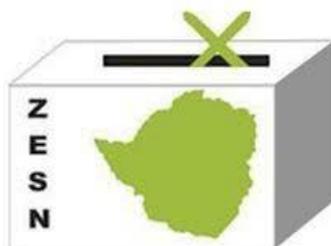


# ZIMBABWE ELECTION SUPPORT NETWORK



## Key Considerations for Delimitation in 2023

### Final Report: Citizen Perceptions on Delimitation of Electoral Constituencies and Wards in Zimbabwe

**APRIL 2019**

## About the Zimbabwe Election Support Network

The Zimbabwe Election Support Network (ZESN) is a coalition of 36 non-governmental organizations formed to co-ordinate activities pertaining to elections. The major focus of the Network is to promote democratic processes in general and free and fair elections in particular. ZESN was also established to standardize the NGOs' election-related activities and methodology, as well as to ensure wider geographical coverage and co-ordination of activities. The broad aim of the Network is therefore to enhance the electoral process in Zimbabwe in order to promote democracy and good governance in general, and free and fair elections in particular, whilst adhering to internationally acceptable standards. The vision of ZESN is a Zimbabwe where a democratic electoral environment and processes are upheld and its mission is to promote democratic elections in Zimbabwe.

The objectives of ZESN are:

- To enhance citizen participation in issues of governance and democracy;
- To promote democratic free and fair electoral processes through objectively and impartially monitoring and observing elections;
- To promote the creation of a legal framework and an election culture for free and fair elections; and
- To effectively gather, disseminate and communicate objective information about elections and other democratic processes.

ZESN's core programme areas are:

- Monitoring and Observation;
- Advocacy for Electoral Reforms;
- Electoral Education; and
- Monitoring, Evaluation and Learning.

## Foreword

The Zimbabwe Election Support Network (ZESN) is pleased to publish its research report on the Delimitation of Electoral Boundaries. The report is a culmination of research conducted by ZESN over a period of 3 months. The report reviews the legal framework for delimitation, the public's understanding of the issues on boundaries delimitation and their expectation from the various actors on the issues of boundaries' delimitation in Zimbabwe. The report also provides sentiments and expectations from citizens on the delimitation process. A case study focusing on Kenya is contained in the report from which Zimbabwe can draw lessons from.

It is important to note that delimitation is a fundamental process of the Electoral Cycle. The importance of demarcating boundaries is important in ensuring fair representation of the electorate. Delimitation is a technical process hence it is important that it is understood by all stakeholders. It is imperative that principles of the delimitation process which include; impartiality, equality of the vote, non-discrimination, representativeness and transparency are embedded in the legal framework, process and procedures of delimitation of electoral boundaries.

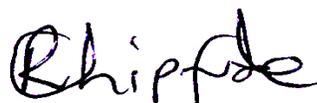
This research comes at a time when electoral reforms are on the agenda and ZESN believes that electoral stakeholders should prioritise issues pertaining to delimitation to promote integrity and credibility of the process. The research highlights the importance of stakeholder engagement; participation of citizens; impartiality/ independence of the ZEC; role of stakeholders; and transparency of the delimitation process.

To obtain these views ZESN designed a checklist with close-ended questions which was administered to 2390 respondents in all the 10 administrative provinces of Zimbabwe. In addition, ZESN analysed voter registration statistics for all 210 constituencies from a voters' roll purchased in February 2019. These registration statistics became the basis from which a formula was applied to obtain the average registration figures per constituency.

The case study from Kenya provides an analysis of delimitation processes in the country. The case study touches on the legal framework for delimitation in Kenya, key considerations for delimitation in Kenya, procedures and processes for boundaries delimitation, role of stakeholders, challenges, and lessons for Zimbabwe.

Whilst delimitation will be conducted just after the national population census in 2022, as provided for by Section 161 (1) of the Constitution, ZESN believes that this research will be used to start deliberations on the process especially focusing on resourcing the Commission, stakeholder engagement, citizen participation, strengthening the independence of the Electoral Commission, building transparency, trust and public confidence, and voter and civic education.

