Civil Society Election Barometer

Monitoring the space of civil society in democratization Processes in tanzania

REPORT ON THE ROLE OF TANZANIA CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS IN 2015 ELECTIONS

CIVIL SOCIETY ELECTION BAROMETER

MONITORING THE SPACE OF CIVIL SOCIETY IN DEMOCRATIZATION PROCESS

THE ROLE OF CIVILC SOCIETY IN 2015 TANZANIA GENERAL ELECTION

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report narrates the role played by Civil Society in the democratization processes in Tanzania. Specifically, the narration reports on the role of CSOs during the 2015 general election, achievements and security challenges faced. The Tanzania Human Rights Defenders Coalition (THRDC), with the facilitation of Open Society Initiative for Eastern Africa (OSIEA) and Foundation for Civil Society, took the initiative to monitor and to coordinate the involvement of CSOs in 2015 electoral processes.

As a Human Rights Defender security and protection organization, THRDC recognizes that securing election process is not one-person duty but rather a multi-stakeholders responsibility. The state through its security organs such as the police, judiciary and electro management bodies has the primary role in securing election processes. Other stakeholders like development partners, CSOs, religious leaders, media and international community play a passive roles as secondary stakeholders.

THRDC therefore, performed a significant role in 2015 election aiming at ensuring every stakeholder participate effectively in election cycle, predominantly on election security. THRDC's programs during 2015 election period focused much on election security and mobilization of CSOs effective participation. In 2015, THRDC held election stakeholder's workshops and dialogues on peace and security during election processes. The dialogues were attended by all key election stakeholders including the registrar of political parties, a representative from PCCB, representatives for Commission for Human Rights and Good Governance (CHRAGG) from Zanzibar and Mainland, representatives from electro commissions (NEC and ZEC), the Police, CSOs, trade unions, religious institutions, major political parties, representatives from development partners, research institutions, media and academia.

Understanding the role of Police during election, especially election security, THRDC trained more than 100 high profile law enforcers from Zanzibar islands and Tanzania Mainland on the Concept of Security and Protection during elections. These election security trainings involved also CSOs election monitor and observers; more than 200 journalists (Zanzibar and Mainland) and Judges and Registrars of a High Court of Tanzania, precisely on the role of Judiciary in securing elections in Tanzania by enhancing their capacity to handle and dispose election petitions fairly and timely.

The report is divided into four chapters. Chapter one is the introductory part. This part narrates the historical background and the roles played by Civil society in the democratization process during the struggle for independence and after independence. The part also provides for the objectives of monitoring the role of CSOs as well as the methodology used.

Chapter two is the main chapter in this report. It provides for the activities conducted by the Civil society sector during the 2015 election process. Specifically, the report highlights roles played by academic and professional organizations, faith-based organizations (FBOs), Non-Governmental organizations (NGOs. Details of the activities conducted ranging from voter education, monitoring voter Registration, civic education, monitoring election process and Poll observation/ Election observation are narrated in this part. The chapter also provides for the areas that were given less attention by CSOs which include; engagement with election stakeholders; legal reforms, articulate public needs and priority through CSOs election manifestos; analysis of political parties' election manifesto; Court application to mention but a few.

Chapter three provides for Challenges which affected CSOs participation, as important stakeholders in the 2015 general election. Some of these challenges include both internal and external challenges such as; poor capacity, poor understanding of the whole election cycle; CSO rivalry and competition; infiltration; lack of sustainable networking and coordination; confrontations from state security agents, repressive legal regime, restrictions, lack of resources, arbitrary arrest, attacks and sometimes being named as members of opposition political parties.

Chapter four is the last chapter in this report. This chapter provides for conclusion and recommendations including the proposed action plans for 2019 and 2020 elections. Among the proposed recommendations which CSOs and other stakeholders should adhere to are Political neutrality, solidarity, joint interventions, risk assessment, the use of evidence-based approach and being consistent about the values and principles which they stand for or advocate.

CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1.0 INTRODUCTION

In the modern society the common sector legally recognized to form part of the main state and non state actors include Public Sector, which is the government and its branches; A Civil Society or Civil Sector which is comprised of groups or organizations working not for profit, in the interest of the citizens but operating outside of the government; and the Private sector, which includes businesses and corporations. CSOs operate at many different levels, including the global, regional, national, and local. Organizations and institutions that compose civil society sector include Non-Governmental Organizations, community groups, research institutions, think tanks, advocacy groups, academic institutions, parts of the media, and faith-based institutions.

Before and after independence and mainly in the modern democracies, CSOs have been at the forefront of agitating for reforms and increased involvement of the citizens in the governance structures. Since the introduction of multiparty democracy in 1990's, CSOs have played a significant role of transforming Tanzania's politics through various ways including the creation of public social capital and election monitoring.

The Tanzania Human Rights Defenders Coalition (THRDC), with the facilitation of Open Society Initiative for Eastern Africa (OSIEA) and Foundation for Civil Society, took the initiative to monitor and to coordinate the involvement of CSOs in 2015 electoral process. This report therefore shows the level of CSOs engagement in 2015 election cycle in Tanzania.

1.1 Historical Background of CSOs Movement in Tanzania

The civil sector was effective even before independence in Tanzania. The democratic role of CSOs can be traced back in 1950s when Tanzania was struggling for independence. This can be named as the First Phase of CSOs movement in Tanzania, which started during the British rule in 1920s.[1] During colonial times, faith-based and ethnic-based associations emerged, the former being more broad-based in terms of countrywide outreach, while ethnic groups were more localized on a district or regional levels. At the national level, profession-based associations such as the African Association (teachers, clerks, and civil servants), the cooperative movement, the Tanganyika Federation of Labour and others created the foundations of a political movement, Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), which led the call for independence.[2]

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1 KEPAR (2007) Civil Society in Tanzania. KEPA's Working Papers No: 19

2 The origins of the modern kind of civil society in Tanzania can be traced back at least to the beginning of the British colonial rule in the 1920s. The Tanganyika Territory African Civil Servants Association was established for securing the welfare of native civil servants in 1922. There were also a cooperative movement and pastoralist movements focusing on land ownership. In 1929, an organization called the Tanganyika African Association (TAA) was set up to promote sports and cultural activities. In the late 1940s, labour and nationalistic movements started to emerge and intense mass actions took place. In reaction to these growing mass actions, the colonial administration enacted a number of laws that enabled the heavy control and restrictions of civil movements that were feared to be a challenge to the position of colonial administration.

Unexpectedly, the shrinking of CSOs space started during the Second Phase of CSOs movement in Tanzania immediately after independence between 1965-1985. The leadership by that time inhibited independence of CSOs to conduct social, political, and economic activities following the introduction of single-party rule in Tanzania in 1965 and introduction of a socialist and self-reliance ideology in 1967. These processes prevented any activism of potential pressure groups such as those organized by or for young people, women, students, and workers (Ndumbaro and Yahya-Othman 2007).[3]

The third phase came between the mid-1980s and early 1990s. The inception of this phase was linked to economic hardships and the consequent International Monetary Fund (IMF) initiated restructuring process, which compelled government to reduce control of the state over public affairs, including service provision. From this period, due to liberalized economy Tanzania recorded the proliferation of private service providers including CSOs.

