive and rigorous two-day training on 25<sup>th</sup> and 26<sup>th</sup> September, 2020 before deployment in constituencies. Training covered diverse topics including: (i) administration of data collection instruments; (ii) electoral legislation and regulations; (iii) REDET's election observers' code of conduct and ethics; (iv) EMBs' code of ethics for domestic observers; (v) documentation of women, youths and people with disabilities in the general election and (vi) Information Communication Technologies (ICTs).

A team of facilitators, which took participants through these modules included the REDET Chairman and Head of Election Observation Mission, Prof. Rwekaza Mukandala; former Commissioner of the National Electoral Commission (NEC), Prof. Amon Chaligha; the Director of Legal Services for NEC, Advocate Emmanuel Kawishe; REDET's Gender Expert, Prof. Bernadeta Killian; Assistant Registrar of Political Parties, Mr. Sisty Nyahoza; REDET's ICT Expert, Mr. Captain Patrick; Media Specialist, Mr. Egbert Mkocho; and REDET's Project Director, Dr. Rasul Minja. Training sessions were participatory, interactive and trainee-centred. Both English and Kiswahili were used. The training sessions also served as training of

trainers ground for LTOs who had an obligation of training STOs in their respective constituencies. Training for STOs was set for one day and slotted between 16<sup>th</sup> and 24<sup>th</sup> October 2020. The content of training was the same as that of LTOs.

## **1.6 APPROACH AND METHODOLOGY**

To arrive at an objective analysis of the 2020 Tanzania General Elections, REDET employed a scientific approach. The approach combined the use of acceptable open and transparent strategies and methods of election observation and the deployment of competent, credible and efficient election observers who worked diligently. They were meticulously guided by detailed instruments and checklists.

### **1.6.1 Observation Checklists and Data Collection**

Five types of observation checklists were prepared: (a) Pre-election day checklist (which focused on campaigns); (b) election-day checklist; (c) post-election episodes checklist; (d) critical incidents checklist; and (e) Regional Election Observers' (REOCs) checklist. These checklists were connected to the Open Data Kit (ODK) software. The ODK facilitated timely collection of data, enabling observers to send information instantly. It captured the election observation instruments on an online platform and transferred them to the data centre through mobile phones. The ODK Collect also analysed data and produced useful cross-tabulations used for making inferences and providing conclusions. Owing to the criticality and centrality of the media in Tanzania's elections, REDET devised a specific data collection tool that tracked media coverage of the elections. This coverage, which included content analysis, involved selected traditional media (newspapers, radio and television) and online media (such as WhatsApp, online TVs, blogs, twitter and Facebook).

### **1.6.2 Deployment of LTOs and STOs**

REDET deployed LTOs in 200 constituencies (out of the 264 constituencies, representing 76% coverage). Out of these, 150 were deployed on Tanzania Mainland constituencies and 50 in the Zanzibar archipelago (100% coverage). LTOs reported in their respective constituencies on 28<sup>th</sup> September 2020 and remained

in the field up to 5<sup>th</sup> November 2020. The 200 constituencies were sampled after serious consideration of data needs, political dynamics of certain voting districts and localities as well as other relevant factors (See Appendix I).

On the voting day, REDET deployed 2,353 STOs in the polling stations sampled. The criteria used to deploy STOs in their respective polling stations included (a) accessibility and geographical distribution of wards within constituencies; (b) proximity to STOs places of residences/domicile; and (c) LTOs' preliminary assessment of political dynamics within individual wards.

### **1.6.3 Monitoring and Supervisory Visits**

To ensure quality of the observation work several rounds of monitoring and supervisory visit were carried out. The rationale for conducting supervisory visits included:

- (i) Visiting the LTOs to determine the extent to which they were executing their duties and responsibilities;
- (ii) Discussing and addressing critical issues and challenges related to their work;
- (iii) Monitoring the conduct of election observation work ensuring that it was carried out according to the LTOs' contractual terms;
- (iv) Get first-hand information on the electoral processes considering the preliminary findings of RECs and LTOs.

The Project Chair visited LTOs in Kagera, Manyara, Simiyu, and Arusha (on Tanzania Mainland) and Unguja (in Zanzibar). The Project Director visited LTOs in Kigoma, Singida and Dodoma whilst the Monitoring and Evaluation Specialist visited LTOs in Mtwara, Lindi, Ruvuma, Iringa and Morogoro. An independent external supervisor visited two regions of Pemba North (Micheweni and Wete districts) and Pemba South (Mkoani and Chakechake districts) in Zanzibar. Monitoring and supervisory visits provided onsite support to the LTOs and Regional Election Observation Co-ordinators (RECs), who observed the 2020 General Elections in different regions.

Three methods were used to gather information during the supervisory visits. First,

interviews, using a set of pre-designed checklists, were held with both RECs and LTOs. Second, observing the general conduct of LTOs, the materials availed to them, attire, saved checklists in their mobile phones and their interaction with the public. Finally, the supervisors convened focus group discussions with LTOs with a view to listening to challenges encountered during the observation process.

#### **1.6.4 COVID-19 Measures**

Cognisant of the challenges posed by COVID-19, REDET took several measures to protect LTOs and STOs as well as other stakeholders. Firstly, as noted above, REDET deployed alternative methods to avoid large gatherings as much as possible. One such measure was deferring interviews for LTOs, which usually draw large crowds at REDET offices. Secondly, when it was necessary to gather, as it was during the training sessions, REDET enforced social distance and other precautionary measures, such as use of hand sanitizers. LTOs were also trained and impressed upon to be on the alert in the field and avoid any kind of situations deemed risky. Communications were open and LTOs were encouraged to report any signs of ailment and to take instant measures, including visiting nearby health facilities. Importantly, REDET also observed how other stakeholders took measures against COVID-19. One of the data collection instruments had questions specifically targeting this aspect. REDET was delighted that none of the election observers fell sick during the entire duration of election observation.

### **1.7 CRITERIA FOR ASSESSING THE ELECTION**

Familiar of universal best practices and an understanding that Tanzania is party to numerous regional and international treaties enshrining human rights, democracy and elections, REDET adopted election assessment criteria developed by TEMCO. This assessment combines qualitative and quantitative methods to arrive at a specific conclusion encapsulating the legitimacy and legality of the election. These criteria provide for individualised assessment of processes in the election cycle to objectively conclude on the quality of the entire electoral process. The assessment procedure combines rough estimates on a scale from “A” to “F”. Each of the letter

grade is assigned a value ranging from 0 to 100 percent. This procedure allowed REDET Observers to independently assess the quality of the election in specific assigned constituencies. Thus, the overall REDET assessment is an average of the individual scores in constituencies observed.

For this report, the LTOs and STOs submitted rapid assessments of the nomination, election campaigns and election-day activities (up to declaration of results) to the REDET headquarters in Dar es Salaam. These assessments helped to establish the trend of the electoral processes and the extent to which they were “free and fair”. For each of the election process the score was as follows:

- i. 80-100 percent or letter grade A, meaning an election (or electoral step) with very few shortcomings which do not affect the overall results. It is a “clean, credible, free and fair” election.
- ii. 60-79 percent or letter grade B, meaning an election (or electoral step) which is generally free and fair, but still has a few shortcomings which work against fortunes of some stakeholders (voters, candidates and political parties). It is a “qualified free and fair” election (or electoral step).
- iii. 50-59 percent or letter grade C, meaning the election (or electoral step) permits free participation of stakeholders (voters, candidates, political parties and others), but there are many instances where some political parties were disadvantaged. That is to say, the election is “free but not fair”.
- iv. 40-49 percent or letter grade D, meaning that the election process has acts of violence, intimidation, favouritism and corruption. The deserving award is “unfree and unfair” certificate.
- v. 1-39 percent or letter grade E, meaning an election (or electoral step) with so many managerial problems and irregularities that most major stakeholders (voters, candidates, political parties) reject or are likely to reject the results. It is awarded a “totally mismanaged” certificate.
- vi. 0% or letter grade F, meaning an election (or electoral step) which has failed totally in terms of management, compliance with electoral rules, code of conduct and fairness and, therefore, it does not come to normal finality. Such



an election is awarded an “aborted elections” certificate.

## **1.8 ORGANISATION OF THE REPORT**

This report is organised into nine chapters, including this background and methodology section. Chapter two focuses on the context of the Tanzania 2020 General Election. The major thrust revolves around the overview of the major socio-economic and political issues that had implications for the country’s 2020 general elections. Chapter three explores the legal and institutional frameworks that governed the management of the 2020 elections. Chapter four looks at the nomination of candidates whereas chapter five is devoted to the conduct of the election campaigns. Chapter six illuminates on and discusses the conduct of the media during the 2020 general elections whereas chapter seven addresses the participation of women, the youth and people with disability in the elections. Chapter eight explores the conduct of the 2020 Zanzibar Elections and chapter nine reports the overall assessment of the 2020 Elections.

## **1.9 ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

This report is an outcome of joint efforts of different organisations and individuals. Had it not been for their involvement and support, the observation of the 2020 General Elections would not have been possible. Thus, REDET wishes to extend its gratitude to the American people through the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) for funding the Tanzania Electoral Processes Observation (TEPO) project through which the 2020 General Elections were observed. We also wish to acknowledge the valuable and generous financial support provided by the Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA) and, by extension, the Royal Danish Embassy to the TEPO programme.

REDET is grateful to the election management bodies in Tanzania, NEC and ZEC for granting us permission to observe the 2020 General Elections; tirelessly providing us with eligible support to accomplish this work, and giving accreditation and assistance to our 200 LTOs and 2,353 STOs deployed to different constituencies. We thank REDET stakeholders from across the country, who expressed their readiness

to participate in this exercise and sent us their CVs for screening and selection as observers, and those selected ensured that they showed up for training, accepted deployment and served successfully as observers. We are also most grateful to the University of Dar es Salaam for its continued support to REDET. The Vice Chancellor, Prof. William A. L. Anangisye, and the entire University management team, deserve special thanks for availing facilities such as valuable working space, meeting and workshop rooms to REDET. We are also grateful to the members of the Department of Political Science and Public Administration, who worked voluntarily in the initial stages of proposal write-up when the availability of funds was not guaranteed. The team of chapter writers include Prof. Rwekaza Mukandala, Dr. Rasul Minja, Dr. Lupa Ramadhani, Dr. Kelvin Munisi, Prof. Bernadeta Killian, Dr. Richard Mbunda, Dr. Consolata Sulley, and Dr. Dotto Kuhenga, who deserve special mention for executing their task diligently, which subsequently resulted in the compilation of this report. Ultimately, we acknowledge the hard work, dedication and assistance of our very own Secretariat led by Prof. Rwekaza Mukandala. He was well assisted by Dr. Rasul Minja, the Project Director, Dr. Lupa Ramadhani, Dr. Deogratius Rugaimukamu, Mr. Dunia Nassoro, Mr. Captain Patrick, Ms. Hellen Nyukuri, Ms. Matilda Mrosso, Ms. Mwati Kisesa, Ms. Anney Yamungu and Mr. Dismas Daniel.

Shortly after celebrating the New Year, we were deeply shocked and saddened to receive news of the passing of Dr. Deogratias Rugaimukamu on 23<sup>rd</sup> January 2021 at his Kunduchi Mtongani residence in Dar es Salaam. REDET pays homage to ‘Dr. Rugai’, as he was fondly addressed within the University of Dar es Salaam’s environs and much so at the REDET offices. Dr. Rugai served the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM) since 1973 as a tutorial assistant and moved up the academic ranks to senior lecturer position, a post he held until his retirement in 2009.

Dr. Rugai had an uncanny ability to reach people profoundly and positively. No one, who met Dr. Rugai, forgot his infectious smile, and the respect he accorded to everyone around him was humbling. We admired his scholarship and commitment to public service. Dr. Rugai’s energy and devotion to work were galvanising. His availability to REDET and the Department of Political Science that hosts the

REDET programme was unparalleled. We are grateful for working closely with him to bring the TEPO project to fruition from its inception phase in 2019 to data collection in October 2020. It is sad that Dr. Rugai has left us before reading the final report on the 2020 general elections, which incorporates several of his invaluable inputs, including exciting details extracted from his regional report. In October 2020, Dr. Rugai served as a Regional Election Co-ordinator (REC) for REDET in Kagera region during the data collection phase. Dr. Rugai was a core member of REDET since its launch in 1992, serving as he did as the programme in various capacities as a statistical analyst, methodology analyst, reports writer, field supervisor, program coordinator, and REC. May His Soul Rest in Eternal Peace.

This study report is made possible by the support of the American people through USAID. However, the content of this report including opinions, errors and omissions, is the responsibility of REDET and does not necessarily reflect the opinions or official positions of USAID or the United States Government.

## CHAPTER TWO

### CONTEXT OF THE TANZANIA 2020 GENERAL ELECTIONS

#### 2.1 INTRODUCTION

Elections are a critical process in any competitive political system. They provide an opportunity and mechanisms for various individuals and groups to compete peacefully for political power. They are conditioned and informed by the socio-economic and political circumstances of the time. The 2020 general elections were no exception, that is some 25 years after the re-introduction of political pluralism in Tanzania. This chapter explores the context of the 2020 elections. The socio-economic and political landscape was shaped by several issues and dynamics both in Zanzibar and Tanzania Mainland. Following the election of Dr. John Pombe Joseph Magufuli as President in 2015, these elections presented the Tanzania electorate with the first national opportunity to judge his performance. He had scored 58 percent of the vote in the 2015 polls. This was the lowest score for any winning CCM presidential candidate since the introduction of multi-party electoral competition in 1995. Thus, the overriding question was: Would present Magufuli be able to perform better in the 2020 elections? As further illustrated in the subsequent paragraphs, he had made many promises and tried to “walk the talk” in the past five years through his performance. Hence, another vexing question was; How would the electorate judge his performance?

The opposition had done very well during the 2015 elections, winning more seats than they had ever done. They had done equally well in the local government elections of 2014. Thus, could they replicate that performance or even do better in 2020? Could the opposition political parties overcome the incumbency advantage of president Magufuli, and the CCM dominance?

In fact, there were pessimists, who argued that the political landscape was not conducive for opposition parties to sustain their support largely due to the limited democratic space, arguably a consequence of several presidential actions and laws passed by parliament. These pessimists further pointed to the unprecedented

defections of opposition MPs, councillors and village/Mtaa [Street] chairpersons to the ruling party, a process which had gathered pace as we neared the 2020 elections.

The 2015-2020 period in Zanzibar was characterised by the failure to continue with an inclusive government that included the main opposition party as laid out in the Government of National Unity (GNU) provisions. The Civic United Front (CUF) had boycotted the re-run of the 2015 election in Zanzibar, objecting as they did to the unilateral cancellation of earlier October 2015 Zanzibar elections by the Zanzibar Electoral Commission (ZEC), which they believed they had won. Thus, how would the electorate, especially opposition supporters, cast their vote?

The remainder of this chapter explores these and other variables that were important in the run-up to the holding of 2020 elections. These are: (i) performance of the fifth phase government (2015-2020) (ii) Political party dynamics (iii) the Zanzibar political impasse, and (iv) the regional and international environmental contexts. The totality of these factors are important in understanding the conduct and, even, outcomes of the 2020 Tanzania general elections.

## **2.2 PERFORMANCE OF THE FIFTH PHASE GOVERNMENT**

### **(2015-2020)**

When President Dr. John Joseph Pombe Magufuli came to power at the end of 2015, his popular slogan was *Hapa Kazi tu*, which means “Only work counts here.” He promised to fight against rampant corruption in the country and prioritised cost-cutting in public expenditure. When inaugurating Parliament on 11<sup>th</sup> November 2015, Dr. Magufuli listed mega corruption, embezzlement of public funds in local governments, poor management and sheer waste of resources, negative political competition, neglect of strategic infrastructure investments, and a culture that encouraged laziness as major impediments to economic development.

He also promised resolute action to steer economic development and social services delivery. Moreover, he promised to fight poverty, improve people’s standards of living and lift Tanzania to a middle-income status. Furthermore, he promised

to expand economic opportunities through industrialisation, particularly the manufacture of clothes, edible items and other agro-based industries. This thrust was to go hand-in-hand with infrastructural development including the extension and modernisation of transportation, especially railways, ports, and air services. He also promised improved social services, including provision of better healthcare particularly to the underprivileged, free access to primary and secondary school education, safe readily available water supply and other social services.

The president followed up his promises with action. For example, on cost-cutting, he immediately after getting into office banned unnecessary travel of public officials within and outside the country. He personally refrained from travelling outside the country. He also outlawed first and business class travel during foreign travel by ministers and officials, except the President, the Vice President and the Prime Minister. Other measures included banning official meetings and workshops to be held in hotels; used money budgeted for Independence Day and World AIDS Day celebrations to tackle pressing community issues, such as providing beds for hospitals and expanding roads to ease traffic congestion in Dar es Salaam city. He also engineered the expunging of ghost workers from the public payroll. His first cabinet consisted of 34 members (19 ministers and 15 deputy ministers) as opposed to 55 ministers of the previous government. All these measures were aimed to save public money that was to be directed to pressing developmental social needs, especially serving the poor.

On social services, the President raised the enrolment rate of pupils in both primary and secondary schools through his fee-free education policy. Government Circular Number 5 of 2015 exempted parents from paying fees or other contributions in public primary and secondary education institutions. Previously, secondary schools charged fees of 20,000 shillings and those in boarding schools paid 40,000 shillings. These measures increased students' enrolment in these levels and reduced the burden of parents paying school fees in public institutions. The fifth phase government also invested heavily in health provision. Health centre facilities increased from 7,014 in 2015 to 8,783 to-date (*Daily News*, 2020). Regional hospitals were upgraded to referral facilities. Provisions of medicine also drastically improved.

Equally important, thousands of doctors and other medical personnel were hired. In consequence, it became easier for the rural population to access health services. Moreover, through the Rural Energy Agency, 68.8 percent of rural population was connected to electricity.

The president in his first term had also been perceived by citizens as walking in Mwalimu Nyerere footsteps. He himself declared many times that he was building Tanzania that Mwalimu Nyerere had wanted. He revived and initiated steps in implementation of several projects that were conceived or initiated by President Nyerere during his reign. Such projects include the shift of the long-delayed government seat from Dar es Salaam to Dodoma; the construction of Stigler's Gorge hydro-electric dam; the renewed emphasis on industrialisation; and the restoration of Air Tanzania Company Limited (ATCL) by buying several aircrafts, including Boeing 789 Dreamliner, Airbus and Bombardier. The launch of all these projects was projected to endear President Magufuli in the eyes of the people, given the high respect that Mwalimu Nyerere still commands in the Tanzanians' collective psychic.

Regarding governance, the president, ministers and other senior officials adapted a hands-on approach to the supervision of public activities. This included making numerous on site-visits; prompt action and disciplinary measures, including summary dismissals or suspension of officials or contractors found wanting in their project execution. The government made several efforts to improve the performance and accountability of the bureaucracy. One notable positive change resulting from the President's efforts was improved performance of the Tanzania Revenue Authority (TRA). For example, in the 2019/2020 financial year the authority collected 90 percent (17.2 trillion out of 19.1 trillion) of its target. Moreover, the level of corruption has, arguably, decreased and performance increased in TRA because of leadership commitment and political will; furthermore, there was periodic reshuffle of officials; automation; enforcement of ethics and anti-corruption laws and regulations; timely audits and investigations; disciplinary actions against corrupt employees; and periodic change of TRA top leadership (Makubi and Issa, 2019).

The President initiated far-reaching mining reforms in 2017. Consequently, the



country amended laws governing the awarding of mining contracts, giving itself the right to renegotiate or terminate contracts in the event of proven fraud. The new legislation also removed the right of mining companies to resort to international arbitration. The tax dispute with Acacia Mining, accused of having significantly undervalued its gold production for years, finally resulted in a settlement. Tanzania obtained 16 percent of the shares in the mines held by the multinational and in May 2020, Acacia Mining paid \$100 million to the government to end the dispute as a first instalment of the \$300 million total amount promised to be paid.



*Tanzania's Minister of Justice and Constitutional Affairs, Palamagamba Kabudi with Barrick Gold Corporation delegates at the State House in Dar es Salaam who came to defuse the Acacia row, 31st July 2017.*

Another area where Parliament played a crucial role was in the mining sector. This sector had been an area of concern on the ground that it did not benefit the country as the laws that governed the sector were largely inept in serving the country's interests. As a result, parliament in 2017 enacted three laws that revolutionised how the sector was governed. These laws were the Natural Wealth and Resources Contracts Act, 2017; the Natural Wealth and Resources Act 2017 and the Written Laws Act, 2017. These laws restored, among other things, state sovereignty in the mining sector, empowered Parliament to review any extraction, exploitation, and



acquisition agreements concluded by the government and private parties; required mining companies to grant the government an equitable stake in their businesses; and imposed restrictions on the export of minerals outside the country and repatriation of funds from mining activities. Another notable development resulting from these laws was the creation of the Mining Commission, which replaced the Mining Advisory Board (Board). The Commission has power to issue licences, regulate and monitor the mining industry and operations, and ensure orderly exploitation and exploration of minerals. These laws are expected to change the way the mining sector is run and increase the benefits to the government and the local community of Tanzania.

However, the Tanzania Mainland Poverty Assessment report of 2019, maintain that despite sustained economic growth and a persistent decline in poverty, the number of poor people grew from 13 million in 2007 to 14 million in 2019. It was noted that vulnerability was high because for every four Tanzanians who moved out of poverty, three fell into the poverty trap door. The report further identified large number of non-poor people living just above the poverty line who risked sliding back. It also pointed out large disparities in the distribution of poverty across regions. Thus, debate on whether the country had progressed as the country headed towards elections was about what is important: Development of infrastructures or development of the people (*Maendeleo ya vitu au maendeleo ya watu*)? People were not certain whether the projects undertaken by the government translated into improved individual welfare. However, on 1<sup>st</sup> July 2020, the World Bank announced that Tanzania's economy had been upgraded from low to lower-middle income status.

Parliament continued to play its role of law-making during the first term of President Magufuli. As one of the key organs of the government, it was expected to work independently to defend citizens' interests. The first term of the president witnessed the passing by Parliament of the 2017 Political Parties Act, Cybercrime Act of 2015, and the Statistics Act of 2015<sup>1</sup>. The passage of these laws have raised mixed feelings among citizens on several issues of governance such as the role of the

<sup>1</sup> The law was amended in 2019 to remove criminal penalties, but maintained burdensome regulations on data collection and publication and questioning of official statistics(CRS, 2020)

press, control over citizens' voice, political activities and rule of law. The Political Parties Act grants the Registrar of Political Parties broad discretion to regulate parties' political activities. Violations of the act could lead to substantial criminal penalties. Some electoral stakeholders were dissatisfied with these Acts, claiming that they undermined human rights, including civil and political rights of access to information and expression.

Other laws that the Parliament enacted or amended included the 2016 Media Services Act. This law regulates most types of journalism-based media activity, requires accreditation of journalists, imposes multiple media licensing conditions and gives the state broad discretionary powers to intervene in media activities. Also, the Electronic and Postal Communications Act, 2019 and later its implementing regulations adopted in 2020 provides the Tanzania Communications Regulatory Authority (TCRA) extensive power to regulate online content and communication (CRS, 2020).

The ensuing legal environment raised concerns regarding the rights of journalists to do their work freely and objectively. Through social media, people raised concerns over harassment, intimidation, arrests and even disappearances of some reporters such as investigative journalists, Azory Gwanda and Joseph Gandye; the arrest and charging of Erick Kabendera; and the silencing of critical newspapers as well as independent bloggers. Moreover, several newspapers, online TV, and blogs were suspended, fined and some shut down altogether. These included the *Citizen* newspaper and its website, which was suspended for seven days, *Kwanza Television*, *Millard Ayo Television* and *Watetezi Television* (Human Rights Report, 2019). Other local TV and radio stations which faced TCRA's suspension include *Clouds Fm*, *Wasafi Fm* and TV and *Mwananchi* Online newspaper.

The performance of the judiciary during the first term of President Magufuli was also in the limelight. When dissolving the 11<sup>th</sup> Parliament, the president mentioned the achievements of the Judiciary to include the reduction of corruption, ironically including framing and charging of innocent people for crimes they did not commit; and reducing the problem of congestion of inmates in prisons (*Daily News*, 2020). He appointed 17 new judges of the Court of Appeal, 52 judges of the High Court,

and 859 judicial officers, including 396 magistrates during his first term. Moreover, the judiciary introduced mobile courts in Mwanza and Dar es Salaam; by 2020, some 337 cases were registered, 274 of which were heard (*Daily News*, 2020). The president during his first term pardoned 42,774 inmates who were serving various prison terms, which reduced prison congestion. He also established the corruption, economic and organised crime court in 2016. The Court has received 407 cases, 385 of which have been heard. Relatedly, PCCB also opened 2,252 cases and it has won 1,013 cases.

However, some critiques were raised by legal and political analysts regarding these developments. The President was perceived to be weakening the independence of the Judiciary through his appointments. Moreover, Tanzania's courts seemed to side with the state on several notable cases. Some of the cases that were cited by various media include the Mtwara High Court ruling that threw an application by human rights groups challenging the Media Services Act out. Others include the January 2019 decision by the Dar es Salaam High Court quashing a plea by lawmakers to stop legislation that expands the grounds on which opposition members can be suspended or jailed, including conducting voter education without government permission. In September 2019, the Dar es Salaam High Court threw opposition leader Tundu Lissu's petition against the revocation of his status as a Member of Parliament out while he was overseas recovering from an assassination attempt against him. Another incidence that was cited in the social media as a case showing that the Judiciary was working in favour of the President was the indefinite suspension of Fatma Karume, a former President of TLS, from practising law in September, 2019. She was accused of launching a rude and inappropriate petition challenging the appointment of Adelardus Lubango Kilangi as the Attorney General, claiming he was underqualified and a known ardent ruling CCM party member.



*Fatma Karume, former TLS President, who was indefinitely suspended from practising law in September, 2019.*

## 2.3 POLITICAL PARTY DYNAMICS

As the country geared towards the 2020 elections, several developments unfolded within major political parties—CCM, the ruling party, and CUF and ACT-Wazalendo in the opposition camp. These developments were characterised by continued dominance and consolidation of the ruling party, CCM, and the realignments, disintegration and decline of opposition parties. As a move towards reforming CCM, the President formed a taskforce to take stock of CCM assets and liabilities. Some CCM individuals were unhappy as the report uncovered extensive rot. The report prompted President Magufuli to order some individuals, who had illegally claimed ownership of some assets to surrender them to the party. Related to reforming the party was the appointment of a new party Secretary-General, Dr. Bashiru Ally, who, incidentally, chaired the taskforce.

Dr. Bashiru Ally had no record of occupying any leadership position in the party, apart from being a member. Leaked telephone conversations circulated through the social media lamented the President was bringing in an alien into the party. The voice clips had noticeable voices of former Foreign Minister Bernard Membe, former Chama CCM Secretary Generals, Abdulrahman Kinana, and Yusuf Makamba;

and former ministers January Makamba, William Ngeleja and Nape Nnauye. All of them were accused by the central party committee of gross indiscipline and violation of the party's ethics and constitution due to running conspiracy campaigns against the President. On different occasions each one of them reportedly asked for forgiveness from the President, except the former Foreign Minister, Bernard Membe, who refused. The party revoked his membership.

CCM benefitted more by defections from opposition political parties. Several strategies were devised to make this happen. One of the strategies was the appointment of some individuals belonging to the opposition to government posts. Prof. Kitila Mkumbo, a senior member of ACT-Wazalendo was appointed Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Water and Irrigation. Ms. Anna Mghwira, who contested for the presidency through ACT-Wazalendo in 2015, was appointed Regional Commissioner for Kilimanjaro region. Although both Prof. Kitila and Ms. Mghwira initially remained ACT-Wazalendo members, they eventually relinquished their ACT-Wazalendo membership to join CCM. Mr. Julius Mtatiro, who was then appointed an interim Chair of CUF, was caught up in the CUF infighting, thereafter, defecting to CCM and eventually was appointed District Commissioner for Tunduru. Mwita Waitara was a former Member of Parliament for Ukonga on the CHADEMA ticket was later appointed as the Deputy Minister of State in the President's Office, Regional Administration and Local Government after defecting to CCM. Dr. Wilbroad Slaa, a former CHADEMA Secretary General, was appointed Tanzania's ambassador to Sweden. Another strategy was for defected party cadres to be guaranteed unopposed parliamentary candidacy within CCM, assuring them of winning the same constituency but on the CCM ticket. New regulations and practice, such as restricting political activities by limiting political activities only to Members of Parliament in their respective constituencies also made it increasingly difficult for opposition political parties to mobilise grassroots support. Some members of the opposition (including Mr. Peter Lijualikali and Mr. Joseph Mbilinyi) were prosecuted and subjected to five-months jail terms. Several others spent most of the time in court, answering several charges levelled against them. Apparently, political activities could safely be conducted within CCM but not

within the opposition. Cross-overs simultaneously strengthened the ruling party's stronghold while weakening the opposition parties.

The aftermath of Umoja wa Katiba ya Wananchi (UKAWA-coalition of opposition political parties in 2015) was marked by conflicts in some political parties, notably CUF and CHADEMA. CHADEMA's Secretary-General, Dr. Wilbrod Slaa, resigned because he was not satisfied with the acceptance of Edward Lowassa to be the flag-bearer of UKAWA for the presidency. Prof. Ibrahim Lipumba resigned his position as CUF Chair also citing similar reasons. Several months following the election, Prof. Lipumba withdrew his resignation letter and attempted to re-take control of key party bodies and assets, including party funds. Maalim Seif Hamad, the CUF Secretary General, resisted this move. However, the Registrar of Political Parties and the High Court both decided in favour of Prof. Lipumba. Maalim Seif Sharif Hamad responded to these decisions by immediately resigning from CUF and joining the Alliance for Change and Transparency (ACT-Wazalendo) alongside thousands of his supporters. This development reduced CUF in Zanzibar—hitherto its stronghold—into an empty shell and significantly weakening the party's presence on the Mainland in bastions of its control.

Moreover, these developments resulted in party realignment whereby ACT-Wazalendo had new candidates for the presidency of both the Union and Zanzibar government, who were former members of CCM and CUF, respectively. CHADEMA nominated Tundu Lissu as the Union presidential candidate. He jetted in from Belgium where he had stayed for two years under treatment and recuperation for gunshot wounds that he suffered while attending a parliamentary session in Dodoma. To-date his assailants remain unknown and at large. Although ACT-Wazalendo nominated Mr. Bernard Membe as their presidential election candidate, as days passed by and with their candidate managing only a handful of campaign meetings, they slowly shifted their support to Mr. Tundu Lissu. Mr. Membe made surprising last-minute appearances before members of the media, claiming that he failed to conduct campaign meetings as he was preoccupied with other international engagements and was short of funds. Despite this limitation, he called upon Tanzanians to stay tuned for his score in the 90<sup>th</sup> minute.



*Maalim Seif Sharif Hamad and Freeman Mbowe listening to Tundu Lissu at a campaign rally in Moshi Urban constituency.*

CCM continued to enjoy its historical and incumbency advantages in terms of resources and supporters. The ruling party had taken full advantage of the role of its predecessors—Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) and Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP)—in the anti-colonial struggle to cement its prestige as a party of liberation and revolution. Association with Founding Fathers of the nation, Mwalimu J. K. Nyerere and Sheikh Abeid A. Karume, gives the ruling party a unique status. CCM has an unmatched network of branches and offices down to the ten-house level. Its large membership base and accumulation of other assets assured a reliable continued flow of critical resources, especially personnel and finances. CCM membership is deemed attractive because it could open opportunities for employment or access to political posts. Having the President as its Chairman of the party guaranteed not only pomp and pageantry at CCM functions, but also organizational stability. Equally important, it potentially opened possibilities up of taking advantage of state organs in its quest for political survival and even dominance.

On the other hand, opposition parties continued to struggle but against all odds registered some success. CHADEMA had relatively increased its support by winning district councils of Arusha, Mwanza, Mbeya and Dar es Salaam in the 2015 elections. Overall, it won 72 parliamentary seats out of 378 almost one fifth



of the councillorship seats as Table 2.1 illustrates:

**Table 2.1: Distribution of Parliamentary and Councillorship Seats in 2015**

SN	Political party	Elected seats	women seats	Total	Councillors
1	CCM	195	66	261	2,875
2	CHADEMA	34	37	72	801
3	CUF	32	10	42	212
4	ACT-Wazalendo	1	0	1	32
5	NCCR-Mageuzi	1	0	1	23
6	NLD	0	0	0	1
7	TLP	0	0	0	0
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>265</b>	<b>113</b>	<b>378</b>	<b>3,946</b>

Source: *TEMCO Report, 2016 & NEC, 2016*



*Dr. Vicent Mashinji*



*Dr. Wilbroad Slaa*



*Julius Mtatiro*



*Prof. Kitila Mkumbo*



*Edward Lowasa*



*Fredrick Sumaye*

*Some notable defections to CCM Between 2015 and 2019*



Nevertheless, if opposition political parties thought they were on a path to increased popularity, developments between 2015 and 2020 made it all wishful thinking.

Equally important, Tanzania held civic elections for local government leaders in November 2019, which were managed by President's Office, Regional Administration and Local Government. However, many opposition candidates were not able to obtain nomination forms. Those who did were not able to return their duly filled out forms on time and those who did had their nominations rejected, including a reported 94 percent of CHADEMA candidates (CRC Report, 2020). As a result, opposition parties boycott the elections, leading to CCM winning all the urban seats and more than 99 percent of the rural seats.

#### **2.4 ZANZIBAR POLITICAL IMPASSE**

The elephant in the room in any discussion of elections in Zanzibar is their freeness and fairness. The results of all multiparty elections in Zanzibar have been contested and denounced as fake by CUF. The most extreme case occurred in the 2000 elections, which TEMCO determined to be aborted. Protests over the results led to the shooting of 22 people dead in Pemba in January 2001. Many more people fled as refugees to Kenya. A former President acknowledged that “this will always be a black spot on my Presidency” (Mkapa, 2020: 170). GNU helped cool the political temperature after the 2010 elections. Unfortunately, crisis and boycotts after the 2015 elections tarnished the image of the Zanzibar polls. Thus, the overriding question was: Could the 2020 elections be an exception? Could the Zanzibar Election Commission (ZEC) organise elections, whose results would be universally acceptable? These were the questions that waited for answers.

At the end of the 2015 General Elections, following annulment of results by ZEC, CUF did not only refuse to contest in the re-run elections but also shunned the GNU. In this regard, the 2020 elections presented an opportunity for the opposition to regain what they claimed had been stolen from them in 2015. Circumstances, however, had changed. CUF had been wrecked by conflict as already discussed. Its top leadership and most of its membership had defected to ACT-Wazalendo. Thus, what impact would this division have on the fortunes of the opposition in Zanzibar?

## 2.5 REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL CONTEXTS

The Tanzania elections have traditionally attracted the attention of the international community. At the conclusion of the 2015 General Elections, major powers threatened imposing economic sanctions on Tanzania, claiming that they were unsatisfied with how the elections had been managed. On separate occasions, on 15<sup>th</sup> October 2020, members of the diplomatic corps, the US Ambassador to Tanzania, Dr. Donald Wright, Kenya High Commissioner to Tanzania, Dan Kazungu, Mozambique Ambassador to Tanzania, Monica Mussa, the EU envoy, Manfredo Fenti and eight other ambassadors from the EU (Anders Sjoberg of Sweden, Adrian Fitzgerald of Ireland, Regme Hess of German, Jorean Verheul of Netherlands, Peter Van of Belgium, Kryett Buzalde of Poland, Roberto Nengoni of Italia and Mette Dissing of Denmark) paid courtesy calls on the CCM Secretary-General, Dr. Bashiru Ally at Lumumba's CCM sub-Head Office in Dar es Salaam. Also, the US Ambassador to Tanzania held talks with the Chairperson of NCCR-Mageuzi, Mr. James Mbatia. On the one hand, the US Embassy in Tanzania on 1<sup>st</sup> October 2020 issued a statement calling upon the Tanzania government to support democratic process, cautioning that it would not hesitate to take measures against individuals tampering with the elections. On the other hand, on 20<sup>th</sup> October 2020 the Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesperson, Zhao Hijan, expressed confidence in the ability of the Tanzania government to organise elections peacefully. On this occasion, China called upon all nations to uphold the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries.

Earlier, on 2<sup>nd</sup> September 2020, 10 foreign missions issued a joint statement calling for transparency, equal opportunities for women, youth and the elderly in the electoral process. Part of the statement read: "As representatives of our countries, we recall our longstanding interests in, and support for, development and democracy in Tanzania based on our long historic and close relationships" (*The Guardian*, Thursday, 3<sup>rd</sup> September 2020).

Other concerns over the conduct of elections in Tanzania came from the UN Commissioner for Human Rights. In a statement issued on 16<sup>th</sup> September 2020, the Tanzania government through the Minister for Foreign Affairs and East African

Co-operation refuted a report issued by Office of the United Nations Commissioner for Human Rights, raising concern over the undermining of democracy and freedom of expression in the country. The government insisted that the report did not reflect the reality on the ground, claiming that all the 17 presidential candidates were campaigning without any impediment.

On 16<sup>th</sup> October 2020, the UNDP Resident Representative called upon all the contending political parties to exercise modesty, tolerance and political maturity ahead of the Election Day. He reiterated the role of the UN, insisting that they did not support any party or candidate in the electoral process not only in Tanzania but also in other countries. He also refuted a statement circulating on social media suggesting that UNDP supported certain candidates. Similarly, on 26<sup>th</sup> October 2020, the spokesperson for the United Nations Secretary-General called on all national stakeholders to ensure that the polls were conducted in an inclusive and peaceful manner in addition to ensuring broad participation of political parties and their candidates, particularly women. Furthermore, he urged all the political leaders and their supporters to participate in the election exercise peacefully while refraining from violence.

In March 2020, at the start of the COVID-19 pandemic, Tanzania challenged the World Health Organisation (WHO) guidelines on COVID-19, including stopping publishing data on COVID-19 cases and declaring Tanzania COVID-19 free on 5 June 2020 (Amnesty International, 2020) and refuted the 14<sup>th</sup> September 2020 statement from the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, highlighting Tanzania's alleged deterioration of human rights environment ahead of the elections as being influenced by a biased agenda from western states (Amnesty International, 2020). Relatedly, to reduce external influence on country's affairs, especially elections, the government conducted and administered the 2020 polls with internal financing. This development contrasted with previous elections that substantially depended on external funding or resources requested from international organisations and western countries.

It can be recalled that back in 2018, Tanzania ordered the Head of EU delegation, Roeland van De Geer, to leave the country immediately for undisclosed reasons. Earlier in 2017, Tanzania similarly expelled the UNDP Resident Representative, Awa Dabo, a Gambian national for “strained relations with staff”. In a statement, the Foreign Ministry of Tanzania urged the UNDP to remind its staff that their priority was to work closely with the Tanzania government to help it meet its development targets. Using internal funds and resisting any attempt by foreign powers to meddle in its internal affairs, the Tanzania government enhanced its assertiveness.

## **2.6 CONCLUSION**

This chapter has discussed the context of the 2020 elections. The chapter has highlighted several developments that were likely to impinge on the 2020 elections. REDET concludes that the public feeling was that CCM was going to win massively as the prevailing circumstances and context favoured it. Moreover, there were those who believed that the development performance the fifth phase government had registered coupled with the squeezed political space for opposition political parties favoured a CCM win. Furthermore, conflicts within the main opposition political parties such as CUF and CHADEMA aggravated by massive defections of influential politicians to CCM dealt them a brutal final blow that diminished significantly their chances of winning.

