

Appendix 5. List of NDI Delegation Members

Leadership

PIUS ANYIM (Nigeria) served as the President of the Nigerian Senate from 2000-2003. He assumed the position at a critical time when Nigeria was just coming out of a fifteen year experience of military rule. During his tenure he was able to facilitate the process of growth and independence of the legislature to act as a co-equal branch of government. Mr. Anyim received his Bachelor of Law Degree (LLB) from Abia State University in 1997, and was admitted to the Nigerian Bar in 1989. As a trained lawyer, he is an active member of the Nigerian Bar Association and has just authored a book that will soon be published titled "The Challenges of Democratization in Nigeria. "

LAWRENCE (LARRY) J. DENARDIS (USA) was a United States Congressman from Connecticut's Third District from 1981 to 82. He served five terms, 1971 to 79, as a Connecticut State Legislator. In December 2004, he observed the historic elections in Ukraine for the Association of Former Member of Congress. From 1991 to 2004 Mr. DeNardis served as President of the University of New Haven, Connecticut. He was the Acting Assistant Secretary for Legislation at the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services in 1985-86. He earned a BS in economics from the College of the Holy Cross, and a master's and doctoral degrees in government from New York University.

NORA OWEN (Ireland) is currently a member of the democracy commission in Ireland. Ms. Owen served as Ireland's Minister for Justice from 1993-1997 and deputy leader of Fine Gael from 1993-2001. She has experience training new parliamentarians in Africa and Eastern Europe, and is particularly interested in development co-operation. Ms. Owen has traveled extensively in Africa and elsewhere for NDI and AWEPA. Ms. Owen Graduated from University College in Dublin with a B.S. in microbiology, and she recently received a Certificate in Business Corporate Law from the National College of Ireland.

SHARI BRYAN (USA) serves as Senior Associate and Regional Director for NDI's Southern and East Africa Programs. Ms. Bryan has worked in over 25 countries in Africa managing legislative, electoral and political party development programs. In 2004, she co-authored "Money in Politics – A Study of Party Financing Practices in 22 Countries". Before joining NDI, Ms. Bryan worked as an attorney in the areas of civil, criminal and international law. She worked for the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), as a democracy and governance advisor in the Southern African nation of Malawi. Her experience also extends to political campaigns and elections. She has worked with the National Women's Political Caucus in Washington, D.C., and served as the Illinois state issues director for the Dukakis/Bentsen presidential campaign.

Delegates

CLETUS AVOKA (Ghana) is currently a private legal practitioner and consultant. Under President Jerry John Rawlings, Mr. Avoka served as the Chairman of the Public Tribunal for the three northern regions of Ghana from 1983 – 1984. In December, 1992, he won the parliamentary seat for the Bawku West constituency. While serving as a member of parliament, Mr. Avoka was appointed Minister of State (1995-1997), Minister of Lands and Forestry (1997), and Minister of Environment, Science and Technology (1998). He served as a parliamentarian until January 2005, when he left to pursue a private legal career. Mr.

Avoka studied at the University of Ghana, Legon, where he obtained his Bachelor of Law Degree (LLB) in 1976 and Postgraduate Diploma in Law in 1978.

LAMINE BA (Senegal) is currently Minister of International and Decentralized Cooperation for the Government of Senegal. Mr. Ba has served under President Abdoulaye Wade of Senegal as the Minister for the Environment and the Nature Conservancy (2000-2001), Special Advisor to President (2001-2003), and the Minister of Public Health (2004-2005). He has a PhD in Political Science from the University of Berlin with a specialization in International Relations. Apart from Mr. Ba's mother tongue, Wolof, he speaks French, English and German.

RITA DIMARTINO (USA) was the Vice President of Congressional Relations for AT&T where she assisted in AT&T's relations with the administration, with Congress and with State Governments. She served with former President Carter on the Commission on Federal Election Reform. DiMartino was appointed in 2002 as the Principal U. S. Delegate to the Inter-American Commission of Women, Principal Representative to the Inter-American Children's Institute, and the J. William Fulbright Foreign Service Scholarship Board. She serves as Vice-Chair of the New York Republican State Committee, and on the Board of Directors for the National Endowment for Democracy, National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials, Congressional Hispanic Caucus Institute, Inc., and has participated in eight International Presidential Observer Missions.

IVAN DOHERTY (Ireland) is Director of Political Party Programs at NDI. As the Institute's principal in-house expert on political party development, he currently oversees party development programs in more than 45 countries and is responsible for building NDI's relationships with political party international organizations and other democracy foundations. Mr. Doherty also serves as a member of the Steering Committee of the World Movement for Democracy. Mr. Doherty worked for more than 15 years with Ireland's Fine Gael Party in a number of senior positions, including assistant national director of organization, deputy general secretary, and general secretary from 1990 to 1994. Appointed government program manager in 1994, Mr. Doherty was assigned to Ireland's Ministry of Tourism and Foreign Trade. His publications include "Democracy Out of Balance: Civil Society Can't Replace Political Parties", which appeared in Policy Review in 2001.

MIKE FORD (USA) is the Dean of Hampshire College and an Associate Professor of Politics and Education Studies. Mr. Ford received a B.A. from Knox College and an M.A. in Political Science from Northwestern University. He has taught at the University of Massachusetts, Brown University, and Chicago City College in the areas of politics of East Africa, sub-Saharan African governments, black politics, and neocolonialism and underdevelopment. Mr. Ford has served as an international election observer in Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania and Zanzibar, where he conducted extensive interviews and observations in preparation for a pre-election environment report. Mr. Ford currently serves as Chairperson for the Affirmative Action Advisory Committee in Northampton, Massachusetts.

HEATHER FLYNN (USA) has been a Professional Staff Member on the Democratic Staff of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee since 1998. Ms. Flynn covers Africa, Refugee, Humanitarian and Foreign Assistance. Her primary duties involve oversight of U.S. State Department and Agency for International Development programs, writing and reviewing legislation, and providing policy advice for Senator Joseph R. Biden Jr., the Committee's highest ranking Democrat. Ms. Flynn holds a B.A. in Communication Arts from Cheyney University, and an M.A. in International Relations from the University of

Delaware. Prior to joining the Foreign Relations Committee, Ms. Flynn spent three years pursuing a Ph.D. in International Relations at Georgetown.

LENA KLEVENÅS (Sweden) is currently a board member for the Swedish Green Party and is chairperson of the international relations committee. Previously she served as a Member of Parliament from 1991 to 1998 with the Social Democratic Party. During that time Ms. Klevenås served on the standing committees for agriculture, foreign affairs and cultural affairs. She was also chairperson of the parliamentary human rights group. She has traveled to Africa on numerous occasions including to Tanzania in 1999 with the Swedish Minister for Agriculture and in 2002 to conduct an assessment of Nordic support to the Parliament. She served as an international election observer in South Africa in 1994. She was trained as a teacher and taught elementary school for nine years.

NOEL KUTUTWA (Zimbabwe) is currently Deputy Director at the Human Rights Trust of Southern Africa, where he is in charge of finance and administration. Mr. Kututwa is a founding member of the Human Rights Research and Documentation Trust of Southern Africa. Mr. Kututwa has an M.B.A. and J.D. from the University of Zimbabwe. His early experience was with Stumbles and Rowe Legal Practitioners in Harare, where he was involved in criminal and civil litigation, commercial law, labor law, family law, succession law, insurance law, taxation law and administrative law.

