

**INTRODUCTION**

Voting and vote counting are pivotal components of an election process, more so when one considers the fact that election rigging most likely takes place in these very areas. Given the possibility that these two areas can become an election wrecker, electoral authorities like Tanzania's National Electoral Commission, do the utmost to make sure that these two exercises are conducted in as a transparent manner as possible to ensure that interested parties find no reason or excuse of raising objections against the whole exercise, or conclude that the elections were neither free nor fair. This is not only important as far as the institutions of democracy are concerned, elections are a costly exercise which once declared void the financial implications are far reaching, especially for a small economy like that of Tanzania. In this paper we are assessing these two election components as they were handled in the 1994 Local Government Elections. In so doing, we will use data obtained from ten researched regions<sup>1</sup> (from which ninety wards were sampled) to describe what actually took place, see whether the rules were followed, try to identify the problem areas and in view of these make suggestions on what could be done to improve the administration of these and other components in future elections.

**VOTING**

**The General Pattern**

Voting took place on the 30th October, 1994, starting at 8.00 a.m. to 6.00 p.m. Voting took place in 1227 wards nationwide out of the total 2418; voting did not take place in the remaining 1191 wards because there was no opposition, while in 8 wards, elections had to be postponed for various reasons. Of the unopposed 1183 seats, Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) was overwhelmingly the chief beneficiary. As preparations for the elections, there were training polling stations, as well as those who were going to supervise or act as agents for the participating parties prior to the voting day. These included the Assistant Returning Officers, the polling clerks, enumerators, and representatives of the parties/candidates. Other interested parties like the candidates themselves were also invited to the seminars. The number of each category varied according to the situation in a ward, i.e. depending on the number of contesting parties.

In most wards, polling stations were determined by the Ward Executive Officer (WEO) acting as the constituency's Assistant Returning Officer in consultation with the contesting parties. In some wards, however, one of the complaints raised against the Returning Officers by the opposition parties was that of determining these stations without consulting them. This was the case, for example, in Mwanza Urban where Chama Cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo (CHADEMA), National Convention for Construction and Reform-Mageuzi (NCCR-M) and Union for Multiparty Democracy (UMD) raised this complaint. In almost all wards, the registration stations were converted into polling stations. However, in many instances the total number of

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polling stations in a ward was bigger than that of registration stations, because additional polling stations were necessary in order to facilitate the voting exercise.

Generally, four points were considered in determining the number of polling stations needed in a ward: Firstly, it was the number of registered voters vis-a-vis the estimated eligible voters; expectations were that the numbers of estimated and actual registries were going to be close. Secondly, whereas the registration process took four weeks, voting was going to take some ten hours only - Hence the need for more stations. Thirdly, in some wards the number of registered voters was higher than the estimated registered voters, e.g. in Mwandiga ward in Kigoma Rural district the registration was 137%, Kibondo in Kasulu district was 162%, Bukongo in Mwanza was 173.8% and Muleba in Kagera was 145.6%. Fourthly, registration stations which were established considering the distance potential registrees would walk for the exercise were maintained as polling stations simply because of the distance factor, even though the number of actual registrees could have been catered for by merging adjacent registration stations into a polling station. Mondo ward (Kondoa) was the case in point. The number of stations in this one example remained the same as those for registration due to the distance would-be-voters would have to walk. However, it is also worth mentioning that in some instances the determining factor was probably financial, as the Returning Officer had payments to make to the polling clerks as well as to enumerators. In Kondoa Mjini ward for example, there were 20 registration stations, but they were reduced to 10 polling stations while the number of registered eligible voters was very high at 84%. However the general pattern was that there were more polling stations than registration stations.