## CHAPTER THREE

# LEGAL AND INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORKS FOR MANAGING THE 2020 ELECTIONS

### 3.1 INTRODUCTION

The legal and political context in which an election takes place is important in determining the outcome, mood and popular perception of the elections. This chapter assesses the legal and institutional frameworks for the 2020 general elections with a view to establishing their implications for the conduct of the elections. The chapter is divided into four main sections including this introduction. Section two delves into the legal and institutional frameworks for elections. Section three addresses election management issues. Section four concludes the chapter.

### 3.2 LEGAL FRAMEWORKS FOR THE 2020 ELECTIONS

The legal framework governing general elections in the United Republic of Tanzania (URT) is derived from the Constitution of the URT (1977). The National Elections Act (Cap 343 R.E. 2015) provides for the law regulating the election of the President of the United Republic and Union Parliamentary elections. The councillors' election is regulated by the Local Authorities (Elections Act [Cap. 292 R.E. 2015]. Other laws regulating elections include the Political Parties Act (Cap. 258) of 1992, and the Election Expenses Act, No. 6 of 2010 (Cap. 278), which provides for the funding of electoral processes to control the use of funds and prohibited practices. In addition, the legislation provides for the allocation, management and accountability of election funds. Meanwhile, polls in Zanzibar are governed by the Zanzibar Constitution (1984) and the Elections Act No. 11 of 1984 and its 2018 amendments.

Several new laws, rules and regulations were passed. These developments ignited complaints from some quarters that they negatively impacted on the political activities and constrained the democratic space. They include the Media Services Act, 2016 (whose sections on sedition, criminal defamation and false news publications were

found by the East African Court of Justice to restrict press freedom and freedom of expression); the Statistics Act, 2018 (whose amendments remove the previously imposed criminal liability for collecting and publishing statistics contradicting those produced by the National Bureau of Statistics); the Cyber Crime Act, 2015 (whose enforcement has raised concerns particularly on infringement of freedom of expression); the NGOs Act, 2019 (which prohibits Faith-Based Organisations from participating in civic activities such as election observation); the Political Parties (Amendment) Act, 2019 (granting more discretionary powers to the Registrar of Political Parties, and instituting measures to enhance intraparty democracy including women empowerment).

Towards the last two weeks of the election campaigns, the government through the Ministry of Home Affairs issued a statement cautioning religious clerics against bias in the run-up to the 28<sup>th</sup> October 2020 polls. The statement released by the Minister reads in part: “Some religious leaders go to the extent of proclaiming that their followers will vote for a certain candidate. Such acts go against Section 17 I of Societies Act, Cap. 337 as amended through Law No. 3 of 2019” (*The Citizen*, Thursday, 22 October 2020). Footage of the clerics taking the campaign stages of both the incumbent presidential candidate, John Magufuli, and opposition presidential candidate, Tundu Lissu, were evident during the 2020 electoral campaigns as elaborated in detail in the chapter on electoral campaigns.

### **3.2.1 Media Services Act**

The Media Services Act, CAP 229 of 2016 is one of the important legislations that has a bearing on the conduct of electoral competitive politics to the extent that exclusive mention of the Act was made in the Electoral Code of Conduct for the 2020 elections. Provision 2.1 (f) of the Code underlines the responsibility of political parties and candidates to use public media houses to publicise their policies in compliance with the Media Services Act, CAP 229. The adoption of the Media Services Act was met with a barrage of criticism, especially by civil society groups for limiting media operations. In 2017, the Media Council of Tanzania (MCT), the Legal and Human Rights Centre (LHRC) and the Tanzania Human

Rights Defenders' Coalition (THRDC) successfully challenged the Act in the East African Court of Justice (EACJ) for contravening the East African Community (EAC) protocols and constraining freedom of expression, good governance, democracy, and the rule of law in addition to infringing upon human rights.<sup>2</sup> On March 18, 2019 the First Division of the EACJ ruled in favour of the trio. On March 28, 2019 the EACJ Appellate Division ruled against a notice of appeal by the Tanzania government and ordered the latter to effect the necessary amendments to the contested clauses.<sup>3</sup> The First Instance Division had declared an order issued on August 10, 2016 by the then Minister for Information, Culture, Arts and Sports that the suspended publication of *Mseto* newspaper contravened provisions 6 and 7 of the EAC Treaty. As the provisions of the Act remain unchanged since the EACJ Ruling, the Act still provides for the Minister's unfettered power to monitor print media. The Act is also silent on what amounts to "hate speech" or "jeopardizing national security" and "retain[s] some of the draconian provisions of the Newspaper Act, 1976" (MSA, 2016:7).

### 3.2.2 Electronic and Postal Communications (Online Content) Regulations

The Online Content Regulations, which were passed by Parliament in 2018 gave extensive discretionary powers to the Tanzania Communications Regulatory Authority (TCRA) to oversee licensing and monitor operations of online content such as blogs and websites. These regulations also did not enjoy the confidence of some civil society organisations. In 2018, LHRC, MCT and THRDC filed an application at the High Court in Mtwara zone challenging the Online Content Regulations. In January 2019, the High Court dismissed the application concluding that "the petitioners had failed to prove beyond doubts that the regulations will affect their rights in electronic communication" (*Daily News*, 10 January 2019).

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<sup>2</sup>The Court cited several clauses of the MSA and ruled that it contravenes clauses 6(d), 7(2) and 8(1) of the EAC Treaty and the URT Constitution.

<sup>3</sup> East African Court of Justice, Media Council of Tanzania, Legal and Human Rights Centre and Tanzania Human Rights Defenders Coalition v The Attorney General of the United Republic of Tanzania, First Instance Decision of March 28, 2019.

### 3.2.3 Statistics Act

The adoption of this Act in 2015 drew a lot of attention as it became a crime for media owners to publish statistics that were not approved by the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS). Moreover, Section 37(5) of the Act made it a crime to publish statistics that could lead to the “distortion of facts” without offering clarifications on what constitutes a reasonable distortion of facts. The police arrest of the ACT-Wazalendo leader, Zitto Kabwe, for violating the Statistics Act following his statements on the country’s economic growth also attracted public attention. The removal of criminal offence of publishing independent statistics and provision of clarity on the distinction between official and non-official statistics were some of the improvements made in the June 2019 amendment to the Statistics Act.

### 3.2.4 Electoral Code of Conduct

Before the 2010 amendments to the National Elections Act, Cap 343, the Electoral Code of Conduct was not binding for signatories. The Code of Conduct for the 2020 Presidential, Parliamentary and Councillors’ Elections was given the force of law under section 124 A of the National Elections Act, Cap. 343. The tripartite (political parties, URT government and NEC) were responsible for signing the Code but it was made explicit that a political party, which failed to sign would be prohibited from participating in election campaigns. By signing the Code, political parties undertook the responsibility of ensuring that the Electoral Code of Conduct is publicised and complied with, by their candidates and members. The Code of Conduct became operational from the first day after the date of nomination of candidates of the General Election up to moment after announcement of election results.

To implement the Electoral Code of Conduct for Presidential, Parliamentary and Councillors’ Elections of 2020 the Commission formed the following Electoral Code of Conduct Committees, which comprised the representatives from the National Electoral Commission, political parties and the Government:

- ▶ The Appeal Committee,
- ▶ The National Committee,



- ▶ The Constituency Committee, and
- ▶ The Ward Committee.

The process preceding the signing of the Code on 27 May, 2020 by the relevant stakeholders (i.e. political parties, candidates, the government of the URT, and NEC) was preceded by a 14-day review phase in which registered political parties were availed an opportunity to peruse a draft of the Electoral Code of Conduct. NEC presented the Draft Code to political parties on 24 April, 2020. According to the NEC Director of Elections, nine out of 26 political parties were able to submit their recommendations within the 14-day window, while three political parties (NCCR-Mageuzi, CHADEMA, and ACT-Wazalendo) missed the deadline.<sup>4</sup> Provision 2.2 (h) of the Code became a bone of contention during deliberations by various stakeholders. This provision restricted criticism amongst parties and candidates to policies, programmes and activities performed. It discouraged criticising other parties or candidates based on unfounded allegations. The CHADEMA delegation led by its Secretary General, John Mnyika, contested the spirit of the said provision, arguing that it would in effect deprive opposition parties of the opportunity to censure the CCM government performance. After long deliberations, the contention was, ultimately, resolved via a vote. Sixteen voted in favour of the provision whereas two dissented (*Habari Leo*, 25 May 2020). In-depth details on implications of and actual implementation of the Electoral Code are presented in the chapter on election campaigns.

One of the highlights regarding the enforcement of the Electoral Code during the 2020 elections relates to the NEC Ethics Committee decision to impose a seven-day ban (3<sup>rd</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> October 2020) to conduct election campaigns on CHADEMA's presidential candidate, Tundu Lissu. The Ethics Committee imposed a ban on Tundu Lissu for contravening sections 2.1 (a), (b), (d) and (n) of the Electoral Code by using provocative language and making unsubstantiated accusations (*Daily News*, Saturday, 3 October, 2020). The decision followed Mr. Lissu's failure to respond to allegations lodged against him by CCM and NRA, which claimed that the

<sup>4</sup> The nine political parties mentioned by the NEC Director of Elections were: Democratic Party (DP); ADA-TADEA; Civic United Front (CUF); Chama cha Jamii (CCK); Alliance for Tanzania Farmers Party (AAFP); United People's Democratic Party (UPDP); Union for Multiparty Democracy (UMD); Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM); and Chama cha Umma (CHAUMMA).

CHADEMA presidential candidate made remarks alleging that President Magufuli, the CCM presidential candidate, had convened a meeting of all election officials from across the country “to sabotage the election” during his campaign rallies in Mara region (*The East African*, 3-9 October 2020). Relatedly, CHADEMA also filed complaints before the NEC Ethics Committee against the CCM presidential candidate, John Magufuli, for staging campaigns during the commissioning of the International Bus Terminal at Mbezi Louis, Dar es Salaam on 10<sup>th</sup> October 2020. According to CHADEMA’s Secretary General, John Mnyika, “That wasn’t a CCM function; rather a government event which spent taxpayers’ money. But Dr. Magufuli campaigned for himself and the party candidates hence violating the electoral code of ethics... Apart from campaigning contrary to the released schedule he used state owned resources; therefore, we filed complaints to the Commission’s Ethics Committee on Friday and gave the electoral body yet another trial” (*The Citizen on Sunday*, 11<sup>th</sup> October 2020).

### **3.2.5 Political Parties Act**

Implementation of the Political Parties Act (PPA) is overseen by the Office of Registrar of Political Parties (ORPP), which is an independent Government institution, whose main objective is to institutionalise, nurture and enhance multiparty democracy. The RPP also oversees the implementation and monitoring of the enforcement of the Election Expenses Act 2010. The office is led by the Registrar of Political Parties, who is assisted by the Deputy Registrar and Assistant Registrars.

It is worth noting that the Political Parties (Amendments) Act No. 1 of 2019 which introduced a raft of changes and requirements regarding the provision of civic education, formation of coalitions, intra-party democracy and financial accountability, among others, did not enjoy the confidence of all the political parties. Three opposition parties (CHADEMA, ACT-Wazalendo, and CHAUMMA) represented by five applicants unsuccessfully filed Application No. 2 of 2019 at the EACJ on 27<sup>th</sup> May, 2019. In this Application (*Freeman A. Mbowe & 4 others vs The Attorney General of the United Republic of Tanzania*), the Applicants sought

for the EACJ First Instance Division Court orders refraining the Respondent from applying and using provisions of the Political Parties (Amendments) Act. No. 1 of 2019.

In brief, the Applicants argued that the application of the Act would limit the rights of Tanzanians to receive information through civic education and constrain the rights of Applicants to provide civic education without first seeking permission from the RPP. The Applicants raised concern that the dissemination of civic education without due notification would subject them to criminal penalties of being arrested, detained, prosecuted, fined or imprisoned, or suspended from party membership, all of which could amount to irreparable loss. The Applicants also challenged the powers granted to the RPP to determine providers of civic education and the content of civic education to be disseminated. The Applicants were concerned that if they were denied the right to provide civic education, the public would not be informed about the importance of participating in the exercise of updating the PNVR and might, ultimately, be denied the right to vote, a loss that is irreparable.

The Respondent (Attorney General of the URT) in reply advanced the following arguments: “The requirement to inform the Registrar on the intention to provide civic education is limited to NGOs and institutions [that] target to give civic education to the political parties and not the general public as alleged and such a requirement aims at ensuring transparency, accountability and protection of state security and order... the Act was passed in among other things to regulate the conduct of political parties with the spirit of promoting institutionalism, intra-party democracy, political and financial accountability which are essential elements of any modern democratic state”<sup>5</sup>. The Court dismissed the Application in its 17<sup>th</sup> June 2020 ruling delivered via video conference during the Covid-19 epidemic.

Besides introducing provisions on the regulation of civic education and capacity-building training and granting powers to the ORPP to request any information from a political party, a leader or a member, the amended PPA recognises the formation of coalitions by political parties. However, it is the prescribed procedures

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<sup>5</sup> Application No. 2 of 2019 (Arising from Reference No. 3 of 2019) Freeman A. Mbowe & 4 Others vs Attorney General of the United Republic of Tanzania.

for entering into coalition agreements that set the ORPP and opposition parties on a collision course. The new procedures require members of respective parties to endorse the coalition agreements during the national general meeting and submit a signed copy of the agreement to the Registrar three months before the nomination of candidates by NEC<sup>6</sup>. During the campaigns, the ORPP served letters dated September 18, 2020 to CHADEMA and ACT-Wazalendo for the latter to explain their expressed intention of forming a “loose co-operation agreement” (*The Citizen* Thursday, September 24, 2020). The Deputy Registrar also reported that the ORPP had also issued a written letter demanding an explanation from TLP following the latter’s declaration that it would support CCM’s presidential candidate, John Magufuli, in the October 2020 polls. The TLP Secretary General, Richard Lyimo, acknowledged receipt and responded to the Registrar’s letter conceding that the decision to endorse the CCM presidential candidate was reached by its congress held on 9<sup>th</sup> May 2020 without CCM’s consent “noting that their interest wasn’t CCM, but Dr. Magufuli’s outstanding performance” (*The Citizen* Thursday, 24<sup>th</sup> September 2020).

### 3.2.6 Election Expenses Act

The Election Expenses Act (EEA), 2010, which is only applicable to Union election is a piece of legislation whose enforcement is overseen largely by the ORPP and the Prevention and Combating of Corruption Bureau (PCCB). Simply put, the division of enforcement responsibilities between the two institutions allows the ORPP to oversee the implementation of the Act and investigate the violation of the Act. Moreover, the ORPP has powers to demand any information from a political party or candidate relating to its implementation whereas the PCCB focuses on prohibited practices. Besides controlling the use of election expenses in an election by setting maximum expenditure and compelling disclosure, the EEA restricts foreign funding during elections; prescribes prohibited practices during elections; imposes a duty to a political party to keep records of election expenses; and provides for protection of an informer (whistle blower). In the run-up to the October 28 polls, the ORPP did not use any of the following penalties stipulated

<sup>6</sup> Article 11 A of the Political Parties (Amendment) Act No. 1 of 2019.

in the EEA:

- Filing an objection to the Director of Election requesting him/her to disqualify a political party and/or candidate who failed to disclose election expenses, from continuing to participate in an election;
- Imposing a fine or imprisonment for violating the Act; e.g. failure to submit report of election expenses incurred, to do a prohibited practice, particularly spending more than the prescribed maximum amount, failure to respect restrictions imposed on foreign funding.

Generally, two sets of challenges face the ORPP in undertaking the responsibility of enforcing the EEA. These challenges are linked to the ORPP's capacity and those emanating from the targeted group, i.e. political parties, candidates and voters. In one of its submissions<sup>7</sup>, the ORPP mentioned the following specific enforcement challenges:

1. It is difficult to enforce maximum expenditure provisions;
2. Awareness of the law is still low, especially among normal members of Political Parties and voters;
3. Most of the prohibited practices are clandestine and are exercised in conspiracy;
4. Inadequate capacity-building training in political parties as they spend more resources on competition issues;
5. Inadequate disciplinary mechanisms within political parties, i.e. few parties have code of conducts;
6. Societal moral decay, lack of personal integrity and honesty.

Detailed account of incidences and omissions related to the enforcement of the Act during the 2020 election campaigns is provided in chapter five (the conduct of election campaigns).

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<sup>7</sup> Sisty L. Nyahoza, Assistant Registrar of Political Parties, "Ensuring Free and Fair 2020 General Elections in Tanzania: The Role of the Office of Registrar of Political Parties", presentation to REDET Long Term observers' Training, 26<sup>th</sup> September 2020.

### 3.3 MANAGEMENT OF THE 2020 ELECTIONS

#### 3.3.1 Recruitment and Training of Election Officials

By the time REDET deployed its observers, NEC had already recruited some of its key officials. Those recruited and already at work included Municipal Returning Officers (ROs), and Assistant Returning Officers (AROs). There were two types of AROs: Those who assisted the Municipal RO at a constituent level, and those who served as ROs at the ward level. Election officials were recruited from the public. Ultimately, NEC appointed 28 election co-ordinators, 194 ROs, 742 AROs at the constituency level and 7,912 AROs at the ward level<sup>8</sup>.

The general impression from the REDET LTOs is that the recruitment process was open and transparent. In Songea Urban, for example, a recruitment notice (Kumb. Na.SO/MC/E.20/1/111/42 dated <sup>2</sup>1st September 2020) was publicly posted in all Ward Executive Offices (WEOs) and office of the district council for six days from 21 to 27 September 2020, calling for applications from all qualified individuals in the constituency (Ruvuma LTO's Field Report, October 2020). The qualifications for the applicants to be eligible were as follows: (i) A Tanzanian citizen aged at least 18, (ii) Non-partisan, (iii) Possibly a resident of the respective ward, (iv) Have at least a Certificate of Secondary Education Examinations (CSEE/O-Level/Form Four), and (v) Trustworthiness. Interested individuals had to submit their credentials to the municipal director's office. Successful applicants were to serve as presiding officers, polling assistants, and direction clerks.

The application process was deemed to be transparent and no complaints emerged in respect to this initial stage of the recruitment process. However, in some areas such as Kigoma Urban, some applicants expressed dissatisfaction with the way the interview process had been conducted. Names of shortlisted applicants were merely posted on the notice board at the Municipal Office and no further attempts were made to use alternative means of communication to inform the shortlisted applicants that they were required to attend the interview on a specific date (Kigoma LTO's Field Report, October 2020).

<sup>8</sup> Hotuba ta Mwenyekiti wa Tume ya Taifa ya Uchaguzi katika kufungua kikao cha kazi cha wasimamizi wa uchaguzi tarehe 24 Julai 2020 katika ukumbi wa Morena Hotel Jijini Dodoma.

All the applicants were subjected to face-to-face interviews in which case the interviewers sought to establish their level of comprehension of the country's electoral system. As noted earlier, names of shortlisted and successful applicants were posted on various noticeboards at the respective ward offices. Some of the REDET LTOs were able to attend training sessions of the cadres of election officials.

Training for election staff took place at different times. All the senior electoral official across the country were trained by NEC using a centrally prepared schedule. Training for lower levels was organised at a constituent level and took place in the third week of October. Duration of training varied between one day and three days. Training for Direction Clerks was for a day and that of Presiding Officers and Polling Assistants for two days. The trainers were Assistant Returning Officers from the municipal authority and some staff from the NEC Secretariat.

The training objective was to impart trainees who would be administrating the polling process at their assigned stations with requisite skills. Two training manuals guided the training. The modules, which were uniform throughout the country, were: "Maelekezo kwa Wasimamizi wa Vituo vya Kupigia Kura [Guidelines for Polling Station Presiding Officers]" and "Maelekezo kwa Makarani Waongozaji Wapiga Kura [Guidelines for Chief Clerks Presiding Over Voters]". The Manuals covered the following four themes:

- a) Module 1: Polling staff duties during polling day.
- b) Module 2: Voting procedures and important tips to be considered before, during and after polling activities.
- c) Module 3: Vote counting procedures and handling of voting equipment.
- d) Module 4: Precaution to polling staff .

Training methodology was interactive. It involved some lecture sessions and animation approach using videos, which projected simulation of polling activities at a polling station. It also allowed participants to rehearse some of the procedures involved in the polling process. Training was thorough and well elaborate, and the information given was comprehensible and adequate for understanding the "hows" and "whats" pertaining to the polling process and the procedures and rules to be observed.





*REDET observers following up training sessions of Presiding Officers and Assistant Presiding Officers on 26<sup>th</sup> October 2020 at Mkapa Hall in Mbeya City.*



*Participants in one of training sessions of Presiding and Assistant Presiding Officers in Mbeya Urban Constituency going through the drill of preparing the voting booth during the training held on 26<sup>th</sup> October 2020 at Mkapa Hall.*



### 3.3.2 Accreditation of Election Observers and Voter Education Providers

REDET was one of the 97 organisations that were accredited to observe the 2020 General Elections. As already alluded to, due to changes in the law that imposed different requirements for citizen groups,<sup>9</sup> REDET observed the 2020 general elections without its usual and important partners: Faith-Based Organizations. Missing out in NEC's list of 97 accredited observers and 245 CSOs approved to conduct voter education in July 2020 were prominent domestic civic groups that hitherto had been regularly involved in election observation and dissemination of voter education. Besides LHRC, which had collaborated with REDET in the previous general elections via TEMCO, other domestic groups that failed to secure the Commission's approval were THRDC and the Tanzania Constitution Forum (TCF).

The good intentions of introducing the OMS (Observer Management System) notwithstanding, it was a massive oversight for the Commission to introduce a new system of accrediting observers without, firstly, informing key stakeholders, including REDET and organisations accredited during the exercise of updating the PNVR. The digitized system of uploading and processing observers' particulars via the OMS, to a certain extent, slowed down instead of accelerating the accreditation exercise due to (i) slow servers and loading time; (ii) poor network connectivity; (iii) inability to edit filled out entries especially observers' assigned constituencies (this challenge emerged before improvements were made to the OMS by the Commission's ICT experts); and (iv) the web-based OMS application occasionally going offline as the deadline for processing observers' IDs approached.

Generally, REDET LTOs were well-received by both Returning Officers and Assistant Returning officers in their respective constituencies. Officials and candidates of various political parties were equally cooperative. In most constituencies, election officials provided observers with lists of parliamentary and councillorship candidates, election campaign timetable, letters of introduction to various organizations responsible with the management of electoral processes and list of organizations providing civic education.

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<sup>9</sup> Miscellaneous Amendments Act No. 3 of 2019.

In a few cases such as in Temeke constituency, CHADEMA leadership was a bit suspicious of REDET. They were reluctant to co-operate until they were certain of the role of REDET in the election. They wanted to establish whether the observers would intervene on their behalf when there were cases of infringement of their rights. In Kawe, some political parties thought REDET was spying on them. Similarly, in Mbagala constituency some leaders of political parties had misconceptions that REDET was pro-state, and hence the ruling party. This feeling intensified following rumours circulating on social media that REDET had conducted opinion polls, ostensibly to inflate the government's approval rating ahead of elections (REOC Dar es Salaam, 2020). As it became apparent that this was fake and fabricated news, co-operation with stakeholders emboldened.

### **3.3.3 The Swearing-in of Poll Agents**

One of the electoral activities that dominated headlines in the domestic media during the 2020 electoral process was the handling of the exercise of swearing-in poll agents. According to articles 57 and 58 of the National Elections Act (CAP 343) and the Local Authorities Act (CAP 292), respectively, read together with article 50 (4) and (5) of the 2020 Presidential and Parliamentary Elections Regulations (made under section 124) and article 43 (4) and (5) of the 2020 Councillors' Elections Regulations (made under section 125), polling agents are required to take an oath of secrecy before the RO and no agent would be allowed to be at the polling station without having done so.

The exercise of swearing-in poll agents was swiftly conducted in some areas but complaints were reported in several other areas. For instance, in Arusha constituency more than 1,000 CHADEMA poll agents were the first to be sworn in and the exercise went on smoothly as noted by the constituency parliamentary candidate: "So far in Arusha I have not received any complaints. The exercise is going on well" (*The Citizen*, Thursday 22<sup>nd</sup> October 2020). In other areas political parties and candidates, mostly in the opposition camp, complained against the procedure to hold the exercise in one place/venue, inconsistent with directives as to who should preside over the swearing-in exercise and where it should take place (ward,

LGA or division levels), the requirement to present two recent coloured passport size photos and credential confirming one's particulars (copy of national identity card, or voters' card or passport).

In Shinyanga region, just like other constituencies in the country, the exercise of oath-taking could not be finalised on 21<sup>st</sup> October 2020 as scheduled for four main reasons. First, there was a high number of agents who were to take an oath, who needed time to verify their details and taking the oath. Second, the geographical settings of constituencies made it difficult for ROs or appointed election officers to be in multiple places to take oaths in a timely manner. Third, there were delays of political parties in submitting agents' names to the election offices at the constituency level. This delayed the process of verification. Fourth, other submissions from some political parties had missing requirements, such as introduction letters, which made it difficult for them to take oath as scheduled, and instead spent a significant amount of time to follow up on documents.

In Msalala, for example, the process went smoothly, except for 10 political party agents, seven from CUF and three from CHADEMA, who did not have introduction letters from their respective political parties. In Kishapu and Kahama, the process could not be finalised on 21<sup>st</sup> October due to the sheer high number of poll agents that needed to take the oath. In Kishapu in particular, the process of giving oath was difficult due to the geographic set up, which required the RO to travel to various wards to give oath as it was difficult to collect agents in a few centers. In Shinyanga, there were delays in the submission of names, which caused hiccups in the process and discrepancies in statistics.

The sum of political party agents, who took oath in Shinyanga region, was 7,382, as indicated in Table 3.1. CCM and CHADEMA posted far more poll agents than the rest of the contesting political parties. UDP, TLP, and Demokrasia Makini told the REDET Regional Election Co-ordinator that they did not have enough poll agents due to limited budget and narrow political base.

**Table 3.1: Number of Poll Agents in Shinyanga**

Constituency	Number of Political Party Agents										Total
	ACT-W	ADA-TADEA	CCM	CHADEMA	CUF	DM	DP	NC-CR-M	TLP	UDP	
Kahama	304	2	567	560	268	0	40	282	0	0	<b>2023</b>
Kishapu	21	0	467	483	0	0	0	11	0	0	<b>982</b>
Msalala	11	0	423	262	29	0	0	32	0	0	<b>757</b>
Shinyanga Urban	274	0	326	326	0	213	0	256	149	126	<b>1670</b>
Solwa	17	0	572	304	55	0	0	28	0	0	<b>976</b>
Ushetu	11	0	491	366	54	0	0	52	0	0	<b>974</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>638</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2,846</b>	<b>2301</b>	<b>406</b>	<b>213</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>661</b>	<b>149</b>	<b>126</b>	<b>7382</b>

*Source: Shinyanga LTO's Field Report, October 2020.*

Since CCM had successfully submitted the list of its agents, and other political parties were at different stages of making the list, election officers decided to change the original plan of taking the oath from wards to political party affiliations. For example, the first group to take oaths at the Buhangija centre was CCM, followed by CHADEMA, and later ACT-Wazalendo coupled with other political parties. The oaths CCM poll agents took went smoothly as they could be accommodated within the hall. However, there was a delay for other political parties because of miscommunication between AROs and poll agents. Later, AROs invited the remaining poll agents for the oath. Unfortunately, the room could not accommodate all the agents, which prompted the AROs to request some poll agents who were not seated to walk out of the hall. After a short while, AROs realised that each party should be sworn in separately. Agents became impatient of waiting. As AROs continued to discuss how to handle the situation, agents in the hall started singing, “Tunataka, kuapishwa; tunataka kuapishwa” (literally, “we want to be sworn in... we want to be sworn in”). Police were called in.

At the same time, outside the hall, a confrontation between ACT-Wazalendo agents and AROs broke out when agents asked one ARO if she could give them a brief introduction on the roles and responsibilities of political party agents in the

elections. The ARO responded that the responsibility of providing such information was with political parties and not election officers. The agents found the response rude and uninformative, so they started shouting at the officer saying, “We are asking because we don’t know.” Others questioned whether that role was given to political parties but the parties failed to fulfil it. Meanwhile, where should the agents go for advice. The officer insisted that the provision of voter education to agents was the responsibility of their respective parties. That responsibility claim led commotion until one ACT-Wazalendo leader asked them to calm down, by assuring them that a brief session has been organised to offer that information before taking oath. This information calmed them down and they continued with the process of registration.

After the completion of oath-taking, a fourth challenge emerged. When they asked for oath confirmation, agents argued that, since the oath was given on a group basis, how could it be proved that all individuals on the party list took the oath? Election officers informed political parties and agents that the attendance sheet would be used to affirm who had attended the group oath. Then the confirmation of who is qualified to be an agent will be in the form of an introduction letter, attached with an approved list of agents. The letters were to be submitted to the respective political parties before Election Day. Though opposition political parties accepted this explanation, they argued that it was important to provide a sticker to everyone who took an oath as evidence of such participation. One of the leaders from NCCR-Mageuzi responded to me when I asked why confirmation was important, “You might have 11 officers who took the oath, but when the introduction letter came in, only seven agents have been mentioned. How could you prove that you were at the oath, while they have refused to give us the forms of attendance sheets?”

The last issue was the discrepancy between the self-reported number of agents that political parties affirmed to have registered and the number shared by election officers as indicated in Table 3.2. Note that the formal statistics were not shared with political parties; they were only shared with an observer for documentation purposes. However, as an observer, LTO for Shinyanga Urban constituency was interested in comparing statistics for three main reasons. First, CCM had sworn

in 326 poll agents and 85 back-up agents. Therefore, the LTO was interested in seeing whether other parties were going to have back-up agents as well. Second, ACT-Wazalendo leaders in Shinyanga town confronted each other, arguing that two different sets of lists were submitted to the election office. Third, the LTO was notified by ACT-Wazalendo, CHADEMA, and NCCR-Mageuzi leaders that they suspected there were fake agents added to the CCM list.

**Table 3.2: Discrepancies in Number of Poll Agents in Shinyanga Urban**

Shinyanga Urban	Number of Political party agents										Total
	ACT-W	ADA-TADEA	CCM	CHADEMA	CUF	DM	DP	NCCR-M	TLP	UDP	
Official Statistics	274	0	326	326	0	213	0	256	149	126	<b>1670</b>
Unofficial Statistic	243	0	411	246	0	326	50	77	21	50	<b>1424</b>

*Source: Shinyanga LTO's Field Report, October 2020.*

CCM provided the LTO with a list, which identified 411 agents who took the oath. However, according to official statistics, CCM had only 326 agents. Similarly, ACT-Wazalendo provided a list of 243 poll agents, contrary to the official list of 274. These discrepancies also applied to TLP and NCCR-Mageuzi. TLP was only contesting for a councillorship position in one ward due to financial constraints, and therefore had only 21 poll agents. Surprisingly, the formal list indicated that TLP had 149 poll agents. A similar discrepancy emerged in NCCR-Mageuzi's list, which had 77 poll agents whilst the official list indicated 256 poll agents.

Due to the complaints and challenges experienced in executing the exercise, NEC extended for three days (21 to 23 October 2020) the swearing-in exercise, which was initially a one-day activity. According to the NEC Director of Elections, Dr. Wilson Mahera, "Considering that some areas are difficult to access due to geographical setbacks, it made it difficult for election officials to complete the exercise in time" (*Daily News*, Thursday, 22<sup>nd</sup> October 2020).

### 3.3.4 Delimitation of Electoral Boundaries

NEC announced minor changes in the electoral constituencies on 23<sup>rd</sup> July 2020. This change did not involve an increase of electoral constituencies but rather a change of names of three constituencies: Chilonwa constituency in Chamwino, Dodoma DC was changed to Chamwino; Mtera constituency in Chamwino DC in Dodoma was changed to Mvumi and Kijitoupele constituency in West B; Urban West region in Zanzibar was changed to Pangawe. The number of constituencies and wards remained 264 and 3,956, respectively, as it was in 2015. In Zanzibar, on 2<sup>nd</sup> July 2020 ZEC announced the dissolution of four constituencies: Mahonda, Mtopepo, Kijitoupele and Chukwani. As a result, Zanzibar had 50 constituencies: 32 in Unguja and 18 in Pemba, as opposed to 54 previously. ZEC also changed the name of Mvogoni constituency in Wete to Pandani.

### 3.3.5 Funding of the Elections

As aptly put, “Election management can efficiently and effectively (professionally) be executed if adequate funds are secured on time” (Chaligha, 2010: 403). The Elections Act stipulates that the cost of elections should be paid from the Consolidated Fund and NEC had recommended for the establishment of an Election Fund in its report on the 2015 general election. But NEC had continued to receive election funds from the government. Indeed, for the 2020 elections, as noted by the NEC Director of Elections, the government footed the entire election bill from the taxpayer’s money disbursing a sum of 120 billion shillings to districts (*The Guardian*, 22 October 2020). Meanwhile, the government approved 331,728,258,035 shillings for implementing its election management responsibilities<sup>10</sup>.

### 3.3.6 Voter Registration Process

As noted earlier, REDET embarked on a separate mission of observing the updating of the PNVR undertaken by NEC and a comprehensive report on the exercise has been prepared. Briefly, starting from 1<sup>st</sup> December 2019, REDET deployed its team of LTOs to cover 89 Local Government Authorities (LGAs) in 16 regions of Tanzania Mainland and Zanzibar. NEC officially launched this exercise in

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<sup>10</sup> See NEC Newsletter (n.d.) “Maandalizi Kuelekea Uchaguzi Mkuu, 2020”, p. 50.

Kilimanjaro region on 18<sup>th</sup> July 2019. This was in pursuant of the provisions of 40 (1) of the Regulations for Updating of the PNVR (GN. 792 and 793 published on 28 December 2018) and 42 (1) of the Local Authorities Updating of the PNVR Regulations of 2018.

Towards the Election Day, NEC announced that voters would be allowed to use other forms of identification such as driving licence, the national identity card or passport in case they had lost or misplaced the voter ID card. It appears this decision by NEC did not have a massive effect on the voter turnout for the 2020 elections.

For the most part, the voter registration exercise was carried out successfully in the 89 LGAs observed. NEC had made all the necessary logistical arrangements, including preparing the schedule for staggered registration throughout the country. In most cases, registration materials and equipment were adequate and deployed in a timely manner. Recruitment, training and deployment of registration officers was done to the satisfaction of many stakeholders, including REDET.

### **3.3.7 Provision of Voters' Education**

Tanzania's National Election Act Cap 343 Section 4 C entrusts NEC with the responsibility of providing voters' education nationwide, co-ordinating and supervising persons who conduct such education. Fulfilling this legal role, NEC in November 2019 invited organisations interested in providing such education to apply for accreditation. In July 2020, NEC accredited 245 CSOs countrywide to provide voter education (*The Citizen*, July 2020).

As Table 3.3 illustrates, Voter education was largely provided by CSOs than by NEC. REDET was also interested in determining whether there were any voter education related to COVID-19 given its impact on the society. Generally, neither ZEC nor CSOs provided voter education on COVID-19 protection measures. Table 3.3 shows that only 461 LTOs and STOs out of 5131, equivalent to 9 percent, nine percent witnessed voter education or information on COVID-19 protection measures.



**Table 3.3: Provision of Voter Education by EMBs and CSOs**

Question	Responses		
	Yes (%)	No (%)	Total (%)
Have you witnessed any voter education provided by CSOs in the 2020 general elections?	2763 (53.9)	2368 (46.2)	5131 (100)
Have you witnessed any voter education provided by NEC/ZEC in the 2020 general elections?	7,101 (13.8)	4421 (86.2)	5131 (100)
Have you witnessed any voter education on COVID-19 protection measures?	461 (9.0)	4670 (91)	5131 (100)

*Source: Observers' Field Reports, October 2020.*

NEC and other stakeholders used a variety of methods to mobilise people to register:

- i. Official and informal gatherings: NEC provided voter education during national functions, which attracted many people such as the Dar es Salaam International Trade Fair (DITF), *Nane* exhibitions in Simiyu (31 July to 8 August 8 2019), *Wiki ya Sheria* in Dodoma (31 January to 6 February 2020), *Funga Mtaa Festival* hosted by EFM radio station in Mabibo, Dar es Salaam, *Daftari Music Festival* at Mwembe Yanga grounds in Temeke, Dar es Salaam, Boda Boda Riders festival in Kondo<sup>11</sup>;
- ii. Targeting secondary school students: several secondary schools, for example, in Kinondoni constituency were also reached by a team of NEC voter education providers; in Korogwe students helped to dispatch some materials to their parents;
- iii. Radio and TV programme: Radio and TV spots, jingles, TV adverts and special programmes, such as *Malumbano ya Hoja*, *Kumekucha* and *Kipima Joto*;
- iv. Social media platforms: NEC crafted short messages which were uploaded into its various social media platforms such as Instagram, Twitter, Facebook and NEC online TV;
- v. Other methods: use of a van with a PA system, leaflets, brochures, and banners

<sup>11</sup> See NEC Newsletter (n.d.) "Maandalizi Kuelekea Uchaguzi Mkuu, 2020" (Preparations towards the 2020 General Elections), pp. 20-30.

along major roads.

As Table 3.4 illustrates, NEC used several methods to disseminate voter education, with the methods seeming to be more frequently used being the radio and TV adverts.

**Table 3.4: Methods Used to Disseminate Voter Education by NEC and ZEC**

Methods	Frequency	Percent
No voter education by NEC/ZEC	2141	41.7
Leaflets/Brochures	1221	23.8
Newspaper advert(s)	553	10.8
Radio advert(s)	1993	38.8
TV advert(s)	2011	39.2
Social media	1114	21.7
Mobile vans	604	11.8
Open teachings in markets, bus stands etc.	251	4.9
Other	205	4.0

*Source: REDET Election Observation Field Reports, 2019.*

\*Note: Total responses = 5131; Results are based on multiple responses.

Observers in almost all the constituencies in Dar es Salaam noted that voter education from by the NEC, CSOs and political parties was inadequate and ineffective. First, it was not provided in time. As we noted earlier, voter education started in the second week of October, two weeks before voting day. Second, it was only limited to some places and areas. For, example NEC posters on how to vote, and what to do after voting were found in places intended to serve as polling stations. Places such as primary and secondary schools are not usually places frequently visited by the public at large. One could notice a handful people who bothered to visit such places to see if their names were in the voter register. Third, most CSOs had a small area of operation and therefore could not cover many areas within one constituency let alone the whole region with 10 constituencies and 102 wards. Political parties began their voter education in the second week before polling day. Their focus was limited to specimen ballot papers which they displayed in every

campaign meeting and guided people where to put the mark on the ballot paper. In some constituencies such as Serengeti, Bunda, Tarime Urban and Musoma Urban, political parties and their candidates decided to take an active role in providing voter education in their campaign rallies. However, the voter education provided in the rallies was only limited to voting for the respective parties in the ballot papers. In the last two weeks of campaigns, especially CCM and CHADEMA, spent up to five minutes per a campaign rally illustrating to the crowds how to vote for them without spoiling the ballots (Mara LTO's Field Report, October 2020).

For the first time in the history of voting in Tanzania, citizens voted during a weekday instead of the weekend (on Sunday). Wednesday 28<sup>th</sup> October was announced to be a special polling day. Initially, people did not understand what a special polling day meant. Some were confused about whether workers, both in the private and public sectors, would go to work on that day or not. Clarification on this came rather late when the President, in his last two weeks campaign trail, started to talk about it, conveying the message that he was going to proclaim the day public holiday, and employees in the public and private sectors would be exempted so that work did not become an obstacle to voting.

The second observation is that NEC, CSOs and political parties did not include in their voter education the need and importance of registered voters to visit or establish their polling stations prior to voting day. As a result, several people struggled to locate polling stations, some thinking it was where they were first registered. Many of these voters also were not aware of the "sms" app established by NEC for locating one's polling station. REDET encountered a few who gave up and went back without voting..