YINKA LAWAL (Nigeria) is the Executive Director of the Constitutional Rights Project (CRP) in Nigeria. In 2000 he was a member of the team of civil society leaders that understudied the workings of the American Legislative System on Capitol Hill in Washington DC. Mr. Lawal joined the Constitutional Rights Project (CRP) as a Staff Counsel in 1997. He has held various positions in CRP before his latest appointment as the Executive Director of the organization. Mr. Lawal holds Bachelor of Law (LL.B.) degree from the University of Maiduguri and a Certificate in Civil Society (Liberation from State Rule) from Theodore-Heus Academy, Germany.

THABI MNGADI (South Africa) has more than 25 years of experience working in the development sector in Africa including organizing and participating in international election monitoring projects in Cape Verde, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe for NDI, the Association for European Parliamentarians for Africa and the Commonwealth. Before joining NDI, Ms. Mngadi served for many years with British Oxfam and American Oxfam as country director and regional director consecutively in Southern Africa, East Africa and the Great Lakes region, including Somalia. During this time, her efforts focused on humanitarian assistance, human rights and social justice, women's empowerment and economic community development. Ms. Mngadi is currently managing, directing and ensuring implementation of NDI's pilot program of promoting Parliamentary Leadership in combating HIV and AIDS in Zambia, Namibia and Mozambique.

ROSA NAMISES (Namibia) is Vice President of the Namibia's Congress of Democrats and served as a Member of Parliament in Namibia from 1999 to 2004. Previously, she worked as a project coordinator and community activist for Catholic Social Services, a research counselor at the Council of Churches in Namibia and as a trainer and supervisor for UNICEF's Research Program in Windhoek. During the 1999 National and Presidential elections, she was a Polling Agent and Trainer for the Congress of Democrats. Ms. Namises is a founding member of over eight civil society organizations, including the CCN Children's Desk and Street Children's Project, the Namibian Women's Network and Rural

Women's Initiative and the Legal Assistance Center Volunteers' Training Program. She holds a degree in Development Studies from Khayisa College and degrees in Gender and Policy Planning from the University of London and in Adult Basic Education and Training from the University of South Africa.

SUSAN NKOMO (South Africa) is the Head of the Office on the Status of Women in the Presidency. In this role she is responsible for gender mainstreaming, policy development, capacity development and co-ordination of a gender management system. She holds a MA in Gender and Development Studies from the Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex. Ms. Nkomo has served on various international and national boards and committees, including the Council for the Development of Economic and Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA); the Commonwealth Reference Group on Ministers responsible for Gender / Women's Affairs, the Association of African Women in Research and Development (AAWORD); Women's Development Banking; and the South African Netherlands Program on Alternatives to Development. Currently she serves on South African Reference Group on women in Science and Technology as well as on the Gender Reference Group of the Southern African Research and Documentation Centre (SARDC).

JOYCE PILISO-SEROKE (South Africa) is Chairperson of the Commission on Gender Equality, a board member of the Women's Development Foundation and serves on the National Executive of READ. She was a member of the Human Rights Violation Committee of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. She joined the World Affiliated YWCA as National Secretary, specializing in leadership development and advocacy, thereafter serving as Vice-President in Geneva. She was also appointed by the Minister of Public Enterprises to the Eskom Council.

ELIJAH RUBVUTA (Zambia) is the Executive Director of the Foundation for Democratic Process (FODEP). As Zambia's leading non-partisan election monitoring and civic education organization, FODEP has monitored every election in the country since 1992. He served as Advance Observer for the Commonwealth Observer Group (COG) and later as Team Leader of the Commonwealth Expert Team (CET) for the 2004 Mozambique general elections. He has also Coordinated Regional Election Observer Missions on behalf of the SADC Electoral Support Network (SADC-ESN) and participation in election observer missions for EISA and the International Fair Election Team that assessed the 2004 US general elections. Mr. Rubvuta holds a Masters degree in Development Studies from the Institute of Social Studies in The Netherlands and a Bachelor's degree in Social Work from the University of Zambia.

SAKWIBA SIKOTA (Zambia) is Deputy President in charge of Administration of the United Party for National Development (UPND) in Zambia. He is the Member of Parliament for the Livingstone Central Constituency. He graduated in 1980 from Keele University in Staffordshire, England with an Honors Degree in Law and Politics with minors in Mathematics and psychology. Mr. Sikota was called to the Zambian Bar in December 1981. He worked as law lecturer until 1982 after which went into private practice to date. He was Chairman of the Law Association of Zambia in 1995 and 1996. In 1998, Mr. Sikota entered active politics with newly formed United Party for National Development (UPND) and rose from position of Party's Legal Chairman to Deputy President in 1999 and still currently Deputy President.

BJARTE TØRÅ (Norway) is Country Director for NDI's program in Nairobi, Kenya and helps coordinate NDI's programs in East Africa. Mr. Tørå brings more than 30 years of

experience in democratic development and political parties. Before joining NDI, Mr. Tørå served as international secretary for six years and deputy secretary general for seven years of the Christian Democratic Party (CDP) of Norway. In those capacities, he directed training programs for all levels of the party organization, and organized CDP support for the development and democratization of political parties in countries such as Bosnia-Herzegovina, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Russia, among others. He has also acted as an election observer in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Estonia, Kenya, Malawi and South Africa. Mr. Tørå was an elected official in Norway for 16 years, serving as a member of a municipal council, deputy member of a county council and a deputy member of parliament. He holds a degree in religion from the Lutheran School of Theology and a degree in teaching from the Notodden College of Teacher Education.

Delegation Staff

RICHARD KLEIN (USA) is NDI's Country Director for Tanzania and helps manage the Institute's programs across Southern and East Africa. Mr. Klein has organized election observation missions in Guyana, Namibia and Mozambique and has worked on programs designed to support the holding of free and fair elections in Algeria, Bangladesh, Liberia, Malawi, Nigeria, the Palestinian Authority and Zambia. He has 10 years of experience working on programs across Africa to strengthen democratic governance. Mr. Klein served as a presiding officer in Washington D.C. for both the 2002 primary and general elections. He has a B.A. in political science with a focus on African politics from Michigan State University and attended graduate school at Indiana University also concentrating on the politics of sub-Saharan Africa. As part of his study's he spent a summer in Tanzania as an intensive Swahili language student and speaks Swahili.

TERRY HOVERTER (USA) is a Senior Program Officer with NDI's Asia team, focusing on initiatives in South Asia, notably Bangladesh, Nepal, and the Maldives. Mr. Hoverter has assisted with several election monitoring efforts during his tenure at NDI, most recently pre-election, election-day, and post-election efforts during the parliamentary and presidential elections in Afghanistan, and election-day activities during general and local elections in Bangladesh, Cambodia and Indonesia. In addition to his work at NDI, Mr. Hoverter is an Advisory Council member with the Public International Law & Policy Group. Mr. Hoverter earned his J.D. from the Washington College of Law, American University; his M.A. in International Affairs from the George Washington University; and his B.A. in International Relations from Fordham University.