The premises for the polling stations were mainly school classrooms; there were also cases where they were in new yet-to-be used houses, godowns, WEO's office, health centres, and unused private houses. Efforts were made in most polling stations to have two chambers - one for the general purposes of the polling officials and the other for the voters to cast their ballots in secrecy. However, a number of polling stations in the researched wards did not have this important election provision; such were Burugo B (Nyakato ward, Kagera) and MW/2/32/5 (Mwanghalanga ward Mwanza). In the general purpose chamber were the polling clerks, participating parties' representatives, occasionally the WEO (as he/she had to go round the polling stations in the ward), and someone to keep order inside and outside the premises. The polling materials were also in this chamber. In the researched wards there were no reports of serious missing polling materials which could have stalled the voting process; only minor omissions, like missing forms, stamps or ink were reported<sup>2</sup>.

The voting procedure comprised the following major steps:-

- i) Voters had to queue outside the premises and enter the premises one at a time. In most polling stations there were two queues - One being for men and another for women.
- ii) presentation of the registration card (Form No. 1) to the station supervisor (one voter at a time);
- iii) the supervisor read aloud the name of the voter written on the registration card. If the contesting parties' representatives were not

entirely satisfied they could object to the person proceeding with the voting giving their reasons for the objection;

- iv) the supervisor checked the name and number of the voter in the station's register;
- v) once the supervisor was satisfied that the card holder's particulars corresponded with those in the register, the voter was sent to the assistant supervisor (polling clerk) for the ballot paper;
- vi) the polling clerk stamped the ballot paper, folded it (in a way the voter would fold it after indicating their choice) and gave it to the voter who proceeded to the secret-ballot chamber; in some stations the folding was left to the voters and this resulted in ballots being damaged - for instance at Tambukareli polling station (Mwanza Urban).
- vii) the voter indicated his/her choice, returned to the general purpose chamber and dropped the ballot paper in the ballot box;
- viii) indelible ink was smeared on the voter's left thumb and the voter was allowed to leave.

Those who were unable to read and write or for whatever reason they could not vote on their own (e.g. the disabled) were allowed to pick anyone they trusted with whom they went into the voting chamber to assist them in the exercise. In some researched wards the party-representing agents were allowed to enter the secret chamber to make sure the voter's choice was the one indicated on the ballot paper; in others they did not. The law does not say how old the helper must be nor does it state how many persons any one helper is allowed to assist. The monitor for Mwandiga ward (Kigoma), for example, noted that a child estimated to be twelve assisted her grandmother to vote. For the cases where the party agents were not allowed into the secret chamber, treacherous helpers could exploit the chance and indicate their own preference, especially if they were to help several voters.

### Voter Turn Out

The general voter turn-out can be said to be unsatisfactory. The fact that in many wards the numbers of registered voters were far below those of estimated eligible voters, and that many registered voters did not turn out to vote is a matter that should raise some concern. As it is indicated in Table I below, voter turn out was as low as 8.8% when compared to the eligible voters in a ward. When one calculates the percentages of the registered voters against those who actually voted, the picture becomes very deceptive as the figures tend to be well above average (column 7 in Table I), even in the wards which have been identified as having the lowest voter turn out in the researched regions. On the other hand, in those wards which exhibited higher voter turn-out there is some consistency in that all percentages viz. eligible/actual, eligible/registered and actual/registered are not as skewed as in the lower performers (see columns 5,6, and 7, Table 2 below).

Evidence from the researched regions suggest at least five reasons for the low voter turn-out, both in registration and voting, in most parts of the country. Firstly, the effort put into the mobilization and education for registration and voting differed from place to place; in many areas insufficient mobilization and education effort are to blame. Some wards had better mobilization and education strategies using the low levels of the country's administrative structures, such as village and hamlet leaders to do the job.

**Table 1: Lowest Voter Turn Out: Eligible/Actual (Sampled Wards)**

1 Ward (Region)	2 Eligible Voters	3 Reg'd Voters	4 Actual Voters	5 % 4/2	6 % 3/2	7 % 4/3
Mbulu Mjini(Arusha)	4326	1198	881	20.3	27.6	73.5
Shimbi (K'njaro)	11060	2105	1319	11.9	19.0	72.6
Msambara (Kigoma)	4639	768	411	8.8	16.5	53.5
Viwandani (Dodoma)	4709	1381	580	12.3	29.3	41.9
Iwambi (Mbeya)	6125	n.a.	654	10.6	-	-
Buleza (Kagera)	2478	2471	884	35.6	35.7	99.7
Ngudu (Mwanza)	8500	2277	1333	15.6	26.7	58.5
Mazimbu (Morogoro)	9406	3042	1481	15.7	32.3	48.6

SOURCE: Compiled from 1994 Local Government Election Study Research Reports Department of Political Science and Public Administration, University of Dar es Salaam.