Overall, strategies used to disseminate voter education were found wanting in some instances as in the case where REDET established that, although some CSOs claimed to target some special groups of registered voters such as youth and PWDs, their work was not that specific. After all, their approach was open teachings in places such as marketplaces and bus-stops where the youth and PWDs could be found. However, this did not guarantee that voter education would reach the targeted group.

### 3.4 CONCLUSION

The analysis of the legal set-up and institutional arrangements for the 2020 election has revealed some notable strengths and weaknesses. On the positive side, the 2020 elections were funded entirely using the taxpayer's money with the funds timely disbursed to NEC and LGAs. Second, the recruitment of election officials through competition was a commendable approach. Election officials were recruited on merit by way of inviting application from people with appropriate qualifications. Training of election officials was thorough, elaborate and comprehensive. Third, decision to allow voters, who had lost their voting cards to use their national identity cards, passports or driving licences, was a welcome move aimed to accord more eligible voters an opportunity to exercise their constitutional right of voting.

On the negative side, some pieces of legislations (such as the Media Services Act) caused consternation, as political parties, the media and the public perceived them to be more debilitating than facilitative. Some contestants and political parties implored the NEC Ethics Committee and the ORPP to enforce fairly the provisions of the Electoral Code of Conduct and the Political Parties Act with the same zeal to all participants of the 2020 elections. The handling of the exercise of swearing-in poll agents was horrendous mostly due to inconsistencies and double standards. Finally, some prominent clerics were biased in favour of or against some candidates, hence threatening the unity and solidarity of Tanzanians. Thus, a more robust intervention by the EMBs was necessary to supplement a statement of caution issued by the Minister on overseeing the implementation of the Societies Act, Cap. 337.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### NOMINATION OF CANDIDATES

#### 4.1 INTRODUCTION

Nomination of candidates is integral to intra-party democracy and determines the candidanship in polities where private candidacy is applicable. It has a bearing on the composition of a country's legislative bodies and resultant policies.<sup>12</sup> This chapter focuses on the nomination of candidates by political parties and EMBs in Tanzania's 2020 elections.

The chapter has eight sections including this introduction. The second section describes the legal and institutional frameworks as well as the political party selection rules and procedures. Nomination of presidential candidates falls under section three. Nomination by NEC is dealt with in section four whereas section five presents the handling of appeals. Section six discusses unopposed candidature and section seven, deals with the overall assessment of the nomination process. Finally, section eight concludes the chapter.

#### 4.2 LEGAL AND INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORKS

Central legislations guiding the nomination of candidates in Tanzania are the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania (URT), 1977, the National Elections Act Cap 343, 1985, Local Authorities (Elections) Act, 1979, and the Political Parties Act R.E. 2019. A cross-cutting element in all these legislations must do with the provisions on candidacy qualifications. Nomination of candidates is made primarily by political parties, pending endorsement by EMBs. Nomination by EMBs follow candidacy qualifications that are provided in the Constitution and electoral laws. Articles 39(1) and 67(1) of the 1977 URT Constitution provide for presidential and parliamentary candidacy qualifications, respectively, whereas Section 39(1) of the Local Authorities (Elections) Act, 1979 R.E. 2015 stipulates qualifications for the councillorship candidacy. These qualifications include (i) membership to and candidate's sponsorship by a political party, (ii) age (being

<sup>12</sup> Gallagher M and Marsh M. (1988). *Candidate selection in Comparative perspective: The secret garden of politics*. London: Sage .

40 for presidency and 21 for Members of Parliament (MPs) and councillors, (iii) education (a university degree for presidency and know how to read and write for MPs and councillors, (iv) non-conviction for an offence of tax evasion within a period of five years prior to election. The requirement on membership to a political party rules out independent candidature. This exclusion amounts to a democratic deficit as those wishing to stand as independent candidates cannot exercise their democratic right.

NEC and ZEC supervise elections on Tanzania Mainland and Zanzibar, respectively. They are responsible for making final nominations of candidates after being satisfied that nominated they had met all the national requirements. The two electoral bodies also have a mandate to set a nomination day for candidates by publishing notices in the *Government Gazette*. The law provides that the nomination day for constituencies should be set, not less than five or more than twenty-five days for Union elections and not more than 21 days for Zanzibar elections, after the dissolution of the National Parliament and the House of Representatives, respectively, for the Mainland and Zanzibar.<sup>13</sup>

#### **4.2.1 Party Rules and Regulations**

Political parties follow their own rules and regulations in determining candidates suitable for various electoral posts. These rules are stipulated in individual party constitutions and other party regulations. All the parties must, however, adhere to the national provisions on candidacy. In addition, each political party stipulates candidacy requirements and procedures to be followed during nominations. There are no significant differences as far as nomination procedures are concerned across political parties.

Another notable similarity across political parties is non-adherence to party provisions on democratic gender principles. Though most constitutions of political parties generally provide for principles of participation and non-discrimination, they do not follow them in practice and, generally, there are more male candidates than female ones. Part of the reason is the lack of specific mechanism both within party

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<sup>13</sup> Article 37 (1) (a) of the National Elections Act Cap 343 R.E. 2015 and Article 42 (1) (a) of the Zanzibar Elections Act, No. 4 of 2018.

and national regulations that require gender equality in candidate nomination.<sup>14</sup>

### 4.3 NOMINATIONS OF PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES

Excitement and anxiety of nominating candidates by political parties in the run-up to the 2020 general elections was quite different from the 2015 general polls. Whereas the last general election elicited attention on the CCM presidential succession, the 2020 election did not. The incumbent CCM leader and President, John Pombe Magufuli, sailed through unopposed. Nomination of Mr. Tundu Lissu as a presidential candidate for CHADEMA was welcomed by a section of Tanzanians, who treated him as a “dare devil”, ready to speak out things many could not. Mr. Bernard Membe’s nomination as a presidential candidate for ACT-Wazalendo evoked memories of the 2015 election where the former premier, Edward Lowassa stood for CHADEMA after crossing over from CCM. To a certain extent, this negatively affected Mr. Membe’s influence as he was perceived not to differ from Mr. Lowassa, who after crossed over and contesting for the presidency on a CHADEMA ticket. later “went back home” to his earlier party, CCM. Mr. Seif Sharrif Hamadi’s nomination to run for presidency in Zanzibar was seen as a continuation of his long-time struggle to occupy the high office. It was his sixth attempt. Accepting Mr. Hamad from CUF and nominating him for presidency was also seen as a political gimmick by ACT-Wazalendo’s leaders to use his influence to gain popularity in Zanzibar.

#### 4.3.1 Nomination of CCM presidential Candidate

Although it is granted by the CCM constitution that stipulates that any qualified party member can vie for any political position, no single member of the ruling party apart from the incumbent president John Magufuli, sought nomination for presidency for the 2020 election. The incumbent, who also doubles as the CCM chairperson, sailed through unopposed, All the 1,822 members of the ruling party’s National Congress, which convened in Dodoma on 11<sup>th</sup> July 2020, unanimously voted for and endorsed President Magufuli as the CCM presidential candidate.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Sulley, C. 2020. Intraparty candidate nomination in Tanzania.

<sup>15</sup> *The Voice of Africa*, July 11, 2020.





*President Magufuli after collecting party nomination forms in Dodoma*



*A placard depicting President Magufuli's nomination*

Some leaders of opposition political parties endorsed CCM presidential candidate nomination. The UDP leader, Mr. John Cheyo supported Magufuli's apparently after being invited and given an opportunity to speak during the CCM national congress. Mr. Augustino Mrema, Chairman of TLP, also endorsed him as a candidate.



### 4.3.2 Nomination of CHADEMA Presidential Candidate

In all, 12 aspirants expressed their willingness to contest for the presidency through CHADEMA. According to the party's regulations, members were given 12 days to express their wish to be nominated through a letter to the Secretary General based on the party's regulations on members wishing to vie for government's leadership positions in representative bodies such as parliament. The party cleared 11 names and left one name, a *bodaboda* rider with the explanation that he failed to adhere to the party's regulations for aspirants. However, only seven aspirants collected and returned the nomination forms in the period from 4<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> July 2020: Mr. Isaya Mwita, Mr. Leonard Manyama, Dr. Maryrose Majinge, Advocate Gasper Mwanalyela, Mr. Lazaro Nyalandu, Advocate Simba Neo and Mr. Tundu Lissu.

On 22<sup>nd</sup> July 2020, the CHADEMA Central Committee recommended three names of presidential posts to the party's Governing Council for voting: Mr. Tundu Lissu, Mr. Lazaro Nyalandu and Dr. Maryrose Majinge. Mr. Lissu garnered 405 votes out of 442, Mr. Lazaro Nyalandu got 36 whereas the only woman aspirant, Dr. Maryrose Majinge, got one vote. Thus, Mr. Lissu's name was forwarded to the National Congress for endorsement and on 29 July, 2020 the party's national congress nominated Mr. Lissu as the party's flag bearer. Alongside Lissu, the party congress nominated Salim Mwalimu a running mate.



*Tundu Lissu and Salim Mwalimu after nomination*

### 4.3.3 Nomination of ACT-Wazalendo Presidential Candidate

A decision by the former high profile CCM member and Foreign Minister, Bernard Membe, to collect forms to seek nomination to run for the Union Presidency on an ACT-Wazalendo ticket on 17<sup>th</sup> July 2020 attracted mixed reactions from the public. ACT-Wazalendo nominated their presidential candidate through a party national congress on 5<sup>th</sup> August 2020. Some 420 National Executive Committee members recommended Mr. Bernard Membe as the Union presidential candidate.

Mr. Membe was the only aspirant to pick the Union presidential nomination form in ACT-Wazalendo whereas Mr. Hamad was the sole candidate for the Zanzibar presidential elections.



*Mr. Bernard Membe and Maalim Seif Sharif Hamad with ACT-Wazalendo party leader Zitto Kabwe.*

### 4.3.4 Nominations in Other Political Parties

Twelve other political parties nominated presidential candidates: ADATadea, NRA, SAU, (MAKINI), NCCR-Mageuzi, CUF, ADC, UPDP, DP, CHAUMMA, AAFP UMD. Only few members came out to seek nomination for the presidential post in these political parties. For example, only three members, Mr. Samuel Ruhiza, Mr. Peterson Mushenyera and Mr. Yerima Maganja, sought nomination for the presidential post through NCCR-Mageuzi on Tanzania Mainland whereas only one

sought nomination for the same post in Zanzibar. Also, the ADA-Tadea Secretary General, Mr. John Shibuda, was nominated by the party national congress on 28<sup>th</sup> July, 2020. Only two of them sought party nomination for the post on Tanzania Mainland. Shibuda got 120 votes out of 130 votes cast. Mr. Shibuda's only opponent, Mustadia Hilali, got 10 votes.

In its national congress meeting on 18<sup>th</sup> July, 2020, NRA's Mr. Leopold Mahona got 61 votes beating Mwanaenzi Kibwana who got 8 votes and Janken Kasambala who got 38 votes. The meeting also nominated Khamis F Mgau to stand for the post in Zanzibar by 75 votes beating Marshed Humud who got 23 votes and Amina Rashid who got 4 votes. Six NRA members aspired to run for presidential post in Tanzania Mainland while four did so in Zanzibar.

#### **4.4.6 Parliamentary Nominations**

REDET observation shows that only a handful of political parties had open, elaborate, competitive, and democratic procedures for nomination, namely, CCM, CHADEMA, ACT-Wazalendo, and CUF. Across political parties nomination of candidates is centrally controlled by party higher organs while regional organs make nominations for councillorship positions in most political parties.

##### **4.3.6.1 Parliamentary Nomination in CCM**

A record 10,367 CCM parliamentary aspirants picked nomination forms for 264 parliamentary seats across the country. Some commentators observed that the push to seek nomination was not primarily to serve, but hunting for the handsome payment that comes with the job (*The East African*, 27<sup>th</sup> July 2020). CCM primaries that took place for two days from 20<sup>th</sup> July 2020 were early party's process toward getting those who would represent it in the parliamentary contest in the October general election. Although not a given chance, those who made it in the party primaries stood a better chance of being vetted in next party's higher-level decision-making bodies. During 2020 CCM parliamentary primaries, some considerable CCM bigwigs and former MPs were eliminated from the race by higher organs.

Notably, in CCM leading in party primaries gave the frontrunner a big chance of

being appointed by higher organs. However, in some cases higher organs picked the second or even the third runner-up on the list, for example, David Silinde in Momba, Patrobas Katambi in Shinyanga Urban, Samweli Hhayuma Xaday in Hanang, and Josephat Gwajima in Kawe. Even though some candidates were apprehensive about this decision, none defected to opposition political parties.

Another aspect observed during intra-party nominations is corruption allegations. Most allegations were reported to have taken place during the CCM primaries. Some CCM cadres were caught and questioned by the Prevention and Combating of Corruption Bureau (PCCB) over claims of corrupt practices. Indeed, allegations of corruption during CCM primaries were enormous that the PCCB allowed the party to deal with such allegations internally<sup>16</sup>. PCCB's decision leaves a lot to be desired as far as its institutional strengths vis a vis the ruling CCM is concerned. Such scenarios also suggest institutional weaknesses in dealing with corruption as envisaged by the law that establishes the bureau.



*A cartoonist impression of the parliamentary nomination outcome in CCM (The Citizen, 21st August 2020).*

#### **4.3.6.2 Parliamentary Nominations in CHADEMA**

CHADEMA also attracted a good number of parliamentary aspirants across the country in selected constituencies, although the number of those who picked

<sup>16</sup> See PCCB to allow CCM deal with corruption allegations internally, The Citizen 13 August, 2020

the nomination forms was significantly lower than that in CCM. Even though CHADEMA and, to lesser extent, ACT-Wazalendo attracted a good number of aspirants, the actual number of contestants for the two parties was not, however, readily available.

#### 4.4 NOMINATIONS BY NEC

NEC announced the schedule for picking nomination forms up on 29<sup>th</sup> July 2020. Nomination forms for presidential and vice-presidential candidates were to be issued from 5<sup>th</sup> August at the NEC offices in Dodoma. Nomination forms for members of parliament were scheduled to be issued from 12<sup>th</sup>-25<sup>th</sup> August 2020 in NEC's offices of respective Local Government Authorities. Nomination forms for councillors were scheduled to be collected from 12<sup>th</sup> to 25<sup>th</sup> August 2020 from respective ward offices. The forms for all elective positions were required to be submitted not later than 4 pm on 25<sup>th</sup> August 2020.

##### 4.4.1 Nomination of Presidential Candidates

As Table 4.1 illustrates, NEC endorsed 15 candidates to vie for the Union presidency.

**Table 4.1: List of Union Presidential Candidates and Running Mates**

S / No.	Political Party	Presidential Candidate	Gender	Running Mate	Gender
1	CCM	Dr. John Pombe Magufuli	Male	Ms. Samia Suluhu Hassan	Female
2	ADA-TADEA	Mr. John Paul Shibuda	Male	Mr. Hassan Kornely Kijogoo	Male
3	NRA	Mr. Leopord Lucas Mahona	Male	Mr. Khamis Ali Hassan	
4	SAU	Mr. Muttamwega Bhatt Mgaywa	Male	Mr. Satia Mussa Bebwa	Male
5	Demokrasia Makini	Ms. Cecilia Augustino Mwanga	Female	Ms. Tabu Mussa Juma	Female

S / No.	Political Party	Presidential Candidate	Gender	Running Mate	Gender
6.	NCCR-Mageuzi	Mr. Yerima Kulwa Maganja	Male	Mr. Khamis Haji Ambar	Male
7.	CUF	Prof. Ibrahim Haruna Lipumba	Male	Ms. Hamida Huweishil Abdalla	Female
8.	ACT-Wazalendo	Mr. Bernard Kamillius Membe	Male	Prof. Omar Fakih Hamad	Male
9.	ADC	Ms. Queen Cuthbert Sendiga	Female	Mr. Khamis Juma Shoka	Male
10.	UPDP	Mr. Twalib Ibrahim Kadege	Male	Mr. Ramadhan Ali Abdallah	Male
11.	DP	Mr. Phillip John Fumbo	Male	Ms. Zaina Juma Khamis	Female
12.	CHAUMMA	Mr. Hashim Spunda Rungwe	Male	Mr. Mohammed Massoud Rashid	Male
13.	AAFP	Mr. Seif Sharif Hamad	Male	Mr. Rashid Ligania Rai	Male
14.	UMD	Mr. Khalfan Mohammed Mazrui	Male	Mr. Mashavu Alawi Haji	Male
15.	CHADEMA	Mr. Tundu Antipas Lissu	Male	Mr. Salum Mwalimu Juma	Male

*Source: NEC 2020.*

Originally, 17 presidential candidates had collected nomination forms from NEC. Two candidates, Mr. David Mwajjolele of CCK and his running mate, Mr. Said Juma, were disqualified because Mr. Juma's photographs and signature were missing from Form No 10, whereas Mr. Maisha Mapya Muchunguzi of NLD did not return the nomination forms to the NEC head office by the 4.00 pm deadline.



*Presidential candidates (NEC 2020)*

#### 4.4.2 Nomination of Parliamentary Candidates

As Table 4.2 illustrates, NEC nominated parliamentary candidates for CCM in all the 264 constituencies: 209 for CHADEMA, 156 for ACT-Wazalendo and 153 for CUF. As noted earlier, the ability to field candidates reflects intra-party strength in resources and membership. For CHADEMA, some of the candidates, who had secured the party's nomination, were later disqualified after successful objections against them from other political parties, especially CCM.

**Table 4.2: Nominated Candidates for Parliamentary Seats**

S/N	Party	Male	Female	Total
1.	CCM	239	25	264
2.	CHADEMA	150	59	209
3.	ACT-Wazalendo	135	21	156
4.	NCCR-Mageuzi	63	20	83
5.	CUF	113	40	153
6.	TLP	17	8	25
7.	CHAUMMA	22	6	28



S/N	Party	Male	Female	Total
8.	ADC	33	15	48
9.	AAFP	15	10	25
10.	NRA	21	8	29
11.	UDP	24	9	33
12.	UPDP	8	13	21
13.	SAU	12	7	19
14.	DP	17	7	24
15.	UMD	3	13	16
16.	ADA-TADEA	22	11	33
17.	MAKINI	32	11	43
18.	NLD	7	2	9
19.	CCK	11	6	17

*Source: Compiled from NEC, 2020.*

#### 4.5 HANDLING OF APPEALS

Election laws and regulations provide for appeal when a candidate is aggrieved by NEC decisions. These appeals are usually handled by higher NEC organs. NEC received 616 appeals, of which 160 were related to parliamentary elections and 456 to councillorship election. Of the 160 parliamentary appeals ruled by the commission, 66 candidates were reinstated, 32 were dismissed, and 57 had their appeals rejected. Meanwhile, five appeals were repetitions. Some of the reasons behind appeals and objections related to tax evasion, incorrect nomination forms and incomplete number of nominators as required by the law. The appeals and objections against opposition candidates led to a substantial number of unopposed ruling CCM parliamentary and council candidates to ever happen in the history of multiparty politics in Tanzania. We turn to unopposed candidature phenomenon next.

#### 4.6 UNOPPOSED CANDIDATURE PHENOMENON

After the deadline set for raising objections and appeals, 28 parliamentary candidates sailed through unopposed in accordance with section 44 of the National Electoral Act. There complaints from political parties, claiming the government



used NEC to gain seats in advance of the election. In fact, all the unopposed MPs candidates were from the ruling CCM (see Table 4.3). The number of unopposed councillorship candidates was 870 all from CCM.<sup>17</sup>

**Table 4.3: Unopposed Parliamentary Candidates**

SN.	Constituency	Names	Party
1.	Kongwa	Job Yustino Ndugai	CCM
2.	Mafinga Urban	Cosato David Chumi	CCM
3.	Katavi	Isack Aloyce Kamwelwe	CCM
4.	Mtama	Nape Moses Nnauye	CCM
5.	Ruangwa	Majaliwa Kassim Majaliwa	CCM
6.	Babati Urban	Pauline Philipo Gekul	CCM
7.	Babati Rural	Daniel Baran Sillo	CCM
8.	Butiama	Jumanne Abdallah Sagini	CCM
9.	Gairo	Ahmed Mabkhut Shabiby	CCM
10.	Kilosa	Palamagamba John Kabudi	CCM
11.	Mlimba	Godwin Emmanuel Kunambi	CCM
12.	Morogoro South	Innocent Edward Kalogeris	CCM
13.	Morogoro South-East	Hamisi Shabani Taletale	CCM
14.	Mvomero	Jonas Van Zeeland	CCM
15.	Misungwi	Alexander Pastory Mnyeti	CCM
16.	Ludewa	Joseph Zacharius Kamonga	CCM
17.	Lupembe	Edwin Enosy Swalle	CCM
18.	Chalinze	Ridhiwani Jakaya Kikwete	CCM
19.	Kalambo	Josephat Sinkamba Kandege	CCM
20.	Madaba	Joseph Kizito Mhagama	CCM
21.	Msalala	Iddi Kassim Iddi	CCM
22.	Ushetu	Elias John Kwandikwa	CCM
23.	Ileje	Eng. Godfrey Msongwe Kasekenya	CCM
24.	Songwe	Philipo Augustino Mulugo	CCM
25.	Ulyankulu	Rehema Juma Migilla	CCM
26.	Nzega Rural	Dr. Hamisi Andrea Kigwangalla	CCM
27.	Bumbuli	January Yusuf Makamba	CCM
28.	Pangani	Jumaa Hamidu Aweso	CCM

*Source: NEC 2020*

<sup>17</sup> NEC 2020.

#### 4.7 OVERALL ASSESSMENT OF THE NOMINATION PROCESS

Table 4.4 shows that, out of 200 LTOs, 88 (44%) concluded that nominations were generally free and fair. Out of them 85 (42.5%) rated nominations as generally free and fair but also noted a few shortcomings, which might have disfavoured some candidates. Only 22 LTOs (10%) thought nominations had many instances of breach of nomination rules and regulations with impunity and there was favouritism that worked against the fortunes of some candidates.

**Table 4.4: Assessment of the Nomination Process**

Nature and character of nominations	Marks (%)	Grade	Frequency	Percent
Nominations had very few shortcomings, which do not affect the overall outcome of the nomination process. The nomination process was clean, free and fair	80 - 100	A	88	44.0
The nomination process was generally free and fair, but still had few shortcomings which might have worked against fortunes of some candidates	60 - 79	B	85	42.5
The nomination process permitted free participation of stakeholders (political parties, candidates and voters), but there were many instances of breach of nomination rules and regulations with impunity and there was favouritism that worked against fortunes of some candidates	50 - 59	C	22	10.0
Nominations were marred by numerous flaws related to non-compliance of some nomination rules, regulations and code of conduct, management problems and instances of intimidation and favouritism	40 - 49	D	5	2.5
Nominations were disrupted or mismanaged to the extent that stakeholders could not accept the nominees. It is like a student who failed an exam	1 - 39	E	1	0.5
The conduct of nominations was terrible. There was so much favouritism, foul-play and corruption to the extent that some candidates withdrew from the preferential voting process or lodged formal complaints. Nominations were an aborted process	0	F	1	0.5
<b>Total</b>			<b>200</b>	<b>100.0</b>

*Source: Observers' Field Reports, October 2020.*

## **4.8 CONCLUSION**

This chapter has examined the conduct of candidate nomination processes by both political parties and NEC. Overall, REDET found the nomination of candidates to have been generally free and fair. Despite this observation, there were several reported complaints and shortcomings in relation to the nomination of candidates across the country. The most notable complaint pertains to the unprecedented number of disqualified opposition candidates that amounted to a substantial number of unopposed candidates all from CCM. The disqualification of opposition candidates raised doubts and concerns on the impartiality and independence of NEC. The second complaint has to do with how some parties, especially the ruling party CCM and opposition CHADEMA who dumped winners of party primaries and went for candidates with the least votes. The third weakness relates to inadequate gender responsive nomination rules and regulations. Apart from provisions on special seats, neither national laws nor party rules have specific provisions on adherence to gender equality during candidate nomination. This legal deficit partly explains the gender imbalance in the outcomes of nominations whereby male candidates remain largely dominant. Fourth, the democratic measure of the law allowing automatic victory for unopposed candidates is highly questionable. In the 2020 elections, 28 parliamentary and 780 councillor candidates, all from the ruling CCM, ran unopposed, prompting questions and complaints over the legislation.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### CONDUCT OF ELECTION CAMPAIGNS

#### 5.1 INTRODUCTION

Election campaigns are integral to the electoral process as they allow candidates and political parties to prepare and present their ideas, manifestos and positions on issues to the voters in the run-up to the Election Day. The dates of an official election campaign period are set by the election management body. Credibility of elections depends on the extent to which equitable opportunities are offered to contestants and political parties to present their message to the citizens, helping voters to make informed decisions on the Election Day. Campaigns also help to mobilise eligible voters and sensitise them on the need to participate in the various stages of the electoral process, notably voter registration and actual voting. The campaign calendar for the 2020 general election in Tanzania was launched on 26<sup>th</sup> August 2020. In other words, the campaigns were conducted for about two months until 27<sup>th</sup> October 2020.

This chapter analyses the conduct of election campaigns for the 2020 general elections. It is divided into 10 sections beginning with this introduction. Section two addresses the legal and institutional frameworks for election campaigns. Section three deals with campaign financing whereas section four focuses on canvassing regulations and electoral code of conduct. Campaign chronology, modalities and strategies are covered in section five. Section six deals with incidents of negative campaign whereas section seven covers election manifestos. Whereas section eight addresses security arrangement and conduct of the police, section nine covers the overall assessment of election campaigns. The conclusion is provided in section ten.

#### 5.2 LEGAL AND INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORKS FOR CAMPAIGNS

In Tanzania, election campaigns are guided by the National Elections Act, Cap. 343 (Part VI); the National Elections [Presidential and Parliamentary Elections]

Regulations, 2020; the Local Authorities [Councilors' Elections] Regulations, 2020; the Election Expenses Act, 2010; and the Electoral Code of Conduct for Presidential, Parliamentary and Councillors' Elections, 2020 (made under the National Elections Act, Cap. 343). Before the 2010 amendments to the National Elections Act, Cap 343, the Electoral Code of Conduct was not binding. After the 2010 amendments, it became mandatory for all political parties, candidates, NEC and the government. To implement the Electoral Code of Conduct for Presidential, Parliamentary and Councillors' Elections of 2020, NEC formed the Electoral Code of Conduct Committees for implementing the Electoral Code of Conduct, namely the Appeal Committee; the National Committee; the Constituency Committee and the Ward Committee. These committees comprised the representatives from the NEC, political parties and the government.

Among others, the objective of these pieces of legislation are to regulate the conduct of election campaigns to ensure an even playing-field and bring about free, fair and credible elections. Section 51 (sub-sections 1 to 6) and Section 53 (sub-sections 1 to 4) of the National Elections Act, Cap. 343 (Part VI) provide a roadmap for conducting peaceful and orderly campaign rallies. It also stipulates the right to access public media for the candidates and political parties during the official period of election campaign. The National Elections [Presidential and Parliamentary Elections] Regulations, 2020 and the Local Authorities Elections [Councilors' Elections] Regulations, 2020 have simplified the electoral laws. In the same vein, the Election Expenses Act, 2010 provides for the funding of election campaigns with a view to controlling the use of funds and prohibited practices in the election campaigns and elections.

Section 15 (sub-sections 1 and 2) requires political parties to disclose to the RPP all the funds (gifts, loans, advances, deposits or donations) provided by an association, group of persons, or persons. Relatedly, Section 17 (3) states that "the Board of Trustees of a political party shall, within ninety days after the polling day, render, in respect of every candidate sponsored by such party, to the Registrar true returns in the prescribed form showing expenditure incurred in terms of subsection (1) and the amount apportioned to each candidate." Section 21(1) of the Election Expenses

Act prohibits unfair conduct such as questionable funding (corruption, gift giving and promises). Nevertheless, the law remains flawed as it offers an escape route for unscrupulous candidates. Section 21(2) states that “where it is alleged that the act constituting prohibited practice was committed by an agent or any other person on behalf of the candidate, it shall be a defence for the candidate if he proves that it was committed without his knowledge, consent or approval or that of his agent.” This loophole can be exploited as a defence line by such culprits. The enforcement of the election laws for the 2020 elections in Tanzania involved several institutions as stipulated in the principal legislations. These institutions were NEC, RPP, the Police Force, and the Electoral Code of Conduct Committees.

### **5.3 CAMPAIGN FINANCING – ENFORCEMENT OF THE ELECTION EXPENSES ACT**

Election financing is regulated by the Election Expenses Act of 2010. Section 7(1) defines election expenses as all the funds expended or expenses incurred in respect of the conduct and management of the nomination process, election campaign, and election by a political party, candidate or government, and include in relation to campaigns, all expenses or expenditure for the purpose of election campaign. Thus, election expenses within the ambit of the respective Act, include those related to the nomination process, the nomination of candidates, election campaigning, and all other expenses during an election including promotional art groups, food, drinks, accommodation and transportation (Section 7(2) of the Election Expenses Act, 2010).

On Mainland Tanzania, the Election Expenses Act regulates spending by political parties and candidates for the President of the United Republic, Members of Parliament and Councillors. In the case of Zanzibar, it regulates expenses by political parties and candidates for the President of the United Republic and Members of Parliament. The administration and enforcement of the Act is also placed in the hands of the Registrar of Political Parties (Section 4 of the Election Expenses Act, 2010). Section 10(a) of the Act empowers a Minister responsible for political parties to set a maximum limit on election expenditure by an order published in

*Government Gazette*. The maximum amount depends on the difference in the size of electoral constituency, categories of candidates, population of people and communication infrastructure. A political party that exceeds the limit of election expenses set by a Minister commits an offence and is liable to a fine of up to three million shillings; in case of a candidate, a fine not exceeding one million shillings; and in case of an organisation, corporation or institution, a fine not exceeding five million shillings (Section 26).

Regarding the actual enforcement of the Act in the 2020 general election, REDET made several observations. One, there were estimates for election expenses for each constituency. The officials from the ORPP liaised with ROs and EOs in their respective constituencies before reaching out to political parties and furnishing them with particulars on the election expenses forms to be filled out by both the respective political parties and the candidates. However, it became apparent that the RPP office lacked capacity to effectively monitor the enforcement of the Act primarily because of the shortage of staff at the RPP office. For instance, in Mara region, the RPP office sent one officer to monitor the enforcement and compliance with the Act by political parties and candidates. Mara has 10 constituencies and several political parties competing in each constituency. As a result, the RPP officer was always on the move from one constituency to another so much that all the eight LTOs stationed in Mara could not meet the respective officer despite several attempts (Mara LTO's Field Report, October 2020).

Two, and relatedly, the mechanisms for gathering information were weak. As provided for by the Act, the RPP relies on information provided by political parties, candidates and boards of trustees. Sometimes, this information is not submitted to the RPP as required by law. For instance, District Secretaries for ACT-Wazalendo in Musoma Urban and Tarime Urban constituencies noted that the ORPP did not make a follow-up required to collect the election expenses forms from them as required by law. This indicates readiness of a political party to have its expenses reports verified, on the one hand, and lack of capacity by the ORPP on the other.

Three, the estimates on election expenses set by the Minister in the respective constituencies were rather low. In most constituencies, the maximum amount to

be spent by parliamentary candidates was set at 30 million shillings. The political parties, candidates and other stakeholders noted this was not realistic and it could not cater for essential expenses such as public address system, transportation, food and other costs for a two-month campaign period. It remains to be seen whether all the political parties and their boards of trustees complied with the law by submitting their verified expenditure reports within 180 days of polling day as required by the Act.

#### **5.4 REGULATIONS AND ELECTORAL CODE OF CONDUCT**

On 5<sup>th</sup> June 2020, NEC published the Local Authorities [Councillors' Elections] Regulations, 2020 in the *Government Gazette* Notice No. 401 and the National Elections [Presidential and Parliamentary Elections] Regulations, 2020 in the *Government Gazette* Notice No. 402. Also, on the same date, NEC published the Electoral Code of Conduct for Presidential, Parliamentary and Councillors' Elections, 2020 in the *Subsidiary Legislation Supplement* No. 23 of the *Government Gazette*. All the pieces of legislation require political parties, candidates and their campaign teams to conduct peaceful and decent campaigns.

Overall, the regulations and code of conduct were violated to a relative degree by political parties, candidates and their campaign teams. In this regard, REDET's observation show that 132 LTOs out of 200 (66%) reported incidents which are prohibited by the law (regulations and code of conduct). Indeed, in several constituencies, the campaign timetable, especially for parliamentary and councillorship candidates, was tampered with. The National Elections [Presidential and Parliamentary Elections] Regulations, 2020 states in Sections 42 and 45 that the political parties intending to change their campaign venue or schedule should immediately write to the Director of Elections [for presidential candidates] and Returning Officer [for member of parliament candidates], stating the reasons for the proposed change. The Director of Elections and ROs are required, before matter determination, to convene a meeting of political parties or candidates concerned to agree on the matter. LTOs observed and reported a change of campaign venues and schedule by political parties and their candidates without prior notification to



the ROs. This practice was reported by LTOs across the country.

Another observation made by the LTOs, which serves as an indication of violation of the Electoral Code of Conduct for Presidential, Parliamentary and Councillors' Elections, 2020, is with regard to Section 2.1(k) requiring political parties and candidates to ensure that all the campaign meetings are conducted in Kiswahili. There were numerous incidents which some of the presidential, parliamentary and councillorship candidates, their campaign teams and party leaders resorting to using ethnic languages. The frequency of using ethnic languages was particularly high in the Lake Zone (LTOs Reports for Simiyu, Kagera, Geita, October 2020) especially during CCM presidential campaign rallies. Similarly, Section 2.1(l) prohibits political parties and candidates from conducting campaigns in religious/worship premises; moreover, they ought to refrain from using religious leaders to campaign for them. However, REDET LTOs noted frequent violation of this provision in several constituencies.



*CHADEMA presidential candidate, Mr. Tundu Lissu, and Bishop Emmaus Mwamakula of the Moravian Revival Church in Tanzania held several campaign rallies together.*



*Dar es Salaam Regional Sheikh of the National Muslim Council (BAKWATA), Alhad Mussa Salum campaigns for the CCM presidential candidate Dr. John Magufuli at the Benjamin Mkapa Stadium, Dar es Salaam on 9<sup>th</sup> October 2020.*

Other violations of the regulations and code of conduct included the use of party militia/party security guards, which is prohibited by the law. This was commonly observed by the LTOs in Manyara, Arusha and Ruvuma regions (CCM deployed “Green Guards” and CHADEMA deployed “Red Brigade”). Equally significant, violence and intimidation were frequently observed by the LTOs in Ruvuma and Katavi regions. Another anomaly observed was on non-adherence to the time for conducting campaigns. The law states that campaign meetings shall be conducted from 8.00 am to 6.00 pm. However, the LTOs observed several campaign meetings extending beyond 6.00 pm.

## **5.5 USE OF INCUMBENCY ADVANTAGE**

The use of advantages of the incumbency was also observed contrary to the even play-field rule as the ruling party used state resources during the campaigns, especially for the CCM presidential candidate. For example, the CCM presidential candidate made promises and decisions as a president while campaigning, making it difficult to draw a line between his candidature and presidency. Some notable examples during the 2020 elections include hosting Ugandan president Museveni during the campaign period on 13<sup>th</sup> September 2020. During the state visit, Museveni and Magufuli signed a joint communique on the harmonisation of cross-cutting issues regarding the \$ 3.5 billion East African Crude Oil Pipeline (EAPCOP) project at

Chato Airport. During the visit, President Museveni drummed up support for the CCM's presidential candidate, John Magufuli. He said: "I know that the president currently seeks votes. I will pray for him and I pray for all members of CCM party as well...I wish you a clear victory" (*Daily News*, Monday, 14<sup>th</sup> September 2020).

While campaigning in Ubungo constituency, the CCM presidential candidate also ordered the Mabibo Market popularly known as "Mahakama ya Ndizi", to be placed under the control of the people and not the Urafiki Textile Mills. He also stopped payment of levy by petty traders; under the new arrangement, they were required to possess entrepreneurship identity cards, which cost 20,000 shillings per annum (*The Citizen*, Wednesday, 14<sup>th</sup> October 2020).

In addition, on 13<sup>th</sup> October 2020 the incumbent received 100 billion shillings dividend from the State Mining Corporation (STAMICO) in a publicised event (*The Citizen*, Wednesday, 14 October 2020). Likewise, the CCM presidential candidate launched several projects in his capacity as president.

Some ministers also performed roles in their constituencies that propped their chances of re-election up using the incumbency advantage. The Minister of State in the President's Office responsible for Local Government and Regional Administration, Mr. Suleiman Jafo, who was also an incumbent Kisarawe MP and candidate for CCM received the National Micro-finance Bank (NMB) donation of building materials worth 17 million shillings for constructing schools in Kisarawe on 22<sup>nd</sup> September, 2020.



*The photo's caption reads: Kisarawe DC Jokate Mwegelo (L) moves a vote of thanks to NMB Bank Plc's acting Chief Finance Officer, Benedict Bararagomwa (2nd R) after receiving iron sheets worth 17m/- for public schools in her district as minister Selemani Jafo (2nd L) and NMB Eastern Zone Manager Dismas Prosper look on. Photo courtesy of NMB.*

## **5.6 CAMPAIGN MODALITIES AND STRATEGIES**

The campaigns in Tanzania are co-ordinated by NEC. In line with the Local Authorities [Councillors' Elections] Regulations, 2020 Sections 36 and 37 and the National Elections [Presidential and Parliamentary Elections] Regulations, 2020 Sections 41, 42, 43 and 44, NEC is tasked with ensuring orderly and smooth running of election campaigns. To achieve this objective, NEC in consultation with the contesting political parties prepared a campaign timetable for presidential, parliamentary and councillorship elections.

Several modalities and strategies were deployed. These included use of public rallies; house-to-house canvassing; social media platforms; text messaging; mainstream media; use of socialites and celebrities—especially from the music and entertainment industry; billboards; leaflets; standing banners; posters; use of local dancers and mobile vans. Public rallies were mostly deployed in the presidential

campaigns followed by the parliamentary campaigns. Campaign organisers and strategists sought to organise the most effective campaigns capable of drawing huge crowds during their campaigns. The preparations had some cost implications, including catering for the public address systems and mobile vans with loudspeakers for mobilising citizens to attend the respective rallies. In this regard, the two leading political parties, CCM and CHADEMA, organised the most effective public rallies.

In effect, one of the most efficient strategies CCM campaign team deployed for its presidential and vice-presidential candidates to attract the citizens in public rallies was to deploy socialites, especially popular musicians, who performed during the campaigns. This strategy provided the public an opportunity to see *Bongo Flavour* artistes' live performances for free while being exposed to the political messages. Other socialites called upon to perform during the CCM campaigns included famous comedians and actors/actresses from the *Bongo Movie* industry. CCM afforded such huge costs, as it was the oldest and well-established political party with a strong resource base relative to other parties.



*CCM presidential candidate Dr. John Magufuli takes off his hat and adorns a Bongo Flavour artist, Diamond Platinumz, after the latter had performed during his campaign rally in Mwanza on 7th September 2020.*

House-to-house canvassing was commonly deployed by some political parties and their candidates. Again, CCM and CHADEMA leapfrogged other political parties as they manifested seriousness, nous and agility to access, persuade and swing potential voters in their favour. For instance, CHADEMA had a strategic and action plan in which it deployed volunteers—mostly the youth—assigned to canvass in specific streets and wards daily in Mara region (REDET Mara LTO’s report, October 2020). House-to-house canvassing helped to reinforce and consolidate public rallies. CHADEMA, ACT-Wazalendo in Zanzibar and CCM campaign teams, which canvassed for votes, had articulate and eloquent individuals. In most cases, other political parties were short on materials and human resources, hence less effective in house-to-house canvassing.

Social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram were widely used and proved to be popular with the youth. Also, YouTube channels aired livestream public rallies. Mainstream media, especially TV stations also aired public rallies live. WhatsApp which is a popular texting app and normal text messaging were widely used by the two leading parties to lure and sway voters in their favour.