KYM MCCARTY (USA) is NDI's resident senior program manager for Sudan, based in Nairobi, Kenya. Ms. McCarty is an Institute veteran having worked for NDI since 1996, most recently as deputy to the vice president, during which time she assisted with managing Institute operations in Washington, D.C. and 50 field offices. She has also worked on a variety of NDI-wide programs including the Emerging Democracies Forum in Sana'a Yemen and election missions in Kenya, Nigeria and Pakistan. In 2004, she directed the International Leaders Forum, the Institute's week-long program convened quadrennially during the Democratic National Convention. Before joining NDI, Ms. McCarty directed recruiting for WorldTeach, based at the Center for International Development at Harvard University. Earlier, she spent a year teaching English and learning Swahili as a volunteer for WorldTeach in Kenya. Ms. McCarty earned a B.A. in Business Management from Johnson State College in Vermont and a Public Health Certificate from Harvard University.

DICKSON OMONDI (Kenya) is a program officer with National Democratic Institute (Kenya Office), where he assists with implementation of a program to build the institutional capacity of political parties. As part of his work, Mr. Omondi has been involved in training of political party officials on the legal framework governing administration of elections in Kenya. He has also served as an accredited observer in the 2002 general elections and a number of ensuing by-elections. In addition he was involved in organizing forums for dialogue between the Electoral Commission of Kenya and political party representatives at grassroots level. Mr. Omondi has also provided administrative support to a pre-election delegation in Ethiopia and assisted in organizing forums for Ugandan parliamentarians to discuss international electoral standards. His past work experience is with the League of Kenya Women Voters where he implemented a civic education program. He holds a Bachelors of Arts degree from Kenyatta University.

CLARA WILLIAMS (USA) is currently a Senior Program Assistant at NDI with the Southern and East Africa Team. Ms. Williams graduated from Georgetown University where she received her B.S. in Foreign Service with a minor in African Studies. Prior to joining NDI, Ms. Williams spent time abroad in Tanzania, where studied political science at the University of Dar es Salaam. She is proficient in Kiswahili and fluent in Spanish.

Appendix 6. NDI Delegation Agenda

Tuesday, October 25

Delegation Arrives in Dar es Salaam

Wednesday, October 26

Briefings in Dar es Salaam

Justice Joseph Warioba, former Prime Minister

Dr. Rwekeza Mukandala, Chairperson, Tanzania Election Monitoring Committee (TEMCO)

Nape Nnuaye, Member National Executive Committee (NEC), Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM)

Hussein Mmasi, Elections Officer, Civic United Front (CUF)

Salva Rweyemamu, Chairperson, Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA)

Aggripina Mosha, Board Member and Deus Kibamba, Senior Program Officer, Tanzania Gender Network Program (TGNP)

Thursday, October 27

Briefings in Dar es Salaam

Philip Mangula, Secretary General, CCM

National Electoral Commission (NEC) Official Briefing

Delegation Travels to Stone Town

NDI Observer Orientation

Friday, October 28

Stone Town Briefings

Briefing by the Zanzibar Electoral Commission (ZEC)

Asha Juma, Member NEC; Vuai Vuai, Secretary for the Department of Ideology and Publicity; Ishau Khamis, Director of the Elections Unit; and Kidawa Saleh, Secretary for the Department of Organization, CCM

Ali Uki, Journalist and Zonal Coordinator for the Zanzibar Civic Education Reference Group

Saturday, October 29

Stone Town Briefings

Dr. Laurean Ndumbaro, Regional Coordinator, TEMCO

Seif Shariff Hamad, Secretary General, CUF

NDI Deployment Meeting

Team Deploy Across Zanzibar

Sunday, October 30 (Election Day)

Teams Observe Voting and Counting (and as possible Tabulation at Offices of Returning Officers)

Monday, October 31

Teams as possible Observe Tabulation at Offices of Returning Officers

Teams Return to Stone Town

Debriefing Meeting

Draft Interim Statement

Tuesday, November 1

Finalize Interim Statement

Press Conference

Delegation Travels to Dar es Salaam

Wednesday, November 2

Delegation Departs Tanzania

Appendix 7. NDI Deployment Plan

NDI International Observer Mission Deployment Plan				
Team	Base	Region	District(s)	Constituencies
Mike Ford & Elijah Rubvuta	Chake Chake	Pemba North	Wete	Gando, Kojani, Matambwe, Ole & Wete
Lena Klevenås & Yinka Lawal	Chake Chake	Pemba South	Chake Chake & Mkoani	Wawi, Mkoani & Mtambile
Heather Flynn & Noel Kututwa	Matemwe	North	North A	Chaani, Matemwe, Nungwi & Tambatu
Joyce Piliso-Seroke & Sakwiba Sikota	Chwaka	South	Central	Chwaka, Koani & Uzini
Cletus Avoka & Rosa Namises	Kizimkazi	South	Central	Makunduchi & Muyuni
Pius Anyim & Shari Bryan	Stone Town	Urban/West	Urban	Kikwajuni, Mji Mkongwe & Rahaleo
Larry DeNardis & Bjarte Torå	Stone Town	Urban/West	Urban	Jang'ombe, Kwahani, Magomeni & Mpendae
Lamine Ba, Thabi Mngadi & Nora Owen	Stone Town	Urban/West	Urban	Amani, Chumbini & Kwamtipura
Ivan Doherty & Susan Nkoma	Stone Town	Urban/West	West	Dimani, Fuoni, Kiembe Samaki, Magogoni & Mwanakwerekwe
Rita DiMartino & Kym McCarty	Stone Town	Urban/West	West	Bububu, Dole, Mbuzini & Mtoni

The NDI delegation deployed 10 teams to all five of Zanzibar's regions; eight of its 10 districts and 36 of its 50 constituencies.

Appendix 8. NDI Arrival Statement



FOR RELEASE ON OCTOBER 25

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**NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE (NDI) DELEGATION TO OBSERVE OCTOBER 30
PRESIDENTIAL AND PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS ON ZANZIBAR**

International delegation to be co-led by former Nigerian Senate President Pius Anyim; former US Congressman Lawrence DeNardis; and former Irish Minister of Justice Nora Owen.

The National Democratic Institute (NDI) today announced its delegation that will observe the October 30 elections in Zanzibar. The 21-member multinational delegation, organized by NDI, will be co-led by former Nigerian Senate President Pius Anyim, former US Congressman Lawrence DeNardis, and former Irish Minister of Justice Nora Owen. The delegation will include elected officials, electoral and human rights experts, regional specialists, and political and civic leaders from 14 countries in Africa, Europe and North America.

The presidential and parliamentary poll in Zanzibar is the third since the reintroduction of multiparty politics in 1992. The purpose of the NDI delegation is to express the international community's interest in and support for Tanzanian and Zanzibari efforts to develop democratic elections in which all citizens are meaningfully able to exercise their fundamental right to vote, and to provide an impartial and accurate report on that process to the international community. Given concerns over past elections on Zanzibar as well as the relatively good conduct of previous Union elections, NDI's delegation is focusing specifically on the Zanzibar elections.

NDI has had staff based in Dar es Salaam and Stone Town since September 1st specifically to follow all phases of the election process and to prepare for observation on election day. With funding from the Joint Donor Basket for the 2005 Election (managed by UNDP), NDI has conducted a 13-month program for capacity building for all political parties in advance of the elections. Most recently, 15 seminars were conducted across Tanzania to help all political parties more effectively prepare their polling and counting agents.