Institution like primary schools were also used by sending messages to potential voters through the pupils. To some extent also, the presence of relatively strong opposition did given the mobilization campaigns leading to higher registration figures; the implication being that since there were many areas where the opposition was either absent or too weak to have an impact, these areas missed something in their capacity to mobilize the population to go and register. It is also worth noting that in some distant districts the voter-education material arrived late (e.g. in Kagera Region) and this must have contributed to the low voter turn out.

**Table 2: Highest Voter Turn Out: Eligible/Actual (Sampled Wards)**

1 Ward (Region)	2 Eligible Voters	3 Reg'd Voters	4 Actual Voters	5 %	6 %	7 %
				4/2	3/2	4/3
Kainam (Arusha)	3120	2284	2067	66.2	73.2	90.4
Maore (K'njaro)	2500	1985	1313	52.5	79.4	66.1
Mwandiga (Kigoma)	2985	4094	3293	110.3	137.1	80.4
Mondo (Dodoma)	3145	2599	2004	63.7	82.6	77.1
Santilya (Mbeya)	5424	4336	2301	42.4	79.9	53.0
Muleba (Kagera)	1126	1640	1123	99.7	145.6	68.4
Bukongo (Mwanza)	500	869	722	144.1	173.8	83.0

**SOURCE:** Compiled from 1994 Local Government Election Study Research Reports, Department of Political Science and Public Administration, University of Dar es Salaam.

Secondly, many potential voters took the CCM preferential votes on its aspirants as being sufficient in itself and they mistakenly did not see why they should spend their time to go and vote again (in most cases) for the same person(s). This was compounded by the fact that in many wards CCM candidates had sailed through unopposed, hence sending the wrong signal to those whose wards had opposition. The third reason was that some voters had lost or misplaced their registration cards which automatically disqualified them from the exercise. Fourthly, while Sunday is recognized as a rest day, to most Christians it involves activities which make them as busy as in any other day. Some potential voters were more concerned with their prayers than voting and depending on how far the polling station was from the churches, some potential voters did not exercise their right. Lastly, there were those incidents caused by either the election officials (such as shifting polling stations on the eleventh hour as was in Mbokomu ward in Moshi and at Kakora A in Kwimba District), the weather at a particular place on the polling day, or by personal situations which led to potential voters not being able to go and vote.

## VOTE COUNTING

As mentioned earlier, vote counting is one area where election rigging can take place. As such, the participating parties in the local government elections had to make sure that the exercise would take place where and when all parties concerned had reached a consensus. Since voting was officially to stop at 6.00 p.m. and since more rural areas do not have electricity, counting was in many places scheduled for the 31st October, 1994. However, there were other wards, especially in urban and semi-urban locations where counting started during the night on the 30th October 1994.

The counting location and enumerators had been identified before the polling day. All ballot boxes from the ward's polling stations were collected at such particular location before any other activity could take place. Despite the fact that the wards are not as big as parliamentary constituencies, in some regions the counting of the ballots and hence results were delayed for up to three days mainly because the ballot boxes did not arrive at the chosen locations for logistical reasons. Two wards in Kigoma Rural district which cover the small islands in Lake

Tanganyika were the case in point. The results reached the DED after the 4th of November 1994. In many wards this location was the WEO's office; in other wards where the WEO's office was not convenient for one reason or another, another location was chosen, most preferably in public institutions. For instance, in Kondo District where Kondo Mjini and Suruke were sample wards, counting took place at Bustani Teacher's College and Kwapakacha Secondary School respectively. The reason was that the WEO's offices had no lighting facilities - counting took place during the night of 30th October 1994.