Finally, the fourth phase is associated with the era of political pluralism, beginning in the early 1990s to the present. It is a phase that opened political space in the context of introducing multi-party politics and other forms of political pluralism. As a result of this opening, many locally initiated lobby organizations emerged and, in many ways, could be said to have given confidence to civic-led contestations and struggles for more democratic movements. At the same time the government was very busy enacting laws that suppress the space of CSOs. The case of National Women Council (BAWATA) is a good example to illustrate. BAWATA was deregistered in 1996 on the basis of being too political in its work

1.1 Democratization Process in Tanzania

Historically CSOs have played a major role in the democratization process of Tanzania. They emerged as a strong watchdog in the late 1990s democratization process. Democratization is the process in which democracy is established and reinforced. The process is never ending it demands constant renewals and a continuous search for the balance between conflicting social interest groups and priorities (Gaudance Mpangala 2016).

Democratization is a transition from authoritarian rule to democracy in four phases which are; Political liberalization, Collapse of authoritarian regime, Democratic transition, and consolidation of Democracy. Tanzania failed to go through all these phases. Democratic transition was done in 1990s when Tanzania was adopting multiparty democracy. This was the time that CSOs also played a significant role. The most powerful opposition party in 1995 the NCCR –Mageuzi was formed by a group of Civil Society actors who joined politics. This, therefore, shows how CSOs have been instrumental in Democratization process in Tanzania to today.

The consolidation of democracy in Tanzania was not so far done effectively. This is the process which requires active participation of all groups in democracy. For consolidation of democracy to be effective in Tanzania the following key three dimensions ought to have been taken into consideration after democratic transition;

• The democracy needs to be deepened and made more authentic

• The political institutions of democracy must become more coherent, capable and autonomous, so all major political players are willing to commit to and be bound by their rules and norms

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3 These two institutional developments meant, among other things, that all organizations were either co-opted under the ruling political party or made to adhere to party/government guidelines in their operations.

- Democracy needs to effectively address society's most pressing problems and provide the liberty, accountability and responsiveness that citizens expect from democracy and the order that they expect from any government

An area which CSOs movement in Tanzania has failed to address accordingly is the democracy consolidation process in Tanzania. It is even very bad that the civil sector failed to prevent the country to go for the first multiparty election in 1995 before the completion of democratic transition process. The Nyalali Commission advised the country to reform 40 laws including the Constitution as the part of democratic transition before going to multiparty elections in 1995. Surprisingly, more than 20 years now and after 4 multiparty elections, Tanzania still practices multiparty democracy within the single party structures and legal systems.

1.2 Objectives of Observation

The Coalition monitored the engagement of CSOs in 2015 election cycle with the main objective of assessing the space of CSOs in democratization process in Tanzania. Therefore, the major objective of this observation was to assess the engagement of CSOs in 2015 election cycles by documenting major CSOs activities, analyzing the role of CSOs in elections and identify major challenges for improvement before next elections. The following were the specific objective;

- Identify and analyze CSOs election programs in 2015,
- Assess CSOs working environment on democratization processes,
- Evaluate resources allocated for CSOs to participate in election cycle
- Record security challenges facing CSOs when engaging on democratization processes/ elections

A Group photo of Law Enforcers in Zanzibar together with the THRDC National Coordinator Mr. Onesmo Olengurumwa at the Election Security Workshop in Zanzibar prior to the 2015 General Election

1.3 Methodology and Data Analysis

THRDC developed several programs such as monitoring CSOs space during 2015, several CSOs dialogue on the space of CSOs in 2015 election, development of CSOs election manifesto and finally CSOs post-election reflections. Our major goal was to see a vibrant CSOs community that actively engages in democratization process for public interest. THRDC also wants to remind CSOs their role in educating the public about civic participation in electoral process.

THRDC used both quantitative and qualitative research strategies to collect relevant information on the space of CSOs during 2015 elections. THRDC began to monitor the enrolment of CSOs in election cycle since voter registration process to post-election period. Data collections tools such as questionnaire, interview questions, phone calls and observations were used for data collections. Monitoring through media was also one of the methods used to assess the participation of CSOs in 2015 electoral cycle.

The scope of this observation covered both Zanzibar and Tanzania Mainland. The study managed also to interview some of the major Development Partners who supported CSOs in the 2015 electoral process. The study used the following criteria to assess the participation of CSOs in electoral process; internal capacity of CSOs, quality of election programs, joint activities, CSOs manifesto, funding, security, and the number of CSOs with NEC/ZEC accreditations.

THRDC undertook fact-finding exercises seeking out existing, but unpublished data on CSOs and elections. The primary data were those collected from CSOs, electoral management bodies, and development partners (DP's) who supported the electoral processes in Tanzania.

THRDC purposely selected 10 development partners who supported 2015 election cycle. Although there were a big number of DP's who supported the election process in Tanzania, the selected sample represents the larger group of donors who largely funded CSOs election activities in 2015. A simple random sampling technique was also used to select a total of 150 CSOs that constitutes the sample size.

Data collected from the questionnaire were analyzed, summarized, and interpreted accordingly with the aid of descriptive statistical techniques. The quantitative data was analyzed using Statistical Package for Social Scientists (SPSS) and Microsoft Excel. The findings were presented in the form of tables, charts, and figures.

CHAPTER TWO

CIVIL SOCIETY AND 2015 ELECTORAL PROCESS

2.0 THE PARTICIPATION OF CSOs IN THE 2015 ELECTORAL PROCESS

During the 2015 electoral cycle, CSOs managed to assist the public to register their political, civil, economic, social, and cultural demands to political parties and candidates. They presented alternative voices that have often demanded accountability on the part of the government and political leaders. Among other things, CSOs engaged in the following activities; augmenting and influencing change; playing a part in elections by conducting civic/voter education, election observation, addressing electoral irregularities, public awareness and engaging with election stakeholders.

Most important CSOs in 2015 elections performed a watchdog function to improve the quality of electoral process. This function includes electoral monitoring, voter education, the training of candidates (especially women) and ensuring that agenda of public interest are taken into consideration by elected leaders. This chapter presents the key findings showing the level of CSOs participation in election. The chapter analyses the way CSOs participated in 2015 cycles in order to understand their civic space.

2.1 CSOs Electoral Activities during 2015 Electoral Cycle

Tanzania CSOs monitored the 2015 general election process from pre-election phase to election stage starting from voter registration, campaigning, voting, tallying and finally, announcement of results. As a matter of fact and principle, CSOs are just defenders and overseers of democracy, rule of law, good governance and human rights, and are not affiliated to any political party, politician or election candidate nor do they want to assume the power of the state/government.

2.2 Major Electoral Activities by CSOs in 2015

The findings of this reports indicate that the following were the main electoral activities by CSOs; Voter education, monitoring voter Registration, civic education, monitoring election process and Poll observation/ Election Observation.