From October 24 – 28, the delegation will meet in Dar es Salaam and Stone Town with government officials, civil society leaders, electoral authorities, candidates and political analysts. Teams of delegates will then deploy to different regions on Unguja and Pemba. The day before the election, each team will meet with local election officials, party representatives, civic groups and others to assess the election environment at their deployment sites. On election day, the teams will visit polling stations to observe voting and counting in their respective regions. Following the counting of results, the teams will reassemble in Stone Town for debriefing and to prepare a preliminary delegation statement, which will be tentatively released to the press and others on Tuesday, November 1.

The delegation will conduct its activities in a nonpartisan, professional manner in accordance with applicable laws, codes of conduct, and international standards. In particular NDI's delegates will be guided by the new "Declaration of Principles for International Election Observers" that was developed by the UN with NDI and The Carter Center. The principles are set to be officially launched by UN Secretary General Kofi Annan, former US President Jimmy Carter and NDI Chairman Madeleine Albright on October 27 in New York. In conducting its observation mission, NDI will be in close communication with domestic observers from Tanzania Election Monitoring Committee (TEMCO) as well as other international observer delegations.

NDI is a nonprofit organization working to strengthen and expand democracy worldwide. NDI provides practical assistance to civic and political leaders advancing democratic values, practices and institutions. NDI works with democrats in every region of the world to build political and civic organizations, safeguard elections, and to promote citizen participation, openness and accountability in government. NDI began working in Tanzania in 2002 and has had a permanent presence in the country since January 2005.

ENDS

Appendix 9. NDI Interim Statement



PRELIMINARY STATEMENT OF NDI'S ELECTORAL OBSERVATION MISSION TO ZANZIBAR'S 2005 ELECTIONS

*Stone Town, Zanzibar, United Republic of Tanzania
November 1, 2005*

This preliminary statement is offered by the National Democratic Institute's international election observation delegation to Zanzibar's October 30, 2005 presidential, parliamentary and local councilor elections. National elections were scheduled to take place concurrently with elections in the semi-autonomous islands of Zanzibar, though this delegation focused only on the Zanzibar elections. The delegation was led by: Pius Anyim, former president of the Senate of the Federal Republic of Nigeria; Nora Owen, former Minister of Justice of the Republic of Ireland; and Lawrence DeNardis, former member of the United States House of Representatives. The delegation, totaling 20 observers from Africa, Europe and the United States, also included elected officials, electoral and human rights experts, regional specialists and political and civic leaders from 11 countries.

The purposes of the delegation were: to demonstrate the international community's continued interest in and support for a democratic election in Zanzibar; and to provide Zanzibaris and the international community with an impartial and accurate assessment of the election process and the political environment surrounding it to date. The delegation conducted its assessment in accordance with Tanzanian law, Zanzibari electoral law, and on the basis of international standards for election observation found in the Declaration of Principles for International Election Observation.

The delegation wishes to emphasize that NDI does not intend to render a conclusive assessment of the process at this time, because votes are still being tabulated and any electoral complaints that may be lodged remain to be processed. NDI does not seek to interfere in the election process. The Institute recognizes that, ultimately, it will be the people of Zanzibar who determine the meaning and validity of these elections.

I. SUMMARY OF OBSERVATIONS

Zanzibar's 2005 presidential, parliamentary and local councilor elections were a marked administrative improvement over past elections. However, problems related to the permanent voter register (PVR), election day violence, and in some instances, the excessive use of force by security personnel, may have undermined citizens' confidence in the electoral process and could have impaired the integrity of the vote in some polling stations.

Changes made to the Zanzibar constitution, electoral law and the Zanzibar Election Commission (ZEC) as a result of the Muafaka II peace accord, reached following violence that resulted from the 2000 elections, have helped to improve the transparency and accountability of the 2005 electoral process. By-and-large: polling stations opened on time; electoral materials were in place; party agents were active and engaged, and voters turned out in high numbers – many of whom waited patiently for hours in long lines to vote in these important elections. In many parts of the country, particularly in rural areas of Unguja and Pemba, voting was peaceful and orderly. The counting process throughout Unguja and Pemba was administered in a transparent manner, with the full participation of political party agents and observers.

However, in several constituencies in Stone Town and its environs, violence erupted between voters and other individuals who were alleged to be from outside the area and not registered to vote at these polling centers; security forces in some instances used excessive force such as tear gas and water cannons. Irregularities, such as underage voting and double voting, were witnessed. Most significantly, many voters in the urban areas expressed distrust in the accuracy of the final PVR, which was not available to the public or political contestants until election day.

Having improved the administrative management of Zanzibar's elections, there are now opportunities to make further improvements that will instill a greater sense of confidence in the people of Zanzibar immediately and in the longer term.

Final Report on the 2005 Zanzibar Elections

The delegation offers the following immediate recommendations:

- ▶ All sides should respect the rights of others and refrain from the use of violence.
- ▶ Security forces should be ordered to refrain from using excessive force in the course of maintaining public safety.
- ▶ Allegations of the excessive use of force on election day should be investigated and addressed in order to provide redress for those whose rights were infringed and to bring to account those responsible for any such violations.
- ▶ The ZEC should make available to the public, all polling station level results simultaneously with its release of accumulated electoral results.
- ▶ All electoral complaints that may be filed should be processed properly and in an expedited manner, with immediate redress and effective remedies provided.

In addition, the delegation recommends the following actions be considered by the ZEC and other stakeholders in order to ensure peace and prosperity for the people of Zanzibar in the longer term:

- ▶ The PVR should be made available to all citizens and political parties in an appropriate timeframe for verification and remedy if necessary.
- ▶ The PVR and related voters' lists should be consistent in order to ensure that all eligible citizens can exercise their right to vote.
- ▶ The changes in district and constituency delimitation be fully explained and constituency maps be provided to all interested stakeholders.
- ▶ Libel laws which may discourage media houses from airing or publishing political party advertisements should be changed or corrected to protect the media.
- ▶ ZEC officials and polling administrators should be provided ongoing training of their roles, responsibilities and ZEC regulations.
- ▶ The eligibility for registration of non-resident government officials, particularly the military and other security forces, should be re-evaluated. Once eligibility is decided, distinct voting procedures, including the location of polling stations and the number of eligible voters from this class, should be made public.

II. THE ELECTORAL CONTEXT

Over the course of the delegation's visit to Tanzania, various briefings were provided about the pre-election period. The following observations are based on these briefings and those provided NDI's staff members who have followed the election process over the past nine months.

Since the reintroduction of multiparty politics across Tanzania in 1992, Zanzibar held general elections in 1995 and 2000. Both elections were criticized by domestic and international observers as being poorly managed and lacking transparency and accountability. The results of neither election were accepted by all political parties, and not all parties were willing to take up their seats in the legislature. Following the 2000 Zanzibar polls, demonstrations calling for new elections resulted in violent clashes with the security forces and tragically in the loss of life and the fleeing of hundreds of Zanzibaris to Kenya seeking asylum.

Importantly, there have been attempts after each election to reduce political tensions and promote elections that will be seen as credible to all parties. In 1999, a first peace agreement known as Muafaka I, was signed, but not fully implemented prior to the 2000 Zanzibar elections. In 2001 a second peace accord, referred to as Muafaka II, was agreed to and has been implemented under the Joint Presidential Supervisory Commission (JPSC). In 2003, by-elections were held on Pemba for 17 constituencies under an electoral system that included many of the reforms called for in the Muafaka II agreement. While the 2003 elections were not completely free of problems, domestic and international observers praised the conduct of by-elections on Zanzibar and all parties accepted the results and took up their seats in the legislature.