## The Counting Team

Present in the counting rooms were the following:

- i) The Assistant Returning Officer (or the WEO) who was the supervisor;
- ii) Enumerators - the number differed from ward to ward but there were:-
  - (a) those who picked the votes from the container and read aloud the candidates chosen;
  - (b) those who received and counted the votes of a particular candidate/party, and
  - (c) those who received the spoilt votes;
- iii) Representatives of the candidates;
- iv) The candidates;
- v) Someone to keep order (police officer, sungusungu<sup>3</sup> or militia).

## The Counting Procedure

- i) the enumerators were sworn in by the WEO and provided with the form with the title "Kiapo cha Kutunza Siri" (as provided in Cap. 9 (5) and 92 (1) of the Election Act No. 4 of 1979) which they filled and signed;
- ii) the ballot boxes were entered in the counting room one after another; external marks like padlocks were checked to make sure that they were not tampered with;
- iii) the candidates signed a form (CF 5) confirming that all ballot boxes had arrived;
- iv) the boxes were opened one after another and the votes inside were counted, then counter checked with the respective polling station's supervisor report as to the number of voters/votes;
- v) the votes from all ballot boxes were put in one container;
- vi) the designated enumerator(s) picked ballots from the container, read the candidate/party chosen and gave it to the enumerator earmarked for the respective candidate/party, or to the one for spoilt votes for that matter; in some wards such as Kagongo in Kigoma Rural the picking was done by the WEO while in Kigoma Bangwe Kigoma Urban this was done by the enumerators. It seems that what mattered was the agreed mechanism between the parties involved;

- v) the candidate-representing enumerators bound the ballots into bundles. Each bundle was to contain one hundred votes;
- vi) once the ballots had been cleared from the container, individual enumerators gave their totals, these were added together to get the grand total, which was cross-checked with the earlier total obtained from the ballot-boxes count at their opening stage;
- vii) the WEO prepared a short report showing the expected (registered) voters, the actual voters and the share of each candidate;
- viii) the WEO announced the results.
- ix) the candidates signed a form to accept the results. If any loser was not entirely satisfied he/she could refuse to sign the form as was the case in Mwandiga (Kigoma) where the CCM candidates did not believe his ears when the result figures were read before the waiting CCM and CHADEMA supporters. But refusing to sign this particular form meant one had to fill another one signaling the intention of filing a petition.

The counting process did not pass without some hitches. In Mwanza region, for example, Butimba and Pamba wards had to do with makeshift enumerators because the nominated enumerators boycotted the activity as there was a dispute between them and the Returning Officer over allowances.

### Spoilt Votes

The number of spoilt votes in the sampled wards ranged from 0% for Murutunguru (Mwanza) to 22.6% for Mundemu (Dodoma). Of these, Dodoma scored the highest percentages with two sampled wards having over 20% spoilt votes (Mundemu and Kigwe, both in Dodoma Rural). Dodoma Urban had two wards with 10% spoilt votes (Msalato and Miyugi); Kondo had an average of around 7%. Kilimanjaro had the lowest on average with the highest in a ward being 2.2% (Old Moshi, Moshi Rural) and the lowest being 0.9% (Makiidi, Rombo). Kigoma ranged from 1.5% (Mwandiga, Kigoma Rural) to 5.8% (Msambara Kasulu). In Morogoro it ranged from 2.6% (Kasiki) to 8.6% (Mkwatani); both in Kilosa District. Arusha ranged from a low 1.4% at Levolos to a relatively high 13.9% at Kimnyaki. While some researchers have linked the rates of spoilt votes to the literacy levels in a region, and for which Dodoma and Kilimanjaro could confirm, we think the pre-voting education by the relevant authorities within individual regions played a bigger role in that; the difference in spoilt-votes percentages between two wards within the same Districts - like those of Kilosa above - would support this.