Table 1: A summary of the activities by NGOs during 2015:

Pre-Election Period	Election Day & Night	Post-Election Period
i. Monitoring Voter Registration(BVR) ii. Voter and Civic Education iii. Constitutional and Legal Reforms iv. Monitoring party nominations v. Monitoring election campaigns vi. Election manifestos	i. Poll Observation ii. Observing Tallying and counting process iii. Observing results announcement	i. Dispute Resolution ii. Intervening Zanzibar political impasse iii. Post-election meetings and assessment iv. Issuing election observation reports

The table above summarizes electoral activities by CSOs according to election cycle. As it was stated above CSOs family is composed of various groups such as NGOs, CBOs, FBOs, professional institution etc. However, during the 2015 election cycle, only few groups of CSOs were observed to play an active role during elections. It is very rare in Tanzania to find CSOs such as Trade Union like TUCTA, Tanzania Teacher's Union (TUT), research institutions like REPOA and ECRF actively participating in CSOs electoral activities. In almost every election in Tanzania the most active group of CSOs during election are NGOs, professional and academic institutions such as REDET; FBOs and the media.

Pictured above is THRDC's National Coordinator during the opening of a workshop on the Role of the Judiciary in Securing the Election Process in Tanzania prior to the 2015 General Election

THRDC observation found out that a large part of CSOs community still believe that electoral activities are specifically for NGOs, CBOs and Professional Institutions. This sub-chapter presents main activities conducted by NGOs, FBOs, Media and professional organizations.

A Group photo of participants together with the Guest of Honor – Former Chief Justice Hon. Othman Chande (seated third from left), Former National Electro Commission (NEC) Chairperson, Hon Damian Lubuva (Seated first from left) at the Workshop on the Role of Judiciary in Securing the Election Process in Tanzania

(i)   Academic and Professional Organizations

Academic organizations represent another group of CSOs that continued to play their traditional role of suggesting the trend of politics and electoral process in 2015 election cycle. For instance, the University of Dar es Salaam, in particular, the Tanzania Election Monitoring Committee (TEMCO) secured some funds from various sources in order to, inter alia, provide civic education and monitor elections.

TEMCO was founded in 1994, as the domestic election observation group, which is citizen-based, non-partisan, impartial and autonomous. TEMCO objectively evaluates elections to determine the extent to which they are peaceful, credible, free and fair. TEMCO's methodology builds on the scientific approach by political scientists at the University of Dar es Salaam. It has monitored general elections, by-elections and referenda since 1995 when the United Republic of Tanzania reverted to multiparty political system. The major thrust of TEMCO is to build voter confidence and participation as well as to facilitate oversight of the electoral processes.[4]

Other professional and research institutions such as Twaweza, REDET/ TEMCO, TADIPs, Syncopate and IPSOs participated in 2015 election by conducting Public Opinions Polls (POPs) ahead of 2015 elections. The elections opinions polls if conducted scientifically and ethically can help to predict election trend. During 2015 general election, the mentioned above professional and research institutions conducted pre-nominations and post nominations opinion polls as indicated in the two tables below.

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4 temco.udsm.ac.tz. Accessed on 21/12/2015

Table 2: Post Nomination Opinion Polls

Poll Source	Date	Sample Size	Undecided	Magufuli CCM	Lowassa CDM	Mghwira ACT	Others
Twaweza[1]	19 /08–Sept 2015	1,848	7%	65.0	25%	N/A	3.0%
IPSOS[2]	5-22 Sept 2015	1,836	7.3%	61.6	30.8%	0.3%	-
TADIP [3]	1-21 Sept 2015.	2,040	3.0%	40.0	54.5%	2.0%	-

Source: Compiled from Various sources

TWAWEZA conducted opinion polls one before nominations and another after nominations. The poll indicated that Edward Lowassa who was by then a CCM member was leading ahead of others while Dr. John Magufuli was far behind. Some few months later after party nominations, Twaweza conducted another opinion poll. During the second Twaweza POPs, Edward left CCM and joined the Coalition of opposition parties (UKAWA). The second Twaweza opinion polls declared CCM candidate Dr. JP Magufuli as the leading candidate (65%) followed by Edward Lowassa with 25%. The 2015 election polls by CSOs received an immense criticism from the public.

The POPs in Tanzania like in other countries were used or intended to be used in the course of election campaigns by the research institutions and by the media to see which candidates are likely to emerge victorious. Moreover, the results of these polls, in turn, largely determined where future campaign resources are to be spent and concentrated until the close of the campaign.

But for a country like Tanzania, which still struggles to have its people well informed of democratic issues, POPs seem to be a confusing process as they bring different sentiments especially to the uneducated sect of the Tanzanian community. Others easily believe that whoever mentioned as popular candidate by the results of POPs would emerge victorious at the end of the electoral polls.

Furthermore, the opinions results, which were issued close to the polling day, were interpreted by the majority of the people as advocacy and campaign strategies in favor of certain political party or candidate. Generally, the 2015 opinion polls by CSOs were highly disputed for being too political and failure to employee methodology that could pre-empty the reality. The provision of mobiles phones and solar energy to respondents was seen as poor methodology as it could easily influence the decision of respondents.[5]

(ii) Faith-Based Organizations

Religious leaders play an important role during election. The major role of religious leaders/institutions during election is to ensure peace and security through the entire process. The role of religious leaders in 2015 election cycle was highly seen during the pre-election phase. For instance, Religious leaders issued statements and directives especially during voter registration process and during campaign rallies. A lot of dialogues and discussion about peace and security were held by various election stakeholders including religious leaders.

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5 One of the methods of data collection used by Twaweza was the supply of mobile phones and solar energy to participants in rural area.

Elections times are always difficult time for many actors such as politicians, state institutions, non-state actors, the media and the public. Electoral process is one of the key democratic processes that every one may wish to participate equally and safely. Very often and in many parts of the world elections have been conducted coupled with a lot of violence, marred by various types of malfeasance and electoral fraud.

It is through democratic elections whereby people chose better policies for their welfare, and it is through democratic election where people change regimes and leadership. It was therefore imperative to discuss election security towards Tanzania 2015 electoral process. Among other initiatives taken by other institutions, the Tanzania Human Rights Defenders Coalition (THRDC) conducted a dialogue with key election stakeholders including religious leaders on peace and security in 2015 election.[6]

The major result of those security dialogues was an improved high-level of communication and coordination among all election stakeholders responsible for peace and security of an election. As the results of THRDC stakeholder's meeting on peace and security held on 26/9/2015, all elections stakeholders including religious leaders entered an agreement.[7]Among other things, the Kilimanjaro election stakeholder's agreement resolved to form a committee of religious leaders to ensure the peace and security after 2015 polls.[8] The religious leaders group was tasked to arrange official visit to all presidential candidates for the purpose of registering their claims and prepare them to accept poll results. Finally, the involvement of religious leaders, though not widely helped to minimize tensions and instability before and after polling.[9]

Furthermore, the dialogue formed a National Peace and Security Committee composed of all key election stakeholders such as The Police Force, National Election Commission-NEC, Zanzibar Election Commission -ZEC, the Office of Registrar of Political Parties, and Political parties, Religious Institutions, Commission for Human Rights and Good Governance, Media Institutions and Civil Societies.

