

Do people prefer active MPs?

MP performance in 2010 CCM primaries



Introduction

What sort of MPs do people prefer? Do members of political parties value MPs who have been active in Parliament, who have made vocal contributions and asked critical questions? Do voters care about how much their MPs have held the executive to account on the floor of the Bunge?

One indicator for answering these questions is to analyze the relationship between active/dormant MPs and their performance in the preferential polls of CCM, the dominant political party in Tanzania. In the poll held on Sunday 1st August, 2010, 203 elected CCM MPs were trying to become CCM flag bearers in the upcoming general election. Of these, 75 lost and 128 won. The final decision on which candidates will stand for the Party during the national elections is expected to be made by CCM's National Executive Committee (NEC) in Dodoma on August 14, 2010, but the poll gives an indication of the preferences of its ordinary members.

In this note we present six key facts regarding the relationship between the participation of MPs in Parliament and their performance in the CCM polls. Data for the participation in Parliament is drawn from the Uwazi brief entitled *Do they work for us? Update on the 19th session of the Bunge (brief and full dataset can be downloaded from www.uwazi.org)*, which is based on information provided in the Bunge website; data on poll results is drawn from newspaper reports.¹

In assessing which CCM Members of Parliament lost and won, we only report on *elected* MPs. The assessment does not include 71 MPs who are appointed as special seats legislators (58), by the Zanzibar House or Representatives (3), who are presidential appointees (9) and the Attorney General. It also excludes 4 MPs who 'retired', leaving 203 for consideration. Of these, 44 are *elected* high level Government officials (4 Regional Commissioners, 22 Ministers, 15 Deputy Ministers, the Speaker, Deputy Speaker and the Prime Minister) and 159 are 'ordinary' elected MPs.

¹ See http://www.dailynews.co.tz/election/index_news.php?articleID=115.

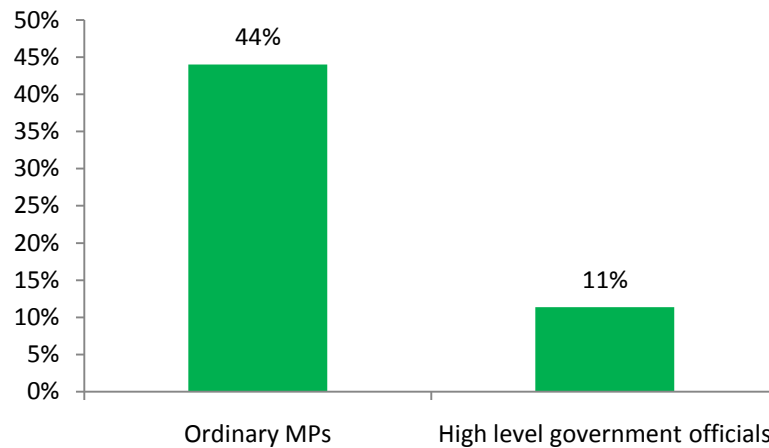


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Fact 1: Ordinary MPs were more likely to lose than elected high level officials

Of the 44 elected high level Government officials who participated in the preferential vote, only 5 lost. Out of the 159 'ordinary' elected CCM MPs 70 lost. In other words 11% of high level officials lost their re-election, compared to 44% of the 'ordinary' elected CCM MPs. This suggests that ordinary MPs have a significantly more difficult time returning to Parliament as compared with those in leadership positions.