Where there were no stamps to put the "V" mark on the ballot papers and ball pens were used instead, some ballots were also "spoilt", or were declared spoilt depending on what the counting team accepted as a 'V' and not a tick (✓) or a U, or the direction the V pointed. This was the case in Suroke (Kondo) where 210 out of discussed 233 ballot papers were rejected as spoilt. At issue was that, although the 'Vs' were in the right positions, either some had one shorter leg, or were looking like a tick, or they looked like a U, or they were not exactly pointing upwards. Such a big number of spoilt votes would not change the results of the election in most wards in the elections under study due to CCM's big winning margin but when the opposition will have grown stronger and the contest closer, a few votes could make the difference; this controversy should be ironed out. Given that most voters in Tanzania are

semi-literate or illiterate, either the mark should be changed or the designing of it be ignored as long as it is well placed in the relevant compartment on the ballot paper. The "V" mark has been used in earlier elections; the instructions from the electoral commission in this election did not specifically state that the mark should be a "V" but in the demonstration papers it was a "V" mark that was used.

### CONCLUDING REMARKS

When the counting was finally over, the results were, of course, a cause for Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) to celebrate. Having had a big number of unopposed candidates, where it was opposed it more or less came out unscathed - Except for Shinyanga (Bariadi) and Kigoma (Urban and Rural) where the opposition mounted a concerted effort and significant results were realized. The two areas of voting and counting did not, in the researched areas, constitute the biggest complaint agenda. On the part of CCM this can be said to be two up as far as its strategy of "co-opted transition" is concerned<sup>4</sup> whereas CCM and its sympathizers have been accused of foul play, mainly during the registration and campaigning stages, it seems after these initial stages the parties involved in the elections were generally satisfied with the subsequent stages of the election.

The levels of participation by the population and the actual voter turn-out (which as discussed and shown in the Tables above were entirely encouraging) lead us to believe that part of the population is alienated from the system and to part of it is just a matter of general discontent. The literate part of the population seems to fall in the latter while the semi-literate and illiterate part of it fall under the former. The way the voter education was conducted in some parts of the country contributed to this alienation. Many did not and do not know what is actually taking place - the question of multiparty politics and the way it works, why the changes at all, the difference this system makes to a common man in the village, etc. This had left many on the sidelines of the political activity in the system. As for the literate Tanzanians, especially those who live in urban areas and who, to some extent, understand the whole movement from a single party to multiparty politics, they did not participate in the elections mainly because they are not satisfied with the performance and the ethos the regime has been displaying. The general belief seems to be that whether it is national or local politics the elected officials have all the way let down the voters; after all as the campaigns drew closer to the end it was national leaders who led them at the wards on behalf of the ruling party!

Following from that is the question whether the elections did accomplish the basic functions of an election viz. legitimation of power, mobilization of citizens, and the integration of the citizens into the political system and thence gaining their support for the system. Firstly, let us consider legitimation of power. Assuming that the figures for eligible voters were not very far from the correct ones, the participation levels in most wards suggest that those who won have a very thin base for their power in the respective councils. The few wards within a district which had better registration and voter turn out figures were generally neutralized by the wards which had low registration and voter turn out making the average figure less than 50%.<sup>5</sup> Whereas this figure is for those wards where there were elections, the implication here is that since the other political parties won a share of the vote, the winners have been given office by even a smaller percentage of the population.

The second function of mobilization of the citizens equally fell short of a satisfactory level. This was firstly manifested in the levels of registration. The fact that the expected two weeks

did not yield the expected results thereby requiring an extension signify an inadequate mobilization campaign. Secondly, the difference between those who registered and those who did actually go and vote tells something as well. While it could just be a result of inadequate mobilization, the tactics used in the exercise might be questionable as well, as it used to be during the one-party system, whereby the registration card was sometimes used (although not sanctioned by the government) to secure some social services. Allegations of threats from CCM campaigners to registration clerks and potential voters were reported in some researched wards. The third function of integrating the citizen into the political system and garner their support should follow from the two other functions but, as we have discussed, the two were not a success.

