



**Zimbabwe Election
Support Network**

Promoting Democratic
Elections In Zimbabwe

ZESN

2023 HARMONISED ELECTIONS REPORT



ACRONYMS

ACDEG	African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance
ACHPR	African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights
ACP	Africa Caribbean and Pacific Group
AIPPA	Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act
ANC	African National Congress
AU	African Union
CBOs	Community Based Organisations
CCC	Citizens Coalition for Change
CEO	Chief Elections Officer
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
CRPD	Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities
CSCJF	Civil Society and Churches Joint Forum
CSOs	Civil Society Organizations
CSRO	Committee on Standing Rules and Orders
DOP	Democratic Opposition Party
DZT	Deaf Zimbabwe Trust
ECF-SADC	Electoral Commissions Forum of SADC countries
ERC	Election Resource Centre
ESN-SA	Electoral Support Network of Southern Africa
EU	European Union
EU EOM	European Union Election Observation Mission
FAZ	Forever Associate Zimbabwe
FBOs	Faith Based Organisations
FORUS	Freedom Of Rights Under Sovereign Party
FPTP	First-Past-the-Post
GNDEM	Global Network of Domestic Election Monitors
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
LEAD	Labour Economists and African Democrats
LTO	Long Term Observer
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
MDC-A	Movement for Democratic Change Alliance
MMC	Media Monitoring Committee
MMP	Mixed Member Proportional System
MOPA	Maintenance of Peace and Order Act
MP	Member of Parliament
NCA	National Constitutional Assembly
NDP	National Disability Policy
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NPC	National People's Congress
NPOs	Non-Profit Organisations
NPRC	National Peace and Reconciliation Commission

ACRONYMS

POLAD	Political Actors Dialogue
PR	Proportional Representation
PVO	Private Voluntary Organization
PwDs	Persons with Disabilities
RTGS	Real Time Gross Settlement
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SADC-ECF	Southern African Development Community Election Commissions Forum
SADC-PF	Southern African Development Community Parliamentary Forum
SBO	Sample Based Observation
SEOM	SADC Electoral Observation Mission
S.I	Statutory Instrument
SIGs	Special Interest Groups
SMM	Single Member Majority
SMP	Single Member Plurality
STO	Short Term Observer
UANC	United African National Council
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UPND	United Party for National Development
USSD	Unstructured Supplementary Service Data
UZ	University of Zimbabwe
UZA	United Zimbabwe Alliance
YETT	Youth Empowerment and Transformation Trust
YOJA	Young Journalists Association of Zimbabwe
ZANU-PF	Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front
ZBC	Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation
ZCC	Zimbabwe Council of Churches
ZCPD	Zimbabwe Coalition For Peace and Development
ZEC	Zimbabwe Electoral Commission

CONTENTS

1.	ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	7
2.	EXECUTIVE SUMMARY.....	8
3.	ABOUT ZESN.....	13
4.	POLITICAL BACKGROUND.....	13
	4.1 Arrears Clearance and Debt Resolution Process.....	14
5.	LEGAL FRAMEWORK.....	15
	5.1 The Constitution.....	15
	5.2 The Electoral Act.....	15
	5.2 Regional and International Principles and Guidelines.....	16
	5.3 Criminal Law (Codification and Reform Amendment Act of 2023).....	16
	5.4 The Electoral System.....	18
	5.5 The Electoral Code of Conduct.....	19
	5.5.1 The Electoral Code of Conduct.....	19
	5.5.2 Electoral Court.....	19
	5.6 Electoral Reforms Discourse.....	21
	5.7 ZESN and CSOs Comprehensive Draft Electoral Amendment Bil.....	22
6.	PRE-ELECTION ENVIRONMENT AND ELECTION CAMPAIGNS.....	23
	6.1 Political Parties.....	23
	6.2 Primary Elections: Choosing ahead of Choosing.....	23
	6.3 Political Party Regulation.....	25
	6.4 Proclamation.....	25
	6.5 Candidate Nomination Fees.....	26
	6.6 Nomination Court Processes.....	26
	6.7 Withdrawal of Independent Candidates.....	28
	6.8 Nomination Court Challenges	28
	6.9 Analysis of the final candidates lists.....	30
	6.9.1 Presidential Candidates.....	31
	6.9.2 Party list candidates for the Senate and National Assembly.....	31
	6.9.3 National Assembly Constituency Candidates.....	31
7.	ELECTION CAMPAIGNS.....	32
	7.1 Political Parties Financing.....	34
8.	ELECTION ADMINISTRATION.....	36
	8.1 Appointment of New ZEC Commissioners.....	36
	8.2 Functions of the ZEC.....	36
	8.3 ZEC's Conduct during the 2023 Harmonised Elections.....	37
9.	ELECTION OBSERVERS.....	38
	9.1 Observer Accreditation.....	39
10.	POSTAL VOTES.....	40
11.	DELIMITATION.....	40
	11.1 Amendments to the Census and Statistics Act.....	40
	11.2 The Delimitation Exercise.....	41
	11.2.1 Voter Registration and Delimitation.....	41
	11.2.2 Stakeholder engagements during delimitation.....	42

CONTENTS

12. VOTER REGISTRATION.....	44
12.1 Mobile Voter Registration (for Delimitation).....	44
12.2 Mobile Voter Registration (Harmonised Elections).....	45
13. CIVIC AND VOTER EDUCATION.....	46
13.1 ZEC Voter Education.....	46
13.2 Voter Education Accreditation.....	47
13.3 Vote in Peace Campaigns.....	47
13.4 Other CSOs-Voter Education Activities.....	48
14. CIVIL SOCIETY PARTICIPATION.....	48
14.1 Private Voluntary Organisation (PVO) Amendment Bill.....	48
15. MEDIA AND ELECTIONS.....	49
15.1 Legal Framework of the Media.....	49
15.2 Accreditation of Journalists.....	51
15.3 Key Findings from the 2023 Elections Coverage by the Media.....	51
15.3.1 Media Environment.....	51
15.3.2 Electoral Coverage.....	52
15.3.3 Online media.....	52
15.3.4 Social Media.....	52
15.3.5 Additional findings about the prevailing media.....	53
16. INCLUSIVITY IN ELECTIONS.....	54
16.1 Women and Elections.....	54
16.1.1 Violence Against Women in Elections (VAWIE).....	58
16.2 Youths and Elections.....	59
16.2.1 Financial Hurdles Associated with Candidate Nomination Processes.....	61
16.3 Persons with Disabilities (PwDs).....	61
16.3.1 Statistics and Disaggregation of Data by Disability.....	62
16.3. 2 The Legislative Framework for Inclusive Electoral and Political Process.....	63
16.3. 3 Violation of the secrecy of the vote for the blind.....	63
16.3.4 Observation of the election of 2 Senators representing PwDs.....	63
17. ELECTION DAY OBSERVATIONS.....	64
17.1 Opening.....	64
17.1.1 Late Opening of Some Polling Stations.....	64
17.1.2 Posting of Voters Roll Outside the Polling Stations.....	66
17.1.3 Polling Stations Setup.....	66
17.1.4 Polling Officials.....	66
17.1.5 Political Party Agents.....	66
17.2 Voting Processes.....	67
17.2.1 Shortage of Ballot Papers.....	67
17.2.2 Inclusion Issues During Voting.....	67

CONTENTS

17.3 Attack of ZESN Observer.....	68
17.4 Closing and Counting.....	68
17.4.1 Raid and Arrest of Staff and Volunteers.....	68
18. RESULTS SUMMARY AND ANALYSIS.....	69
18.1 Results Transmission Process.....	69
18.2 Analysis of the Presidential Results.....	70
18.3 Analysis of National Assembly Results.....	71
18.4 Analysis of Senate Results.....	72
18.5 Voter Turnout.....	73
19. POST-ELECTION DEVELOPMENTS.....	75
19.1 Post-Election Environment and EOMs Statements.....	75
19.2 Gutu West by-election.....	76
19.3 Recalls.....	77
20. CONCLUSION.....	77
21. ZESN RECOMMENDATIONS.....	78
22. RECOMMENDATIONS BY OTHER EOMS.....	80
23. ANNEX 2: National Assembly Election Results.....	86

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS 1

The Zimbabwe Election Support Network (ZESN) expresses gratitude to its Member Organisations and election volunteers who made the observation of the 2023 Harmonised Elections a success. This includes ZESN Board Members, Provincial Taskforce Members, Long Term Observers (LTOs) and Short Term Observers (STOs), as well as the Secretariat. ZESN also acknowledges the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC) for accrediting its election observers and voter educators to complement its efforts in raising awareness on key electoral processes and systems.

The Network also commends every citizen who exercised their right to vote in the Harmonised Elections held on 23 and 24 August 2023. Last but not least, ZESN is grateful to its technical and funding partners for the support rendered.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY **2**

The Zimbabwe Election Support Network (ZESN) is a coalition of 37 Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) which was formed in the year 2000. The major focus of the Network is to promote democratic processes in general and free and fair elections in particular. Following an invitation by the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC), ZESN trained and deployed a total of 6,500 Short-Term Observers (STOs) to observe the 23 August 2023 Harmonised Elections. These accredited observers were deployed to every constituency, ward, district and province in the country to observe the political environment and all Election Day processes.

In addition, ZESN partnered with the Election Resource Centre (ERC) in deploying sample-based observers to observe Election Day processes. In Zimbabwe, national Harmonised Elections are conducted once every five years. Three elections are held concurrently namely; the Presidential, Parliamentary and Local Authority elections. The 23 August 2023 Harmonised Elections were the fourth to be held under this system since the year 2008 and the third under a new Constitution which was adopted in the year 2013. This report presents an account of the pre-election situation, the Election Day observations and the post-election environment in the country.

On 31 May 2023, President Emmerson Mnangagwa proclaimed the election dates. Under Statutory Instrument 85 of 2023, the President fixed the 23 August as polling day and June 21 as the date on which Nomination Courts would sit countrywide to accept applications by political parties and their candidates to take part in the polls. In line with Presidential proclamation, the Harmonised Elections were conducted on 23 August 2023. On Election Day, there was another statutory instrument to extend voting in some constituencies to 24 August because of delays in opening of some of the polling stations due to logistical hurdles such as the deployment of wrong ballot papers or missing ballot papers.

August 23 and 24, Zimbabweans across all walks of life went to the polls to elect the president, legislators and councillors. In this election, political parties competed for one presidential seat, 1970 local authority seats elected in a single-member ward and 280 National Assembly seats. The National Assembly seats comprises of 210 directly elected single-member constituency and 70 reserved seats. The 70 seats comprise of 60 women seats and 10 youths elected by proportional representations. Voters casts a single vote which is counted for both forms of election. At senatorial level, Zimbabwe has an 80-member senate, broken down as 60 elected from the ten constituencies, 18 being traditional leaders and two being reserved for Persons with Disabilities (PwDs)

The elections were the second to be held featuring Emmerson Mnangagwa of Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) and Nelson Chamisa of the Citizens for Coalition Change (CCC) who remained the main contenders as was the case in 2018. In 2023 a total of 11 Presidential Candidates contested in the elections, with only one female candidate, Elisabeth Isabel Valerio of the United Zimbabwe Alliance (UZA) joining the race. Overall a total of 19 political parties fielded candidates for the various elections, a 36 points reduction from 55 political parties that contested in 2018. ZANU-PF dominated the political landscape in terms of fielding candidates and the Citizens Coalition for Change (CCC) being second top.

The Harmonised Elections are governed by the Constitution of Zimbabwe, and the Electoral Act 2018. The Constitution is the supreme law of the land henceforth, all Acts, bylaws and protocols are designed in line with the Constitution. The Zimbabwe Constitution was gazetted as a law on 22 May 2013. The guidelines on the conduct of elections are outlined in Chapter 7 (Section 155:1) of the Constitution. The Electoral Act [Chapter 2:13] was published as an Act No. 25 of 2004 and came into operation on 1 February 2005 (Statutory Instrument 17 of 2005). Zimbabwe also has an Electoral Code of Conduct that applies to various actors that are involved in Zimbabwe's electoral processes such as the chief election agent, election observers, political parties, candidates for elections and supporters of political parties, among others.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY *(Cont...)*

The Elections were held in an environment without meaningful electoral reforms. In 2022, the Zimbabwean government made some amendments to the Electoral Act through the Electoral Amendment Bill such as removal of the driver's licence as proof of identity. ZESN believes that the Bill addressed nominal and administrative reforms whilst ignoring pertinent reforms that could have a direct bearing on the transparency and credibility of elections in Zimbabwe. The amendments that were made to the Electoral Act left out a host of substantive electoral reforms that stakeholders had been calling for.

One of the major developments that took place at the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC) ahead of the elections was the appointment of new Commissioners. On the 7 July 2022, the President swore in six (6) new Commissioners to replace the previous Commissioners whose term had expired.

Several electoral processes were conducted ahead of the elections. In compliance with the delimitation steps, ZEC conducted phases 1 and 2 of the mobile voter registration exercise for the delimitation in February and April 2022 to determine the country's voter population. The voters' roll for delimitation closed on 30 May 2022. The ZEC did not extend an invitation to local observers who had requested to be accredited to observe the voter registration blitz that was held before the Boundary Delimitation exercise as well as the voter registration blitz and inspection of the voter's roll that was conducted ahead of the Harmonised Elections. Following the delimitation of wards and constituencies, ZEC submitted a preliminary report to the President on 26 December 2022. The preliminary report contained a list of wards and constituencies, with names assigned and description of boundaries, maps showing wards and constituencies and further information and particulars as considered necessary.

As proclaimed by President Mnangagwa, the Nomination Court sat on 21 June 2023 and some candidates failed to successfully lodge their papers for various reasons including the use of the bank transfer for payment. The process was criticised for various irregularities and anomalies. The accreditation fee for local observers and local media practitioners remained the same from the previous elections, however, the accreditation fee for other classes of observers increased significantly. The fees for accrediting foreign observers from African countries rose five-fold, from US\$20 to US\$100, and the fees for accrediting foreign observers from non-African countries rose six-fold, from US\$50 to US\$300 (for Embassy staff).

Zimbabwe went into the 2023 Harmonised Elections with a voter's roll that had 6,623,511 voters. Of these 4,561,221 cast their ballots, representing a 68.9% percentage turnout. Voter turnout dropped by 14.2 % as compared to 2018 when 4,732,929 people voted out of a voter population of 5,695,706 which translates to a voter turnout of 82.5%.

The 2023 polling day was different from previous elections which were usually very efficient, especially when it comes to opening of polling stations and adherence to stipulated polling procedures. ZESN observed that a significant number of polling stations - mostly in urban centres particularly Harare and Bulawayo opened late. The ZEC acknowledged the late openings in polling and attributed it to missing local authority ballot papers and Electoral Court cases which took too long to be resolved. While the polling stations which were affected by delays stayed open for a continuous 12 hours as provided for by Section 53 (i) of the Electoral Act the extension spilt over to the day after elections when the Electoral Act only envisages a situation where polling needs to be concluded in one day. However, the late opening of polling stations could have disenfranchised some voters in those areas who may not have been able to wait in long queues for hours on end, or risk voting late at night.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY *(Cont...)*

On 23 August 2023, 39 election observers, staff and volunteers were arrested when armed police officers stormed ZESN data centres in Harare and seized computers and other related election materials that was being used by the poll watchdog to assess and verify observer reports. The arrested comprised a team that was working under ZESN and ERC to observe and provide updates on the elections. The two organisations are registered under Zimbabwean laws. As a result of the police raid, members of staff working at the data centres could not keep track of what was occurring at polling stations and verify reports coming through their respective data centres to ensure accuracy of the information being reported during closing of polling stations and counting of ballots. The ZESN staff was also not able to follow up on observers whose reports were missing.

Despite this incident, ZESN observers noted that elections were generally peaceful and calm although subtle intimidatory tactics were rife. Voters waited patiently either for voting to commence or for their turn to cast their vote. No incidents of violence were recorded, except the alleged widespread cases of intimidation of voters through the setting up of 'exit polls' and recording of names by the Forever Associate Zimbabwe (FAZ), an organisation that allegedly associates itself with the ruling party ZANU-PF. Despite the challenges that were faced at some polling stations, ZESN commends voters for turning out to exercise their right to vote patiently and peacefully.

While observers reported a relatively routine flow of procedures in the polling stations that opened on time, the acute disparity of voting delays between urban centres and the rest of the country raises questions regarding voter equity and access. With some polling stations delaying opening by over 12 hours, reports from election observers indicate that some people left the polling stations without casting their votes. Others were forced to endure lengthy waiting periods in the scorching heat of the day. For polling stations where voting continued into the night, social-cultural dynamics would make it very difficult for young people and young women in particular to go out at night under the guise of going to vote. Such delays in the opening of polling stations due to inadequate voter material may have contributed towards the discouragement of some registered young people from voting.

Media coverage was skewed in favour of ZANU-PF which had 63% coverage, followed by CCC with 20%, UZA 5%. The remaining 23 parties accounted for the remaining 12%. Emmerson Mnangagwa of ZANU-PF had the most coverage with 58%, Nelson Chamisa of CCC had 17%. Other presidential candidates settled for 25%. State owned media gave more publicity to ZANU-PF (77% on ZBC; 58% in public newspapers). However public broadcasters which had run ZANU-PF adverts exclusively for a while eventually ran CCC adverts.

Online media played a significant role in the 2023 Harmonised Elections in Zimbabwe, offering an alternative for citizens to access information about the electoral process and also share their perspectives. Online news websites provided real-time immediacy and unmediated coverage of nomination day proceedings. While ZEC mostly provided official commentary to mainstream media, online media sources largely came from citizens and political parties. Despite the limited appreciation of their role, online media provided converged news dissemination approaches that included live-streaming of the Nomination Court sittings, regular updates on voting day, live reporting of results announcement, and pre and post-elections press conferences by election observer missions. Online platforms were also able to discuss and present key issues and challenges faced by voters such as lack of ballot papers and intimidation, covering the gap created by the period updates by ZEC.

However, there was still a lack of diversity in terms of offering other political parties space, with smaller political parties such as UZA, Democratic Opposition Party (DOP), and National Constitutional Assembly (NCA) not receiving adequate coverage. It is important for media regulators and the ZEC Media Monitoring Committee to investigate these incidents and ensure that all political parties and candidates are treated equitably in the news media.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY *(Cont...)*

Social media provided citizens and other stakeholders with a platform to discuss election related issues. Prominent spaces included X (former Twitter), Facebook, and WhatsApp. New spaces of interaction that emerged and were utilised by CSOs, citizens, political parties included TikTok, a short video platform. In a country whose mainstream media is polarised, social media provided a space for alternative and direct communication for political parties and CSOs to reach out to electoral stakeholders.

Despite the fact that women make up 52% of the population, women's participation in the August 2023 Harmonised Elections significantly declined at all levels compared to the 2018 elections. Only one woman contested among the 11 presidential candidates, a regression from the four (4) women who participated in 2018. In 2023, there were also fewer women candidates contesting for the directly elected National Assembly parliamentary seats compared to previous elections. Out of 637 candidates, only 11% (70) were women, a notable dip from 14.4% participation in the 2018 National Assembly elections.

Youth electoral participation and representation for the 2023 elections was also limited. Only 35 young people made it into the National Assembly. Of these, 17 were elected directly, 10 came in through the Youth Quota and eight (8) through the Women's Quota. This represents 12.5% of the 280 member National Assembly. Whilst this number represents a positive increase from the five (5) youth MPs in Parliament after the 2018 elections, youths remain marginalised considering that young people in Zimbabwe account for over 60% of the national population. Only three (3) out of the 10 youth MPs elected under the Youth Quota are female. This is very worrying given that women make up 52% of the national population of Zimbabwe. This contradicts Sections 17, 56 and 80 of the Constitution of Zimbabwe which call for gender equality in all sectors including politics.

Even though Persons with Disabilities constitute an estimated 9.3% of the total population, a significant part of the population, this number has not been reflected in the number of PwDs registered as voters, candidates and the elected representatives of people with disabilities (PwDs) in Zimbabwe were excluded and marginalised in electoral processes as voters and candidates. While progress has been made in the appointment of a Commissioner with a disability, there are several issues that need to be addressed for electoral processes to be inclusive. Current disability inclusion discourse in Zimbabwe in electoral processes is focused on physical access as opposed to wholesome inclusion of all disabilities including sensory and invisible disabilities.

The Presidential election results were announced on 26 August 2023 and Emmerson Mnangagwa was declared the winner with 2,350,711 votes (52.6%) followed by Nelson Chamisa with 1,967,343 votes (44%).

ZEC did not avail disaggregated results for the presidential election amid claims that it was not obliged to make them public despite being an international best practice. ZANU-PF won 136 seats in the National Assembly while the CCC won 76 seats. ZANU-PF retained its stronghold in rural areas, while the CCC won the majority of votes in urban areas. Voting was postponed in the Gutu West Constituency after one of the candidates died shortly before elections. In the Senate, ZANU-PF obtained 33 seats, the CCC had 27 seats, and 18 seats were allocated to Traditional Leaders while 2 seats were reserved for representatives of People with Disability (PwDs). However the Harmonised Elections did not meet some of the previous Zimbabwean standards such as the unprecedented shortages of ballot papers on Election Day and delays in polling stations opening. Furthermore, ZESN as noted by most observer groups Southern African Development Community (SADC), African Union (AU) and Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) and European Union (EU) among others observed that the Zimbabwe elections did not meet some of the regional and international standards.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY *(Cont...)*

Soon after the announcement of the Presidential results, the opposition showed some elements of disapproval and dissatisfaction. The CCC Chief Elections Agent refused to sign the paperwork to confirm the validity of the poll, conducted by the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission. However the CCC did not lodge any formal complaints about the official results at the Electoral Court.

The post-election environment was relatively peaceful. According to the SADC Report, "After consulting widely with stakeholders, the general consensus was that the country was generally calm and peaceful."

Normally, the post-election environment is driven by the reaction from the political actors to election results. Commendably, after the 2023 elections, the leaders of several political parties were encouraging their supporters to avoid violence and maintain peace. The calls to maintain peace and security were presented at several press conferences conducted by Zimbabwe's biggest political parties such as ZANU-PF and CCC.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Alignment of the Electoral Law to the Constitution: The electoral legal framework must be aligned to the Constitution of Zimbabwe. The process of alignment should also be implemented timeously to avoid implementation and operational delays. Substantive changes to the legal framework should be finalised not later than 6 months before an election for them to take effect as stipulated by the law.

Voter Registration: ZEC should ensure that voter registration is not only continuous but publicised throughout the electoral cycle. ZEC should also procure modern voter registration kits, periodically update the equipment and ensure that staff tasked with voter registration is duly familiarised with the equipment.

Voters Roll: ZEC should avail the voters roll to all stakeholders in a format that is analysable and, within reasonable time. The Commission should establish clear timelines for the production and distribution of the preliminary and final voters roll.

Civic and Voter Education: ZEC should lessen accreditation requirements for persons and organisations intending to conduct voter education. ZEC should also strengthen the implementation of continuous voter education throughout the election cycle.

Nomination of Candidates: ZEC should conduct comprehensive voter education on nomination procedures to ensure prospective candidates are acquainted with Nomination Court requirements.

The Media: The public and private media houses should strive to be impartial in their coverage of electoral processes by giving fair and balanced representation of all political players.

Political Parties internal democratic processes: Political parties should strengthen their internal governance systems and procedures particularly with regards to the selection of candidates to ensure inclusivity and transparency. Political parties could extend invitations to external observers to observe primary elections.

Gender Equality: The Government of Zimbabwe should align the Electoral Act to the Constitution of Zimbabwe to specifically incorporate the gender equality provisions in Sections 3, 17, 56 and 80.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY *(Cont...)*

Election Day Administration: ZEC should improve on Election Day management to ensure that all polling stations are adequately staffed and have all the required resources to ensure that they are delivered smoothly. ZEC should also ensure that all polling stations are opened on time.

ABOUT ZESN 3

ZESN is a coalition/network of 37 Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) which was formed in the year 2000. The major focus of the Network is to promote democratic processes in general and free and fair elections in particular. ZESN is currently the secretariat of the Electoral Support Network of Southern Africa (ESN-SA) and is a member of the Global Network of Domestic Election Monitors (GNDEM). Following the invitation of ZEC, ZESN was accredited to observe the 23 August 2023 Harmonised Elections.

ZESN's election observation methodology is based on the Constitution of Zimbabwe, the Electoral Act and other Subsidiary Laws of the country. The Network is independent in its findings and conclusions. In addition, ZESN's assessment of the 23 August 2023 Harmonised Elections was also guided by a number of regional and international conventions and declarations to which Zimbabwe is a signatory to, such as; the SADC Principles and Guidelines Governing Democratic Elections, the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (ACHPR), the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). The Network is also guided by the GNDEM's Declaration of Global Principles for Nonpartisan Election Observation and Monitoring by Citizen Organisations and the Code of Conduct for Nonpartisan Citizen Election Observers.

POLITICAL BACKGROUND 4

In Zimbabwe, National Harmonised Elections were first introduced in 2008 and are conducted once every five years. During these Harmonised Elections, three elections are held concurrently namely; the Presidential, Members of Parliament and Local Authority Councillors. On 31 May 2023, President Emmerson Mnangagwa proclaimed the 2023 Harmonised Elections dates. Under S.I 85 of 2023, the President fixed 23 August 2023 as polling day and June 21 as the date on which Nomination Courts would sit countrywide to accept applications by political parties and their candidates to take part in the polls and 2 October as the runoff date in the event that no candidate garners 50% plus one (1) vote.

In line with Presidential proclamation, the Harmonised Elections were conducted on 23 August 2023. On the day of the election, there was another S.I that was promulgated to extend voting in some constituencies to 24 August because of the logistical hurdles such as delays in opening of some of the polling stations, some received ballot papers that had errors while some were distributed later in the afternoon and evening.

There were 11 candidates vying for the presidential position. Incumbent Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) President Emmerson Mnangagwa hoped to secure a second term in office, while Citizens Coalition for Change (CCC) Nelson Chamisa, the only female candidate Elisabeth Valerio of United Zimbabwe Alliance (UZA) and nine other contestants aspired to clinch the position of Zimbabwe's Head of State and Government. The other candidates were Joseph Makamba Busha of Free Zimbabwe Congress (FZC), Trust Chikohora of Zimbabwe Coalition for Peace and Development (ZCPD), Blessing Kasiyamhuru of Zimbabwe Partnership for Prosperity (ZIPP), Professor Lovemore Madhuku of National Constitutional Assembly (NCA), Wilbert Mubaiwa of National People's Congress (NPC), Gwinyai Henry Muzorewa of United African National Council (UANC), Douglas Mwonzora of Movement For Democratic Change (MDC), and Wilson Harry Peter of Democratic Opposition Party (DOP).¹ Political parties competed for one presidential seat, 1,970 council seats, 280 parliamentary seats, and 60 senate seats to be elected for a five (5) year term.²

POLITICAL BACKGROUND (Cont...)

One of the major challenges affecting Zimbabwe's politics is political polarisation. There have been sharp differences and divisions that persist between ZANU-PF and CCC. Polarisation is partly a construction by the Zimbabwean political elites, but it also has substantial traction among ordinary citizens who have accepted partisan loyalty as an important facet in their range of identities.³ With regards to the 2023 Harmonised Elections, political polarisation was heavily witnessed in the pre-election and in the post-election period.

For the 2023 Harmonised Elections, the voter turnout for Presidential elections was 69% and this was a decrease from the 82.5% that was recorded for the 2018 Presidential elections. The low voter turnout for the 2023 elections was attributed to people losing trust in elections among other reasons.

For the 2023 Harmonised Elections, the voter turnout for Presidential elections was 69% and this was a decrease from the 82.5% that was recorded for the 2018 Presidential elections.⁴ The low voter turnout for the 2023 elections was attributed to people losing trust in elections among other reasons.

4.1 ARREARS CLEARANCE AND DEBT RESOLUTION PROCESS

Prior to the elections, in December 2022 the government established a Structured Dialogue Platform with all creditors and development partners, to institutionalise structured dialogue on economic and governance reforms to underpin the arrears clearance and debt resolution process.

The Structured Dialogue aimed to institutionalise discussions on economic and governance reforms to underpin the arrears clearance and debt resolution process. The Matrix was centred on enhancing justice delivery, public sector transparency and accountability, combating corruption and promoting human rights. It also covers electoral reforms, national unity, peace, and reconciliation. Under electoral reforms, the strategy sought to;

Implement the following essential and accepted electoral reforms from,

- (a) Reports of 2018 Election Observer Missions (EOMs)
- (b) The Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC)
- (c) Political Actors Dialogue (POLAD)

Strengthen and capacitate electoral institutions to deliver on their mandate.

The matrix's targets and outcomes were; Enhanced Freedom of Assembly and Association; Enhanced Political Pluralism; Democratic Elections conducted regularly and Civil Society Activities promoted. Further, the Process indicators were; the number of electoral laws passed and implemented, free and peaceful electoral process and fair and credible election processes.

Zimbabwe's total consolidated debt stands at \$17.5 billion. Debt owed to international creditors stands at \$14.04 billion, while domestic debt stands at \$3.4 billion. Debt owed to bilateral creditors is estimated at \$5.75 billion, while debt to multilateral creditors is estimated at \$2.5 billion. The country is in arrears for servicing its debt, with arrears to multilateral development banks, including the African Development Bank, the World Bank, and the European Investment Bank.⁵

The huge debt had become an issue of concern to the Zimbabwean citizens who had expected that the national debts would be cancelled.⁶ However, the failure by the Zimbabwean government to implement electoral reforms ahead of the 2023 Harmonised Elections was a missed opportunity in the advancement of democracy, good governance and economic development.

The former Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano, was designated as High-Level Facilitator and also observed the 2023 Harmonised Elections.⁷

LEGAL FRAMEWORK 5

5.1 THE CONSTITUTION

The Harmonised Elections are governed by the Constitution of Zimbabwe, and the Electoral Act 6 of 2018. The Constitution is the supreme law of the land; henceforth, all Acts, by-laws and protocols are designed in line with the Constitution. The Zimbabwe Constitution was gazetted as a law on 22 May 2013.⁸ The guidelines on the conduct of elections are outlined in Section 155 (1) of the Constitution and highlights that elections which must be held regularly, and referendums, to which this Constitution applies must be:

- (a) Peaceful, free and fair;
- (b) Conducted by secret ballot;
- (c) Based on universal adult suffrage and equality of votes; and
- (d) Free from violence and other electoral malpractices.⁹

Section 239 of the Constitution mandates ZEC to compile the voters' roll, register voters, ensure proper custody of the voters' roll(s), delimit constituencies and ward boundaries, and design, print and distribute ballot papers. The Constitution states that citizens who have reached the age of 18 years may vote in local and national elections. However, the Electoral Act limits the right to vote for Zimbabweans resident outside Zimbabwe. Zimbabwean citizens who are on diplomatic missions, civil servants and members of the armed forces on external missions may vote from abroad.¹⁰ This legal requirement has effectively disenfranchised millions of Zimbabwean citizens who are residing and working in other countries. The Electoral Act also limits the right to vote for citizens that are hospitalised and incarcerated. However, those on official election duty are allowed to vote through the postal voting system; this applies to disciplined forces such as the police, army, prisons and correctional services and electoral officers.

5.2 THE ELECTORAL ACT

The Electoral Act [Chapter 2:13] was published as an Act No. 25 of 2004 and came into operation on 1 February 2005 (Statutory Instrument 17 of 2005). The Electoral Act [Chapter 2:13] was amended on 19 July 2023. The Amendments removed the driver's licence as proof of identity for electoral purposes; disqualifies candidates who have been convicted within the preceding 12 months for a period of six (6) months from contesting in elections and provided a time limit of 21 days before polling when a candidate may withdraw from contesting in a National Assembly or local authority elections. The driver's licence has always been rejected by the ZEC as proof of identification as it is not issued by the civil registry and does not show the citizenship of the voter. The other amendments were not implemented because they were passed after the proclamation in line with Section 157 (5) of the Constitution.¹¹

The amendments further provided for the operationalisation of the Youth Quota in the National Assembly and the Women's Quota in Local Authorities which are both products of the Constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment (No. 2) Act, 2021. These amendments on proportional representation were implemented in the 2023 August Harmonised Elections.

¹ <https://zimfact.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/06/Government-Gazette-Extraordinary-Vol.-64-30-06-2023-Electoral-Act-final.pdf>

² ZEC, 2 2023 Harmonised Elections. <https://www.zec.org.zw/download-category/2023/>

³ Bratton, M. 2021. Polarised Partnerships and Voting Behaviour in Zimbabwe: A Public Opinion Perspective. <https://academic.oup.com/edited-volume/35414/chapter-abstract/303161534?login=true>

⁴ <https://www.newsday.co.zw/local-news/article/200016199/zec-discredited-to-run-polls>

⁵ <https://www.afdb.org/en/news-and-events/press-releases/zimbabwe-hosts-fourth-structured-dialogue-platform-arrears-clearance-and-debt-resolution-process-61076>

⁶ https://twitter.com/MoFA_ZW/status/1692847520932630603

⁷ <https://www.zimlive.com/ex-mozambican-president-joachim-chissano-attends-mnangagwa-chamisa-rallies/>

⁸ [Constitution of Zimbabwe 2013 \(PDF Format\) | veritaszim](#)

⁹ Government of Zimbabwe, 2013. Constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment (No. 20), Harare: Government of Zimbabwe.

¹⁰ Vambe, T.M. 2021. Voting Rights of Zimbabweans in the Diaspora. *Journal of African Elections*. 20 (1), 137-158. Pp137.

¹¹ https://partzim.gov.zw/wp-content/uploads/2021/07/Constitution-of-Zimbabwe-Amendment_No_20_-_14-05-2013.pdf

LEGAL FRAMEWORK (Cont...)

5.2.1 REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL PRINCIPLES AND GUIDELINES

Zimbabwe is a member of various international organisations such as the SADC, AU and the United Nations. The first set of *SADC Principles and Guidelines Governing Democratic Elections* were adopted in 2004 by the Heads of State Summit and revised in 2015 as a firm commitment to the institutionalisation of democracy and good governance in the region, and have since constituted a basis for the assessment of electoral processes.¹²

The objectives of the *SADC Principles and Guidelines Governing Democratic Elections* are to: Promote the holding of regular free and fair, transparent, credible and peaceful democratic elections to institutionalise legitimate authority of representative government.¹³ In addition, SADC also has a mandate to enhance electoral integrity by providing a basis for comprehensive, accurate and impartial observation of national elections; and sharing of experiences and information among Member States about democratic development.¹⁴ Zimbabwe is a signatory of the SADC Principles and Guidelines.

According to the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance (ACDEG), 'State Parties reaffirm their commitment to regularly holding transparent, free and fair elections in accordance with the Union's Declaration on the Principles Governing Democratic Elections in Africa. To this end, State Parties shall: *"Establish and strengthen independent and impartial national electoral bodies responsible for the management of elections."* In addition, the African Union indicates that the Charter states that all political parties should have fair and equitable access to the state-controlled media and they should all be guided and bound by a common code of conduct.¹⁵

Zimbabwe ratified the ACDEG in March 2022. By ratifying the ACDEG, Zimbabwe committed to supporting democracy through the promotion of political pluralism and open democratic processes. The ACDEG combines the key elements of democracy, human rights and governance. Further, it regulates both the accession to, and exercise of political power. Particular attention is paid to unconstitutional changes of government, including through the possible use of sanctions imposed at individual and state level. Since Zimbabwe is a signatory to and ratified ACDEG there is need for the full alignment of the Electoral Act to provisions of ACDEG such as to enhance the quality of elections in Africa, to promote human rights, strengthen the rule of law, and improve political, economic and social governance.