Figure 1: Percent of elected CCM MPs who lost the preferential vote

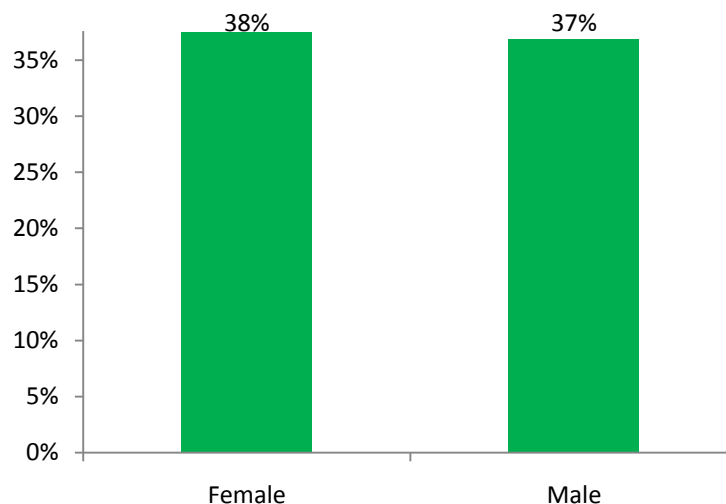


Source of data: Newspaper sources

Fact 2: Male and female MPs were about as likely to win the preferential vote

Out of 16 elected female MPs, 6 lost the preferential vote; out of 187 male elected MPs, 69 lost the preferential vote, i.e. slightly over one-third of both male and female MPs lost in the polls. This suggests that female and male MPs were about as likely to win in the primaries.

Figure 2: Percent of elected male and female CCM MPs who lost the preferential vote

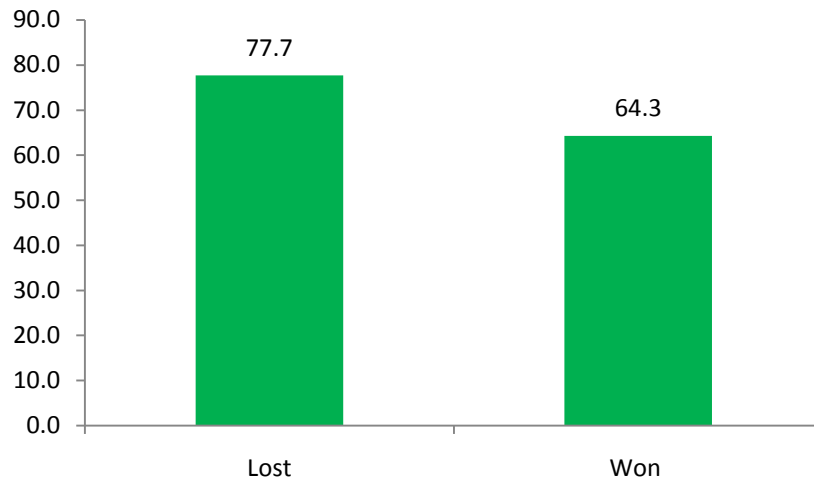


Source of data: Newspaper sources

Fact 3: Active male MPs were less successful in the polls

Using the data from the Uwazi brief on the number of contributions made by MPs during the 19 sessions of the 2005-2010 Bunge, it is possible to relate how active MPs were in the Bunge to their performance in the primaries. As Figure 3 demonstrates, elected 'ordinary' male MPs who won the primaries were *less* active in Parliament than those who lost the primaries.

Figure 3: Contributions per ordinary elected male CCM MP, by winning or losing in the CCM primaries

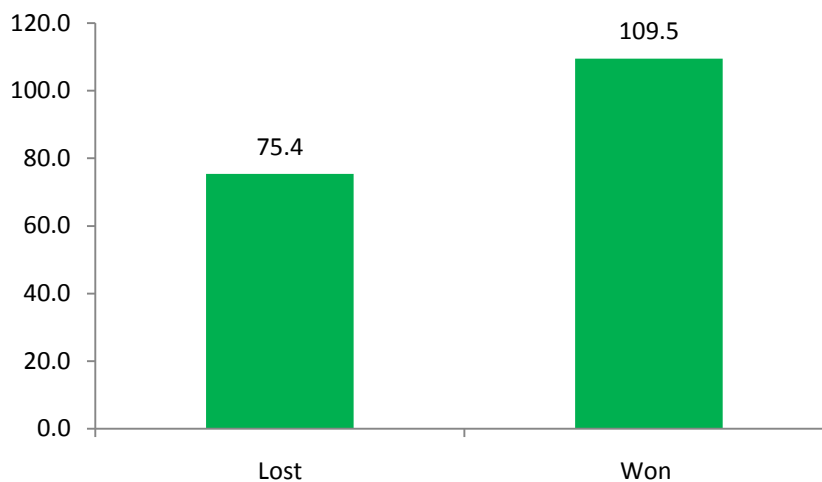


Source: Uwazi leaflet and newspaper sources

Fact 4: Active female MPs were more successful in the polls

Unlike male MPs, 'ordinary' female CCM MPs who won in the primaries were much more active in Parliament than those who lost. In fact, female MPs who won were one and a half time more active as those who lost.