The 2005 elections represent the first general elections to take place under the Muafaka II electoral reforms.

A. Legal Framework

On Zanzibar, there were to be both Union (national) and Zanzibari elections. The former are for the Union President and Parliament (Bunge) while the latter are for the Zanzibar President, House of Representatives, and local councilors. Given the death of one of the vice-presidential candidates four days before the election, Union elections were postponed until December 18, 2005.

There are separate legal frameworks for the two sets of elections with the Union Elections governed by the Union Constitution and the Union Electoral Act, and the Zanzibar elections governed by the Zanzibar Constitution and the Zanzibar Electoral Act. This report and analysis refers only to the electoral framework governing Zanzibar.

Both the Zanzibar Constitution and Electoral Act were amended in 2002 as part of the Muafaka II agreement. These amendments served to alter the composition of the electoral commission; introduced a permanent voters register; limited the involvement of local government officials, or shehas, in the election process (in particular voter registration); and provided polling agents with an official copy of the results from the presiding officer after counting occurred at the polling station. These changes are positive steps intended to enhance the transparency and accountability of the electoral process.

B. Election Administration

The Zanzibar Election Commission (ZEC) is responsible for managing Zanzibar elections. In the past, the ZEC has organized both the Union and Zanzibar elections on the Isles. For 2005, however, the NEC had planned to separately conduct the Union elections on Zanzibar. Given the greater historical confidence in the NEC's technical capacity to organize elections and because the political tensions on the Isles center almost entirely on the Zanzibar elections, the greater autonomy given to the ZEC administration will likely enhance the legitimacy of the Union elections.

The composition of the ZEC commissioners has also been changed. In the past, the ZEC has been accused of only representing the interests of the ruling party. While all seven members, including the chair continue to be appointed by the Zanzibar President, two commissioners are now recommended by the Leader of Government Business and two by the Leader of the Opposition. While this does not guarantee the independence or autonomy of the ZEC it has helped to ensure that the commission takes into consideration the interests of the major political contestants in determining how elections are conducted.

Concerns continue, though, regarding the autonomy of the ZEC. Questions have been raised about the timing of the release of funds from the government to the ZEC to conduct the 2005 general elections. Most disconcerting, however, were the actions of the Attorney General to void a contract the ZEC had entered into with a firm to conduct an audit of the voter register. While there were some concerns about both the nature of the contract and the technical specifications of the audit, the manner in which the issue was handled by the government seemed to undermine the perception of the ZEC as an autonomous body in the eyes of many citizens.

C. Voter Registration

Given that some, but not all Tanzanians are defined as Zanzibaris and hence eligible to vote in Zanzibar's elections, voter registration is an important and sensitive issue. As part of the Muafaka II agreement a new permanent voter register (PVR) for Zanzibar was produced in advance of the 2005 elections. Registration of voters began in November 2004 and ended in April 2005. While all parties have seen the introduction of a new PVR as a positive step for this and future elections, concerns remained after the voter registration exercise about the accuracy of the PVR.

Public confidence in the PVR may have been undermined when a contract to conduct an audit of the voter register, an exercise intended to enhance confidence in the PVR, was cancelled by the Zanzibar Government. Ultimately, the audit did go forward after significant delays and extensive behind the scenes negotiations.

However, the final voter register was only prepared days before voting and did not allow for a final inspection period for the public or the political parties. Thus an important benefit of transparency and confidence building was lost.

In the past concerns have been raised about the role of local government officials, shehas, in the electoral process. They have been accused of interfering with both the registration of voters as well as voting and counting on election day. Under Muafaka II the formal involvement of shehas in the election process was reduced.

Nonetheless, complaints persisted this year that shehas continued to play a role in voter registration and that they continued to impede the registration of eligible voters.

Concerns also continued to be raised about the eligibility of civil servants and members of the security forces to register to vote in Zanzibar elections without meeting the 36 month continuous residency requirement. Tensions over this issue led to violence on Pemba during the voter registration exercise and as a result, voter registration was suspended for a week until tensions had diminished. In addition, concerns were raised about voters from Pemba registering and potentially also voting on Unguja.

D. Delimitation of Constituencies

Following the 2002 census a new delimitation exercise was conducted by the ZEC. As a result, the number of constituencies on Pemba was reduced by three, while three were added on Unguja. Given that Pemba has historically voted overwhelmingly for the opposition and that hundreds of Zanzibaris from Pemba fled the island after violence following the 2000 general elections, the shifting of constituencies from Pemba to Unguja may have affected voters' confidence in the electoral process. It was reported that ZEC did not fully explain to the citizens the reasons for these changes.

In addition, concern was expressed that new constituency maps were not produced or distributed. The lack of such maps may undermine the transparency and accountability of the election and hampers the efficient management of the election process by the ZEC.

E. Campaign

A number of incidents of violence involving supporters from opposition and ruling parties were reported during the campaign period. Nevertheless, all parties agree that the level of tension was lower than in previous elections, and leaders from both ruling and opposition parties made public statements calling for calm among their supporters and for peaceful elections.

An incident that occurred on Unguja near Donge constituency, in which a clash occurred between supporters of the opposition party and the security forces, raised concerns about violence during the campaign period. Nearly 20 opposition supporters were seriously wounded when the security forces fired on them. The security forces claim that they used tear gas and rubber bullets while independent media reports state that tear gas and live ammunition were employed by the security forces. This is particularly disturbing given the lethal response by security forces to demonstrations organized by the opposition in 2001 that resulted in more than 20 fatalities.

Access by political parties to public fields for campaign rallies has reportedly been limited by government and election officials. The violent clash between opposition supporters and the security forces near Donge constituency occurred after the ZEC declared that the scheduled rally could not take place at the designated field.

F. Media

State-owned electronic and print media is dominant on Zanzibar. The only independent daily newspaper was closed by the Zanzibar Government in 2003 for violating the code for professional ethics and there is no independent television or radio on Zanzibar. Media monitoring by the Media Institute of Southern Africa – Tanzania (MISA-Tanzania) has consistently shown a clear bias by state media in favor of the ruling party. Opposition parties have also complained that their free-to-airtime segments have been edited to the point of changing their content before being aired by state broadcasters. Media houses claim that this action was taken to prevent libel suits that could potentially be brought against them. As a positive sign, in the final weeks of the campaign weekly meetings between representatives of the media and political parties were initiated on Zanzibar to promote more equitable coverage and reduce tensions.

G. Women's Participation

Women continue to be underrepresented in positions of political leadership on Zanzibar. Women represent only 10.5 percent of the total number of candidates for 50 elected seats in the House of Representatives. On a positive note, the number of special seats reserved for women in the House of Representatives was increased from 10 to 15. Monitoring by MISA-Tanzania showed that women's voices received little coverage by the media.

III. ELECTION DAY

NDI deployed ten observations teams throughout Zanzibar, which visited over 400 out of the total of 1,617 polling stations on both the islands of Unguja and Pemba. Eight teams were based on Unguja, while the other two covered Pemba Island. The teams observed polling centers across all the six districts in Unguja, and all the four districts in Pemba, and observed voting and counting in 35 out of the 50 constituencies.