5.3 CRIMINAL LAW (CODIFICATION AND REFORM AMENDMENT ACT OF 2023)

The Criminal Law (Codification and Reform Amendment Act), commonly referred to as the "Patriotic Act" came into force on 14 July 2023. The Act introduces a new offence of *'wilfully injuring the sovereignty and National interest of Zimbabwe'*.¹⁶

¹² <https://www.veritaszim.net/node/6474>

¹³ <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2023/06/zimbabwe-parliaments-passing-of-patriotic-bill-is-a-grave-assault-on-the-human-rights/>

¹⁴ <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2023/06/zimbabwe-parliaments-passing-of-patriotic-bill-is-a-grave-assault-on-the-human-rights/>

¹⁵ <https://www.veritaszim.net/node/6474>

¹⁶ s22A Criminal Law (Codification And Reform) Chapter 9:23

LEGAL FRAMEWORK (Cont...)

The offence has two elements, firstly a Zimbabwean resident or permanent resident who engages in meetings which either plan or consider armed invention of the country, subverting or overthrowing the government and Zimbabwean resident or permanent resident and secondly, a meeting implementing or extending trade boycotts. The Act defines a meeting as *'any communication between two or more persons, whether happening in person or virtually or by a combination of both, which involves, or is facilitated or convened by, a foreign government or any of its agents, proxies or entities.'*¹⁷ The offence is vague and widely worded, it does not precisely define what is regarded as planning or considering to overthrow or subvert the government and implement trade boycotts. Hence any communications with foreign nationals can easily be regarded as committing the above offence. When a law is vague and generalised like the Patriotic Act it can easily entrap an innocent person without a warning. Moreover, the vague law delegates policy matters to law enforcement authorities and judges to apply them at ad hoc and subjective grounds. As a result citizens, politicians, activists and CSOs members in particular are vulnerable to any interpretation of this law.

The effect of this Act is that citizens are not able to speak freely against the ills of the government of Zimbabwe. It muzzles freedom of expression and criminalises fundamental freedoms of association, assembly, information, press and speech of any citizen who holds meetings with foreign governments through diplomats and other representatives.¹⁸ Fadzayi Mahere, Constitutional Lawyer, who was then the spokesperson for the CCC attended the Geneva Summit for Human Rights and Democracy where she narrated her ordeal at the hands of President Emmerson Mnangagwa's administration. She highlighted the treatment of political opponents, prisoners, abuse of state institutions and judicial capture. Immediately after the speech various media published articles condemning her speech and urging that the Patriotic Bill be fast tracked so that perpetrators like Mahere are punished.¹⁹

The Act has a chilling effect on the operations of CSOs regarding rights to freedom of expression, peaceful assembly and association.²⁰ It has provisions that criminalise participating in meetings where sanctions and military interventions are considered or planning to subvert, upset, overthrow and overtake a constitutionally elected government. The law provides for harsh penalties which include loss of citizenship or the death penalty

The Patriotic Act significantly curtails the freedoms of journalists as it includes restrictions on meeting, cultivating and talking to sources, such as diplomats, for fear of being labelled *"an agent of a foreign government"*, which attracts a punitive penalty. It further automatically bars journalists from discussing or investigating many important issues regarding national issues and sanctions. By nature, journalists are supposed to be inquisitive, open-minded, objective and are required to dig for relevant information from sources, including diplomats.²¹ The law effectively criminalises this.

In July 2023, two (2) CSOs²² filed a court application challenging the constitutionality of section 22A of the Criminal Law and Codification Reform Act. The CSOs argued that the section violates several Bill of Rights provisions and the Constitution such as freedoms of expression, association, assembly, the right to vote or stand for office and the right to life through the addition of the death penalty. Applicants also argued that the crime of wilfully damaging sovereignty, national interest is vague, too broad and unconstitutional.²³

¹⁷https://www.veritaszim.net/sites/veritas_d/files/Criminal%20Law%20%28Codification%20and%20Reform%29%20Amendment%20Bill%20-%20H.B.%2015%202022_0.pdf

¹⁸https://www.veritaszim.net/sites/veritas_d/files/Criminal%20Law%20%28Codification%20and%20Reform%29%20Amendment%20Bill%20-%20H.B.%2015%202022_0.pdf

¹⁹<https://www.herald.co.zw/fadzai-mahere-five-minutes-of-shame/>

²⁰<https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2023/07/zimbabwe-presidents-signing-of-patriotic-bill-a-brutal-assault-on-civic-space/>

²¹<https://twitter.com/daddyhope/status/1664009736289763330>

²²Media Alliance of Zimbabwe and Centre for Innovation and Technology (CITE)

²³<https://twitter.com/ZLHRLawyers/status/1682382965689516033>

LEGAL FRAMEWORK (Cont...)

The SADC Observer Mission in its Preliminary Statement on the 2023 August Harmonised Elections indicated that the Patriotic Act is incompatible with the spirit of section 61 (1) of the Constitution, and paragraph 4.1.2 of the SADC Principles and Guidelines Governing Democratic Elections which requires Member States to uphold, amongst others, the freedom of expression.²⁴

5.4 THE ELECTORAL SYSTEM

An electoral system is a method by which votes are translated into legislative systems. The choice of the system therefore determines the nature of representation and the format by which seats are allocated²⁵. There are four main electoral systems used throughout the world namely the Single Member Plurality (SMP), Single Member Majority (SMM), Proportional Representation (PR), and the Mixed Member Proportional System (MMP). The type of the electoral system selected by any government directly poses an impact on participation, especially that of women, youth and other disadvantaged groups.

Zimbabwe uses the Single Member Majority (SMM) for the Presidential Election, also known as "majoritarian". If there are more than two candidates in the Presidential elections, the person who receives more than half of the votes cast, that is 50% plus one vote, is declared winner. If there are more than two candidates to a Presidential election and no candidate receives the required 50% plus one vote then a runoff election shall be held. In the 2023 Harmonised Elections, President Mnangagwa garnered 2,350,711 (52.6%) and he was declared winner and Nelson Chamisa the main contender garnered (1,967,343) 44.03%. Therefore, there was no run-off.

In Zimbabwe, the PR system is applied for 60 members, all of whom must be women and for the provincial councils in the 8 non-metropolitan provinces. To qualify, a party must have filed nomination papers under the PR system. A party that has not filed a part list nomination form for election under the PR system is not eligible to be allocated seats.

The First-Past-the-Post (FPTP), that is SMP system, is used for elections in the lower house of Parliament (National Assembly) and for local authority elections. Under this electoral system, the country is divided into 210 electoral constituencies and 1970 wards, each of which is represented by one elected candidate. The candidate with the highest number of votes is declared the winner. The winner in each constituency is the candidate who receives a minimum of one vote more than the other candidate (s).

While Zimbabwe has put efforts in its hybrid electoral system through the establishment of the Youth and Women's Quota in the National Assembly and the Proportional Representation in the Senate to increase women and youth representation, the decrease in women's representation in the 2023 Harmonised Elections is a cause for concern. For the 2023 August Harmonised Elections the final results published by the ZEC, showed that 22 women candidates were successfully duly elected as Members of Parliament- translating to 10% women representation in National Assembly, a decrease from the 25 women (11.9%) who won elected seats in the 2018 Harmonised Elections. Issues on women's representation are discussed in more detail in this report under the Inclusion Chapter.

²⁴ African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance (ACDEG). Addis Ababa: African Union. Pp 7-8.

²⁵ ZEC, 2023. Electoral Systems in Zimbabwe. <https://www.zec.org.zw/download/electoral-systems-in-zimbabwe/>

5.5 THE ELECTORAL CODE OF CONDUCT

5.5.1 THE ELECTORAL CODE OF CONDUCT

In Zimbabwe, the Electoral Code of Conduct was added to the Electoral Act. The Code of Conduct applies to various stakeholders that are involved in Zimbabwe's electoral processes such as the chief election agents, election observers, political parties, candidates for elections and supporters of political parties, among others. First schedule; Sections 13 (4) (a), 14 (6) (c) and 83 (1) of the Electoral Act highlights that; a chief election agent, election agent or observers shall obey every lawful instruction of an electoral officer; a chief election agent, election agent or observer shall not hinder or obstruct an Electoral Officer in the lawful conduct of his or her functions. In relation to the 2023 Harmonised Elections, the Government of Zimbabwe arrested 40 election observers, staff and volunteers that were working under ZESN and ERC. The government was indicating that the arrested election monitors were breaking the Electoral Code of Conduct by announcing unofficial election results. It has been noted that the government acted on rumours without having proper evidence.

The purpose of the Code of Conduct is to promote conditions that are conducive to free and fair elections and a climate of tolerance in which electioneering activity may take place without fear or coercion, intimidation or reprisals. Even though the political parties that participated in the 2023 Harmonised Elections pledged to respect the Electoral Code of Conduct, however, ZANU-PF and the Forever Associate of Zimbabwe (FAZ) allegedly defied the Code of Conduct by placing illegal exit polls outside the polling stations intimidating the electorate to vote for their party. As such, ZESN noted that the Institutions supporting democracy such as the ZEC and the Zimbabwe Human Rights Commission (ZHRC) did not issue any public statement condemning such actions which were in violation of the Code, in particular, citizens' rights to participate freely without fear.

5.5.2 ELECTORAL COURT

Part XXII of the Zimbabwean Electoral Act provides the establishment and jurisdiction of the Electoral Court. Section 161 of the Electoral Act provides for the establishment of a division of the High Court, to be known as the Electoral Court, which shall be a Court of record [Subsection amended by Act 6 of 2018]. The Electoral Court shall have exclusive jurisdiction – *(a) to hear appeals, applications and petitions; and (b) to review any decision of the Commission or any other person made or purporting to have been made under the Act; and shall have power to give such judgments, orders and directions in those matters as might be given by the High Court: Provided that the Electoral Court shall have no jurisdiction to try any criminal case.*

Section 162 (1) of the Electoral Act highlights that; *the Chief Justice shall, after consultation with the Judicial Service Commission and the Judge President of the High Court, appoint at least two Judges of the High Court to be Judges of the Electoral Court for such a period as he or she may specify in such appointment.* For the 2023 Harmonised Elections, the Judiciary Service Commission (JSC) appointed 35 High Court Judges and 36 Magistrates in all 10 provinces of the country to arbitrate in all electoral disputes. The main mandate of the Judges was to hear electoral petitions while the Magistrates heard cases of politically motivated violence.

ZESN noted that a number of cases to do with violence and intimidation were reported to the Electoral Court in the run up to the elections. These were common especially those in communities that are vulnerable to violence and manipulation such as rural areas, mining areas, high-density suburbs,

ELECTORAL COURT (Cont...)

Such incidents could have contributed to the decrease in turnout as some people might have chosen to either not to vote or just attend political rallies out of fear. *Below are some of the cases that were handled by the Electoral Court;*²⁶

1. ***State v Goodson Matanda***, on 1 June 2023 Goodson Matanda, an opposition political activist and human rights defender affiliated to the CCC went to Rafamoyo Primary School to inspect his name on the voter's roll. At the inspection centre he was approached by the complainant who had been deployed by Forever Associate Zimbabwe (FAZ) to profile all the villagers who were inspecting the voters roll. Goodson refused to be profiled and was subsequently arrested and detained. On the 11th of August 2023 the court found Goodson Matanda guilty. He was given a suspended sentence on condition that he performs 315 hours of community service at Rafamoyo Secondary School.
2. ***Joel Chisango & 7 others*** Joseph Chisango and others were election observers accredited under ZESN. On 22 August 2023, Joseph Chisango and Chenai Phiri, who reside at Gem Farm, Mazowe West, fled their house after receiving a tip-off that ZANU-PF activists intended to burn their house. Prior to this, it was specifically stated that all ZANU-PF youth should ensure that Joseph Chisango and others should not access any polling station on 23 August 2023, the polling day. On 22 August 2023, lawyers attended to Joseph Chisango and others and assisted them to file a police report at Concession Police Station. The report was made against ZANU-PF aspiring Councillor Toddy Chirenje and other party officials including Chinga Tsengwende and Johannes Kapangana. Police officers from the Law and Order Section took up the matter and sent a radio communication to the polling stations in Mazowe West Constituency to ensure that Joseph Chisango and others would observe the elections freely. Joseph and Chenai also managed to return to their homestead having fled on 22 August 2023. On 23 August 2023, Joseph and others managed to observe elections. Lawyers intervened to protect political rights and the right to freedom of association.
3. ***State v Lucky Muringapasi***, Lucky Muringapasi is an opposition political activist and is a member of CCC. On 16 August 2023 at Gwatira Bar a ZANU-PF activists covered Lucky's head and face with a poster for ZANU-PF Presidential candidate Emmerson Dambudzo Mnangagwa, he removed the poster which was covering his head and face, that is when allegations of defacing the poster arose. He was charged with contravening section 152M (1) of the Electoral Act, it being alleged that he destroyed an Electoral poster. He was arrested and detained. He alleged that he was arrested as a way to intimidate opposition political activists from supporting CCC in the harmonized elections. On 19 August 2023 lawyers appeared at Chipinge Magistrates Court where bail was opposed by the prosecution. Lawyers successfully applied for bail and he was released on bail. The matter was postponed to 25 August 2023 for trial. On 25 August 2023 the prosecution withdrew the case before plea.
4. ***Seven (7) Mutare residents*** namely Succeed Science Ruvunga, 19, Tadiwanashe Chimbare, 19, Moses Mukombiwa, 52, who was the opposition Citizens Coalition for Change's aspiring councillor for Ward 7 in Mutare South Constituency, Martin Nyamapfeni, 33 years, Martha Gwizo, 39, Cynthia Loveness Tombo, 37 and Zvakanaka Maziraho, 37, had been on trial before Mutare Magistrate Perseverence Makala. They were arrested on 18 August 2023 by Zimbabwe Republic Police officers, who charged them with kidnapping as defined in section 93 (1) (a) of the Criminal Law (Codification and Reform) Act.

²⁶Examples provided by the Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights - a member of ZESN.

ELECTORAL COURT (Cont...)

During trial, prosecutors alleged that the seven Mutare residents accused the complainant, John Marikasa, a 28-year-old ZANU-PF political party supporter together with Best Murakata, of removing their election campaign posters and deprived him of his freedom of bodily movement by forcing him into their white Ford Ranger vehicle from Mazonwe shops in Burma Valley to an area near Matanuska Farm and back to Mazonwe shops. Marikasa reportedly sustained injuries on his jaws after being assaulted by the seven. On 19 September 2023, the seven (7) were acquitted after Magistrate Makala found them not guilty of committing the alleged offence of kidnapping. Magistrate Makala ruled that prosecutors had failed during trial to present evidence supporting components of the alleged crime against the seven.

5. In addition, some of the major cases that were heard at the Electoral Court with regard to the 2023 Harmonised Elections were: Lovedale Mangwana V Kasukuwere and Others;²⁷ Saviour Kasukuwere V Lovedale Mangwana and Others; Jim Kunaka V Lovedale Mangwana and Others; Linda T Masarira V Presiding Officer of the Nomination Court and Others; Tatenda Madzinashwe and Others, V Innocent Ncube and Others; and Elizabeth Valerio V Presiding Officer of the Nomination Court and Others, among others.

The Electoral Court disqualified some of the candidates that had successfully filed their application at the Nomination Court. These cases are explained in detail in this report under the Nomination Court Challenges Section.

There were allegations by the opposition political parties and some candidates who complained of judicial capture by the ruling party in spite of some rulings which were in favour of the opposition.²⁸ The perceived lack of independence of the Electoral Court caused the majority of stakeholders to lose trust and confidence in the judiciary system. Therefore, some incidents might have not been reported.²⁹

Thus, there is a need to build confidence in the Electoral Court to enhance trust in the process so that the public can file electoral petitions when aggrieved without fear of retribution and the assurance that justice will prevail.

5.6 ELECTORAL REFORMS DISCOURSE

Although there were not much reforms and amendments to the Electoral Act effected in preparation for the 2023 Harmonised Elections, there were some few progressive provisions that were adopted, these include the extension of the Women's Quota in the National Assembly by another 10 years, the introduction of 30% Women's Quota in local authorities and the introduction of 10 Youth Quota in the National Assembly. This was a progressive development in empowering the rights of the special interest groups. However, there are still concerns on the adequacy of these quotas as they have failed to meet the legal, policy provisions in the Constitution, National Gender Charter and National Youth Policy as well as other regional and international instruments that Zimbabwe is a signatory to that seek to increase women, youth and PwDs representation.

In 2022, the Zimbabwean government made some amendments to the Electoral Act through the Electoral Amendment Bill. The Bill addressed nominal and administrative reforms whilst ignoring pertinent reforms that had a direct bearing on the transparency and credibility of elections in Zimbabwe.³⁰

²⁷<https://www.jsc.org.zw/upload/Judgements/High%20Court/Harare/2023/HH%20418-23.pdf>

²⁸<https://www.herald.co.zw/12-ccc-aspiring-mps-reinstated/>

²⁹<https://www.thezimbabwean.co/2023/09/ccc-says-it-dropped-court-route-over-electoral-theft-due-to-judiciary-capture/>

³⁰<https://www.zesn.org.zw/zesn-statement-on-the-electoral-amendment-bill/press-statement/5957/03/24/08/22/11/2022/>

ELECTORAL REFORMS DISCOURSE (Cont...)

The amendments made to the Electoral Act omitted a host of substantive electoral reforms that stakeholders had been calling for since post 2018 Harmonised Elections, for example; the need to strengthen the independence of the ZEC; the need to create a more conducive electoral environment that would see the effective participation of citizens without fear; availing of the voters roll to political parties and other electoral stakeholders on time and in an analysable format; the need to open up the space to more players to conduct voter education; the need for tactile ballot papers or templates to ensure secrecy of the vote for those with visual impairment; incorporation of PwDs in Proportional Representation list; a waiver of the accreditation fees particularly on domestic observers, ease of accreditation process and opening up the space to allow long term observation by domestic observers; publication of the election calendar at least one year before the elections; ensure the right to vote and inclusivity by extending external and postal voting to Zimbabweans living outside the country; the need to ensure that punitive measures are put in place to address the violence that affects women's participation in politics and elections.

Furthermore, other areas included tightening the provisions on results management to enhance transparency, build trust and results contestation; streamlining election dispute mechanisms; enhancing electoral administration through clearer legal provisions and electoral practice; reviewing provisions on political party registration and regulation; to implement the provisions under Section 287 of the Constitution on integrity and ethics on the role of Traditional Leaders in elections; evening the electoral playing field and improving the political environment and many other legal, political and administrative electoral reforms that were analysed in ZESN's Compendium of Election Observer Mission's Reports.³¹

Further, as part of the electoral reforms gaps the Media law and policy reforms remained in limbo despite the regulatory powers conferred on ZEC concerning the media during election periods. There were no changes to the ZEC media monitoring legal framework informed by experiences of previous elections. ZESN noted the issuance of new television broadcasting licences³² which resulted in a plurality of players such as Acacia Media Limited, Channel Dzimbahwe, Fairtalk Communications, Jester Media, Rusununguko and Zimpapers Television Network (ZTN) and new community radio stations which include; Kasambabezi FM (Kariba), Ntepe-Manama (Gwanda), Radio Bukalanga (Plumtree), Nyangani FM (Inyanga), Madziwa FM (Shamva), Lyeja FM (Hwange), Twasumpuka FM (Binga), Bayethe FM (Matobo), Avuxeni FM (Chiredzi), Chimanimani FM (Chimanimani), Lotsha FM (Bietbridge).³³ However, ZESN noted that some of these radio and TV stations were appendages³⁴ of the State, this perpetuated the biased media coverage of the 2023 Harmonised Elections. A detailed analysis is provided in this report under the chapter Media and Elections.

5.7 ZESN AND CSOS COMPREHENSIVE DRAFT ELECTORAL AMENDMENT BILL

In the period towards elections in Zimbabwe, much of ZESN and other civil society advocacy efforts were centred on the CSOs Draft Electoral Amendment Bill. The Bill evolved over almost four (4) years since the 2018 Harmonised Elections and provided suggestions on how the current Electoral Law could be improved. It took into account electoral best practices and recommendations from domestic, regional and international observers who observed the 2018 Harmonised Elections. Further, the Draft Bill proposed a number of progressive suggestions on the implementation and alignment of some of the electoral provisions in the Constitution and regional and international guidelines and principles that Zimbabwe has ratified and or is a signatory to. The final version of the Draft Bill was submitted to Parliament in September 2022 following wide consultations with multi-stakeholders.

³¹<https://www.zesn.org.zw/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/ZESN-Compendium-of-Election-Observers-Recommendations.pdf>

³²<https://zimbabwe.misa.org/2020/11/20/government-grants-new-tv-licences-diversity-concerns-linger/>

³³[https://www.chronicle.co.zw/14-newly-licensed-radio-stations-form-association/#:~:text=The%20new%20NACB%20Zimbabwe%20consists,\(Chimanimani\)%2C%20Lotsha%20FM%20](https://www.chronicle.co.zw/14-newly-licensed-radio-stations-form-association/#:~:text=The%20new%20NACB%20Zimbabwe%20consists,(Chimanimani)%2C%20Lotsha%20FM%20)

³⁴[association/#:~:text=The%20new%20NACB%20Zimbabwe%20consists,\(Chimanimani\)%2C%20Lotsha%20FM%20](https://www.chronicle.co.zw/14-newly-licensed-radio-stations-form-association/#:~:text=The%20new%20NACB%20Zimbabwe%20consists,(Chimanimani)%2C%20Lotsha%20FM%20)

The drafting of the Bill started with the compilation of recommendations from the Election Observation Missions (EOMs) from the 2018 Harmonised Elections. Based on these recommendations, ZESN drafted a petition to Parliament which was submitted to the Parliamentary Portfolio Committee on Justice and Legal Affairs on 3 December 2018. This was followed by oral submissions on the petition in March 2019, and subsequent engagements with the Parliament, Government Departments, Chapter 12 Institutions and other electoral stakeholders to further deliberate on the petition. It was at one of these meetings that the Speaker of Parliament called upon ZESN to coordinate CSOs in developing a Model Law on Elections, in order to expedite the process of adopting electoral reforms.

ZESN submitted its first Draft Electoral Amendment Bill to Parliament on 24 October 2019. This Draft contained only the proposed Amendments to the Electoral Act. At a subsequent engagement with Parliament, ZESN made a commitment to draft a Comprehensive Electoral Amendment Bill which would incorporate the proposed new provisions in the already existing Electoral Act rather than developing a completely new Electoral Law as some of the provisions in the current law were noted as progressive.

On 25 June 2020, the Chairperson of the Portfolio Committee on Justice, Legal and Parliamentary Affairs presented a report before the 9th Parliament on Electoral Reforms, based on the ZESN Petition. The report proffered a number of recommendations and implored the Executive to urgently review the Electoral Law in compliance not only with the government's national and international undertakings, but also with the provisions of the Constitution.

PRE-ELECTION ENVIRONMENT AND ELECTION CAMPAIGNS 6

6.1 POLITICAL PARTIES

In countries worldwide, impending elections create a 'political party storm' with the proliferation of 'new' as well as revitalization of 'old' political parties to field candidates. In Zimbabwe, just as is the case with other countries, elections work as a massive focal point that stimulates greater political party dynamism, competition and mobilisation. As such, the Zimbabwe 2023 Harmonised Elections had a total of 19 political parties fielding candidates for various elections. However, there was a significant reduction in the number of political parties contesting in the elections following 36 points drop from 55 political parties that participated in the 2018 election. ZANU-PF dominated the political landscape in terms of fielding candidates and the CCC ranking second.

6.2 PRIMARY ELECTIONS: CHOOSING AHEAD OF CHOOSING

Primary elections and candidate selection play a critical role in ascertaining the quality of democracy, hence political party compliance to democratic principles is expected to mirror democratic contestation at national level. Proper procedural layout, inclusivity, equality, political tolerance, accountability and transparency are expected to shape the conduct of primary elections and selection processes. For some time in memory, Zimbabwean political parties have long resorted to closed primary elections wherein candidates are elected by members in the official party structures. At this stage, political parties decide who will be on the ballot as their recommended candidate and this is ultimately a party level procedure principally determined by the party's internal rules. In 2023, ZANU-PF conducted primary elections and the CCC selected candidates through the citizen community consensus candidate selection procedure.

PRE-ELECTION ENVIRONMENT AND ELECTION CAMPAIGNS (Cont...)

ZANU-PF primary elections were conducted on 25 and 26 March 2023 under the alleged administration of FAZ and Zimbabwe Heritage Trust.³⁵ Party general membership formed the primary electorate who chose representatives of the local authority and National Assembly through secret ballot. The campaign trail was relatively peaceful.

However, the primary election day was reportedly marred by violence and intimidation in isolated cases.³⁶ First results that trickled in from ZANU-PF primary elections indicated that some of the party's serving Members of Parliament and Ministers had lost.³⁷ Among these were Dexter Nduna in Chegutu West, Joseph Chinotimba in Buhera South, Sekai Nzenza in Chikomba East, Mary Mliswa in Hurungwe and Ziyambi Ziyambi in Mashonaland West Province among others.

However, the announcement of the results was shortly halted as the party leadership cited the party's constitution which states that *results from primary elections can only be announced after validation by the party's highest decision making body - the Politburo*.³⁸ The Politburo met on 30 March to reportedly 'take stock of' the primary elections.³⁹

President Emmerson Mnangagwa ordered a re-run of ZANU-PF primary elections in areas where violence was recorded.⁴⁰ Consequently, the party officially declared re-runs in five constituencies namely Gokwe Nembudziya, Insiza South, Zvimba West, Churu and Mbare.⁴¹ The declaration also included re-runs in 27 local authority wards. However, there was scepticism that the move was meant to salvage positions for the President's allies who had lost in the primary elections.⁴² On 15 April, party re-run elections were conducted in four constituencies namely Mbare, Churu, Gokwe-Nembudziya and Zvimba West.⁴³ Insiza South was initially rescheduled to 21 April before the incumbent Insiza South candidate withdrew from the race.⁴⁴ On 6 May, local authority re-runs were conducted concluding the internal ZANU-PF party election process.⁴⁵

The CCC on the other hand, did not hold primary elections. The Party selected its candidates using a process which they termed 'Community Consensus'. The process started on 5 April 2023. The Citizens' Community Consensus Candidate Selection Procedure (CISP) was not completed on 5 April and carried forward to 10 April 2023.⁴⁶ The process was done through 'selecting' candidates as opposed to 'electing' representatives, thus, wholly different from primary elections. The process was presided over by an 'independent' body, the CISP appointed by the party leadership and progressed through four critical stages starting with nomination of candidates. The nomination and selection process saw big name party figures like Tendai Biti being left out in their constituencies. The CCC process was also compromised as reports of alleged vote-buying, imposition of candidates and instances of violence were reported.⁴⁷

³⁵ [The Sunday Mail, 26 March 2023. Massive turnout in Zanu PF primaries - Harare. Available on https://www.sundaymail.co.zw/massive-turnout-in-zanu-pf-primaries-2.](https://www.sundaymail.co.zw/massive-turnout-in-zanu-pf-primaries-2)

³⁶ [The Herald, 30 March 2023. Primaries: President warns violent party officials.](https://www.herald.co.zw/primaries-president-warns-violent-party-officials)

³⁷ [The Herald, 27 March 2023. Big Surprises in Zanu PF primaries.](https://www.herald.co.zw/big-surprises-in-zanu-pf-primaries)

³⁸ [ZBC News, 27 March 2023. -No-one should announce party election results before they are endorsed by Politburo Dr Bimha](https://www.zbcnews.com/27-March-2023-No-one-should-announce-party-election-results-before-they-are-endorsed-by-Politburo-Dr-Bimha)

³⁹ [The Herald, 27 March 2023. Zanu PF considers candidates concerns/](https://www.herald.co.zw/primaries-zanu-pf-considers-candidates-concerns/)

⁴⁰ [The Newsday, 31 March 2023. ED demands re-run in violence hotspots. Retrieved from https://www.newsday.co.zw/local-news/article/200009522/ed-demands-re-run-in-violence-hotspots](https://www.newsday.co.zw/local-news/article/200009522/ed-demands-re-run-in-violence-hotspots)

⁴¹ [The Sunday News, 05 April 2023. 5 constituencies to rerun primary polls.](https://www.sundaynews.co.zw/05-April-2023-5-constituencies-to-rerun-primary-polls)

⁴² [The Zimbabwe Mail, 31 March 2023. ZANU-PF primaries; Mnangagwa demands rerun to salvage careers of his allies.](https://www.zimbabwe-mail.co.zw/31-March-2023-ZANU-PF-primaries-Mnangagwa-demands-rerun-to-salvage-careers-of-his-allies)

⁴³ [The Herald, 15 April 2023. Zanu PF primaries reruns on today.](https://www.herald.co.zw/15-April-2023-Zanu-PF-primaries-reruns-on-today)

⁴⁴ [Masvingo Mirror, 18 April 2023. Langa pulls out of Insiza South primary poll rerun.](https://www.masvingo-mirror.co.zw/18-April-2023-Langa-pulls-out-of-Insiza-South-primary-poll-rerun)

⁴⁵ [The Herald, 08 May 2023. Zanu PF primary reruns complete.](https://www.herald.co.zw/08-May-2023-Zanu-PF-primary-reruns-complete)

⁴⁶ [Newsday, 06 April 2023. Violence mars CCC candidates selection.](https://www.newsday.co.zw/06-April-2023-Violence-mars-CCC-candidates-selection)

⁴⁷ [Newsday, 06 April 2023. Violence mars CCC candidates selection.](https://www.newsday.co.zw/06-April-2023-Violence-mars-CCC-candidates-selection)

PRE-ELECTION ENVIRONMENT AND ELECTION CAMPAIGNS (Cont...)

Both ZANU-PF and CCC parties conducted their internal party candidate nomination or selection processes with some degree of success but there were challenges in some wards and constituencies. The processes fell short on the tenets of democracy, resulting in imposition of candidates, in some instances. Isolated incidents of violence, intimidation and allegations of voter manipulation were recorded in the ZANU-PF primaries while the CCC selection process was also opaque and faced inordinate delays. Critics stated that the CCC selection procedure was a 'gimmick' of imposition and likely to cause more confusion, frustration and disgruntlement among its supporters. According to LTO reports, CCC party supporters in Midlands, Ward 11 disrupted the nomination process, arguing that it was not open, and as such they were demanding clarity of the process.

6.3 POLITICAL PARTY REGULATION

Zimbabwe does not have laws that compel political parties to register in order for them to legally exist. There are no clear statutory laws regulating political party registration but the 2013 Constitution supports multi-party politics as a facet of a democratic system.

The Constitution further guarantees and bestows upon people the freedom of association and the right to form and join political parties. Section 3 of the Constitution provides for the founding values and principles, with Section 2 (a-d) further committing the State and all institutions and agencies of government to:

- a) a multi-party democratic political system,
- b) an electoral system based on:
 - (i) *universal adult suffrage and equality of votes,*
 - (ii) *free, fair and regular elections;*
 - (iii) *adequate representation of the electorate*
- c) the orderly transfer of power following elections;
- d) respect for the rights of all political parties.

The Constitution makes political parties central to contestation of power but they are not properly regulated. Some level of regulation is required to ensure order, transparency and discourage criminality in politics.

6.4 PROCLAMATION

On 31 May 2023, President Emmerson Mnangagwa proclaimed the 2023 Harmonised Elections dates. Under Statutory Instrument (S.I) 85 of 2023, the President fixed 23 August 2023 as polling day and June 21 as the date on which Nomination Courts would sit countrywide to accept applications by political parties and their candidates to take part in the polls. The President further proclaimed 2 October as the runoff date in the event that no candidate attains 50-percent-plus-one vote in the presidential election.

While the proclamation was welcomed by different electoral stakeholders as it was in adherence to the Constitutional provisions, political players met the proclamation with mixed reactions over candidate nomination fees which they viewed as exorbitant.

6.5 CANDIDATE NOMINATION FEES

The Ministry of Justice, Legal and Parliamentary Affairs and the ZEC promulgated S.I 144 of 2022 on the nomination fees for aspiring candidates. Under S.I 144 of 2022, aspiring Presidential contestants were required to pay US\$20,000 up from US\$1,000.00; Members of Parliament US\$1,000 from US\$50.00 while Senate US\$200 up from US\$100. The promulgation of the S.I 144 was in line with the dictates of Section 192 of the Electoral Act Chapter 2:13 which stipulates that; *the ZEC can make regulations it deems necessary, with the approval of the Minister of Justice, Legal and Parliamentary Affairs*. Below are the fees in USD and the Zim dollar (ZWL\$) equivalent as of 21 June 2023

Table 1: Candidate Nomination Fees

Candidature	Fee (USD)
Presidential	\$20,000 (per candidate)/138,531,528 ZWL\$ equivalent at the prevailing interbank rate
National Assembly	\$1,000 (per candidate)/ 6,926 ,76.40 ZWL\$ equivalent
Party-list	\$200 (per party -list)/ 1,385,315.28 ZWL\$ equivalent
Local Authority/Council	N/A

The nomination fees were challenged in the Constitutional Court⁴⁸ in May 2023. The ConCourt ordered a review of the fees by the Parliament. However, the Parliament approved⁴⁹ the nomination fees as earlier gazetted by ZEC. Despite complaints by political parties over the exorbitant candidate nomination fees, some still fielded candidates. The candidates who failed to meet the nomination requirements cited financial challenges as the major hindrance to their participation. This affected the only two (2) female aspiring presidential candidates. Elisabeth Valerio failed to complete the nomination process on account of challenges experienced with the electronic payment system. It is reported her payment had not reflected yet in the ZEC bank account at the time she wanted to make her submission. As for Linda Masarira, she encountered challenges raising the required nomination fees.⁵⁰ This is a clear example that the steep increase in nomination fees had a bearing on participation of Special Interest Groups (SIGs) such as women, youth and PwDs. For the 2023 Harmonised Elections, the number of Presidential candidates fell to 11 from 23 in 2018 and there was one (1) female presidential candidate in 2023 down from four (4) in 2018.

6.6 NOMINATION COURT PROCESS

Proceedings at the provincial Nomination Courts were chaired by ZEC Provincial Elections Officers for each province. The ZEC team at each Nomination Court included assessors, data-capturing officers and finance officers.

ZESN observed that the political environment on nomination day was generally peaceful in all provinces. There were however isolated intra-party and inter-party altercations outside some of the Nomination Courts in Masvingo where there was a minor dispute within the courtroom as candidates jostled to submit their papers before closure of the Court.

⁴⁸<https://www.jsc.org.zw/upload/Judgements/High%20Court/Mutare/2023/HMT%2023-23.pdf><https://www.reuters.com/world/africa/zimbabwe-parliament-approves-20000-fee-appear-ballot-202306-15/>

⁴⁹<https://twitter.com/lilomatic>

⁵⁰<https://www.newzimbabwe.com/cc-uncovers-20-cases-of-fraudulent-nominee-registration-after-double-candidature-furore-lodges-complaint-with-zec/>

NOMINATION COURT PROCESS (Cont...)