Pictured above are Officials from CSOs, ZEC, NEC, ROPs, IGP reps, PCCB and Council of Political Parties during one of the election stakeholders' dialogues in 2015 conducted by THRDC

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7 THRDC (2015) Election Stakeholder's Dialogue on Peace and Security towards 2015 Election Concept Note. Held On 26th/08/2015 At Kilimanjaro/Hyatt Regency Hotel.

8 THRDC (2015) Election Stakeholder's Resolution on Peace and Security toward 2015 Election. Entered on 26/9/2015 in Dar es Salaam.

9 Ibid.

(ii) NGOs in 2015 Election

Main activities by NGOs in 2015 election included; Voter education, Voter Registration, Civic education, monitoring election process and Poll observation/ Election Observation. Majority of NGOs in 2015 election concentrated on the above issues while leaving other areas of CSOs intervention unattended.

(i) Observation of the Biometric Voter Registration (BVR)

The role of NGOs is to ensure every one participate in electoral processes without any restriction. Voter registration is a very crucial stage in the electoral cycle as it determines individuals' rights to participate in a democratic politics. However, depending on the nature of a political system of a given place as well as the forces at play, voter registration process can be used as a tool for exclusion or inclusion of potential voters. In 2015, Tanzania through the National Election Commission started the process of registering eligible voter using biometric voter registration system (BVR).[10]

As indicated in the election cycle above this was one of the major pre-election activities in 2015 elections. The number of CSOs involved in this process is however not promising, hence make the role of CSOs during pre-election time questionable.

The Tanzania Civil Society Consortium on Election Observation (TACCEO), which is a loose consortium formed by 17 CSOs in Tanzania embarked on the observation of the Biometric Voter Registration (BVR) process in Tanzania. The central purpose of the observation was to determine the overall credibility and adequacy of the BVR process by examining the following;

(i) The legal and institutional framework;

(ii) Participation of the key stakeholders including participating parties;

(iii) Provision of voter education and levels of citizen's awareness of the process including the role of the media;

(iv) Accessibility to the electorate;

(v) Issues of transparency and monitoring of the process; and

(vi) The general conduct of the National Electoral Commission in the management and supervision of the process. The methodology employed involved the use of questionnaires, observation, and direct interviews with the registrants. The observation exercise covered five zones with 25 regions in Tanzania Mainland.[11]

Therefore, voter registration is an indispensable requirement to ensure equal and universal participation of eligible voters in a given election. This process helps to ensure that proper decisions are taken during an election process, such as determining the number of administrative units and location of polling stations, the number of ballots and election materials to be printed and allocated to polling stations, and the calculation of voter turnout. In 2015, the BVR process managed to register more than 23 million voters. [12]

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10 Biometric voter registration involves the use of biometric technology in capturing personal and demographic data of voters during voter registration process. Biometric technology is the use of computers, fingerprint scanners and digital cameras to capture the bio-data of applicants. Fingerprints are unique to every individual and it is these unique features and other details that are normally stored in the computer from which the voters register is produced. This technology incorporates data such as signature, digital electronic photographs and fingerprints and maintains the auditable integrity of voter registration forms that are signed by the voters. See also LHRC& TACCEO (2015) National Biometric Voter Registration (BVR) Observation Report of 2015.

11 TACCEO& LHRC (2015) National Biometric Voter Registration (BVR) Observation Report of 2015, at page iv.

12 Tanzania has a Permanent National Voter Register (PNVR). The PNVR was introduced in 2004. Under the old system of registration, voters were registered using the Optical Mark Recognition (OMR) technology. The PNVR was used for the first time during the 2005

(ii) Civic and Voter Education

Voter education is very crucial for a credible election. It normally empowers the electorate to understand and participate as rational beings during elections. Although the sole responsibility for providing voter education resides with the NEC, other stakeholders like CSOs and political parties do assist on voter education. However, this role was not effectively performed by CSOs; people were not informed on how the registration process was to be carried out. The misconception about BVR caused some people to refrain from registration process.

Ultimately, the level of civic awereness remained very low in 2015 elections hence creating negative impact on the growth of participatory democracy in Tanzania. A number of people may not see any importance of participating in electoral processes if not properly guided. This role was highly affected by the fact that only few number of CSOs received funds for elections programs. The number of CSOs with funded election programs according to this report is not above 200 out of 30,000 CSOs in Tanzania.
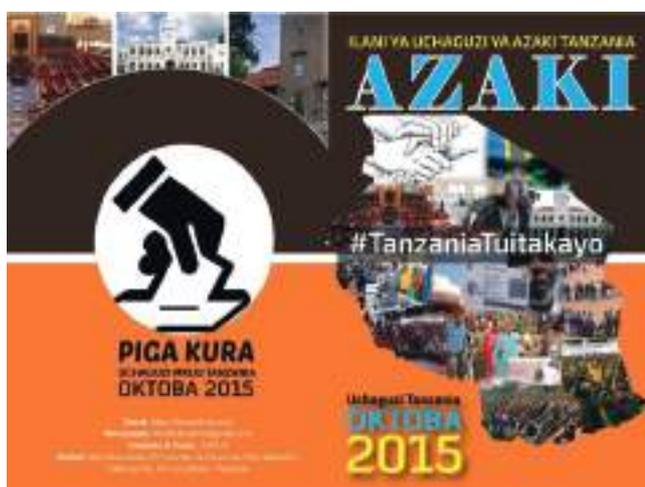
<< The CSOs Manifesto Cover Page

During 2015 electoral process, CSOs individually and in association with others have managed to develop several election manifesto with an intention among others to educate the public and also send public agendas to politicians. Election manifesto addressing women issues was developed by women groups under the coordination of TGNP- Mtandao, an election manifesto addressing issues of youth was developed by youth NGOs while the general CSOs election manifesto was developed by all CSOs under the coordination of THRDC. The effort to develop CSOs manifesto is an effective way to communicate with the public and politicians at the same time. The Coalition found out this approach to be useful and therefore encouraged CSOs to do more in this way in future elections.