One issue that stood out regarding the use of billboards in major roads and highways throughout Tanzania. In the 2020 elections, all the billboards displayed the CCM presidential candidate, Dr. John Magufuli. This differed from the 2015 and previous general elections campaigns since 1995, in which opposition presidential candidates enjoyed a fair share of display on the billboards on major roads and highways. Standing banners were, to a large extent, used in public rallies held—and they showcased candidates’ achievements (if they were incumbents re-running) and key issues of priority for contestants, who were not incumbents. Posters were widely used and they were glued on walls, bridges and trees. Leaflets were widely distributed in public rallies and households. The (open) mobile vans, which were used to advertise and mobilize people to attend in CCM campaign carried with them dancers who entertained people. Also, prior or during the campaign rallies, the dancers were asked to perform to cheer the crowds up.





*TLP Chairman, Mr. Augustine Mrema, speaks in one of the CCM's presidential candidate's stop-overs during his campaign trails in Himo where the former drummed up support for the incumbent president Magufuli.*

## 5.7 INCIDENTS OF NEGATIVE CAMPAIGNING

The Electoral Code of Conduct for Presidential, Parliamentary and Councilors' Elections, 2020 prohibits negative campaign. However, the 2020 general election was not devoid of negative campaigns. Negative campaigns were mostly observed in campaign rallies by CCM and CHADEMA and ranged from character assassination, fear-mongering, disinformation, vandalism of campaign materials, violence and tribalism.

Character assassination is one of the common forms of negative campaigns used in the 2020 elections. Candidates, campaign teams and political parties used disparaging language against their political opponents to defame and discredit them. In Geita Urban, Bunda and Tarime Urban constituencies, for instance, female candidates for parliamentary and councillorship positions were subjected to incessant abuse by their male candidates. The abuse targeted their marital status, which they used to claim that they could make good leaders. The LTOs for Geita Urban, Bunda and Tarime Urban constituencies where Upendo Peneza, Ester Bulaya and Esther Matiko (all female parliamentary candidates) reported various

incidents in which the male political opponents called the three female candidates as ‘prostitutes’ (REDET LTOs’ field reports for Geita, Bunda and Tarime, October 2020).

## 5.8 CRITICAL INCIDENTS DURING CAMPAIGNS

REDET LTOs were trained to follow up closely and report on critical incidents during campaigns. Incidents considered as critical were those likely to affect negatively conduct of electoral campaign such as corrupt practices, vandalism of campaign materials, denying access to campaign venues, disruptions of campaign meeting, intimidation, falsification and violence. As Table 5.1 illustrates, the most reported critical incident was use of discriminatory language against candidates, political parties or supporters.

**Table 5.1: Critical Incidents**

Questions	Responses		
	Yes (%)	No (%)	Total (%)
Have you witnessed incidents indicating or suggesting corruption during the campaign period?	107 (2.1)	5024 (97.9)	<b>5131 (100)</b>
Have you witnessed incidents indicating or suggesting that contestants offered inducements to the people?	171 (3.3)	4960 (96.7)	<b>5131 (100)</b>
Have you witnessed ferrying or bussing of people to the campaign rallies by political parties?	511 (10.0)	4620 (90.0)	<b>5131 (100)</b>
Have you witnessed incidents in which campaigners/speakers were booed, insulted or attacked?	41 (0.8)	5090 (99.2)	<b>5131 (100)</b>
Have you witnessed the use of discriminatory language against the contestants (based on ethnicity, race, religion)?	10 (13.3)	65 (86.7)	<b>75 (100)</b>
Did you witness spread of false information regarding the campaign process?	6 (8)	69 (92)	<b>75 (100)</b>



Did you witness party supporters clashing/ fighting on their way to respective campaign venues?	4 (5.3)	71 (84.7)	<b>75 (100)</b>
Did you witness party supporters clashing/ fighting after leaving their respective campaign venues?	7 (9.3)	68 (90.7)	<b>75 (100)</b>

*REDET Observers' Field Reports, October 2020.*

## 5.9 ELECTION MANIFESTOS: AGENDA AND ISSUES

Election manifestos are important since they convey promises made by political parties to the electorates for the things they wish to accomplish once elected. REDET observed that only a few political parties launched election manifestos. This section compares four political parties (CCM, CHADEMA, ACT-Wazalendo, and CUF) across four issues: agriculture, corruption, education and mining.

### 5.9.1 Agriculture

One of the issues that the four political parties articulated with varied emphasis was agriculture. Issues differed from CCM, which emphasised on irrigation and encouraged commercial agriculture, and ACT-Wazalendo, which stressed on research whereas CHADEMA offered insurances to farmers, as Table 5.2 illustrates:

**Table 5.2: Election Manifestos on Agriculture**

Political Party	Priority Areas and Key Issues to be Addressed
CCM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Set out to expand irrigation infrastructure from 561,383 to 1.2 million hectares by 2025;</li> <li>• Establish a national irrigation management fund;</li> <li>• Encourage private sector to invest in modern commercial agriculture;</li> <li>• Establish block farms for strategic crops which have high demand;</li> <li>• Assuring farmers of modern agricultural services, market predictability and good prices for their produce.</li> </ul>

Political Party	Priority Areas and Key Issues to be Addressed
ACT-Wazalendo	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Set aside 20 percent of the development budget for agriculture, livestock keeping and fisheries;</li> <li>• Invest more than 100 billion shillings in research and agricultural seeds;</li> <li>• Establish an Agriculture Authority to oversee the sector;</li> <li>• Identify the type of strategic crops for every region or zone;</li> <li>• Establish a special Agriculture Fund for issuing subsidies to strategic agricultural projects;</li> <li>• Strengthen Tanzania Agriculture Development Bank products and services.</li> </ul>
CHADEMA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ensure predictable market for agricultural produce;</li> <li>• Collaborate with the private sector to set up agricultural processing industries;</li> <li>• Set up insurance for farmers;</li> <li>• Lift restrictions on selling of agricultural produces;</li> </ul>
CUF	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Set aside 10-15 percent of the total government budget for the agriculture sector;</li> <li>• Strengthen research and extension services for farmers;</li> <li>• Support farmers by finding suitable international markets;</li> <li>• Create conducive environment for farmers to engage in mixed farming.</li> </ul>

*Source: Election Manifestos of CCM, ACT-Wazalendo, CHADEMA, and CUF.*

### 5.9.2 Corruption

Although CCM campaigned on a strong anti-corruption platform and efforts aimed to root it out, all the major political parties still promised more on the fight against corruption. As Table 5.3 illustrates, measures contemplated by these political parties included increased transparency, community mobilisation, friendly taxation system and improving salaries of civil servants.

**Table 5.3: Comparison of Party Manifestos across Corruption**

CCM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Intensify the fight against corruption;</li> <li>• Strengthen the PCCB;</li> <li>• Mobilise and involve the community in the war against corruption;</li> <li>• Curb corruption incidents at various workplaces.</li> </ul>
ACT-Wazalendo	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Strengthen the Prevention and Combating of Corruption Bureau (PCCB) by ensuring its director is subjected to parliamentary approval;</li> <li>• Enhance transparency in government's operations;</li> <li>• Create awareness among citizens on corruption and how they can participate in preventing it;</li> </ul>
CHADEMA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Prevent corruption related to contracts by embracing transparency in the process of adopting contracts;</li> <li>• Ensure all contracts are subjected to parliamentary approval;</li> <li>• Create a friendly taxation system that does not lure taxpayers to engage in corrupt practices.</li> </ul>
CUF	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Strengthen the Prevention and Combating of Corruption Bureau (PCCB) allowing the Bureau to file cases in courts without requesting for the Director of Public Prosecution's (DPP)'s permission;</li> <li>• Announcing publicly individuals found guilty of corruption charges;</li> <li>• Improve public servants' salaries to prevent them from being tempted to be involved in corrupt practices;</li> </ul>

*Source: Election Manifestos of CCM, ACT-Wazalendo, CHADEMA, and CUF.*

### 5.9.3 Education

Education is another issue that has dominated election manifestos in 2020 elections and has fuelled heated debates. The comparison of the four political parties' manifestos regarding education is as portrayed in Table 5.4. In this regard, CCM banked on the achievements realised from 2015 whereas CHADEMA underscored the vitality of teacher remuneration and ACT-Wazalendo touted provision of free education to medical students.

**Table 5.4: Comparison of Party Manifestos Across Education**

CCM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Continue with efforts to strengthen provision of free education from primary to high school (form six);</li> <li>• Enhance vocational training programmes;</li> <li>• Increase human resource capacity for institutions of higher education;</li> <li>• Improve education standards at all levels emphasizing self-reliance.</li> </ul>
ACT-Wazalendo	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Provide free education for pre-primary and primary schools, secondary schools, teachers' colleges, vocational training colleges (VETA) and medical training centres;</li> <li>• Build 24,000 classrooms each year to accommodate increasing school children enrolment;</li> <li>• Produce about 20,000 teachers annually by increasing admission in teachers' training colleges.</li> </ul>
CHADEMA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Address teachers' welfare;</li> <li>• Ensure that all eligible candidates for higher learning institutions secure loans without discrimination;</li> <li>• Reduce loan repayment rates to three percent of one's salary and up to 25 years since a loan beneficiary got employed.</li> </ul>
CUF	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Address teachers' welfare;</li> <li>• Increase teachers' salaries;</li> <li>• Set aside 25 percent of the national budget each year for the education sector.</li> </ul>

*Source: Election Manifestos of CCM, ACT-Wazalendo, CHADEMA, and CUF.*

### 5.9.4 Mining

The mining sector in Tanzania was for a long time left without much control or monitoring. However, the Fifth Phase Government showed that the sector could be a source of revenue. Whereas the CCM manifesto indicated improvement in the investment climate, CUF by suggested the mineral processing industry as an area of emphasis, an issue that CCM also emphasised.

**Table 5.5: Comparison of Party Manifestos across Mining Sector**

CCM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Continue improving the climate to attract more investment;</li> <li>• Strengthen regulation and overseeing of medium and large-scale mining;</li> <li>• Set aside special areas for small-scale (artisanal) miners;</li> <li>• Strengthen the State Mining Corporation.</li> </ul>
ACT-Wazalendo	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Change of ownership regime;</li> <li>• Foster strong community-investor cooperation in mining;</li> <li>• Realise the Mchuchuma and Liganga projects and Nickel mining at Kabanga.</li> </ul>
CHADEMA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Use of minerals as collateral for capital for financing infrastructure and water supply projects;</li> <li>• Co-operation between locals and foreigners;</li> <li>• Tax exemptions to reduce costs;</li> <li>• Review the mining laws to cope with international standards.</li> </ul>
CUF	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Identification of the challenges facing the mining sector;</li> <li>• Initiate dialogue with domestic and international investment with a view to create a win-win situation;</li> <li>• Strengthen mining regulation to avoid cheating;</li> <li>• Provide 100% export duty exemption;</li> <li>• Establish of mineral processing industries.</li> </ul>

*Source: Election Manifestos of CCM, ACT-Wazalendo, CHADEMA, and CUF.*

One other issue that features in election manifestos was job creation. Though CCM pleaded to create not less than eight million jobs in the formal and informal sectors, CHADEMA promised to generate 10 million jobs in a space of five years. CHADEMA and ACT-Wazalendo also promised to cut down the Pay-as-You-Earn tax to boost the net income of employees. REDET noted that election manifestos had no significant ideological differences and major issues revolved around economic development and social service provision. Respective political parties deployed catchy slogans as Table 5.6 illustrates:

**Table 5.6: Slogans Used by Political Parties in Mobilising Voters**

S/N	Political Party	Slogan
	ACT-Wazalendo	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2020! Kazi na Bata!</li> <li>• ACT-Wazalendo! Taifa kwanza, leo na kesho!</li> </ul>
	CCM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mshikamano Wetu! Ushindi Wetu!</li> <li>• Hapa Kazi Tu!</li> <li>• CCM Mbele kwa Mbele</li> <li>• Tumetekeleza kwa Kishindo, Tunasonga Mbele kwa Pamoja</li> </ul>
	CHADEMA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• No Hate No Fear</li> <li>• CHADEMA Vema!</li> <li>• Uhuru, Haki na Maendeleo ya Watu</li> </ul>
	CUF	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Haki na Usawa kwa Wote</li> <li>• Asiyejua haki Aelimishwee</li> <li>• Haki sawa na Furaha kwa Wote</li> </ul>
	NCCR Mageuzi	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Kuwajibika ni Utu</li> <li>• Pamoja Tutashinda</li> </ul>

*Source: REDET Observers' Field Reports, October 2020.*

Earlier in September 2020, the Ilala PCCB, Regional Bureau Chief, Christopher Myava, cautioned CHAUMMA presidential candidate, Mr. Hashim Rungwe, against enticing people to attend his campaign rallies by promising to provide them with rice meal (*ubwabwa*). The PCCB official noted that providing food during campaign was a breach of the EEA of 2010. On his part, Rungwe maintained that he would use “ubwabwa” [cooked rice] to woo people to his campaigns just as CCM used hired artists (Millard Ayo, 5<sup>th</sup> September 2020).

## **5:10 SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS AND CONDUCT OF THE POLICE**

Article 3.1 (c) of the 2020 Election Code of Conduct stipulates that security organs should provide security during campaign rallies and other political gatherings to ensure that there is peace and tranquillity. To a large extent, the 2020 election campaigns were peaceful as Table 5.7 illustrates. There were few isolated cases of

disruption but the police was effective in ensuring security enforcement. REDET observers noted that the level of security was higher for campaign rallies addressed by presidential candidates than for parliamentary and councillorship rallies. CCM and CHADEMA presidential campaign rallies had high level of security as they attracted many people compared to other political parties.

**Table 5.7: Conduct of Police in Election Campaigns**

Questions	Responses		
	Yes (%)	No (%)	Total (%)
Have you witnessed the Police obstructing any election campaign rally?	6 (8)	69 (92)	<b>75 (100)</b>
Were there uniformed police officers at the campaign rally?	1385 (27.0)	3749 (73.0)	<b>5131 (100)</b>

*Source: REDET Observers' Field Reports, October 2020.*

In a press conference held on 26<sup>th</sup> September 2020, the CHADEMA presidential candidate praised the Police for performing security tasks professionally. He credited the Police for ensuring security during his campaign rallies in Geita and Songwe regions. On other occasions, stones were thrown at CHADEMA campaign convoys by unknown unruly groups of people in Bukoba Municipal Council, Katoro and Geita. In Hai, Kilimanjaro, the RC confirmed reports of some youths having pelted stones at the CHADEMA presidential candidate convoy as it passed through the town. The Hai DC, Lengai Ole Sabaya, treated the incident as an attempt by the group of youths pressing the CHADEMA presidential hopeful who was on a trip to collect signatures of guarantors, to articulate his policies. Similarly, while heading to a campaign venue, located at a bus stand in Iringa, the ADC presidential candidate, Queen Sendiga, claimed that she was slapped and her car window smashed by supporters of a rival political party, which she did not mention (Godwin, 2020). On Wednesday, 19<sup>th</sup> September 2020, the Police raided the residence of the CHADEMA parliamentary candidate for Singida Urban constituency, and arrested Rehema Mkoa, the candidate, and 10 other people, ostensibly for possession of

“illegal forearms” (*The Guardian* Friday, 11<sup>th</sup> September 2020).

REDET observed that, despite the ban on the use of such security groups by the Tanzania Police Force, political parties continued to deploy their security groups especially CCM’s “Green Guards” and CHADEMA’s “Red Brigade.” Some few altercations between candidates and their supporters and the Police were reported but they were not violent. In Hai constituency, an altercation was filmed involving CHADEMA Chairperson and parliamentary candidate, Mr. Freeman Mbowe and Hai OCD (Officer Commanding District) on 7<sup>th</sup> October 2020. However, the incident did not lead to an outbreak of violence.



*A personal security guard for CCM Hai parliamentary candidate in T-shirt bearing the name of Hai DC (Lengai ole Sabaya) during inaugural campaigns for Boma Ng’ombe councillorship candidate (Evod Njau) at a campaign rally which took place in Snow View grounds on 7th October 2020.*

As already pointed out, there were isolated incidents of campaign meetings going



beyond the specified time that is 6.00 pm. REDET witnessed 466 meetings, out of 5,131 observed (9%) ending after 18.00hrs. Despite this breach, the Police were generally tolerant, thus averting possible standoffs/clashes. Out of 75 observed critical incidences, six (equivalent to seven percent) involved police obstructing election campaigns.

### 5.11 OVERALL ASSESSMENT OF ELECTION CAMPAIGNS

REDET's overall assessment of the 2020 election campaigns is presented in Table 5.8.

**Table 5.8: Assessment of Electoral Campaigns**

Nature and character of campaign	Marks (%)	Grade	Frequency	Percent
Campaigns with a few shortcomings which do not affect the outcome of the election. They were clean, free and fair campaign	80-100	A	52	35.9
Campaigns which were generally free and fair but still had some shortcomings which might have worked against fortunes of some stakeholders (political parties, candidates and voters)	60-79	B	74	51.0
Campaigns permitted free participation of stakeholders (political parties, candidates and voters) but there were many instances where bigger parties or, especially, the ruling party broke rules with impunity, and there was favouritism that worked against fortunes of some candidates and their parties	50-59	C	15	10.3
Campaigns were marred by numerous shortcomings related to non-compliance of some electoral laws, regulations and electoral code of conduct, management problems, incidences of intimidation and favouritism	40-49	D	4	2.8

Nominations were disrupted or mismanaged to the extent that stakeholders could not accept the nominees. It is like a student who failed an exam	1-39	E	0	0.0
The conduct of nominations was terrible. There was so much favouritism, foul-play and corruption to the extent that some candidates withdrew from the preferential voting process or lodged formal complaints. Nominations were an aborted process	0	F	0	0.0
<b>Total</b>			<b>145</b>	<b>100.0</b>

*Source: REDET Observers' Field Reports, October 2020.*

## 5.12 CONCLUSION

To a large extent, the election campaigns by the political parties and candidates in the 2020 general elections in the United Republic of Tanzania was conducted in line with the guiding laws and code of conduct. The campaign timetable was prepared using a participatory approach involving NEC, political parties and candidates. The Police was, to a large extent, present in the election campaigns, especially those involving the two leading parties (CCM and CHADEMA) and those involving presidential candidates. The conduct of 2020 election campaigns was generally effective and peaceful despite its involving 19 political parties. However, the most effectively organised campaigns and crowd-pullers were those of the two leading political parties, CCM and CHADEMA, on Tanzania Mainland, particularly for the presidential candidates. In Zanzibar, CCM and ACT-Wazalendo had the most effectively organized campaigns, particularly for the presidential candidates.

The laws guiding election campaigns were found to be comprehensive. However, the challenge lies in enforcement. As this chapter has discussed, violations could prove detrimental. The involvement of religious leaders in campaigns and use of ethnic languages are not good indicators and could erode the national solidarity which can easily be taken for granted given the prevailing peace. As such, there is a need improve the enforcement of the Election Expenses Act. As already pointed

out, the set estimates are not realistic, especially for parliamentary campaigns. Relatedly, the ORPP office has is constrained and had limited capacity to monitor its implementation. On the other hand, political parties changed campaign venues without following the law. Whereas CCM, CHADEMA and ACT-Wazalendo conducted daily campaigns, other political parties conducted election campaigns intermittently or deferred them altogether after a short spell, some citing lack of funds. Negative campaigns, to a large extent ,involved CCM and CHADEMA. Generally, the police demonstrated a high level of professionalism, competence and diligence in their execution of duty. This approach, to a large extent, guaranteed peace and security in the entire campaign trail.

## CHAPTER SIX

### MEDIA AND ELECTIONS

#### 6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on the role of the media in the 2020 General Election. It is divided into six sections. Section one serves as the introduction; section two deals with the Media Code of Conduct towards the 2020 general elections; section three focuses on the implications of the Cybercrime Act in the 2020 general elections media reporting; and section four delves into the role of media regulators, namely the Tanzania Communications Regulatory Authority (TCRA), the Media Council of Tanzania (MCT) and the Tanzania Editors Forum (TEF) during the electoral process. Finally, section five analyses media reporting and section six concludes the chapter.

#### 6.2 MEDIA CODE OF CONDUCT IN THE 2020 GENERAL ELECTIONS

In assessing how the media and journalists operated during the 2020 general election, REDET observed how media houses and journalists adhered to the Media Code of Conduct for the 2020 election reporting issued by MCT and stakeholders. MCT noted that the Media Code of Conduct was meant to facilitate free, fair, and democratic electioneering and elections, and to assist voters to make informed choices. This Media Code of Conduct applicable alongside the MCT Code of Ethics for Media Professionals obliged journalists to seek the truth and report it precisely and soberly; ensure accurate, fair, impartial and balanced election coverage; and observe professional ethics by protecting identities of their sources.

Other guidelines in this Code of Conduct included the separation between fact and comment; publicly-funded media not taking an editorial line in favour of any political party or candidate; journalists resisting any form of manipulation; and media owners and managers promoting free and fair election coverage. The Code of Conduct also required the media to have balanced and fair reportage and for them to refrain from giving space or airtime to hate speech or utterances, and non-discrimination of disadvantaged or marginalised people and groups. Also, media

houses and journalists had to work with the TCRA, the Tanzania National Electric Company (TANESCO), and other authorities on issues such as determining the motives (if deliberate or accidental) for interfering with radio or television signals during the electoral period and disappearance in bulk of newspapers (or their non-arrival to their respective destinations). Moreover, media houses had to identify and charge equal rates to advertorials from all political parties and work with civil society in providing civic and voter education and monitoring and evaluating the electoral process. The Code further stressed that journalists must carry their work identity cards (press cards); report any attacks or threats against them to their employers and the police; be acquainted with the electoral process, bodies, regulations, and laws for effective voter information dissemination and education; investigate and expose electoral malpractices; and never align with any political party or candidate.

In the meantime, this Media Code of Conduct was prepared because of the centrality and significance of the media in the election process while recognising the adverse impact of media (power) abuse on the same. REDET understood this dilemma and the fact that the Code's use was voluntary. Thus, the Code did not provide for any penalties for non-compliance. Notwithstanding this aspect, having this Media Code of Conduct was a sign of commitment to media professionalism and serving the monitoring role of the media, which overlaps with the familiar press role of watchdog or guardian of public interest through which the media have no ties with governments.

In relation to this Code of Conduct, particular relevant laws and policies were applied to regulating the media (print, electronic and social media) during the electoral process. Policies that indirectly addressed media-related issues and directly communication related aspects include the Information and Broadcasting Policy, 2003; National Telecommunication Policy, 1997; National Information and Communication Technologies Policy, 2016; and National Postal Policy, 2003.

The laws, which directly affect the media and journalists operations, include the Access to Information Act, 2015, which regulates the use and access to information; and Statistics Act, 2015, which regulates use and presentation of

statistical information. Also, the Cybercrime Act, 2015, which regulates use of social media information, provides punishment if misuse of social media occurs; and the Media Service Act, 2016, which deals with journalists' professionalism and monitoring of publication and content of print media (mainly newspapers). Other laws include the Tanzania Communications Regulatory Authority Act, 2010 which licenses, and regulates operation and access to information, monitor content and distribution of air spectrum for broadcast media; Tanzania Intelligence and Security Services Act, 1996; and National Security Act, 1970. Furthermore, the Tanzania Prisons Ordinance, 1967; and Government Standing Orders prohibit possession and publication of unauthorised material, which could compromise official, state secrets and state security or state agencies and restrict journalists' movement and collection of information. The Tanzania Police and Auxiliary Forces Act, 2002, and the National Elections Act, 1985, which has media-related provisions, requires state-run media to provide fair and balanced reporting on all political parties.

### **6.3 MEDIA LEGAL FRAMEWORK FOR 2020 GENERAL ELECTIONS**

The legal framework in Tanzania has continued to be tough on media usually being restrictive more than protective with media and its functions. The most notable restrictive laws include the Media Services Act, 2016. Its sections on sedition, criminal defamation and false news publications were found by the East African Court of Justice to restrict press freedom and freedom of expression. Also, the Statistics Act, 2018, has continued to stifle freedom of expression despite its amendments removing the imposed criminal liability for collecting and publishing statistics which contradict those produced by the National Bureau of Statistics. Before the amendment by default, data journalism and independent research were regarded as crimes. However, the Cyber Crime Act of 2015, especially its enforcement, has raised concerns, particularly on infringement of freedom of expression, limiting many practices during elections such as people airing free opinions about candidates on social media.

The Cybercrimes Act was enacted primarily to address cases of child pornography in computer systems, cyberbullying, online impersonation, identity-related crimes,

publication of false information, racist and xenophobic material and motivated insults, unsolicited messages, disclosure of details of an investigation, obstruction of investigation, violation of intellectual property rights, among many. According to the Act Section 3, *publish* refers to the distribution, transmitting, disseminating, circulating, delivering, exhibit, exchanging, barter, printing, copying, selling or offering for sale, letting on hire or offering to let on hire, offering in any other way or making available in any way. These are what reporters do on daily basis and therefore the Cybercrimes Act victimized the industry.

#### 6.4 ROLE OF MEDIA REGULATORS

The communications and media related regulators include the TCRA, MCT, and in part the TEF. These regulators play a crucial role in giving direction to how media conducted coverage activities during the elections. TCRA, through its Content Committee – has amended its Electronic and Postal Communications (Radio and Television Content) Regulations, in 2020 by introducing additional sub-sections to Section 37, among others, which compel licensed local broadcasters to seek the regulator’s approval before airing either national or international content, which they generate in collaboration with other content providers. On 10<sup>th</sup> August 2020, TCRA summoned the management of Radio Free Africa, also known as RFA for interrogation, accusing the local radio station of violating sections 15(2) (b), (c) and 16 of the Electronic and Postal Communications (Online Content) Regulations, 2018. This development followed the infamous *Amka na BBC* interview with Tundu Lissu on 29<sup>th</sup> July, 2020. The move signalled the context under which media would find themselves at loggerheads with TCRA as a regulator.

TCRA suspended some of the local FM stations, and *Mwananchi Online* paper for allegedly breaching the Electronic Communications and Postal Code of 2018. In August 2020, TCRA banned *Clouds TV* and *Clouds FM Radio* for allegedly violating the electoral code by announcing statistics that had not been endorsed by NEC. *Wasafi FM*, *Wasafi TV* and *Ihasaan FM* were also suspended but for different reasons. Moreover, TCRA suspended *Mwananchi Online* platforms content delivery licence on April 16, 2020 and imposed a fine of five million shillings for allegedly

publishing misleading information that ostensibly caused confusion in society.

The MCT is the media self-regulator in Tanzania advocating for the cardinal principles of journalism, which are accuracy, independence, impartiality, humanity and accountability. It played a crucial self-regulation role in the 2020 general elections. In July 2020, the council warned scribes from all cadres to refrain from taking bribes from political entities or any other entity to publish election news. This followed an unnamed editor from a government newspaper who was under PCCB investigation following bribe allegations. In general, MCT has laid down ethical guidelines for practitioners and stakeholders in the media industry governing pursuance of truth, balance and fairness, protection of the vulnerable, right of reply, presumption of innocent and good taste. These principles have generated the media codes of conducts for electoral coverage in Tanzania.

TEF role in the 2020 general elections was evident. TEF intervened to normalise the relationship between the Tanzania Broadcasting Corporation (TBC) and CHADEMA. The standoff started after the TBC journalists reported a campaign meeting in Mbagala in manner that CHADEMA found demeaning. CHADEMA leaders chased the TBC crew away. TEF has been instrumental in giving advice and mediating between the media and other stakeholders in the electoral process. This was also observed when Peter Msigwa, then a CHADEMA MP candidate from Iringa Urban accused journalists of refusing to cover Tundu Lissu's political campaign rallies in Iringa region. TEF intervened by expressing their regret and issued a warning against such railing and baseless accusations, which could endanger journalists in their work.



*TEF, CHADEMA, NEC and TBC representatives pose for a photo after concluding the conciliation dialogue.*



## 6.5 ANALYSIS OF THE 2020 ELECTIONS MEDIA REPORTING

REDET observed five news media genres, namely the newspaper, television, radio (with national coverage), community radio, and online media to determine their electoral coverage. For the newspaper category, it analysed news articles from *Habari Leo* and *Daily News*, *Mwananchi* and *The Citizen*, *Nipashe* and *The Guardian*, *The East African*, *Uhuru* and *Mtanzania*. For the radio genre, the observers focused on *TBC Taifa*, *Radio One* and *Clouds FM* news bulletins. For the television, observation centred on *Uhai TV* (UTV, famously known as Azam), *TBC*, *ITV*, and *Clouds TV* news bulletins. In addition, for online media the observers used posts from East Africa (Facebook page), Dar 24 and Millard Ayo blog. The observation on community radio was done on *Boma Hai FM* (Kilimanjaro), *Kahama FM* (Shinyanga), *Chai FM* (Mbeya), *Dodoma FM* (Dodoma), *Ruangwa FM* (Lindi) and *Tumbatu FM* (Zanzibar). These frameworks notwithstanding, regulations and other possible factors, proceeding sections to this chapter show that media exhaustively reported the 2020 general elections in terms of the coverage size.

### 6.5.1 Print Media Coverage

REDET analysed 629 newspaper articles from 26<sup>th</sup> August to 27<sup>th</sup> October 2020 as presented in Figure 6.1. Out of these articles, 110 (17.5%) were dedicated to Zanzibar, 105 (16.7%) were from major cities, Dar es Salaam had 58 (9.2 percent) while other towns and rural Tanzania had 356 (56.6%). There were very few critical issues (n=34, 5.4%) as opposed to simple analysis (592, 94.1%) were and some issues mostly based on information about people. The major sources of the articles were politicians (n=565, 89.8%) compared to ordinary people (n=5, 0.8%). CCM received preponderant coverage (n=351 articles, 55.8%) and opposition political parties were minimally covered (n=198 articles, 31.5%).

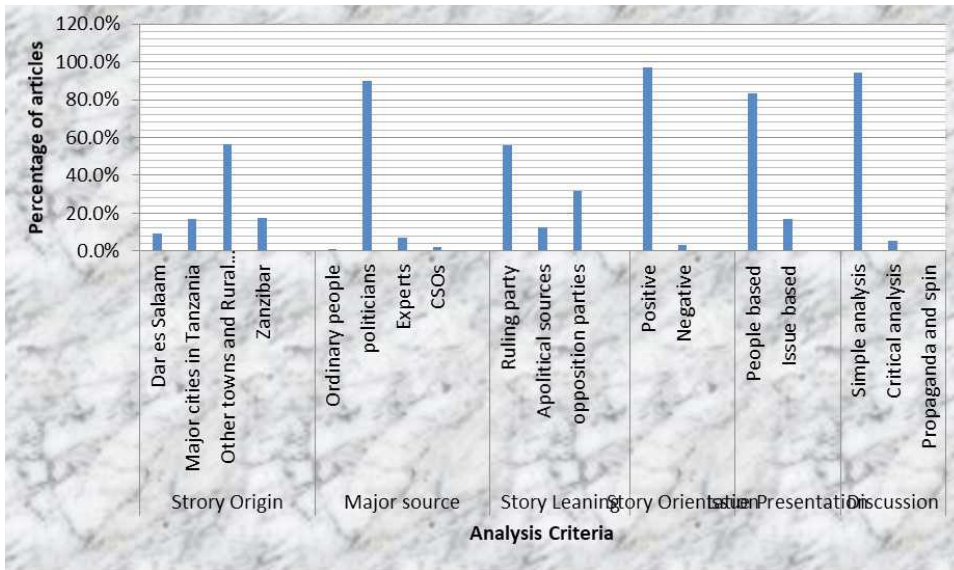


Figure 6.1: Print media coverage quantitative analysis

### 6.5.2 Electronic and Online Media

REDET also analysed 989 electronic or broadcast and online media election-related stories during the same period, that is from 27<sup>th</sup> August 2020 to 27<sup>th</sup> October 2020. For electronic or broadcast media, 737 stories (74.5%) were observed mainly from radio outlets, namely *Radio One* (50), *TBC FM Radio* (68), *Clouds FM Radio* (101); and television outlets namely ITV (141), UTV (228) and TBC1 (149). For online media, 252 stories (25.5%) were observed mainly from Dar es Salaam (54 stories), EATV Facebook page (133 stories) and Millard Ayo Facebook page (65 stories). Significantly, of all the 989 electronic and online media election-related news stories observed, 855 stories originated from Tanzania Mainland, whereas 134 stories were from Zanzibar. In addition, 830 news stories featured politicians as sources. Meanwhile, 296 news stories (including those with politicians as sources) featured ordinary citizens as sources or part of the content covering their concerns (See Figure 6.2).

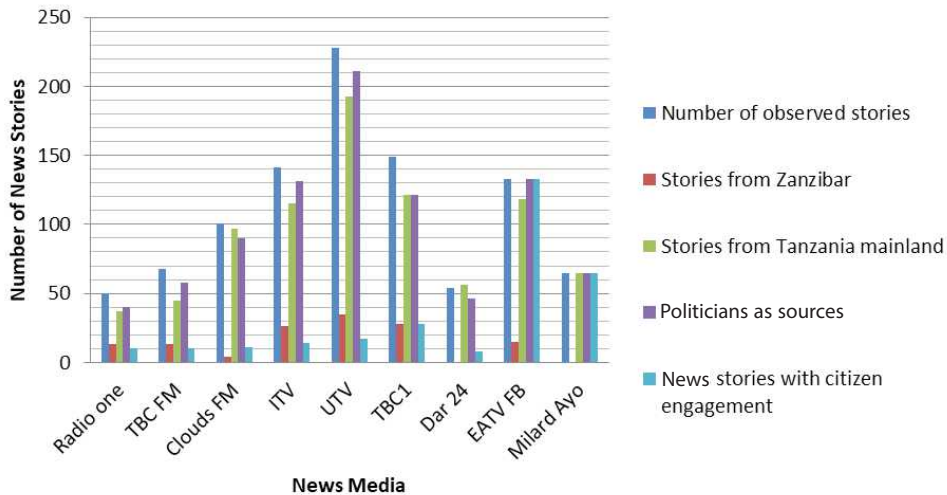


Figure 6.2: Electronic and online media coverage: Quantitative analysis

### 6.5.3 Themes and Patterns of Media Reporting

REDET observation identified common themes/patterns in the media coverage from the campaign launch on August 26<sup>th</sup> to the closing on 27<sup>th</sup> October 2020. First, NEC responded and/ or disputed misinformation that sometimes compelled it to use public platforms to dispel fears and misinformation targeting their management of the electoral processes. Examples include a statement made by Chairman of NEC during an election stakeholders' conference in Tanga on 2<sup>nd</sup> October, 2020) dismissing reports that it has barred international observers from covering the general election (“Commission: Reports about “banning” of international election observers baseless,” *The Guardian*, Saturday 3 October 2020). The electoral body chief provided data on permits issued to international observer groups, which was otherwise hitherto not yet public information. There was also an interesting admission by the NEC Director of Information and Voter Education, Giveness Aswile, that “lack of civic education has led to many people not showing up on the election day...” and “Most Tanzanians lack civic education-NEC” (*The Guardian*, Saturday, 3<sup>rd</sup> October 2020). The other NEC-sourced stories featured exchanges between the Commission and contenders, mostly the opposition presidential candidate, Tundu Lissu (few examples include: “NEC insists Lissu must comply

with ruling; Lissu told: Comply or face consequences”; “Defiant Lissu to ignore NEC orders, police summons tip”; “CHADEMA seeks answers from NEC, police.”

REDET noted that ordinary people’s concerns and their viewpoints attracted minimal media attention. Ordinary people are citizens, normally mass voters, looking forward to voting in a new government. Their concerns are day-to-day problems, which through formulation and properly execution of government policies are reduced or solved. Ordinary citizens’ viewpoints present different perspectives or lenses through which these people see their conditions. These were not a concern in the 2020 election coverage, as ordinary people spoke, and some incidences illustrate how they served as news sources. However, they were largely included only to react to and mostly to affirm the already established position of their favoured or not favoured prominent candidates, talking about politicians rather than themselves or their concerns i.e. ordinary people’s concerns. Even in cases when they seemed to initiate discussion on their issues, the time and space allotted was too minimal to count for elevating issues from ordinary people perspectives.

Most of the sources of news stories were candidates, party leaders, officials from authorities especially NEC and ZEC and the Police Force. There were roughly four ways by which the EMBs, particularly NEC, served as a vital source of information in the run-up to the October 2020 elections. Though reporters and observers might likely have found it rather challenging to access detailed information on cases of objections and appeals by aspirants, summary details of NEC decisions on appeals were widely distributed to the print media as “*Taarifa kwa Umma: Muhtasari wa Maamuzi ya Ruffaa za Udiwani zilizopokelewa na Kuamuliwa na Tume ya Uchaguzi*[Public Announcement: Summary of Decisions on Councillorship Appeals Received and Decided by the Electoral Commission]”. It appears NEC paid for several pages in all major papers which command relatively wide circulation (see, for example, *Daily News*, Thursday, 1<sup>st</sup> October 2020; *Nipashe Jumamosi*, 3<sup>rd</sup> October 2020). There were also exclusive news segments on EMBs: These were exclusive segments such as ‘habari za tume za uchaguzi’ (Election News), and Elimu ya Mpiga Kura (Voters’ Education), e.g., “NEC yatoa mfano wa karatasi za Rais, Makamu wa Rais [NEC Releases Sample Ballot Papers for

President/Vice-President]”. Moreover, there were normal news coverage routines on activities carried out by NEC. For instance, NEC organised numerous meetings with stakeholders and training workshops for its staff countrywide. Remarks made by NEC’s high-ranking officials such as the Chairperson, Deputy Chairperson, Director of Elections, and Commissioners, were amply covered by both print and electronic media. Examples of NEC sourced news item: “NEC yaahidi kutoa kipaumbele kwa wenye mahitaji maalumu [NEC Promises to Give Preferential Treatment to People with Special Needs]” (*Mtanzania*, Saturday, 3<sup>rd</sup> October 2020); “NEC promises fair, transparent elections D-Day” (*Daily News*, Thursday, 1<sup>st</sup> October 2020); “ZEC yawataka wasimamizi wa uchaguzi kukariri vipengele vya sheria ya uchaguzi [NEC Implores Presiding Officers to Memorise Electoral Laws].”

International news sources also appeared in the coverage. The local media covered foreign dignitaries who made headlines in relation to the 2020 elections. For instance, CCM Secretary General, Dr. Bashiru Ally, held meetings with the EU, US, Kenya, and Mozambique envoys in separate sessions but on the same day at the Lumumba party offices on 15 October 2020 (See “Marekani, EU zavutiwa kampeni za kistaarabu [US, EU impressed by civilised electoral campaigns],” *Uhuru* 16<sup>th</sup> October 2020). China’s Ambassador to Tanzania Wang Kee’s visit to Mwalimu Nyerere College of Leadership at Kibaha town on 10<sup>th</sup> October 2020. She was also met by her host, Dr. Bashiru. Notably, the cover page bearing this lead story title “China upbeat on smooth elections” whereas the continuation page bears the title “China envoy happy with Tanzania election campaigns” (*The Citizen*, Sunday 11<sup>th</sup> October 2020).

Some candidates appealed for international support rather than ordinary citizens’ support for their cause. In addition, the campaigns and the coverage mainly centred on political parties and especially the two major political parties CCM and CHADEMA, sometimes ACT-Wazalendo (in Zanzibar) or their high profile candidates. Where non-political sources spoke, the Police Force, government officials such as RCs and DCs, prominent religious leaders (holding more controversial positions) and CSOs also featured in the reportage.