In most of the Provinces, a number of the prospective candidates and their parties seemed to be unaware of the nomination requirements which resulted in some candidates being asked to rectify anomalies on the papers they had submitted. ZESN members reported that the CCC fielded double candidates in some constituencies such as Mt. Pleasant, Harare East, Harare Central, Harare South, Harare North, Hatcliffe, Hatfield, Epworth South, Chitungwiza North, Chitungwiza South, St. Mary's, Churu, Warren Park, Sunningdale, Entumbane in Bulawayo, Kariba, Masvingo and Marondera.⁵¹

ZESN observers reported that some prospective candidates were disqualified due to unawareness of the full requirements of the Nomination Court process for example; in one notable incident, Raymond Chitsinde from the Zimbabwe National Revival Party (ZNRP) who intended to file his candidacy for the Mazowe Central seat, had his papers rejected after he turned up at the Harare Courts instead of the Mashonaland Central Magistrate Courts.

In another case, the Freedom of Rights Under Sovereign (FORUS) Party candidate for Glen View North failed to pay the requisite nomination fees, while in Dzivarasekwa the UZA party candidate's name did not appear on the voters roll. In several provinces including Manicaland and Mashonaland West, 87 MDC-T Parliamentary candidates were disqualified by the ZEC after they failed to pay their nomination fees.

It appears that several candidates and political parties were ill-prepared for the Nomination Court process. Most of the political parties and independent candidates had not submitted their papers in advance which made the nomination process painstakingly slower. In addition, some of the aspiring candidates arrived close to the cut off time, forcing the Nomination Court proceedings to be concluded late and in some cases after midnight. The ZEC allowed all candidates who arrived at the Nomination Court before the official closing time to be served. Further, ZEC extended the time for payments to reflect in their account which saw Presidential candidates increasing from seven (7) to 11 contenders.



ZEC Chairperson Justice Priscilla Chigumba (in blue top) checking with electoral officials from the Commission at Harare Rotten Row Magistrate's Court. (Source: ZEC)

⁵¹<https://www.newzimbabwe.com/ccc-unearts-20-cases-of-fraudulent-nominee-registration-after-double-candidature-furore-lodges-complaint-with-zec/>

NOMINATION COURT PROCESS (Cont...)

6.7 WITHDRAWAL OF INDEPENDENT CANDIDATES

On 21 July 2023, ZEC gazetted the withdrawal of three (3) independent parliamentary candidates; Chirenje Juliet of Goromonzi South, Mupukuta Ndinyarei of Maramba Pfungwe and Owen Munatsi of Chegutu West⁵² Constituencies in line with Section 49 of the Electoral Act which allows for candidates to withdraw. The candidates' names were not included on the ballot papers for the respective constituencies.

Further, on 8 August 2023, MDC-T leader Douglas Mwonzora withdrew from the presidential race ahead of the 23 August elections citing maladministration of the plebiscite. He argued that the playing field was uneven, since the nomination papers of 87 candidates from his party for the National Assembly were rejected by ZEC on Nomination Day and contentious delimitation issues he once highlighted before. He argued that these issues made it impossible to hold genuinely free and fair elections. The party's candidates vying for parliamentary and local government seats remained in the race.

Mwonzora made his announcement 15 days before polling day which was too late for ZEC to remove him from the Ballot. This is captured in the Electoral Act section 107 subsection 1 and 2 which states that, "*a nominated candidate for election as President may, by notice in writing addressed to the Chief Elections Officer, withdraw his or her candidature at any time before twenty-one days from the day ... on which the poll in an election to the office of President is to be taken. On receipt of a notice of withdrawal in terms of subsection (1), the Chief Elections Officer shall cause the withdrawal to be published in the Gazette and in all newspapers of mass circulation in Zimbabwe.*" In line with the above provision of the Electoral Act, any votes cast for a candidate who has withdrawn would be considered as spoiled ballots.

6.8 NOMINATION COURT CHALLENGES

Zimbabwe's legal framework provides for Election Dispute Resolution (EDR) mechanisms. The country's Supreme Law, The Constitution makes provisions for the prevention, management and peaceful resolution of disputes related to the judicial system and any other Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) routes.⁵³ The 2023 elections recorded a plethora of Court challenges in particular following the Nomination Court proceedings.

Below are some of the major Court cases that were litigated in the various Courts during the election period;

- i. On 9 June 2023, the Constitutional Court (ConCourt) bench led by Deputy Chief Justice Elizabeth Gwaunza ordered Parliament to review Statutory Instrument 144 of 2022 by June 16 on the basis that it had breached the Constitution by not looking at whether the Statutory Instrument (S.I) was in contravention of the Constitution before passing it. On 15 June 2023, Parliament approved the candidate nomination fees set by the ZEC for the 2023 Harmonised Elections through a Non-Adverse Report.

⁵²<https://www.herald.co.zw/zec-defers-gutu-west-elections/>

⁵³<https://www.zesn.org.zw/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/ZESN-Position-Paper-on-Election-Dispute-Resolution.pdf>

NOMINATION COURT CHALLENGES (Cont...)

- ii. On 19 July 2023, Elisabeth Valerio of the UZA won her appeal against the ZEC decision to reject her nomination papers and about 33 of her party candidates for Parliament, Senate and Women's Quota for late submission. The Electoral Court granted her permission to contest the 2023 presidential election. Valerio was among the aspiring presidential candidates in Zimbabwe who were disqualified from filing their nomination papers after their applications were rejected by the Commission due to "banking system challenges." Valerio became the sole female presidential candidate in the country's August 23 election after Masarira fell by the wayside.
- iii. The LEAD presidential candidate Linda Masarira took the ZEC to court after she failed to raise the US\$20,000 fee required to contest in the Presidential race. She argued that she intended to pay using Real Time Gross Settlement (RTGS), but the presiding officer insisted on cash or payment through the ZimSwitch Instant Payment Interchange Technology (Zipit) system.⁵⁴ On 27 July 2023, the Electoral Court dismissed Masarira's High Court application challenging the ZEC for rejecting her nomination papers on grounds that she had failed to substantially comply with section 47 of the Electoral Act. The section prescribes that; *an applicant should pay the nomination fee at the time he or she lodges nomination papers on nomination day*. The Court pointed out that Masarira's case was different from that of Elisabeth Valerio's as Masarira had presented forms which had not yet been submitted to the bank; that is she presented an intention to pay and not proof of actual payment, her case was dismissed with costs.
- iv. Further on the same day, on 27 July 2023, the High Court ruling barred⁵⁵ 17 candidates including 12 CCC members, and six (6) candidates from (Zimbabwe African People's Union) ZAPU, Free Zim Congress and the Zimbabwe African National Congress (ZANC) vying for parliament seats in Bulawayo constituencies from participating in the August 23 elections. The 17 won the case on 3 August 2023, after an appeal to the Supreme Court.
- v. There was another Court case by CCC which was dismissed by the High Court after they had appealed against ZEC's acceptance of nomination papers for 17 fake candidates on the basis that it was or is not the duty of the Nomination Officer to check if signatures provided to them are genuine. This led to the fielding of double and triple candidates by the CCC.
- vi. In another case, Saviour Kasukuwere, a former government Minister of Local Government in Zimbabwe exiled in South Africa, successfully filed his nomination papers with the Nomination Court. However, on 12 July 2023, the High Court of Zimbabwe issued an order to disqualify the nomination of Kasukuwere. The Court ruled that Kasukuwere had been absent from the country for more than 18 months and as a result he was no longer a registered voter because section 23 (3) of the Electoral Act states that; *"A voter who is registered on the voters roll for a constituency ... shall not be entitled to have his or her name retained on such roll if, for a continuous of 18 months, he or she has ceased to reside in that constituency."* In addition, to section 91 (1) (d) of the Constitution which states that a person qualifies to be elected as a President if he or she is a registered voter. On 28 July 2023, the Supreme Court dismissed his appeal to contest in the Harmonised Elections. Further, on 8 August 2023, the Constitutional Court (Concourt) dismissed Kasukuwere's application for direct access to the ConCourt to challenge his disqualification by the High Court on the grounds that it lacked merit and he failed to demonstrate that the Supreme Court did not act in accordance with the law.

The unprecedented copious Court cases recorded during the 2023 elections had a bearing on the printing of the ballot papers as the ZEC could not go ahead before the cases were finalised.

⁵⁴<https://twitter.com/lilomatic/status/1671899359946977280>

⁵⁵<https://www.chronicle.co.zw/ccc-candidates-barred-from-elections-high-court/>

NOMINATION COURT CHALLENGES (Cont...)

While there were some cases that were won by the opposition political parties and candidates, those who lost alleged Executive interference which stemmed from the June 2023 events which saw Judges allegedly being awarded \$400,000 housing loans by the government.⁵⁶ The major concerns around exposing Judges to political posturing, pork-barrelling, professional conduct and independent standing of the judiciary were raised given the fact that the Judges who were allegedly beneficiaries of the housing loans presided over election petitions.

In response to the allegations, President Mnangagwa also dismissed allegations of Executive interference in the Judiciary's operations which culminated in the disqualification of presidential candidate Saviour Kasukuwere and ban of 12 CCC parliamentary candidates from contesting in the elections. In addition, Chief Justice Luke Malaba asserted that people who criticise judicial decisions undermine democracy and violate the rule of law. He emphasised the independence of Judges and their commitment to the rule of law and stated that judicial decisions are case law and not conclusive national statute. The assertions by the Chief Justice in a way impeded on freedom of expression.

Conversely, Professor Jonathan Moyo an exiled former government Minister postulated that a lawful holding of the general election on 23 August was no longer possible⁵⁷ due to the delayed dispute resolutions on Nomination challenges thereby compromising the integrity of the elections which could potentially lead to Illegal and unconstitutional amendment of the Electoral Act by the Government.

6.9 ANALYSIS OF THE FINAL CANDIDATES LISTS

The final list of candidates for all the different elections was gazetted on June 30 and showed a marked reduction in the number of candidates for the main elections, which is likely a result of the increased nomination fees. 93 unopposed ZANU-PF candidates were declared duly elected councillors in their respective wards as no other nomination papers were received or accepted for the said wards at the close of the Nomination Courts.

⁵⁶<https://nehandaradio.com/2023/06/06/mnangagwa-awards-us400k-loans-to-judges-3-months-before-elections/>

⁵⁷<https://www.pindula.co.zw/2023/08/06/jonathan-moyo-says-a-lawful-general-election-on-23-august-no-longer-possible/>

6.9.1 PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES

In terms of section 106 of the Electoral Act (Chapter 2:13), at the end of the close of the sitting of the Nomination Court, the candidates listed in the table below were duly nominated to the office of the President as published under General Notice 1128 of 2023.

Table 2: 2023 Presidential Candidates

Candidate	Party
1. Busha Joseph Makamba	FREEZIM Congress
2. Chamisa Nelson	CCC
3. Chikohora Trust Tapiwa	ZCPD
4. Kasiyamhuru Blessing	ZIPP
5. Kasukuwere Saviour	Independent
6. Madhuku Lovemore	NCA
7. Mnangagwa Emmerson Dambudzo	ZANU -PF
8. Mubaiwa Wilbert Archibald	NPC
9. Muzorewa Gwinyai Henry	The UANC
10. Mwonzora Douglas Togarasei	MDC
11. Wilson Harry Peter	DOP

6.9.2 PARTY LIST CANDIDATES FOR THE SENATE AND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

Both CCC and ZANU-PF fielded women party lists for all 10 provinces. MDC-T managed to field party lists for Manicaland and Matabeleland North, while the ZAPU fielded a party list in Matabeleland North and DUZ did likewise in Manicaland for the Senate only. For the youth seats, CCC and ZANU-PF fielded the full set of candidates with the MDC-T fielding candidates in Matabeleland North.

6.9.3 NATIONAL ASSEMBLY CONSTITUENCY CANDIDATES.

For the 2023 Harmonised Elections, there were 637 National Assembly candidates who competed for the 210 single-member constituencies. This is one-third the number that contested in 2018. Thirteen constituencies in Harare had two CCC candidates and two, Epworth South and Harare South, had three CCC candidates registered with ZEC. Outside of Harare, a further four constituencies had two CCC candidates making 20 constituencies in total where CCC claimed fraudulent signatures were used to submit nomination papers with an aim to divide the opposition vote.

Source: –[Government Gazette Extraordinary Vol. 64 30-06-2023 Electoral Act Zimbabwe Electoral Commission \(zec.org.zw\)](#)

ELECTION CAMPAIGNS 7

Election campaigns in Zimbabwe are regulated by a Code of Conduct for Political Parties as contained in the Fourth Schedule of the Electoral Act. The Fourth Schedule guarantees that everyone has the right to freely express their political opinion, campaign and canvass for membership and support from voters. The official campaign season was two and half months long after the sitting of the Nomination Court on 21 June 2023. However, reports from ZESN LTOs indicated that campaigns started before the proclamation of the Harmonised Elections date albeit the campaigns were low-key. For example; President Mnangagwa unveiled the Title Deeds and Settlement Regularization Programme and distributed title deeds to over 200 people in Epworth.

The President also availed vehicles in batches to Traditional Leaders as part of government programme to ensure mobility of 291 Chiefs in Zimbabwe.⁵⁸ In as much as the government tried to enhance the integrity and mobility challenges affecting chiefs in their areas of jurisdiction, the act was seen by many political analysts as vote buying.⁵⁹ This was against the background that in his speech, President Mnangagwa alluded that the government would ensure Chiefs get access to electricity, water, good roads and vehicles every five (5) years to enable them to execute their duties of uniting people, instilling and preserving cultural values through whipping into line those citizens in both rural and urban areas who may have divergent political inclinations so that he can rest be assured of leading the united and peaceful nation. These sentiments suggest that Chiefs are rewarded too close to the elections as they receive the above-mentioned perks presumably after five (5) year periods.⁶⁰ This creates an incentive for politics of patronage.

Furthermore, on 20 April 2023, ZANU-PF Second Secretary Kembo Mohadi at the official opening of a refurbished hospital in Mubaira, Mhondoro, in Mashonaland West alluded to how ZANU-PF was using Traditional Leaders to ensure a ZANU-PF win in the 2023 elections. Traditional Leaders played political roles contravening their constitutional mandate provided in Sections 15, 281, 282 and 285. They are not obliged to further interests of any political party or violate the fundamental freedom and rights of any person. In his speech, Mohadi urged Traditional Leaders to gather their subjects at polling stations on voting day so that they voted for ZANU-PF.⁶¹

All political parties and independent candidates took the initiative to strengthen and amplify their voter engagements and campaigning efforts in order to solicit for support from the electorate. They conducted door to door campaigns, social media promotions, star rallies, political gatherings, distributed posters and flyers as well as promotional campaign materials in the form of T-shirts, wrappers and caps among others. The main two political parties namely; ZANU-PF and CCC held rallies across the country where thousands of their supporters were in attendance.

These two major political parties campaigned in rural areas intensely. Political engagement plays a significant role in participation of the electorate in electoral processes, however there was no correlation between high turnout at rallies and voter turnout given the 2 million voter apathy recorded on voting day.

Further, ZESN noted that the campaigns were not issues based, the most dominant political parties either released manifestos late or not at all. Most political parties were personality based characterised by popularity of a single leader; with no clear ideology or policy platform; supporters focused on promoting the image of their leaders and appealing to voters' emotions. On the other hand, the other political parties used the clientelistic approach through the provision of material benefits to their supporters in exchange for their votes. These benefits included party regalia, food, farming inputs and aid or other forms of assistance.

⁵⁸ <https://www.chronicle.co.zw/chiefs-get-cars/>

⁵⁹ <https://www.thezimbabwean.co/2023/03/new-cars-medical-aid-solar-energy-for-chiefs/>

⁶⁰ <https://iharare.com/pres-mnangagwa-hands-over-brand-new-cars-to-traditional-chiefs/>

⁶¹ <https://twitter.com/HStvNews/status/1649136764961923073>

ELECTION CAMPAIGNS (Cont...)

Politics of patronage and vote buying became the order of the day, with incentives being given to party supporters, key civil service personnel, ex-combatants and traditional leaders. For example, the Judicial Services Commission did not refute claims that Judges were allegedly awarded about US\$400,000 housing loans by the government a few months before the elections, exposing Judges to negative public perception about their neutrality and impartiality.

ZESN observed that the electoral environment during the campaign period was relatively peaceful with isolated and intermittent cases of politically motivated arson in rural areas, inter and intra party violence as well as violent incursions. Some examples of politically motivated violence are; on 9 July 2023, a soccer fan was beaten up for wearing his party T-shirt at Barbourfields Stadium in Bulawayo Central Constituency. On the same day, in a case of suspected intra-party violence in St Mary's Constituency Chitungwiza, aspiring parliamentary candidate Brighton Mazhindu's son was assaulted at his home after campaigning on behalf of his father by CCC supporters belonging to a rival CCC led faction.

There were reports of abuse of State resources in campaigns by the ruling party; the brazen partisan role of Traditional Leaders in favour of ZANU-PF⁶²; politicisation of food aid; hate speech by candidates and their supporters; and the destruction of rival's campaign materials. ZESN observers and members could not ascertain whether the two main political parties hired or paid for the products and services they got to boost their election campaigns such as food, regalia, transportation, venues among others.

ZESN also noted the defacing and removal of posters and billboards of different political parties and candidates in breach of Section 152 of the Electoral Act which criminalises the defacing or removal of any billboard, placard or poster published, posted or displayed by a political party or candidate contesting the election from the date on which an election is called until its result is displayed.

Further, the ZHRC also reported that the 2023 Harmonised Elections recorded fewer incidents as compared to previous elections. Though political parties (ZANU-PF, CCC and MDC-T) signed various peace pledges,⁶³ to validate their open assurance to promoting non-violent and peaceful electoral processes.⁶⁴ This regrettably did not stop the violent political clashes near Tanaka grounds in Glenview 7 Harare Metropolitan Province on 3 August 2023, which claimed the death of Tinashe Chitsunge a CCC member. Neither did the pledge stop the use of hate speech and expression of political intolerance among ZANU-PF and CCC party supporters despite signing it.

Further, the ZHRC also reported that the 2023 Harmonised Elections recorded fewer incidents as compared to previous elections. Though political parties (ZANU-PF, CCC and MDC-T) signed various peace pledges, to validate their open assurance to promoting non-violent and peaceful electoral processes. This regrettably did not stop the violent political clashes near Tanaka grounds in Glenview 7 Harare Metropolitan Province on 3 August 2023, which claimed the death of Tinashe Chitsunge a CCC member. Neither did the pledge stop the use of hate speech and expression of political intolerance among ZANU-PF and CCC party supporters despite signing it.

⁶² <https://www.herald.co.zw/chiefs-endorse-president-zanu-pf-ahead-of-polls/>

⁶³ <https://www.newsday.co.zw/local-news/article/200014311/political-parties-endorse-peace-pledge>
<https://www.sundaymail.co.zw/new-youths-endorse-charter-on-peace-during-elections>

⁶⁴ <https://nehandaradio.com/2023/07/19/political-parties-in-zimbabwe-sign-peace-pledge-ahead-of-elections/>

ELECTION CAMPAIGNS (Cont...)

This is in spite of the legal provisions in paragraph 6 of the Fourth Schedule to the Electoral Act Chapter 2:13 which prohibits the use of hate language, violence towards any individual or group including in speeches, songs, and slogans by any political party or any of its members and supporters, a candidate or any of his or her supporters. If political party leaders do not focus on both political and constitutional literacy on what characterises a credible election, then future elections may mirror recurring adverse patterns of political intolerance, toxic political environment and inter as well as intra-party violence. ZESN therefore, unreservedly condemned the bouts of intimidation, hate speech and instances of inter and intra-political violence as they have a potential to adversely affect the participation in democratic electoral processes of the electorate in particular vulnerable groups.

ZESN observed that the criminal justice system created a platform to silence or punish political dissent or holding of divergent views which eroded and diminished public confidence and trust in the system.

There seemed to have been selective application of the MOPA by the law enforcement agency which was viewed with mixed feelings. Some argued that a disproportionate number of opposition rallies were stopped by the police on the pretext that the parties had not fully complied with the provisions of MOPA. There is evidence that political parties do not understand disability and how to include PwDs in their processes. This was evidenced from the political parties that launched manifestos. While their manifestos mentioned disability, disability inclusion was from a charity perspective and not from a human rights perspective. Political party legal documents do not have provisions for PwDs hence their exclusion.

However, briefing observers on the Security Situation and Political Environment on 16 August 2023, the Police Commissioner General said more than 2 600 notifications had been received from political parties to hold meetings and gatherings and 303 were banned for not meeting MOPA regulations. Furthermore, he said ZANU-PF had 187 of their notifications out of 1 878 disapproved, CCC 89 out of 627, MDC-T 12 out of 36 and other parties 15 out of 122 notifications turned down. ZESN observed that all political parties and candidates complied with paragraph 7 of the Fourth Schedule to the Electoral Act [Chapter 2:13] and concluded all campaigning at midnight on 22 August 2023, which is commendable and a departure from the previous plebiscite. In 2018, ZANU-PF and MDC-Alliance presidential candidates issued press statements a day before elections in breach of the set cooling off period.

7.1 POLITICAL PARTIES FINANCING

In Zimbabwe political parties are financed by the State through the Political Parties (Finance) Act [Chapter 2:11]. The Act provides for political parties funding under Section 3 (3) which stipulates that; *any political party that received a minimum of 5% of the total votes cast is eligible for Treasury funding.* The Ministry of Justice, Legal and Parliamentary Affairs announces the total amount that will be paid to political parties for that year and this is in terms of Section 3 (2) of the Act. The proportion received may change as a result of by-elections held in the years following a general election in terms of Section 3 (4). Political parties that qualify as provided for under Section 3 (3) of the Act that want to receive funding from the State must apply to the Minister of Justice, Parliamentary and Legal Affairs for it. If the Minister refuses their application they can appeal to the High Court in terms of Section 4 of the Act.

Accordingly over the years, the government availed ZWL\$ billions to political parties that qualified in terms of the Act post 2018 Harmonised Elections. The budgetary appropriations were received by ZANU-PF and MDC Alliance which were the qualifying political parties after they garnered 70.03% and 29.97% of the total votes cast and in 2018 respectively.

POLITICAL PARTIES FINANCING (Cont...)

The funds were received in different tranches, for example in March 2023 ZANU-PF received ZWL\$ 1 050 450 000, 00 while ZWL\$449 550 000, 00 was allocated to MDC Alliance.⁶⁵ A few weeks before the August 2023 Harmonised Elections in July, ZANU-PF and MDC also received ZWL\$ 700 300 000, 00 and ZWL\$ 299 700 000, 00 respectively.

CCC did not benefit from the funding because a 2020 Court ruling stripped off its leadership of the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) and that subsequently led to the loss of access to party assets and state funding.

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The Political Parties (Finance) Act (Section 6) does not allow political parties or candidates to receive any foreign donations in form of money, gifts or other assistance and those found to be in breach are liable to criminal penalties, a fine equal to the value of the donation or to US\$2 000, whichever is the greater. However, since the promulgation of the law over two decades ago, no political party has been prosecuted for breaching it despite frequent claims that political parties receive substantial funding for electioneering from Western countries, in the case of opposition parties and from Eastern countries in the case of the incumbency.

The Act does not prohibit political parties from seeking and receiving donations from local individuals and companies, and does not require such local donations to be publicised or even recorded. Many companies have in the past donated to political parties both ruling and opposition, and there has been no transparency or public declaration of donations received.⁶⁶

Poor access to political finance weakens democratic consolidation and negatively impacts the participation of less-resourced parties or candidates who are unable to self-fund. As a result, opposition parties are forced to rely on crowdsourcing. In December 2021, the Political Actors Dialogue (POLAD) implored the government to reduce the funding allocation to a one percent (1%) threshold, repeal the Political Parties Finance Act and come up with a new financing model to enable smaller parties to benefit from state-allocated funding.

ZESN observed that the resources invested into campaigns demonstrated huge disparities between the political parties contesting elections. This needs to be addressed in future elections to ensure that smaller political parties benefit from political parties finances, for them to stand a fair chance of participation in the elections. The source of and criterion for political party funding has been a contentious issue in Zimbabwe elections with some analysts arguing that if small parties are given state resources, this may lead to mushrooming of too many political parties for the sake of getting resources and enriching a few individuals. While other stakeholders support the current provisions, they have also called for those political parties that receive funding under the Act to be subjected to public scrutiny to ensure accountability on the use of the taxpayers' money.

Currently, political parties are not required by law to disclose their source of donations from within the country nor does it set ceilings for such contributions apart from Treasury, or to determine the amount, and the use to which the funds are put.

⁶⁵<https://www.herald.co.zw/zanu-pf-mdc-share-15bn/>

⁶⁶<https://www.veritaszim.net/node/6260>

ELECTION ADMINISTRATION 8

Given the fact that political parties do not account for public funds that would have been given to them and neither do they make their audited financials public, there is a need to continue lobbying for an amendment of the Political Parties Finance Act in the interest of the public. This will lead to more accountable, democratic and institutionalised political parties, in line with international best practices.

Overall, the role of the Electoral Management Body (EMB) in interpreting and administering the Election Law is clearly defined in the legal framework of Zimbabwe. Chapter 12 of the Zimbabwean Constitution provides for five (5) Independent Commissions supporting democracy. The ZEC is one of the Commissions and under Section 238 of the Constitution its establishment and composition is provided for. Further, Sections 10A and 11 of the Electoral Act (Chapter 2:13) contain provisions guaranteeing the independence of the ZEC and the impartiality and professionalism of Commissioners and staff and agents of the Commission.

The Commission is headed by a Chairperson who is appointed by the President, after consultation with the Judicial Service Commission (JSC) and the Parliament Committee on Standing Rules and Orders (CSRO). The Chairperson must be a Judge, former Judge, or due for appointment as a Judge. The Commission also consists of eight other members appointed by the President from a list of not less than 12 nominees submitted by the CSRO. Members of the Commission must be Zimbabwean citizens who are appointed on the basis of merit, that is, experience, integrity, and competence. Members of the Commission are appointed for a six-year term and may be re-appointed for a further term, but may not be appointed after serving for a period that amounts to 12 years. The Commissioners, except the Chairperson and Deputy Chairperson, work on a temporary basis and are full-time during the election period.

8.1 APPOINTMENT OF NEW ZEC COMMISSIONERS

The Electoral Law provides for a transparent manner of selecting members of the ZEC. In July 2022, President Mnangagwa swore in six new ZEC Commissioners to replace the previous Commissioners whose terms of office had expired. The new Commissioners were Ms Catherine Mpofu, Mrs Abigail Millicent Mohadi Ambrose, Dr. Janet Mbetu Nzvenga, Mr Kudzai Shava, Mrs Rosewita Marutare and Mr Shepherd Manhivi.

The CSRO, a multi-party parliamentary committee, received 72 nominations to consider the suitability of the applicants who were reduced to 32 candidates that went for the public interviews which were broadcasted live on ZBC and other online media outlets.

Public opinion questioned the sincerity of the President in swearing in the new six young Commissioners in particular, Mrs Abigail Millicent Mohadi Ambrose.⁶⁷ As much as children and relatives of high profile people have the right to employment and service to their country as everyone else, the appointment of former Vice President Kembo Mohadi's daughter as ZEC Commissioner did not augur well with most Zimbabweans.⁶⁸ This was viewed as a conflict of interest given the fact that Vice President Mr Mohadi's ZANU-PF party where he also serves as the party's second Secretary was contesting in the plebiscite hence the independence and impartiality of the new Commission was questioned.⁶⁹

8.2 FUNCTIONS OF THE ZEC

The functions of ZEC as provided by the Constitution and elaborated in the Electoral Act include undertaking, promoting research, developing expertise on use of technology and promoting cooperation with government, civil society and political parties.⁷⁰

⁶⁷<https://www.aljazeera.com/features/2022/8/1/zimbabwe-electoral-appointments-spark-controversy-ahead-of-2024>

⁶⁸<https://zimbabwepost.com/govt-slammed-over-mohadis-daughter-appointment/>

⁶⁹<https://www.voazimbabwe.com/a/6649044.html>

⁷⁰Section 5 (a-c) of the Electoral Act.

ZEC also has to provide the public with information on registration of voters, delimitation of wards, location or boundaries, custodian of the voters' roll and its issuance to stakeholders, facilitate inspection of the roll, record details of political parties and candidates participating in the elections and the overall management of the conduct of all electoral processes. In consultation with the parent Ministry, the Commission also has jurisdiction to review and recommend legal and administrative electoral reforms.

8.3 ZEC'S CONDUCT DURING THE 2023 HARMONISED ELECTIONS

8.3.1 ZEC'S MAIDEN DELIMITATION OF ELECTORAL BOUNDARIES

The 2023 Harmonised Elections were the first elections that ZEC solely administered the delimitation process. The process was shrouded by a number of challenges including divisions amongst the Commissioners towards the end of the process. Some of the Commissioners allegedly wrote to the President expressing their rejection of the delimitation report that ZEC had presented to Parliament.⁷¹ While the ZEC Chairperson did not come out openly to address this friction, the matter was of public concern given that the Commission was ceased with preparation of the Harmonised Elections.⁷²

8.3.2 ZEC'S ENGAGEMENT WITH STAKEHOLDERS

ZESN noted that unlike in previous elections ZEC's engagement with stakeholders was low as there were no frequent meetings with CSOs, Faith Based Organisations (FBOs), special interest groups, media, political parties and Community Based Organisations (CBOs). This to a greater extent made it difficult for stakeholders to verify and access critical information leading to electoral information disorders such as disinformation, misinformation and malinformation. Further, this also contributed to the lack of confidence and trust in the Commission. This was exacerbated by their refusal to engage with stakeholders on other key electoral issues such as advocacy, information sharing platforms like seminars, workshops, debates and meetings save for voter education initiatives where they would attend to do voter education and register voters.

8.3.3 ELECTION CALENDAR

The ZEC issued a detailed operational plan and a comprehensive 2023 electoral roadmap in July 2023. While ZESN notes the availing of the ZEC election calendar, there was need for the Commission to avail the calendar on time, even a year ahead like in other African countries in line with best practices. This was going to afford electoral stakeholders ample time to plan various interventions in support of the various electoral processes preceding the elections.

8.3.4 ZEC'S RESOURCE ENVELOPE

In the second observers' briefing, held on 16 August 2023, ZEC indicated that the Treasury had availed adequate resources for the elections and that 80% of essential election materials had been distributed to the districts. This was commendable to ensure that the ZEC was able to administer the elections. However, ZESN on Election Day observed administrative challenges in Harare, Bulawayo and Manicaland Provinces where ballot papers were not distributed on time.⁷³ Even the reasons for the delays were given, this was perceived in bad light as these Provinces are the strongholds for opposition political parties. Therefore, this tarnished the image of the ZEC in the public eye and eroded the trust and confidence of stakeholders in ZEC.

⁷¹<https://zimbabwepost.com/zec-commissioners-reject-preliminary-delimitation-report/>

⁷² Other issues pertaining to the conduct of ZEC during the delimitation process are covered in more detail under the delimitation section

⁷³<https://www.pindula.co.zw/2023/08/23/full-text-zec-speaks-on-delays-in-voting/>

The Commission has been averse to criticism and calls for more transparency have been rebuffed by claims that the EMB adheres to set rules and regulations. However, taking into account that the perception of any institution is of paramount importance, then the questioning of the ZEC integrity has a bearing on the credibility of electoral outcomes. ZEC's role in the management and administration of the electoral processes is central and critical so its credibility must be solid and unassailable.

ELECTION OBSERVERS 9

Election observers play a vital role in attesting to the openness, fairness and accuracy of elections through systematic monitoring and by providing transparency to the process. The Electoral Act, Sections 40G to 40K provides for the accreditation of observers. The first Schedule to the Electoral Act provides for a Code of Conduct for Political Parties, Candidates and Observers. Whilst domestic observers apply for accreditation to ZEC, regional and international observers are invited by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Government invited of about 46 countries, 17 organisations and two prominent individuals to observe the 2023 Harmonised Elections.

Some of the organisations that were invited to observe the Harmonised Elections included; the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC), Electoral Commissions Forum of SADC countries (ECF-SADC), the African Union Commission, the Pan-African Parliament and the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) at regional level.

For the international organisations⁷⁴ some of the invited organisations and institutions; the Africa Caribbean and Pacific Group (ACP), the ACP-EU Joint Parliamentary Assembly, the European Union Commission, the European Union Parliament, The Carter Centre, the Non-Aligned Movement and, the Commonwealth Group.

There were also individual countries which were invited and these included; Belarus, Norway, Russia, Serbia, Switzerland, Turkey, North American countries (Canada, Mexico and the United States) South American Countries (Brazil, Ecuador, Nicaragua, Venezuela), Caribbean Countries (Cuba, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Barbados and Grenada), Australia and Pacific countries (Australia, New Zealand and Papua New Guinea). Asian countries (China, India, Indonesia, Iran, Japan, Malaysia, Pakistan, Palestine, South Korea and Thailand) and former liberation movements in the SADC region such as the African National Congress (ANC) from South Africa, Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM-Tanzania), Frelimo (Mozambique), The South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) (Namibia), MPLA (Angola) and the Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) from Botswana among others. There were also a few eminent persons and diplomatic missions bilaterally accredited to Zimbabwe who also observed the elections.

ZESN being the biggest domestic observer group, deployed over 6,500 domestic observers across the country. As in previous years and in line with its mandate, ZESN was accredited by the ZEC as part of its efforts to monitor compliance with electoral laws and international standards. Observers monitor whether the election process is being conducted in accordance with the country's electoral laws and related regulations, as well as international standards for democratic elections.

Further, the role of observers is to witness the process, as it increases transparency and public confidence in the electoral process and announced results. Observers also gather information, through the recording of their findings and reports, to provide an impartial account of the electoral process to stakeholders such as governments, regional and international organisations, media, and the public.

⁷⁴ This is the second time since the arrival of the Second Republic that the Commonwealth and the European Union have been invited to observe the elections after more than two decades.

ELECTION OBSERVERS (Cont...)

It is unfortunate that, for this election ZESN was not able to fully execute its mandate following the raiding and subsequent arrest of its staff members and volunteers on Election Day. As a result of the raids, non-partisan independent domestic election observation of the counting and tabulation processes could not be done by ZESN. The attack on domestic observers was widely condemned by Election Observer Missions,⁷⁵ Media,⁷⁶ UN Special Rapporteur on Human Rights Defenders,⁷⁷ UN Secretary General⁷⁸ and Election Observer Groups across the globe.⁷⁹

9.1 OBSERVER ACCREDITATION

The Electoral Act, Sections 40G to 40K provide for the accreditation of observers. The provisions are clear about the process of submitting an application for accreditation and the composition and functions of the Accreditation Committee. However the accreditation process itself is very cumbersome and expensive and it requires each of the observers to present themselves at designated centres in person and to make payment of USD\$10 each.