Pictured left is CHRAGG Chairman-Hon. Tom Bahame Nyanduga (Middle), LHRC Executive

general elections. The PNVR was lastly updated in 2008/09 in which two million new voters were registered. The reason provided by the National Electoral Commission (NEC) for failing to update the register regularly as per the legal requirement has been that the government has not been releasing funds for the activity. The NEC came under serious pressure from various stakeholders, especially political parties, complaining of the failure to update the PNVR since the 2010 General Elections. In preparation for the October 2015 general elections, NEC shifted from using OMR technology to Biometric Voters Registration (BVR) in updating the PNVR. The updating process included registration of both formerly registered voters (who had been registered using the OMR technology) and new voters. NEC insisted that all previous voter IDs would thereafter be rendered invalid. Although stakeholders had mixed feelings about such NEC's decision to update the voter register using the BVR technology, most of them seem to be satisfied with NEC's explanations for introducing the BVR, including the possibility of minimizing election fraud while at the same time accelerating voters' identification. The BVR technology would minimize risks of multiple entry and duplication of information of voters registered in different areas and its security features compared to the OMR technology. See also a Handbook for the Observation of Voter Registration (2012) Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe, www.osce.org/odihr

<<<Director-Dr. Helen Kijo-Bisimba (second from left), Francis Kiwanga-Executive Director of the Foundation for Civil Society (the last from left) together with Mr. Onesmo Olengurumwa-National Coordinator THRDC (the first from right) holding CSOs manifesto during official launching Ceremony on 6th September 2015.

On the 6th of September 2015 Civil Society's' Election Manifesto was launched. The launching was attended by various political parties, CSOs directors, media and other election stakeholders. The Civil Society's election manifesto jointly prepared by Civil Society Organizations in Tanzania was the guidance to citizens, election candidates, political parties, the government and other election stakeholders to focus on the process of a free, fair and peaceful election. It also expressed CSO's wishes on the just ended 2015 general election and the Tanzania which Tanzanians dream of after the election. The totals of 3200 copies were printed and 2000 compact disc (CD)/Digital Video Disc (DVDs) were made. The whole process of preparation, launching and dissemination of the manifesto was coordinated by the Tanzania Human Rights Defenders Coalition (THRDC).[13]

Participants during the Launching of the CSOs Manifesto

The CSOs manifesto helped to create civic understanding on the role of CSOs in democratization process. This is exemplified by the public's comments over the manifesto through radio and televisions programmers, news vox pops and media debates. Many that aired their opinions commended that the Manifesto has indeed incorporated citizens' needs particularly the desire for a new Constitution.[14] This initiative added the value of CSOs during election.

(iii)   Election Monitoring and Observation

Election monitoring and observation is a non-state or civilian activity that brings together many actors with an objective of monitoring election and observing whether election process meets required national and international standards. A comprehensive election observation, therefore, requires a careful look at the entire pre-election period and post-election developments, as well as what happens on Election Day.

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13 www.thrd.or.tz

14 For several days the CSOs manifesto enjoyed a number of mentions and interviews by both international and local media outlets including Voice of America (VOA Swahili), BBC Swahili, Radio France International (RFI) Swahili, and several programs most of them being prime time media programs on various local channels.   Together with live coverage, 11 newspaper, 5 Radio stations and 7 television stations reporters attended the ceremony and aired the same on prime time for TV and radio while newspapers placed the same on prominent pages. During the ceremony 169 CSO's manifesto copies were distributed to the participants, 400 to regional representatives from Dodoma, Kilosa and Kibaha and 100 to Community radios through COMNETA thus a total of 669 were distributed.

During 2015 election cycle Tanzania continued to receive both local and international election observers. Some of them were monitoring the entire process while other actors observed only specific region, or on a particular aspect of an election. For example, some groups were observing around the question of women's participation and how the various elements of the process affect women. Other groups focused on minority groups or displaced persons, or on particular thematic aspects of an election such as voter registration, media coverage, and freedom of expression, human rights or the accuracy of the vote tabulation.[15]

Election observers or monitors can be any group outside the incumbent government. Election observers are commonly non-state actors, regional or international groups/organs such as SADC, AU and EU. Observers can be also CSOs and very rarely political parties. The composition of the core observer team may vary, depending on whether the observation is being organized by an international organization, a non-partisan domestic group, or a political party. In 2015 election cycle NEC and ZEC authorized about 600 domestic election observers from CSOs community in Tanzania Mainland and Zanzibar.

Observation by any of these types of groups can be helpful in building confidence, fair election and finally true democracy. However, this may depend on the state of election security. No any organization/group that will deploy its observers in an election which is not secured.[16] Local and international observers and monitors are allowed to watch electoral processes in Tanzania.[17]

The leading CSOs groups which played an active role as domestic observers in 2015 electoral included, TACCEO, Coalition of Election Observers (CEMOT), TEMCO and other CSOs. Tanzania Civil Society Consortium on Election Observation (TACCEO) is a loose non- governmental, non – partisan and non - profit consortium formed by 17 Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) in Tanzania.[18] This consortium came into being in 2010 after realizing the need to create more initiatives to improve the democratic processes in the country by having CSOs actively participating in the monitoring and observing the organs that manage and administer election processes so that they can be more democratic, participatory and minimize violence and grievances in the process. The consortium is being coordinated by the Legal and Human Rights Centre (LHRC).

The consortium aims at advocating and engaging the government and the institutions that manage the election processes to effectively abide by laws and practices that are just and which guarantee human rights and political rights to all citizens reaffirming of the government intentions to fight against election malpractices. The consortium also aimed at equipping Tanzanians with knowledge/ awareness on the issues related to civic and political rights, empowering law enforcement officials, PCCB, and the Registrar of Political Parties to enforce and uphold election laws that are in place in order to guarantee equality and fairness in the electoral processes. The consortium realizes the need for a new and practical approach in addressing the problems in elections by working in partnership with the Electoral Commission, political parties and other stakeholders for improvement of election processes in the country.[19]

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15 Olengurumwa, O (2015) "Observing Without Fear" A Paper Presented During Civil Society Security Meeting In Dar es Salaam 16th March 2015 at Wanyama Hotel.

16 Ibid.

17 Clauses 18 and 19 of the Elections (Presidential and Parliamentary Elections) Regulations, 2010; Clause 14 of the Local Authorities (Councillors' Elections) Regulations, 2010; and the NEC's Code of Conduct of Election for Observers, 2015.

18 Members of the consortium are National Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) registered under various laws of Tanzania. The founding members of the TACCEO are the Legal and Human Rights Centre (LHRC), Zanzibar Legal Services Centre (ZLSC), Tanzania Gender Networking Programme (TGNP), Tanzania Media Women Association (TAMWA), Women Legal Aid Centre (WLAC), The Leadership Forum, Women in Law and Development Africa (WiLDAF), Southern Africa Human Rights NGOs Network (SAHRiNGON), Tanzania Network for Legal Aid Providers (TANLAP), Policy Forum (PF), HakiMadini (TMWDO), Tanzania Human Rights Foundation (TAHURIFO), Youth Partnership Countrywide (YPC), Concern for Development Initiatives in Africa (ForDIA), Lawyers' Environmental Action Team (LEAT), ACCORD and Mwanza Policy Initiative (MPI).

19 TACCEO members have wide and vast experience in elections monitoring, promotion of good governance, anti-corruption, gender equity and equality, human rights, civic and voter education in Tanzania. All TACCEO members were previously members of the

2.3 Unattended CSOs Electoral Activities

Majority of CSOs in 2015 election concentrated on the above issues while leaving other areas of CSOs intervention unattended. Some people may have narrow understanding about election process. We may have those who understand that election process is all about campaigns and voting day. This is a wrong understanding. Election process entails many things and it is an open-ended process. In order to clearly asses the role of CSOs in 2015 election cycle, let us quickly remind ourselves the parameters of electoral process. The best way to understand election process is through election cycle. Election cycle is divided into three main phases; Pre-election, during election and post-election. This classification tells us that election process is not an ending process.