Whereas the public or state news media was biased against major opposition political parties, particularly CHADEMA and ACT-Wazalendo, other news media would rather avoid offending any client. The public or state news media, on the other hand, dedicated space almost exclusively to CCM and its candidates. When such public or state news media covered the opposition, the space allotted to them was more often for opposition parties other than CHADEMA and ACT-Wazalendo, sometimes out of proportion, and especially on the coverage that ridiculed or made political parties such as CHAUMMA, ADC and UPDP look flippant. Where the space was allotted to the major opposition parties such as CHADEMA and ACT-Wazalendo, it was often for a negative story or coverage. In this regard, the government-owned newspaper, *Sunday News* covered stories such as “I’m impressed with CCM campaign speeches—Bwege” (24<sup>th</sup> October 2020) and another against ACT-Wazalendo “200 members defect to CCM in Zitto stronghold.”

*Nipashe* on 25<sup>th</sup> September carried a headline “*Msajili, Upinzani wazidi kuvutana*” literally meaning, “Registrar, Opposition at loggerheads”. The story followed the possible coalition of CHADEMA and ACT-Wazalendo. The Registrar pointed out that it was illegal whereas the opposition maintained that it could decide on who to co-operate with at any time. The article cites the opposition and the Registrar. Such neutrality might be a typical case of news media self-censorship which has become apparent in recent years. Yet, it denied readers a deeper analysis on who was right and who was not, in accordance with the constitution and the law.

The coverage from the selected news media shows that, with a few exceptions from especially online media, the media generally avoided amplifying personal attack or character assassination, propaganda and fanatical views. However, the negative coverage observed were often on issues that are not relevant to stories’ main topic, more likely serving as distractions from the main issues such as reporters wanting to change the election topic. An example of such stories featured in the *Daily News* (26<sup>th</sup> September 2020) with headline reading “Being a president is not for trial—PM”. The story paints the opposition in the negative light but CCM in the positive light. Inside the story oppositions is painted as the obstacle to development by rejecting every idea from the government. Reading between lines, the story is

more words of the PM than journalists' analysis.

Where negative arguments seemed somehow relevant, they were based more on personal attacks than on salient issues. Indeed, there were instances in Zanzibar when the media unnecessarily amplified negative attributes such as tensions, hate speech and fear of the aftermath of election by paying undue attention to politicians' or party followers' acts of commotions and divisive words, personal attacks that extended beyond the norm. Based on the stories observed, it is apparent that news media generally portrayed more positive than negative orientation towards sources.

CCM, CHADEMA and ACT-Wazalendo enjoyed more visibility than other political parties. In some cases, only CCM was favoured to have live coverage, although, sarcastically, CHAUMMA and SAU or other parties outside CHADEMA and ACT-Wazalendo were interviewed in special media programmes. Some social media comments indicated some subscribers/social media users (on East Africa *Facebook* page audience comments) complained that news media favoured the ruling CCM. It was interesting to observe how each day news media dummed the same information, on the competing giants focusing on both sides' attitude rather than on the diversity of views from as many sides as maybe reasonable. And it was observed elevation out of context, as earlier indicated. In this regard, the government news media had elevated some minority parties out of context and proportion while ignoring the positions of major opposition parties and, especially, CHADEMA and ACT-Wazalendo. However, one thing is clear: CCM never missed the slot/media attention anywhere in the media.

News media massively covered the 2020 general election campaigns in Tanzania. Most news stories were based on the campaigns of political parties mostly CCM and CHADEMA with press conferences from NEC and the police on election progress. Nonetheless, the coverage generally leaned on the government's side, most news media hardly distinguishing between political and administrative activities of politicians. Desperately news media increased the number of stories with time from the kick-off of the campaign to the closing date rarely extended beyond what the candidates provided. The news reports had simple analyses. Thus, critical media analysis was a rare commodity.





Instead of strong analysis in the news coverage, media featured more advertorials (ads that looked like editorial content), featured in the print media coverage. Political Ads by government agencies were a common feature. This was an unusual trend from mid-October 2020 whereby government agencies and publicly owned company would run full-page adverts in relation to their performance in the last five years (not more, not less). A few notable examples observed: TANESCO full page ad in *The Guardian*, Wednesday, 14<sup>th</sup> October 2020 “TANESCO: The Remarkable 5 years Energy Production Leap”; A Press Conference carefully choreographed to send political messages: “NEMC had been active institution in last 5 years”; NEMC Yajivunia Miaka 5 ya JPM [NEMC Proud of JPM’s 5 years]”; “TPSF sings JPM’s praises”. There were many more such advertorials.

#### 6.5.4 Community Radio Coverage

REDET also observed that more news came to the cities of Dar es Salaam, Mwanza, Mbeya, Arusha, Dodoma and Tanga than those that came from cities. The towns



where major candidates visited from which most information or election news content was sourced. These include the southern corridor with towns such as Lindi, Mtwara and Songea, the Western part of Tanzania such as Kigoma, Chato and Bukoba, and some central parts of Tanzania such as Singida and some parts of Mara region. These areas happened to be where the presidential candidates from CCM and CHADEMA had campaigned most or toured the most during the campaign period. Zanzibar was not neglected in the coverage as it received a fair share of stories in newspapers, on radio, on television as well as online media, possibly, due to a neck-to-neck competition between CCM and ACT-Wazalendo presidential candidates. Generally, the coverage was more rural-based than urban, especially at the onset of the campaigns and only became urban when the candidates concentrated in the cities for their final onslaught. Out of 252 stories analysed, 142 (57%) were about local news and issues on parliamentary candidates. In other words, news media followed focused more on where the candidates went and candidates spent a good deal in rural precincts. Community radios also paid more attention and coverage to the candidates and political parties found in their localities rather than national (i.e. presidential) candidates as Table 6.1 illustrates:

**Table 6.1: Community Radio Coverage**

S/ No.	Radio	Region/Zone	Stories with local/ constituency candidates issues		Stories with national/ presidential candidates issues		Total
1.	Dodoma FM	Dodoma/Central	24	50%	24	50%	48
2.	Triple A	Arusha/Northern	33	75%	12	25%	45
3.	Kahama FM	Shinyanga/Lake	29	55%	23	45%	52
4.	Nuru FM	Iringa/Southern Highlands	23	70%	10	30%	33
5.	Jamii FM	Mtwara/Southern	16	50%	16	50%	32
6	Tumbatu FM	Zanzibar Islands/ Zanzibar	17	40%	25	60%	42
		<b>Total</b>	<b>142</b>	<b>57%</b>	<b>110</b>	<b>43%</b>	<b>252</b>

*Source: REDET Analysis of Community Radio coverage during the 2020 elections campaigns.*

### 6.5.5 Newspaper Feature Stories and Exclusive Pull-outs

Although names of politicians came first and in some incidences stories ended by either propping up or mudslinging names, a significant number of stories indicated that media dealt with issues, hence making the 2020 election focus on development matters rather than political attacks alone. Space and time were given to real issues confronting the Tanzania society. There were incidents whereby election manifestos were highlighted, with several dailies and weeklies dedicating pull-outs exclusively to the 2020 general elections, that is, *Mwananchi*, *The Citizen*, *Nipashe* and *Sunday News*. In addition, there were feature stories exclusively on the 2020 general elections. *The Citizen* newspaper, for instance, systematically highlighted party manifestos in its election feature columns on several important themes and had a famous segment titled “Notice Board: Where your candidates are today”, which provided vital updates on the campaign schedules of all the presidential candidates almost in equal measure. In addition, some news articles pointed out real issues especially in *Mwananchi* newspaper.

### 6.5.6 Role of Social Media

This observation captured social media used as forum for information exchange. However, perhaps because of the Cybercrimes Act, 2015 and other regulations in full force during this election, social media was somehow subdued. The role of the techno-giant, Facebook, in the 2020 elections through observation on the EATV facebook page indicated that the platform was used more by ordinary citizens whose whereabouts was difficult to trace than news reporters. Many comments carrying agitations received no reply. Facebook’s role in the 2020 elections was felt in three ways through its rolled-out programmes and products: they had a programme aimed to reduce the spread of misinformation while supporting civic engagement. Facebook entered a partnership with Pesa Check, an independent fact-checking organisation in Tanzania to review and rate the accuracy of content shared on Facebook and Instagram. Facebook also launched Election Day reminder in their news-feed in the run-up to the elections as part of its civic engagement campaign. Relatedly, they had a “media literacy campaign” aimed to empower people on

deciding for themselves what to read, trust, and share. Moreover, political ads transparency tools mandatory to anybody who wanted to run political ads in the country, i.e. interested individuals had to undergo a verification process to prove their identity and residence in Tanzania. Facebook seemed neither active nor were its users when it came to strategizing political campaigns. People shouted through Facebook but there was often no reply.

## **6.6 CONCLUSION**

Generally, the 2020 Tanzania general elections received massive coverage, as depicted in the sampled media outlets (newspapers, radio, television and social media) observed (e.g. more than 1,500 news articles, which excluded special programmes and features). In addition, this coverage was more on domestic than on international issues. More news came to cities than those that came from cities and towns as what is the common practice, especially in non-election times. As expected, ordinary people, ordinary people's concerns and ordinary people's viewpoints received minimal media attention; moreover, there was largely weak analysis and discussion of issues as far as the role of the media to help the audience in their aspirations to make an informed decision on the polling day is concerned.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN, YOUTH AND PEOPLE WITH DISABILITY IN THE 2020 GENERAL ELECTIONS IN TANZANIA

#### 7.1 INTRODUCTION

As Tanzanians went to the polls on 28<sup>th</sup> October 2020, one of the key issues that needed addressing was the inclusion of the marginalised groups in the electoral process. This report sets out to present an assessment of the extent to which women, youth and People with Disabilities (PWDs) participated in election management, voter registration exercise, voter education programmes, nomination process, campaigns, as well as on the polling day. The findings are generated from field reports of EMBs, media reports, and relevant legislation.

#### 7.2 LEGAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE MARGINALISED GROUPS

The participation of women, youth and PWDs in the electoral process is provided for in Tanzania's legal frameworks including the country's constitution, laws, rules, regulations and various policies. The Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania (1977) stipulates that every person is entitled to recognition and dignity (Article 12 [2]) and prohibits discrimination against any person by any person or authority (Article 13 ([4])). Also, Article 21 (1) provides for the citizens' rights to participate in the governing of the country either directly or through representatives. To mitigate against historical and socio-cultural gender imbalances, legislated affirmative actions for women are set in place for councillorship and parliamentary representation. Thus, women should constitute at least 30 percent of the total number of MPs. In addition, the number of women was increased to 40 percent through the government circular of 2015 as part of affirmative action. Women's special seats are allocated proportionately to political parties that manage to secure at least five percent of all valid votes in the parliamentary elections. In the 2020 elections, only two political parties—CCM and CHADEMA—attained the five percent threshold in the Union Parliamentary elections.

Moreover, the rights of women, youth and PWDs are also provided for in various policies such as the Women and Gender Development Policy (2000), the National Youth Development Policy (2007), the Persons with Disabilities Act (2010). Despite the existence of all these provisions, the engagement of these special groups in the electoral process has remained low as demonstrated in the previous multi-party elections since 1995. During the 2015 elections, women constituted only 19 percent of all the candidates who contested for the Union parliamentary election. Also, out of 264 seats, only 25 seats were won by women, a paltry 9.5 percent (NEC Reports, 2016). In this context, the REDET observation mission assessed the rate of participation of women, youth and PWDs during the 2020 general elections.

The chapter is arranged in the following manner. Section one is the introduction, which is followed by section two that presents the findings on the rate of participation of women, the youth, and PWDs in the management of elections. Section three deals with the status of participation of women, youth and PWDs as registered voters. Section four focuses on voter education for special groups. Section five deals with issues regarding the nomination of candidates in relation to these special groups. Participation in election campaigns and voting on the polling day are dealt with in section six and seven, respectively. Election Day results for women, youth and PWDs feature in section eight. The last section concludes the chapter.

### **7.3 WOMEN, YOUTH AND PWDs IN ELECTION MANAGEMENT**

The participation of women, youth and PWDs in election management is assessed by examining the composition of the election management bodies and recruited polling staff of various ranks. To begin with, the gender imbalance is observed at the composition of EMBs. The findings indicate that in the 2020 elections, gender imbalance was evident in the composition of both NEC, comprising only two out of six commissioners are females, and ZEC, with only one woman out of seven commissioners.

The National Elections Act, Cap 343, empowers NEC to appoint Regional Elections Co-ordinators, Returning Officers and Assistant Returning Officers (Sections 10-13). Also, every Returning Officer can appoint Presiding Officers, Polling Assistants

and Direction Clerks (Section 14 [1]). To begin with, the voter registration exercise, the recruitment of personnel for the administration of voter registration was not deliberately designed to attract the involvement of special groups. The call for applicants was merit-based under the open competition recruitment mechanism. The applicants were supposed to be Tanzanians aged 18 years and above, with at least secondary level of education and above and ought to reside in their respective wards. They should also be competent in computer application, be non-partisan, and above all, they should be faithful and honest.

Despite this insensitivity to the otherwise marginalised and under, it was observed that the level of participation of women and youth in various districts improved. Based on the recruitment data from 13 selected districts, though men constituted 55 percent of recruited staff for voter registration on average, 45 percent of all the voter registration officers were women. Indeed, as Table 7.1 shows, women constituted most of the recruited voter registration administrators in certain districts as Songea MC, Handeni, Ubungo, Chakechake and Tanga MC:

**Table 7.1: Voter Registration Staff by Gender in Selected Constituencies**

S/N	District	Total	Males	Females	% Females
1	Songea MC	344	147	197	57.3
2	Njombe	200	124	76	38.0
3	Namtumbo	290	168	122	42.1
4	Handeni	532	390	312	58.6
5	Mtwara DC	558	367	191	34.2
6	Newala DC	206	128	78	37.8
7	Ruangwa	260	186	74	28.5
8	Mkinga	384	234	150	39.1
9	Bumbuli	362	248	114	31.5
10	Ubungo	624	212	412	66.0
11	Chakechake	14	5	9	64.3
12	Korogwe	580	402	178	30.7
13	Tanga MC	484	198	286	59.1
<b>Average (%)</b>					<b>45.2</b>

*Source: REDET Observers' Field Reports, 2019.*

ZEC recruited 100 ROs, mostly males, as Table 7.2 illustrates. Additionally, an overwhelming majority of the recruited ROs were youth, as they accounted for

83 percent of the number. The picture is more impressive for the recruited AROs. Out of the 5,528 AROs females were 2,838 (54%) and youths were 4783 (86.5%).

**Table 7.2: Recruited ZEC Officials by Age and Gender**

	Male	Percent	Female	Percent	Total
ROs	85	85	15	15	<b>100</b>
Youths (18-35)	69	83	14	17	<b>83</b>
AROs	2690	49	2838	51	<b>5528</b>
Youths (18-35)	2195	46	2588	54	<b>4783</b>

*Source: Interview with ZEC Officials, February 2021.*



*A fair number of youth and women participate in the training for electoral staff conducted at CDTI Monduli, Monduli constituency on 25<sup>th</sup> October 2020.*

In contrast, the inclusion of PWDs in managing elections remained rather low. Just like other special groups, PWDs were not specifically targeted for employment. As already illustrated, voter registration recruitment was solely based on merit for any applicant willing and ready to apply for the post. In several districts, REDET observers could not find PWDs as voter registration personnel. It was only in a few districts where PWDs were recruited. In Njombe district, out of 200 voter registration officers, only two were PWDs. In Namtumbo, out of 290 registration officers, only one person had a disability. In Newala, out of 206 registration officers, only five were PWDs. In Mkinga district, out of 384 personnel, two were disabled and two others were self-declared People Living with HIV/AIDS. In Kagera, only seven of the voter registration staff with disabilities were found in

the seven constituencies.

Also, regarding election officers trained for the polling day, gender imbalance was also prevalent with most of electoral staff being males. For instance, Mchinga constituency had 588 election officers, out of whom 232 were females (39.5%). In certain districts, there was a significant number of women, for instance, in Biharamulo West constituency, it was reported that 60 percent of the election personnel (including Presiding Officers, Polling Assistants and Direction Clerks) were women and that the majority of these were young people. This suggests that the rate of involvement of women and youth as election staff at the district level was relatively promising. It is important to mention that in many constituencies NEC could not provide, upon request by REDET LTOs, the disaggregated data of recruited election personnel based on age, gender or PWD status.

#### **7.4 VOTER REGISTRATION FOR WOMEN, YOUTH AND PWDs**

The process of voter registration is carried out regularly to register and update the voter register. In this regard, Article 17 (1) of Updating of the PNVR Regulations (2018) stipulates: “Any person who qualifies to be registered as a voter may make an application to the Registration Assistant to be registered within the period specified for that Polling District for updating the Register.” For the 2020 general elections, the updating process was carried between July 2019 and May 2020 throughout the country. Following the update of the PNVR, some 29,188,347 voters were registered. According to NEC (2021), out of those who were registered, females were 14,691,743 (50.3%) and males were 14,496,604 (49.67%). In Zanzibar, out of the 566,352 registered voters, women comprised the majority (51.9%) and men slightly in the minority (48.1%). This clearly shows that in terms of registering themselves as voters, women outnumbered men in both the Union and Zanzibar elections.

Furthermore, the 2020 general elections attracted a significant number of youths to register as voters. According to NEC, more than half of the registered voters were youth aged 18-35 years. As table 7.3 illustrates, 54 percent of the registered voters were youth:



**Table 7.3: Registered Voters by Age**

Age	Male	Female	Total	%
18-35	7,849,598	7,895,901	15,745,499	54
36-60	4,583,718	4,558,514	9,142,232	31
61 and above	2,063,288	2,237,328	4,300,616	15
<b>Total</b>	<b>14,496,604</b>	<b>14,691,743</b>	<b>29,188,347</b>	<b>100</b>

*Source: NEC, 2020.*

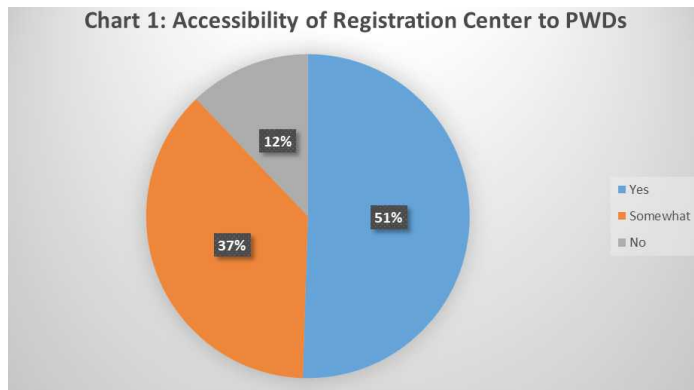
When it comes to the participation of PWDs, a remarkable milestone was attained during the voter registration exercise. For the first time, NEC recorded and provided data on the registration of PWDs as voters in the update of the voter register, which was done in 2019 and 2020. Table 7.4 shows that there were 13,211 registered voters with disability:

**Table 7.4: Registered Voters (PWDs)**

Type of Disability	Total
Vision impairment	2,223
Physical disability (hands)	4,911
Other types of disability	6,077
<b>Total</b>	<b>13,211</b>

*Source: NEC, 2020.*

Moreover, many of the registration centres observed were rated to be user-friendly and had considered the needs of PWDs. As Figure 7.1 indicates, out of 614 centres observed, 51 percent of them were reported to be accessible to PWDs, 37 percent were somehow accessible, and 12 percent were not accessible to them.



*Figure 7.1: Accessibility of Registration Centres by PWDs*

On the other hand, there were also registration centres that were not user-friendly to the PWDs.



*A person with disability gets assistance to enter a voter registration centre in Mtwara-Mikindani MC (Kagera-A).*

In general, the voter registration for the 2020 general elections signified active participation of women and youth as voters. Also, a significant number of registration centres could not provide a conducive environment for full participation of PWDs.

## 7.5 VOTER EDUCATION FOR SPECIAL GROUPS

REDET observers also assessed the extent in which women, youth and PWDs were targeted for voter education in various stages of the electoral process particularly voter registration and campaigns. NEC is legally mandated to provide voter education in the country, and co-ordinate and supervise other organisations interested in providing voter education (National Election Law (1985), Article 334 Section 4C).

In general, TEMCO/REDET observed that there was limited voter education campaigns in many districts in the country in the process of updating the voter register. An overwhelming number of the LTOs (79%) reported that they did not witness any CSO conducting voter education in their respective areas. Only 36 percent of the LTOs witnessed some voter education campaign activities conducted largely by NEC/ZEC in certain parts of the country through TV, radio and posters. This limited voter education was provided through radio (53%), TV (27%) and leaflets and brochures (21%). Also, there was hardly any voter education specifically tailored for the special groups. Rather, voter education programmes on registration target all the potential voters in general terms regardless of their varied characteristics; it was one-size-fitting all voter education approach.

However, there were a few cases of targeted campaigns for special groups in a few areas. In Kwimba, Shivyawata (the CSO for the disabled) provided voter education and advocated for better accessibility of polling centres for PWDs. In Arusha Urban constituency, a few posters targeting the youth titled “*Kijana na Kura yako: Utaratibu wa Kupiga Kura* [Youth and Your Vote: Voting Procedure]” were found in certain locations. Some posters were posted by the Tanzania Youth Vision Association (TYVA) in marketplaces and commuter bus terminals. In Kigoma, a CSO known as Upendo Women Disabled (UWD) was found to engage in providing voter education with a greater focus on persons with disabilities.



*A voter education poster titled “Kijana na Kura yako: Utaratibu wa Kupiga Kura” [Youth and Your Vote: Voting Procedure] at Kilombero commuter bus stand in Levlosi ward, Arusha Urban Constituency.*

During the campaign, REDET LTOs witnessed limited voter education activities targeting special groups in their respective constituencies. As Table 7.5 indicates, 1,830 observers out of 5,131 (36%) witnessed voter education aimed to enhance women’s participation in elections. Only 1,221 observers (24%) witnessed voter education aimed to boost the participation of PWDs.

**Table 7.5: Voter Education to Women, Youth and PWDs**

Question	Yes (%)	No (%)	Total (%)
Have you witnessed any voter education aimed at enhancing women’s participation in the 2020 general elections?	1830 (35.7)	3301 (64.3)	<b>5131 (100)</b>
Have you witnessed any voter education aimed at enhancing youth’s participation in the 2020 general elections?	1779 (34.7)	3352 (65.3)	<b>5131 (100)</b>
Have you witnessed any voter education aimed at enhancing PWD’s participation in the 2020 general elections?	1221 (23.8)	3910 (76.2)	<b>5131 (100)</b>

*Source: REDET Observers’ Field Report, October 2020.*

## 7.6 GENDER CONSIDERATION DURING THE NOMINATION OF CANDIDATES

Did political parties consider gender during the process of nomination of candidates to vie for several posts? Going by empirical observation, the answer to this question is no. Overall, men outnumbered women in almost all the elective posts as aspirants and candidates. In Zanzibar, of the 32 CCM presidential candidates, only five were women (15%).<sup>18</sup> In Lindi Urban, out of 19 aspirants, only three were females, vying for parliamentary seats (15.8%). In Mchinga constituency, out of 21, only four (19%) were females. For the councillorship elections, in Lindi Urban, there were 93 aspirants who picked the nomination forms but only 13 (14%) were females. In Nachingwea, out of 164 aspirants vying for 36 wards, only 28 (17%) were women. In Bukoba urban constituency, CHADEMA had roughly a 14 percent female representation whereas CCM had roughly a 12 percent of aspiring women for councillorship elections.

Only few women won the intra-party competition and so only a few were nominated by NEC to contest for various elective posts. In Lindi urban constituency, for example, out of 75 candidates for councillorship elections, only nine (12%) were females. In Kilwa South, out of 36 nominated candidates, only two were females. In Nachingwea, out of 84 nominated candidates, only five (6%) were females. In Arusha Urban, there were only three (4%) female candidates out of the 74 candidates in the whole constituency who were nominated to run for the councillorship. In Nyamagana, out of 18 CCM councillorship candidates only one was female. In Mbeya Urban, out of 64 councillorship candidates, only six (5.5%) were females. In Ruvuma, out of 186 nominated councillorship candidates in all the four constituencies, only 13 were women.

Implicitly, women still lag far behind men in securing nomination to vie for elective posts. Also, the number of PWDs was quite insignificant across all the political parties. In Kigoma Urban, two female candidates with disabilities who were vying for special seats posts through CCM were unsuccessful as they were unable to attain the required number of votes.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Retrieved from <https://www.malunde.com/2020/07/tamwa-siasa-wanawake.html> on 17th January 2021.

<sup>19</sup> Interview conducted on 26<sup>th</sup> October 2020 with Mr. Mohammad Nshekanabo, Project Coordinator, at UWD offices, Katubuka Ward

### 7.6.1 Nominated Female Presidential Candidates

As Table 7.6 illustrates, male candidates dominated the presidential race. Out of 15 nominated candidates only two (13%) were women. For running mates, the number of nominated female candidates was twice the number of nominated female presidential candidates. For the first time, a political party, Demokrasia Makini, nominated a female candidate for both the presidential and running mate positions.

**Table 7.6: Presidential Candidates for the Union Elections by Gender**

S/No.	Political Party	Presidential Candidate		Running Mate	
		Male	Female	Male	Female
1	CCM	1	0	0	1
2	ADA-TADEA	1	0	1	0
3	NRA	1	0	1	0
4	SAU	1	0	1	0
5	Demokrasia Makini	0	1	0	1
6	NCCR-Mageuzi	1	0	1	0
7	CUF	1	0	0	1
8	ACT-Wazalendo	1	0	1	0
9	ADC	0	1	1	0
10	UPDP	1	0	1	0
11	DP	1	0	0	1
12	CHAUMMA	1	0	1	0
13	AAFP	1	0	1	0
14	UMD	1	0	1	0
15	CHADEMA	1	0	1	0
	<b>Total</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>4</b>

*Source: Compiled from NEC, 2020.*

The two female candidates were nominated by two parties with limited financial resources, which made it difficult for them to wage an effective country-wide campaign.



*Presidential candidate for Demokrasia Makini, Ms Cecilia Augustino Mmanga, campaigns in Mbanga on 13th October 2020 at Mbanga bus stop.*

### **7.6.2 Nominated Female Parliamentary Candidates**

For parliamentary elections, the nomination process in most of the constituencies favoured men over women. As Table 7.7 shows, out of 1,235 parliamentary candidates from all the contesting political parties, women were 291 (23.6%). This is a slight increase over the 2015 election figures when women constituted 19 percent of the parliamentary poll candidates. In Dar es Salaam region, out of 144 candidates, 65 (45%) were women. In the Urban West region of Zanzibar, women constituted 37.5 percent of the 120 parliamentary candidates in the region. Despite the notable increase in the number of women candidates for parliamentary elections that rose from 13 percent in the 2005 elections to 23.7 percent in the 2020 elections, the proportion of women candidates remains far below that of men. In fact, though there was a significant number of women vying for elected positions in the Dar es Salaam region, most of them were for non-parliamentary political seats. In the 2020 elections, CCM, CHADEMA, CUF and ACT-Wazalendo were the most active parties but with comparatively fewer women as candidates. CCM had two female candidates, one in each constituency of Temeke and Segerea, and ACT-Wazalendo had one candidate contesting for the Kigamboni seat. The absence of women candidates was so severe in a few constituencies such as Njombe Urban constituency, where there was no woman nominated to contest for

either parliamentary or councillorship elections.

**Table 7.7: Nominated Parliamentary Candidates by Gender**

S/N	Party	Male	Female	Total	% Female
1	CCM	239	25	<b>264</b>	9.5
2	CHADEMA	150	59	<b>209</b>	28.2
3	ACT-Wazalendo	135	21	<b>156</b>	13.5
4	NCCR-Mageuzi	63	20	<b>83</b>	24.1
5	CUF	113	40	<b>153</b>	26.1
6	TLP	17	8	<b>25</b>	32.0
7	CHAUMMA	22	6	<b>28</b>	21.4
8	ADC	33	15	<b>48</b>	31.3
9	AAFP	15	10	<b>25</b>	40.0
10	NRA	21	8	<b>29</b>	27.6
11	UDP	24	9	<b>33</b>	27.3
12	UPDP	8	13	<b>21</b>	61.9
13	SAU	12	7	<b>19</b>	36.8
14	DP	17	7	<b>24</b>	29.2
15	UMD	3	13	<b>16</b>	81.3
16	ADA-TADEA	22	11	<b>33</b>	33.3
17	MAKINI	32	11	<b>43</b>	25.6
18	NLD	7	2	<b>9</b>	22.2
19	CCK	11	6	<b>17</b>	35.3
		<b>944</b>	<b>291</b>	<b>1,235</b>	<b>23.6</b>

*Source: Computed from NEC, 2020.*

### 7.6.3 Nomination of Women Special Seats

Regarding women special seats, there was no single common approach to nominating for all political parties at all levels. Each political party had its own modality for nominating women for special seats. In CCM, the nomination process for women special seats at the parliamentary level was done at the district level where women representatives from all the CCM branches in the district got an opportunity to vote for a candidate of their choice through preferential polls.



The process was the same at the ward level. For CHADEMA, the nomination of women for special seats, especially at the parliamentary level, was realised through preferential votes by CHADEMA Women Council (BAWACHA) or CHADEMA Youth Council (CHAVITA). The names were then forwarded from the district level to the Executive Committee for final nomination. In some areas CHADEMA used the handpicking method. Other parties used the preferential voting model. However, after the declaration of election results the selection of CHADEMA's women special seats took a different turn, as it will be narrated in section 8.

### 7.7 PARTICIPATION IN ELECTION CAMPAIGNS

Political parties varied in terms of their ability to wage election campaigns in various constituencies. The 2020 general election campaigns attracted all societal groups, especially the youth and women. The attendance of women and youths in election campaigning was relatively higher than that of men. In addition to attending campaign meetings of various political parties, women also played a role as entertainers.



*Choir group entertains attendants at CUF election meeting at Mchinga*



*Women dance at a CCM’s campaign rally in the Kigoma Urban constituency*

REDET observed that the campaign environment was safe for women and other vulnerable groups. As Table 7.8 illustrates, there were few incidents (134 out of 2,892, or 7%) whereby female candidates were attacked or booed at.

**Table 7.8: Treatment and Safety of Women Candidates and Women Party Supporters**

Question	Yes (%)	No (%)	Total (100)
Is the campaign environment safe/secure for women?	2129 (73.5)	768 (26.5)	<b>2897 (100)</b>
Have you witnessed female candidates being insulted/attacked?	134 (6.7)	2758 (93.3)	<b>2892 (100)</b>
Have you witnessed display of instigative and abusive messages aiming at discriminating and/or humiliating a candidate or political party?	429 (2.7)	4702 (97.3)	<b>5131 (100)</b>

*Source: REDET Observers’ Field Reports, October 2020.*

However, there were isolated incidents of violence against women during the elections (VAWE) that were observed in a few districts. In Kigoma Urban, for example, REDET witnessed an incident in a campaign rally whereby a male candidate verbally abused his opponent, a female candidate that she was nominated by her political party because of an alleged sexual favour.<sup>20</sup> In Tabora Municipality, sexist remarks were made by the male CCM candidate against CHADEMA's female candidate, Hawa Mwaifunga, whose husband hails from Arusha. This male candidate campaigned against her claiming that if she was married to a husband who originated from Arusha, then Hawa did not belong to the constituency. He further alluded that, once married, a woman belongs to her husband's homeland and, hence, she had no right to contest in her constituency. Thus, the people of Tabora Municipality were urged "not to let the constituency be led by someone who no longer belongs here."

At a rally at Sokoni Dampo on 18<sup>th</sup> October, Ms Mwaifunga's opponent alleged that she had been caught sleeping with a married man the previous night: "She has not been elected yet and she is grabbing your husbands, what if she is elected? She will steal all your husbands!" These were evidently sexist remarks steeped in patriarchal norms and values. On 22<sup>nd</sup> October during a campaign rally held at *Zahanati ya Ng'ambo*, ACT-Wazalendo candidate, Nassoro Kirumbi Ruti, verbally abused a CCM's female candidate for Kidongo Chekundu ward, saying that she is a *msimbe* (unmarried), therefore, she does not qualify to be a leader.

## **7.8 TREATMENT OF SPECIAL GROUPS ON THE POLLING DAY**

Due to the lack of disaggregated data on the voters, who showed up on the Election Day, it was largely observed that many women and youth were seen in various polling centres. According to the LTOs and STOs reports, the voting environment was generally secure. Asked about whether there were any violence or intimidation against voters in the polling centre, 97 percent of the LTOs and STOs reported that there were no such incidents and 2.2 percent had witnessed such incidents. Also, as Table 7.9 shows, special consideration for priority voting was accorded to special

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<sup>20</sup> ACT-Wazalendo Campaign conducted on 4<sup>th</sup> October 2020 at Mwanga North; councillorship candidate Clayton Chipando

groups including pregnant women, mothers with children and PWDs.

**Table 7.9: Treatment of Special Groups on the Voting Day**

Question	Yes (%)	No (%)	Total (100)
Was the polling centre accessible to PWDs?	2380 (93.2)	173 (6.8)	<b>2553 (100)</b>
Were pregnant women and mothers with children given priority to vote?	2515 (98.5)	38 (1.5)	<b>2553 (100)</b>
Were PWDs given priority to vote?	2506 (98.2)	47 (1.8)	<b>2553 (100)</b>
Were visually impaired voters provided tactile ballot papers?	1697 (66.5)	856 (33.5)	<b>2553 (100)</b>

*Source: REDET Observers' Field Reports, October 2020.*

Overall, out of 29,754,696 registered voters, 15,091,950 (50.7%) voted. Almost half of the registered voters (49.3%) did show up to vote on the polling day. During the 2017 elections, 67 percent of the registered voters voted (NEC Reports, 2016, 2020).

## 7.9 ELECTION RESULTS FOR FEMALE CANDIDATES

REDET observed that election results were tilted in favour of male candidates for presidential, parliamentary and councillorship elections. For parliamentary elections, the number of directly-elected women Members of Parliament marginally increased from 25 in 2015 to 26 in 2020 elections. Table 7.10 shows a list of directly-elected women MPs for the Union elections:

**Table 7.10: Elected Female MPs 2020 Elections**

No	Name	Political Party	Constituency
1	Dr. Tulia Ackson	CCM	Mbeya Urban
2	Ms. Jesca Msambatavangu	CCM	Iringa Urban
3	Ms. Shamsia Mtamba	CUF	Mtwara Rural
4	Prof. Joyce Ndalichako	CCM	Kasulu Urban
5	Eng. Stella Manyanya	CCM	Nyasa
6	Ms. Margareth Sitta	CCM	Urambo
7	Ms. Anna Lupembe	CCM	Nsimbo
8	Ms. Dorothy George	CCM	Temeke
9	Ms. Hamida Abdallah	CCM	Lindi Urban

No	Name	Political Party	Constituency
10	Ms. Maimuna Mtanda	CCM	Newala rural
11	Ms. Angelina Mabula	CCM	Ilemela
12	Ms. Paulina Gekul	CCM	Babati Urban
13	Ms. Bonnah Kamoli	CCM	Segerea
14	Ms. Mwanahamis Kasimu Said	CCM	Magomeni
15	Ms. Jenista Mhagama	CCM	Peramiho
16	Ms. Condester Sichalwe	CCM	Momba
17	Ms. Zubeda Hamisi Shaibu	CCM	Mfenesini
18	Ms. Aida Khehani	CHADEMA	Nkasi North
19	Ms. Salma Kikwete	CCM	Mchinga
20	Ms. Leah Jeremiah	CCM	Meatu
21	Ms. Anne Kilango Malecela	CCM	Same West
22	Ms. Ummu Mwalimu	CCM	Tanga Urban
23	Dr. Ashatu Kijaji	CCM	Kondoa
24	Ms. Maryam Omar Said	CUF	Pandani
25	Ms. Mwantakaje H. Juma	CCM	Bububu
26	Ms. Rehema Migilla	CCM	Ulyankulu

*Source: Compiled from NEC, 2020.*

A significant number of female MPs in the opposition lost their seats in the 2020 elections. Out of 26 directly-elected MPs, 23 were from CCM and only three were from the opposition parties. Moreover, through the legislated affirmative action, 113 women have joined the parliament. Only two political parties have secured special seats for women. The ruling party, CCM secured 94 seats and CHADEMA got 19 seats. Meanwhile, Ms. Samia Suluhu Hassan has retained her position as Vice President of the Union government. The two female former Deputy Speakers have also retained their positions both in the Union Parliament and House of Representatives.

### **7.9.1 Paradox of Women Special Seats in CHADEMA**

In accordance with the law, CHADEMA qualified for 19 positions of women special seats. However, the selection process of women MPs for special seats within CHADEMA encountered a lot of problems because of CHADEMA's stand of not recognising the 2020 election results it dubbed 'fraudulent'. Amidst the

stalemate, the Secretary General of the party, Mr. Mnyika announced that the party would not submit the official list of women for special seats to NEC for nomination. Yet, the CHADEMA's Women Wing leadership decided to continue with the nomination process and selected 19 women for the special seats. The 19 women MPs for special seats were stripped of their party membership after they were sworn in by the Speaker of the National Assembly, Job Ndugai. They include the CHADEMA Women Wing Chairperson, Ms. Halima Mdee and 18 others, namely, Grace Tendega, Esther Matiko, Cecilia Pareso, Esther Bulaya, Jesca Kishoa, Hawa Mwaifunga, Tunza Malapo, Naghenjwa Kaboyoka, Sophia Mwakagenda, Kunti Majala, Anatropia Theonest, Salome Makamba Conchesta Rwamlaza, Agnesta Kaiza, Nusrat Hanje, Asia Mohamed, Felister Njau and Stela Fiyao. All the expelled MPs appealed against the decision. Interestingly, the Speaker of the National Assembly assured them that despite the decision of their party to strip them of membership, he still recognised them as MPs.



*Photo 7: The Chairperson of CHADEMA's Women Wing, Ms. Halima Mdee, being sworn in by Speaker of the National Assembly on 24<sup>th</sup> November, 2020.*

## **7.10 CONCLUSION**

The participation of women, youth and PWDs throughout the electoral cycle during the 2020 general elections in Tanzania remains relatively low with only marginal improvement. Though it is possible to access the gender disaggregated data in the election process, it is still difficult to establish the actual rate of participation of youth and PWDs, especially as aspirants, candidates and elected representatives due to lack of data. Yet, it is important to acknowledge that for the first time since the 1995 multi-party elections, NEC has provided disaggregated data of registered voters by indicating the number of PWDs. This is a remarkable milestone that should be recognised and expanded to include other aspects of the electoral cycle. Moreover, the election environment during campaigns and on the voting day proved to be relatively secure for the participation of the special and vulnerable groups. Although fewer incidents of abuse and insults against women candidates and women party supporters were observed, the findings show the presence of incidents of GBV in certain areas. It is also important to acknowledge that women and youth constitute most of the registered voters for the 2020 general elections. One major weakness that emerged in the study was the inadequacy of voter education tailored specifically for women, youth and PWDs. This might have contributed to the declining trend of the voter turnout during the 2020 elections compared to the 2015 general elections.



## CHAPTER EIGHT

### ZANZIBAR ELECTIONS

#### 8.1 INTRODUCTION

The 2020 election in Zanzibar was poised to be competitive because of notable changes and realignments of electoral actors including political parties and contestants. Since the reintroduction of competitive politics in Zanzibar in 1992, the political showdown was between CCM and the CUF. Competition between them was so stiff that in 1995 and 2010 the winner in the Zanzibar presidential election was determined by less than one percent of the total vote counted. The political configuration was different in 2020. Though CUF's position was waning, ACT-Wazalendo became the dominant opposition party in Zanzibar. In terms of the candidates, Seif Sharif Hamad ran for the sixth time consecutively as an opposition candidate; however, there was a new candidate bearing the CCM flag, namely, Dr. Hussein Ali Mwinyi. The second most important factor, and controversial development that characterised the 2020 Zanzibar elections, was early voting, as provided for by Section 82(1) of the Zanzibar Elections Act, RE 2018.