Figure 4: Contributions per ordinary elected female CCM MP, by winning or losing in the CCM primaries



Source: Uwazi leaflet and newspaper sources

Fact 5: Of the 10 least active CCM MPs, all won in the polls

All ten CCM MPs who are not high level government officials and who participated the least in Parliament won in the polls, many with large landslides. Illustrative is the case of Hon. Aziz who made zero contributions in the Bunge but who still won his re-election.

Table 1: Performance in CCM primaries of ten least active elected 'ordinary' CCM MPs during the nineteen sessions of the Bunge since 2005

MP Name	Total contributions	Gender	Status in CCM primaries
Rostam Abdulrasul Aziz	0	M	Won
Mossy Suleiman Mussa	3	M	Won
Salum Khamis Salum	4	M	Won
Juma Suleiman N'hunga	5	M	Won
Lolesia Jeremiah Bukwimba	5	F	Won
Hassan Rajab Khatib	6	M	Won
Omar Sheha Mussa	7	M	Won
Abdallah Salum Sumry	7	M	Won
William Jonathan Kusila	9	M	Won
Mohammed Gulam Dewji	10	M	Won

Source: Uwazi leaflet and newspaper sources

Fact 6: Seventy percent of the most active MPs lost in the polls

Since the last parliamentary elections in 2005, Jenista Mhagama has been the most active, ordinary CCM MP in the Bunge, followed by Hon. Ndugai with a total of 286 interventions, and Hon. Msindai, with a total of 222 interventions. How the ten most active MPs fared in the polls is presented below:

Table 2: Performance in CCM primaries of ten most active elected 'ordinary' CCM MPs during the nineteen sessions of the Bunge since 2005

MP Name	Total contributions	Gender	Status in CCM primaries
Jenista Joakim Mhagama	362	F	Won
Job Yustino Ndugai	286	M	Won
Mgana Izumbe Msindai	222	M	Lost
Godfrey Weston Zambi	219	M	Won
George Malima Lubeleje	197	M	Lost
Juma Hassan Killimbah	196	M	Lost
William Hezekia Shellukindo	187	M	Lost
Prof. Raphael Benedict Mwalyosi	171	M	Lost
Siraju Juma Kaboyonga	162	M	Lost
Mohamed Rished Abdallah	147	M	Lost

Source: Uwazi leaflet and newspaper sources

Being active in Parliament does not guarantee winning the CCM primaries as the case of Hon. Msindai illustrates. In fact, it may be a liability. Out of the 10 most active CCM MPs, a remarkable 7 lost in the primaries.

Conclusion

This document has compared results of the CCM primaries to the participation of MPs during 19 sessions of the 2005-2010 Bunge. Findings reveal that less active MPs were more likely to win. This is very clear when considering the 10 most active ordinary CCM MPs, of whom 7 did not survive the primaries. By contrast, all of the least active MPs won in the polls.

The only exception holds for female CCM MPs, for whom holds that the more active ones were more likely to win in the primaries. High level government officials were found to have a very high chance to win their primaries; much higher than that of MPs who did not serve in high government positions.

These findings raise questions about the role and functioning of Parliament and the preferences of the ordinary CCM members who voted in the preferential polls. In particular, it raises questions about the extent to which CCM MPs are valued for the way in which they hold the executive to account on the floor of the Bunge.