The accreditation fee for local observers and local media practitioners remained the same from the previous elections, however the accreditation fee for other classes of observers increased significantly. The fees for accrediting foreign observers from African countries rose fivefold, from US\$20 to US\$100, and the fees for accrediting observers from foreign Embassies in Zimbabwe rose six fold, from US\$50 to US\$300 and from any country outside Africa to US\$400. In addition, media practitioners accredited with the Zimbabwe Media Commission and working in Zimbabwe for foreign media houses as well as Media practitioners from the Continent of Africa paid US\$100 to get accredited.⁸⁰

Some observers were exempted from paying accreditation fees, these included observers from: the AU, SADC and COMESA, the SADC Parliamentary Forum, the Electoral Commissions Forum of SADC, electoral bodies in African countries, Embassies from African countries. These exemptions are provided for in section 6 of the Electoral (Accreditation of Observers) Regulations 2013.

Overall, the actual accreditation process at the various accreditation centres was not smooth, in some instances approved accreditation lists were missing from the provincial accreditation centres despite assurances that lists had been submitted from the ZEC Headquarters. In other instances the rather slow accreditation process resulted in observers requiring an additional night in the provinces or to make a separate trip back to the accreditation centres, resulting in significant increase in costs for accrediting observers.

⁷⁵ <https://www.zimeye.net/2023/08/25/eu-condemns-harassment-of-zesn-erc-officials/>

https://www.cartercenter.org/resources/pdfs/news/peace_publications/election_reports/zimbabwe/zimbabwe-preliminary-election-statement-2023.pdf

⁷⁶ <https://twitter.com/hstvnews/status/1694984353430860250?s=46&t=eZltSTXfqqtU3pwsn4HA>
<https://www.263chat.com/government-raids-on-election-watchdog-centers-raise-concerns-about-electoral-transparency/>

<https://ewn.co.za/2023/08/24/dozens-of-poll-monitors-arrested-in-tense-zimbabwe-vote>

<https://thenewshawks.com/govt-crushes-independent-observers/>

<https://www.pindula.co.zw/2023/08/29/zimbabwe-human-rights-ngo-forum-condemns-arrest-of-zesn-erc-election-observers/>

⁷⁷ <https://twitter.com/marylawlorhrds/status/1694683969390858602?s=46&t=eZltSTXfqqtU3pwsn4HA>

⁷⁸ <https://www.un.org/sg/en/content/sg/statement/2023-08-27/statement-attributable-the-spokesperson-for-the-secretary-general-elections-zimbabwe%C2%A0>

⁷⁹ <https://gndem.org/tag/waeon/>

<https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2023/08/zimbabwe-elections-marred-by-arbitrary-arrests-internet-blockade/>

⁸⁰ <https://www.zec.org.zw/application-for-accreditation-to-observe-the-harmonized-elections/>

POSTAL VOTES 10

Section 7 of the Electoral Act provides that registered voters who will be unable to vote at their polling stations on polling day because they will be away on official duty⁸¹ are eligible for postal voting. The ZEC approved over 17,000 postal voters out of the 18,000 that had applied.⁸² According to Section 74 of the Electoral Act, the Chief Elections Officer (CEO) must receive a request for a postal ballot paper no later than noon on the 14th day following the election's nomination day. To avoid the disenfranchisement of those who had successfully applied to use the postal voting system, government on 3 August 2023 gazetted S.I 140A of 2023 cited as Electoral (Alteration of Period) Regulations, 2023 which extended the deadline for postal voting to 20 August 2023 at 12 pm. On 7 August 2023, former Cabinet Minister and presidential aspirant Saviour Kasukuwere filed an urgent High Court application seeking nullification of S.I 140A of 2023 which amended the Electoral Act on postal voting. He argued that the S.I violated Section 157 (5) of the Constitution which states that; *after an election date has been proclaimed, no amendment will be made to the Electoral Law.*⁸³

On 11 August 2023, the High Court upheld S.I 140A of 2023 to enable ZEC to receive postal votes by 20 August. The High Court judgement indicated that the passage of S.I 140A was administrative and was exercised as and when necessary, arguing that this amounted to a conduct of implementation of the law and not changing the law. The ⁸⁴ruling meant that the ZEC would accept postal votes until just three (3) days before 23 August polls, departing from the traditional 14 days before the elections.

The deadline extension may be attributed to the unprecedented number of election related Court cases that were filed by many aspiring candidates delayed the printing of the ballot papers and postal voting.⁸⁵

DELIMITATION 11

11.1 AMENDMENTS TO THE CENSUS AND STATISTICS ACT

Prior to the amendment of the Census and Statistics Act, in December 2018 ZESN and other CSOs had petitioned the 9th Parliament in light of its legislative and oversight role to take into account the major issue surrounding the redrawing of electoral boundaries. ZESN implored Parliament to push the Census forward to enable the timeous conduct of the 2023 and other subsequent elections given the fact that Zimbabwe had conducted three (3) sets of elections (2008, 2013 and 2018) on the basis of one delimitation. Census data was supposed to provide the number of all citizens including eligible and non-eligible voters. Census data would therefore allow ZEC to do targeted voter education and project the number of those turning 18 by the time delimitation would be conducted.

The Census and Statistics Amendment Bill was gazetted on 12 June 2020 and came into force on 4 September 2020. Section 12 (1) was amended by the insertion of Subsection 4 to the effect that; *"notwithstanding that the ten-year period from the Census of 2012 has not yet expired, the next Census shall take place so as to be completed by 1 July 2021, and thereafter, Census shall be taken every ten years from that date."* The alignment allowed for the holding of a national census in a manner that enabled ZEC to consider census data when delimiting electoral boundaries every ten years in accordance with Section 161 (1) of the Constitution.

⁸¹Persons eligible include; police, army, prisons and correctional services and electoral officers.

⁸²<https://www.sundaymail.co.zw/over-17-000-qualify-for-postal-voting-zec>

⁸³<https://www.newsday.co.zw/2023-elections/article/200015022/kasukuwere-challenges-changes-to-postal-voting>

⁸⁴<https://bulawayo24.com/index-id-news-sc-local-byo-234350.html>

⁸⁵<https://www.sundaymail.co.zw/over-17-000-qualify-for-postal-voting-zec>

DELIMITATION (Cont...)

Subsequent to the Amendment of the Census and Statistics Act and following the 2022 National Population Census, ZEC conducted the delimitation exercise focussing on the updated demographic data and population shifts. The Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency (ZIMSTAT) shared a preliminary report of the Census in July 2022. However, it remained unclear to stakeholders if ZEC was provided with the final National Census Report by the ZIMSTAT before the commencement of the delimitation exercise.

11.2 THE DELIMITATION EXERCISE

Delimitation refers to the official redrawing of constituency boundaries, to equalise population distribution across electoral constituencies and wards. The aim of delimiting boundaries is to make allocation of political representation more equitable and ensure equality of voting strength in each constituency. Obviously the impracticability of having an equal number of voters in each constituency cannot be ruled out hence the ZEC is permitted to deviate with an allowance that no constituency can have 20% more or fewer registered voters than other constituencies.

Electoral boundaries also inform and determine the allocation of polling stations in different wards and are a critical factor of the electoral outcome. The predominant electoral system in Zimbabwe is the FPTP, a process which is greatly impacted upon by the demarcation of electoral boundaries as well as the total number of registered voters. Registration of voters and actual voting also takes place within the confines of wards and constituencies as determined by the electoral boundaries.

In terms of Sections 160 and 161 of the Zimbabwe Constitution, delimitation is done every 10 years. By law, and in terms of Section 239 (f) of the Constitution, the ZEC is responsible for conducting the delimitation of the electoral boundaries. Zimbabwe is divided into 210 National Assembly constituencies whilst the number of wards is not specified. Section 160 of the Constitution states that *for the purpose of electing Members of Parliament, the ZEC must divide Zimbabwe into 210 and for the purpose of elections to local authorities, the ZEC must divide local authority areas into wards according to the number of members to be elected to the local authorities concerned.*

Further, gazetting of the delimitation process is provided for in terms of the Constitution which states that it should happen every 10 years on a date or period to be determined by the ZEC and set to fall as soon as possible after a national census. As such, guided by the General Notice 114B of 2022 cited as the Delimitation of Constituencies, the Chairperson of ZEC notified the public that, *notwithstanding the publication of the General Notice, the delimitation shall commence from the 1 June 2022 and continue into the culmination of a preliminary report or until 31 December 2022*⁸⁶

Therefore, in preparation for the delimitation exercise, the ZEC conducted two major activities;

11.2.1 VOTER REGISTRATION AND DELIMITATION

In compliance with the delimitation steps, ZEC conducted phases 1 and 2 of the mobile voter registration exercise for the delimitation in February and April 2022 to determine the country's voter population. The voters' roll for delimitation closed on 30 May 2022.

⁸⁶ [Zimbabwe: Delimitation of Constituencies Begins - allAfrica.com](https://www.allAfrica.com/stories/Zimbabwe-Delimitation-of-Constituencies-Begins)

THE DELIMITATION EXERCISE (Cont...)

11.2.2 STAKEHOLDER ENGAGEMENTS DURING DELIMITATION

Following the conclusion of Phase 1 and 2 of the mobile voter registration, the ZEC lined up a series of sensitization meetings with various stakeholders aimed at discussing pre-delimitation exercises. These meetings ran from 17 to 29 May 2022 and ZEC engaged the media, political parties on the Commission's database, and political parties in Parliament, security sector, PwDs, youth, women, CSOs and government ministries among others. The meetings sought to, among other things, apprise stakeholders of the impending delimitation and brief stakeholders on the provisions of the law with respect to the delimitation.

Although the stakeholders' engagement process on delimitation by ZEC was carried out successfully, the short notice to most of the meetings affected participation by key stakeholders thereby affecting the quality and quantity of discussions in particular by citizens. The poor public participation affected the transparency, representativeness and non-discrimination principles of the engagement process which in turn affected the credibility of the process. This led to allegations of divisions in the Commission on the Preliminary report.⁸⁷ Further, the report was criticised by other electoral stakeholders and political analysts on the basis of allegations of gerrymandering and skewed voting strengths.⁸⁸

11.3 THE DELIMITATION REPORT

Following the delimitation of wards and constituencies, ZEC submitted a preliminary report to the President on 26 December 2022. The preliminary report contained;

- a) a list of wards and constituencies, with names assigned and description of boundaries;
- b) maps showing wards and constituencies; and
- c) further information and particulars as considered necessary.

The President summoned the Parliament to sit on 6 January 2023 and consider working on the report. A 13 -member Parliamentary Ad-Hoc Committee was subsequently formed for the purpose of analysing the report for onward submission to the Senate and National Assembly. A few issues were raised concerning the delimitation report such as perceived misinterpretation of Section 161 (6) of the Constitution with respect to the 20% variance of the constituencies, use of a preliminary census report and not the final, absence of fairness and uniformity with respect to collapsing of constituencies among others. Subsequently this led the President to refer back to ZEC the Parliament's Ad-hoc Committee report on 20 January 2023 for consideration of the issues raised. The President also submitted his comments to the ZEC Chairperson on 23 January 2023.

While Section 161 (8) of the Constitution stipulates that the President should refer issues back to ZEC, Section 161 (9) states that *where referral has been made in line with subsection (8), the ZEC must consider the matters concerned but the Commission's decision is final*. This implies that ZEC has discretionary powers and it is not mandatory for it to take into consideration issues raised by Parliament and or the President.

On 3 February 2023, the Office of the President and Cabinet confirmed the submission of the final Delimitation Report in accordance to the law. Therefore, the President had a window period of 14 days, ending on 17 February to gazette the report in line with Section 161 (11) of the Constitution. However, the final report was gazetted on 20 February, in breach of S161 (11), read together with Section 90 (1).

⁸⁷ <https://www.zimlive.com/seven-zec-commissioners-disown-delimitation-report-under-zanu-pf-pressure/>

⁸⁸ <https://www.thezimbabwemail.com/opinion/lack-of-delimitation-clarity-unhelpful-and-damaging-particularly-to-zec/>

THE DELIMITATION REPORT (Cont...)

The President's proclamation stated that he had received the report on 17 February 2023. If that was the case, then the report was received within the constitutional time-limits. However, if the report was submitted later than 17 February, then it was in breach. The final Delimitation Report was gazetted on 20 February in an Extraordinary Government Gazette as Proclamation 1 of 2023 (S.I 14 of 2023). Prominent features of the Delimitation Report as proclaimed under S.I 14 of 2023 include the creation of three new Local Authorities in Zimbabwe namely Mvurwi Town Council with six wards, Chirundu Local Board with three wards and Lupane Board with six(6) wards.

Table 3; Number of Wards per Province

Province	Local Authorities	Number of Wards
Bulawayo	1	29
Harare	3	77
Manicaland	10	260
Mashonaland Central	10	238
Mashonaland East	11	229
Mashonaland West	14	234
Masvingo	9	242
Matabeleland North	10	197
Matabeleland South	10	168
Midlands	14	296
Grand Total	92	1970

Source: ZEC 2022 Report on the Delimitation Exercise

At National Assembly level, following the delimitation of wards and constituencies, three more constituencies were created from the Harare South constituency namely, Churu, Harare South and Hunyani Constituencies. An additional constituency was created in Epworth to create Epworth North and Epworth South Constituencies. Harare North was reconfigured and renamed to Hatcliffe constituency. In Bulawayo, seven constituencies were reconfigured and renamed as Bulawayo North, Cowdray Park, Emakhandeni-Luveve Entumbane-Njube, Lobengula-Magwegwe, Mpopoma-Mzilikazi and Pelandaba-Tshabalala. In Manicaland Province, Musikavanhu and Chipinge West were merged to create Chipinge West Constituency. A collapsed constituency formed Chikanga constituency after Dangamvura-Chikanga was split due to an increase in the voting population.

Mashonaland East also saw some changes as three constituencies namely Chikomba Central, Chikomba East, Chikomba West were reconfigured due to the low registered voter population. Chikomba Central constituency was collapsed and wards which formerly constituted Chikomba Central were allocated to Chikomba East and Chikomba West. In Masvingo, Gutu North was collapsed and merged with other existing constituencies for the reason that there were low numbers of registered voter population which failed to meet the minimum threshold for a constituency. However, the collapsed constituency was replaced by the creation of a new Chiredzi Central Constituency. In the same vein, Zaka East and Zaka West Constituencies were collapsed and reconfigured to form a new Zaka South Constituency. One of the collapsed constituencies was replaced by the creation of a new Mwenezi North constituency. Ultimately, Masvingo province retained its previously allocated 26 constituencies after the reconfigurations.

THE DELIMITATION REPORT (Cont...)

Matabeleland South Province had very low numbers of registered voters and ended up being allocated 12 constituencies after Bulilima East was collapsed to meet the expected population. In Midlands Province, Mberengwa South constituency was collapsed, and three constituencies remained as, Mberengwa East, Mberengwa West and Mberengwa Central. This collapsed constituency was replaced by the creation of a new Mkoba North constituency.

Table 4: Number of Constituencies and Voter Population

Province	Total Voter Population	Number of Constituencies
Bulawayo Metropolitan	270 938	12
Harare Metropolitan	952 102	30
Manicaland	738 624	26
Mashonaland Central	536 463	18
Mashonaland East	641 668	23
Mashonaland West	661 289	22
Masvingo	632 320	26
Matabeleland North	340 427	13
Matabeleland South	267 617	12
Midlands	762 928	28
Grand Total	5 804 376	210

Source: ZEC 2022 Report on the Delimitation Exercise

Importantly, the delimitation exercise was completed and gazetted under S.I 14 of 2023. However, its outcome was welcomed with mixed views. ZESN, through its long-term observation efforts, reflected on some concerns surrounding the delimitation process. ZESN observers highlighted several complaints, specifically perceived low levels of stakeholder engagements by ZEC. ZESN observers also reported on the lack of knowledge by citizens regarding the process and the outcome as many could not ascertain their new wards following the delimitation. This also affected the allocation of polling stations as some people were turned away following the changes, confirming the lack of awareness on the new boundaries.

VOTER REGISTRATION 12

Voter registration plays a central role in determining voter eligibility. Hence it is one of the key electoral processes that can benefit from an independent and impartial assessment by electoral stakeholders. ZESN observed the voter registration blitz that was conducted in 2022 before the 26 March by-elections. However, ZEC did not extend an invitation to local observers who requested to be accredited to observe the voter registration blitz that was conducted before the Boundary Delimitation exercise as well as the blitz and inspection of the voters roll that was conducted ahead of the Harmonised Elections.

12.1 MOBILE VOTER REGISTRATION (FOR DELIMITATION)

The mobile voter registration blitz was conducted in two (2) phases, ahead of the boundary delimitation exercise in February and April 2022. A combined 194,625 new registrants were recorded in both phases, bringing the total cumulative figure of all registered voters as at 30 May 2022, including those who had registered in between phases to 5,795,547.⁸⁹

⁸⁹ Zimbabwe Electoral Commission. Mobile Voter Registration for Delimitation. <https://www.zec.org.zw/mobile-voter-registration-for-delimitation/>

VOTER REGISTRATION (Cont...)

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The first phase of the mobile voter registration exercise which ran from 01 to 28 February 2022 resulted in 83,402 new registrants being captured while 111,223 entries were recorded during the second phase which ran from 11 to 30 April 2022.

A number of challenges were encountered during the blitz. Heavy rains that were experienced during the first phase of the Blitz led to flooding of low-lying areas in parts of Beitbridge, Chipinge, Chikombedzi, Muzarabani and Mudzi. This inclement weather put a strain on the BVR Kits' solar charging systems, as well as impeded movement of people and the ZEC teams that were deployed to the affected areas.

12.2 MOBILE VOTER REGISTRATION (HARMONISED ELECTIONS)

Another mobile Biometric Voter Registration (BVR) exercise was conducted from 12 March to 21 March 2023 in preparation for the 23 August 2023 Harmonised Elections in which 4,474 voter registration centres were used for this exercise.⁹⁰ The blitz was extended by an additional 5 (five) days ending on 26 March 2023. The ZEC did not extend an invitation to stakeholders that wanted to observe this blitz.⁹¹ ZEC registered over 450,000 during the blitz.⁹² Unlike in the delimitation blitz, where the weather was the main challenge, the ZEC encountered numerous challenges during the Harmonised Elections VR blitz such as the malfunctioning BVR kits, and stationery at some of the centres ran out, thus some registrants did not get the registration slip that is printed after the registration process.⁹³

Voter registration figures released by ZEC in July 2023, indicated that Zimbabwe had 6,619,691 registered voters for the 2023 Harmonised Elections with 46.3% male and 53.7% female.⁹⁴ The ZEC however, did not release voter registration statistics disaggregated by age and disability. Such information was vital in the interest of greater transparency. Furthermore, despite holding several voter registration blitzes, some stakeholders regarded the blitzes as being too short with the second blitz being held in just seven (7) days before the close of the voters roll for election purposes as per the law.

Beyond the mobile registration blitz exercises, registration at ZEC district and provincial offices was routinely also affected by technical difficulties such as electricity power cuts and the cloudy weather which affected the charging of batteries for the BVR kits. Given the transport costs associated with travelling to and from the registration centres it is very possible that some potential registrants might have not returned to register, if during their initial visit there was no power at the registration centre.

⁹⁰ Zimbabwe Electoral Commission. Mobile Voter Registration for Delimitation. <https://www.zec.org.zw/wp-content/uploads/2023/03/Mobile-voter-registration-centres-for-2023-harmonised-elections.pdf>

⁹¹ CITE News, 14 March 2023. [ZEC under fire for shutting out voter registration observers](#)

⁹² The Sunday Mail, [450 000 register to vote in final blitz](#).

⁹³ ZEC Press Release. Thermal Paper Rolls <https://twitter.com/ZECzim/status/1637822590143045633>

⁹⁴ <https://www.zec.org.zw/2023-harmonised-election-voter-population-statistics-as-at-8-july-2023/>

CIVIC AND VOTER EDUCATION 13

Effective civic and voter education efforts are critical in ensuring that all eligible voters have the necessary information to enable them to exercise their democratic right to vote and to understand and have confidence in the different electoral processes around the electoral cycle. More so, educated voters are better equipped to make informed choices about candidates and issues. With civic and voter education, the electorate is better placed to understand their civic and political rights and what is at stake in elections as this also fosters participation in the political process. It is ZESN's belief that when voters are well-informed, they have more confidence that elected officials represent their interests. Thus, this strengthens trust in democratic institutions and processes.

The ZEC is mandated by the Constitution (Chapter 12: Section 238) to conduct and supervise voter education. Further, the Electoral Act (Chapter 2:13) provides the key legal framework and mandates around voter education in Zimbabwe. Part IX, Sections 160-164 of the Electoral Act deal specifically with voter education. Section 160 establishes the ZEC as the body responsible for voter education and that it must promote public awareness of electoral processes. Section 161 requires ZEC to design and implement voter education programmes covering a wide range of topics, including how to register and vote, electoral rights and obligations, electoral system, and voting procedures, among others. Programmes must use a variety of media (posters, radio, TV, newsprint etc.) and target groups like youth, PwDs and various communities of interest. Section 162 further gives ZEC the power to accredit organisations that want to assist with voter education while Section 163 prohibits political parties and candidates from conducting voter education in the 6 (six) months prior to an election leaving only ZEC and accredited CSOs to do so.

For the 2023 Harmonised Elections, ZEC developed a Voter Education Handbook for its voter educators. Unfortunately, this Handbook was not widely shared amongst other stakeholders in particular CSOs who were only accredited to conduct voter education two weeks before the elections.⁹⁵

13.1 ZEC VOTER EDUCATION

To inform the electorate about Election Day procedures and promote peace, ZEC conducted a nationwide voter education campaign through door-to-door canvassing, roadshows, leaflets, and social networks. This campaign was carried out in multiple languages, with specific messages targeting women and youth, demonstrating inclusivity. To help voters identify their polling station locations, ZEC established a USSD code inquiry service *265# and toll-free call centres on the major mobile networks (Econet, NetOne and Telecel). Further, ZEC instructed polling officials to post voter lists in accessible locations two days before voting. More than 90% of ZESN observers confirmed that the voters' rolls were indeed posted on Election Day.

Some improvements were noted in the provisions for civic and voter education, these included the quality of information that the ZEC published, mostly through the use of online methods. For example, ZEC used infographics extensively, which made it easier for information to be assimilated by all age groups. Radio programmes were also aired, which is one of the most effective communication mediums in Zimbabwe because of its reach. Further ZEC also conducted roadshows, distributed Information, Education and Communication (IECs) materials in all the ten (10) provinces of Zimbabwe.

However, the involvement of stakeholders in voter education left a lot to be desired. For the 2023 Harmonised Elections, civic and voter education accreditation of ZESN as well as other CSOs was done very late by the ZEC. Most of the CSOs only received their accreditation certificates two weeks before Election Day and this meant that they were only able to engage in very minimal to no voter education for the elections.

⁹⁵<https://zimbabwe.ec-undp-electoralassistance.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2018/08/ec-unpd-jtf-zimbabwe-zec-voter-education-handbook.pdf>

13.2 VOTER EDUCATION ACCREDITATION

ZEC called for applications for organisations to be accredited to do voter education on 11 May 2023. For the 2023 Harmonised Elections, ZEC requested an interested organisation to be an association or Trust that is registered as a Private Voluntary Organisation (PVO) in terms of the Private Voluntary Organisations Act (Chapter 17:05); or registered in the Deeds Registry as a Trust. Further the ZEC requested that the organisation must be mandated by its constitution or Trust Deed, as the case may be, to provide voter education. Another request was for the applicants to furnish the Commission with all the names, addresses, citizenship or residence status and qualifications of the individuals who will conduct voter education and that these individuals must be citizens or permanent residents of Zimbabwe.

ZESN submitted its application for accreditation which included a list of names, residential addresses and education qualifications of its 76 voter educators from all the 10 provinces as part of the requirements. ZESN was further requested to submit written proof of registration as the documents were missing at the Government Deeds Offices. ZEC did not respond to the application until 5 August 2023, it was therefore difficult to do voter education without accreditation from the Commission. Thus ZESN's voter education efforts were hampered by the late accreditation.

13.3 VOTE IN PEACE CAMPAIGNS

To promote civic engagement and support democratic and participatory governance, ZESN conducted civic education programmes across the country in the run-up to the 2023 Harmonised Elections. The Civic and Voter Education (CVE) programmes were informed by the CSOs Civic and Voter Education Strategy that was coordinated and developed by ZESN. The CSOs civic education programmes sought to encourage citizens to participate in key electoral processes such as, voter registration,⁹⁶ inspection of the voters roll, voting as part of their civic rights.

In spite of the late accreditation, ZESN conducted a robust civic education campaign under the theme "**Vote in Peace**" which the organisation launched on 24 June at Cowdray Park in Bulawayo and 1 July at Hopley in Harare. The launches were attended by over 5,000 people. After the launches, there were other campaigns in Mashonaland West, Mashonaland East, Masvingo, Manicaland, Matabeleland South and North as well as Midlands Provinces. The only Province that did not have the *Vote in Peace* campaign was Mashonaland Central because the police did not clear the roadshow campaign. The campaigns in all the other Provinces attracted large crowds as famous artistes were hired to provide edutainment. Such artistes include Killer-T, Mark Ngwazi, Blessing Shumba, Van Choga and many others. IEC materials such as anti-violence flyers, branded caps, wrappers, and T-shirts were also disseminated during the roadshows. There were outside broadcasting and radio crossovers during roadshows which gave ZESN and its members an opportunity to disseminate peace messages live on radio and allowed the communities to be in touch with their favourite radio stations.

Other civic education programmes conducted by the ZESN included community meetings in all the 10 Provinces, dissemination of flyers and posters that had messages on the effects of political violence in six (6) languages; Shona, Ndebele, Tonga, Shangani, Venda, Nambya and English. ZESN also produced videos and jingles urging people to vote in peace.⁹⁷ The Shona jingle and video was done by Jah Master and the Ndebele video and jingle were done by IYASA Group. The jingles were circulated on social media, Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC) TV and 3K Network television stations and radio stations such as; Star FM, ZiFM, Skyz Metro, Bayethe, Platinum, Diamond FM, Ya FM and 98.4 FM among others. There were also video skits by popular comedians such as Sabhuku Vharazipi,⁹⁸ Mama Vee⁹⁹ and Mahlalela who worked with ZESN to promote the Vote in Peace campaigns. The videos were circulated on social media platforms.

⁹⁶https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bh-0DZyna_s

⁹⁷<https://youtu.be/2be6k-mFzTY>

⁹⁸https://youtu.be/d6M0GwMhbYU?si=trRKQxouIP-p4T_X

⁹⁹<https://www.facebook.com/MasasiASabhukuVharazipiNambuyaMaiJohnNaChairman/videos/5015028788620781>

⁹⁹<https://www.facebook.com/themhosva/videos/322729766873136>

VOTE IN PEACE CAMPAIGNS *(Cont...)*

Further, ZESN conducted a series of radio programmes with Platinum FM, Capital FM, Hevoi FM, Yes Trust online Radio, SKYZ Metro and Diamond FM. The programmes highlighted people's voices from different backgrounds calling for peaceful campaigns. The people interviewed included ZESN members and non-members from PwDs, women and the youth. They discussed the effects of violence on electoral processes and suggested ways to end electoral violence. Further, ZESN used social media to disseminate adverts of its radio programmes, still images, and posters on various aspects of the electoral processes.

13.4 OTHER CSOS-VOTER EDUCATION ACTIVITIES

Pursuant with the CSOs Civic and Voter Education Strategy other CSOs conducted various voter education activities aimed at their various eclectic audiences. These CSOs included YETT, Youth Empowerment Transformation Trust Women in Leadership and Development (WILD), Women in Politics Support Unit (WIPSU), The Zimbabwe Human Rights Association (ZimRights), Women's Academy for Leadership and Political Excellence (WALPE), Deaf Zimbabwe Trust (DZT) and Women's Coalition of Zimbabwe (WCoZ) among others. The women's rights organisations WILD, WIPSU, WALPE and WCOZ pursued civic and voter education activities that aimed to strengthen women's participation in electoral processes not only as voters but as engaged citizens who have an interest in governance issues in their communities and within the Nation as a whole.

Youth-focused, and youth-led CSOs had very little time to conduct comprehensive voter education targeting young people because of the late Voter Education accreditation by the ZEC. The huge figure of 92,000 rejected votes witnessed during the August 2023 Harmonised Elections, may be attributed to limited access to comprehensive voter education amongst the electorate including first-time voters, most of whom were the youth. However, in the limited time, the YETT pursued similar interventions focused on the youth as did DZT focusing on PwDs across the country. These organisations distributed information through community meetings, door to door campaigns, roadshows, IEC materials, radio programmes, and print media along with electronic and social media.

CIVIL SOCIETY PARTICIPATION 14

14.1 PRIVATE VOLUNTARY ORGANISATION (PVO) AMENDMENT BILL

On 5 November 2021, the Zimbabwe government gazetted a Private Voluntary Organisation (PVO) Amendment Bill but it had not yet been passed by the time of going to the polls. The Bill aims at making Zimbabwe comply with the Financial Action Task Force (FATF) recommendation number 8. Recommendation 8 is of particular interest to NGOs, as it requires regulators of Non-Profit Organisations (NPOs) to review the laws and legislations so that NPOs cannot be abused by terrorist organisations. However, when drafting the amendment of the PVO Bill, the government took an opportunity to insert provisions, which have far-reaching consequences that give the government wide powers to interfere with CSOs. The Bill was submitted to the President for his assent by the 9th Parliament, the President in-turn referred back the Bill for further debate or consideration by the 10th Parliament.

CIVIL SOCIETY PARTICIPATION (Cont...)

If the Bill is enacted into Law, in its current state, it would provide the government with wide powers to interfere in CSOs' governance and activities. Firstly, Private Voluntary Organizations (PVOs) will need the permission of the government to effect any material change to the organisation such as management and funding. Furthermore, the government would have the power to label any PVO as “*high risk*” or “*vulnerable*” to terrorism abuse, as a result registration of the organisation will be revoked. The Bill also includes criminal liability of the management of the organisations for failure to comply with the law including imprisonment. Finally, the Bill contains provisions that allow for the banning of CSOs from “*engaging in political activities*”, a broad and vague concept that could include legitimate human rights activities.

MEDIA AND ELECTIONS 15

15.1 LEGAL FRAMEWORK OF THE MEDIA

The Media have a critical role to play in the conduct of democratic elections in Zimbabwe and in any given country. The media, in all its forms, plays a complex and critical role in the electoral process, providing information to voters and a platform for political parties and candidates. Moreover, the media serves as a watchdog throughout the electoral cycle. Media freedom is fundamental in promoting the civil and political rights and liberties enshrined in the Constitution of Zimbabwe.

The Constitution, the Electoral Act Section 160 E-K and S.Is set out provisions on how the Media ought to cover and flight adverts on elections and political parties.

Section 155 (2) (d) of the Constitution on Principles of Electoral System states that *the State must take all appropriate measures, including legislative measures, to ensure that effect is given to the principles set out in subsection (1) and, in particular, must ...provide all political parties and candidates contesting an election or participating in a referendum with fair and equal access to electronic and print media, both public and private.*

The Constitution also provides for freedom of expression and freedom of the media in Section 61 and this right extends to all media, both private and publicly owned. The Constitution however places a special mandate on State-owned media to be free to determine editorial content, be impartial and provide fair opportunity for the presentation of divergent views and dissenting opinions. This distinction between the private and public media and their responsibilities is important in reflecting on the role that each media plays in political and election reporting.

Furthermore, Statutory Instrument 33 of 2008 sets regulations on: Election programmes to be broadcast, equitable allocation of airtime especially on the public broadcaster; election adverts; the media's conduct in an election; and an appeal mechanism for aggrieved parties.

Zimbabwe is a party to regional instruments that recognise the need for equitable, fair, and balanced media coverage for political parties and candidates. The SADC Electoral guidelines, under Section 2.1.5, require Member States to ensure “*Equal opportunity for all political parties to access the state media*”, while Section 160J of the Electoral Act requires all media outlets both print and electronic to ensure that “*all political parties and candidates are treated equitably in the news media, in regard to the extent, timing and prominence of the coverage accorded to them...*” The African Charter on Democracy, Governance and Elections (ACDEG) in Chapter 7 Article 17 (3) states that “*Member States should ensure fair and equitable access by contesting parties and candidates to state-controlled media during elections.*” History of media coverage of Zimbabwe's elections since 2000.

MEDIA AND ELECTIONS (Cont...)

From 1980 when Zimbabwe attained its independence until 2013, Zimbabwe's old Constitution protected freedom of expression in Section 20, although freedom of the media was not expressly provided for. Until 2000, there was no media-specific legislation, and no specific rules relating to reporting by the media during an election. International standards on election reporting were therefore used to measure media performance. The legislative environment, however, changed over the years, with various pieces of legislation introduced in 2001.

The introduction of the Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act (AIPPA) had the effect of closing the media space, particularly the space in which the private media was operating. The closure of *The Daily News* in 2003 followed by other publications such as *The Tribune* and *Weekly Times* saw the dominance of government-controlled public media in elections held from 2005 onwards. The main trend in election news reporting saw an increasingly polarised media environment. Public media, particularly the ZBC, maintained a pro-ruling party editorial slant from 2000 to 2008.

In 2013, the Zimbabwe Media Commission (ZMC) which is the ZEC's media monitoring partner during elections as provided for by the Electoral Act noted in its 2013 report that *"the media has neither been fair, objective nor factual in the coverage of political parties and players"*. The report noted that Zimpapers newspapers supported ZANU-PF and the private papers endorsed MDC-T. Their conclusion, however, was that this had resulted in an *"unintentional balance"* in the mainstream media in coverage of the two parties.

Zimbabwe's 2018 Harmonised Elections presented a unique opportunity for the media to redeem itself through fair, balanced and equitable coverage. In previous election periods, the local media received severe criticism for their excessively partisan positions, which had been characterised by hate speech, editorialised news content, sensationalism, bias and even fake news. But once again, the media was generally skewed in support of the MDC Alliance and ZANU-PF. The public broadcaster was in favour of ZANU-PF, while the print media was polarised between pro-MDC-A (private print) and ZANU-PF (public print).

In 2018 after the proclamation of the Harmonised Elections, the Firine Trust operating under the name Veritas made an application to the High Court in public interest alleging the partisan coverage of elections by the ZBC and Zimpapers. In its ruling, the Court stated that partisan broadcasting and skewed reporting lead to polarity and threaten national peace, there is no other possible remedy but to interdict the wrongful conduct.¹⁰⁰

Public interest litigation from Veritas in 2019 resulted in High Court Judge Justice Joseph Mafusire, issuing a judgement dated 19 June 2019,¹⁰¹ which ruled that ZBC and Zimpapers acted unconstitutionally during Zimbabwe's 2018 elections as they failed to provide a fair opportunity for the presentation of divergent views and dissenting opinions. As a result, the public broadcaster was ordered to issue a broadcasting schedule reflecting inclusivity in news gathering and visibility of political parties.

In the 2022 by-elections, there was a general lack of pluralism. CCC, MDC-A, and ZANU-PF were given 93% of the coverage. Most of the other political parties were mentioned at nomination and when results were announced. There was limited pluralism in the reporting of political actors on the 19 news platforms monitored. Even though all 17 political entities contesting the election received some media coverage, only four (24%) political parties got at least 1% coverage of all aggregated by-election stories monitored.