The fact that the elections were not perfect does not mean that they had no positive contribution to the system as a whole. Firstly, in the advent of multi-party politics, they have provided some form of communication between the ruling party and the other parties, between the government and the people, and between different levels of the administrative structures. Secondly they have given an indication of the strengths of different political parties or factions and the areas they seemingly have established themselves, as well as where they are still weak. For instance, the Northwestern regions seem to have embraced the opposition faster than the rest of the country (or should one say the opposition parties have worked harder in this corner of the country?). Thirdly, they have given an indication of the levels of participation by the electorate in this particular political activity.

While there have been positive and negative elements as far as these elections were concerned, as it has been commented in the discussion above, there are a few improvements that can be effected to the process. Firstly, the voter education component should be strengthened so that it does not only lead to potential voters registering but also to go on and conclude by voting. We also believe that successful voter education will reduce the number of spoilt votes. Secondly, the Electoral Commission should make sure that the conditions for the electoral personnel are attractive right down the levels because short of that last-stage hitches may spoil what so far might have been a well planned and executed political exercise. If possible, there should be a binding contract between the Commission and whoever is temporarily employed by it for purposes of executing the electoral processes. The boycott by enumerators due to allowances is here relevant. Thirdly, insistence should be put on the process being consistent throughout the country in order to minimize controversies. The case of using ball pens to put marks on ballot papers, rather than stamps, for example, resulted in the debate as to what is a "V" and what it is not and votes were condemned as spoilt. Fourthly, while Sundays are rest days, they apparently do not make very good polling days. As most people are busy all the week with income-generating activities, they tend to allocate the rest of activities to Sundays and, as such, to many it is another very busy day. We propose that one of the week days should be declared a polling day-cum-holiday so that people can go to the polls. Lastly, the process of helping the disabled and the illiterate should be standardized as in some places party representatives witnessed the process while in some others they did not, leaving the helper and the voter to go to the secret chamber on their own. The ages of helpers and the number of voters any one helper can help should be stated as well. These suggestions, and others given by other researchers who participated in this particular psephology can help to improve future elections in Tanzania by minimizing complaints and strengthening the democratic processes.

## NOTES

1. There are Arusha, Dar es Salaam, Dodoma, Kagera, Kigoma, Kilimanjaro, Mbeya, Morogoro, Ruvuma and Mwanza.
2. This does not imply that these items are of no importance. Ink, for example, is an important item but in the case of these local elections where the ward was the constituency, it was easy for the election officials and candidate representatives to identify the voters and no one could easily vote twice etc. despite the missing indelible ink.
3. Sungusungu is a term used to mean "vigilantes"; these are traditional defense and law keeping groups which mainly started in the Lake Nyanza (Victoria) regions due to the deficient police force and which the state had to sanction.
4. "Co-opted Transition" is used by Guy Martin to mean the strategy in some African countries whereby the incumbent party or president allows other political parties into the system but making sure that they remain in power - at least for some time. See, Guy Martin, "Democratic Transition in Africa", *Issue* Vol. XXI, Nos. 1 & 2, 1993. The first success was in the hamlet and village elections in 1993.
5. Taking the figures in Tables I and II above and doing away with the extreme figures on both ends, the average comes down to 46.5%.

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## CONTRIBUTIONS FROM CCM DELEGATION

### 1. Introduction

1.1 First and foremost, we wish to sincerely thank and congratulate all those who realized the importance of designing, preparing and organizing this workshop. This workshop is very important in relation to the development of democracy and administering law in our country; and it is further important because it is held at a time when our Nation has started making preparations for the General Elections to be held later in the year.

1.2 We believe that the experience gained by our country from the past election will be discussed in great details and with much more wisdom in this workshop; and that the arguments, opinions and proposals which will come from the delegates will be a big lesson, not only in the improvement of our experiences, but also that which will be taken seriously in preparing, organizing and supervising the General Election which is ahead of us.

1.3 The contribution of ideas which our delegation will present in this workshop will concentrate on the following area:-

- (a) Whether the last local government election were free and fair;
- (b) Whether they were democratic;
- (c) What problems were encountered;
- (d) Our suggestions on how our Nation can make our elections more free, fair and democratic.