This chapter explicates REDET's election observation in Zanzibar, covering all the stages of the electoral process. The first part highlights, albeit briefly, the events that set the stage for the 2020 General Elections in Zanzibar whereas the second part covers the nomination process, which was controversial in the Isles. The third part examines campaign issues and events and their implications for the elections whereas the fourth part reflects on the events associated with early voting. The fifth section covers the voting day, vote counting and declaration of results. The final part analyses the situation after the declaration of results. Conclusions and recommendations finally feature. Meanwhile, the certificate of observation is issued by REDET for the Zanzibar elections.



## 8.2 OVERVIEW OF THE POLITICAL CONTEXT PRECEDING THE 2020 ZANZIBAR ELECTIONS

Like previous elections, Zanzibaris cast votes for five candidates on 27<sup>th</sup> and 28<sup>th</sup> October 2020. They voted in the Zanzibar elections for President of Zanzibar and Members of the House of Representatives and Councillors. They also voted for the Union President of the United Republic of Tanzania and Members of Parliament. To understand the context of the 2020 General elections in Zanzibar it is imperative to revisit the major events that happened during the preparations for the elections. One of the most notable events was the annulment of the Zanzibar election results by the ZEC Chairman, Mr. Jecha Salim Jecha, citing many irregularities in the electoral process (TEMCO, 2016). The annulment was done on 28<sup>th</sup> October 2015, only three days after the voting process had been completed. The ZEC Chairman ordered the conduct of fresh elections in early 2016. CUF, which had claimed to have won the 2015 presidential elections, not surprisingly boycotted the re-run elections. Consequently, CCM swept all the seats in Zanzibar following non-CUF participation. This scenario also meant that the CUF could not be a part of the GNU, as it has been since 2010.

For being out of the House of Representatives and the GNU, CUF missed out not only on the opportunity to represent the opposition camp in important decision-making bodies but also it failed to prevent the legal amendments that could hurt it in the 2020 general elections. For example, the Zanzibar Electoral Commission Act, 2017 and the Zanzibar Elections Act, 2018 were passed during this period to repeal the previous laws. There were no major complaints regarding the Zanzibar Electoral Commission Act, 2017, but the new Zanzibar Elections Act, 2018, which repealed the Zanzibar Elections Act, No. 11 of 1984, had provisions for early voting vehemently disapproved by the opposition block in the isles. Section 82(1)-(2) of the Act mandated ZEC to prepare an environment for early voting for those who would be involved in supervising the election including ZEC officials and security personnel, a position confirmed by the ZEC Director, Mr. Thabit Idarous Faina, in an interview with Azam Television on 19<sup>th</sup> September 2019. However, early voters could cast ballots only for the Zanzibar presidency.

Another important event that shaped the 2020 Zanzibar elections was the rise of ACT-Wazalendo and the fall from grace of CUF. Of interest to this chapter is the decision that Prof. Lipumba made on 13<sup>th</sup> June 2020 to reinstate himself as Chairman of CUF, having tendered his resignation ten months before in protest the decision to accept Mr. Lowassa as the presidential candidate for UKAWA. Professor Lipumba's controversial move was blessed by the RPP, who recognized him as a lawful and legitimate chairman of the party in his letter dated 23<sup>rd</sup> September 2016. This move was objected by Seif Sharif Hamad, the then CUF Secretary General and his followers. In 2016, an application was filed by the Registered Board of Trustees of the CUF, seeking for the High Court's order of certiorari, to quash the decision of the RPP, who had recognized Prof. Ibrahim Lipumba. The High Court dismissed the application on 18<sup>th</sup> March 2019, stating that the RPP's letter to recognise Prof. Lipumba as the lawful chairman of the CUF was legally justified.

Immediately after the decision of the High Court, Seif Sharif Hamad and his faithful followers, some of them leaders of CUF, defected to ACT-Wazalendo. Apparently, Mr. Hamad and his diehards had discussed the matter with the ACT-Wazalendo and the party's supreme leader, Zitto Zuberi Kabwe. In his press conference held a day after the High Court's decision, Mr. Hamad confirmed that he had discussed with other leaders of CUF and they had unanimously agreed to look for a different platform to further their political struggles (Said, 2019). The defection of Mr. Hamad to ACT-Wazalendo was the beginning of a mass movement of CUF members in Zanzibar, and particularly Pemba, to ACT-Wazalendo, leaving the CUF considerably weakened. Mr. Hamad was immediately made ACT-Wazalendo's chief advisor and later in January 2020 contested and was elected as the party Chairman. Therefore, ACT-Wazalendo became the de facto main opposition party in Zanzibar supplanting CUF. The analysts project ACT-Wazalendo to do well in all elections for the Zanzibar presidency, parliamentary, HRs and councillors' elections, particularly in Pemba, where a pervasive slogan became "Alipo Tupo" (Where he is we are), implying that they would join whatever political party of Maalim Seif Sharif Hamad.

### 8.3 NOMINATION OF CANDIDATES IN ZANZIBAR

Nomination of candidates in Zanzibar took place at intra-party and EMB levels. In the 2020 General Elections in Zanzibar, three political parties—CCM, ACT-Wazalendo and CHADEMA conducted intra-party nominations through transparent processes that were competitive or semi-competitive. CCM and ACT-Wazalendo had transparent intra-party nomination process organized from the constituency to the national levels.

#### 8.3.1 Nomination of Presidential Candidates in CCM

Nomination of Zanzibar presidential candidate via CCM was likely to attract many aspirants since the two terms of the incumbent, Dr. Ali Mohamed Shein, were coming to an end. That was, indeed, the case as 33 candidates picked the presidential nomination form up. Eventually, one candidate, Hussein Ibrahim Makungu, withdrew from the race. The Zanzibar CCM's Special Committee under the chairmanship of Dr. Ali Mohamed Shein, who is also Vice Chairperson of CCM proposed five names to the CCM's Central Committee in Dodoma for further screening and vetting: Dr. Hussein Ali Mwinyi, Dr. Khalid Salum Mohamed, Mr. Shamsi Vuai Nahodha, Prof. Makame Mbarawa and Mr. Khamis Mussa Omar. CCM's Central Committee endorsed three names and recommended them to CCM NEC: Dr. Hussein Ali Mwinyi, Dr. Khalid Salum Mohammed and Mr. Shamsi Vuai Nahodha. Dr. Hussein Mwinyi emerged victorious, garnering 129 delegate votes (78.6%) and was nominated on 10<sup>th</sup> July 2020. Dr. Khalid Salim received 19 votes (11.6%) whereas Shamsi Vuai Nahodha received 16 votes (9.8%).

#### 8.3.2 Nomination of Parliamentary Candidates in CCM

For CCM, elective political positions were advertised and members were invited to pick and return dully filled out nomination forms as per agreed upon schedule. Forms were reviewed by a district political committee before the recommendations were forwarded to its equivalent at the regional level. The vetted results were further forwarded to the Central Committee, which made the final recommendation to be endorsed by the National Executive Committee. Unlike in the previous elections, CCM witnessed a wave of its party members seeking nomination. Virtually all the

constituencies had over 10 aspirants vying for parliamentary or HR seats. Records were made in Dimani, which had 178 aspirants of the parliamentary seat and 90 contestants for the House of Representatives seat. Councillorship seat attracted 125 aspirants.

### **8.3.3 Nomination of Parliamentary Candidates in ACT-Wazalendo**

ACT-Wazalendo and CHADEMA followed a similar process as CCM. The difference was in the number of aspirants whereby some constituencies saw few members picking the parliamentary nomination forms, hence lowering the level of competition.

### **8.3.4 Nomination by Election Management Bodies and Objections**

#### **8.3.4.1 Presidential Nominations**

After securing nomination in respective political parties, candidates needed to pass the second stage that required nomination by ZEC or NEC for Zanzibar and Union elections, respectively. Nomination by EMBs was final and only candidates who had passed by ZEC and NEC appeared on the ballot papers. Sections 43-45 of the Zanzibar Elections Act, 2018 lists the qualifications for nomination to an elective post in Zanzibar, which are in line with Article 68 of the Zanzibar Constitution, 1984.

#### **8.3.4.2 Objections Against Presidential Nominees**

Section 51(1) of the Elections Act, 2018 allows objections to be raised against candidates seeking nomination on three grounds: First, if the information in the forms does not satisfactorily identify the candidate; second, the candidate has given false information in the nomination form; and third when the nomination form was not filled out or was not submitted in accordance with the legal guidelines. Notably, Section 50 of the Elections Act instructs ZEC or Returning Officers to post all the forms in an open space for 24 hours to invite scrutiny and objections. The law also allows candidates to object to another contestant based on these grounds.

On 10<sup>th</sup> September 2020, ZEC had nominated 16 presidential candidates except the veteran politician, Mr. Hamad. The ZEC Director of Elections informed the

public that the Commission did not nominate Mr. Hamad because there were two objections raised against him regarding his forms. Two days earlier, on 8<sup>th</sup> September 2020, while addressing the ACT-Wazalendo youth conference, Mr. Hamad hinted that two “low profile parties” had been set to raise objections against him so that he could not be nominated for the 2020 elections. Nonetheless, on 11<sup>th</sup> September 2020, ZEC issued Mr. Hamad a certificate, approving his nomination and allowing him to start campaigns.

#### **8.3.4.3 Nomination of the House of Representatives and Councillorship Candidates**

ZEC nominated 251 candidates for the HoR posts. Out of these candidates, 61 (24%) were women. Fewer female candidates (21%) were nominated to contest for the councillorship post, as Table 8.1 illustrates:

**Table 8.1: Nominated HoR and Councillorship candidates**

<b>Position</b>	<b>Male (%)</b>	<b>Female (%)</b>	<b>Total (%)</b>
House of Representatives	190 (76)	61 (24)	<b>251 (100)</b>
Councillors	276 (79)	74 (21)	<b>350 (100)</b>

*Source: Interview with ZEC Officials, February 2021.*

#### **8.3.4.4 Objections Against Nomination of Members of Parliament, House of Representatives and Councillors**

In an unprecedented move, during the 2020 General Elections, ACT-Wazalendo had several of its parliamentary, House of Representatives and councillorship aspirants disqualified, following objections raised by candidates of other political parties. As Table 8.2 illustrates, the leading ground for disqualifications was civil servants not attaching permission letters from their employers. However, REDET noted that Ms. Hasne Abdallah Abeid, an ACT-Wazalendo candidate for the House of Representatives in Bububu constituency, complained that her two months leave without pay had been approved by the Ministry of Agriculture, Natural Resources and Fisheries. ACT-Wazalendo was dealt a huge blow by these disqualifications. Out of 28 cases of disqualifications indicated in Table 8.1, 24 involved ACT-Wazalendo candidates. Narratives of the long-term observers from different constituencies in Zanzibar show that ACT-Wazalendo cried foul play, alleging that the incumbent

CCM and the electoral bodies had colluded to disqualify strong candidates, particularly in Pemba, where ACT-Wazalendo—and CUF before then—enjoyed huge support.

**Table 8.2: Selected Cases of Disqualifications of Candidates**

S/N.	Grounds for disqualification	Political Party Affected (No. of Candidates)	Constituency	Position
1.	Civil servant did not seek permission from employer	ACT-Wazalendo (9)	Nungwi; Bububu; Paje; Wawi; Chonga; Kiwani; Konde	MP (3); HRs (6)
2.	Forms not properly filled	ACT-Wazalendo (4)	Kijini (3); Mtoni (1)	MP (1); HRs (2); Councillor (1)
3.	Discrepancies on age particulars	ACT-Wazalendo (3)	Mahonda (1); Tumbatu (1); Magomeni (1)	HRs (2); Councillor (1)
4.	Did not have the required number of nominators	CHADEMA (1); NRA (1); ACT-Wazalendo (1); NCCR-Mageuzi (1)	Mkwajuni (1); Kwahani (1); Shaurimoyo (2)	Councillors (4)
5.	Cannot read and write	ACT-Wazalendo (2); CCM (1)	Chumbuni (1); Tumbatu (1); Tumbe (1)	HRs (1); Councillor (2);
6.	Name spelling mistake; oversized photo	ACT-Wazalendo (2); CHADEMA (1)	Mkoani (1); Gando (1); Chambani (1)	MP (2); Councillor (1)
7.	District Party Secretary had signed his own nomination forms.	NCCR-Mageuzi (1)	Mkoani (1)	MP (1)
8.	Accused of lying to have a Bachelor while ZEC insisted the candidate has a Master's degree.	ACT-Wazalendo (1)	Wete (1)	HRs (1)
9.	No required attachments in the form	CCM (1)	Mtambwe (1)	HRs (1)

*Source: REDET Observers' Field Reports, October 2020.*

Another common reason for disqualification had to do with faults in the filling out of forms. In a polity that seeks to heal from long-term conflicts such as Zanzibar, such minor mistakes could be corrected to allow the aspirants to contest instead of

disqualifying them on technical grounds.

The general assessment of the nomination process by the electoral management bodies, as indicated in Table 8.3, shows that 62 percent of the REDET observers concluded that the nomination process was generally free and fair, but there were shortcomings that might have worked against fortunes of some candidates. At the same time, out of 50 LTOs only one (2%) indicated that nominations were marred by numerous flaws related to non-compliance with some nominations rules, regulations and code of conduct, management problems and instances of intimidation and favouritism.

**Table 8.3: Assessment of Nominations**

Criteria of Assessment	Marks	Grade	Frequency	Percent
Nominations had a few shortcomings which did not affect the overall outcome of the nomination process. The nomination process was clean, free and fair.	80 - 100%	A	13	26.0
The nomination process was generally free and fair, but still had some shortcomings which might have worked against fortunes of some candidates.	60 - 69%	B	31	62.0
The nomination process permitted free participation of stakeholders (political parties, candidates and voters), but there were many instances of breach of nomination rules and regulations with impunity and there was favouritism that worked against fortunes of some candidates.	50 - 59%	C	5	10.0
Nominations were marred by numerous flaws related to non-compliance of some nominations rules, regulations and code of conduct, management problems and instances of intimidation and favouritism.	40 - 49%	D	1	2.0
Nominations were disrupted or mismanaged to the extent that stakeholders could not accept the nominees. It is like a student who failed an exam.	1 - 39%	E	0	0.0
The conduct of nominations was terrible. There was so much favouritism, foul-play and corruption to the extent that some candidates withdrew or lodged formal complaints. Nominations were an aborted process.	0%	F	0	0.0
<b>Total</b>			<b>50</b>	<b>100.0</b>

*Source: REDET LTOs Report, 2020.*

### 8.3.5 Post-nomination Realignment and Alliances

As noted earlier, ACT-Wazalendo was severely affected by the disqualification of its candidates on varied grounds. REDET observed that CCM had forged a loose alliance with CUF—left reeling by Seif Hamad’s decamping to ACT-Wazalendo—and at times UPDP to the extent that CUF was sarcastically became “CCM-B” to the supporters of ACT-Wazalendo.

For example, when its Nungwi House of Representatives candidate, Hassan Jani Masoud, was disqualified, ACT-Wazalendo rallied support for CHADEMA candidate, Khamis Juma Shomari. Similarly in Chumbuni constituency, ACT-Wazalendo disowned their candidate for the House of Representatives whom they argued had been compromised and pledged their support to the CHADEMA candidate. In Kijini constituency, ACT-Wazalendo suffered the most in terms of disqualifications for three posts, the MP, HRs and councillor’s candidates. ACT-Wazalendo decided to collaborate with CHADEMA to defeat CCM. In Ole and Wawi constituencies where both candidates for the MP seat and HRs were disqualified, ACT-Wazalendo pledged support to CHAUMMA candidates. ACT-Wazalendo’s party leaders in Ole and Wawi constituencies believed that CUF and NRA did not speak the language of the opposition.





*A poster for CHADEMA candidate Khamis Juma Shomari being displayed at the ACT-Wazalendo rally in Kendwa, Nungwi Constituency.*

A similar kind of informal alliance was evident between the top leadership of CHADEMA and ACT-Wazalendo. In early September, while addressing a rally in Unguja, the CHADEMA Union presidential candidate, Tundu Lissu, endorsed Mr. Hamad, declaring that his party's support for him had been an unwavering for the past 35 years and held a great potential of defeating CCM in the October elections. Mr. Lissu endorsed the ACT-Wazalendo's candidate while CHADEMA had nominated Mr. Said Issa Mohammed to contest for the same post in Zanzibar. Given this rapport LTOs witnessed informal collaborations between ACT-Wazalendo and CHADEMA in several constituencies such as Gando, Konde, Kiwani, Chonga and virtually all other constituencies where candidates of ACT-Wazalendo were disqualified. When the ACT-Wazalendo's candidate for the HR position, Juma Duni Haji, a veteran opposition politician in Zanzibar, was disqualified to stand for the HR seat following an objection raised by a Democratic Party candidate, all other candidates from CHADEMA, DP, UPDP and CUF quit the race leaving the CCM

candidate to be elected unopposed. Though CHADEMA did quit the race in protest and in support of Mr. Juma Duni Haji, the withdrawal of CUF, DP and UPDP candidates confirmed the narrative of informal alliances. On 6<sup>th</sup> October 2020, about 600 CCM members joined ACT-Wazalendo during a presidential campaign meeting at Kivunge, Good Hope Grounds.



*Over 500 CCM members defect to ACT-Wazalendo during a campaign rally at Kivunge, Good Hope Grounds in Kijini.*

#### **8.4 CAMPAIGN TRAIL**

Campaigns in Zanzibar were regulated by the legal framework, largely the Electoral Code of Conduct, 2020 and the Zanzibar Elections regulations, 2020 for the Union and Zanzibar elections, respectively. Based on these guiding rules NEC and ZEC issued campaign timetables for each constituency and ward; and the presidential candidates. Assessment of the campaign activities in the 2020 General elections indicates that they were generally characterised as low key. Other competing parties such as CHADEMA, NRA, ADC, AAFP, CUF, NCCR-Mageuzi, UPDP, UDP, and Demokrasia Makini did not launch their campaigns earlier as expected. REDET noted that these political parties were hardly active in the constituencies. Many

political parties claimed that the main reason for delaying or failing to launch their election campaigns in the constituencies was lack of funds.

Only ACT-Wazalendo and CCM launched their campaigns formally. However, it was noted that even these political parties cancelled some of their campaign meetings due to lack of funds. REDET observed that the minimum budget to run a low-key campaign meeting was not less than TZS 500,000. For instance, the cost of hiring a public address system ranged from TZS 200,000 to TZS 250,000. For political parties that did not receive subsidies it was a tall order to raise such amounts of money for the whole campaign period. Consequently, many candidates were unable to organize campaign rallies.

There were several strategies employed by the political parties to cut costs during campaigns. Competing political parties organised joint rallies for a parliamentary, House of Representative and Councillorship candidature. Some noted that many candidates for the councillorship election did not hold independent rallies. Most significantly, candidates for the councillor and even parliamentary positions and the post of the House of Representatives rode their luck via presidential rallies held in their respective wards and constituencies. For that matter, Union presidential campaign rallies and those that were organized for the Zanzibar presidential candidates attracted many people. The candidates in those constituencies and wards were also given an opportunity to canvas votes from the attendees.

Successful campaigns also involve the art of attracting huge crowds. Big rallies are important because they boost morale and indicate the strength of the candidate and acceptability to the electorate. Besides CCM and ACT-Wazalendo, it was a difficult endeavour to attract huge crowds for the other parties except in some isolated constituencies of Mtambile and Pandani in Pemba, where CUF still retained support. Several techniques helped to attract people to the rallies. One technique was inviting artists such as singers of *Taarab* and *Quaswida*, poets and poetess, and dancers who tweaked the Kiswahili styles locally known as *kigodoro* or *singeli*. It was common to see youth performing acrobatics in rallies to impress attendees, or a youth brass band that walks with the attendees from the streets to the campaign rally. These techniques were commonly used by CCM and ACT-Wazalendo CUF

and CHADEMA.



*CCM youth brass band marches to a public campaign meeting at Banda la Taka ground at Madungu Ward in Chake Constituency.*

#### **8.4.1 CCM Presidential Election Campaigns**

CCM presidential election campaigns in Zanzibar were launched at Uwanja wa Demokrasia Kibandamaiti in Unguja on 12<sup>th</sup> September 2020. CCM presidential election campaigns drew attention because of the novelty presented by the candidate. Secondly, the candidate brought new election campaign styles that were not common, such as following different groups of people in marketplaces or in the case of fishermen, at the shore to talk to them, rather than organising campaign rallies. This style was geared more towards listening of the common challenges facing these groups, than giving speeches from podiums, and won Mwinyi some acclaims. Election campaign rallies were only scaled up in the last weeks towards the election.

If elected, Dr. Mwinyi promised to consolidate the Revolution, protect and preserve the Union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar. His areas of priority included strengthening of the blue economy especially deep-sea fishing. On this aspect, he promised the construction of the state-of-art fish port. Again, on the economy he emphasised on fisheries, tourism, manufacturing and agriculture sector. Social

services such as health and education were highlighted where he emphasized on review of curriculum, emphasis on vocational training and scrapping school fees from primary to secondary school levels.

In his CCM political strategy, which attracted a lot of interest to different social groups is their presidential candidate, Dr. Hussein Mwinyi organised meetings with different social, religious and economic groups to listen to their demands and concerns. Dr. Mwinyi met with members of the Diaspora at Park Hyatt Hotel in Stone Town, where he emphasised their potential as partners. Other meeting included interacting with leaders of Unguja-based small-scale fishermen, fish and seaweed farmers; sardine dryers at the village in Tumbatu constituency; and religious leaders of Zanzibar-based churches.



*A village-to-village campaign undertaken by Dr. Hussein Ali Mwinyi at Kiwengwa Kumbaurembo village.*

Dr. Mwinyi also visited different groups such as the PWDs on 9<sup>th</sup> October 2020; religious leaders; seaweed farmers in Urban West and Kiembe Samaki, promising them improvement in access to capital and extension services. He similarly met fishermen and fish vendors in different fishing grounds and markets in Urban West and promised to improve the fishing environment. Specifically, he promised improving markets, freezing and storage activities and facilitating the graduation of small-scale fishermen into large-scale fishermen, capable of embarking on deep-sea fishing.

Furthermore, Dr. Mwinyi held a special meeting with the Maasai whose majority are employed as night watchmen on private premises, promising to protect their rights following the explanation that they were being exploited by employers and not getting recognition by government authorities as having the right to live in Zanzibar. He held a meeting with the business community and discussed concerns relating to taxes, customs, and the performance of the Zanzibar Port by expanding it to the capacity of handling 105 containers from the current 80 container capacity. The same was a case for employees in the public service whose major concern related to better salaries and improved working conditions. He promised them some improvements if he gets elected. These meetings allowed him to focus on the specific and relevant concerns and needs of these voter groups.

#### **8.4.2. CCM Campaign Strategies**

Arts were a useful campaign tool that was used for different purposes related to the campaigns. These include praising the candidate such as *Tanzania ya Sasa* (Today's Tanzania) by Zuhura Othman Soud, famously known as Zuchu, which praises CCM and its Union presidential candidate as having transformed the country during his first term in Office. She referred to the big projects completed, including fly-overs, standard gauge railway, free services, including basic education and health. In the chorus, the artiste sings; '*Jua Lile Literemke Mama, Wapinzani Watetereke Sana*' (literary translated as that the sun should come down, so that the opposition gets disorganised). The song aimed to impress the audience to elect Mwinyi, re-elect President Magufuli and his CCM.

Another song that was heard at all CCM rallies was '*Magufuli Baba Lao*' by Naseeb Abdul Juma, famously known as Diamond Platinum who is a popular Bongo Flava artist.

Though these are just a few cases, there were so many songs by artistes that CCM used during the campaigns to entertain and send campaign messages to the voters. To mention a few, other popular songs were '*CCM Chama la Wana*' (the Party of Peers) by Mzee wa Bwax and '*CCM ile Ileile*' (CCM is the same) by TOT Plus Band, which implied that CCM would not change in terms of its status and performance.

Dr. Mwinyi also came up with different campaign style including that of village-to-village, visits of people in their residences where he talked to them. He also organised sector-specific indoor meetings with different people from different groups. As it was for election campaigns for Union Presidential elections, the use of prominent artistes and celebrities was common. Famous artists and artistes such as Harmonize, Diamond Platinum, and Zuchu helped to attract big audiences including women, youth and children.

#### **8.4.3 Presidential Election Campaigns in ACT-Wazalendo**

ACT-Wazalendo launched its Zanzibar presidential election campaigns on 13<sup>th</sup> September 2020 on the same ground of Demokrasia Kibandamaiti in Unguja, used by CCM a day earlier. What was interesting for ACT-Wazalendo is that they had prepared a separate election manifesto for Zanzibar, which was launched alongside the campaigns. On the cover of the manifesto is the text: “Zanzibar Kwanza Leo na Kesho” (Zanzibar First Today and Tomorrow). It carries a slogan: “Zanzibar yenye Mamlaka Kamili na Maisha ya Raha na Furaha” (Zanzibar with full autonomy and pappy and pleasant life). On the launch day and in subsequent campaign meetings presidential candidate, Maalim Seif Sharif Hamad, insisted that he would make the new constitution his high priority to ensure that Zanzibaris enjoy their basic human rights without discrimination. He promised to make Zanzibar a wealthy country such as Singapore. Moreover, he promised to buy a large ship to ferry cloves directly to foreign markets.

Although ACT-Wazalendo had a new candidate and Zanzibar had a new political party that took over from CUF as the main opposition, the ACT-Wazalendo presidential contestant was not new. Maalim Seif Sharif Hamad had stood as the CUF candidate since the very first multiparty election in 1995 and maintained his candidacy for each of the subsequent elections up to 2015. It was, therefore, interesting to note how campaign strategies and promises would change.

#### **8.4.4 Presidential Election Campaign Strategies of ACT-Wazalendo**

Like CCM, ACT-Wazalendo appeared to have invested heavily in campaigning using the arts including the production of music songs which were not identified



with specific musicians. The songs sounded attractive due to the sweet *Zenji Flava*<sup>21</sup> beats that accompanied the songs. The music borrows and best combines the tastes of hip-hop, *Taarab*, and *qaswida*. One of the popular songs played during campaigns was *Ulipo Tupo* [we are wherever you are], which endorses Maalim Seif to state-house as the only person who can make Zanzibarians independent. As the song plays, the crowds invade the stage and start dancing in a rounding and hand waiving style giving the attendees some bliss moment.

A related *Singeli*<sup>22</sup> music Song by Clayton Chipando, famously known as Baba Levo, '*Maalim Seif Tena*' (Maalim Seif again) elevates the ACT presidential candidate as famous and loved because of his unshakable stand when it comes to the welfare of Zanzibar. It attracts the women and youth and was usually sung in the middle of the speeches attracting the crowds to step in and dance while applauding Maalim Seif as their hero. Standing as a response to Diamond's *Magufuli Baba Lao* during the campaigns was '*Shangilia Ushindi Unakuja*' [Rejoice victory is coming] by B.O.O Mnyama, in which the singer mentions key ACT-Wazalendo figures including Ismail Jusa, Nassor Mazrui, and Yusuph Mansour and proceeds to tell the audience to tell CCM that Maalim Seif the Unbeatable Winner was coming. It is a well-known for the order to the audience requiring them to clap hands, shake flags, and hold hands aloft to signal that Maalim Seif has already won. The song used to arouse a strong feeling among ACT followers and made them dance with vigour while harbouring great hope of winning the elections.

The song that is remembered by any person who attended ACT-Wazalendo campaigns was *Tunataka Nchi Yetu* (we want our country). This song preaches a radical emancipation to the Zanzibarians to demand their country. It begins by citing Article 1 of the Zanzibar constitution, which accords power and authority to the people. It contends that, unfortunately, people are remain poor because the leaders enrich themselves and serve the interests of the superiors from the mainland at the

<sup>21</sup> Branded as *Zenji Flava* to mean Zanzibar Flavour, it explains a hybrid Swahili music genre that uses a combination of the traditional Zanzibarians' *Taarab* music and Bongo Flava and further decorated with the fine Arabic and Indian music tastes to present a parabolic hidden message in a high feeling. This combination arouses the feelings of the song to both the singer and audience and thus encourages group dancing in deep feelings and usually moving in cyclic motions.

<sup>22</sup> Traditionally born in the Tanzanian suburb neighbourhoods, *Singeli* is a quick, breath-taking, and provocative music that combines musical instruments with rarely organized and often repeated words insisting something to the peers and thus sparking energy and intense desire to dance.



expense of the ordinary citizenry. In addition to the entertaining and refreshing tones and beats, the message of the songs played at the ACT-Wazalendo campaigns appeared to provoke the people, especially those who had a feeling of deprivation to treat CCM and the Union as architects of their suffering, thus they should use the ballot box for their redemption.

Apart from *Bongo* and *Zenji Flava* music artistes whose cost is estimated to be high, both CCM and ACT used other forms of art which were either affordable or the artists were readily available among the party supporters. These art forms included *Taarab*, *quaswida* music, and traditional *ngoma* dance from Zanzibar such as Mchikicho, Msewe, and Kibati.<sup>23</sup>



*Acrobatic and gymnastic performances at one of the ACT-Wazalendo campaign rally at Mtambile School grounds.*

#### **8.4.5 Presidential Election Campaigns in Other Political Parties**

The rallies of under-resourced political parties such as CUF were less eventful and allowed candidates to spend more time talking about their policies and why they should be elected. The impact was, however, not far-reaching because of the

<sup>23</sup> Kibati is a fine drum in which a man leads a song by narrating the words audibly and the women who are also dancing reply.

This slow ngoma music allows the group to pitch out the message about what the political party has done and finally prizes the candidate while instructing him/her what to do after being assured that he/she has all the support.

inability of such campaign rallies to attract bigger audiences relative to those of CCM and ACT-Wazalendo. The limited capabilities to hold campaigns at all levels compelled constituency and ward level candidates to rely on other strategies such as door-to-door campaigns, which were difficult to observe. Several campaign slogans were used by the political parties aimed to communicate their policies to the electorate, as captured in Table 8.4.

**Table 8.4: Highlights of Slogans Political Parties Deployed in Zanzibar**

Political Party	Slogan frequently used
ACT-Wazalendo	We are where you are. New Vision; The Choice of the Zanzibar people; a better performing economy and a happy Zanzibar
ADC	The vision for development
CCM	New Zanzibar, new economy, we have done it and we move forward, The future is bright and the future is green
CHADEMA	Transformation and real independency, peoples power, and people cantered development, Freedom, Rights and development
CUF	Equal Rights for all, Rights and happiness for all
NRA	Development for all, Zanzibar for Youths
AAFP	Change is inevitable; development is confidence

*Source: REDET Observers' Field Reports, October 2020.*

**Table 8.5: Campaign Strategies Political Parties Used in Zanzibar**

S/No.	CAMPAIGN STRATEGY	POLITICAL PARTY
1.	Public meetings	CCM, ACT-Wazalendo, CHADEMA, NRA, CUF
2.	Door-to-door	All Parties
3.	From Street-to-street	All parties
4.	Posters and leaflets	CCM, ACT, CHADEMA, CUF, NRA
5.	Bussing/Ferrying of people to campaign meeting	CCM, ACT-Wazalendo, NRA
6.	Art groups	CCM,ACT-Wazalendo, CHADEMA, NRA
7.	Wearing t-shirts and garments with party colours and party flags	CCM, CHADEMA, ACT-Wazalendo
8.	Using cars mounted with Public Address System	CCM, ACT-Wazalendo, CUF, CHADEMA, CHAUMA.

*Source: REDET Observation Reports, 2020*

### 8.4.6 Negative Campaign

REDET observed that election campaigns were generally held in a peaceful manner as reiterated by contestants. However, in constituencies where competition was stiff, instances of negative campaigning were observed. For example, CCM members referred to the ACT-Wazalendo presidential candidate as *Mtu aliyekuja na Jahazi* [meaning Maalim Seif Sharif Hamad is not a Zanzibari but came with a dhow]. On the other hand, the opposition parties, especially ACT-Wazalendo, called the CCM presidential candidate *Mtalii wa Mkuranga*, meaning that Dr. Hussein Mwinyi was a tourist from the Tanzania Mainland constituency called Mkuranga, where he was first elected as Member of Parliament.



*ACT-Wazalendo truck at Kendwa ground in Nungwi displays negative campaigning language (Covid-19 is better than CCM).*

In Malindi and Nungwi, insults and abusive languages against candidates such as “*Tuache kumchagua handsome boy tumchague babu!*” literally meaning, “we will not elect a handsome boy but an old chap or grandparent.” There were also complaints related to the use of abusive language against women. Female candidates

from all political parties and all posts were at the receiving end when came to abusive language aimed at belittling their position and role in leadership, including utterances to the effect that they had failed to manage their marriages and would, therefore, be unable to manage political affairs.



*Busing people by ACT-Wazalendo to a campaign rally at Mahonda*

#### **8.4.7 Busing Supporters to Campaign Grounds**

All the major competing political parties such as CCM, ACT-Wazalendo, CUF and AAFP ferried people to their campaign meetings. In one incident, REDET observed a military-style lorry ferrying people to a CCM campaign venue.



*Members of CCM on the way to a presidential campaign rally at Mnazi Mmoja Ground on 3rd October 2020.*



*A Military-like lorry ferries CCM supporters to the campaign rally in Mnazi Mmoja.*

#### **8.4.8 Election Campaign Misconducts and Violence**

ZEC and its ethics committee took measures to address cases of misconduct of candidates during campaigns. In this regard, campaigns that encouraged lawlessness and violence were heavily censured. In one case, the Zanzibar National Ethics Committee suspended the campaigns of Maalim Seif Sharif Hamad, the ACT-Wazalendo presidential candidate, for five days for inciting violence by urging his supporters to vote on 27<sup>th</sup> October 2020, a day dedicated for early voting, following



a complaint filed by the Demokrasia Makini candidate.

REDET observed a few incidents of violence. For example, on the night of 10<sup>th</sup> October 2020 at around 2.30 am in Kwale Maburani, Ziwani constituency, the CCM office which is near ACT-Wazalendo's office was set on fire by anonymous citizens. Police arrested and detained many suspects. Meanwhile, many people had to be evacuated by security organs and sent to other villages. However, all the suspects were later released and, eventually, life returned to normal in the constituency. On Friday 16<sup>th</sup> October 2020, after the ACT-Wazalendo campaign rally, which was held at Kiuyu Branch A in Micheweni constituency, its supporters left the campaign venue while marching in groups, singing emotionally about their party and candidates. One group passed through a banana field owned by a member of CCM. The owner of the farm tried to block ACT-Wazalendo supporters who refused to obey, leading to a fracas between the farm owner and the group of supporters. Eventually, the group overpowered the farmer and they beat him up. Other people who were around, especially CCM supporters, joined the fracas by attacking the ACT-Wazalendo supporters. The Police intervened a few minutes later. However, damage was already done, with some people injured and had to be rushed to Micheweni hospital for treatment.

As Table 8.6 illustrates, overall election campaigns in Zanzibar were generally free and fair but still had shortcomings which might have worked against fortunes of some stakeholders (political parties, candidates and voters), as attested to by 33 (86%) out of 50 LTOs.

**Table 8.6: Assessment of Election Campaigns in Zanzibar**

Criteria of Assessment	Marks	Grade	Frequency	Percentage
Election campaigns had a few shortcomings which did not affect the outcome of the election. They were clean, free and fair.	80 - 100%	A	13	26.0
Election campaigns were generally free and fair but still had some shortcomings which might have worked against the fortunes of some stakeholders (political parties, candidates and voters).	60 - 69%	B	30	60.0
Election campaigns permitted free participation of stakeholders (political parties, candidates and voters) but there were many instances of the ruling party breaking the rules with impunity, and there was also favouritism that disadvantaged some candidates and their parties.	50 - 59%	C	7	14.0
Election campaigns were marred by numerous shortcomings related to non-compliance of some electoral laws, regulations and electoral code of conduct, management problems, incidences of intimidation and favouritism.	40 - 49%	D	0	0.0
Election campaigns were disrupted or so mismanaged that was not possible to understand what had happened. It is like a student who has failed an exam.	1 - 39%	E	0	0.0
Election campaigns were terribly conducted. There were so many incidences of violence, corruption and provocation to such an extent that some candidates withdrew from the election or took other measures. Election campaign was an aborted process.	0%	F	0	0.0
<b>Total</b>			<b>50</b>	<b>100.00</b>

*Source: REDET Observers' Field Reports, October 2020.*

## 8.5 PARADOX OF THE EARLY VOTING

In Zanzibar, the Elections Act No 11 of 1984 was amended by Act No. 4 of 2018 to allow for advance voting for voters carrying out official elections duties (i.e. returning officer, assistant returning officer, presiding officer, police officer, member or staff of ZEC) and other voters who will be performing peace and security duties on the Election Day.<sup>24</sup> Section 82 (1)-(2) the new Zanzibar Elections Act, 2018, provided for early voting for those who would supervise the electoral process and those who would be deployed as security personnel during elections. Section 82(2) states that early voting will only apply in the Zanzibar presidential election. The list of eligible voters in early voting are those managing elections including returning officers, assistant returning officers, polling assistants, police officers, commissioners and ZEC employees.

Whereas CCM, CUF and ADC had no problem with the early voting arrangement, the main opposition party ACT-Wazalendo did not approve and mounted a fierce campaign against it. Generally, ACT-Wazalendo was suspicious of the early voting process, and charged that it was a scheme by CCM to steal presidential votes from Mr. Hamad. ACT-Wazalendo went through the list of names of the potential voters posted on the polling stations and did not recognise some, alleging that they were of the Mainland origin. They also feared that the list was longer than expected, which alluded to the fact that it was a design to inflate votes in favour of CCM. Finally, ACT-Wazalendo supporters questioned why such arrangements were only being implemented in Zanzibar and not in the Union elections.

In most of their campaign meetings, ACT-Wazalendo candidates urged their supporters to vote on 27<sup>th</sup> October 2020 the date scheduled for early voting. In Mtambile constituency, supporters of the main opposition parties believed to be ACT-Wazalendo and CHADEMA so strongly opposed the early voting on 27<sup>th</sup> October that they placed logs and rocks on the road to block the entrance of trucks distributing ballot papers and other voting materials and equipment. A fight broke out between some sections of the residents of Mtambile constituency and security forces, especially in Mtambile and Kengeja wards. Such confrontations were so violent that at least five people were injured.

<sup>24</sup> Article 82 (1) & (2) of the Elections Act No. 11 of 2018 which was assented into law on 16<sup>th</sup> January, 2018. The provision applies only on General Elections and Presidential By-elections.





*Rocks and logs placed on the road at Kengeja ward in Mtambile constituency to prevent ZEC officials from distributing voting materials on 27<sup>th</sup> October 2020.*

In Ziwani constituency, the REDET LTO noted that ZEC used military trucks to deploy election officers and distribute materials during the night before the early polls of 27<sup>th</sup> October 2020. Teargas and other weapons were used to disperse supporters of ACT-Wazalendo, who had gathered around various polling stations. Tensions persisted across Ziwani constituency until 30<sup>th</sup> October 2020 and it might have discouraged voters from going to the polling station on 28<sup>th</sup> October 2020. Moreover, on the early voting day some election observers from FAYCO were held for some time by the Police Force in Ziwani, who claimed that the observers lacked proper identification, as their IDs did not have the NEC emblem (Ziwani LTO's Report, October 2020). In Ole constituency in Pemba, REDET noted that violence led to the death of five people; with more than 10 others injured (Ole LTO's Report, October 2020).

ACT-Wazalendo top leaders in Zanzibar, including Mr. Hamad and their supporters, who were alleged to have mobilised the people to come out to vote, were arrested. During the arrest, the security apparatuses used force, hence causing a fracas among the people in many streets of both Unguja and Pemba. In Unguja, REDET observed that the early voting proceeded more peacefully than in Pemba, although there were a few blasts of tear gas heard around the streets to disperse all forms of gatherings.