Annex 1: Ranking of Elected CCM MP Participation in Parliament and Results of CCM Primaries

Name	Contributions	Constituency	Sex	Position	Primaries result
Jenista Joakim Mhagama	362	Peramiho	F		Won
Job Yustino Ndugai	286	Kongwa	M		Won
Mgana Izumbe Msindai	222	Iramba Mashariki	M		Lost
Godfrey Weston Zambi	219	Mbozi Mashariki	M		Won
George Malima Lubeleje	197	Mpwapwa	M		Lost
Juma Hassan Killimbah	196	Iramba Magharibi	M		Lost
William Hezekia Shellukindo	187	Bumbuli	M		Lost
Prof. Raphael Benedict Mwalyosi	171	Ludewa	M		Lost
Siraju Juma Kaboyonga	162	Tabora Mjini	M		Lost
Mohamed Rished Abdallah	147	Pangani	M		Lost
Michael Lekule Laizer	145	Longido	M		Won
John Paul Lwanji	141	Manyoni Magharibi	M		Won
Lucas Lumambo Seleli	132	Nzega	M		Lost
George Boniface Simbachawene	130	Kibakwe	M		Won
Emmanuel Jumanne Luhahula	128	Bukombe	M		Won
Ruth Blasio Msafiri	127	Muleba Kaskazini	F		Lost
Vita Rashid Kawawa	127	Namtumbo	M		Won
Bujiku Philip Sakila	125	Kwimba	M		Lost
Aloyce Bent Kimaro	124	Vunjo	M		Lost
Hafidh Ali Tahir	121	Dimani	M		Won
Benson Mwilugula Mpesya	119	Mbeya Mjini	M		Won
Raynald Alfons Mrope	116	Masasi	M		Lost
Herbert James Mntangi	116	Muheza	M		Won
Paul Peter Kimiti	114	Sumbawanga Mjini	M		Won
Zubeir Ali Maulid	112	Kwamtipura	M		Won
Mohamed Hamisi Missanga	111	Singida Kusini	M		Lost
Dr. Chrisant Majiyatanga Mzindakaya	110	Kwela	M		Won
Ponsiano Damiano Nyami	110	Nkasi	M		Lost
Castor Raphael Ligallama	108	Kilombero	M		Lost
Felix Ntibenda Kijiko	108	Muhambwe	M		Lost
Paschal Constantine Degera	107	Kondo South	M		Lost
Andrew John Chenge	107	Bariadi Magharibi	M		Won
Stanley Jilaoneka Yono Kevela	107	Njombe Magharibi	M		Lost
Fuya Godwin Kimbita	107	Hai	M		Won
Omar Shabani Kwaangw'	106	Babati Mashariki	M		Lost
Gosbert Begumisa Blandes	105	Karagwe	M		Won
Mussa Azan Zungu	101	Ilala	M		Won
Jacob Dalali Shibiliti	99	Misungwi	M		Lost
Mbaruk Kassim Mwandoro	91	Mkinga	M		Won
Prof. Idris Ali Mtulia	91	Rufiji	M		Lost
Peter Joseph Serukamba	90	Kigoma Mjini	M		Won
James Daudi Lembeli	90	Kahama	M		Won
Masolwa Cosmas Masolwa	90	Bububu	M		Won
Dr. Guido Gorogolio Sigonda	89	Songwe	M		Lost
Charles N. Keenja Ubungo	89	Ubungo	M		Retired
Clemence Beatus Lyamba	88	Mikumi	M		Lost
Anne Kilango Malecela	87	Same Mashariki	F		Won
Victor Kilasile Mwambalaswa	86	Lupa	M		Won
Daniel Nicodem Nsanzugwanko	86	Kasulu East	M		Won
James Philipo Musalika	86	Nyang'hwale	M		Lost
Vuai Abdallah Khamis	85	Magogoni	M		Won
Hassan Chande Kigwalilo	85	Liwale	M		Won
Dr. Binilith Satano Mahenge	84	Makete	M		Won
Dr. Harrison George Mwakymembe	84	Kyela	M		Won
Vedastusi Mathayo Manyinyi	84	Musoma Mjini	M		Won
Stephen Jones Galinoma	79	Kalenga	M		Retired
Dr. Luka Jelas Siyame	79	Mbozi Magharibi	M		Won
Dr. Raphael Masunga Chegeni	78	Busega	M		Lost
Teddy Louise Kasella-Bantu	77	Bukene	F		Lost
Juma Abdallah Njwayo	77	Tandahimba	M		Won
Dr. Samson Ferdinand Mpanda	75	Kilwa Kaskazini	M		Won
Mwinchoum Abdulrahman Idd Msomi	75	Kigamboni	M		Lost
Dr. Charles Ogesa F. Mlingwa	73	Shinyanga Mjini	M		Lost