¹⁰⁰ See <Firine Trust & Others v ZBC & Others HC230/18>

¹⁰¹ <https://data.misa.org/en/entity/fg6tjox44n7>

MEDIA AND ELECTIONS (Cont...)

15.2 ACCREDITATION OF JOURNALISTS

Currently, the accreditation of media practitioners for the purposes of covering elections is cumbersome, because a media practitioner has to be accredited by two separate institutions; the ZMC and the ZEC. In addition, some media practitioners expressed concern about the delays by the ZEC in processing accreditation for both local and foreign journalists. Some stakeholders who felt aggrieved took ZEC to court over this and related issues. For instance, the Young Journalists Association of Zimbabwe (YOJA) filed an urgent application with the High Court seeking an order compelling the ZEC to publish statistics on the accreditation of local and international journalists. YOJA also sought the Court to compel ZEC to institute the Media Complaints Committee in terms of the Electoral Act within 24 hours of the Court's order. YOJA argued that ZEC had failed to put vital measures and mechanisms in place concerning media coverage such as the Media Monitoring Committee. On 22 August 2023, the application was dismissed as not an urgent matter and the Court ordered it be put on ordinary Court roll.¹⁰²

15.3 KEY FINDINGS FROM THE 2023 ELECTIONS COVERAGE BY THE MEDIA

15.3.1 MEDIA ENVIRONMENT

The media environment in the run-up to the 2023 Harmonised Elections was relatively peaceful. Through the efforts of the Media Alliance of Zimbabwe (MAZ) and Police Media Engagement, there was a common position and consensus reached between the ZRP and journalists for a cordial working relationship. The Police and journalists engaged countrywide on forums to ensure there was no violence against journalists when covering elections.

While this is commendable, a ZESN member, the Media Monitors (MM) noted four (4) flashpoints in which there were violations against journalists, these are recorded in the table below:

Table 5: Violations Against Journalists

Personnel/date	Perpetrator	Incident
Freelance journalist (05/07/23)	ZANU -PF activists	Freelance journalist was denied access to cover ZANU -PF rally in Mutare addressed by ZANU -PF VP Constantino Chiwenga, despite presenting accreditation and in visible press jacket ¹⁰³
Freelance journalist (17/07/23)	ZANU -PF activists	Three freelance journalists were assaulted by ZANU -PF activists in Bulawayo while covering violent clashes between the activists and vendors ¹⁰⁴
Bustop TV media journalist (23/08/23)	ZEC Presiding Officer	ZEC Presiding Officer at a polling station in Makoni district, ordered journalists to move 300m away despite being accredited by ZEC ¹⁰⁵
Masvingo Mirror journalists (22&23/08/23)	ZEC Presiding Officer and ZRP officers	Three journalists from Masvingo Mirror were denied access to and permission to record footage of polling stations preparedness in Ward 9, Masvingo ¹⁰⁶

MEDIA AND ELECTIONS (Cont...)

15.3.2 | ELECTORAL COVERAGE

Media coverage was skewed in favour of ZANU-PF which had 63% coverage, followed by CCC with 20%, UZA 5%. The remaining 23 parties had media coverage accounting for 12%. Emmerson Mnangagwa of ZANU-PF had the lion's share of media publicity amongst presidential candidates with 58%, and Nelson Chamisa of CCC had 17%. The other 8 candidates settled for 25%. State-owned media had more coverage (77% on ZBC; 58% in public newspapers). However public broadcasters flighted CCC adverts in most cases after a series of ZANU-PF adverts.

Public and privately owned broadcasters as well as public-owned print media had a positive tone for ZANU-PF, whilst CCC and Kasukuwere received coverage in privately owned print and online media. The media were mostly neutral when it came to other political parties. The public-owned media largely downplayed reports of violence. There was discord and disinformation in the media on who was responsible for instances of violence which occurred countrywide.

In terms of gender representation, there was gross marginalisation of women in elections coverage with women accounting for 12% of the recorded voices and men making up the majority at 88%. This can be attributed to the low number of women candidates who made up 11% compared to 89% males across all tiers of elections. Age dynamics reflected that youths made up 19% of news coverage, while those between 36-64 years accounted for 51% and those over 65 years accounted for 30%.

15.3.3 | ONLINE MEDIA

Online media played a significant role in the 2023 Harmonised Elections in Zimbabwe, offering an alternative option for citizens to access information about the electoral process. Online news websites provided real-time and vivid coverage of nomination day proceedings, which was not fully appreciated by the ZEC. While ZEC was more open to the mainstream media, online media sources largely came from citizens and political parties.

Despite the limited appreciation of their role, online media provided converged news dissemination approaches that included live streaming of the Nomination Court sitting, regular updates on voting day, live reporting of results announcements, and pre and post-elections press conferences by EOMs. Online platforms were also able to discuss and present key issues and challenges faced by voters such as lack of ballot papers and intimidation, covering the gap created by the sporadic updates by ZEC.

However, there was still a lack of diversity in terms of offering other political parties space, with other opposition political parties such as UZA, MRP, DOP, and NCA not receiving adequate coverage. It is important for media regulators and the ZEC Media Monitoring Committee to investigate these issues and ensure that all political parties and candidates are treated equitably in the news media.

15.3.4 | SOCIAL MEDIA

Social media provided the public and other stakeholders with a market place for diverse sources of election related discourse. Prominent platforms included Twitter, Facebook, and WhatsApp. New spaces of interaction also emerged and were utilised by CSOs, the electorate, and political parties such as TikTok, which is a short video platform.

¹⁰² <https://zimbabwe.misa.org/2023/08/22/journalists-urgent-application-referred-to-ordinary-court-roll/>

¹⁰³ https://zimbabwe.misa.org/media_violations/journalist-denied-access-to-zanu-pf-rally/

¹⁰⁴ https://zimbabwe.misa.org/media_violations/journalists-assaulted-by-zanu-pf-supporters/

¹⁰⁵ https://zimbabwe.misa.org/media_violations/journalists-ordered-to-move-away-from-polling-station/

¹⁰⁶ https://zimbabwe.misa.org/media_violations/masvingo-mirror-journalists-denied-access-to-polling-stations/

MEDIA AND ELECTIONS (Cont...)

In a country whose mainstream media is polarised, social media provided a space for alternative and direct communication for political parties and CSOs to reach out to electorate.

Through citizen journalists, social media was a key platform to expose political violence in Glenview, Harare and Chiredzi during the campaign period. On voting day, social media platforms were instrumental in documenting violations online. Key issues emerging from voting such as perceived voter suppression in Harare and Bulawayo, late opening of polling stations and voter intimidation in Murewa, Gutu and Norton were shared in real-time online.

Observers noted that social media platforms, while an information conveyor, were also a haven for information disorders such as fake news, disinformation, misinformation and malinformation. Information disorders also included gendered violence against women who were sought to participate in the elections such as Linda Masarira of LEAD, Elisabeth Valerio of UZA and threats of violence against CCC National Assembly candidates. ZEC Chair Justice Priscilla Chigumba was also a target for doxing, body shaming and defamation of character in particular towards and during voting, as well as the announcement of results.

Social media has limited mechanisms to curb hate speech, misogyny, fake news and this threatens the flow of credible information in the election process.

15.3.5 ADDITIONAL FINDINGS ABOUT THE PREVAILING MEDIA

The media, in particular broadcasters, did not pose significant questions to ZEC or investigate the causes for the delay in voting, on Election Day.

Media coverage was largely concentrated on two political parties ZANU-PF and CCC, limiting the other political parties in terms of visibility. This was coupled with the lack of coverage by mainstream media in remote and rural areas, with most concentration in urban areas.

The media coverage of elections concentrated much on Presidential candidates, over the National Assembly and Local Authority candidates. Across all media platforms, the activity of Presidential candidates generated the most coverage, with negative implications for widening democratic space and participation and probing the key issues affecting voters at a community level.

A key trend observed is that some candidates did not avail themselves for media appearances (debates, interviews, news gatherings) despite earlier arrangements, and assurances. Media outlets both in broadcasting and online reported that CCC candidates would for instance not avail themselves of online discussions. They would refer the media house to party spokespersons who were equally non-committal and oftentimes non-responsive.

INCLUSIVITY IN ELECTIONS 16

The inclusion of women, youth and persons with disabilities in the electoral process and candidates with the local government quota supposedly would guarantee a 30% increase in the representation of women in Local Government and further provide for the 10 youth to be elected to the National Assembly on a Party List basis, which must list male and female candidates alternatively. Overall, the insertion of this requirement of guaranteed youth representation in the National Assembly of Zimbabwe although only providing for 10 youth members is a progressive change that will increase the number of young people in the government thereby enhancing the democratic character of Zimbabwe's politics. This could lead to increased representation of young people in leadership positions in the national affairs of Zimbabwe including the electoral processes.

Lack of access, limited participation, and a hostile electoral environment are critical factors that impede the participation of women and marginalised groups in the electoral process. These are also exacerbated by the inherent socio-economic, political and psychological impediments to effective political participation which continue to hamper inclusivity in Zimbabwe's democratic system. How much access do women candidates and candidates from traditionally marginalised groups have to the media? How are women candidates portrayed in the media? What policy changes and practical steps are required to ensure full participation of women in the electoral process?

16.1 WOMEN AND ELECTIONS¹⁰⁷

Zimbabwe is a signatory to gender equality frameworks that promote women's participation and representation in politics at regional and international levels including the AU Declaration on the Principles Governing Democratic Elections in Africa (2002), ACDEG (2007), Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (The Maputo Protocol of 2003), the SADC Principles and Guidelines Governing Democratic Elections and SADC Protocol on Gender and Development (2008). These instruments are based on international foundation-setting instruments premised on the principles of non-discrimination and equal enjoyment of political rights as enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), and International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966).

The Constitution contains extensive provisions which, if fully implemented in word and spirit, are capable of bringing about equal participation of women in positions of leadership at every level and in every sector, as spelt out in Sections 17, 56 and 80. The Sections are prescriptive and set out standards for gender equality between the sexes and women's right to full participation in all spheres of society, especially women's right to equal opportunity in political, economic and social activities. The extension of the Women's Quota in the National Assembly for another two terms in Section 124 (b) and its expansion to Local Government and introduction of the Youth Quota through the Constitutional Amendment Number 2 of 2020 was supposed to be a positive step towards the attainment of 50/50 representation in decision making.¹⁰⁸

However, despite these progressive legal frameworks in place and the fact that women make up 52% of the population,¹⁰⁹ women's participation in the 23 and 24 August 2023 Harmonised Elections was significantly reduced at all levels than in the 2018 Harmonised Elections. Only one woman contested among the 11 Presidential candidates, Elisabeth Valerio of UZA. The second woman, Linda Masarira of LEAD, was denied registration on the grounds of not paying the registration fee. In the previous 2018 elections, out of the 23 Presidential candidates, four (4) were women.

¹⁰⁷ Section compiled by ZESN in partnership with its member the Women's Coalition of Zimbabwe and some of its members.

¹⁰⁸ Women and Law in Southern Africa, 'Development of a Gender Responsive Electoral Law Framework in Zimbabwe, 2020, p55.

¹⁰⁹ https://www.zimstat.co.zw/wp-content/uploads/Demography/Census/2022_PHC_Report_27012023_Final.pdf

INCLUSIVITY IN ELECTIONS (Cont...)

Fewer women candidates were contesting for the directly elected National Assembly parliamentary seats in the 23 and 24 August 2023 elections compared to previous elections. Out of 637 candidates, only 70 were female, which makes up just 11% of the total candidates. This is a decrease from the 14.4% of female candidates who contested in the 2018 National Assembly elections, where there were 237 out of 1648 candidates as *illustrated in the table below*.

Table 6: National Assembly Women Candidates

Province	Number of constituencies	Parties Contesting	Female Candidates
Bulawayo	12	12	16
Harare Metropolitan	30	8	14
Manicaland	26	7	4
Mashonaland Central	18	4	1
Mashonaland East	23	6	7
Mashonaland West	22	7	8
Masvingo	26	6	4
Matabeleland North	13	11	8
Matabeleland South	12	6	2
Midlands	28	8	7

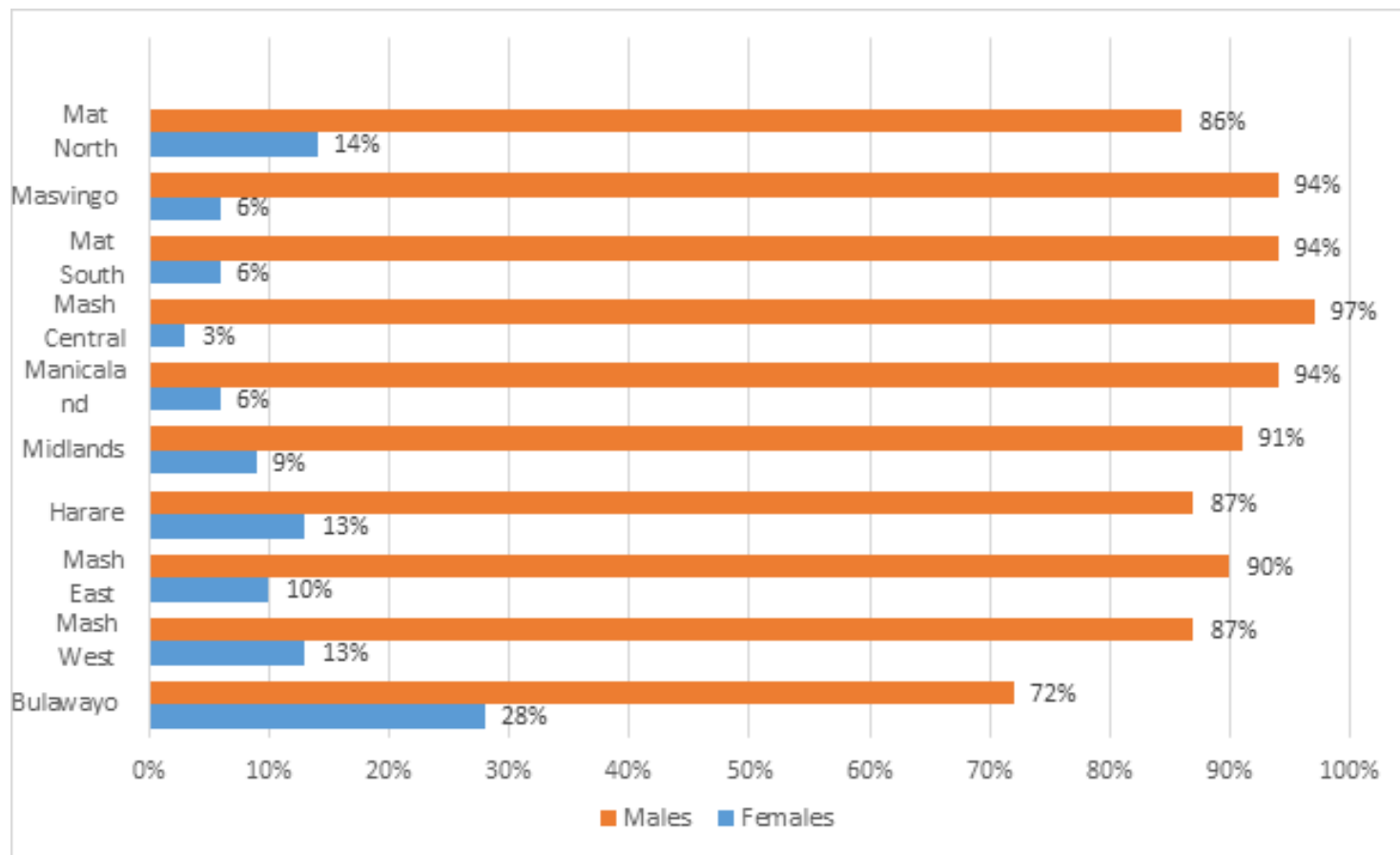
Source: ZEC

It is concerning to note that the two (2) main political parties, ZANU-PF and the CCC failed to uphold gender equality principles in their internal candidate selection processes which resulted in ZANU-PF fielding only 23 women (11%) and the CCC fielding only 20 women (10%) candidates for the National Assembly directly elected constituency seats. This is an indictment of the political unwillingness of both political parties to fully implement the 50/50 gender equality provisions spelt out in the Constitution of Zimbabwe.

INCLUSIVITY IN ELECTIONS (Cont...)

The graph below illustrates the statistics of male and female candidates for the National Assembly directly elected constituency seats per province.

Figure 1: Gender Disaggregation of Candidates in the Ten Provinces of Zimbabwe



Source: WLSA

The graph shows that Mashonaland Central had the lowest percentage of female candidates, in fact, there was only one (1) woman candidate in the whole Province with 18 Constituencies, who was fielded by CCC. Bulawayo Province had the highest number of female candidates with 16 women contesting for the 12 constituency seats.

According to the results announced by ZEC, only 22 women candidates were successfully duly elected as Members of Parliament; translating into 10% women representation in the National Assembly, meaning that only 30% of the women who contested won. This is a decrease from the 25 women (11.9%) who won seats in the National Assembly in the 2018 Harmonised Elections.

The table below illustrates the decrease in the number of women candidates who were successfully elected to the National Assembly constituency-based seats in 2023 versus 2018.

INCLUSIVITY IN ELECTIONS (Cont...)

Table 7: Number of Elected Women Candidates in the National Assembly in 2018 and 2023

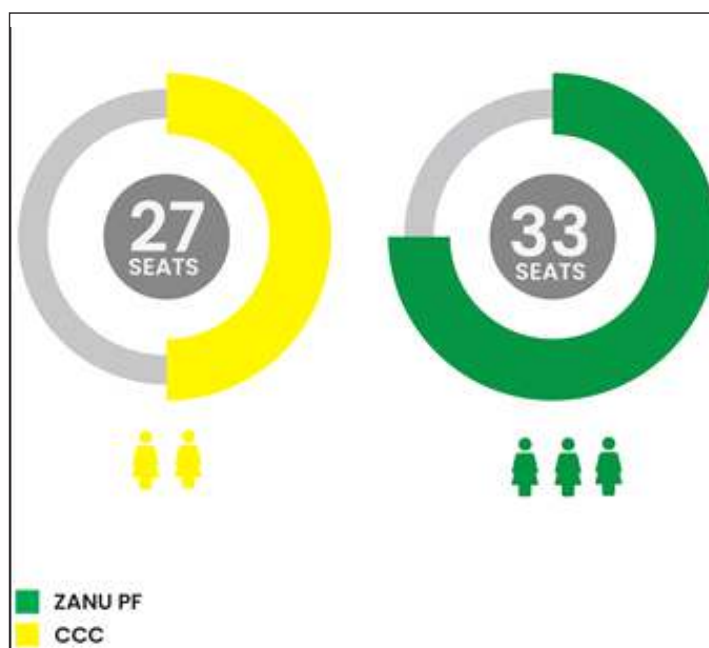
	2018 Elections			2023 Elections		
Province	Females	Males	Total Seats	Females	Males	Total Seats
Bulawayo	3	9	12	3	9	12
Harare	5	24	29	4	26	30
Manicaland	3	23	26	3	23	26
Mashonaland Central	0	18	18	0	18	18
Mashonaland East	4	19	23	2	21	23
Mashonaland West	3	19	22	3	19	22
Masvingo	2	24	24	2	23	26
Matabeleland North	3	10	13	2	11	13
Matabeleland South	1	12	13	0	12	12
Midlands	1	27	28	3	25	28
Total	25	185	210	22	187	210

Source: ZEC

From the above analysis it is concerning to note that there has been a steady decline of the number of women contesting as candidates in political parties. The number of women who were successfully elected to directly elected seats continues to decrease as depicted above. In 2018 there were 25 directly elected women candidates, for the 2023 Harmonised Elections it fell to 22 directly elected female candidates. This is in part attributable to the tendency of political parties insisting that female candidates who exhibit political acumen move to fill the quota system seats to ease the competition for direct seats for male candidates.

The graph below illustrates that of the 60 Women's Quota seats, CCC had 27 and ZANU-PF 33 seats. In comparison with the 2018 Women's Quota, ZANU-PF had 35 seats while MDC-Alliance had 24 and MDC-T had one (1) seat. Combined, the two (2) opposition had 25 and the current opposition has gained two (2) seats while ZANU-PF has lost two (2) seats.

Figure 2: Women's Quota 2023



INCLUSIVITY IN ELECTIONS (Cont...)

The effectiveness and efficacy of the quota system to advance the participation of marginalised groups (women, youth, and persons with disabilities) was extensively debated in the period leading to the 2023 Harmonised Elections. There is a worrying trend since the introduction of the Women's Quota seats in 2013. The current status quo in Zimbabwe shows that there are barriers that exist in preventing women from participating in politics and that they have been reinforced over the years and will require a multifaceted approach to propel an increase in the representation of women in public political office.

16.1.1 VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IN ELECTIONS (VAWIE)

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) stipulates that VAWIE is '*any random or conspiratorial act to discourage, suppress or prevent women from exercising their electoral rights as voters, aspiring candidates, candidates, supporters, election workers, observers, journalists or public officials*'. VAWIE therefore is a human rights violation and ultimately a threat to democracy and sustainable development.¹¹⁰

In Zimbabwe the convergence of traditional patriarchal gender stereotypes and societies that are historically accustomed to gender-based violence prevents women from claiming their political rights in democratic processes. Given these strong patriarchal norms and values, sexual harassment and assault of *aspiring female candidates, candidates, supporters, voters and women election workers*, during the election period comprise of verbal threats and intimidation, emotional and psychological abuse among others aimed at discouraging women from participating in electoral processes. Smear campaigns and defamation of character against female candidates and politicians are often used and in the run-up to the 2023 Harmonised Elections, they intensified and reached unprecedented levels.

For example in March 2023, Sandra Ndebele won the ZANU-PF primary election for Ward 30 local authority in Bulawayo and was denigrated on social media and labelled a 'prostitute', denigrating her body structure.¹¹¹ In addition, Dr Joice Mujuru, Priscilla Misihairabwi, Justice Priscilla Chigumba, Joanna Mamombe and Fadzayi Mahere experienced hypersexualization in the run-up to the 2018 elections. The March 2022, by-elections saw many women, among them Dr Thokozani Khupe retreating into cocoons for fear of being called the "H" word.¹¹²

Another incident took place in Bulawayo Metropolitan where Jasmine Toffa a Member of Parliament was attacked during the violent clashes in Insiza Ward 4 during the run-up to the October 2022 by-elections. These violent clashes have the potential to adversely affect the participation in democratic electoral processes of the electorate, particularly vulnerable groups.

Additionally, with the rise of social media, more women politicians and candidates faced threats, doxing, smear campaigns, and sexualized abuse online. This can have a chilling effect on women's political participation. Name-calling of some women candidates affects positive campaigns. A case in point is of Linda Masarira, a female aspiring presidential candidate who confirmed that she was a victim of insurmountable online abuses. In 2022, a fast-food outlet, Mambo's Chicken's satirical marketing joke "*Masarira chii? We hope you bathed and went to church*" was centred on social media influencer's offensive attack on Linda Masarira's supposedly lack of a bath. While she dismissed some of these abuses as 'myopic archaic' she admitted that this affected zeal and focus.

¹¹⁰ See Women and Law in Southern Africa, 'Development of a Model Gender Responsive Electoral Law Framework in Zimbabwe, 2020, p 55. Also see IFES, 'Violence against Women in Elections in Zimbabwe: An IFES Assessment'. (July 2018).

¹¹¹ Commenting on Nick Mangwana's tweet, several people started calling Sandra Ndebele a prostitute. Nick Mangwana on Twitter: "Candidate Sandra Ndebele welcomes His Excellency to Bulawayo <https://t.co/dMzv9cZWef>" / X

¹¹² H is an acronym for hure which is a Shona word that describes a woman thought to be of loose morals or easy virtue commonly referred to in English as a prostitute

INCLUSIVITY IN ELECTIONS (Cont...)

In the run-up to the 2023 Harmonised Elections, ZESN LTOs reported on incidents of intimidation targeting female electoral contestants in their communities. Such actions were in breach of the Electoral Code of Conduct which required political tolerance. About 3% of the LTOs witnessed or heard of the use of abusive or threatening or insulting language against women candidates in their constituency. Further, 4% of the LTOs witnessed or heard of political party activities or events where candidates or supporters perpetuated gender stereotypes or sexist language. One such instance was reported in Norton (Mashonaland West Province), where at a ZANU-PF meeting held on 17 July in ward 4 of Norton Constituency, the CCC was described “*as a prostitute who did not deserve to be voted for.*”

The notable decline in women's participation can therefore be attributed to VAWIE in all its different forms. It is, however, important to note that VAWIE in 2023 took a new approach in terms of victims' response given the high literacy rates among women that have triggered litigations or Court cases by the affected women. In *Elisabeth Valerio v Presiding Officer of the Nomination Court and Ors* Judgement, the appellant challenged the decision of the Nomination Court denying her a chance to contest as the presidential aspirant in the 2023 Harmonized Elections.

Therefore, political and electoral-related violence undermines civil and political rights and affects citizens' right to compete in electoral processes; erodes trust in democratic processes; undermines the quality of democracy thereby, limiting inclusive participation and leading to voter apathy as it discourages the electorate, particularly women and people with disabilities to participate in electoral processes and leadership positions.

It is against this background that women's organisations and CSOs have been pushing for a number of ways to address the barriers to women's political participation which include the need to align the Electoral Act to the Constitution of Zimbabwe to specifically incorporate the gender equality provisions in sections, 3, 17, 56 and 80. Further, women have been calling for a complete overhaul of the electoral system from the hybrid system incorporating FPTP and PR to a purely PR-based electoral system therefore abolishing the Women's Quota seats at both Parliament and Local Government. To effectively implement the PR system, there are proposals to develop a system of delimitation constituencies and wards according to gender so that there are women-only seats and male-only seats which rotate after a period of 10 years. This will translate to 50/50 representation at both the Parliament and Local Government levels.

In addition, there were calls from stakeholders to compel the National Peace and Reconciliation Commission (NPRC) and the Zimbabwe Gender Commission (ZGC) to engage political parties on issues of VAWIE and to facilitate dialogue as well as offer possible solutions in order to prevent violent electoral and political conflicts in future elections.

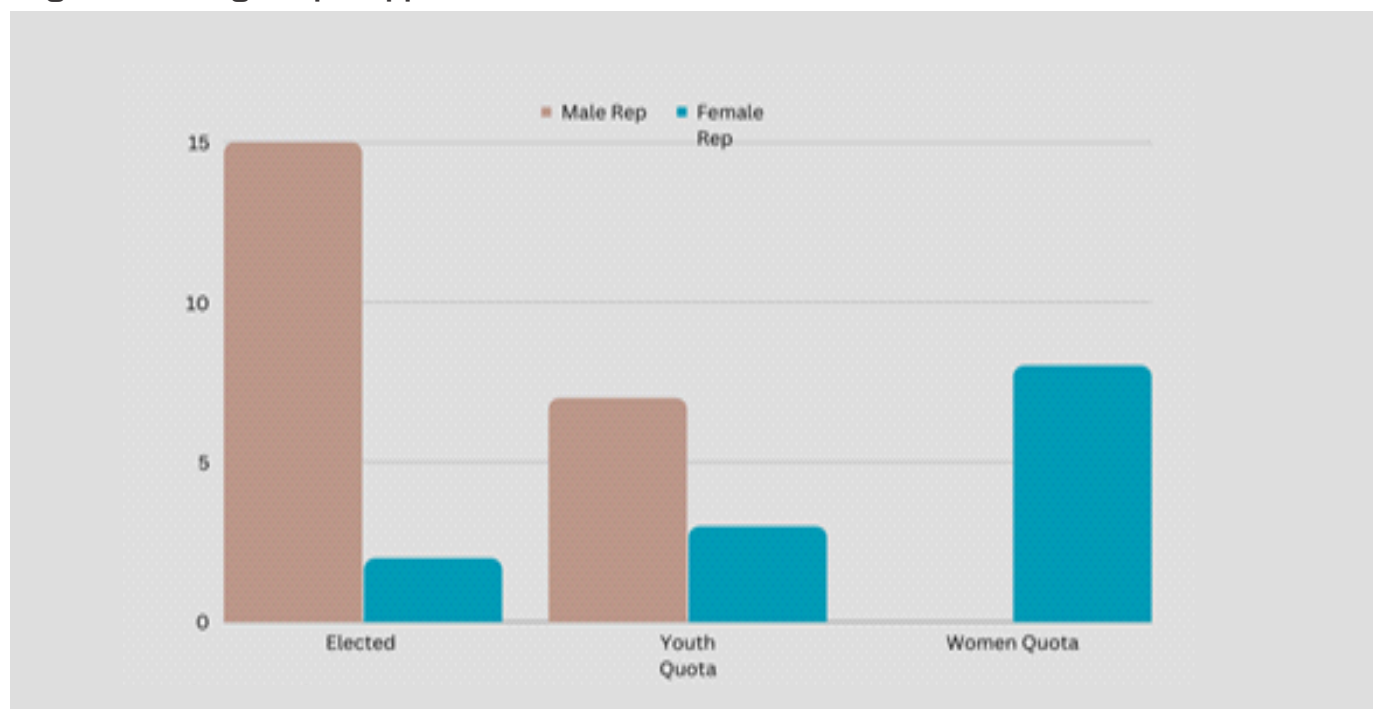
16.2 ■ YOUTH AND ELECTIONS¹¹³

Section 20 (1) of the Constitution of Zimbabwe defines youth as people between the ages of 15 and 35 years. Section 20 (1) (b) further states that “*the state and all institutions and agencies of government at every level must take reasonable measures, including affirmative action programmes to ensure that young people: have opportunities to associate and to be represented and participate in political, social, economic, and other spheres of life.*” Despite such progressive clauses, the 2023 Harmonised Elections results and the pre-and post-election events paint a bleak picture for youth electoral participation and representation in Zimbabwe.

¹¹³Section compiled by ZESN in partnership with its member Youth Empowerment Transformation Trust (YETT).

INCLUSIVITY IN ELECTIONS (Cont...)

Figure 3: Young People appointed as Members of Parliament



Youth MPs post the 2023 elections - Source YETT

As illustrated in Figure 1 above, only 35 young people made it into the National Assembly. Of these, 17 were elected directly, 10 came in through the Youth Quota and eight (8) through the Women's Quota. This represents 12.5% of the National Assembly of 280 members. Whilst this number represents a positive increase from the five (5) youth MPs in Parliament after the 2018 elections, it remains insignificant considering that young people in Zimbabwe account for over 60% of the national population.

Table 8: Young People Elected Under The youth Quota

Province	Candidate	Sex	Party
Bulawayo	Zana Sivina Evidence	F	CCC
Harare	Ngadziore Takudzwa Godfrey	M	CCC
Manicaland	Sakupwanya Stanley	M	ZANU-PF
Mashonaland Central	Raradza Emmerson	M	ZANU-PF
Mashonaland East	Mudowo Tawanda Titus	M	ZANU-PF
Mashonaland West	Ziyambi Mutsawashe Carl	M	ZANU-PF
Masvingo	Maunganidze Naledi Lindarose	F	ZANU-PF
Matabeleland North	Sibanda Lovejoy	F	CCC
Matabeleland South	Mushipe Tinashe Tafadzwa	M	ZANU-PF
Midlands	Mnangagwa Kudakwashe David	M	ZANU-PF

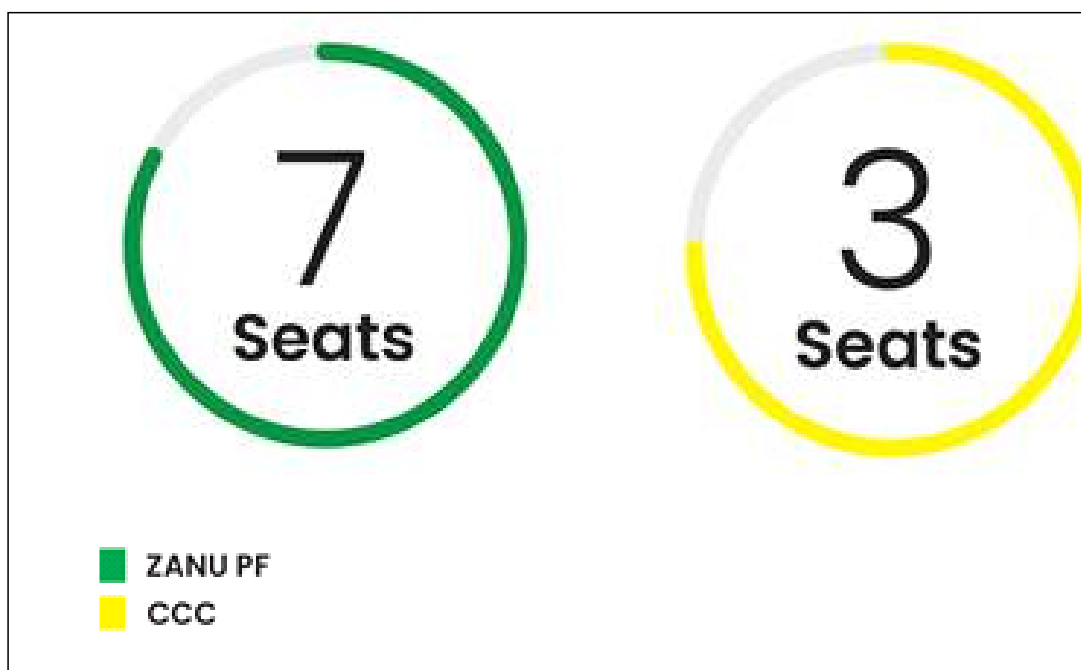
Source: ZEC

INCLUSIVITY IN ELECTIONS (Cont...)

Only three (3) out of the 10 youth MPs elected under the Youth Quota are female. CCC has two (2) females and ZANU-PF has one (1) with the rest being males. This contradicts Sections 17, 56 and 80 of the Constitution of Zimbabwe which call for gender equality in all sectors including politics.¹¹⁴

The diagram below illustrates that the main two political parties i.e. ZANU-PF and CCC have representation in the National Assembly under the Youth Quota. ZANU-PF had seven (7) seats and CCC had three (3) seats.

Figure 4: Distribution of Youth Quota seats by political party in the National Assembly



16.2.1 FINANCIAL HURDLES ASSOCIATED WITH CANDIDATE NOMINATION PROCESSES

Amongst other things, this low number of youth in political office can be attributed to the exorbitant nomination fees¹¹⁵ stipulated by the ZEC for the 2023 Harmonised Elections under S.I 144 of 2022. The new nomination fees presented a significant financial hurdle for most young people interested in vying for National Assembly or ward councillor positions. Despite being challenged in Court, the new nomination fees were upheld by the ConCourt. This was despite the numerous calls by youth CSOs to revise downwards these nomination fees. For greater inclusion of youth political office aspirants, there is a need to review the nomination fees downwards and categorise them to match regional best practices.

16.3 PERSONS WITH DISABILITIES (PWDS)¹¹⁶

Persons with Disabilities (PwDs) in Zimbabwe were excluded and marginalised in electoral processes as voters and candidates. While progress has been made in the appointment of a Commissioner with a disability, there are several issues that need to be addressed for electoral processes to be inclusive. The National Disability Policy (NDP) defines disability as “persons with disabilities including those who have long-term physical, mental, intellectual or sensory impairments which in interaction with various barriers may hinder their full and effective participation in society on an equal basis with others.