Generally, REDET noted several anomalies related to the early voting exercise. First, the exercise was shrouded in opaqueness—there was no transparency. For example, the Ole constituency election centre was transferred to Chake Chake constituency (Michakaeni School) without notice. Second, neither political party agents nor observers could not enter the polling stations. Third, some polling centres were arbitrarily suspended while voting was underway without notice to political parties. Fourth, although there was only one polling centre in every constituency, it was not made public. By 9:00 am, some political parties and their agents were in the dark about the location of the polling stations.

## 8.6 VOTING, VOTE COUNTING AND DECLARATION OF RESULTS

### 8.6.1 Voting

The main Election Day in Zanzibar was Wednesday, 28<sup>th</sup> October 2020, preceded by the early voting a day earlier. As Table 8.7 illustrates, voting started on time and only in three of the 50 polling centres observers where started from 8.00 onwards. Before voting began, the sealed ballot boxes for the Zanzibar presidential election, with votes cast on 27<sup>th</sup> October were shown to the party agents to ensure that no one had tampered with them. Votes cast on 27<sup>th</sup> October were to be counted with the votes cast on 28<sup>th</sup> October 2020. Boxes for the Members of the House of Representatives and Ward Councillors with ballot boxes for the Union President and a Member of Parliament were also shown to those present in the polling stations to verify that they were empty and sealed with numbered seals.

**Table 8.7: Commencement of Voting**

What time did voting begin in your polling station?	Frequency	Percentage
From 7:00 am to 7.30 am	43	86.0
From 7:31 am to 8:00 am	4	8.0
From 8:01 am onwards	3	6.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>100.0</b>

*Source: REDET Observers' Field Reports, October 2020.*

Concerning voting materials, as Table 8.8 illustrates, REDET observed that all voting materials were largely available as per the arrangement with no major shortage was reported. It was reported that most of the voting materials had been distributed a day before and, therefore, allowing voting to commence on time on the voting day.

**Table 8.8: Adequacy, Arrangement and Security of Voting Materials**

Question	Frequency (%)		Total (100)
	Yes	No	
Were there any missing voting materials in your polling station?	4 (8)	46 (92)	<b>50 (100)</b>
Were ballot papers empty and sealed ahead of voting?	44 (88)	6 (12)	<b>50 (100)</b>
Did the arrangement of the polling station assure secrecy of ballot?	48 (96)	2 (4)	<b>50 (100)</b>
Were there uniformed police or security officers at the polling station?	50 (100)	0 (0)	<b>50 (100)</b>

*Source: REDET Observers' Field Reports, October 2020.*

### 8.6.2 Vote Counting

Vote counting in many polling stations started immediately after the last person had voted. As the number of voters per polling station was not big, many people had voted by 4.00 pm, which was the last time set for voting, as Table 8.9 illustrates:

**Table 8.9: Commencement of Vote Counting**

What time did vote counting begin in your polling station?	Frequency	Percentage
From 4:00 pm to 4.30 pm	21	42.0
From 4:31 am to 5:00 pm	9	18.0
From 5:01 am onwards	20	40.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>100.0</b>

*Source: REDET Observers' Field Reports, October 2020.*

Table 8.10 summarises REDET's observation of the vote counting exercise. Generally, vote counting was conducted by officials empowered to do so by the

law. There were no intimidation or interruption observed. However, data shows that disputes over undecided votes went unresolved for a large part.

**Table 8.10: Arrangements and Procedures in the Vote Counting Centres**

Question	Frequency (%)		Total (100)
	Yes	No	
Were those inside the vote counting centre only those allowed by law?	46 (92)	4 (8)	<b>50 (100)</b>
Was there anybody who intimidated or disturbed presiding officers while vote counting was under way?	4 (8)	46 (92)	<b>50 (100)</b>
Was there any political party agent who repudiated the election results?	11 (22)	39 (78)	<b>50 (100)</b>
Were disputes over undecided votes resolved to the satisfaction of all political party agents?	39 (78)	11 (22)	<b>50 (100)</b>

*Source: REDET Observers' Field Reports, October 2020.*

At Kiungani in Nungwi constituency, with 13 polling stations located in area polling centre, the counting process never took off because violence erupted in the neighbourhood. After the voting process had ended, it was alleged that polling agents from opposition parties who stayed outside had sent messages to opposition supporters alleging vote rigging even before the vote counting had started, sparking violence. Tyres were set ablaze and rocks to block all road entrances to the polling stations. In response to the riot, plain-clothed and armed militias, infamously known as “Zombies or Janjaweed”, fought with rioters in the streets before the police and the army intervened. Police used tear-gas to disperse the crowds of rioters who had wanted to invade the polling stations. Observers were evacuated to safe places by the army and taken to North A District headquarters. Given the circumstances, observers could not observe the counting and tallying of votes, which took place at Gamba. However, the vote counting in other polling stations in Nungwi constituency took place in respective polling/counting stations except for Kiungani and Bandakuu where there were riots.



*Rocks used by rioters to block entry to polling stations at Hamburu in Nungwi Constituency.*

### 8.6.3 Declaration of Results

According to the law vote counting must take place at the polling station and, thereafter, the results should be posted outside the polling centre. This was done to a large extent, although in almost half of all the polling stations observed, presidential, parliamentary and councillorship election results were not posted outside the polling stations as required by the law, as shown in Table 8.11:

**Table 8.11: Posting of Election Results**

Question	Frequency (%)		Total (100)
	Yes	No	
Were the Zanzibar presidential election results posted outside the polling station?	24 (48)	25 (52)	<b>50 (100)</b>
Were the House of Representatives election results posted outside the polling station?	29 (58)	18 (36)	<b>47 (94)<sup>1</sup></b>
Were councillorship election results posted outside the polling station?	32 (64)	18 (36)	<b>50 (100)</b>

*Source: REDET Observers' Field Reports, October 2020.*

REDET also wanted to establish the reaction of the people to the election results. Table 8.12 indicates that people were generally indifferent to the electoral results, meaning that they did not show any signs of emotions.

**Table 8.12: Acceptance of Election Results**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage
People were incredibly happy with election results	6	12
People were incredibly angry with election results	9	18
People were indifferent to election results	35	70
<b>Total</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: REDET Observers' Field Reports, October 2020.

Election results were also received with mixed reaction, with some candidates accepting them right away whereas others disputed them. As Table 8.13 illustrates, acceptance rates ranged from 50 to 54 percent of all election results observed.

**Table 8.13: Whether Contestants Accepted Election Results**

Issue	Frequency			
	Yes (%)	No (%)	NA (%)	Total (%)
Did defeated councillorship contestants accept election results?	27 (54)	12 (24)	11 (22)	<b>50 (100)</b>
Did defeated parliamentary contestants accept election results?	28 (56)	15 (30)	7 (14)	<b>50 (100)</b>
Did defeated HoR contestants accept election results?	27 (54)	12 (24)	11 (22)	<b>50 (100)</b>
Were there any violent incidents after announcement of election results	5 (10)	37 (74)	8 (16)	<b>50 (100)</b>

Source: REDET Observers' Field Reports, October 2020.

Results were declared at different levels. Those for councillorship election were declared at the ward level; parliamentary and House of Representative results were declared at the constituency level; and presidential results were announced at the national level by ZEC. Results showed that ACT-Wazalendo won only four parliamentary seats and four seats for the House of Representatives. For presidential elections Dr. Hussein Mwinyi of CCM got a landslide victory by garnering 380,402 votes (76.3% of total votes cast) against Maalim Seif Sharif Hamad of ACT-Wazalendo who scored 99,103 votes (19.9% of total votes cast).

REDET's assessment of the voting, vote counting and declaration of results

contained in Table 8.14 show that almost 72 percent of the LTOs believed that the exercise was peacefully conducted but with a few cases of irregularities. Still five out of 50 LTOs (10%) concluded that the exercise was so disrupted or mismanaged that it was difficult to understand what had transpired.

**Table 8.14: Assessment of Voting, Vote Counting and Declaration of results**

Criteria of Assessment	Marks	Grade	Frequency	Percentage
Voting, vote counting and declaration of results had a few shortcomings which did not affect the overall results of the elections. It was clean, free and fair.	80 - 100%	A	12	<b>24.0</b>
Voting, vote counting and declaration of results were generally free and fair but still had some shortcomings which might have worked against fortunes of some stakeholders (political parties, candidates and voters).	60 - 69%	B	24	<b>48.0</b>
Voting, vote counting and declaration of results permitted free participation of stakeholders (political parties, candidates and voters) but there were many instances in which the ruling party broke rules with impunity, and there was favouritism that worked against some candidates and their parties.	50 - 59%	C	5	<b>10.0</b>
Voting, vote counting and declaration of results were marred by numerous flaws related to non-compliance of some electoral laws, regulations and code of conduct, management problems and instance of intimidation or favouritism.	40 - 49%	D	4	<b>8.0</b>
Voting, vote counting and declaration of results were so disrupted or mismanaged that it was difficult to understand what had happened. It is like a student who has failed an exam.	1 - 39%	E	5	<b>10.0</b>
Voting, vote counting and declaration of results was very terrible. There were so many incidences of violence, corruption and provocation that some candidates withdrew from the election or took other measures. It was an aborted process.	0%	F	0	<b>0.0</b>
<b>Total</b>			<b>50</b>	<b>100.0</b>

*Source: REDET Observers' Reports, October 2020.*

## 8.7 POST-ELECTION EPISODES IN ZANZIBAR

The election results were not received well by ACT-Wazalendo and CHADEMA whereas other opposition parties in the Isles congratulated the winner, Dr. Hussein Mwinyi. National leaders of the two parties (ACT-Wazalendo and CHADEMA) called a press conference to express their displeasure in the way the elections were conducted and declared that they did not recognise the 2020 General Elections and the results. Through the press conference they also called their supporters to demonstrate endlessly in the quest to demand their democratic rights. Notably, on 29<sup>th</sup> October 2020, Mr. Hamad and 27 others, including ACT-Wazalendo's Vice Chairman Juma Duni Haji and Ismail Jussa Ladhu were arrested by the Police. Speaking to the media, Mr. Awadhi Juma, the Urban West Regional Police Commander, said they had to arrest them because they held unlawful demonstrations, which could lead to breach of peace. The demonstrators including Mr. Hamad were released at around 8.00 pm on bail with a condition that they should report regularly to the police station.

Meanwhile, Article 9 (3) of the Zanzibar Constitution provides for a government of National Unity in Zanzibar and Article 39 (2) obliges the Zanzibar President to appoint the First and Second Vice Presidents seven days after taking the Oath of Office. As the Second Vice President comes from the President's party, sub-article 39 (3) provides that the First Vice President, should come from a party that came second in the presidential elections unless that party failed to get 10 percent of the presidential votes. If the President is elected unopposed, the First Vice President will be appointed from a party that came second in the number of seats in the House of Representatives. A week after Dr. Hussein Mwinyi had taken the Oath of Office; journalists quizzed him over the position of First Vice President. His response was that he had written a letter to ACT-Wazalendo, a party legally entitled to nominate the First Vice President.

On 10<sup>th</sup> November 2020, *Mwananchi* newspaper reported that the ACT-Wazalendo Chairman, Mr. Hamad had informed them that the party was considering whether they should join the GNU. The ACT-Wazalendo joined the GNU on 6<sup>th</sup> December 2020, when President Hussein Mwinyi appointed Mr. Seif Sharif Hamad to the



position of First Vice President in the Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar. On 7<sup>th</sup> December 2020, Dr. Mwinyi appointed Nassor Ahmed Mazrui, the Deputy Secretary General of the party and Omar Sid Shaaban, the party legal officer, as members of the House of Representatives. The relationship of the two parties in Zanzibar improved as Mr. Hamad talked positively about the Zanzibar Revolution as the polity was preparing to commemorate the event on 12<sup>th</sup> January 2021. There were also programmes that involved the co-operation of the two parties in Zanzibar towards commemoration of the 57<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Zanzibar Revolution. Most importantly, Mr. Hamad alongside Dr. Mwinyi visited Dr. John Magufuli, President of the United Republic of Tanzania at his Chato hometown on 14<sup>th</sup> January 2021. Dr. Magufuli commended the two Zanzibar leaders for agreeing to work together for a better Zanzibar and he pledged his full support to them.

## **8.8 OVERALL ASSESSMENT OF THE ZANZIBAR ELECTION**

The general assessment of the Zanzibar elections, as indicated in Table 8.15, most of the LTOs (28 out of 50, or 56%) note that the electoral process was generally free and fair but still had shortcomings which might have worked against fortunes of some stakeholders. Out of 50 LTOs, 10 (20%) opined that the electoral process permitted free participation of stakeholders although there were many instances of the ruling party breaking rules with impunity and there was favouritism that inevitably disfavoured and disadvantaged some candidates and their parties. Consequently, the Zanzibar 2020 elections was given a **Free but not Fair Certificate** because the massive disqualifications of opposition candidates on unjustifiable grounds and without regard to the existing electoral laws, and the actions of election officials, who acted with impunity, might have affected the fortunes of some political parties and candidates. The proceedings of the early vote were also not transparent whereas the votes had impacts on the outcome of the Zanzibar presidential election.

**Table 8.15: Overall Assessment of the Zanzibar Elections**

Criteria of Assessment	Marks	Grade	Frequency	Percentage
The electoral process had few shortcomings which did not at all affect the overall results of the elections. Overall the elections were clean, free and fair and reflected the free expression of the will of the electorates.	80 - 100%	A	10	20
The electoral process was generally free and fair but still had some shortcomings which might have worked against the fortunes of some stakeholders (political parties, candidates and voters).	60 - 69%	B	28	56
The electoral process permitted free participation of stakeholders (political parties, candidates and voters) but there were many instances where the ruling party broke rules with impunity and there was favouritism that worked against some candidates and their parties.	50 - 59%	C	8	16
The electoral process was marred by numerous flaws related to non-compliance of some electoral laws, regulations and code of conduct, management problems and instances of intimidation and favouritism.	40 - 49%	D	3	6
The electoral process was so disrupted or mismanaged that it is not possible to understand what had happened. It is like a student who has failed an exam.	1 - 39%	E	1	2
The electoral process were terribly conducted. There were so many incidences of violence, corruption and provocation to such an extent that some candidates withdrew from the election or took other measures. The entire election was an aborted process.	0%	F	0	0
<b>Total</b>			<b>50</b>	<b>100</b>

*Source: REDET Observers' Field Reports, October 2020.*

## **8.9 CONCLUSION**

Zanzibar elections were held amid realignments in political parties and a blend of new candidates and veteran politicians, especially in the presidential race. Having joined the GNU in 2010, CUF, the main opposition political party in Zanzibar, pulled out of the GNU due to disagreement with the 2015 election results, and boycott of the re-run election. The aftermath of the 2015 election also left CUF in protracted conflict following the exit and re-entry of its Chairperson, Prof. Ibrahim Lipumba. The eventual recognition of Prof. Lipumba by the RPP and the court decision in his favour pushed Maalim Seif Sharif Hamad and his faction to join ACT-Wazalendo. Although early voting sparked controversy and became a source of violence, eventually ACT-Wazalendo agreed to take up their position in the GNU and, thus, cooling temperatures in Zanzibar which was raising after the party had taken a more radical approach in decrying the election results and withdrawing their support to the government.

## CHAPTER NINE

### ELECTION DAY AND OVERALL ASSESSMENT OF THE 2020 ELECTIONS

#### 9.1. INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, we assess the critical day of the 2020 General Elections in Tanzania involving voting, vote counting and declaration of results. This will be followed by the overall assessment of the 2020 elections. The chapter is divided into 12 main parts starting with this introduction. Subsequent chapters provide details of voting, vote counting and declarations of results; security arrangements in the polling stations; post-election episodes and the overall assessment of the 2020 General Elections in Tanzania; and, finally, the conclusion.

#### 9.2 OPENING, ELECTION MATERIALS AND CLOSING OF POLLING STATIONS

##### 2.9.1 Commencement of Voting

The election-day was set for Wednesday 28<sup>th</sup> October 2020, which was unprecedented in Tanzania since it was the first time ever that elections were held mid-week. The Tanzania government announced the voting day a public holiday to enable as many electorates as possible to participate in the voting exercise without any hindrances such as going for worship as was the case with Sunday voting. This was a welcome move by NEC as one of the perennial complaints has been that setting aside Sunday as a voting day denied some people the right to vote, as they would be attending prayers.

Voting was scheduled to commence at 7.00 am and proceed until 4.00 pm, meaning that polling stations had to be open and set ready for this exercise. REDET observation showed that 90 percent of all polling stations opened on time whereas five percent of the polling stations opened from 8.00 am onwards, as Table 9.1 illustrates:

**Table 9.1: Opening of Polling Stations**

Time range	Frequency	Percentage
7.00 am-7.30 am	2,387	90.6
7.31 am-8.00 am	116	4.4
8.01 and above	133	5.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>2,636</b>	<b>100.0</b>

*Source: REDET Observers' Field Reports, October 2020.*

Delay in beginning of voting was caused by several reasons. For instance, Polling Station No. 1984802 at Seliani-2 in Olevolos Village, Kimnyaki Ward, Arumeru West, was opened at 7.20 am because political party agents arrived at the polling station without Form No. 14. In other cases as it was observed in Kibamba, the polling stations at Mbezi Luis Ward Executive Office were shifted in the last minute to another location about two kilometres away, hence making it necessary for NEC to erect temporary sheds. This also delayed the beginning of voting for about 15 minutes.

In many polling stations across the country, it was established that there were no long queues of voters and, generally, voting proceeded smoothly. Prior to casting their ballots, voters were guided by the following steps: (a) voters checked their names posted outside the polling station or via their mobile phones; (b) verification of voters' IDs; (c) handing over three stamped and folded in the correct manner the ballot papers to eligible voters after separating them from their respective counterfoil; (d) voting in the designated ballot booth; and (e) placing the three ballot papers in respective ballot boxes (blue lid for Presidential, black lid for Parliamentary and white lid for Councillorship candidates); and (f) marking the voters' fingers with indelible ink.

### **9.2.2 Adequacy and Security of Voting Materials**

As Table 9.2 illustrates, election materials were adequate in most of the polling stations (2,495; 94.6%), save only for a few polling stations that experienced a shortage of some materials. Ballot boxes were empty at the time of voting, although in very few polling stations (52; 2%) election officials did not show them to voters

to ascertain that they were, indeed, empty. Arrangement of polling stations ensured the secrecy of ballot in many polling stations.

**Table 9.2: Adequacy, Arrangement and Security of Voting Materials**

Issue	Frequency (%)		
	Yes	No	Total
Were there any missing voting materials in your polling station?	141 (5.4)	2,495 (94.6)	<b>2,636 (100)</b>
Were ballot papers empty and sealed ahead of voting?	2,584 (98.0)	52 (2.0)	<b>2,636 (100)</b>
Did the arrangement of the polling station assure secrecy of ballot?	2,559 (97.1)	77 (2.9)	<b>2,636 (100)</b>
Were there uniformed police or security officers at the polling station?	2,578 (97.8)	58 (2.2)	<b>2,636 (100)</b>

*Source: REDET Observers' Field Reports, October 2020.*

Overall, NEC made sufficient security arrangements in the polling stations as it was observed in 98 percent of the polling stations whereby uniformed police officers and other security personnel were present.

### 9.2.3 Setting, Accessibility and Handling of Voters

REDET also wanted to establish whether the voting process was as smooth as possible through the arrangement of personnel and materials. It wanted to ascertain if the polling stations were accessible to PWDs, there were any signs of campaigns outside the polling stations, and any registered voters with ID cards who were refused to vote. Table 9.3 summarises the results:

**Table 9.3: Setting, Accessibility and Handling of Voters**

Observation	Frequency (%)		Total (100)
	Yes	No	
Was the polling station accessible to PWDs?	2,380 (93.2)	173 (6.8)	<b>2,553 (100)</b>
Were there any signs of campaigns, including campaign materials near the polling station?	86 (3.4)	2,467 (96.6)	<b>2,553 (100)</b>
Were registered voters' names missing in the PNVR?	897 (35.1)	1,656 (64.9)	<b>2,553 (100)</b>

Were there any incidents of violence, intimidation or humiliation against Presiding Officers?	83 (2.3)	2,470 (96.8)	<b>2,553 (100)</b>
Were there any incidents of violence, intimidation or humiliation against voters?	56 (2.2)	2,497 (97.8)	<b>2,553 (100)</b>
Were there any groups of people 200 metres from the polling stations?	389 (15.2)	2,164 (84.8)	<b>2,553 (100)</b>
Was voting suspended or postponed for any reason?	74 (2.9)	2,479 (97.1)	

*Source: REDET Observers' Field Reports, October 2020.*

It was noted that voters, who had lost their IDs, used in lieu other identity such as the driving licence, passport, or the national Identity Card to enable them to vote. In most instances, disabled voters were assisted by people of their choice who had accompanied them for that purpose. However, in a few cases disabled voters, who were unaccompanied, were assisted by people randomly chosen from the queue. But for the disabled voters, all other voters singly entered the voting booths. The atmosphere outside the polling stations was very calm and there seemed to be no signs of inducements and/or intimidation. In many cases, there were no observed incidents of violence, either.

Voting procedures gave preferential treatment to senior citizens, expectant women and PWDs. The arrangement where there were two queues for male and female voters was observed in all polling stations in Zanzibar and, selectively, on the Tanzania Mainland.



*CHAUMMA presidential candidate, Mr. Hashim Rungwe, casts his vote in Kinondoni, Dar es Salaam.*



*CCM presidential candidate, John Pombe Magufuli, accompanied by the First Lady, Ms. Janeth Magufuli, in a queue waiting for his turn to vote in Chamwino constituency, Dodoma.*



### 9.2.4 Closing of Polling Stations

Many polling stations closed at 4.00 pm as per NEC directive. There were very few people waiting to vote at the time of closing the polling stations. As shown in Table 9.4, very few people were standing in queues waiting to vote at 4.00 pm. As a result, NEC was not forced to extend the voting time as in previous polls.

**Table 9.4: Voters Waiting to Vote at the Time of Closing**

How many voters were in the queue waiting to vote at 4.00 pm?	Frequency	Percentage
No people	1711	67.0
1-4	601	23.6
5-9	80	3.1
10 and more	161	6.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>2553</b>	<b>100.0</b>

*Source: REDET Observers' Field Reports, October 2020.*

Furthermore, those who were in the queue at the time of closing of polling stations in many cases voted without hindrance. Overall, very few people were not allowed to vote while already at the polling station as observed in 945 polling stations out of 2,553 (37%).

**Table 9.5: Were Voters in the Queue Allowed to Vote?**

Question	Frequency (%)		Total (100)
	Yes	No	
Were voters in queue at 4.00 pm allowed to vote?	1608 (62.9)	945 (37.2)	<b>2553 (100)</b>
Was there any voter who could stand in the queue after 4.00 pm?	111 (4.4)	2442 (95.7)	<b>2553 (100)</b>

*Source: REDET Observers' Field Reports, October 2020.*

Table 9.6 shows that by 4.00 pm 93 percent of all the voters had already voted. Only three percent of the voters were still at the polling stations by 5.00 pm and above waiting to vote.

**Table 9.6: When did the last voter vote?**

Time range	Frequency	Percentage
4:00-4:30 pm	2,381	93.3
4:31-5:00 pm	91	3.6
5.00 pm and above	81	3.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>2,553</b>	<b>100.0</b>

*Source: REDET Observers' Field Reports, October 2020.*

A few shortcomings were reported by REDET observers in the field including an incident in Masasi Urban, Nyasa ward where a man was caught with seven fake votes already cast for CCM parliamentary and presidential candidate that he intended to put in the ballot boxes. At Matawale ward, Mpekeso I polling station a woman said to be CCM Branch Secretary, Ms. Asumini Ally, was caught with 16 fake votes at around 1:00 pm all in favour of CCM candidates.

### 9.3 VOTE COUNTING, TALLYING AND DISPLAY OF RESULTS AT THE COUNTING STATION

Vote counting started in each polling station immediately after the last person had voted. All results for presidential, parliamentary and councillorship elections had to be posted outside the polling station and a copy of the results availed to political party agents. As Table 9.7 illustrates, in half of all the polling stations observed vote counting started at 4.00 pm immediately after the voting time had elapsed. Only in 564 (22%) polling stations observed, did the vote counting start after 5.00 pm.

**Table 9.7: Time for beginning and concluding voting**

Time range	Frequency	Percent
4.00-4.30 pm	1,237	48.9
4.31-5.00 pm	727	28.8
5.01 onwards	564	22.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>2,528</b>	<b>100.0</b>

*Source: REDET Observers' Field Reports, October 2020.*

As Table 9.8 indicates, vote counting was undertaken largely as per the law. Except for a small proportion, all the people inside the polling stations were those allowed by law. There were few cases of intimidation or disturbance affecting POs. Disagreements on disputed votes were resolved amicably.

**Table 9.8: Arrangements and Procedures in the Vote Counting Centres**

Question	Frequency (%)		Total (100)
	Yes	No	
Were those inside the vote counting centre only those allowed by law?	2,501 (98.9)	27 (1.1)	<b>2,528 (100)</b>
Was there anybody who intimidated or disturbed presiding officers while vote counting was under way?	79 (3.1)	2,449 (96.9)	<b>2,528 (100)</b>
Was there any political party agent who repudiated the election results?	100 (4.9)	2,428 (96.1)	<b>2,528 (1000)</b>
Were disputes over undecided votes resolved to the satisfaction of all political party agents?	2,380 (94.2)	148 (5.9)	<b>2,528 (100)</b>
Were presidential election results posted outside the polling station?	2,208 (87.3)	320 (12.7)	<b>2,528 (100)</b>
Were parliamentary election results posted outside the polling station?	2,201 (87.1)	327 (12.9)	<b>2,528 (100)</b>
Were councillorship election results posted outside the polling station?	2,223 (87.9)	305 (12.1)	<b>2,528 (100)</b>

*Source: REDET Observers' Field Reports, October 2020.*

REDET also wanted to establish the time it took for counting the votes to be finished and election results posted outside the polling station. Table 9.9 shows that in 40 percent of all polling stations observed, election results were posted within 40 minutes after the end of the time allocated for voting. In any case within one hour after conclusion of voting, the election results had been posted outside many of the polling stations.

**Table 9.9: Duration of Vote Counting and Posting of Election Results**

How long did it take for election results to be posted outside the polling station after the end of the voting exercise?	Frequency	Percent
Immediately (1-30 minutes)	1007	39.8
30-60 minutes	670	26.5
More than one hour	851	33.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>2528</b>	<b>100.0</b>

*Source: REDET Observers' Field Reports, October 2020.*

Table 9.10 shows the reaction of people to the election results. Generally, there were mixed feelings, with almost half of the people happy and another half indifferent. In some areas REDET observed that some people were surprised by the results. In fact, there was general disbelief as they had expected fierce competition, especially between the front runners but instead CCM registered a landslide victory for both the CCM presidential and parliamentary elections.

**Table 9.10: Reaction of People on Election Results**

How were the election results posted outside the polling station received?	Frequency	Percent
People were incredibly happy	1374	54.4
People were incredibly angry	88	3.5
People were indifferent	1066	42.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>2528</b>	<b>100.00</b>

*Source: REDET Observers' Field Reports, October 2020.*

Corruption and use of money to induce actors in election could happen and jeopardise the whole vote counting process. However, as Table 9.11 shows, REDET did not observe money being used in this fashion:

**Table 9.11: Use of Money to Induce Voters, Presiding Officers or Party Agents**

Question	Frequency (%)		Total (100)
	Yes	No	
Did you observe money being used to induce voters?	20 (0.8)	2508 (99.2)	<b>2528 (100)</b>
Did you observe money being used to induce presiding officers?	9 (0.4)	2519 (99.6)	<b>2528 (100)</b>
Did you observe money being used to induce political party agents?	13 (0.5)	2515 (99.5)	<b>2528 (1000)</b>

*Source: REDET Observers' Field Reports, October 2020.*

#### 9.4 POLICING AND SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS

Elections can result in tension. Therefore, security needs to be bolstered to ensure the safety of all the parties concerned. Many polling stations had an adequate number of security personnel for this purpose. Security personnel comprised largely of the police, although people's militia and national service guards were also used. Many of the security personnel were not armed were behaved friendly but watchful. In other places, the security personnel were not as so friendly. For instance, in Wete the presence of heavy security seemingly intimidated the voters. For example, REDET witnessed an average of 10 security personnel at Jadida and Mitiulaya School.

In Unguja North, security personnel engaged in suspicious acts. REDET observed that at around 4.15 pm a lot of uniformed security personnel entered a polling station for voting. The voting did not follow the procedures as they did not show their voter identity cards and it was suspected that they cast more than one vote.

#### 9.5 DECLARATION OF ELECTION RESULTS

Declaration of results was done in three levels as it has been the case in the previous elections. Presidential election results were announced at the national level by the Chairperson of NEC. Election results in constituencies were declared by the Returning Officers whereas those for councillorship elections were done by

Assistant Returning Officers at the ward level. By the time the presidential election results were announced on 30<sup>th</sup> October 2020, all the constituencies and wards had declared their election results.

### **9.5.1 Presidential Election Results**

Vote counting was carried out relatively rapidly and presidential election results announced without undue delays on the eve of 30<sup>th</sup> October 2020 by the Chairperson of NEC, Justice Semistocles Kaijage. The incumbent president Dr. John Pombe Magufuli of CCM won by scoring 12,516,252 votes; Mr. Tundu Antipas Lissu of CHADEMA scored 1,933,271 votes; Mr. Bernard Camilius Membe of ACT-Wazalendo scored 81,129 votes; Mr. Leopold Mahona of NRA scored 80,787 votes; and Prof. Ibrahim Lipumba of CUF scored 72,885 votes. In all, almost 14 million electorates voted. Implicitly, a similar same number of people did not vote despite being eligible to do so.

In many constituencies tallying of the presidential and parliamentary votes at the district tallying centre was displayed using power-point projectors. At Mbagala, this was not the case as the election results were not displayed on a projector; instead, everything was done remotely “behind keyboards” without the knowledge of political party agents or candidates present, thus, bringing the credibility and transparency of the tallying process into question. Interestingly, NEC officials at the centre claimed that they were not supplied with a projector by NEC.

ACT-Wazalendo, CHADEMA and CUF repudiated the election results, claiming that they were fraudulent. CUF Chairperson Prof. Lipumba specifically vowed that his political party would never participate in any other future elections under the current constitutional dispensation. On 31<sup>st</sup> October 2020 ACT-Wazalendo and CHADEMA issued a joint statement titled “Tamko la Pamoja Kuhusu Uchaguzi Mkuu Uliofanyika Oktoba 27 & 28, 2020 [Joint Statement on General Elections held on October 27 & 28]” in which they rejected all the election results. They insisted that even where their candidates had won, they still did not recognise those results and would, therefore, not allow the opposition camp victors to participate in the decision-making organs. In this statement, they called for fresh elections,

requested the international community support, and called upon their followers to participate in nation-wide non-stop demonstrations to demand for the reorganisation of fresh elections.

### 9.5.2 Parliamentary Election Results

All the constituencies had announced election results by 30<sup>th</sup> October 2020 before the announcement of presidential poll results. CCM won 258 seats, ACT-Wazalendo 4 seats, CUF 1 seat and CHADEMA 1 seat.

As Table 9.12 illustrates, two-thirds of all the contestants for parliamentary elections accepted the election results whereas the remaining third did not agree with them. In most cases, those who disagreed with the election results resorted to the legal route, opening cases in the courts of law.

**Table 9.12: Acceptance of Parliamentary Election Results**

Did contestants for parliamentary election accept the election results?	Frequency	Percent
Yes	122	61.0
No	58	29.0
Not applicable	20	10.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>200</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: REDET Observers' Field Reports, 2020.

Insisting that they did not recognise the election results, CHADEMA attempted to bar its sole MP winner from Nkasi North from attending parliamentary sessions. This brought about disagreements as the Member of Parliament-elect claimed that it was not fair after spending a lot of resources and winning through her own effort to bar her from attending the parliamentary sessions. She eventually attended the first parliamentary session, prompting the top leadership of the party to threaten disciplinary measures against her. Similar twists were witnessed following appointment of women special seats for CHADEMA. NEC submitted to the Parliament a list of 19 special seats MPs, which the CHADEMA Secretary General quickly denounced, claiming that they were not authorised by appropriate party organs. It later surfaced that the names were authorised by Baraza la Wanawake

wa CHADEMA (BAWACHA), the women's wing. Party leaders insisted that these women should also refrain from taking up their seats in parliament. Against this decision, the parliamentarians attended a swearing-in ceremony that was organised on 24<sup>th</sup> November 2020 after the first parliamentary session that is usually dedicated for swearing in of all elected MPs. This again invited the wrath of the party, which eventually in its meeting held on 27<sup>th</sup> November 2020 decided to expel all the 19 rebellious MPs, noting that they ceased to be CHADEMA members and were relieved of all their positions within the party. This decision was received with mixed feelings by the public. Some activist groups called upon CHADEMA's top organs to rescind its decision, claiming that it was motivated by masculine considerations. CHADEMA later issued a statement to the effect that the expelled women special seats MPs had a right to lodge an appeal to the appropriate party organs.

In a few constituencies, REDET also observed the eruption of violence as the electorates became impatient after waiting for too long for election results to be declared. In Dodoma, election day activities went well except for Berege, Nghambi and Chitemo wards in Mpwapwa constituency where there were skirmishes. Violence erupted at Nghambi Primary School, forcing electoral personnel to flee and abandon important election materials and documents. In Berege and Chitemo wards, motorbikes were gutted, with security officers and other persons injured.



*An injured security personnel in Mpwapwa constituency*



*Abandoned election materials in Mpwapwa after eruption of violence*





*Motorbikes burnt down following violence that erupted in Mpwawa*      *Motorbikes set on fire in Berege ward, Mpwapwa*

REDET observers observed the vote tallying exercise in many constituencies where they were deployed. The scenario was different in a few constituencies, such as Micheweni, where observers were denied access to the vote tallying exercise.



*MP-elect, Abdallah Chaurembo, receives an election certificate from Temeke Returning Officer, Lusubilo Mwakabibi, after emerging the winner of the parliamentary seat.*

### **9.5.3 Councillorship Election Results**

Councillorship election results were declared by respective Assistant Returning Officers at the ward level. As the magnitude of vote, counting was not as big as that of the two subsequent levels, wards declared most of their election results earlier than the constituencies.

As Table 9.13 indicates, most of the contestants (132 [66%] out of 200 observed) accepted the councillorship election results whereas 43 (21%) out of 200 rejected the poll results for this level.

**Table 9.13: Acceptance of Councillorship Election Results**

Did contestants for councillorship election accept the election results?	Frequency	Percent
Yes	132	66.0
No	43	21.5
Not applicable	25	12.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>200</b>	<b>100.0</b>

*Source: REDET Observers' Field Reports, October 2020.*

Whereas in many constituencies peace prevailed throughout vote counting and declaration of results, in some constituencies it was different. In Nachingwea in Ugawaji ward, for example, police used tear-gas to disperse CHADEMA supporters to declare the CCM councillorship candidate a winner. As a result, the house of the CCM candidate Mr. Ahmad Makologanya in the ward was set on fire by unknown people on the night of 28<sup>th</sup> October 2020. Photos below show Mr. Ahmad Makologanya's car and house which were set on fire.



*A car set on fire at Mr. Ahmad Makologanya's residence (left) and a house (right) which was also set ablaze during the violence that erupted on the night of 28<sup>th</sup> October 2020 after the declaration of election results.*

## 9.6 VOTER TURN-OUT

One of the surprising outcomes of the 2020 General Elections was the low number of voters who turned out to vote on 28<sup>th</sup> October 2020. This low-turnout was especially baffling so considering the high level of interest in the elections and the determination to bring about change. Campaign rallies of two contending political parties, CCM and CHADEMA, attracted big crowds. Such mass rally crowd pulling also signalled that more people would have voted than those who did. The presidential election results announced by NEC showed that 14,684,324 (50.3%) voters cast their votes out of 29,188,347 registered voters. In other words, 14,504,023 registered voters did not go to the polling stations.

REDET also observed some inconsistencies in the election results, hence pointing to different directions between the presidential election results and parliamentary election results. In Mbagala constituency, CCM presidential and parliamentary candidates won by scoring 299,811 and 280,003 votes, respectively, out of 432,326 registered voters, an equivalent to 72 percent for presidential vote, whereas in the six wards observed (out of 10) voter turnout for councillorship elections was in the range of 20 percent. The premise could be if voter turnout was 72 percent<sup>25</sup> for presidential and parliamentary election in the constituency, then similar voter turnout would have been reflected in councillorship elections. How do we explain this huge discrepancy? Is it a consequence of the mismanaged and non-transparent tallying process at the district tallying centre? Similarly, conflicting results were observed in Kinondoni constituency where the number of people who voted for councillors (i.e. 92,448 or merely 30% of the registered voters) and those who voted for parliamentary contestants (i.e. 135,194 or 44% of the registered voters).

## 9.7 POST-ELECTION EPISODES

Post-election episodes include all election-related incidents happening after the declaration of election results for the president, members of parliament, or councillors. Post-election episodes are mostly related to how people accept or react

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<sup>25</sup> Voter turnout was 314,355 out of 432,326 registered voters in Mbagala constituency--- accessed on 7<sup>th</sup> November at <http://temekemc.go.tz/new/matokeo-ya-uchaguzi-manispaa-ya-temeke-2020>

to the election results. Where perceptions of mismanagement and cheating are high, the likelihood of violence is extremely high, and vice-versa.

### 9.7.1 Eruption of Violence

Table 9.14 shows that there were few incidences of violence observed in the post-election period. This is also reinforced by the fact that only very few contestants for parliamentary and councillorship election indicated a desire to lodge complaints after being dissatisfied with election results.

**Table 9.14: Incidents of Post-Election Violence**

Question	Frequency (%)			Total (100)
	Yes	No	NA	
Were there any incidences of violence after the announcement of councillorship election results?	13 (6.5)	171 (85.5)	16 (8)	<b>200 (100)</b>
Were there any incidences of violence after the announcement of parliamentary election results?	10 (5.0)	183 (91.5)	7 (3.5)	<b>200 (100)</b>
Were there any complaints lodged with the appropriate authorities after the announcement of councillorship election results?	14 (7)	165 (82.5)	21 (10.5)	<b>200 (100)</b>
Were there any complaints lodged with the appropriate authorities after announcement of parliamentary election results?	21 (10.5)	164 (82)	15 (7.5)	<b>200 (100)</b>

*Source: REDET Observers' Field Reports, October 2020.*

Some of the incidents of violence observed include those in Liwale where on the night of 28<sup>th</sup> October 2020 people gathered at Liwale District Council offices. The police were called and used tear-gas to disperse them. Violence continued and on 29<sup>th</sup> October 2020 a mob of unknown people invaded and set ablaze the residences of the CCM parliamentary candidate Mr. Zuberi Kuchauka and that of the councillorship contestant, Mr. Mkoyage.



*Residence of the CCM Parliamentary candidate, Mr Zuberi Mohamed Kuchauka, which was set alight at night after the election on 28<sup>th</sup> October 2020 in Nangado ward, Liwale.*



*Residence of the Councillorship candidate, Mr Mkoyage for Likongowele ward after being set on fire at the night before the declaration of results at Likongowele ward, Liwale, on 28<sup>th</sup> October 2020.*

In Tunduma, the atmosphere was very tense as, soon after the completion of voting at Makambini ward, groups of youth attacked Makambini Primary School polling station claiming that “ghost” ballot boxes had been brought by CCM. Police used tear-gas to restore calmness. At one of the polling stations in Muungano ward, election officials were attacked and injured by a group of people who were near the polling stations. After the declaration of results, violence erupted at the Tunduma town centre. Groups of angry people, who boycotted results, destroyed properties,

blocked roads and burned tyres on roads. Several people were injured including a CCM local leader at Mwakakati who was stabbed.