The areas that were given less attention by CSOs include ; Engagement with election stakeholders; Articulation of public needs and priorities through CSOs election manifestos; analysis of political parties' election manifesto; Court application, watchdog function ; improve the quality of electoral and parliamentary process; holding local leaders accountable in order to effectively perform their tasks related to decentralization and democratization.

The findings of this report indicate CSOs lack modern strategies of election engagement. The conventional engagement strategies of roundtable meetings, seminars and conferences are being combined with what in African terms are unconventional ones such as debates and petitions. Other strategies CSOs failed to employ in 2015 include media engagement; pledge cards; protest marches; street rallies; briefing papers; and the social media.

2.4 The Number of CSOs that participated in the 2015 Election Cycle

The number of CSOs continues to increase in Tanzania. Every year hundreds of CSOs are registered annually under various laws. According to legal framework in Tanzania CSOs are now registered under different authorities; this include Directorate of NGOs of the Ministry of Community Development, Elderly, Gender and Children, which registers NGOs; the Ministry of Home Affairs, which registers societies; the Registration Insolvency and Trusteeship Agency (RITA), which registers trusts; The Office of Registrar of Companies (BRELA) and the Ministry of State President's Office, Constitution and Good Governance (Zanzibar) which registers NGOs in Zanzibar. According to data from these authorities, the number of registered CSOs was 19,489 in 2013 but as of today, the number of CSOs is approaching 30,000. The number of active CSOs, however, is estimated to be smaller. (The 2013 CSO Sustainability Index for Sub-Saharan Africa)

THRDC findings indicate that NGOs form larger part of CSOs that participated in 2015 electoral activities. During 2015 Election about 600 NGOs participated in electoral process directly or indirectly through networks. These statistics indicate that there is less involvement of CSOs in electoral processes both at rural and national level. Another type of CSOs that participated in 2015 election includes Academic institutions, Professional institutions, and Faith-based institutions. [20]

In order to ascertain the number of CSOs that participated in 2015 electoral process, the Coalition used questionnaires, reports from donor community, the list of CSOs with ZEC and NEC accreditation. For instance, according to NEC, only 444 CSOs were granted election observation status and voter education permit in 2015. Other CSOs were granted voter education permit and accreditation by ZEC on the part of Zanzibar. NGOs form larger part of CSOs that actively participated in 2015 electoral polls.

Tanzania Election Monitoring Committee (TEMCO) and participated in monitoring the general elections held in 1995, 2000, 2005, and 2010. TACCEO participated in monitoring the General Election, 2015 and subsequent by-elections

20 United States Agency for International Development (2013) The 2013 CSO Sustainability Index for Sub-Saharan Africa.

The number of CSOs participated in 2015 election is however very low compared to the number of registered and active CSOs mentioned above. According to the findings of this report, many CSOs such as Trade unions, FBOs, Academic Institutions, and professional institutions played minimal role in 2015 election. For instance, in 2010 electoral cycle a strong committee of religious leaders was organized by FBOs to meet presidential candidates few days before electoral polls but in 2015 this was not done.

2.5 Funding CSOs Electoral Activities

Funding CSOs election activities was one of the criteria used by THRDC to assess the engagement and effectiveness of CSOs in electoral activities. Foreign or international donors and local donors have supported CSOs electoral activities in 2015. Despite, the flows of funding from abroad, most local CSOs are struggling with scarce of resources. THRDC findings indicate that no domestic financial support available from the Tanzanian government for CSOs. Many CSOs had many electoral activities but remained unimplemented due to lack of resources.

## 2.6 Number of CSOs that received Election Grant in 2015

In order to understand how many CSOs were funded THRDC collected CSOs findings records for 2015 electoral process from the following donors; Open Society Foundation For East Africa (OSIEA), UN-Women, OXFAM; Foundation for Civil Society, SIDA, DANIDA, Finish Local Cooperation, Swiss Development Cooperation, Tanzania Women Fund (WFT), Tanzania Media Foundation (TMF), UNDP and USAID. One of the main donors who supported a big number of CSOs in 2015 is Foundation for Civil Society (FCS). For instance, a total of 1.4 Million only was used by FCS to support 112 CSOs with election activities.

LIST OF DONORS AND NUMBER OF CSOs SUPPORTED IN 2015

N0.	DONOR	NUMBER OF CSOS SUPPORTED	TOTAL AMOUNT OF GRANT in USD
	FCS	112	1.4 M
	OSIEA	5	1.4 M
	DANIDA	2	600,000
	SIDA	2	UNDISCLOSED
	CIDA	Unknown	500,000
	Oxfam-Tanzania	5	6 Million USD
	UNESCO	Undisclosed	Undisclosed
	UN-Women	9	2.4 Million
	SDC	1	2. Million
	USAID	14	9 Million
	UNDP	Undisclosed	Undisclosed
	DFID	61	5 Million
	TOTAL	211	28.3 Million

The table above indicates that a lot of resources were awarded to few NGOs and some of them are foreign. The total amount of resources granted to 211 CSOs in Tanzania according to this survey is 28.3 million USD equivalent to Tshs 62.26 Billion.