INCLUSIVITY IN ELECTIONS (Cont...)

"PwDs face attitudinal, communication, institutional and physical barriers that affect equal access to political and electoral processes. Jane Lord et al¹¹⁷ note that emerging practice around the world has shown that PwDs can be successfully incorporated in all phases of the electoral process if the political will is present at all levels.

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Current disability inclusion discourse in Zimbabwe on electoral processes is focused on physical access as opposed to holistic inclusion of all disabilities including sensory and invisible disabilities. This was evidenced on the voter education billboards made by ZEC which showed persons with physical disabilities. PwDs are not a homogenous group and the diversity calls for various measures to be taken to be inclusive. In 2013, Zimbabwe adopted a new Constitution and ratified the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD). Article 29 of the Convention provides for participation in political and public life.¹¹⁸

Article 29 of the CRPD addresses the design and implementation of electoral processes to ensure non-discrimination, requiring states to provide voters with disability-related accommodations and other measures to enable equal right to vote.¹¹⁹ Zimbabwe has made progress in other areas such as the provision of sign language interpreters in some election broadcasts, the provision of special queues for PwDs and the elderly, disability provisions in the Elections Manual for the ZEC polling day officials and the visibility of PwDs in voter education. While these were progressive measures that have taken place, there are still significant areas that need to be dealt with to ensure that PwDs are included in electoral processes.

16.3.1 STATISTICS AND DISAGGREGATION OF DATA BY DISABILITY

According to ZimStats PwDs in Zimbabwe constitute an estimated 9.3% a significant part of the population. This number has not been reflected in the number of PwDs registered as voters, candidates and elected representatives with disabilities. The ZEC provided the statistics of PwDs registered as voters in 2018 as 29 990 and in 2023, there were no statistics on the number of PwDs registered as voters. Lack of disaggregated information results in the inability of CSOs and key electoral stakeholders to prepare to serve PwDs and to meet their diverse needs.

¹¹⁴ Zimbabwe constitutional institutions supporting democracy such as Chapter 12 Commissions in Zimbabwe

¹¹⁵ Through S.I 144 of 2022 Presidential Office - USD 20 000 up from USD 1 000 charged in 2018 and National Assembly aspirants paying USD 1 000 up from USD 50.

¹¹⁶ Section compiled by ZESN in partnership with the Deaf Zimbabwe Trust

Lord, JE, MA Stein and JN Fiala-Butora (2014) Facilitating an equal right to vote for persons with disabilities, Journal of Human Rights Practice, 6(1) pg 115-139 downloaded 19/09/2020

¹¹⁷ https://www.ndi.org/sites/default/files/Equal-Access_How-to-include-PWD-in-elections-political-processes.pdf

¹¹⁸ <https://iris.who.int/bitstream/handle/10665/365955/9789240067479-eng.pdf?sequence=1>

¹¹⁹ World Health Organisation, Function and disaggregation tool FD11, Implementation Guide 2022.

INCLUSIVITY IN ELECTIONS (Cont...)

In addition, ZEC and political parties did not disaggregate candidates by disability. This meant that it was not possible to analyse how many persons with disabilities successfully lodged their nomination papers. This is not in line with the Sustainable Development Goals of leaving no one behind. Disaggregated data is fundamental to identifying the inequities that people with disabilities face globally as well as their magnitude.¹²⁰ Disaggregating data by disability would have enabled ZEC and political parties as well as CSOs to understand the patterns hidden by the data provided. Disaggregation by disability would unmask the inequalities thus showing what needs to be done to support greater inclusion of PwDs. In order to get the number of PwDs contesting the elections, CSOs working with PwDs in Zimbabwe made calls for candidates with disabilities and only 15 PwDs came through and these were nominated for the PR seats, not direct elections. Most candidates with disabilities were placed in the Provincial Council seats. Anecdotal evidence from PwDs has shown that political parties think that having a candidate with a disability is “wasting” seats.

16.3.2 THE LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK FOR INCLUSIVE ELECTORAL AND POLITICAL PROCESS

Zimbabwe has a progressive Constitution on disability issues and has signed the Convention on the CRPD. The challenge within the legislative process is that Zimbabwe has not aligned the Disabled Persons Act of 1992 with the Constitution and 10 years have passed since the adoption of the Constitution. While Zimbabwe has signed and ratified the CRPD, it has not domesticated the CRPD in the Disabled Persons Act. In 2021, Zimbabwe launched the National Disability Policy (NDP), a progressive document which includes the provisions in the CRPD. The downside is that the NDP is not justiciable though it is an important policy document. The Electoral Act does not provide wholesome provisions for disability except for the provision of assisted voters.

16.3.3 VIOLATION OF THE SECRECY OF THE VOTE FOR THE BLIND

In 2018, Abraham Mateta sought the Court to compel the ZEC and Government of Zimbabwe to put in place measures to ensure that persons with visual impairment vote in secrecy. ZEC cited time and resource constraints to implement a secret ballot for persons with visual impairment. Unfortunately, five (5) years later in 2023, nothing was done to change the situation. The Electoral Act needs to be amended to include provisions for persons with visual impairment to vote in secret.

16.3.4 OBSERVATION OF THE ELECTION OF 2 SENATORS REPRESENTING PWDS

The Constitution provides for (two) 2 Senators representing PwDs. The population of PwDs in Zimbabwe is 9.3% and this is not reflected in representation in the National Assembly. The burden of representation has been placed on the two (2) senators and their placement in the Senate is not strategic which makes it necessary to have more PwDs elected in Parliament to ease the burden of representation.

The process of electing Senators representing PwDs though conducted early on 26 August 2023 was fraught with problems. The process started later than scheduled. Some delegates were denied the vote on the basis that their organisations were not part of the Electoral College. It was observed that some people who had been nominated by their organisations were not on the final nomination list because they had not signed their acknowledgement of the nomination. Some delegates expressed displeasure with the way the election was conducted, particularly the Electoral College. There were also questions on how an organisation qualifies to be in the Electoral College and who they represent. After the election, a Court application was launched to challenge the process and the results of the election.

¹²⁰World Health Organisation, Function and disaggregation tool FD11, Implementation Guide 2022,

INCLUSIVITY IN ELECTIONS (Cont...)

The 2023 Harmonised Elections were a high-stakes election and as a result, PwDs were elbowed out of the process. While Zimbabwe has made progress in ensuring disability-related inclusivity compared to the previous elections, there has been regression, especially with regards to the provision of sign language and simplified information in this election. All electoral stakeholders' especially political parties and ZEC, need to be intentional and proactive about the inclusion of PwDs in electoral processes. The presence of political will, will enable PwDs to be prioritised in electoral processes.

ELECTION DAY OBSERVATIONS 17

Following an invitation by ZEC, ZESN deployed a total of 6,500 Short-Term Observers (STOs) to observe the 23 August 2023 Harmonised Elections. These observers were assigned to polling stations across the country, Ward Collation Centres, and Constituency Collation Centres while some were mobile or roving observers. In addition, ZESN-ERC partnered with ERC in deploying sample-based observers to observe Election Day processes. Below are highlights from the reports received from observers deployed on Election Day:

17.1 OPENING

According to Section 53 of the Electoral Act, *'a polling station shall be open continuously from 7.00 a.m. to 7.00 p.m. on a polling day unless if a Constituency Elections Officer determines that it is not possible to open a polling station at 7.00 a.m., he or she shall fix such later opening time as will enable him or her to keep the polling station open for at least twelve hours continuously on a polling day.*

17.1.1 LATE OPENING OF SOME POLLING STATIONS

The 2023 election was an outlier to Zimbabwe's normally efficient Election Day management with regard to polling station opening and adherence to stipulated polling procedures. ZESN observed that a significant number of polling stations - mostly in urban centres particularly Bulawayo, Harare and Manicaland Provinces - opened late. At least 11% of observers across the country reported that their polling station did not open until after 8.00 am. Over 7% of observers reported significant delays with some polling stations opening after 7.00 pm. In essence, some polling stations commenced counting of votes even before other polling stations had opened.

For instance, in Harare Metropolitan Province, ZESN observers at Maranatha School polling station, voting commenced at 3.00 pm; at Gwinyiro in Glen View as well as Budiro North the voting process commenced at 4.00 pm. At polling stations in Cold Comfort, Highfields, Mabelreign and Budiro voting only started after 7:30 pm due to delays in the delivery of Local Authority ballot papers. In extreme cases, voting commenced around midnight, for instance, several polling stations in Kuwadzana only received the required ballot papers around 11.00 pm.

Whilst late opening affected mostly polling stations in urban centres, similar challenges were faced in some rural areas. For instance in Manicaland Province at Chidawanyika Village polling station in Mutasa Central voting commenced after 7:30 pm. Similar challenges were also faced in Chipinge and Chimanmani. ZESN observers also reported that the same; in Harare Glen View 4 Primary School, Warren Park, Haig Park Primary School, Glen Norah among others; Tsvingwe Primary School in Mutasa South, Mutasa Central, Dangamvura, St Paul, Bait Hall and Rujeko in Mutare, Manicaland Province, Baines Primary School and Queen Elizabeth Primary- Nkulumane in Bulawayo Metropolitan province among others.

ELECTION DAY OBSERVATIONS (Cont...)

ZEC gave assurances that all polling stations that opened on time would have their voting time extended by the length of the delay to allow the polling stations to run for 12 continuous hours. Despite the guaranteed extension of voting time by ZEC, the voting hours were extended into the night, and in some instances into the early morning hours of the next day.

The acute disparity of voting delays between urban centres and the rest of the country raised questions regarding voter equity and access. With some polling stations delaying opening by over 12 hours, reports from ZESN observers indicated that some people left the polling stations without casting their votes. Others were forced to endure lengthy waiting periods in the scorching heat of the day.¹²¹ Perhaps the electoral law needs to be amended to allow for a postponement of voting into the next day because opening polling stations late at night and early hours of the day potentially disenfranchised the youth and women as their personal safety could not be guaranteed if they tried to physically present themselves at polling stations at such hours.

17.1.2 LATE OPENING OF SOME POLLING STATIONS

Further, ZESN received verified information¹²² that the late opening of polling stations affected the ability of PwDs to cast their vote, especially if they needed a person to assist them in voting. Anecdotal evidence shows that a significant number of PwDs could not vote as their assistants were not patient enough to wait to vote. In addition, night travelling is not safe for PwDs and there are dangers associated with voting at night hence a number of PwDs were disenfranchised.¹²³ The table below shows a summary of the opening status of polling stations per province released by ZEC on polling day.

Table 9: Summary Of The Opening Status Of Polling Stations Per Province

Province	Opening Status of Polling Stations at 7 am	Remarks
Masvingo	100%	
Midlands	99%	
Matabeleland North	100%	
Matabeleland South	100%	
Mashonaland Central	95%	
Mashonaland East	95%	
Mashonaland West	99%	
Manicaland	85%	
Bulawayo		75% opened at 0815 am -representing 21 wards out of 29
Harare	23%	Representing 18 wards out of 77

Source: ZEC

¹²¹https://www.sadc.int/sites/default/files/2023-08/ZIMBABWE%20SEOM%20-2023%20PRELIMINARY_STATEMENT-Revised%20adopted-25%20August%202023%2012pt.pdf

¹²²Information received from Deaf Zimbabwe Trust (DZT)

¹²³DZT

ELECTION DAY OBSERVATIONS *(Cont...)*

The ZEC acknowledged the late openings in polling and attributed it to missing local authority ballot papers as well as Electoral Court cases which took long to be resolved. While the polling stations which were affected by delays stayed open for a continuous twelve hours as provided by Section 53 (i) of the Electoral Act, the extension spilt over to the day after elections when the Electoral Act only envisages a situation where polling needs to be concluded on polling day.

To circumvent the violation of the Electoral Act, provisions on the voting day which by law was 23 August only, the President proclaimed 24 August 2023 as the second polling day through S.I 151 of 2023. The promulgation of the S.I was in accordance with section 38 (4) of the Electoral Act [Chapter 2:13] which gives the President power, by further proclamation in the Gazette, to alter any day, time or place fixed in terms of subsection (1) or (3) of section 38.

There were mixed interpretations of the S.I. and no adequate time to raise awareness, as some voters thought that the voting was continuing the following day during the usual voting hours. There were reports that some voters went home only to come back the following day when polling stations had closed.

17.1.2 POSTING OF VOTERS ROLL OUTSIDE THE POLLING STATIONS

ZEC's posting of the voters' roll outside of polling stations helped support voter information and participation, particularly since some voters had been shifted to new polling stations following the delimitation of electoral boundaries process. Posting of voters rolls outside polling stations is one of the progressive administrative reforms that the ZEC adopted since the 2018 Harmonised Elections. This is in line with best practices as it allows voters to check for their names before proceeding to vote or queueing at the wrong polling station.

17.1.3 POLLING STATIONS SETUP

For polling stations that opened on time, ZESN observers broadly reported that polling stations were set up so that voters could mark their ballot in secret, materials were present including the ZEC stamp for stamping ballot papers, the Biometric Voters Roll, indelible markers and ballot booths. Ballot boxes in all the polling stations that ZESN observed, were shown to be empty before being closed and sealed.

17.1.4 POLLING OFFICIALS

In the polling stations that opened on 23 August, the vast majority were sufficiently staffed with an average of eight electoral officials, with at least half of the officials being women. Approximately 40% of polling stations reported having a female Presiding Officer.

17.1.5 POLITICAL PARTY AGENTS

Political party agents form a crucial component of election transparency and play an important role in deterring fraud, verifying that proper processes and procedures are duly followed. ZESN observed the presence of party agents from both ZANU-PF and CCC parties in polling stations where they were deployed. Beyond the two major political parties, observers also noted the presence of party agents from other political parties in over half of the polling stations that they observed. ZESN commends political parties for fielding party agents as this allows them to track polling processes and their ability to make any interventions where necessary. Further, by observing the voting, counting and tabulation of results, it helps ensure that procedures are followed properly and increases transparency and confidence in the integrity of the process.

ELECTION DAY OBSERVATIONS (Cont...)

17.2 VOTING PROCESSES

ZESN observers reported that at most of the polling stations in rural areas, representatives of FAZ had a platform where they were allegedly recording voters' names before and after voting. Even though these allegations were refuted by both ZANU-PF and FAZ, arguing that they were information desks that sought to assist and direct their supporters, their mere presence was viewed by observers as intimidatory to the electorate and a campaign strategy on Election Day in violation of the Electoral Act which strictly prohibits campaigns on Election Day.¹²⁴

17.2.1 SHORTAGE OF BALLOT PAPERS

Zimbabwe uses the polling station-based voting system where there is only one place at which a voter can cast a vote – at the particular polling station on whose voters roll the voter's name appears. This was done to reduce and circumvent incidents of multiple voting. Ballot papers are therefore distributed according to the number of voters registered at each polling station with an allowance of extra ballot papers.

ZESN observers reported that in some polling stations, voting was temporarily stopped after running out of ballot papers. For example, at Maranatha Ward Command Centre in Harare West, voting which commenced around 3.00 pm was temporarily suspended around 10.00 pm after they ran out of ballot papers. In addition, ZESN observers in Ward 34 Budiriro North reported that voting started around 4.00 pm and by 8.30 pm ballot papers for Local Authority elections were finished, and voters had to wait again for more ballot papers to be dispatched. Voters were also informed that voting was continuing until the following day. In Glenview Gwinyiro, the voting process commenced at 4.00 pm. However, it was abruptly halted due to the exhaustion of ballot papers. There is also a possibility that some voters could not have waited and went back home thereby failing to exercise their democratic rights.

In Epworth Ward 4, ballot papers arrived at 4.00 pm and ZESN observers reported that police details from the Canine Section¹²⁵ were deployed after they had received reports that the situation had become tense and volatile.

17.2.2 INCLUSION ISSUES DURING VOTING

i). Lack of disaggregation by disabilities of electoral processes

While the ZEC collects data during voter registration processes and voting processes, this data is not disaggregated by disability in the voters' roll. This made it very difficult for polling officers to be ready for the different disabilities that presented on Election Day. Polling officers especially the ushers looked for persons with visible disabilities and as such they were biased towards persons with physical disabilities which could be seen. This meant that persons with epilepsy and deafness were not given preferential treatment as these are invisible disabilities.

ii). Lack of clear special queue procedures

ZEC provided special queues for PwDs, the elderly and women who were pregnant. This was a progressive measure but there were no clear signposts at the polling stations that would direct these persons to the special queues. There was an usher who was supposed to identify PwDs to bring them forward and in most cases, this usher would be at the front of the queue. The lack of signposts at the polling stations meant that PwDs did not know where to get help at the polling stations and the long queues were discouraging especially for those who were to be assisted to vote by a relative or friend or confidante of their choice.

¹²⁴ <https://zimmorningpost.com/caught-on-camera-video-reveals-faz-forever-associates-zimbabwe-engaging-in-illegal-acts-at-polling-station/>

¹²⁵ http://www.zrp.gov.zw/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=62&Itemid=732

ELECTION DAY OBSERVATIONS (Cont...)

17.3 ■ ATTACK OF ZESN OBSERVER

There was an isolated incident of a ZESN observer who was beaten up in Gutu West, in Masvingo Province upon arriving at the polling station where he was deployed. While this was one (1) incident that took place on polling day, a number of ZESN observers reported political retribution after the 23 and 24 August Harmonised Elections. Most of these cases were reported to the police and are still under investigation. ZESN condemns such acts as they impede on the independence of carrying out lawful observation duties by domestic observers. This also defeats provisions of Section 40 G-K of the Electoral Act which recognises and provides for observers' responsibilities.

17.4 ■ CLOSING AND COUNTING

According to Section 62 of the Electoral Act counting of ballots must be conducted immediately after closing processes at the polling station, and in the presence of election agents, candidates and observers. Most ZESN observers were permitted to observe counting at polling stations where they were stationed. Observers also reported that closing and counting procedures were duly followed in spite of the fatigue of some polling officials at polling stations which opened late.

17.4.1 ■ RAID AND ARREST OF STAFF AND VOLUNTEERS

It is unfortunate that some of the ZESN observers did not observe the whole ballot counting process, following the raid of the ZESN and ERC joint data centres and the subsequent arrest of the staff and volunteers. Further, the news about the raids sent many ZESN observers into panic mode and abandoned the polling stations where they were deployed before the conclusion of the counting and collation of results processes as they feared for their personal security. Subsequently, many observers, especially in urban areas where information moves faster because of social media, were not able to observe polling on 24 August.

Equipment that was being used to gather electoral information such as laptops and mobile phones was confiscated by armed security details who had AK-47 rifles and canines. This meant that ZESN could not keep track of what was occurring at polling stations or verify reports coming through their respective data centres to ensure the accuracy of the information being reported during counting. The ZESN staff was also not able to follow up on observers whose reports were missing as the flow of information into the database was disturbed by the confiscation of the equipment. By the time of writing this report, the arrested were still on remand out of custody and reporting twice a month to the Police. There have been several Court appearances on routine remand with no trial date set as the State continued to report that it was still gathering evidence. The arrested are being charged with contravening Section 66A of the Electoral Act on Unofficial or false declaration of results prohibited read together with Section 189 of the Criminal and Codification which is "*intention to announce the election results before the ZEC.*"

The data centres were set up as part of ZESN's efforts to analyse publicly available information and direct observations from accredited observers as recognised in the Zimbabwe Electoral Law. The operations of ZESN were well within the law and gathered information on all the key electoral processes on Election Day including counting and collation of results as provided for in Section 40 G of the Electoral Act, SADC Principles and Guidelines on Conducting Democratic Elections, Article 22 of ACDEG as well as international fundamental obligations was going to enable ZESN to appraise the credibility of elections.

ELECTION DAY OBSERVATIONS (Cont...)

ZESN's ability to promote transparency and accountability of the election was therefore severely undermined and against the Declaration of Global Principles for Election Observation and Monitoring by citizen organisations which sets standards for the conduct for observers and underscores the importance of independent, professional and credible election observation. The rights of citizen election observers are recognised by the UN Special Rapporteurs on Human Rights Defenders who explicitly urge Member States to *"take all necessary steps to establish conditions that allow national and international election observers to effectively do their work, and to protect them from any violence, threats, retaliation, adverse discrimination, pressure or any other arbitrary action as a consequence of their legitimate exercise of their rights and freedoms."*¹²⁶

RESULTS SUMMARY AND ANALYSIS 18

The Electoral Act section 64 (1) (e) provides for the posting of all results at polling stations, ward collation centres and constituency collation centres. This is in line with regional and international best practices as it builds trust in electoral processes when citizens can easily see the detailed results for themselves. Furthermore, it increases confidence that votes were counted accurately and the outcome reflects their will.

However, ZESN could not ascertain whether results were posted at all polling stations and collation centres as firstly- the organisation did not make comprehensive deployment due to resource constraints. Secondly, in polling stations where ZESN had deployed, some observers left their duty stations following the news of the raids. At the polling stations where ZESN observed the counting and collation, the observers reported that the results were posted outside polling stations where members of the public could see and access them. The Electoral Act under Section 40G (b) (c) *to be present at the counting or collating of votes cast at the election and the verification of polling station returns by presiding officers in terms of sections 63, 64 and 65; and to bring any irregularity or apparent irregularity in the conduct of the poll or the counting or collating of votes to the attention of the Commission.*

18.1 RESULTS TRANSMISSION PROCESS

All the results are transmitted in person from the polling station to the Ward Collation Centre where they are all collated. During the transportation of the results and other polling materials, the Presiding Officer is accompanied to the Ward Collation Center by at least one (1) Polling Officer and two (2) Police Officers. The Law also provides for an Election Party Agent per party of Candidate on condition that they sign indemnity forms. This promotes transparency in the transmission of results given the role that Political Party Agents play in elections.

Once results are received from all Polling Stations (V.11 Forms) at the Ward Collation Centre they are collated and afterwards the original (V.23A Forms) for Presidential, National Assembly and Local Authorities are transmitted with the original supporting documents to the Constituency Collation Centre. Before the onward transmission of the V.23A Forms, only the Local Authority election winner is announced at this level.

¹²⁶ <https://srdefenders.org/information/the-situation-of-election-observers-as-human-rights-defenders%ef%bf%bc/>

RESULTS SUMMARY AND ANALYSIS (Cont...)

Presidential and National Assembly results are accounted for separately at the Constituency Collation Centre. The original Presidential V.23A forms together with V.11 attachments, are verified and collated to a V.23B Form which is further transmitted to the District Collation Centre. The National Assembly results remain at the Constituency Collation Centre for processing of the results and at this stage, the Constituency Elections Officer will announce the winner for that Constituency and thereafter affix the V.23B form at the entrance of the Constituency Command Centre.

As for the Presidential results, from the District Elections Office, they are transmitted to the National Command Centre both physical and soft copies. DEOs are to use the quickest available means such as email, WhatsApp or both when sending soft copies.¹²⁷

18.2 ANALYSIS OF THE PRESIDENTIAL RESULTS

Section 66A of the Electoral Act states that only the ZEC should announce the results and criminalises anyone who goes before the Commission to announce the results. ZESN through its social media monitoring noted the announcement of results by the ZANU-PF Treasurer General Patrick Chinamasa acting in the capacity of the party's Secretary General during a press conference.¹²⁸ However, the official results were announced by the ZEC Chairperson at the Commission's National Command Centre on 26 August which was within the provided five (5) days' timeline.

Table 10: Presidential Results

	CANDIDATE	SEX	POLITICAL PARTY	VOTES	% VOTE
1	Busha Joseph Makamba	M	FreeZim Congress	18,816	0.4%
2	Chamisa Nelson	M	CCC	1,967,343	44.0%
3	Chikohora Trust Tapiwa	M	ZCPD	10,230	0.2%
4	Kasiyamhuru Blessing	M	ZIPP	13,060	0.3%
5	Madhuku Lovemore	M	NCA	5,323	0.1%
6	Mnangagwa Emmerson Dambudzo	M	ZANU-PF	2,350,711	52.6%
7	Mubaiwa Wilbert Archibald	M	NPC	53,517	1.2%
8	Muzorewa Gwinyai Henry	M	UANC	7,053	0.2%
9	Mwonzora Douglas	M	MDC	28,883	0.6%
10	Valerio Elizabeth Isabel	F	UZA	6,989	0.2%
11	Wilson Harry Peter	M	DOP	6,743	0.2%
		Total Votes Rejected		92,553	
		Total Votes Cast		4,561,221	
		Voter Population		6,623,511	
		Voter Turnout		68.9%	

Source: ZEC Announced Results

RESULTS SUMMARY AND ANALYSIS (Cont...)

The ZEC announced President Emmerson Mnangagwa of ZANU-PF as the winning Presidential candidate with 2,350,711 votes which constituted 52.6% of the total vote. Nelson Chamisa of the CCC came second with 1,967,343 which constituted 44.3% of the vote. Wilbert Archibald Mubaiwa of NPC received 53,517, which made up 1.2% of the vote, placing him in a distant third place. The remaining 1.9% went to the other nine candidates, with Douglas Mwonzora of the MDC receiving the largest share 28,883 translating to 0.6% of the vote. Mwonzora had pulled out of the Presidential race 15 days before polling and any vote he garnered was at Law considered a spoiled ballot under section 107 of the Electoral Act on Withdrawal of Candidature.

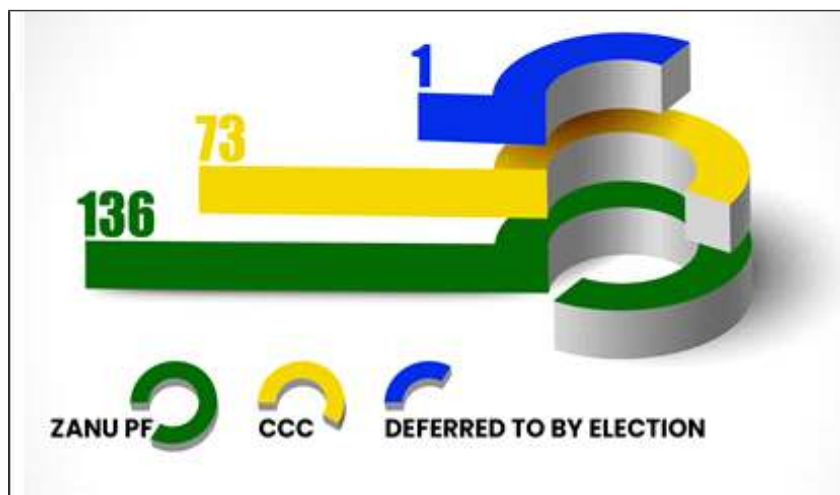
The CCC quickly rejected the results as 'fraudulent'¹²⁹ and indicated that it would follow a multi-pronged approach considering all the options available including the legal, political and diplomatic.¹³⁰ The party did not file a Constitution Court petition in accordance with Section 111 of the Electoral Act, despite widespread expectation that it would do so. Effectively, President Emmerson Mnangagwa was sworn in on 4 September 2023 for a second term.

Since their initial appearance on the Presidential ballot in 2018, the race between Nelson Chamisa and President Mnangagwa has consistently been close. In the 2018 election, the incumbent garnered 50.8% of the vote whilst Nelson Chamisa, who was then an MDC Alliance Presidential candidate got 44.3% of the votes in which he also contested the electoral outcome through the ConCourt and lost. The margin of the two candidates in 2023 was 8.3% as compared to 6.37 % in 2018. While the vote for the incumbent increased by 1.8%, however, in terms of the numbers there was a decrease in votes from 2,460,463 to 2,350,711. As for Chamisa, it remained stagnant percentage-wise, but also a decrease was noted in terms of the actual figures from 2,147,436 to 1,967,343. Both decreases in the number of votes could be attributed to a number of reasons such as intra-party squabbles and factionalism, politically motivated violence, toxic electoral environment in the pre-election period, residual mistrust of the election process, negative perception of the ZEC as well as the delayed opening of polling stations.

18.3 ANALYSIS OF NATIONAL ASSEMBLY RESULTS¹³¹

ZANU-PF won 136 seats in the National Assembly, while CCC won 73 seats. ZANU-PF retained its strongholds in the rural areas, while CCC won the majority of votes in urban areas. Voting was postponed in the Gutu West constituency after one of the candidates died shortly before the elections.

Figure 5: Distribution of seats by political party in the National Assembly



¹²⁷ ZEC Polling Manual pg 58

¹²⁸ <https://www.newsday.co.zw/2023-elections/article/200015802/police-under-spotlight-over-zanu-pf-breach-of-electoral-law>

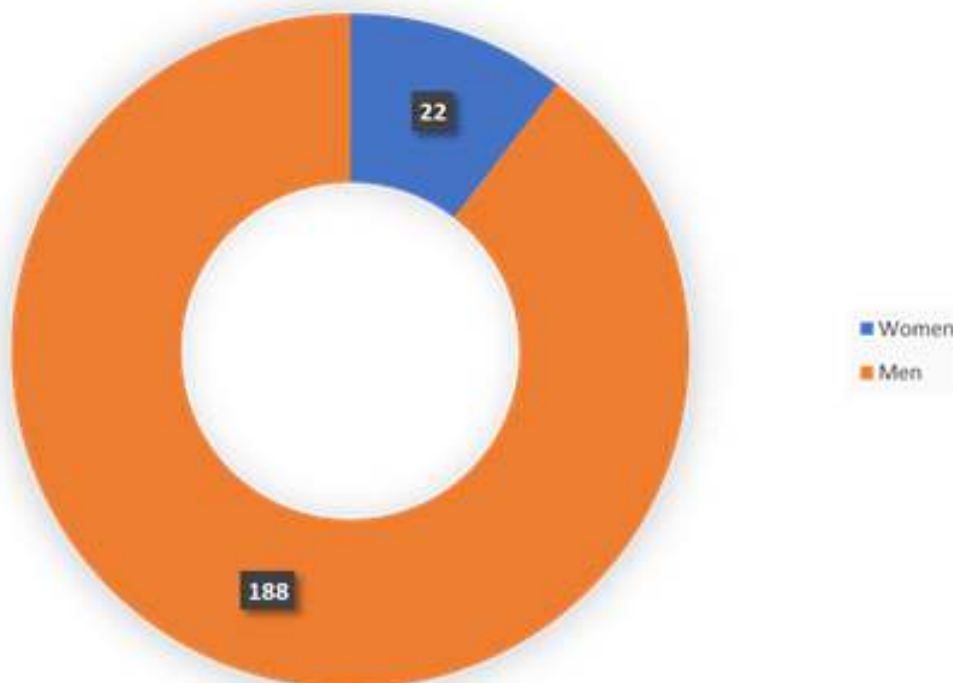
¹²⁹ The Herald Zimbabwe, 28 August 2023. Chamisa claims victory after rejecting results.

¹³⁰ The Standard, 3 September 2023. Chamisa keeps ED guessing amid tension.

RESULTS SUMMARY AND ANALYSIS (Cont...)

Disaggregated along gender lines, a total of 22 women were directly elected as Members of Parliament against 188 men who were also elected. There is a reduction in the number of elected women from the 2018 Harmonized Elections where 25 women were successfully elected.

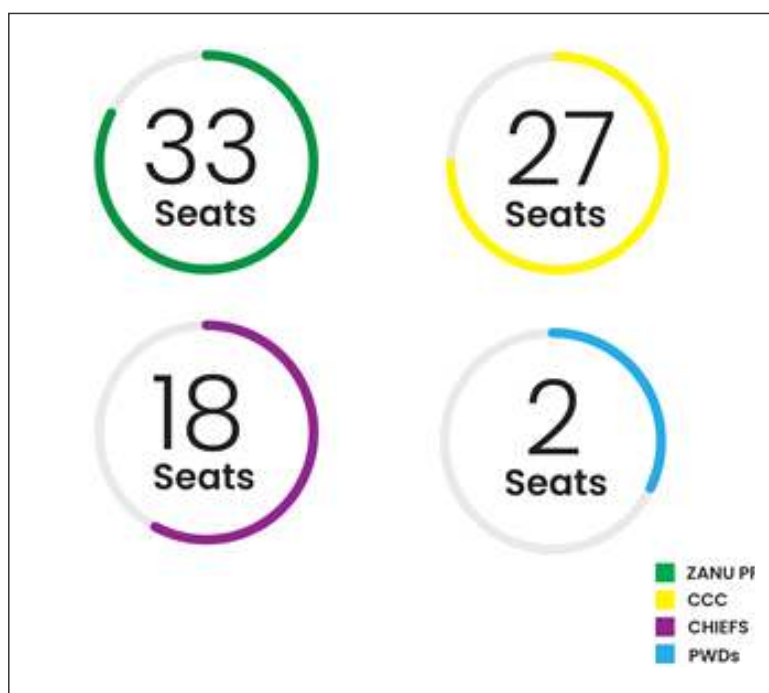
Figure 6: Number of directly elected Members of Parliament according to Sex



18.4 ANALYSIS OF SENATE RESULTS

In its current form, the Senate of Zimbabwe has a total of 80 members. Of these, ZANU-PF has 33 Seats, CCC 27 Seats, Traditional Chiefs 18 and PwDs two (2) Seats. Given the varying disabilities, there have been calls by PwDs and electoral stakeholders to increase the number from two (2).

Figure 7: Distribution of Senate Seats

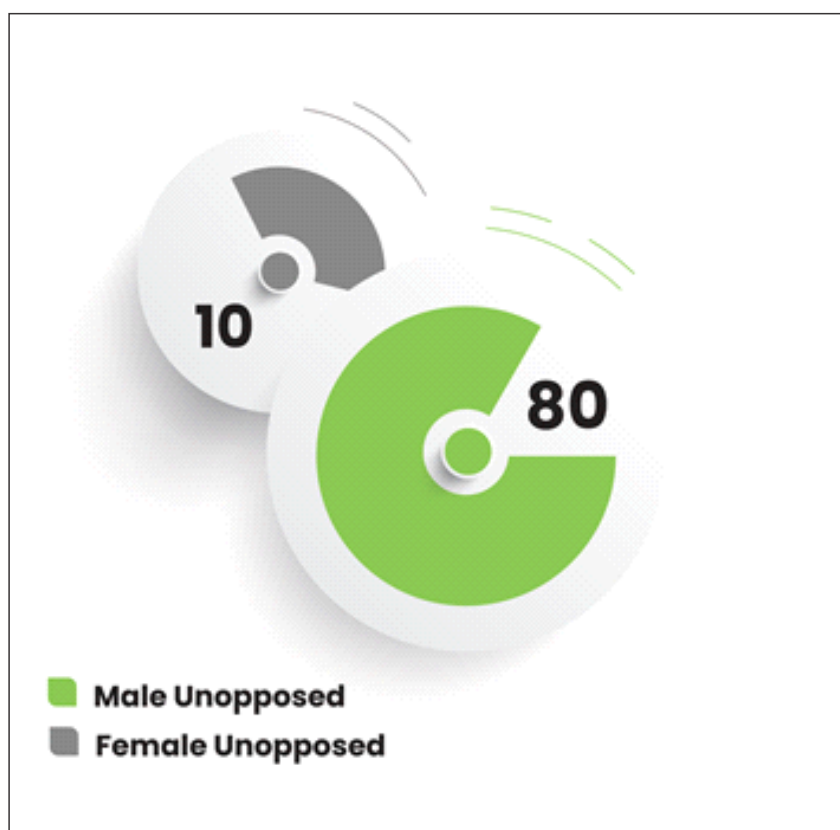


¹³¹Detailed results of National Assembly are attached as Annexure 2

RESULTS SUMMARY AND ANALYSIS (Cont...)