Based on the reports of NDI delegates, the following observations were made:

A. Positive Elements of the Election Day Process

A number of positive elements of election day processes were observed by the delegation, including the following points.

Election administration

Overall, the Zanzibar elections were administered in an efficient manner by ZEC. In general, polls opened on time, voting materials were in place and polling officials were prepared prior to the opening of polls at 7:00 am. Most voters found their names on the register, and the secrecy of their ballot was respected. Throughout the day, the delegation witnessed relatively few administrative problems in the voting process. While some administrative procedures were not followed consistently – such as the procedures for voters whose names were not found on the voters' list; the marking with indelible ink on voters' left thumb; and confusion over which of the three ballot boxes was intended for presidential, parliamentary and local councilor ballots – the application of ZEC regulations appeared to be enforced in general.

The counting process, notwithstanding several polling stations that began counting hours after the polling stations closed, went relatively smoothly. Party agents, domestic and international observers were able to observe the process; the counting was carried out in a transparent manner; and most parties agreed to the counting of ballots and the number of votes cast at polling stations. While the delegation heard complaints that reporting forms were not made available to all party agents at the conclusion of counting, in the polling stations observed by this delegation, final reporting forms were provided to all party agents present.

The ZEC should be commended for the generally professional administration of elections – a marked improvement from past polls. However, the administration of election procedures was not performed consistently throughout the Isles, and further training for polling officials appears to be needed. Officials and poll workers must clearly understand all ZEC procedures to ensure electoral integrity and public confidence.

Voter turnout and women's participation

The polls were well attended by Zanzibari voters. Across the Isles, the delegation noted that voters turned out in large numbers, early on election day. In many constituencies and polling centers, large numbers of voters were seen at the opening of the polls. Often hundreds, if not thousands, of voters were in line prior to the opening of the polls. In some cases citizens reported that they had been in line as early as 4:00 am or 5:00 am. This level of participation reflects a genuine desire among Zanzibaris to engage in this important democratic process and citizens should be commended for their active interest. In particular, the delegation noted a high level of female voters at the polls.

Role of party agents

The delegation noted the strong presence of political party poll watchers at almost all polling stations. Most of the party representatives understood their role in the process and remained actively engaged throughout the voting and counting stages of election day. Most importantly, party agents were able to verify the counting of ballots at each polling station, a significant improvement from past elections. However, the delegation heard mixed reports about whether party agents were able to observe the tabulation of votes at various collation centers.

B. Problems and Irregularities

Despite the apparent high turnout of voters and the relatively positive administration of the voting and counting process, several problems were noted, particularly in the Urban district, which includes Stone Town, and the West district.

Problems with the voter register

As mentioned above, Zanzibaris may have lacked confidence in the PVR prior to the elections. The audit of the voter register was fraught with problems and delays. Ultimately, the final PVR was not provided to citizens and the political contestants until election day. This process meant that Zanzibari citizens were unable to verify that their names were on the list prior to election day, and they did not have an opportunity to remedy the situation had their names not been on the list. This produced election day problems.

Several of the delegation's teams witnessed problems concerning the PVR, resulting in instances where voters with proper identification were not allowed into polling stations. Many polling centers had a voters list posted outside the polling center, which identified the voters for that center. However, at some centers, if a voter's name did not appear on the list, or their name was misspelled, that individual was not permitted inside the polling center. Such persons could not verify if his or her name appeared on the PVR and were therefore denied the opportunity to vote.

Irregularities in election administration

As mentioned above, the administration of election procedures was not uniform across the districts and the constituencies. Several election officials, including presiding officers, administered voting procedures in different ways, particularly issues concerning the identification of eligible voters. In addition, polling stations were missing forms or did not open on time, thumbs were marked prior to identification of the voter and were marked in the wrong place, ballot boxes were not adequately marked, polling agents were not familiar with their roles and were not permitted to ask the presiding officers questions, and election officials were sometimes confused about voter eligibility, inadequate number of ballot papers (for councilors), and misdistribution of materials.

Eligibility of voters

In certain places voters were disturbed about the possibility of outsiders being allowed to vote illegally. At Forodhani School in Mji Mkongwe constituency and at Mtoni School in Mtoni constituency for example, the delegation heard complaints that individuals not residing in the shehia were being permitted to vote, including large groups of young men and security forces who came to the polling centers by trucks. The delegation also observed and confirmed that under-aged voters were given the opportunity to vote in many instances. However, it is important to note that these under-aged voters and groups of men had the proper identification and their names appeared on the PVR.

Large numbers of security personnel

Large numbers of security personnel were seen around several polling centers, including Bwahani Hotel, Forodhani School, Haile Selassie School, and Kiwanja cha Madawa in Mji Mkongwe constituency, Biashara School in Dimani constituency, and Mtoni School in Mtoni constituency. In addition, delegates witnessed security personnel being driven in large numbers to several polling stations to vote. This occurred in the afternoon, when most registered voters had already voted. For example, at Mtoni School, security personnel were dropped off by trucks and were permitted to vote after a cursory check of their identification and the PVR, even though their thumbs contained indelible ink indicating they had already voted.

The use of force

While police officials worked well with election officials to assist with the administration of the elections at the polling centers in most places observed by the delegation, the delegation was concerned about instances of violence. Some delegation members witnessed security forces using excessive force to control the process. At Haile Selassie School and Kiwanja cha Madawa in Mji Mkongwe constituency, security personnel fired water cannons to disperse a crowd. At Mtoni School in Mtoni constituency, security personnel dragged individuals out of the surrounding homes that had allegedly blocked road access to the polling center. The delegation observed violent actions by security forces against these individuals. Tear gas was used to disperse those blocking the road. The source of the disturbances appeared to originate with citizens' concern that outsiders were voting illegally.

IV. THE DELEGATION AND ITS WORK

NDI is an independent, non-governmental organization that has conducted more than 100 impartial pre-election, election-day and post-election observations around the world. NDI recognizes that elections cannot be separated from the broader political process of which they are a part. The Institute's methodology for assessing elections is based on the premise that all aspects of the election process must be considered to accurately under-

stand the nature of an election. Considerable weight must be given to the pre-election periods, as well as to the resolution of the complaints and disputes following elections.

The delegation arrived in Tanzania on October 24th and held meetings in Dar es Salaam and Stone Town with representatives of presidential candidates and political parties; the National Election Commission (NEC) and the Zanzibar Election Commission (ZEC); representatives of the media; civic leaders; domestic election observers including TEMCO and REDET; heads of international election observation missions including the African Union (AU), the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC); the SADC Parliamentary Forum; the Electoral Institute of Southern Africa (EISA); the Electoral Commission's Forum of Southern Africa; the Commonwealth Observer Group; the international election observer mission organized by the UNDP; and other representatives of the international community who are concerned with supporting a democratic election process.

Delegates divided into teams and were deployed to all six administrative districts in Unguja and all four districts in Pemba for meetings with government, electoral, political and civic leaders in their respective localities. On election day, the teams observed the voting, counting and tabulation processes in over 400 polling stations. Delegates reconvened in Stone Town to debrief and develop this statement. The delegation expresses its gratitude to all whom it met.