1.4 Although the aim of this workshop is to discuss the evaluation of local government elections held in October 1994, it is good for the delegates to remember and bear it in mind that according to the local Government laws No. 7 and 8 of 1982 the election of councilors was preceded by the 1993 elections by electing government leaders at the local government level, villages and village councils. This is a fundamental aspect in our country and we are all supposed to honour it sincerely, since the local governments and village councils are the ones which:-

- (a) are very close to the people;
- (b) are responsible for the day to day administration and leadership of the people; and
- (c) implement By-laws and programmes or developmental projects decided by our councils in the whole country.

We would like to advise that delegates should not shelf aside this issue when making their contributions.

## 2. THE ENVIRONMENT OF THE PAST ELECTION

### 2.1 Election being Free and Fair

In our opinion, the election was free and fair on the following grounds:

- (a) It was an ordinary election after the 1983 and 1988 elections were held. Hence, the whole Nation knew about it, expected it and held it according to the Rules and Regulations of the Local Government Elections. The difference is that the 1983 and 1988 elections were held under the one political party system while this one of 1994 has been held under the multi-party system.
- (b) It was supervised by the National Electoral Committee which is the Official and legal organ for all citizens for our elections.
- (c) It was open to all political parties in the country which had been given full registration according to the law of political parties. The Electoral Committee is the people's organ which has the responsibility of ensuring that all political parties in our country have the status of equal opportunities. Furthermore, it is the Electoral Committee which has the power and responsibility to ensure that elections in all wards reflect the real needs of voters of each ward.
- (d) All citizens who have the needed qualifications were free to use their right as citizens to either come forward and contest as councilors, or register and vote to elect the candidate they wanted from any political party.
- (e) Election constituencies (that is the ward) were legally established and were known to all voters.
- (f) The Electoral Committee gave elaboration on the responsibility of the Committee itself, the Government and its organs, the Ruling Party (CCM) and all the other political parties which participated in the elections.

### 2.3 Problems which surfaced

Some of the problems which surface during the preparation, organization and supervision of the election of councilors were as follows:-

- (a) Lack of identify cards for citizens gave room for some of the people who were not citizens to contest or vote illegally. This defect was more evident in the border districts.
- (b) Weakness on supervising registration and voting gave room for some of the people to register in many polling stations and vote several times.
- (c) Some of the political parties still stick to their understanding that the multi-party system means getting the chance to abuse and character assassinate others instead of concentrating on the elaboration of their policies.

(d) The government delayed to give subsidy to political parties for running the elections, which are generally very expensive, especially taking into account the vastness of our country.

(e) Bribery came out strongly in some wards. Also Religious feelings, Tribalism, Race and gender feelings surfaced as hindrances to free, fair and democratic elections in some of the wards.

## 3. HOW TO IMPROVE OUR ELECTIONS

Our delegation believes that the following suggestions, if they will be implemented, will improve the environment of our elections, and hence enable the Nation to run elections which are more free, fair and Democratic. The suggestions are as follows:-

1. The Government should ensure that all citizens of this country have identity cards. Without identity cards people who are not citizens of this country will continue to come up and contest for leadership positions and vote illegally.
2. The Electoral Committee should establish regulations which will control the expenditure of each contestant. If this step is not taken, there is a great danger that bribery will completely dominate our elections and make the Nation fail to run elections which are free, fair and democratic in the whole country.
3. The Government should promptly give subsidy to political parties so as to make them able to participate in the elections in full.
4. All political parties in the country should avoid using abuses. Instead, they should pay more attention to their policies with the aim of educating the people so that they can support them.
5. Each ward should have a full list of names and signatures of the voters. The names of citizens in their identify cards should be the ones to be listed in the register of all voters in the ward. This step will ensure that:-

- only the citizen of this country will be involved in contesting for leadership and voting in our elections.

- No citizen will be able to register for voting more than once, especially if ward leaders will use the list of names of voters who are on their register to check the names of those who registered on all polling stations within the ward and in collaboration with the leaders of the neighbouring Wards.

6. Special indelible ink should be used to control those who register themselves more than once.

## 4. CONCLUSION

This is our contribution. We thank you all for listening to us, thank you very much.