There were 90 unopposed Local Authorities seats in the Harmonised Elections which were all won by ZANU-PF in Manicaland, Mashonaland Central, Mashonaland East, Mashonaland West, Masvingo, Matabeleland North, Matabeleland South and Midlands Provinces.¹³² The failure by the opposition parties to field candidates perhaps speaks to the possibility of lack of resources and their relative strength to participate comprehensively in national elections.

Figure 8: Statistics by gender of unopposed Local Authority seats



18.5 VOTER TURNOUT

Zimbabwe went into the 2023 Harmonised Elections with a voters roll that had 6,623,511 voters. Of these 4,561,221 cast their ballots, representing a 68.9% percentage turnout. The 2023 percentage voter turnout dropped by 14.2 % as compared to 2018 when 4,732,929 people voted out of a voter population of 5,695,706. This decrease could be attributed to inadequate voter education due to late accreditation of CSOs to complement the ZEC's voter mobilisation initiatives, fear of the repeat of the 1 August 2018¹³³ shootings and the general disinterest in elections by the electorate.

¹³² <https://www.zec.org.zw/download/unopposed-wards-2023-elections/>

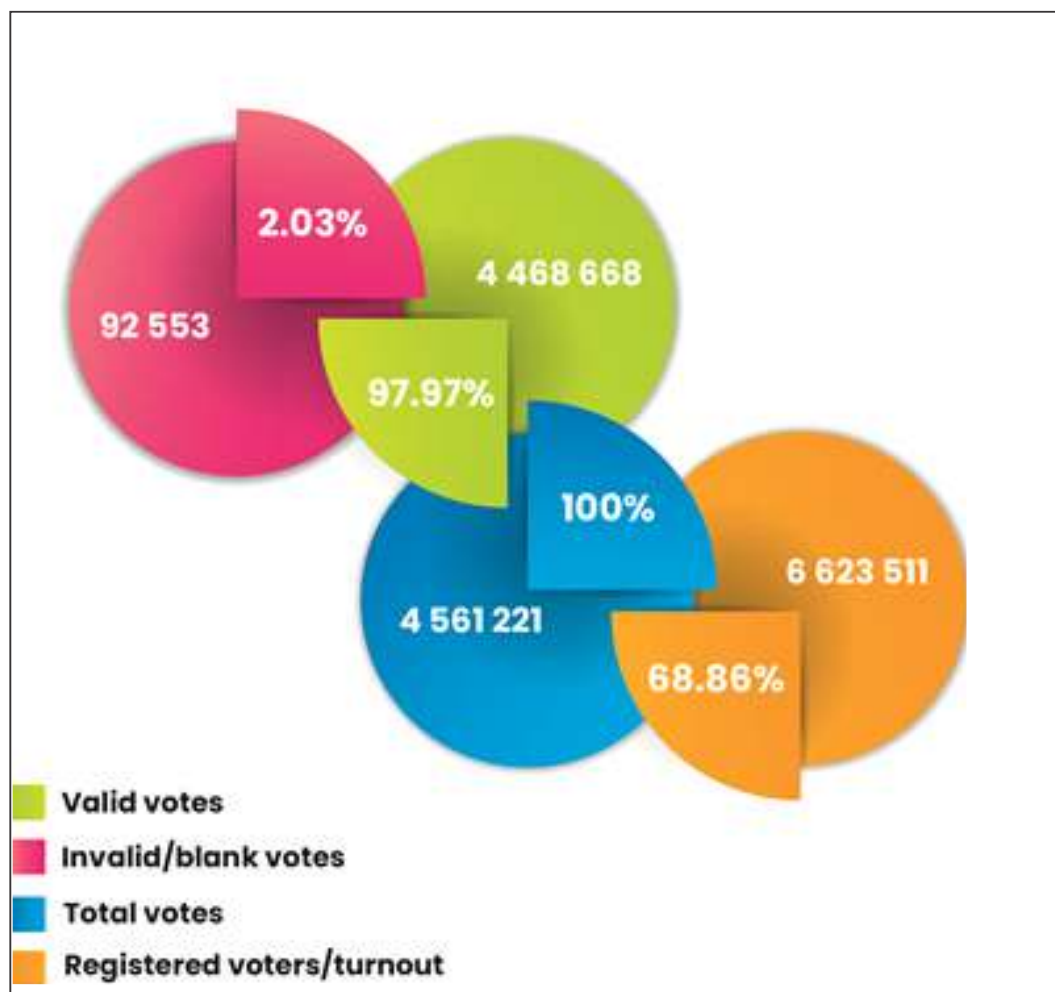
¹³³ <https://www.hrw.org/news/2018/08/03/zimbabwe-least-6-dead-post-election-violence>

<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-46614129>

<https://www.herald.co.zw/findings-of-commission-of-inquiry-into-1-august-2018-post-election-violence/>

RESULTS SUMMARY AND ANALYSIS (Cont...)

Figure 9: Statistics on Voter Turn Out



Zimbabwe's main political parties started preparing for the elections in time as shown by how they mobilised citizens to register to vote. However, there was no correlation between high turnout at rallies and voter turnout on polling day given the fact that there was voter apathy of almost 2 million voters.

In light of the 2022/2023 delimitation exercise, some people were moved to newly constituted polling stations, wards or polling stations. With limited voter awareness and education as well as 'night-polling' in some polling stations in Harare, Bulawayo and Manicaland. Several people turned up at the wrong polling stations and in extreme cases could not even find their names on the voters roll in constituencies they have always voted in. While the 2023 voter turnout statistics could have been a bit higher, the decrease may be reflective of the aforementioned challenges confronted on Election Day.

POST-ELECTION DEVELOPMENTS 19

19.1 POST-ELECTION ENVIRONMENT AND EOMS STATEMENTS

Soon after the announcement of the Presidential results, tensions were high as the main opposition political party CCC rejected the results alleging irregularities.¹³⁴ The CCC Chief Elections Agent refused to sign the paperwork to confirm the validity of the Presidential results collated by the ZEC. Attempts by CCC supporters to protest in urban areas were quickly thwarted by the Police. However, the CCC did not lodge any formal complaints to contest the official results at the Constitutional Court despite claims that they had evidence to prove the elections were rigged.

On the other hand, President Mnangagwa and ZANU-PF claimed the elections were free and fair leading to his swift swearing-in for another five (5) year term. The security forces remained on high alert in anticipation of unrest with the opposition accused of trying to destabilise the country.

Further, Election Observer Missions (EOMs) invited to Zimbabwe released preliminary statements that raised red flags for the 2023 Harmonised Elections. Although the EOMs noted that the 2023 elections were peaceful, they highlighted a number of legal and administrative shortfalls. For example, Zimbabwe went to the 2023 elections with no significant electoral reforms that had an impact on the legal and administration of elections.

The Observer Missions concurred that the Zimbabwe elections fell short of conforming to its Constitution, Electoral Laws and regional, continental and international standards and principles that govern the conduct of credible elections. For example, they noted that ZEC's independence and transparency were compromised;¹³⁵ the late openings of polling stations in Harare and Bulawayo might have disenfranchised some voters and disadvantaged opposition political parties; the Delimitation process was not widely consultative and open to public participation; the ZEC communications strategy was weak as they failed to provide regular real-time updates on polling day; accreditation of observers was cumbersome; media did not afford all political parties equal coverage, among others.¹³⁶ The ZEC did not respond to any of the statements on administrative issues from the SADC statement or any other EOMs.

For the first time in the history of Zimbabwe, the SEOM led by Zambia's former Vice President Dr. Nevers Mumba said the elections did not meet SADC principles. The SEOM preliminary statement¹³⁷ commented on a number of issues, for example, the Mission noted that: it had received concerns from several stakeholders that the recent amendment to the Criminal Law (Codification and Reform) Act [Chapter 9:23] (No. 23 of 2004), which amendment is commonly referred to as the Patriotic Act had resulted in a severe restriction of the freedom of expression which is guaranteed by Section 61 (1) of the Constitution. The Mission further indicated that the Act created the offence of "*Wilfully injuring the sovereignty and national interest of Zimbabwe*" which was also incompatible with the spirit of Section 61 (1) of the Constitution and paragraph 4.1.2 of the SADC Principles and Guidelines Governing Democratic Elections which requires Member States to uphold, amongst others, the freedom of expression.¹³⁸

Soon after the issuance of the SEOM's statement, ZANU-PF¹³⁹ was incensed and called for press conferences where Chris Mutsvangwa and Patrick Chinamasa responded to the statement focusing on the persona of the SEOM Head of Mission. The attacks were further exacerbated by the Deputy Chief Secretary in the Office of the President (Communications) via social media where he said; "*observing elections was a courtesy granted to foreigners and not an article in the UN Charter.*" He further reminded EOMs that *Western Countries do not have their elections observed by African countries or bodies, therefore no one doubts their processes on that one account. Of interest to note were also the threats that there may be changes on EOMs invitations in Zimbabwe's next polls.*

POST-ELECTION DEVELOPMENTS (Cont...)

ZESN noted that there were a number of congratulatory statements from Presidents of Russia, China, South Africa, Namibia, Tanzania, and Mozambique among others who share the same history of the liberation struggle with Zimbabwe. Seemingly, the media was awash with narratives of divisions in the SADC as the SADC Troika Chairperson Hakainde Hichilema of Zambia supported Dr Mumba whom he had assigned as the Head of Mission of the SEOM. The attacks shifted from the Mission to personal attacks on the persona and office of Dr Mumba and President Hichilema. There were videos on social media of Zambians picketing against the attacks on their President and Former VP which could be construed as a sign of the strained relations between Zambia and Zimbabwe. Several closed-door meetings were conducted by the Troika and in November 2023, the SADC Chair congratulated Zimbabwe and Eswatini for conducting peaceful elections. This was followed by the release of the SADC final report.¹⁴⁰

Following the preliminary statements and attacks on EOMS including the EU, SADC and The Carter Centre; the European Union suspended its funding of about US\$5 million project to the ZEC which was running until 2024.¹⁴¹ In response, the government accused the EU of trying to meddle into the sovereignty of Zimbabwe and that the government was capable of funding ZEC without any help.¹⁴²

Nevertheless, the post-election environment was relatively peaceful. Normally, the post-election environment is driven by the reaction of the political actors to election results. Commendably, after the 2023 elections, the leaders of several political parties were encouraging their supporters to avoid violence and maintain peace. The calls to maintain peace and security were presented at several press conferences conducted by Zimbabwe's biggest political parties such as ZANU-PF and CCC.

19.2 GUTU WEST BY-ELECTION

For the 2023 Harmonised Elections, voters in Gutu West Masvingo Province were not able to cast their votes following the death of independent candidate Christopher Mutonhori Rwodzi who died on 29 July 2023. Section 50 of the Electoral Act provides that; *should a candidate die between the nomination and the poll or while voting is in progress, the nomination process is declared void. All proceedings relating to that election are required to start anew in the same manner as if a vacancy had occurred.* However, those who would have already filed their nomination papers do not need to file new applications.

In as much as the legislative framework has been provided for, there are others who expressed mixed reactions over the provision. ZESN is of the view that the law should apply to political parties in order to allow them to make replacements and that it was not necessary to terminate the National Assembly election since the candidate was independent.

The by-election was held on 11 November 2023 and won by ZANU-PF.

¹³⁴ VOA News, 2023. *Opposition Citizen Coalition for Change Rejects Zimbabwe Presidential Election Results.* <https://www.voazimbabwe.com/a/opposition-citizens-coalition-for-change-rejects-zimbabwe-presidential-election-results/7242913.html>

¹³⁵ <https://www.comesa.int/preliminary-statement-zimbabwe-harmonised-elections-2023/>

¹³⁶ <https://thecommonwealth.org/interim-statement-commonwealth-observer-group-2023-zimbabwe-harmonised-elections>

¹³⁷ [ZIMBABWE SEOM -2023 PRELIMINARY STATEMENT-Revised adopted-25 August 2023 12pt.pdf \(sadc.int\)](https://www.sadc.int/sites/default/files/2023-08/ZIMBABWE%20SEOM%202023%20PRELIMINARY%20STATEMENT%20Revised%20adopted%2025%20August%202023%2012pt.pdf)

¹³⁸ African Union, *African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance*. Addis Ababa: African Union. Pp 7-8.

¹³⁹ <https://www.zimbabwesituation.com/news/chinamasa-insults-zambian-president-and-nevers-mumba/>

¹⁴⁰ <https://dailyrevelationzambia.com/zanu-pf-unloads-on-nevers-accusing-him-of-being-a-western-spy/>

¹⁴¹ <https://www.herald.co.zw/election-observer-missions-a-great-betrayal/>

¹⁴² https://www.veritaszim.net/sites/veritas_d/files/ZIM%20SEOM%20FINAL%20REPORT%20SUBMISSION.pdf

POST-ELECTION DEVELOPMENTS (Cont...)

19.3 ■ RECALLS

The post-election developments in Zimbabwe's electoral politics have been centred on the ongoing 'factional battles' and recalls within the main political opposition CCC. Sengezo Tshabangu, a self-proclaimed interim Secretary General of the CCC recalled 15 MPs in October 2023. The recalled legislators approached the High Court seeking to be reinstated. However, on 4 November, the High Court sitting in Harare dismissed their application.

Through S.I 188 of 2023 (Proclamation 8 of 2023), issued on 20 October, President Mnangagwa set 7 November nomination day and 9 December as by-election day respectively to fill the vacant seats. On 7 November, the Nomination Court in several provincial centres nominated candidates. CCC and ZANU-PF candidates were successfully nominated across all the nine National Assembly constituencies. However, CCC fielded double candidates in eight out of the nine constituencies. Whilst the recalled candidates filed their papers under CCC, the Sengezo Tshabangu faction also fielded other candidates in all constituencies except in Mabvuku-Tafara.

After the initial recalls, Tshabangu further recalled more CCC Members of Parliament, Senators and Councillors in Harare, Chitungwiza, Marondera, Gweru, Manyame, Kwekwe and Chiredzi among others. There may be further recalls which could potentially sink the country into perennial election mode and stall service delivery, and demotivate voters from future political and electoral participation. All this affects electoral democracy and significance.

CONCLUSION 20 ■

Zimbabwe lost an opportunity to usher in significant electoral reforms despite concerted efforts by a multiplicity of stakeholders in advocating for administrative, political and legal electoral reforms. The absence of electoral reforms was evident as most EOMs reiterated the majority of the recommendations, they made in the 2018 Harmonised Elections.

The Election Day itself was generally peaceful with no major incidents observed by ZESN observers. However, the elections experienced some unprecedented challenges on Election Day such as; polling stations not opened for the whole voting period from 7.00 am to 7.00 pm; the failure of the ZEC to supply adequate ballot papers to some of the polling stations in Harare, Bulawayo and Manicaland Provinces. Further, prior to the elections, ZEC did not invite CSOs and other electoral stakeholders to observe critical electoral processes such as the voter registration blitzes, nomination process and observers faced accreditation challenges. In addition, there was delayed voter education accreditation and the ZEC stakeholder engagements were limited, unlike previous elections.

Although there were isolated incidents of violence, it is important to note that the recurrence of intimidation of voters by political activists impacted on the enjoyment of civil and political rights by voters.

The raids on the ZESN and ERC data centres and subsequent arrests of staff and volunteers also disrupted the organisations' observation activities therefore impeding on the capacity of ZESN to assess and authoritatively comment on key aspects of Election Day processes and their ability to verify observer reports.

<https://www.thezimbabwemail.com/main/zimbabwean-ruling-party-labels-eu-withdrawal-of-electoral-body-funding-as-a-none-event/>

CONCLUSION (Cont...)

Overall, the August 2023 Harmonised Elections did not meet most Zimbabwean standards compared to previous performances and did not also meet regional and international standards as evidenced by the unprecedented delays in the printing of ballot papers due to copious Nomination litigation cases; delayed voter education; accreditation challenges; deployment of wrong ballot papers to some polling stations, missing and shortage of ballot papers. This was further exacerbated by the late opening of some polling stations in Bulawayo, Harare and Manicaland Provinces and the numerous post-election recalls of Members of the National Assembly, Senate and Councillors, thereby undermining participatory democracy and electoral significance.

ZESN RECOMMENDATIONS 21

Having observed the pre-election, part of the Election Day process and post-election environment, ZESN proffers the following recommendations;

Table 11: ZESN Recommendations

Alignment of the Electoral Act to the Constitution	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> .. The electoral legal framework must be aligned to the Constitution of Zimbabwe. .. Parliament must undertake a comprehensive review of the electoral legal framework, identifying and addressing gaps, flaws and inadequacies. .. Further, the process of alignment should be implemented timeously to avoid implementation and operational delays. .. Substantive changes to the legal framework should be finalised not later than 6 months before the next Harmonised Elections.
Recalls	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> .. Parliament should amend Section 129 (k) of the Constitution .. There is need to register and regulate political parties to address issues of recalls as they bring into question the significance and relevance of elections
Voters' Roll	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> .. ZEC should avail the voters roll to all stakeholders in a format that is easy to analyse and, within reasonable time. The Commission should establish clear timelines for the production and distribution of the preliminary and final voters roll. .. ZEC should also ensure that the process of cleaning up and deduplication of the voters roll is transparent. The results of the cleaning up and the duplication process must be published. .. Furthermore, the Commission should provide mechanisms for redress which are not cumbersome for those who would have been put on the exclusion list.
Voter Education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> .. ZEC should lessen accreditation requirements for persons and organisations intending to conduct voter education. ZEC should also strengthen the implementation of continuous voter education throughout the election cycle. .. ZEC needs to ensure that CSO accreditation for voter education is done timeously, to allow for comprehensive voter education throughout the electoral cycle.
Nomination of Candidates	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> .. ZEC should conduct comprehensive voter education for nomination procedures to ensure that prospective candidates are acquainted with Nomination Court requirements. .. Amendment of the legislative framework - (Section 50 of the Electoral Act) the law should apply only to political parties to allow them to make replacements.
Extended Voting	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> .. ZEC should unpack provisions on extended voting .. Extended voting should be provided for a day more i.e 12 hours from morning to evening to reduce instances of voter apathy

ZESN RECOMMENDATIONS (Cont...)

Electoral Issue	ZESN Recommendation
Media	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> .. The public and private media houses should strive to be impartial in their coverage of electoral processes by giving a fair and balanced representation of all political players. .. The ZEC should ensure that all media outlets both print and electronic treat all political parties and candidates equitably in the news media. .. The ZEC Media Monitoring Committee should ensure that media houses adhere to Legal Statutes on Media Coverage of Elections.
Political Parties Financing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> .. The Political Parties Finance Act should be amended to enable smaller parties to benefit from state allocated funding. .. Political parties should declare their source of funding to ensure transparency in the interest of the public. .. Political parties that receive funding under the Political Parties Finance Act should be subjected to public scrutiny to ensure accountability on the use of the taxpayer's money.
Political Parties' Registration and Regulation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> .. Political parties should improve on internal democratic processes and policies or rules governing the selection of leaders and candidates. .. Political party leaders and their supporters should respect the civil and political rights enshrined in the Constitution, including freedom of association and freedom of the media. .. Political parties should aim to create a peaceful environment for journalists to operate during elections. .. Political parties should include disability as a priority in their founding documents to ensure their representation and participation in electoral and political processes.
PWDs and the Right to Vote	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> .. ZEC should include sign language in its official communication with the public .. Provide voting materials that ensure the secrecy of the voter for the visually impaired. .. Reform of the Disabled Persons Act is necessary for the Act to be in sync with the spirit and letter of the CRPD on electoral and political participation. .. Disaggregation of electoral data by disability should be made a priority to ensure patterns of inequality are documented and addressed. .. The election process for the Senators representing PwDs needs to be reformed in line with the principles of inclusive and equal representation.
Delimitation of Electoral Boundaries	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> .. The Government of Zimbabwe through ZEC and the Parliament should come up with delimitation regulations that comprehensively address issues such as stakeholder engagement and legal redress mechanisms
Accreditation of Observers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> .. ZEC should consider a waiver on domestic observer groups' accreditation fees. .. ZEC should make the accreditation process less cumbersome by removing the requirement for applicants to present themselves physically at accreditation centres. .. In order to enhance transparency, the Observer Accreditation Committee or ZEC should provide reasons for rejection in cases where applicants are denied accreditation.
Gender Equality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> .. The Government of Zimbabwe should align the Electoral Act to the Constitution of Zimbabwe to specifically incorporate the gender equality provisions in Sections 3, 17, 56 and 80. .. The Electoral Law should empower ZEC to reject political party lists that do not conform to gender equality principles for 50/50 representation
Election Day Administration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> .. ZEC should improve on Election Day management to ensure that all polling stations have all the required materials to avoid the disenfranchisement of voters and ensure that they are delivered smoothly.
Postal Voting	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> .. Observation should be open to political party agents to enhance electoral integrity
Results Management	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> .. ZEC should publish V11 forms on their website to enhance transparency

RECOMMENDATIONS BY OTHER EOMS 22

Prior to the holding of the 2023 Harmonised Elections, as was the case in 2018, the Zimbabwean government invited and accredited various regional and international observer missions to take stock of events as they unfolded during the pre-election, Election Day and post-election periods.

The Southern Africa Development Community Parliamentary Forum (SADC PF), African Union (AU) and Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), the European Union (EU), the Commonwealth Group, the Electoral Commissions Forum of SADC countries (ECF-SADC), The Carter Centre, the Africa Caribbean and Pacific Group (ACP), the ACP-EU Joint Parliamentary Assembly, the Non-Aligned Movement. There were also individual Countries which were invited such as; Belarus, Norway, Russia, Serbia, Switzerland, Turkey among others. Further, the government also invited former liberation movements in the SADC region such as the African National Congress (ANC) from South Africa, Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM-Tanzania), Frelimo (Mozambique), Swapo (Namibia), MPLA (Angola) and the Botswana Democratic Party (BDP). While most of the EOMs issued pre-election and preliminary statements, ZESN was not acquainted with the statements of the liberation movements and countries invited. Therefore, recommendations under this section are from statements and reports that were shared in the public domain.

In summary, the EOMs noted that the 2023 elections were peaceful and experienced administrative issues, whereby the ZEC fell short in ensuring the timely printing and distribution of ballot papers. The Missions concurred that there is a need for strengthening ZEC independence and transparency to ensure public trust; make the Delimitation process more consultative and open to public participation; implement a pro-active communications strategy as well as provide regular real time updates on polling day; expedite accreditation of observers and the need for media to afford all political parties equal coverage.

Concerns were raised over the raiding of ZESN data centres by the various observer missions calling on the immediate release of the arrested staff.

Table 12: Key Observations and Recommendations By The Observer Missions:

SADC ELECTORAL OBSERVATION MISSION TO ZIMBABWE	
Electoral Issue	Recommendation
Legal Framework	- The Government of Zimbabwe should expedite the alignment of the outstanding aspects of the Electoral Law to the Constitution, such as setting timelines for provisions of the voter's roll and making provision for engagement of stakeholders in the designing of ballot papers.
Independence of the ZEC	- The ZEC should adhere to s11 (2) of the Electoral Act and Section 4.1.9 of the SADC Principles which disqualifies the recruitment of individuals who are closely related to political actors.
Public Communication by ZEC	- The ZEC should strive to improve the implementation of its communications strategy, to foster transparency, accountability and facilitate public trust in the Commission.
Media	- The ZEC and ZMC should ensure that the Constitution and Electoral Law are enforced with respect to the media

RECOMMENDATIONS BY OTHER EOMS (Cont...)

SADC ELECTORAL OBSERVATION MISSION TO ZIMBABWE	
Electoral Issue	Recommendation
Voters Roll	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - ZEC should avail the voters roll in a timeous manner to allow stakeholders to analyse it in line with the Electoral Act.
Postal Voting	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The ZEC should ensure that postal voting is conducted in a manner that guarantees the secrecy of the ballot. Furthermore the commission should conduct awareness programs with respect to postal voting particularly in regards to its modalities and management
Gender and Women Parity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - All Stakeholders including political parties should review the political and social environment with an aim to promote gender parity in politics and governance
AFRICAN UNION - COMESA ELECTION OBSERVATION MISSION TO ZIMBABWE	
Electoral Issue	Recommendation
Legal framework	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The legislative framework should be revised to include binding provisions that compel political parties to increase representation of women on National Assembly candidate lists. - Review the legal framework to increase representation of persons living with disabilities in elective positions.
ACDEG	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The government should domesticate, implement, and report on the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance.
Political Environment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The ZEC should enhance the enforcement of the electoral code of conduct to address issues related to intimidation of voters by political party affiliates.
Postal Voting	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The ZEC should review the procedures on postal voting to enhance the secrecy and transparency.
Political Parties Conduct	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The ZEC needs to ensure that political party supporters and candidates abide by the electoral code of conduct. - Political parties should strengthen inter political party democracy structures to promote more inclusive and competitive selection of candidates during elections.
Elections Calendar	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The ZEC should consider making the election calendar flexible to accommodate emerging issues, including court cases, and communicate the same to electoral stakeholders in a timely manner.
Accreditation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The ZEC should accredit CSOs timeously to provide voter education throughout the entire electoral cycle. - ZEC should further decentralise the accreditation process for local observers.
CSOs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - COSs should continue advocating for key legal and electoral reforms including participation in elections.

RECOMMENDATIONS BY OTHER EOMS (Cont...)

EUROPEAN UNION ELECTION OBSERVATION MISSION REPORT	
Electoral Issue	Recommendation
Legal Framework	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The ZEC should exercise maximum transparency in the process of results tabulation, including disaggregated election results by polling stations and the judiciary in adjudicating all post-electoral complaints and grievances. - The need for a comprehensive and meaningful election reform to bring legislation in line with regional and international standards espoused by Zimbabwe informed by the principles of transparency and inclusivity.
Delimitation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Constitutional provisions should be duly enforced regarding how to draw new boundaries for electoral districts
ZEC Independence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The ZEC and its staff should be able to operate without political influence at all levels, including in their appointment mechanisms and by removing governmental approval of its regulations.
Electoral Administration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - ZEC should provide timely and comprehensive information on all aspects of electoral preparations to the public, including its decisions and regulations. - ZEC should publish timely electoral results, disaggregated by polling station. - ZEC should examine the reasons for the late delivery of electoral material on Election Day and seek guarantees to ensure timely execution of all electoral preparations in future processes, ensuring that all voters have equal opportunities to vote.
Voter Registration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The need for ZEC to publish the complete PS list data with codes and voter numbers, in a database-friendly format. - ZEC should undertake a comprehensive audit of the voters' roll and proactively disclose all relevant information regarding voter registration, including its efforts to ensure the accuracy of the database. - All stakeholders should be granted meaningful and timely access to the final voters' roll in analysable formats before Election Day.
Registration of Candidates	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A review of candidate registration requirements should be made to see they are in line with international commitments and their implementation consistently applied by ZEC.
CSO's	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The accreditation process, outsourced by law to an accreditation committee including various state actors, lacked transparency.

RECOMMENDATIONS BY OTHER EOMS (Cont...)

Election Observation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - There is need to establish and implement effective mechanisms to prevent undue restrictions on observation activities and to prevent pressure and intimidation of both citizen and international observers.
Electoral Disputes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Legal deadlines for the adjudication of complaints need to guarantee a timely and effective remedy. The legal timeframe for the resolution of electoral disputes should be introduced to provide expeditious decisions in line with the electoral calendar.
Election Campaign	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - There is need to amend the Maintenance of Peace and Order Act (MPOA), to limit discretionary application and ensure that its implementation never unduly limits the right to assemble. - There is need to introduce legislative measures, including effective and dissuasive sanctions, to mitigate the advantages of incumbency and guard against the misuse of state resources. - Also introduce mechanisms for monitoring and sanctioning partisanship of traditional leaders and civil servants to even the playing field.
Political Parties Financing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - There is need to ensure that campaign financing is subject to disclosure and reporting requirements, as well as oversight by an independent authority, given the right and capacity to audit accounts and sanction violators. - Make political issue advertising and third-party campaigning subject to similar regulation.
Media	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - ZEC and ZMC should simplify and make transparent journalist accreditation, as it promotes media freedom, allows for diverse election coverage, and facilitates journalists in carrying out their role effectively during elections. - There is need to reform ZBC into a truly independent public service broadcaster and state-owned media must abide by their legal obligation to be impartial and provide equitable treatment to all political parties and candidates.
Social Media and Digital Rights	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - There is need to support independent fact-checking initiatives, digital and media literacy through public educational and advocacy measures to help tackle online information manipulation during elections, while avoiding criminalising disinformation. - There is need to amend the 2007 Interception of Communications Act and the Cyber and Data Protection Act to fully comply with fundamental rights of freedom of expression, access to information and privacy.

RECOMMENDATIONS BY OTHER EOMS (Cont...)

Women and Youth	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - There is need to amend the current provisions on women and youth quotas to grant effective gender equality and fair youth representation in line with the Constitution.
Persons with Disabilities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The Disabled Persons Act should be effectively incorporate the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities into domestic law
Marginalized and Minority Groups	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A comprehensive programme to enhance measures of inclusion of all minorities into the electoral process, including affirmative action measures to facilitate obtaining IDs should be conducted.
Judicial Independence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - There is need to review the appointment procedures of Judges to guarantee the separation of powers to safeguard the independence of the Judiciary.

ZIMBABWE COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

Electoral Issue	Recommendation
Legislative Framework	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Parliament should consider revising Section 62 of the Electoral Act so that it outlines a specific timeline on when the ZEC is expected to release the voters roll. - Section 237 and 238 of the Constitution should be revised to speak against nepotism and appointment of known political party affiliates as ZEC Commissioners. - A Constitutional provision should be considered that requires for political parties to be registered with ZEC and empower the Commission to act against political parties who violate the Electoral Act.
Voters Roll	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The Commission should avail a readable and analysable voters roll to all candidates and political parties at least 30 days before the elections to allow political parties and candidates to effectively analyse and utilise the voters roll.
Election Administration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The Commission should involve political parties at all stages of the ballot paper printing process to restore confidence in the quality and nature of the ballot papers used in the election. - Election materials including ballot papers should be distributed to polling stations at least three (3) days before the elections to ensure the smooth running of elections.

RECOMMENDATIONS BY OTHER EOMS (Cont...)

Results Management	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - ZEC should be fully transparent and release results that are verifiable and auditable to enhance people's trust and confidence in elected leaders which is essential in building unity, love, and peace. - ZEC should develop a results management system to enhance verifiability and traceability results.
Media	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - ZEC Media Monitoring Committee should insist on fair political airtime - State media should uphold S.133 OF 2008 which demands fair, equitable, accurate and balanced coverage of political parties' activities during the election period. - State and private media should be non-partisan and practise responsible journalism which promotes cohesion.
Political Parties	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Political Parties should have honest and inclusive engagements towards establishing a firm foundation for the transformation of Zimbabwe. - Political party leaders and supporters should refrain from making statements that incite violence or threaten peace in the country. - It is crucial for political parties to promote a culture of tolerance, unity and respect for divergent political opinions.
Electoral and Political Violence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The ZRP should independently investigate all reported cases of violence and intimidation irrespective of political affiliations and bring the perpetrators to book without fear or favour. - The ZRP should impartially execute their duties independent from political influence since selective application of the law undermines public confidence and trust in the national security systems.
Electorate Participation in Elections	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Zimbabweans should remain calm and peaceful whilst advocating social accountability from the newly selected leadership. - There is need for the electorate to reconfigure the mindset from an understanding of participation as just numbers and subjects needed during elections but to transformative citizen agency.
The Carter Center	
Electoral Issue	Recommendation
Media	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Ensure that all political parties have equal access to media platforms. This will help to level the playing field and prevent any one party from gaining an unfair advantage.

RECOMMENDATIONS BY OTHER EOMS (Cont...)

Participation and Inclusion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Reduce the cost of candidate nomination fees to make it more affordable for people from all backgrounds to run for National Assembly seats. This will help to increase the participation of women, youth, and people with disabilities in the electoral process.
Legal Framework	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Repeal the provisions that criminalise "wilfully injuring the sovereignty and national interest of Zimbabwe". These provisions are too broad and vague, and they could be used to silence dissent and punish people for exercising their legitimate rights to freedom of expression and association.
Election Administration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Give the ZEC full authority to accredit observers. This will ensure that the ZEC is the sole decision-maker on who can observe elections in Zimbabwe and that the process is not influenced by other government institutions.
Voter Education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Streamline the accreditation process for voter educators. The current process is slow and bureaucratic, which makes it difficult for organisations to obtain accreditation in a timely manner. The process should be simplified and made more efficient.

ANNEXURE 1: NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTION RESULTS **22**

BULAWAYO

CONSTITUENCY	CANDIDATE	PARTY	VOTES
Bulawayo Central	CHARUKA TENDAYI KAPOIKILU SURRENDER	ZANU-PF CCC	3 140 11 066
Bulawayo North	GUMEDE MINEHLE TANDOYENKOSI KHUMALO SIBONOKUHLE MHLANGA FRANK MKANDLA NKOSANA	CCC DOP UZA ZANU-PF	10 260 182 356 2 679
Bulawayo South	GOMBA ADMORE MODI RAJESAHKUMARI WATSON NICHOLA JANE	DOP ZANU-PF CCC	160 3 752 10 470
Cowdray Park	MTULI NCUBE SIBANDA PASHOR RAPHEL	ZANU-PF CCC	6 513 8 411
Emakhandeni/ Luveve	BAJILA COLLINS DISCENT NCUBE NICODEMUS M NDLOVU KHULUMANI SAMURUWO BRIAN	CCC UZA ZANC ZANU-PF	9 657 175 129 3 416
Entumbane / Njube	DUBE PRINCE TSHUMA DINGIZILIZWE CHINAMANO LINDA MUGURASAVE BEAUTY NDLOVU NQOBIZUTA	CCC CCC ZANU-PF UZA ZANC	8 330 1 803 2 464 116 140
Lobengula/ Mangwegwe	GONO ERECK NDIBALI INNOCENT KHANYE LWAZI ZIVAVOSE GODWIN DUBE ARNOLD NCUBE DOUGLAS NDLOVU BUTHOLEZWE NDLOVU NIGEL	CCC EFF MRP UFP UZA ZANC ZANU-PF ZAPU	10 114 142 782 187 101 139 2 400 438
Mpopoma/ Mzilikazi	MAKAZA DESMOND SIBANDA BLESSINGS MUZENDA SIHLE MUKANDLA STRIKE ZVIKWETE INNOCENT MBANO MASIKATI ADMIRE TONDERAI NCUBE BEKEZELA TAPFUMANEYI PARDON	CCC DOP F.A INDEPENDENT ZANC ZANU-PF ZAPU INDEPENDENT	10 808 54 148 107 43 2 433 346 570

ANNEXURE 1: NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTION RESULTS (Cont...)