The report will be used for advocacy and ZESN hopes that this research sets the impetus for deliberations by all stakeholders. It is our hope that the report is enlightening and insightful on issues constituency and ward delimitation.



Rindai Vava

National Director

## Acknowledgements

The Zimbabwe Election Support Network, is grateful to funding partners who supported the delimitation research, without whom this project would not have been successful. We want to thank our partners who provided resources and technical assistance to ZESN.

Further appreciation goes to the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC), civil society organisations, faith based organisations, decision-makers, and other institutions that participated in the research. Insights and perspectives from these key stakeholders provided depth for the research.

The ZESN is deeply indebted to the entire research team; this includes the Statistician, Data Analyst, Enumerators and Supervisors, and Technical Experts who worked tirelessly to ensure that the research was conducted.

Our heartfelt thanks go to the citizens who took part in the survey, without their cooperation and willingness to participate this research would not have been possible. Finally, our appreciation goes to the ZESN secretariat for working tirelessly to facilitate the Delimitation Research.

## Table of Contents

About the Zimbabwe Election Support Network .....	2
Foreword .....	3
Acknowledgements .....	5
List of figures.....	8
List of Tables .....	8
Acronyms.....	9
Executive Summary .....	10
Conclusions and Recommendations.....	14
1. Introduction .....	19
1.1. Context Analysis.....	20
1.2. Historical perspective .....	20
1.3. Principles of Delimitation .....	22
1.4. Rationale for the Research.....	24
1.5. Objectives of the Study .....	26
2. Legal Framework on the Delimitation of Constituency Boundaries .....	27
2.1. Introduction .....	27
2.2. Legal Framework for Delimitation in Zimbabwe.....	28
2.3. Mandate to Conduct Delimitation .....	28
2.4. Number of Constituencies and Wards .....	29
2.5. Timing of Delimitation .....	30
2.6. Parameters of the Delimitation Process .....	30
2.7. Production of final report.....	31
2.8. Gaps in the Legal Framework.....	32
3. Methodology.....	33
3.1. Research design .....	33
3.2. Sampling Techniques .....	34
3.3. Data Collection Methods .....	37
3.4. Data analysis.....	38
3.5. Quality control and Ethical Considerations .....	38
3.5.1. Quality control.....	38
3.5.2. Ethical Considerations .....	39
3.6. Constraints and Mitigation Strategies .....	39

4.	Findings .....	41
4.1.	Importance of the Delimitation Process.....	41
4.2.	Assessing knowledge of the Delimitation Process .....	42
4.3.	Public Opinion of the Delimitation Process .....	46
4.3.1.	Consultations for delimitation .....	46
4.4.	Role of stakeholders (CSOs, Media, Political Parties, FBOs, Women, Youth).....	51
4.5.	Key considerations for Delimitation .....	55
4.5.1.	ZEC Roadmap on Delimitation .....	55
4.5.2.	Parameters for delimitation .....	57
4.5.3.	Impartiality of the ZEC .....	58
4.5.4.	Enhancing Transparency .....	59
4.6.	Provincial Summaries.....	60
4.7.	Constituency Summaries .....	63
5.	Regional Perspectives on Delimitation: Case of Kenya .....	66
5.1.	Introduction (Historical Perspective and Context Analysis) .....	66
5.2.	The Current Legal Framework for The Delimitation: The Constitution of Kenya, 2010 .....	67
5.3.	Key Procedures and Processes for Boundaries Delimitation in Kenya: .....	69
5.4.	Key considerations for delimitation in Kenya.....	70
5.5.	Role of Stakeholders in the Delimitation.....	71
5.6.	Challenges in the Delimitation of Electoral Boundaries and Units in Kenya .....	73
5.7.	Lessons for Zimbabwe from the Kenyan Experience .....	74
6.	Conclusions and Recommendations.....	75
6.1.	Conclusion .....	75
6.2.	Recommendations.....	75
7.	References .....	79
8.	Annexures .....	80
	Annexure 1: Survey Checklist.....	80
	Annexure 2: Registration by Constituency .....	90