*Police officers restoring peace at Tunduma main bus stand on 29th October 2020.*



*Destruction of property at Iboya Market in Tunduma Town.*

Violence also erupted in Ukerewe where delay in announcing the results caused people to lose patience, torching the office of the Ward Executive Officer.

### **9.7.2 Interruption and Blockage of Social Media Platforms**

On 27<sup>th</sup> October 2020, there was interruption and blockage of social media platforms such as Twitter, Instagram, Xing and WhatsApp. This unprecedented matter was also reported on several online international media platforms such as the *BBC* and *DW*. *DW* tabled the title “Citizens cut off from WhatsApp and Twitter” and Hamdun Marcell suggested internet restrictions are a strategic move on the part

of the government to control communications during and after the elections.<sup>26</sup> Although the government did not give any explanation or even a warning of the impending shut-down of social media and online platforms, an independent Tanzanian journalist, Maggid Mjengwa told *DW* that “the real issue overshadowing this election is the control of spread of misinformation over social media as [this] may result [in] insecurity, instability”. This caused a lot of inconvenience as it became difficult to communicate as text messages were also severely restricted. However, social media platform were gradually allowed to operate from 30<sup>th</sup> October 2020 after the announcement of presidential election results.

### **9.7.3 Asylum Seeking and Claims of Threats to Life**

In unprecedented move, the 2020 General Elections witnessed prominent politicians from opposition political parties seeking political asylum after allegation of having received credible information on plots to harm them. Mr. Tundu Lissu, who was arrested on 2<sup>nd</sup> November 2020 after calling for nation-wide demonstrations and boycott of election results, sought refuge in the German Ambassador’s residence immediately after his release from police custody on bail. Finally, on 10<sup>th</sup> November 2020, Mr. Tundu Lissu left the country for Belgium where he had been receiving treatment after surviving a fatal multi-bullet shooting suspected to be an assassination attempt while attending parliament sessions in Dodoma in 2017. He was escorted to the airport in Dar es Salaam by the German, United States, and United Kingdom ambassadors.

Similar Mr. Godbless Lema, the defeated CHADEMA MP for Arusha Urban constituency initially fled to Nairobi, Kenya claiming that his life was in danger. On 10<sup>th</sup> November 2020 media reported that Mr. Lema and his family had been granted asylum in Canada and were, therefore, leaving Kenya. Similar claims of threats by another CHADEMA parliamentary contestant Mr. Lazaro Nyalandu were subdued and his attempt to flee the country were later foiled.

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<sup>26</sup> Dar es Salaam-based political analyst Marcell Hamdun told *DW* that “Twitter, Instagram, Xing and even WhatsApp were not working and there was no way to reach out. It is not even a censorship; it is a complete communication shutdown.” Retrieved from <https://www.dw.com/en/tanzania-restricts-social-media-during-election/a-55433057> on 3rd November 2020



## 9.8 PERFORMANCE AND CONDUCT OF ELECTORAL OFFICIALS

Each polling station had at least the following electoral officials playing different roles: Presiding Officer, Polling Assistant and Direction Clerk. The Direction Clerk was responsible for directing registered voters to appropriate polling stations and verified voter information. The Presiding Officer received voters and checked their details assisted by the Polling Assistant, who issued the voter with the requisite ballot papers duly stamped. Table 9.15 shows that many polling stations had five or fewer electoral officials:

**Table 9.15: Number of Election Official in Polling Stations**

Number range	Frequency	Percent
1-5	2,063	78.3
6-10	401	15.2
11 or more	172	6.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>2636</b>	<b>100.0</b>

*Source: REDET Observers' Field Reports, October 2020.*

REDET tested the performance of the election officials by probing whether they cross checked the voters' details against the PNVR; inspected the index fingers to ascertain whether they had already voted; allowed unqualified voters to vote; and gave preferential treatment to expectant and lactating women, PWDs and the elderly to vote without undue delays especially when there were long queues. The summary in Table 9.16 indicates that, generally, electoral officials were well-trained and performed their duties satisfactorily:

**Table 9.16: Performance of Electoral Officials**

Performance indicator	Frequency (%)		Total (100)
	Yes	No	
Did electoral officials verify voter IDs against the PNVR?	2,543 (99.6)	10 (0.4)	<b>2,553 (100)</b>
Did electoral officials check signs of indelible ink on voters' index fingers?	2,350 (92.1)	203 (7.9)	<b>2,553 (100)</b>
Were voters' fingers marked with indelible ink after voting?	2,550 (99.9)	3 (0.1)	<b>2,553 (100)</b>



Did electoral officials allow voters who did not qualify to vote?	53 (2.1)	2500 (97.9)	<b>2,553 (100)</b>
Were unauthorised persons allowed to enter the polling station?	90 (3.5)	2463 (96.5)	<b>2,553 (100)</b>
Were blind voters assisted and given ballot papers in braille format?	1,697 (66.5)	856 (33.5)	<b>2,553 (100)</b>
Were pregnant women, nursing mothers and PWDs given special priority to vote without delay?	2,515 (98.5)	38 (1.5)	<b>2,553 (100)</b>
Did electoral officials make it difficult for women to vote?	57 (2.2)	2496 (97.8)	<b>2,553 (100)</b>
Did electoral officials act professionally and objectively?	2,478 (97.1)	75 (2.9)	<b>2,553 (100)</b>

*Source: REDET Observers' Field Reports, October 2020.*

## 9.9 PERFORMANCE AND CONDUCT OF POLITICAL PARTY AGENTS

Ninety-five percent of our observers reported the presence of political party agents during vote counting. Only five percent of our observers reported that political party agents did not witness vote counting. Eighty percent of our observers reported that election results were posted at the polling stations whereas 20 percent of our observers reported that results were not posted.

**Table 9.17: Presence of Political Party Agents**

Were all political party agents present at the polling station allowed to witness vote counting exercise?	Frequency	Percent
Yes	2,442	96.6
No	86	3.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>2528</b>	<b>100.0</b>

*Source: REDET Observers' Field Reports, October 2020.*

In some constituencies in Dar es Salaam, political party agents were denied entry into the polling stations on the ground that they did not have anything that the presiding officers could use to identify them. In contrast, CCM agents were allowed after presenting a letter from their party introducing them to the presiding officers. In some cases such as in Segerea, the police officer at the station had to intervene

by stopping the commencement of voting until all party agents were allowed in. At Mashujaa polling station at Sinza in Ubungo constituency, CHADEMA's agents were allowed in at 9.30 am after they had also presented letters of introduction from their party. The polling station at Mlimani Primary School, Ubungo constituency was different. All the stations had party agents and were allowed in based on trust that the presiding officers had in those who showed up and introduced themselves accordingly as agents for different parties.

REDET noted that some political party agents did not know laws and procedures and their duties and responsibilities. In Arumeru West, a CHADEMA agent questioned why the Embalakai polling station was located at the livestock offices at the headquarters of the Arusha District Council, instead of being located in an open area. In Polling Station No. 1983805, located at Ilkiding'a-5 Secondary School in Ilkiding'a village of Ilkiding'a ward, a CHADEMA agent inspected voter identity cards and checked them against the PNVR. This prompted the Returning Officer to confiscate all the voter registers from political party agents, arguing that, if they continued having a copy, problems would continue to occur.

Although NEC issued guidelines emphasising banning of use of communication and electronic equipment such as mobile phones, this directive was largely ignored and presiding officers, polling assistants, direction clerks, political party agents and voters breached it.

## **9.10 ASSESSMENT OF THE VOTING AND VOTE COUNTING PROCESSES**

REDET assessed the processes of voting, vote counting and declaration of results as part of the overall assessment of the quality of the electoral process. Results of the two processes are as presented in tables 9.18 and 9.19.

### **9.10.1 Assessment of the Voting Process**

As Table 9.18 illustrates, the voting exercise was carried out largely in accordance with the laws, rules and regulations governing elections in Tanzania.

**Table 9.18: Assessment of the Voting Exercise**

Assessment of the voting process	Frequency	Percentage
Voting exercise was carried on in accordance with the laws, rules and regulations	184	92.0
Voting exercise was marred by gross violation of laws, rules and regulations	16	8.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>200</b>	<b>100.00</b>

*Source: REDET Observers' Field Reports, October 2020.*

### 9.10.2 Assessment of the Vote Counting Process

The results in Table 9.19 show that the vote counting process was conducted in accordance with the country's laws, rules and regulations. A comparison of outcomes in tables 9.18 and 9.19 reveals that, generally, vote counting was conducted much more in accordance with the law than the vote counting process.

**Table 9.19: Assessment of the Vote Counting Process**

Assessment of the vote counting process	Frequency	Percent
Vote counting process was carried out in accordance with the laws, rules and regulations	172	86.0
Vote counting process was marred by violation of laws, rules and regulations	28	14.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>200</b>	<b>100.0</b>

*Source: REDET Observers' Field Reports, October 2020.*

The combined results of the entire e-day activities, including voting, vote counting and declaration of results are presented in Table 9.20.

**Table 9.20: Assessment of the Polling Day**

Assessment criteria	Marks	Grade	Frequency	Percentage
Voting, vote counting and declaration of results had a few shortcomings, which did not affect the overall results of the elections. It was clean, free and fair.	80 - 100%	A	1702	77.6
Voting, vote counting and declaration of results were generally free and fair but still had some shortcomings which might have worked against fortunes of some stakeholders (political parties, candidates and voters).	60 - 69%	B	383	17.5
Voting, vote counting and declaration of results permitted free participation of stakeholders (political parties, candidates and voters) but there were many instances where the ruling party broke rules with impunity, and there was favouritism that worked against fortunes of some candidates and their parties.	50 - 59%	C	64	2.9
Voting, vote counting and declaration of results were marred by numerous flaws related to non-compliance with some electoral laws, regulations and code of conduct, management problems and instances of intimidation or favouritism.	40 - 49%	D	22	1.0
Voting, vote counting and declaration of results were disrupted or mismanaged so much that it was difficult to understand what had happened. It is like a student who has failed an exam.	1 - 39%	E	19	0.9
Voting, vote counting and declaration of results was very terrible. There were so many incidences of violence, corruption and provocation to such an extent that some candidates withdrew from the election or took other measures. It was an aborted process.	0%	F	4	0.2
<b>Total</b>			<b>2194</b>	<b>100.0</b>

*Source: REDET Observers' Field Reports, October 2020.*

As Table 9.19 demonstrates, out of 2,194 STOs and LTOs, 1,702 (77.6%) rated the conduct of the election day activities as “clean, free and fair”; 383 (17.5%) of the observers rated it as “qualified free and fair”, 64 (2.9%) of the observers found it to be “free but not fair”; 22 (1%) of the observers (or one percent) awarded it “unfree and unfair” certificate. Only in four polling stations the process was assigned the lowest mark because of violence incidences.

### 9.11 OVERALL ASSESSMENT OF THE 2020 GENERAL ELECTIONS

Having observed the pre-election, election day and post-election processes, REDET wishes to provide an informed, candid and objective verdict on the overall Tanzania 2020 general election. Table 9.21 captures LTOs' overall assessment of the general elections:

**Table 9.21: Overall Assessment of the Election Processes**

Overall Assessment of 2020 Election	Marks and grades	Frequency	Percentage
The elections had very few irregularities which did not at all affect the overall results of the elections. Overall, the elections were clean, free and fair.	A (80-100%)	89	44.5
The elections were generally free and fair but still had a few irregularities which in their totality did not affect in any meaningful way the final outcomes of the election and did not work against the fortunes of stakeholders (political parties, candidates and voters).	B (60-79%)	81	40.5
The elections permitted free participation of stakeholders (political parties, candidates and voters) but there were many instances where bigger parties broke rules with impunity, and there was favouritism that worked against the fortunes of some candidates and their political parties.	C (50-59%)	20	10.0

Overall Assessment of 2020 Election	Marks and grades	Frequency	Percentage
The elections were marred by numerous flaws related to non-compliance with some electoral laws, regulations and code of conduct, management problems and instances of intimidation and favouritism.	D (40-49%)	7	3.5
The elections were disrupted or mismanaged to the extent that it was difficult to understand what had happened. It is like a student who has failed an exam.	E (1-39%)	3	1.5
The elections were marred by severe irregularities. There were so many incidences of violence, corruption and provocation that some candidates decided to withdraw from the election or took other measures. The entire election was an aborted process.	F (0%)	0	0
<b>Total</b>		<b>200</b>	<b>100</b>

*Source: REDET Observers' Field Reports, October 2020.*

As Table 9.21 illustrates, out of the 200 LTOs, 89 (44.5%) believed that the elections were “clean, free and fair” with few shortcomings; 81 (40.5%) indicated that the polls were “qualified free and fair”; and 20 (10%) reported the elections to have been “free but not fair”.

## 9.12 CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In this section, we offer conclusion of the report by showing the REDET verdict on the 2020 General Elections in Tanzania. This is followed by recommendations.

### 9.12.1 Conclusion

The 2020 General Elections were managed adequately by NEC and ZEC to make them credible. The electorate was afforded an opportunity to participate freely in the various election processes from the updating of the PNVR to casting the vote on the Election Day, vote counting and announcement of results. REDET

commends the EMBs, political parties and their candidates and all electoral stakeholders and the Tanzania public for this significant achievement. Based on this observation, REDET awards the Tanzania 2020 Elections a “**Qualified Free and Fair**” certificate.

### **9.12.2 Recommendations**

In view of REDET’s observation of the 2020 General Elections, the following recommendations target various election stakeholders in Tanzania, namely the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania, NEC and ZEC, political parties, and the media:

#### **9.12.2.1 Government of the United Republic of Tanzania**

The Government of the United Republic of Tanzania can consider the possibility of improving elections and their outcomes by:

- (i) Avoiding any temptations to suppress media freedoms, including social media.
- (ii) Facilitating research and dialogue on the drivers of low voter turn-out and declining civic awareness.
- (iii) Strengthening the ORPP to ensure effective implementation of the EEA.
- (iv) Establishing a consolidated fund for election to cement the achievements gained by using internal funds for the first time to finance elections.
- (v) Strengthening the PCCB to enable it to deal with allegations of corruption during intraparty nominations.
- (vi) Reviewing the effectiveness of the existing mechanisms for estimating expenses for respective constituencies and wards.
- (vii) Ensuring that the Police Force acts professionally and refrains from making politically inclined statements against candidates and political parties.

### 9.12.2.2 NEC and ZEC

NEC and ZEC can consider undertaking the following to improve the conduct of the polls:

- (i) Revisiting the provisions of the early voting as they proved to be a source of electoral violence instead of facilitating the conduct of elections as intended.
- (ii) Revisiting the nomination forms with a view to minimising the possibility of disqualification of candidates on technical grounds rather than the political competence and acceptability by the electorate.
- (iii) Avoiding unnecessary delays in announcing election results which could spark violence as patience runs out of the people anxiously waiting to know the outcome of the polls.
- (iv) Establishing polling stations early to reduce possibilities of last-minute change of polling stations, which inevitably causes confusion among voters.
- (v) Using multiple channels of communication to inform the shortlisted applicants to appear for interviews.
- (vi) Ensuring that political parties and candidates can compete in elections based on equal treatment before the law. The legal framework for elections should be applied in a non-partisan way without any discrimination.
- (vii) Increasing the number of women in all levels of management of elections.
- (viii) Disaggregating data communicated to the public based on gender, disability and age, among others, to facilitate the analysis and scrutiny of inclusiveness in the electoral process.
- (ix) Increasing transparency by publicly and timely announcing details of all electoral appeals and decisions reached.
- (x) Subjecting unopposed candidates to popular vote to avert a possibility of candidates imposing themselves on the electorates using unscrupulous means.
- (xi) Standing firm against breaches of the electoral code of conduct including timely intervention to stop the use of vernaculars during election campaigns



and discouraging unscheduled election campaign meetings such as impromptu roadside stop-overs.

- (xii) Providing civic and voter education on a regular basis to nurture the culture of gender-sensitive election campaigns and needs of special groups.
- (xiii) Involving the media both at the national and community level to reach diverse groups of potential voters throughout the country.
- (xiv) Ensuring that all registration and voting centres are accessible to PWDs to maximise their full participation.
- (xv) Instituting necessary changes in the Guidelines for Local and International Election Observers, 2020 with a view to providing room for appeal against accreditation refusal by NEC.

### **9.12.2.3 Political parties**

Meanwhile, political parties can consider doing the following to add value to the conduct of and their participation in the electoral process:

- (i) Deploying adequate number of polling agents to boost confidence in the electoral process and reduce the perceptions of malpractice.
- (ii) Participating actively in election campaigns as a way of mobilising voters to vote.
- (iii) Ensuring equal participation of men and women in elections.
- (iv) Respecting the electoral laws and the campaign timetable co-ordinated by NEC and ZEC.
- (v) Refraining from negative campaigns.
- (vi) Desisting from using paramilitary organisations as doing so threatens peace and tranquillity.
- (vii) Avoiding using religious leaders and religious platforms to gain political mileage.

#### 9.12.2.4 Media

On their part, the media as the fourth pillar of democracy (after the Parliament, Judiciary, and the Executive), can enhance the quality of their role in electoral coverage by doing the following:

- (i) Giving more attention to ordinary people's concerns and viewpoints to help them make informed decisions.
- (ii) Offering more analysis and discussions on issues that people are concerned about and need to know to help the audience in their aspirations to make informed decisions on the polling day.
- (iii) Allocating equal time and space and conduct unbiased and fair coverage for political parties and candidates for presidential, parliamentary and councillorship positions.
- (iv) Abiding by both the conventional and election coverage's media codes of conduct to avoid covering negative attributes such as tensions, hate speech, personal attacks, mudslinging, slander, demagoguery, and other unethical practices such as bribes-taking particularly under the guise of brown-envelope syndrome.
- (v) Striving for, and investing in, quality and professional reportage, such as use of multiple sources, impartiality and objectivity, striving for balanced and unbiased or fair reportage to perform the watchdog (monitoring) and public service roles properly.

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## APPENDICES

## Appendix 1: List of LTOs Deployed

SN	REGION	CONSTITUENCY	LTO
1	ARUSHA	ARUSHA MJINI	<b>DR. AUDAX KWEYAMBA (REC)</b>
		ARUMERU	SUDI AHMED MINJA
		MAGHARIBI	LIGHTNESS KAALE
		KARATU	WANDE V. MAKWAIA
		ARUMERU MASHARIKI	MICHAEL MWAMBANGA
2	DAR ES SALAAM	ILALA	AHIMIDIWE MUNUO
		SEGEREA	HENRY RODRICK
		UKONGA	FELIX NYELLA
		KIGAMBONI	AMBILISIA MOSHA
		KAWE	JOSEPHINE BESHA
		KINONDONI	DR. RASUL MINJA
		MBAGALA	OMAR ISSA
		TEMEKE	FORTUNATA THOMAS
		KIBAMBA	DR. LUPA RAMADHANI
		UBUNGO	<b>DR. NG'WANZA KAMATA (REC)</b>
3	DODOMA	DODOMA MJINI	<b>ZABIBU SWIMA (REC)</b>
		KONDOA MJINI	SALOME KUNDI KITINYA
		CHAMWINO (formerly Chilonwa)	DR. NANDERA MHANDO
		MVUMI (formerly Mtera)	DELSON NELSON
		CHEMBA	ANITA MASAKI
		KIBAKWE	DR. NOVETHA KIGOMBE
		MPWAPWA	ISHENGOMA GOSBERT

4	GEITA	GEITA MJINI	<b>EDWARD SIMON (REC)</b>
		NYANG'HWALE	MIKA WANENE MIKA
		BUKOMBE	DR. STEPHEN MABAGALA
		CHATO	BERNADETHA CHOMA
		GEITA	DR. EMMANUEL ELIA
		MBOGWE	JULITA SERV KESSY
5	IRINGA	IRINGA MJINI	<b>PROF. ESTER DUNGUMARO (REC)</b>
		MAFINGA MJINI	CHARLES CHARLES KANYUSI
		KALENGA	PATRICIA MAKWAIA
		KILOLO	CANDIDA P. MYOVELA
		MUFINDI KASKAZINI	TITUS GINDO
6	KAGERA	BUKOBA MJINI	<b>DR. DEOGRATIUS RUGAIMUKAMU (REC)</b>
		BIHARAMULO MAGHARIBI	JOYCE CYRIL MWACHA
		KARAGWE	ADALBERT BAGERA
		NKENGE	NDAMLANI GOSBERT
		MULEBA KUSINI	PETER MSIGULA
		NGARA	MARY KALIKAWE
		BUKOBA RURAL	NORA NYAKWAE
7	KATAVI	MPANDA MJINI	<b>DR. JESPER KATOMERO (REC)</b>
		MPANDA VIJINI	HELLEN MMASI
		NSIMBO	EZRA ELIA MBANGWA
8	KIGOMA	KIGOMA MJINI	<b>IRENE MUSOKWA (REC)</b>
		KASULU MJINI	CHRISTA KOMBA
		BUHIGWE	KELLEN SYLVESTER MNGOYA
		MUHAMBWE	CREDIUS NESTORY MWESIGA
		KIGOMA KASKAZINI	DR. MATHEW SENGA
		KIGOMA KUSINI	PRISCA P. MATOWO



9	KILIMANJARO	MOSHI MJINI	<b>DR. MATRONA KABYEMELA (REC)</b>
		HAI	MELZEDECK KAIJAGE
		VUNJO	GLORY MAREALLE
		MWANGA	MUTAZAA RICHARD
		ROMBO	HELLEN FESTO URIO
		SAME MASHARIKI	PROF. ESTHER ISHENGOMA
		SIHA	CAROLYN SHUBIS
10	LINDI	LINDI MJINI	<b>PROF. BERNADETA KILLIAN (REC)</b>
		MCHINGA	DEBORAH ALEXANDER MBAKILAKI
		KILWA KUSINI	DR. ELEVATUS NKEBUKWA
		LIWALE	JOSEPHINE NZUMBI
		NACHINGWEA	STANSLAUS P. SHABANGI
11	MANYARA	BABATI MJINI	<b>DR. CONSOLATA SULLEY (REC)</b>
		MBULU MJINI	FRANCIS KOU
		HANANG	NELSON S NCHOBE
		KITETO	INGRAM BUTIKU
		SIMANJIRO	HILDA MASHAURI
12	MARA	MUSOMA MJINI	<b>DR. KELVIN MUNISI (REC)</b>
		BUNDA MJINI	DINI SHAFII
		TARIME MJINI	FURAHA JULIUS
		MWIBARA	GRAYSON MGONJA
		MUSOMA VIJIJINI	LILIAN MLAGWA
		RORYA	LUCY RINGO
		SERENGETI	DENNIS SANCAWA
		TARIME VIJIJINI	ISAYA MPIRI

13	MBEYA	MBEYA MJINI	<b>DR. PASTORY PARESTICO (REC)</b>
		LUPA	DR. PAUL ONDIEK
		KYELA	THADEI PALME
		MBEYA VIJINI	ANNE HENRY KITONA
		RUNGWE	AKLAN M. MAJALIWA
14	MOROGORO	MOROGORO MJINI	<b>DR. DENNIS GATAMBWA (REC)</b>
		KILOMBERO	JACKLINE MCHAPWAYA
		MIKUMI	ELISA KIIZA PROSPER
		MALINYI	HOTI RAMADHANI
		ULANGA	PENINA N KINGA
15	MTWARA	MTWARA MJINI	<b>DR. LUCY KIOWI (REC)</b>
		MASASI MJINI	ZUBEDA NASIBU SWEYA
		NANYAMBA	MUGOLOZI BAITANI
		NEWALA MJINI	TUNU RITTE
		NDANDA	ICE BAHAME
		MTWARA VIJINI	VERONICA KIMELA
		TANDAHIMBA	DERICK FELICIAN JOHN
16	MWANZA	NYAMAGANA	<b>PROF. ERNEST MALLYA (REC)</b>
		ILEMELA	JASPER HARRY SABUNI
		BUCHOSA	ADROFINA SALVATORY
		KWIMBA	DOROTHY KALOLI
		MAGU	RAMADHANI KINGI
		SENGEREMA	DR. GODFREY SANSA
		UKEREWE	DR. ABDULLAH HAMZA
17	NJOMBE	MAKAMBAKO	LENIN FELICIAN
		NJOMBE MJINI	<b>PETRO MSELEWA (REC)</b>
		LUDEWA	LILIAN MWABULAMBO
		MAKETE	GEORGIA BARONGO

18	PWANI	KIBAHA MJINI	<b>PROF. AMON CHALIGHA (REC)</b>
		BAGAMOYO	STELLA EMANUEL RUNYORO
		KISARAWA	RAMLA IDRISA HAYESHI
		MKURANGA	STANSLAUS NKALANGA
		RUFJI	ABDALLAH RASHID
19	RUKWA	SUMBAWANGA MJINI	<b>DR. FLORENCE RUTECHURA (REC)</b>
		KALAMBO	MERCY MACHANGE
		NKASI KASKAZINI	HAPPY SHEM PAYOWELA
		KWELA	SELEMANI MWALIKI
20	RUVUMA	SONGEA MJINI	<b>DR. HADIJA MWENDA (REC)</b>
		MBINGA MJINI	FRIDOLIN HENJEWELE
		PERAMIHO	JACQUELINE F. MWANDA
		TUNDURU KASKAZINI	WILFRED KAHUMUZA
21	SHINYANGA	SHINYANGA MJINI	<b>DR. JACKLINE MGUMIA (REC)</b>
		KAHAMA MJINI	VERENA KAGALI
		KISHAPU	ISMAIL KASSIGAYE
		MSALALA	FREDRICK SINTAU
22	SIMIYU	BARIADI	<b>DR. THOMAS NDALUKA (REC)</b>
		BUSEGA	DR. THERESIA MUGOBI
		MASWA MASHARIKI	DR. STEPHEN KILASI
		KISESA	TUMAINI MSHANA
		MEATU	MARY GABRIEL MOSHI
23	SINGIDA	SINGIDA MJINI	<b>PROF. PENDO MALANGWA (REC)</b>
		SINGIDA MASHARIKI	GABRIEL KIIZA
		IRAMBA MAGHARIBI	ELIZABETH VALENTINO LEMA
		MANYONI MASHARIKI	BONIFACE MULISA
		IRAMBA MASHARIKI	ESTHER SABAS KAVISHE

24	SONGWE	TUNDUMA	<b>DR. FARAJA NDUMBARO (REC)</b>
		VWAWA	LADISLAUS TUMBU
		MBOZI	IRENE MASSAWE
		MOMBA	JERRY SAIWELLO
25	TABORA	TABORA MJINI	<b>DR. MUHIDIN SHANGWE (REC)</b>
		NZEGA MJI	JESCA MUGANDA
		BUKENE	JOCYLENE MKILIMA
		IGUNGA	IRENE MAKUMBA
		KALIUA	ALLAN MKOPOKA
		SIKONGE	VICKY I MOSHI
		URAMBO	SYLVESTER RWEYEMAMU
		IGALULA	DR. ANETH P. BYABATO
26	TANGA	TANGA MJINI	<b>DR. EUGENIA KAFANABO (REC)</b>
		HANDENI MJINI	ISSA DUNIA
		KOROGWE MJINI	LIZBERT ASSEY
		KILINDI	ALI MBAROUK OMAR
		LUSHOTO	EMMANUEL ALOYCE SULEIMAN
		MKINGA	NOELLA R. KISSASSI
		MUHEZA	RWEYEMAMU RAPHAEL
		PANGANI	ANGELINA SALEWA
27	KASKAZINI PEMBA	KONDE	HASSAN K. JUMA
		MICHEWENI	ILLUMINATA HENRY MASAACA
		TUMBE	PASCAL SULLE
		WINGWI	SAMSON MWALUSAMBA
		GANDO	DR. BENJAMIN MBUGHI
		KOJANI	MNZAVA NAMVITA
		MTAMBWE	JACKSON COY
		PANDANI	FATUMA NIYOPA SAID
		WETE	<b>DR. HAMZA KONDO (REC)</b>

28	KASKAZINI UNGUJA	CHAANI	<b>ASHA ABOUD (REC)</b>
		KIJINI	SAID MBAROUK
		MKWAJUNI	DR. PATRICK MASANJA
		NUNGWI	DR. MASOUD DAUDA
		TUMBATU	NYIGU BONIFACE SABAS
		BUMBWINI	DR. ZABRON KENGERA
		DONGE	WALTER LUANDA
		MAHONDA	AMINA JUMA ABBAS
29	KUSINI PEMBA	CHAKECHAKE	<b>AHMAD ALI HAJI (REC)</b>
		CHONYA	THOMAS PAUL
		OLE	MWASONGWE HEBRON
		WAWI	NEHANDA ANENO
		ZIWANI	OMAR YUSUF
		CHAMBANI	PRINCE ANTONIO
		KIWANI	DR. ELIZABETH BITEGERA
		MKOANI	SIMON SIRIKALE
		MTAMBILE	DR. MAKARIUS ITAMBU
30	KUSINI UNGUJA	CHWAKA	<b>TAINA KIKOTI (REC)</b>
		TUNGUU	ISLAM SALUM
		UZINI	KANDI SAID
		MAKUNDUCHI	ELIZABETH MATIKO
		PAJE	JABIR SAID

31	MJINI MAGHARIBI	BUBUBU	ABEID TWALI
		MFENESINI	ROSE PASCAL
		MTONI	DR. JACOB LISAKAFU
		MWERA	PRISCILLA EMMANUEL
		WELEZO	MANSULA TWAHIL SHEMERA
		DIMANI	ALLY DUNIA
		FUONI	MARIAM HAMISI
		KIEMBE SAMAKI	<b>DR. DAMIAN SHUMBUSHO (REC)</b>
		MWANAKWEREKWE	NYAGABONA MALIMA
		PANGAWE (formerly Kijitoupele)	RAUHIA ALI HAJI
		AMANI	SALMA ALLY KATABAZI
		CHUMBUNI	JACKLINE NDOMBELE
		JANG'OMBE	OMARY THABIT
		KIKWAJUNI	SIMON KILAWA
		KWAHANI	LULU AMEIR
		MAGOMENI	KAIJUKO JERMAINE
		MALINDI	ROSE KABYEMELA
		MPENDAE	EMMANUEL YOHANA LICHAGULA
SHAURIMOYO	TWAHIL H. SHAKIRU		

## Appendix 2: NEC Accreditation Letter



JAMHURI YA MUUNGANO WA TANZANIA  
TUME YA TAIFA YA UCHAGUZI



*Antwani ya Simu "UCHAGUZI".*

*Nambari ya Simu: +255 22-2114963 / 2114963*

*Nambari ya Faksi +255 22 2116740*

*Barua Pepe: uchaguzi@nec.go.tz*

*Tovuti: [www.nec.go.tz](http://www.nec.go.tz)*

*(Barua zote za kiofisi ziadikwe kwa Mkurugenzi wa Uchaguzi)*

Unapojibu tafadhali taja:

Kumb. Na. BA 71/74/01H

University of Dar es Salaam,

Research and Education for Democracy in Tanzania (REDET),

S.L.P 35039,

DAR ES SALAAM.

Jengo la Wizara ya Mambo ya Nje  
na Ushirikiano wa Afrika  
Mashariki

Mtaa wa Shaban Robert/  
Garden Avenue,

S. L. P. 10923,

DAR ES SALAAM.


Tarehe: 29 Juni, 2020

**YAH: MAOMBI YA KUWA WATAZAMAJI KATIKA UCHAGUZI MKUU WA  
MWAKA 2020**

Tume ya Taifa ya Uchaguzi kwa kuzingatia kanuni ya 18(5) ya Kanuni za Uchaguzi wa Rais na Wabunge za mwaka 2020, na kanuni ya 16(5) ya Kanuni za Uchaguzi wa Serikali za Mitaa (Uchaguzi wa Madiwani) za mwaka 2020 inapenda kukulaarifu kwamba, imekubali ombi lenu la kuwa watazamaji katika Uchaguzi Mkuu wa mwaka 2020 katika Mikoa yote ya Tanzania Bara na Zanzibar.

Kabla ya kuanza zoezi hilo la utazamaji Taasisi yako pamoja na watu wote itakaowatumia katika zoezi hilo la utazamaji watatakiwa kusajiliwa rasmi kama watazamaji. Kwa sasa Tume ipo katika mchakato wa maandalizi ya zoezi hilo la usajili, hivyo baada ya muda mfupi Tume itawapatia taarifa juu ya utaratibu mzima wa zoezi la usajili pamoja na mambo mengine yanayohusiana na jambo hilo.

Nakutakia kazi njema

  
Dkt. Wilson Mahera Charles  
MKURUGENZI WA UCHAGUZI

### Appendix 3: Photo Gallery



*REDET Chairperson, Prof. Rwekaza Mukandala, briefing the media on the Interim Statement on the 2020 General Elections on 3 November 2020.*



*REDET Chair & Head of Election Observation Mission delivering his opening remarks during LTOs Training session on 25th September 2020.*



*Group photo during LTOs' training session on 25th September 2020.*



*Assistant Registrar of Political Parties Sisty Nyahoza delivering his presentation.*



*NEC Director of Legal Services, Advocate Emmanuel Kawishe delivering his presentation.*



*Former NEC Commissioner, Prof Amon Chaligha, sharing his experience on election administration.*





*REDET Gender Expert, Prof Bernadeta Killian delivering her presentation on how to document participation of special groups during observation of the 2020 general elections.*



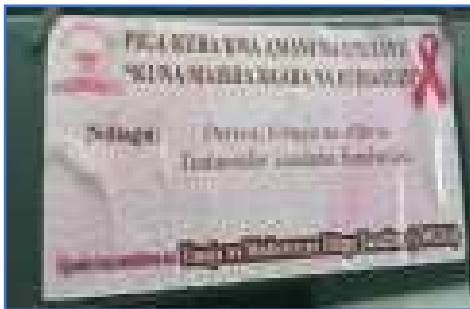
*Voters waiting for their turn to vote.*



*A training by practice session for election officials.*



*A motorbike decorated with campaign posters of ADA –TADEA's Presidential candidate for Zanzibar, Mr. Juma Ali Khatib*



*A voter education poster on the dashboard of a passenger public transport in Unguja.*



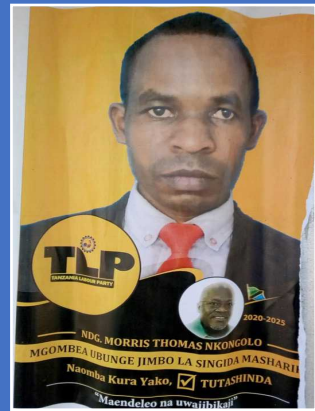
*ACT Wazalendo, CUF, TLP, NCCR Mageuzi and CHADEMA's Joint Campaign at Kibara Ward in Mwibara constituency.*



*REDET LTO on his way to Fundo Island to observe campaign activities.*



*A campaign poster of the CUF's parliamentary candidate for Mbozi constituency, Mr. Nkunyuntla Siwale during the 2020 general election campaigns.*



*A campaign poster of TLP's parliamentary candidate for Singida East constituency, Morris Thomas Nkongolo, inserted with a small portrait of CCM's presidential candidate, John Pombe Joseph Magufuli, during the 2020 general elections campaigns.*



*A car with an unusual plate number displaying the short form of CCM presidential candidate's names, John Pombe Magufuli (JPM), during a campaign rally in Babati Urban on 25 October 2020.*



*CCM supporters carrying a replica coffin wrapped with CHADEMA's flag at Songea Municipality after declaration of results for the Member of Parliament position on 29 October 2020.*



*President John Magufuli accompanied by the chief Sheikh Aboubakar Zubery Bin Ally, Moroccan Ambassador to Tanzania, Abdelilah Benryane, Dar es Salaam region Sheikh, Alhadi Mussa Salim, and other BAKWATA officials, visiting the newly built mosque under the sponsorship of the Moroccan King Mohamed VI, on his way to a CCM presidential campaign rally at Mburahati grounds on 13<sup>th</sup> October, 2020 (photo courtesy of Blog Rasmi ya Rais, Ofisi ya Rais<sup>27</sup>).*

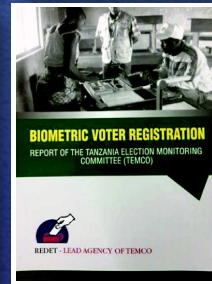
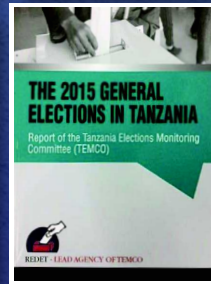
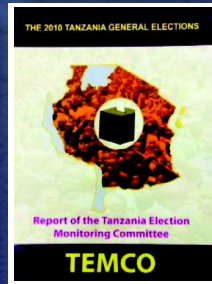
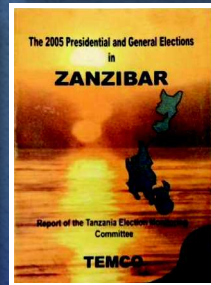
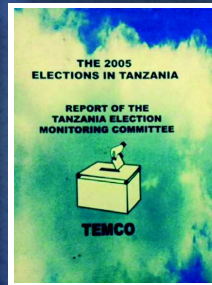
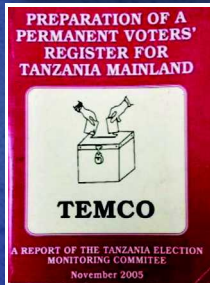
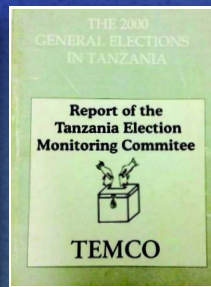
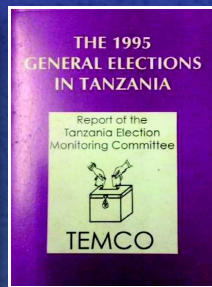
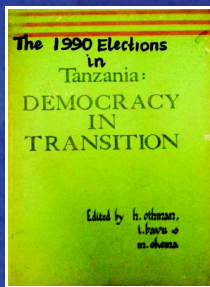
<sup>27</sup> See Mhe. Dkt. John Pombe Magufuli Atembelea Msikiti Mkuu wa BAKWATA Kinondoni Jijini DSM, [blog.ikulu.go.tz](http://blog.ikulu.go.tz).



*(“Rais wa Jamhuri ya Muungano wa Tanzania Mhe. Dkt. John Pombe Magufuli akiombewa Dua iliyokuwa ikiongozwa Mufti Mkuu wa Tanzania Sheikh Aboubakar Zubeir Bin Ally mara baada ya kutembelea Msikiti Mkuu wa Bakwata uliokamilika kujengwa kwa ufadhili wa Mfalme Mohamed VI wa Morocco”, reads a caption of the same photo appearing on Blog Rasmi ya Rais. Unofficial translation: The Chief Mufti, Sheik Aboubakar Zubeir Bin ally leading a prayer for the President of the United Republic of Tanzania, His Excellency Dr. John Pombe Magufuli, after visiting the BAKWATA’s main mosque whose construction has been completed under the sponsorship of King Mohamed VI of Morocco).*



# Temco Election Reports 1990-2020



## The TEPO PROGRAM Management Team



**Prof. Rwekaza S. Mukandala**  
*Program Leader and Head of  
Election Observation Mission*



**Dr. Rasul A. Minja**  
*Program Director*



**Prof. Bernadeta Killian**  
*Gender Expert*



**Dr. Lupa Ramadhani**  
*Political Analyst*



**Dr. Dotto P. Kuhenga**  
*Media Expert*



**Mr. Dunia Nassoro**  
*Accountant*



**Ms. Anney Yamungu**  
*Logistics Officer*



**Ms. Hellen Nyukuri**  
*Secretary*



**Mr. Captain Kikwaya**  
*Information Systems Officer*



**Ms. Mwati Kisesa**  
*Office Attendant*



**Ms. Matilda Mrosso**  
*Office Attendant*