BULAWAYO

CONSTITUENCY	CANDIDATE	PARTY	VOTES
Nketa	MANDUNA OBERT	CCC	10 605
	NDLOVU VINECENT BHALA	INDEPENDENT	1 196
	DUBE CATHERINE	UZA	183
	ZIDYA TAVENGWA	ZANU-PF	2 556
Nkulumane	MOYO DESIRE	CCC	9 880
	MHLANGA ADELAIDE	FREEZIM	101
	MTETWA FLORIDA DELIAH	UZA	151
	ZIDYABHEBHE NOMPILO	ZANC	177
	MURECHU FREEDOM PHINEAS	ZANU-PF	2 402
	NDLOVU ANDREW	ZAPU	465
Pelandaba/ Tshabalala	MOYO SONENI	CCC	3 829
	SIZIBA GIFT	CCC	6 529
	NDLOVU GIFT	DOP	169
	MAPLANKA SANPOULAS	EFF	144
	MOYO MOURENE	UZA	88
	VERENGA CECILIA	ZANU-PF	2 969
Pumula	MAHLANGU SICHELESILE	CCC	7 546
	MHLANGA ALBEIT	CCC	2 349
	MSIPHA MEMORY	UZA	64
	NSINGO PUMULANI	ZANU-PF	2 606
	MKWANANZI TRUST MAZWI	ZAPU	516

ANNEXURE 1: NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTION RESULTS (Cont...)

HARARE

CONSTITUENCY	CANDIDATE	PARTY	VOTES
Budiriro North	BIZALIEL KENNEDY	INDEPENDENT	2 020
	GOMWE SIMBARASHE	ZANU-PF	4 760
	MUPUNDU SIMBARASHE	INDEPENDENT	208
	MATSUNGA SUSAN	CCC	18 135
Budiriro South	CHIGUMBU DARLINGTON	CCC	17 348
	DZIKAMAI	UZA	148
	HUSAYIHWEVHU WELLINGTON	ZANU-PF	3 703
	MUKWEYA TATENDA		
Chitungwiza North	CHITORO NYASHADZASHE	CCC	5 452
	ENOCK MACHANGARA	ZANU-PF	8 203
	SPENCER	CCC	10 393
	SITHOLE GODFREY	INDEPENDENT	222
	KARAKADZAYI		
Chitungwiza South	ZAMBEZISHEPHERED IGNATIUS		
	DZVENE ELVIS	UZA	213
	KARIRAMOMBE SHEPHERED	CCC	6 663
	MAFURATIDZE GOODWELL	ZANU-PF	6 609
	MAVHUNGA MAXWELL	CCC	10 145
Churu	CHIKOMO TRASWELL	CCC	16 004
	FUNDUKWA EPHRAIM	ZANU-PF	14 205
	NYIKADZINO TICHAONA	CCC	2 439
Dzivarasekwa	CHAMATOWA LOVEMORE	ZANU-PF	9 227
	KANZIMBE PETRONELLAH	UZA	259
	MUSHORIWA EDWIN	CCC	16 453
Epworth North	CHIDEWU NJODZI	INDEPENDENT	376
	KANDISHAYA TAURAI	ZANU-PF	9 521
	MHETU TOGAREPI ZIVAI	CCC	14 609
Epworth South	BANDEDIDYMUS	CCC	1 367
	BARAMASIMBESOLOMON		
	CHATAMBUDZA	CCC	1 314
	KUDAKWASHE BLESSED	CCC	6 745
	MWABAYA PRISTON	MDC-T	228
	TAEDZWA HONOUR MBOFANA	ZANU-PF	8 112

ANNEXURE 1: NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTION RESULTS (Cont...)

HARARE

CONSTITUENCY	CANDIDATE	PARTY	VOTES
Glen Norah	CHIKOMBO WELLINGTON	CCC	17 009
	CHISANGO TICHAONA	UZA	214
	MUPINDU MUCHINEREPI	ZANU-PF	4 261
Glenview North	CHIDZIVA HAPPYMORE	CCC	16 553
	CHINODYA BEST	UZA	89
	MANGACHENA MUSEKIWA	FREE ZIM	88
	MUNYOROABIGAIL VALERIE	INDEPENDENT	258
	TSITSI ZAMANGA WITNESS TUMELCO	ZANU-PF	4 502
Harare Central	JIMU LOVEMORE	CCC	15 062
	NYANINGWE IRVINE HATITYE	CCC	3 589
	ZENDA NYASHA GIFT	ZANU-PF	5 203
Harare East	GUMBO MAVIS	ZANU-PF	7 621
	MARKHAM ALLANORMAN	CCC	15 642
	MLAMBO GARIKAI	UZA	84
	MUTIZWA MUSARURWA	MDC-T	108
	STEWART RAZARU MALVIN	CCC	1 027
Harare South	HASHA TROUBLE	CCC	4 009
	KANUPULA TRYMORE	ZANU-PF	13 560
	MAGWETA GEORGE	CCC	1 573
Harare West	MUSONZA DOROTHY	CCC	7 420
	MAMOMBEJOANAH	CCC	18 141
	PADZARONDORA FARAI	CCC	1 395
Hatcliffe	MICHAEL	ZANU-PF	3 453
	ZINDOGA PATRICK TENDAYI		
	GUMBO AGENCY	CCC	11 431
	MANGWANYA DAVID	INDEPENDENT	95
	MASHONGANDORO MODOCK	DUZ	120
	SANDE LLOYD	CCC	1 936
	MUDAMBO TONGESAI	ZANU-PF	9 947

ANNEXURE 1: NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTION RESULTS (Cont...)

HARARE

CONSTITUENCY	CANDIDATE	PARTY	VOTES
Hatfield	CHAPINDUKA CLARA	INDEPENDENT	288
	GRIZA ADMIRE ADAM	CCC	8 845
	NYAMAKANGA PAIDAMOYO	ZANU-PF	4 905
	NYAMURONDA REWAYI	CCC	9 516
Highfields	MASHONGANYIKA MIKE	ZANU-PF	3 789
	MAVHUDZI DONALD	CCC	16 837
	MUKUNGUMA LUCKSON	MDC-T	248
	NDAWANA EDINA	FREE ZIM CONGRESS	63
Hunyani	BAUDI PATTENCE	UZA	258
	CHINOPUTSA LOVEMORE	CCC	10 235
	KHUMBULA TERRENCE	CCC	2 644
	MASUNGA SARVORY	ZNRP	120
	PEDZISAI	ZANU-PF	13 249
	MNANGAGWA TONGAI MAFIDI		
Kuwadzana East	HWENDE CHALTON	CCC	18 212
	KAYEMBA TENDAYI	UZA	154
	MAJAVHURA TELLME	ZANU-PF	4 180
	MANGWIRO URAYAYI	MDC-T	312
	TAKAWIRA COLLEN	INDEPENDENT	85
	MUNYARADZI		
Mabvuku Tafara	KUFAHAKUTIZWI	CCC	15 680
	MUNYARADZI FEBION		
	SAKUPWANYA PEDZAI	ZANU-PF	12 038
Mbare	CHAMISA STARMAN	CCC	15 672
	MATINYANYA SUNUNGUKAI MARTIN	ZANU-PF	17 809
	MUKWATI CLAUDIUS	INDEPENDENT	119

ANNEXURE 1: NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTION RESULTS (Cont...)

HARARE

CONSTITUENCY	CANDIDATE	PARTY	VOTES
Mbare	CHAMISA STARMAN	CCC	15 672
	MATINYANYA SUNUNGUKAI	ZANU-PF	17 809
	MARTIN		
	MUKWATI CLAUDIUS	INDEPENDENT	119
Mount Pleasant	GWASIRA BEADLE MUSATYE	ZANU-PF	7 787
	MACHOKOTO JONATHAN	CCC	5 510
	MAHEREFADZAYI	CCC	12 863
Southerton	KUNAKA JIM	INDEPENDENT	707
	NYANDORO BRIDGET	CCC	15 408
	NYEMBA MAUREEN	ZANU-PF	4 741
St Marys	JINJIKA NORBET	ZANU-PF	7 728
	MASARIREVU FREDDY	CCC	5 519
	MICHAEL		
	MAZHINDU BRIGHTON	CCC	11 094
Sunningdale	GOREMUSANDU CHRISTMAS	CCC	2 762
	KADEMAUNGA MAUREEN	CCC	13 360
	MAGWEBE LOICE	ZANU-PF	6 236
	MAKAZA JONATHAN	UZA	97
Warren Park	CHIDAWA TAFADZWA	ZANU-PF	3 992
	HAMAUSWA SHAKESPEAR	CCC	19 609
	JULY ANTONY	UZA	44
	KUTUKWA JONATHAN	INDEPENDENT	117
	FUNGAYI		
	MATIKA ENERGY TANAKA	CCC	2 100
	MUSEVENZI JULIUS	MDC-T	189
Zengeza East	CHIMBAIRA GOODRICH	CCC	14 614
	MARUME DONALD TINASHE	INDEPENDENT	320
	MUTIMBANYOKA KIVEN	ZANU-PF	8 596

ANNEXURE 1: NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTION RESULTS (Cont...)

HARARE

CONSTITUENCY	CANDIDATE	PARTY	VOTES
Zengeza East	CHIMBAIRA GOODRICH	CCC	14 614
	MARUME DONALD TINASHE	INDEPENDENT	320
	MUTIMBANYOKA KIVEN	ZANU-PF	8 596
Zengeza West	CHIDAKWA SIMON	ZANU-PF	6 844
	ZVAIPA INNOCENT	CCC	17 835

ANNEXURE 1: NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTION RESULTS (Cont...)

MASHONALAND CENTRAL

CONSTITUENCY	CANDIDATE	PARTY	VOTES
Bindura North	KAJOKOTO ZVIDZAI RUZVIDZO KAVHUKATEMA JOSPHAT MUSANHI KENNETH SHUPIKA I	CCC INDEPENDENT ZANU-PF	12 044 236 16 513
Bindura South	GWARADA GEORGE MATANGIRA TOENDEPI REMIGIOUS	CCC ZANU-PF	9 155 17 912
Guruve North	PINDUKAI TENDAI TSIKWA BENSON	ZANU-PF CCC	23 539 3 660
Guruve South	BASA SHUPIKO MAGOMO CHRISTOPHER SVEMBERE DOMINIC	CCC ZANU-PF NPC	4 207 20 324 297
Mazowe Central	MUSHONGA SHEPHERED LEONARD NJANJI MAXIMORE	CCC ZANU-PF	7 820 21 916
Mazowe North	MAKUMBE TSUNGAI MANYIKA ELISON	ZANU-PF CCC	21 840 4 831
Mazowe South	CHARI RANGARIRAI MUZUNGUWE NOBERT TICHAONA	CCC ZANU-PF	6 772 15 973
Mazowe West	KAZEMBE KAZEMBE MATARANYIKA ELIJA	ZANU-PF CCC	25 771 5 295
Mbire	BUTAU DAVID KAREMBERA BLESSING	ZANU-PF CCC	19 059 7 320
Mount Darwin	BATAU DZIDZAI MANYIKA PETIAUS	ZANU-PF CCC	20 731 3 048
Mount Darwin East	BATAU DZIDZAI MANYIKA PETIAUS	ZANU PF CCC	20 731 3048
Mount Darwin North	MAPUNDU VENGAI MUNEMO LABBANY	CCC ZANU-PF	1 772 18 460

ANNEXURE 1: NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTION RESULTS (Cont...)

MASHONALAND CENTRAL

CONSTITUENCY	CANDIDATE	PARTY	VOTES
Mount Darwin South	GURA REASON	CCC	4 762
	MUPAMHANGA KUDAKWASHE	ZANU-PF	20 153
	TESENENGU GODFREY	INDEPENDENT	1 294
Mount Darwin West	JONGA WITNESS	ZANU-PF	21 127
	MUSANHU ZIVANAI PETER	INDEPENDENT	599
	UTETE MATIVENGA	CCC	2 148
Muzarabani North	KAGURA AGREEMENT	CCC	1 423
	TAKAWIRA SODA ZHEMU	ZANU-PF	21 514
Muzarabani South	GWERU WELLINGTON	CCC	1 984
	KABIKIRA BENJAMIN	ZANU-PF	22 526
Rushinga	MUTERO CATHBERT	CCC	4 254
	NYABANI TENDAI	ZANU-PF	24 575
Shamva North	CHINODAKUFA ISAC	ZANU-PF	26 320
	MARINGISANWA MAVIS	CCC	3 298
Shamva South	MAPIKI JOSEPH	ZANU-PF	31 068
	MUGWAMBI PATRICK TATENDA	CCC	3 106

ANNEXURE 1: NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTION RESULTS (Cont...)

MASHONALAND EAST

CONSTITUENCY	CANDIDATE	PARTY	VOTES
Chikomba East	CHINEMBIRI MUCHENGETI MHONA FELIX TAPIWA MUVIRIMI RAYMOND MUTAMBUDZI	CCC ZANU-PF INDEPENDENT	6 203 12 089 159
Chikomba West	MAVETERATATENDA ANNASTACIA PUNUNGWE EMMANUEL	ZANU-PF CCC	19 620 7 860
Goromonzi North	BVUTE OZIAS MUCHUWA CHENESA	ZANU-PF CCC	14 546 10 881
Goromonzi South	CHAGWIZA STEPHEN CHIKONYE TINASHE CHIKUDO RUEBEN	CCC ZANU-PF INDEPENDENT	16 312 15 216 421
Goromonzi West	KARIMATSENGA NYAMUPINGA BIATAH BEATRICE MUNETSI TINEYI NHAMBURO TAURAI	ZANU-PF CCC INDEPENDENT	12 072 10 692 2 139
Maramba Pfungwe	CHIMUNHU CHIRATIDZO KARUMAZONDO TICHAWONA MAKUWI	CCC ZANU-PF	1 448 25 757
Marondera Central	KUNDIONACLEOPAS MANYERE MISHECK MATEWU CASTON	ZANU-PF CCC CCC	9 714 1 763 14 712
Marondera East	MUTOKONYI VIMBAYI TASIRENHAMO THOMAS ZHUWARARA KIZITO	ZANU-PF DUZ CCC	15 221 262 3 566
Marondera West	MAGWENZI EDDINGTON MAISVOREVA AMON MUNHUNEPI TICHAONA TAVAZIVAGODWIN	CCC ZNRP INDEPENDENT ZANU-PF	11 106 487 483 18 297
Mudzi North	MUSWEWESHIRI BENJAMIN MUTUTA PARADZAI	ZANU-PF CCC	15 099 2 858

ANNEXURE 1: NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTION RESULTS (Cont...)

MASHONALAND EAST

CONSTITUENCY	CANDIDATE	PARTY	VOTES
Mudzi South	NYAMBO TICHAFU SAMUKANGE JONATHAN TAWONANA	CCC ZANU-PF	2 376 20 653
Mudzi West	KAITANO KNOWLEDGE MAJA TATENDA	ZANU-PF CCC	18 513 1 583
Murewa North	GARWEDANIEL MAGASOPETER MANGWENDE EUNICE TAMBUDZAI NYABINDE KENNEDY	ZANU-PF UANC INDEPENDENT CCC	14 870 324 1 323 7 215
Murewa West	JERE FARAI MUKURAZHIZHA LESLEY MANIKA NHAMBURO SILENCE	ZANU-PF CCC INDEPENDENT	17 733 7 271 114
Mutoko East	KASEKEYEUKAI MUSIYIWARICHARD	CCC ZANU-PF	3 613 19 073
Mutoko North	MAKWIRANZOU CALEB MAVHOKO TAURAI	ZANU-PF CCC	16 132 4 031
Mutoko South	MAPENGO MAPANGO TASIKANI ISAAC	CCC ZANU-PF	4 296 17 459
Seke	KASHAMBE MUNYARADZI TOBIAS MADZIMBAMUTO WILLARD TAPFUMANEI MUZANENHAMO FREDERICK	ZANU-PF CCC DUZ	13 277 14 032 235
Uzumba	KONONO COSMAS MUCHEMWA WIRIRANAI	CCC ZANU-PF	1 977 24 588
Wedza North	FIDELISE EUNICE KATSAYA MAPFUMO NDUDZO ITAI	ZNRP CCC ZANU-PF	664 5 711 18 762
Wedza South	MACHAKARI KATINODA ZINHUMWE VALENTINE	ZANU-PF CCC	12 563 5 822

ANNEXURE 1: NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTION RESULTS (Cont...)

MASHONALAND WEST

CONSTITUENCY	CANDIDATE	PARTY	VOTES
Chakari	NKANI ANDREW TEMBOSOLOMON ISAAC	ZANU-PF CCC	22 145 6 395
Chegutu East	MANDERE GABRIEL SHAMU WEBSTER KOTIWANI	CCC ZANU-PF	6 832 17 913
Chegutu West	CHIGAVAZIRA LAST FARAI CHIVERO ADDMORE KONJANA GIFT MACHOKA MAKIYI ELIZABETH MATIBE TAKALANI PRINCE	ZANU-PF CCC INDEPENDENT INDEPENDENT INDEPENDENT	11 308 13 942 875 72 320
Chegutu West	CHIGAVAZIRA LAST FARAI CHIVERO ADDMORE KONJANA GIFTMACHOKA MAKIYI ELIZABETH MATIBE TAKALANI PRINCE	ZANU-PF CCC INDEPENDENT INDEPENDENT INDEPENDENT	11 308 13 942 875 72 320
Chinhoyi	CHIDZOMBA THOMAS MHANGWA LESLIE EVERMAN MUNYANDURITENDAI PETER MUTODI NYASHA BLESSING SILENCE	ZANU-PF CCC DOP ZCPD	10 051 15 761 60 85
Gokwe Kana	NCUBE OWEN NEMATO TSIKADZASHE	ZANU PF CCC	14384 5212
Hurungwe	KANGAUSARUCHENJERAI MANDAVA BLESSING	ZANU-PF CCC	23 290 3 350
Hurungwe East	KANGAUSARU CHENJERAI MANDAVA BLESSING	ZANU PF CCC	23290 3350
Hurungwe North	MANGWAIRASTANFORD MURINGAZUVA PAX	CCC ZANU-PF	8 163 18 524
Hurungwe West	KAMBUZUMA CHINJAI ZVAREVASHE INNOCENT	ZANU-PF CCC	13 139 7 762
Kadoma Central	DAKA COSMAS HAMAMUTI DZIKAMAI MAMBIRIPIRI GIFT	ZANU-PF MDC-T CCC	7 956 476 14 940

ANNEXURE 1: NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTION RESULTS (Cont...)

MASHONALAND WEST

CONSTITUENCY	CANDIDATE	PARTY	VOTES
Kariba	CHIWESHE DORAS	FREEZIM	381
	GWANGWABA SHINE	CCC	11 786
	MUGADZA PATRICK PHILLIP	DOP	261
	MUTSAU ANDREW	CCC	858
	SHAMU TICHAONA MICHAEL	ZANU-PF	11 015
Magunje	JASI GABRIEL	INDEPENDENT	453
	KUSEMAMURIWO TONDERAYI	CCC	8 422
	TODD		
	MONGA SUPER	ZANU-PF	10 121
Makonde	NYAKATA CHRISTOPHER	INDEPENDENT	719
	TIGERE NOEL	CCC	5 448
	ZIYAMBI SIMBARASHE	ZANU-PF	22 815
Mhangura	MOMBESHORA DOUGLAS	ZANU-PF	29 195
	TENDAI		
	ZUNGURA DAVID	CCC	3 338
Mhondoro Mubaira	MUBAIRA JONATHAN	INDEPENDENT	243
	CHIVAURA VENGAI	CCC	8 716
	CHIWANZA CHAMUNORWA	ZANU-PF	14 019
Mhondoro-Ngezi	MUKUHLANI TAVENGWA	ZANU-PF	15 980
	NETANYAU INNOCENT	DOP	493
	TAPERA SIMON	CCC	11 188
Muzvezve	HARITATOS VANGELI	ZANU-PF	16 754
	PETER		
	MARUFU NICHOLAS ANYWAY	CCC	6 425
Norton	MLISWA TEMBA PETER	INDEPENDENT	7 518
	SHAMU CONSTANCE	ZANU-PF	5 017
	TSVANGIRAYI RICHARD	CCC	13 089
Sanyati	CHABUKA SIMANGALISO	INDEPENDENT	406
	KAMBAMURA POLITE	ZANU-PF	17 474
	MAFA LAHLIWE	CCC	4843

ANNEXURE 1: NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTION RESULTS (Cont...)

MASHONALAND WEST

CONSTITUENCY	CANDIDATE	PARTY	VOTES
Zvimba East	MUKWANGWARIWA FRANCIS GARIKAI	ZANU-PF	15 246
	MUTASA OLIVER	CCC	15 435
Zvimba North	CHOMBO MARIAN	ZANU-PF	20 616
	JENAMI WILLARD	CCC	5 382
Zvimba West	DINHA MERCY MARUVA	ZANU-PF	11 496
	KURWA BRIGHTON CHIKAKA	INDEPENDENT	536
	TANYANYIWA MEKIA	CCC	7 574

ANNEXURE 1: NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTION RESULTS (Cont...)

MANICALAND

CONSTITUENCY	CANDIDATE	PARTY	VOTES
Buhera Central	KANDENGATIMOTHY MATEMA SAMSON	CCC ZANU-PF	5 276 11 220
Buhera North	GUYO PHILLIP MAGARANGOMA JULIUS	ZANU-PF CCC	12 288 6 756
Buhera West	MANGWANYA HERBERT MUGWADI TAFADZWA TSVANGIRAI KOMBORERO	CCC ZANU-PF MDC-T	6 997 11 037 247
Chikanga	CHARAMBA GARIKAYI GAMBURENI TAURAI KARENYI LYNETTE MUCHINA KENNETH	NCA UZA CCC ZANU-PF	59 115 14 237 3 852
Chikanga	CHARAMBA GARIKAYI GAMBURENI TAURAI KARENYI LYNETTE MUCHINA KENNETH	NCA UZA CCC ZANU-PF	59 115 14 237 3 852
Chimanimani East	DUBE INNOCENT SACCO JOSHUA KURT	CCC ZANU-PF	6 193 16 823
Chimanimani West	MAPOSA WILSON MATIASHE CANAAN MUSHANGO ISAIAH	ZANU-PF CCC NCA	16 229 9 917 111
Chipinge Central	DHLUMO LIVINGSTONE MACHINGURA RAYMORE	CCC ZANU-PF	11 148 13 133
Chipinge East	DHLIWAYO LINCOLN MLAMBO MATHIAS MATEWU MUPAJI SAMUEL	ZANU-PF CCC NCA	12 186 8 582 213
Chipinge South	PORUSUNGAZI ENOCK HLATYWAYO CLIFFOR MUPAKATITAKAWIRA SITHOLE NELSON MAUNDE ARMY MLAMBO RONALD	ZANU-PF CCC NCA DUZ INDEPENDENT INDEPENDENT	8 090 11 039 388 142 623 419

ANNEXURE 1: NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTION RESULTS (Cont...)

MANICALAND

CONSTITUENCY	CANDIDATE	PARTY	VOTES
Dangamvura	JANI CLIDE	ZANU-PF	6 343
	MUTSEYAMI PROSPER CHAPFIWA	CCC	17 000
	MWANDUNGUZA LAMECK MARK	NCA	221
Headlands	JULIUS LASTONE	INDEPENDENT	527
	MAPFUMO FARAWALTER	ZANU-PF	14 931
	ZISWA VALENTINE TINODYANAVO	CCC	3 758
Makoni Central	NYIKA SHEPHERD	ZANU-PF	8 503
	SAGANDIRA PATRICK	CCC	9 644
	TEKESHE DAVID	MDT-T	1 760
Makoni North	CHITENA SHEPHERD	CCC	6 257
	MUWOMBI JOSEPH	ZANU-PF	12 306
MakoniSouth	CHENAI DANMORE TINASHE	CCC	8 451
	MUCHAURAYA PISAI	DUZ	768
	NYAKUEDZWA ALBEIT	ZANU-PF	13 556
Makoni West	GONYE PRINCE	INDEPENDENT	549
	GOVHA GODFREY M	CCC	5 899
	MUSWERE JENFAN	ZANU-PF	10 863
MUTARE CENTRAL	JAMES BRIAN LESLIE	CCC	15 628
	MUPFUMI ISAU FUNGAI	ZANU-PF	5010
Mutare North	MAHACHI ADMIRE	ZANU-PF	16 133
	TAKABIKA TENDAI	CCC	7 878
Mutare South	DUMBARIMWE TAWANDA	ZANU-PF	12 886
	SAUNYAMA FUNGAI	CCC	10 362
	MACKENZIE		

ANNEXURE 1: NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTION RESULTS (Cont...)

MANICALAND

CONSTITUENCY	CANDIDATE	PARTY	VOTES
Mutare West	MARANGE NYASHA	ZANU-PF	14 641
	MUJUMA THOMAS	INDEPENDENT	959
	NEMASASI PRAYER	CCC	7 523
Mutasa Central	BENZA INNOCENT	ZANU-PF	13 717
	DAMBUDZO	CCC	9 781
	CHEKECHE DIXSON		
Mutasa North	BVUTE OBEY	ZANU-PF	14 085
	CHITSARA GODFREY	CCC	9 912
Mutasa South	MUGADZA MISHECK	ZANU-PF	11 608
	TSUNGA REGAI	CCC	10 383
Mutema- Musikavanhu	CHAUKE ALEXANDER	DUZ	354
	GATA ANGELINE	ZANU-PF	13 717
	MUDZAMIRI THOMAS	NCA	269
Nyangana North	NYAMUDEZA SIBONILE	CCC	11 475
	CHIFODYA NYAHANDO	CCC	8 540
	MWONZORA MUNYARADZI	MDC-T	735
Nyangana South	CHIDO SANYATWE	ZANU-PF	13 166
	MADZIWA TONDERAI JOSEPH	MDC-T	619
	MANDIWANZIRA SUPER	ZANU-PF	10327
	COLLINS		
	RUXANDRA GRIGORETA	CCC	9575

ANNEXURE 1: NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTION RESULTS (Cont...)

MASVINGO

CONSTITUENCY	CANDIDATE	PARTY	VOTES
Bikita South	MUTODI ENERGY NYIKA BARNEY	ZANU-PF CCC	11 396 6 622
Bikita West	CHIVASA MADOCK TATIRAI GUTUZA PIKIRAI NATISO DANIEL	NCA CCC ZANU-PF	774 7 775 11 614
Chiredzi Central	HWENDE GIBSON MAKUMIRE ROPAFADZO MOYO FRANCIS	INDEPENDENT CCC ZANU-PF	676 12 342 7 832
Chiredzi East	MALULEKO GODFREY MUNDUNGEHAMA SIYAKI VHURANDE AHLUPEKO	CCC ZANU-PF NCA	3922 14 265 262
Chivi Central	MAKOTESE PETER ALEXIOS MAONEKE EXEVILA	CCC ZANU-PF	5 255 11 710
Chivi North	CHID AUSHE EMMANUEL MUKUNGURUGWA HURUVA GODFREY MUTSWUNGUMA MARGARET	CCC ZANU-PF UZA	5 905 11 769 78
Chivi South	CHIKONDERE DANISAI MABURUTSE SAUL	CCC ZANU-PF	4 617 12 874
Gutu Central	CHITANDO WINSTON TAKAONA MATHEW	ZANU-PF CCC	13 683 6 439
Gutu East	GANYIWA BENJAMIN GONESE GIFT VHENGERE GEORGE	ZANU-PF CCC INDEPENDENT	7 569 4 759 4 641
Gutu West	PARADZA JOHN Morudu Ephream Kurwa Robson Mudzingwa Sebastian. M	ZANU-PF CCC NCA INDEPENDENT	12 147 1 258 138 1 775

ANNEXURE 1: NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTION RESULTS (Cont...)

MASVINGO

CONSTITUENCY	CANDIDATE	PARTY	VOTES
Gutu South	GOBVU HAMANDISHE TOGAREPI PUPURAI	CCC ZANU-PF	7 116 9 960
Masvingo Central	MAVHAIRE MOSES TINASHE ZVOBGO EDDISON MUDIWA N	CCC ZANU-PF	7 350 9 967
Masvingo North	MADZIVIRE ENOCK MUDUMI BRIAN	CCC ZANU-PF	9 147 11 694
Masvingo South	MABVUURE KNOWLEDGE MUKOMBERI TANATSIWA	CCC ZANU-PF	5 088 11 467
Masvingo Urban	MABOKE COLLEN MAWENDE WELLINGTON MAZARIRE BONFACE MUNERI MUNERI SMART MURERI MARTIN	INDEPENDENT ZANU PF MDC-T UZA CCC	1 629 6 513 294 86 13 042
Masvingo West	GASVA PEDZISAI RUVAI EZIRA	CCC ZANU-PF	9 458 10 472
Mwenezi East	CHIKOMO SHEILLAH TARUONA MARTIN	ZANU-PF CCC	17 232 1 910
Mwenezi North	MAKOPE MASTER MAPFUMO PATRICK	ZANU-PF CCC	13 945 3 373
Mwenezi West	CHIFUMURO BRILLIANT MOYO PRISCILLA SHUMBA TAFADZWA DHERERAI	CCC ZANU-PF INDEPENDENT	1 054 14 391 6 495
Zaka Central	IMBAYARWO PETER MARAPIRA DAVIS	CCC ZANU-PF	7 278 13 309
Zaka North	MURAMBIWA OPHIAS ZANGA MUNYARADZI	ZANU-PF CCC	12 620 7 079
Zaka South	CHIDUWA CLEMENCE MANJENGWAYI TRUST S	ZANU-PF CCC	14 163 5 536

ANNEXURE 1: NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTION RESULTS (Cont...)

MATABELELAND NORTH

CONSTITUENCY	CANDIDATE	PARTY	VOTES
Binga North	MUNSAKA KUDAKWASHE	ZANU-PF	9 663
	MAVULA		
	MUNSAKA MILLION	NCA	289
	NYONI PETER	INDEPENDENT	174
	SIACHAMI WESSELE SIANKUMBA	MDC-T	288
	SIBANDA DUBEKO PRINCE	CCC	13 530
Binga South	CUMANZALA FANUEL	CCC	10 967
	GAVA ANESU	ZCPD	349
	KUJULU MUNKOMBWE TEMBA	INDEPENDENT	1 044
	TOONSET		
	PHIRI CHALLENGE	ZANU-PF	7 258
	SIYANAGA JOHN	INDEPENDENT	174
Binga South	CUMANZALA FANUEL	CCC	10 967
	GAVA ANESU KUJULU	ZCPD	349
	MUNKOMBWE TEMBA TOONSET	INDEPENDENT	1 044
	PHIRI CHALLENGE	ZANU-PF	7 258
	SIYANAGA JOHN	INDEPENDENT	174
Bubi	MABHENA BEKHITHEMBA	CCC	4 672
	MATHE NKULULEKO	INDEPENDENT	899
	MOYO LUKE	ZAPU	753
	NCUBE ENERST	FREE ZIM	
		CONGRESS	150
	NYATHI BEKEZELA	UANC	250
	SIBANDA FORTUNE JAMELA	MDC-T	583
	SIBANDA SIMELISIZWE	ZANU-PF	11 208
Hwange Central	CHINENE BRIAN	INDEPENDENT	225
	DUBE REEDS	ZANU PF	5 157
	MOLOKELA-TSIYE FORTUNE DANIEL	CCC	9 167
	NDHLOVU COSMAS	INDEPENDENT	646
	NKOMAZANA SALANI	MDC-T	102
	NYATI HARRIET	FZC	74

ANNEXURE 1: NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTION RESULTS (Cont...)

MATABELELAND NORTH

CONSTITUENCY	CANDIDATE	PARTY	VOTES
Hwange East	BONDA JOSEPH	CCC	8 931
	PHIRI MICHAEL	MDC-T	684
	SIKUKA ALOIS SUNDANO	ZANU-PF	8 485
Insiza North	MASUKU DAVID	CCC	4 837
	TARUVINGA FARAI	ZANU-PF	9 716
Insiza South	MOYO SIFANJANI PAUL	CCC	7 439
	SITHOLE SPARE	ZANU-PF	8 072
Lupane East	GUMBO MTENJWA	ZAPU	881
	MACHANGU NCUBE	ZANU-PF	6 241
	PHATISIWE	UZA	171
	MOYO EZEKIEL	CCC	6 476
	VANYA MOYO BRIGHT		
Nkayi North	MATHEMA SITHABISIWE	INDEPENDENT	804
	NDLOVU CHIEF	MDC – T	4 065
	NDLOVU MANDLA	CCC	3 110
	NYONI SITHEMBISO GILE G	ZANU-PF	5 492
Nkayi South	HADEBE JABUALANI	CCC	6 269
	MATHE STARS	ZANU-PF	5 066
	MOYO CLILOPASI	CCC	576
Tsholotsho North	DUBE FRANCIS ENGELBERT	UZA	308
	GUMBO DOKOTELA	ZAPU	834
	KHUMALO SIBANGUMUZI	ZANU-PF	5 798
	SIXTONE		
	MOYO VINCENT	INDEPENDENT	170
	SIBANDA LIBION	CCC	7571
Tsholotsho South	MOYO BONGANI	INDEPENDENT	353
	MTHOMBENI LEONARD	ZAPU	1 130
	NCUBE MUSA	ZANU-PF	7 885
	SIBANDA TAPSON NGANUNU	CCC	7 111

ANNEXURE 1: NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTION RESULTS (Cont...)

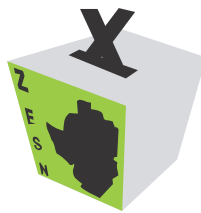
MATABELELAND NORTH

CONSTITUENCY	CANDIDATE	PARTY	VOTES
Umguza	MALIGWA QUEEN	CCC	8 070
	MOYO RICHARD	ZANU -PF	11 718
	NCUBE KUMBULANI	DOP	152
	PETER		
	SIBANDA YOUNG	INDEPENDENT	144
	WILSON ANDREW	UZA	194

ANNEXURE 1: NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTION RESULTS (Cont...)

MATABELELAND SOUTH

CONSTITUENCY	CANDIDATE	PARTY	VOTES
Gwanda	NCUBE LUNGISANI COSTER TWO MINUTES MNKALA DESIRE	ZANU-PF CCC	7 051 7 456
Gwanda	MAZHALE JASTONE MOYO FISANI NCUBE LUCKSON	CCC ZANU-PF ZAPU	5 839 8 671 271
Gwanda South	DUBE PATRICK GUMBO HAPPY MARUPI OMPHILE NARE TIMOTHY	CCC UZA ZANU-PF ZAPU	5 099 269 7 941 270
Mangwe	DUBE GOBOSAMANG NKOMO THEMBINKOSI NLEYA SANDISIWE SIHLABO VINCENT	MRP ZAPU ZANU-PF CCC	350 564 6 506 7 705
Matobo	DUBE NICHOLAS ABSON MOYO EDGAR NGWENYA COLLEN NYATHI MLUNGISI	ZAPU ZANU-PF CCC INDEPENDENT	698 7 366 6 219 278
Matobo Mangwe	KHUPHE PATRIOTIC NCUBE SOUL NDEBELE MADALABOY NGWENYA JACOB	ZAPU ZANU-PF CCC INDEPENDENT	1 554 5 046 6 701 326
Umzingwane	MAYIHLOME LEVI NDLOVU MCEBISI	ZANU-PF CCC	7 416 7 232



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