Appendix 10. 2002 Census Data and 2005 Voter Registration and Presidential Turnout Figures

2002 Census Data and 2005 Voter Registration and Presidential Turnout Figures							
Region	District	Population 2002	Eligible Population 2002	Registered Voters 2005	% Registered 2005	Turnout 2005	% Turnout 2005
Pemba North	Micheweni	83,266	35,756	36,281	101%	33,671	93%
Pemba North	Wete	102,060	45,619	45,157	99%	42,107	93%
Pemba North Total		185,326	81,375	81,438	100%	75,778	93%
Pemba South	Chake Chake	82,998	37,146	38,686	104%	35,544	92%
Pemba South	Mkoani	92,473	41,276	36,594	89%	34,533	94%
Pemba South Total		175,471	78,422	75,280	96%	70,077	93%
Pemba Total		360,797	159,797	156,718	98%	145,855	93%
North	North A	84,147	39,708	47,838	120%	44,294	93%
North	North B	52,492	26,237	32,916	125%	30,860	94%
North Total		136,639	65,945	80,754	122%	75,154	93%
South	Central	62,391	31,020	43,513	140%	40,823	94%
South	South	31,853	16,780	20,675	123%	19,376	94%
South Total		94,244	47,800	64,188	134%	60,199	94%
Urban/West	Urban	205,870	115,822	112,974	98%	100,163	89%
Urban/West	West	184,204	93,911	92,591	99%	79,210	86%
Urban/West Total		390,074	209,733	205,565	98%	179,373	87%
Unguja Total		620,957	323,478	350,507	108%	314,726	90%
Zanzibar Total		981,754	483,275	507,225	105%	460,581	91%

Sources: 2002 Tanzania Census and Zanzibar Electoral Commission (ZEC)

Appendix 11. Official Zanzibar President and House of Representatives Results

Zanzibar President Results by Region, District and Constituency									
Region	District	Constituency	CCM		CUF		Other		Total
			#	%	#	%	#	%	#
Pemba North	Micheweni	Konde	859	11%	7,123	89%	26	0%	8,008
Pemba North	Micheweni	Mgogoni	835	11%	6,937	89%	51	1%	7,823
Pemba North	Micheweni	Micheweweni	1,824	21%	6,661	78%	105	1%	8,590
Pemba North	Micheweni	Tumbe	570	7%	7,777	93%	50	1%	8,397
Pemba North	Micheweni Total		4,088	12%	28,498	87%	418	1%	32,818
Pemba North	Wete	Gando	872	12%	6,427	88%	19	0%	7,318
Pemba North	Wete	Kojani	601	6%	9,080	94%	20	0%	9,701
Pemba North	Wete	Matambwe	351	5%	6,933	95%	16	0%	7,300
Pemba North	Wete	Ole	985	12%	7,054	87%	24	0%	8,063
Pemba North	Wete	Wete	1,343	14%	8,005	86%	14	0%	9,362
Pemba North	Wete Total		4,152	10%	37,499	90%	93	0%	41,744
Pemba North Total			8,240	11%	65,997	89%	325	0%	74,562
Pemba South	Chake Chake	Chake Chake	1,708	20%	6,781	80%	31	0%	8,520
Pemba South	Chake Chake	Chonga	2,496	33%	4,934	66%	25	0%	7,455
Pemba South	Chake Chake	Wawi	1,898	20%	7,685	80%	50	1%	9,633
Pemba South	Chake Chake	Ziwani	1,049	11%	8,303	89%	28	0%	9,380
Pemba South	Pemba South		7,151	20%	27,703	79%	134	0%	34,988
Pemba South	Mkoani	Chambani	618	10%	5,345	89%	20	0%	5,983
Pemba South	Mkoani	Kiwani	1,480	23%	4,831	76%	60	1%	6,371
Pemba South	Mkoani	Mkanyageni	2,085	32%	4,476	68%	14	0%	6,575
Pemba South	Mkoani	Mkoani	2,123	30%	5,034	70%	10	0%	7,167
Pemba South	Mkoani	Mtambile	926	12%	6,933	88%	17	0%	7,876
Pemba South	Mkoani Total		7,232	21%	26,619	78%	121	0%	33,972
Pemba South Total			14,383	21%	54,322	79%	255	0%	68,960
Pemba Total			22,623	16%	120,319	84%	580	0%	143,522
North	North A	Chaani	7,424	82%	1,404	16%	226	2%	9,054
North	North A	Matemwe	4,892	71%	1,735	25%	245	4%	6,872
North	North A	Mkwajuni	4,420	57%	2,928	38%	392	5%	7,740
North	North A	Nungwi	5,606	60%	3,588	38%	167	2%	9,361
North	North A	Tambatu	5,164	51%	4,826	48%	73	1%	10,063
North	North A Total		27,506	64%	14,481	34%	1,103	3%	43,090
North	North B	Bumbwini	6,189	64%	3,429	35%	46	0%	9,664
North	North B	Donge	10,124	91%	981	9%	52	0%	11,157
North	North B	Kitope	8,099	86%	1,208	13%	154	2%	9,461
North	North B Total		24,412	81%	5,618	19%	252	1%	30,282

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Zanzibar President Results by Region, District and Constituency									
Region	District	Constituency	CCM		CUF		Other		Total
			#	%	#	%	#	%	#
North Total			51,918	71%	20,099	27%	1,355	2%	73,372
South	Center	Chwaka	11,161	87%	1,622	13%	67	1%	12,850
South	Center	Koani	10,664	75%	3,439	24%	101	1%	14,204
South	Center	Uzini	12,486	94%	653	5%	112	1%	13,251
South	Center Total		34,311	85%	5,714	14%	280	1%	40,305
South	South	Makunduchi	8,659	87%	1,217	12%	39	0%	9,915
South	South	Muyuni	7,741	87%	1,185	13%	23	0%	8,949
South	South Total		16,400	87%	2,402	13%	62	0%	18,864
South Total			50,711	86%	8,116	14%	342	1%	59,169
Urban/West	Urban	Amani	5,665	76%	1,744	23%	52	1%	7,461
Urban/West	Urban	Chumbuni	6,379	66%	3,108	32%	155	2%	9,642
Urban/West	Urban	Jang'ombe	8,885	77%	2,654	23%	47	0%	11,586
Urban/West	Urban	Kikwajuni	7,081	67%	3,481	33%	30	0%	10,592
Urban/West	Urban	Kwahani	5,815	67%	2,752	32%	61	1%	8,628
Urban/West	Urban	Kwamtipura	8,657	74%	2,898	25%	186	2%	11,741
Urban/West	Urban	Magomeni	6,607	64%	3,678	36%	48	0%	10,333
Urban/West	Urban	Mji Mkongwe	2,494	26%	6,954	73%	37	0%	9,485
Urban/West	Urban	Mpandae	6,247	68%	2,952	32%	33	0%	9,232
Urban/West	Urban	Rahaleo	5,815	67%	2,752	32%	61	1%	8,628
Urban/West	Urban Total		63,645	65%	32,973	34%	710	1%	97,328
Urban/West	West	Bububu	5,320	52%	4,910	48%	78	1%	10,308
Urban/West	West	Dimani	7,796	67%	3,807	33%	44	0%	11,647
Urban/West	West	Dole	6,877	76%	2,091	23%	35	0%	9,003
Urban/West	West	Fuoni	6,779	68%	3,142	31%	59	1%	9,980
Urban/West	West	Kembe Samaki	4,685	78%	1,286	22%	8	0%	5,979
Urban/West	West	Magogoni	4,223	57%	3,162	42%	56	1%	7,441
Urban/West	West	Mfenesini	5,509	72%	2,048	27%	44	1%	7,601
Urban/West	West	Mtoni	4,493	57%	3,275	42%	64	1%	7,832
Urban/West	West	Mwanakwerekwe	5,253	67%	2,495	32%	38	0%	7,786
Urban/West	West Total		50,935	66%	26,216	34%	426	1%	77,577
Urban/West Total			114,580	66%	59,189	34%	1,136	1%	174,905
Unguja Total			217,209	71%	87,404	28%	2,833	1%	307,446
TOTAL			239,832	53%	207,723	46%	3,413	1%	450,968