A Graphical Illustration of the Status of Election Funds allocated to CSOs in 2015
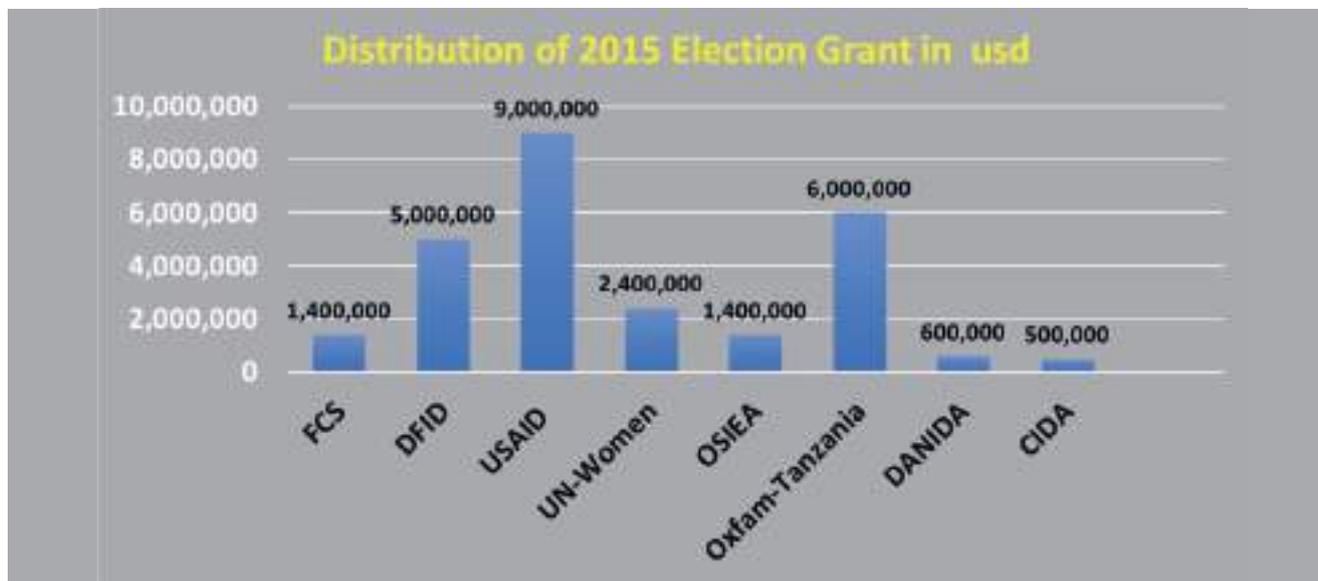
The above graph indicates that FCS despite the small amount of elections funds they had, it managed to support more than 50% of all 200+ CSOs who received elections grants in 2015. This trends is discouraging effective and active participation of local CSOs in election cycle. THRDC findings indicates that out of $28 Million USD allocated for CSOs, not more than 10% was used by local CSOs. Majority of CSOs have raised their concerns that International NGOs and UN agencies are increasingly replacing their space during elections. If this is a true reality on the ground, then immediate solutions are paramount to rectify the situations before the 2019 and 2020 elections.

<<<The graph left indicates the number of CSOs supported in 2015 election cycle. More than 50% of all 211 supported CSOs were supported by FCS. This indicates that for more local CSOs to be supported effectvelly in the upcomming elections , more resources have to be channelled to FCS.

2.7 Financial Challenges

According to the findings of this report, the main constraints that inhibit the sustainability of election projects is lack of resources. Most CSOs in Tanzania are externally funded, with little or no local funding. No funds other than from external donors that go to CSOs. No any CSO that receives funds from the government or local business companies for election programs. That is to say, CSOs depend 100% from donors. It is, therefore, THRDC's assumption that if donors withdraw their financial support on democratization, CSOs activities will probably cease their operations on election processes. This matter is pertinent and need to be discussed by CSOs and donors.

Donors working with CSOs usually focuses only on few election programs such as voter and civic education and election observation and such as voter and civic education and election observation and forget about institutional support, technical support, partnerships and coalitions buildings. This affects the sustainability of CSOs activities on democratization. During the 2015 election cycle, very few CSOs managed to solicit financial support for election activities.

According to THRDC's observation, only 40% of the CSOs with NEC/ZEC permission as election observers and providers of voter/civic education secured funds from donors listed in this report. According to ZEC and NEC, about 600 CSOs were granted election observation and voter education permit. Surprisingly, THRDC findings indicate that about 250 CSOs received funds jointly or individually from the major donors based in Tanzania. More than 50% of the CSOs who responded to the question of resources, said they have not secured funds for electoral activities.

A big section of CSOs interviewed by THRDC mentioned other financial challenges such as late disbursement of resources to those who managed to solicit election grants. This claim seems to be valid because THRDC observations indicates that many donors who supported CSOs in 2015 election cycle released funds few weeks or months before voting day. This affected the effective engagement of CSOs in election cycle. For instance, major pre-election activities were not implemented due to grant delay.

Another challenge is the recent increase of UN-Agencies, International NGOs, and some donors to assume the role of domestic CSOs during election. Some of them have been doing trainings, seminars and civic education. CSOs officials have mentioned this as threat to their participation in election cycle in Tanzania. One of the UN-Agency that was mentioned to have done the electoral activities which ought to have been done by domestic CSOs in 2015 was UNDP. UNDP secured election grant from foreign donors based in Tanzania such as CIDA, SDC, DANIDA, etc. UNDP under the Democratization Empowering Program Managed to solicit about 22 M dollars from Dar es Salaam-based foreign donors. This practice affected many CSOs who expected to receive grants from the same source that channeled election funds to UN- Agencies such UNDP and UN-Women.

CHALLENGES WHICH AFFECTED CSOs PARTICIPATION IN 2015 ELECTIONS

3.0 CHALLENGES

Election process is multidisciplinary process that can't be effective without multiple actors. CSOs play a significant role during election by ensuring that electoral process meets both international and national standards. In the course of undertaking this noble role, CSOs have been succumbed by several challenges both internal and external challenges. CSOs face several challenges during elections such as confrontations from state security agents, operating in a very repressive legal regime, restrictions, arbitrary arrest, and attack and sometimes seen as members of opposition parties. The 2015 electoral cycle posed a lot of challenges to CSOs both being imposed externally and others are being from within.

Despite of those challenges, few CSOs in Tanzania have remained the largest influencer of democracy over the last two decades. In new and emerging democracies, CSOs have been at the forefront of agitating for reforms and increased involvement of the citizens in the governance structures. In 2015 CSOs continued to uncover various election irregularities and undemocratic practices such as the annulment of Zanzibar election.

3.1 Internal Challenges

According to the findings of this reports, the most common CSOs internal challenges during elections include; poor capacity and professionalism; CSO rivalry and competition; infiltration; lack of sustainable networking and coordination; some lack of neutrality, over-concentration on election observation and voter education and forget other key roles during election.

The Civil Sector it sometimes lacks the capacity to promote viable political alternatives, which has been observed through the lack of CSO political skills and the uneasiness with which CSOs engage with government or political parties. The shrinking space of CSOs in democratization process is mainly contributed by many factors such as lack of coordination and joint activities. Poor CSOs engagement in electoral process forced CSOs to concentrate only on election observation with less civic education and public engagement.

In 2015 election Cycle, some CSOs leaders were observed to participate in direct politics as contestants. Yes, it is constitutional rights for every citizen to participate in election but for CSOs leaders this must be exercised with extra care to avoid jeopardizing the reputation of an organization. CCM had big number contestants in various positions from CSOs followed by CHADEMA, CUF ACT-Wazalendo. For instance, the ACT-Wazalendo presidential candidate came from CSOs before she joined ACT. THRDC noted this as a challenge to CSOs because; CSOs can be viewed as group of people who wants power like politicians or people who support political parties.

3.2 External Challenges

Tanzania's Civil Societies face external challenges such as a constricted operating environment; repressive legislation; impunity, attacks, arrests and intimidation as well as limited funding. THRDC documentations include the 2013 security needs assessment survey which indicates that NGOs and Human Rights Defenders have never been free from tough administrative measures that affect their freedom of operation. It has been noted that some of the local government officials use their administrative power to infringe the rights of NGOs and Human Rights Defenders (HRDs).

THRDC observed elections challenges, violence's and suppression of CSOs and observed Journalists to be most at risk during election period. During elections period, reports indicate that some agents of the government specifically police and other security units commit unlawful acts of torture, suppress, imprisonment to innocent civilians and human rights defenders, journalists and political parties' leaders.