Name	Contributions	Constituency	Sex	Position	Primaries result
Dr. Zainab Amir Gama	73	Kibaha	F		Lost
Christopher Olonyokie Ole-Sendeka	73	Simanjiro	M		Won
Jackson Muvangila Makwetta	72	Njombe Kaskazini	M		Lost
Ernest Gakeya Mabina	72	Geita	M		Lost
Manju Salum Omar Msambya	72	Kigoma South	M		Lost
Capt. John Damiano Komba	71	Mbinga Magharibi	M		Won
Haroub Said Masoud	71	Koani	M		Won
Beatrice Matumbo Shellukindo	70	Kilindi	F		Won
Amb. Getrude Ibengwe Mongella	70	Ukerewe	F		Won
Dr. Festus Bulugu Limbu	70	Magu	M		Won
Ludovick John Mwananzila	69	Kalambo	M		Lost
Hasnain Gulamabbas Dewji	69	Kilwa Kusini	M		Won
Ameir Ali Ameir	68	Fuoni	M		Won
Estherina Julio Kilasi	68	Mbarali	F		Lost
Mzee Ngwali Zubeir	68	Mkwajuni	M		Lost
Amb. Abdi Hassan Mshangama	67	Lushoto	M		Lost
Kaika Saning'o Telele	67	Ngorongoro	M		Won
Suleiman Omar Kumchaya	67	Lulindi	M		Lost
Athumani Saidi Janguo	66	Kisarawe	M		Lost
Yahya Kassim Issa	66	Chwaka	M		Won
Mtutura Abdallah Mtutura	66	Tunduru	M		Won
Hamza Abdallah Mwenegoha	65	Morogoro Kusini	M		Won
Mohammed Rajab Soud	63	Jang'ombe	M		Won
Gaudence Cassian Kayombo	63	Mbinga Mashariki	F		Won
Dr. Juma Alifa Ngasongwa	63	Ulanga Magharibi	M		Lost
Ramadhani Athumani Maneno	61	Chalinze	M		Lost
Said Juma Nkumba	61	Sikonge	M		Lost
Ephraim Nehemia Madeje	60	Dodoma Mjini	M		Lost
Lazaro Samuel Nyalandu	60	Singida Nonerth	M		Won
Damas Pascal Nakei	60	Babati Magharibi	M		Lost
Abdul Jabiri Marombwa	60	Kibiti	M		Won
Wilson Mutagaywa Masilingi	59	Muleba South	M		Lost
Dr. Abdallah Omar Kigoda	58	Handeni	M		Won
John Samwel Malecela	58	Mtera	M		Lost
Fred Mpendazoe Tungu	57	Kishapu	M		Retired
Basil Pesambili Mramba	57	Rombo	M		Won
Luhaga Joelson Mpina	57	Kisesa	M		Won
Laus Omar Mhina	55	Korogwe Vijijini	M		Lost
Idd Mohamed Azzan	54	KiNonendoni	M		Won
Prof. Philemon Mikol Sarungi	53	Rorya	M		Lost
Richard Mganga Ndassa	53	Sumve	M		Won
Dunstan Daniel Mkapa	51	Nanyumbu	M		Lost
Benito William Malangalila	50	Mufindi Kusini	M		Lost
Dr. Omari Mzeru Nibuka	49	Morogoro Mjini	M		Lost
Charles Muguta Kajege	48	Mwibara	M		Lost
Dr. Ibrahim Said Msabaha	48	Kibaha Vijijini	M		Lost
Parmukh Singh Hoogan	47	Kikwajuni	M		Lost
Mudhihir Mohamed Mudhihir	46	Mchinga	M		Lost
Dr. Anthony Mwandu Diallo	44	Ilemela	M		Won
Ahmed Ally Salum	43	Solwa	M		Won
Kilontsi Muhama Mporogomyi	42	Kasulu Magharibi	M		Lost
Nazir Mustafa Karamagi	40	Bukoba Vijijini	M		Lost
Abdulkarim Esmail Hassan Shah	40	Mafia	M		Won
Ussi Ame Pandu	38	Mtoni	M		Won
Kheri Khatib Ameir	38	Matemwe	M		Won
Feteh Saad Mgeni	37	Bumbwini	M		Won
Elisa David Mollel	37	Arumeru Magharibi	M		Lost
Dr. Haji Mwita Haji	36	Muyuni	M		Lost
Mohamed Said Sinani	35	Mtwara Mjini	M		Lost
Prof. Feethan Philipo Banyikwa	35	Ngara	M		Lost
Brg. Gen. Hassan Athumani Ngwilizi	35	Mlalo	M		Won
Harith Bakari Mwapachu	35	Tanga	M		Lost
Joseph James Mungai	34	Mufindi Kaskazini	M		Lost
Eustace Osler Katagira	33	Kyerwa	M		Won
Tatu Musa Ntimizi	32	Igalula	F		Lost