Source: Zanzibar Electoral Commission (ZEC)

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Zanzibar House of Representatives Results by Region, District and Constituency									
Region	District	Constituency	CCM		CUF		Other		Total
			#	%	#	%	#	%	#
Pemba North	Micheweni	Konde	844	11%	6,927	87%	158	2%	7,929
Pemba North	Micheweni	Mgogoni	879	12%	6,365	84%	315	4%	7,559
Pemba North	Micheweni	Micheweni	2,101	24%	6,388	74%	103	1%	8,592
Pemba North	Micheweni	Tumbe	642	8%	7,761	92%	0	0%	8,403
Pemba North	Micheweni Total		4,466	14%	27,441	84%	576	2%	32,483
Pemba North	Wete	Gando	855	12%	6,241	86%	122	2%	7,218
Pemba North	Wete	Kojani	711	7%	8,471	88%	393	4%	9,575
Pemba North	Wete	Matambwe	367	5%	6,783	94%	82	1%	7,232
Pemba North	Wete	Ole	985	12%	6,889	86%	140	2%	8,014
Pemba North	Wete	Wete	1,337	14%	7,856	85%	102	1%	9,295
Pemba North	Wete Total		4,255	10%	36,240	88%	839	2%	41,334
Pemba North Total			8,721	12%	63,681	86%	1,415	2%	73,817
Pemba South	Chake Chake	Chake Chake	1,635	19%	6,572	78%	215	3%	8,422
Pemba South	Chake Chake	Chonga	2,460	33%	4,731	64%	218	3%	7,409
Pemba South	Chake Chake	Wawi	1,811	19%	7,168	75%	554	6%	9,533
Pemba South	Chake Chake	Ziwani	1,003	11%	8,080	87%	250	3%	9,333
Pemba South	Pemba South		6,909	20%	26,551	77%	1,237	4%	34,697
Pemba South	Mkoani	Chambani	683	11%	5,185	87%	92	2%	5,960
Pemba South	Mkoani	Kiwani	1,648	26%	4,702	73%	53	1%	6,403
Pemba South	Mkoani	Mkanyageni	2,112	34%	4,075	65%	83	1%	6,270
Pemba South	Mkoani	Mkoani	2,150	30%	4,868	69%	81	1%	7,099
Pemba South	Mkoani	Mtambile	1,123	14%	6,631	84%	122	2%	7,876
Pemba South	Mkoani Total		7,716	23%	25,461	76%	431	1%	33,608
Pemba South Total			14,625	21%	52,012	76%	1,668	2%	68,305
Pemba Total			23,346	16%	115,693	81%	3,083	2%	142,122
North	North A	Chaani	7,170	80%	1,232	14%	521	6%	8,923
North	North A	Matemwe	4,161	61%	2,388	35%	325	5%	6,874
North	North A	Mkwajuni	3,586	46%	1,668	21%	2,555	33%	7,809
North	North A	Nungwi	5,385	57%	3,820	41%	184	2%	9,389
North	North A	Tambatu	5,078	51%	4,762	48%	114	1%	9,954
North	North A Total		25,380	59%	13,870	32%	3,699	9%	42,949
North	North B	Bumbwini	5,852	62%	3,396	36%	205	2%	9,453
North	North B	Donge	9,776	89%	961	9%	282	3%	11,019
North	North B	Kitope	7,868	80%	1,703	17%	300	3%	9,871
North	North B Total		23,496	77%	6,060	20%	787	3%	30,343
North Total			48,876	67%	19,930	27%	4,486	6%	73,292

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Zanzibar House of Representatives Results by Region, District and Constituency									
Region	District	Constituency	CCM		CUF		Other		Total
			#	%	#	%	#	%	#
South	Center	Chwaka	10,339	82%	1,646	13%	636	5%	12,621
South	Center	Koani	9,470	70%	3,611	27%	535	4%	13,616
South	Center	Uzini	11,273	87%	799	6%	850	7%	12,922
South	Center Total		31,082	79%	6,056	15%	2,021	5%	39,159
South	South	Makunduchi	8,876	82%	979	9%	1,035	10%	10,890
South	South	Muyuni	7,244	83%	1,244	14%	230	3%	8,718
South	South Total		16,120	82%	2,223	11%	1,265	6%	19,608
South Total			47,202	80%	8,279	14%	3,286	6%	58,767
Urban/West	Urban	Amani	5,615	76%	1,645	22%	126	2%	7,386
Urban/West	Urban	Chumbuni	6,266	65%	2,933	31%	391	4%	9,590
Urban/West	Urban	Jang'ombe	8,780	76%	2,644	23%	131	1%	11,555
Urban/West	Urban	Kikwajuni	7,209	69%	3,315	31%	0	0%	10,524
Urban/West	Urban	Kwahani	7,537	83%	1,524	17%	0	0%	9,061
Urban/West	Urban	Kwamtipura	8,375	73%	2,691	23%	423	4%	11,489
Urban/West	Urban	Magomeni	6,183	67%	2,844	31%	180	2%	9,207
Urban/West	Urban	Mji Mkongwe	2,431	26%	6,929	73%	84	1%	9,444
Urban/West	Urban	Mpandae	6,183	67%	2,844	31%	134	1%	9,161
Urban/West	Urban	Rahaleo	5,637	66%	2,733	32%	162	2%	8,532
Urban/West	Urban Total		64,216	67%	30,102	31%	1,631	2%	95,949
Urban/West	West	Bububu	5,229	51%	4,936	48%	63	1%	10,228
Urban/West	West	Dimani	7,788	66%	3,749	32%	195	2%	11,732
Urban/West	West	Dole	<i>Election Nullified</i>						
Urban/West	West	Fuoni	6,633	66%	3,034	30%	383	4%	10,050
Urban/West	West	Kembe Samaki	4,718	79%	1,198	20%	35	1%	5,951
Urban/West	West	Magogoni	4,174	57%	3,154	43%	36	0%	7,364
Urban/West	West	Mfenesini	5,228	70%	2,050	28%	162	2%	7,440
Urban/West	West	Mtoni	4,414	56%	3,276	42%	124	2%	7,814
Urban/West	West	Mwanakwerekwe	5,235	68%	2,409	31%	100	1%	7,744
Urban/West	West Total		43,419	64%	23,806	35%	1,098	2%	68,323
Urban/West Total			107,635	66%	53,908	33%	2,729	2%	164,272
Unguja Total			203,713	69%	82,117	28%	10,501	4%	296,331
TOTAL			227,059	52%	197,810	45%	13,584	3%	438,453

Source: Zanzibar Electoral Commission (ZEC)



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