A picture of the TACCEO Observation Centre before the attack

There are several documented and undocumented violations of human rights defenders, journalists, elections monitors and observers during general election in Tanzania. It was for these problems that THRDC engaged stakeholders of elections in different workshops for possibility of securing the 2015 general elections. THRDC provided preventive mechanisms by way of security management and risk assessment to stakeholders who engage themselves in monitoring and observing elections, and lastly provided emergence services for any HRDs at risk during the whole election cycle that is pre-election campaigns, elections and post elections.

The following are some of challenges faced CSOs during 2015 include; the development of repressive laws such as Cyber Law of 2015; attack of election observer; invasion of TACCEO/LHRC election observation center and seizure of electronic equipment.

On 29th October 2015, TACCEO police invaded while armed and searched the office of TACCEO Election Observation Center, Kawe Beach Dar es Salaam from 2:30 – 7:30 PM. During the incident, a total of 36 Staff and Volunteers were arrested and later on, after a long interrogation, bailed out at the Central Police Station. All the suspects are due to appear in court if initial investigation indicates any offenses as per Cyber Crimes Act of 2015.

The Police claimed that the Observers were arrested under Article 16 of the Cyber Crimes Act of 2015 having committed an offense of collecting and disseminating election results contrary to Election Act, which stipulates that the institution with the mandate to announce the election results is the National Election Commission; and not any political party or any other institution. Nevertheless, the invaded Center was not involved in Parallel Votes Tabulation. On contrary, the center was set to receive a variety of information on election process from Election Observers in different regions. It should also be noted that collection of results, which have already been publicized at the polling stations, is not an offense.

During the invasion, all the office and personal equipment were seized including 3 laptops, 24 desktop computers, 25 office phones, and 36 personal mobile phones. Upon receiving such information, THRDC contacted top police officials on the incident only to realize that the officials were unaware of the arrest and invasion.

THRDC, EU and other international actors including development partners condemned the arrest of TACCEO Staff and Volunteers and the seizure of their working equipment since all constitutional and legal requirements pertaining to election observation were met including TACCEO entitlement to Certificate of Approval to perform Election Observation and Identification Cards for Observers as issued by the National Electoral Commission (NEC).

The arrest of election observers at TACCEO election observation centre Kawe in Dar es Salaam was the last incident on series of incidents against CSOs. For instance, two TACCEO voters registration observers in Njombe Region were invaded in a hotel and battered by the Police. The two Observers namely Humphrey Josia and Wilson Raphael on 7th March 2015 at 10:40 PM while in room number 5 at Netho Guest House writing a daily voters registration observation report were invaded by 6 armed Police Officers, battered mercilessly and suspected of robbery.

Such acts by police are contrary to International Conventions especially International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights of 1966 (Articles 9, 19 and 25) to which Tanzania is a signatory to, African Charter on Human and People's Rights (Articles 6&9) as well as Tanzania Constitution of 1977 (Articles 8, 15, 16, 21 and 22).

A picture of the Legal & Human Rights Center (LHRC) issuing a Press Statement condemning the attack and arrest of TACCEO Election observers in 2015>>>

It is noted that the Police squad was acting illegally without following procedures provided by the law for arrest and seizure. Moreover, they used unreasonable force for innocent, unarmed people who obeyed and responded to whatever was ordered to them. Excessive use of force which has led to assault is unlawfully and unacceptable in the country which purports to adhere to the rule of law and good governance. Section 53 of the Criminal Procedure Act Cap 20 stipulates the rights of the people who are under arrest at the same it imposes the duties to the police officer to be careful when arresting suspects. It is clear that Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) in Tanzania, are organized and recognized legally and work on various legal, social, economic, political and cultural issues.

CONCLUSION AND ACTION PLAN FOR 2020

4.0 Conclusions and Recommendations

4.1 CONCLUSIONS

- Political neutrality: Political neutrality is essential for successful election engagement by CSOs. Once a CSO is found to be politically biased, it is shunned by the parties- a situation that is very difficult to reverse.

- Evidence-based approach: Political parties prefer to engage with CSOs whose concerns are based on evidence or research.

- Consistency: Political parties and the public appreciate CSOs that are consistent about the values and principles, which they stand for or advocate.

- Credibility: Maintaining credibility should be of concern to CSOs if they want to be effective. Political parties have trust and confidence in CSOs who have invested time and effort in developing long-term working relationships with them.

Ms. Rishida Shariff – Oxfam Gender Project Manager presented a Report prepared by Oxfam on Women's Participation in the 2015 Election Process>>>

4.2 RECOMMENDATIONS

- CSOs hoping to achieve long-term influence over political parties and the public should avoid every form of unprofessional conduct and commit more time, attention and resources to improving their internal structures and external relationships.

- CSOs can minimize the risks involved in engaging political parties by avoiding partisanship in all their activities.

- CSOs facing capacity challenges can enhance their effectiveness by working in coalitions.

- CSOs should be innovative in their strategies with political parties, as developing new strategies appears to inject fresh momentum into political parties   engagement with them.

- CSOs need to engage with political parties on an ongoing basis to ensure that the CSOs   concerns remain relevant to the politicians.

- In order for CSO concerns to be taken up by political parties, CSOs need to engage the parties before manifestos or party programmes are drawn up. CSOs should assess every political party to determine which approach is suitable, and in some instances may have to deal both with individual candidates and with their parties.

- To overcome the shortcomings in their engagement with women, CSOs must continually promote gender equality. In addition, CSOs

- Donors need to understand the work environment in CSOs operate in Tanzania and ensure that funds for electoral activities are released early before even party nominations.

- UN-Agencies and some donors should abstain from doing direct election activities.

- CSOs and Development Partners have to meet at least one year prior to 2019 and 2020 elections and digest how CSOs can effectively participate in those elections.

- CSOs have to Coordinate their   voices into one strong voice during election

- Because of the current closing civic space CSOs are advised to learn and adopt different approaches towards forthcoming elections this include working closely   with Election Management Bodies. Should be well understood that the situation may be hard and complicated in the upcoming elections.

- CSOs have to give strong attention to all issues surrounding as election security, inclusiveness, trust among themselves, Prioritization of few issues, indicators of election violence, healing sessions before and after the elections

- Doing a robust analysis of the   upcoming election context by looking at potential risks and power relationship between actors such as political parties, election management bodies, media, security agents and the state. This power relationship will   mostly affect EMB, CSOs and opposition parties.

(Footnotes)

[1] "CCM is still the most popular party in the country" (PDF) (Press release). Dar es Salaam: Twaweza. 22 September 2015. Retrieved 2015-09-22

[2] Ipsos Social Political Economic and Cultural Barometer (SPEC): 3rd Quarter Survey 2015 (PDF) (Report). Ipsos Tanzania. 24 September 2015. p. 19. Retrieved 25 September 2015.

[3] Aman, Frank (26 September 2015). "New poll gives Lowassa lead". The Guardian. Retrieved 26 September 2015.