Name	Contributions	Constituency	Sex	Position	Primaries result
Mohammed Amour Chombon	31	Magomeni	M		Won
Ame Pandu Ame	29	Nungwi	M		Won
Abdisalaam Issa Khatib	28	Makunduchi	M		Lost
Haji Juma Sereweji	28	Mwanakwerekwe	M		Won
Benedict Ngalama Ole-Nangoro	27	Kiteto	M		Won
John Magale Shibuda	26	Maswa	M		Lost
Rita Louise Mlaki	26	Kawe	F		Retired
Ali Juma Haji	25	Chaani	M		Won
Ahmed Mabkhut Shabiby	23	Gairo	M		Won
Issa Kassim Issa	23	Mpendae	M		Won
Edward Ngoyai Lowassa	23	Monduli	M		Won
Gideon Asimulike Cheyo	23	Ileje	M		Won
Mohamed Ali Said	21	Mgogoni	M		Won
Abbas Zuberi Mtemvu	19	Temeke	M		Won
Rajab Ahmad Juma	19	Tumbatu	M		Won
Samuel Mchele Chitalilo	16	Buchosa	M		Lost
Zabein Muhaji Mhita	15	Kondoa Kaskazini	M		Won
Col. Saleh Ali Farrah	15	Raha Leo	M		Lost
Nimrod Elirehema Mkono	15	Musoma Vijijini	M		Won
Felix Christopher Mrema	14	Arusha	M		Lost
Sameer Ismail Lotto	14	Morogoro-Kusini-Mash.	M		Lost
Rev. Luckson Ndaga Mwanjale	13	Mbeya Vijijini	M		Won
Suleiman Ahmed Saddiq	11	Mvomero	M		Lost
Oscar Rwegasira Mukasa	11	Biharamulo Magharibi	M		Won
Ali Ameir Mohamed	11	Donge	M		Won
Mohammed Gulam Dewji	10	Singida Mjini	M		Won
William Jonathan Kusila	9	Bahi	M		Won
Abdallah Salum Sumry	7	Mpanda Magharibi	M		Won
Omar Sheha Mussa	7	Chumbuni	M		Won
Hassan Rajab Khatib	6	Amani	M		Won
Lolesia Jeremiah Bukwimba	5	Busanda	F		Won
Juma Suleiman N'hunga	5	Dole	M		Won
Salum Khamis Salum	4	Meatu	M		Won
Mossy Suleiman Mussa	3	Mfenesini	M		Won
Rostam Abdulrasul Aziz	0	Igunga	M		Won

Name	Total	Constituency	Sex	Position	Primaries results
Samuel John Sitta	716	Urambo Mashariki	M	Speaker	Won
Anne Semamba Makinda	566	Njombe Kusini	F	Deputy speaker	Won
William Mganga Ngeleja	150	Sengerema	M	Minister	Won
Stephen Masatu Wasira	144	Bunda	M	Minister	Won
Prof. Jumanne Abdallah Maghembe	127	Mwanga	M	Minister	Won
Prof. David Homeli Mwakyusa	116	Rungwe Magharibi	M	Minister	Won
Dr. Mary Michael Nagu	103	Hanang	F	Minister	Won
Dr. Shukuru Jumanne Kawambwa	98	Bagamoyo	M	Minister	Won
Prof. Mark James Mwandosya	90	Rungwe Mashariki	M	Minister	Won
Philip Sang'ka Marmo	84	Mbulu	M	Minister	Won
Ezekiel Magolyo Maige	82	Msalala	M	Deputy Minister	Won
Dr. John Pombe Joseph Magufuli	76	Biharamulo Mashariki	M	Minister	Won
Mustafa Haidi Mkulo	69	Kilosa	M	Minister	Won
Capt. John Zefania Chiligati	69	Manyoni Mashariki	M	Minister	Won
Hawa Abdulrahman Ghasia	64	Mtwara Vijijini	F	Minister	Won
Aggrey Deaisile Joshua Mwanri	63	Siha	M	Deputy Minister	Won
Prof. Juma Athuman Kapuya	61	Urambo Magharibi	M	Minister	Won
Lawrence Kego Masha	54	Nyamagana	M	Minister	Won
Prof. Peter Mahamudu Msolla	54	Kilolo	M	Minister	Won
Capt. George Huruma Mkuchika	51	Newala	M	Minister	Won
Bernard Kamillius Membe	40	Mtama	M	Minister	Won
Christopher Kajoro Chiza	39	Buyungu	M	Deputy Minister	Won
Adam Kighoma Ali Malima	37	Mkuranga	M	Deputy Minister	Won
Omar Yussuf Mzee	37	Kiembesamaki	M	Deputy Minister	Won
Dr. Diodorus Buberwa Kamala	36	Nkenge	M	Minister	Lost
Dr. James Mnanka Wanyancha	34	Serengeti	M	Deputy Minister	Lost
Mizengo Kayanza Peter Pinda	34	Mpanda Mashariki	M	Prime Minister	Won
Mathias Meinrad Chikawe	32	Nachingwea	M	Minister	Won
Joel Nkaya Bendera	24	Korogwe Mashariki	M	Deputy Minister	Lost
Dr. Cyril August Chami	24	Moshi Vijijini	M	Deputy Minister	Won
Celina Ompeshi Kombani	23	Ulanga Mashariki	F	Minister	Won
Dr. Hussein Ali Mwinyi	23	Kwahani	M	Minister	Won
Dr. Milton Makongoro Mahanga	22	Ukonga	M	Deputy Minister	Won
Muhammed Seif Khatib	20	Uzini	M	Minister	Won
Ambassador Hamis Suedi Kagasheki	18	Bukoba Mjini	M	Deputy Minister	Won
Dr. David Mathayo David	16	Same Magharibi	M	Deputy Minister	Won
Dr. James Alex Msekela	14	Tabora Kaskazini	M	Regional Commissioner	Lost
Hezekiah Ndahani Chibulunje	14	Chilonwa	M	Deputy Minister	Won
Mohammed Abdi Abdulaziz	12	Lindi Mjini	M	Regional Commissioner	Won
Jeremiah Solomon Sumari	10	Arumeru Mashariki	M	Deputy Minister	Won
Dr. Emmanuel John Nchimbi	9	Songea Mjini	M	Deputy Minister	Won
Ambassador Seif Ali Iddi	7	Kitope	M	Deputy Minister	Won
Mbega Monica Ngezi	6	Iringa Mjini	F	Regional Commissioner	Lost
William Vangimembe Lukuvi	4	Isman	M	Regional Commissioner	Won

Source: Uwazi leaflet and newspaper sources