## List of figures

Figure 1: Areas reached by the Research.....	36
Figure 2: Awareness of the Delimitation Process.....	42
Figure 3: Frequency of Delimitation.....	43
Figure 4: Knowledge on the Legal Framework for Delimitation.....	45
Figure 5: Challenges with current boundaries.....	46
Figure 6: ZEC consult stakeholders.....	46
Figure 7: Consult: Rural/ urban.....	47
Figure 8: Consult stakeholders: Province.....	48
Figure 9: When should consultative processes be held.....	49
Figure 10: Government should be involved in Delimitation.....	51
Figure 11: Map showing Government involvement.....	52
Figure 12: Map showing sentiment on Delimitation.....	52
Figure 13: Government Involvement.....	54
Figure 14: Impartiality: Gender.....	59
Figure 15: Summary of Proposed Constituency Demarcations.....	63

## List of Tables

Table 1: Projected Population.....	34
Table 2: Respondents distribution per province.....	35
Table 3: Importance Delimitation.....	41
Table 4: Awareness of Delimitation: Level of Education.....	43
Table 5: Frequency of Delimitation: Level of Education.....	44
Table 6: Responsibility to conduct Delimitation.....	44
Table 7: ZEC consult stakeholders: Rural/ Urban Setting.....	47
Table 8: Stakeholders to be consulted by the ZEC.....	48
Table 9: Addressed by the delimitation.....	50
Table 10: Government Involvement: Age.....	53
Table 11: Government Involvement: Rural/ Urban.....	53
Table 12: Citizen Involvement.....	54
Table 13: ZEC Roadmap: Gender.....	55
Table 14: Roadmap: Province.....	56
Table 15: Delimitation Calendar Shared with Stakeholders.....	56
Table 16: Data used for Delimitation.....	57
Table 17: Impartiality of the ZEC.....	58
Table 18: Impartiality of ZEC to conduct Delimitation: Rural/ Urban.....	59
Table 19: Enhancing Transparency.....	60
Table 20: Registered Voters': Constituencies.....	62

## Acronyms

CBOs	Community Based Organisations
CSOs	Civil Society Organisations
DC	Delimitation Commission
EA	Enumeration Area/s
ECK	Electoral Commission of Kenya
ESC	Electoral Supervisory Commission
FBOs	Faith Based Organisations
GIS	Geographic Information Systems
GPS	Global Positioning System
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
IDEA	International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance
IFES	International Foundation for Electoral Systems
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
ODK	Open Data Kit
PPS	Proportionate to size
PSU	Primary Sampling Unit
ZEC	Zimbabwe Electoral Commission
ZESN	Zimbabwe Election Support Network

## Executive Summary

In terms of the Constitution and the Electoral Laws, delimitation is conducted every 10 years after a population census. The last population census was held in August 2012, and the next census will be in August 2022. Changes on the frequency of delimitation was brought about in 2013, with the promulgation of the Constitution. Previously delimitation was conducted after 5 years and it was the responsibility of a Delimitation Commission (DC). The last delimitation was conducted in 2008, before the harmonised elections. Since the last delimitation; there have been internal displacements, migration that has affected the sizes of constituencies, some are too big and some are too small. Problems identified with previous delimitation processes have included; lack of transparency; lack of stakeholder consultation and participation; inadequate publicity; independence of the previous Delimitation Commission; and, inadequate time for the delimitation process.

The ZESN conducted a research on the delimitation of electoral boundaries from January 2019 to March 2019. The objectives of the research were as follows;

- To ascertain citizens' knowledge, attitudes and opinions on delimitation of constituency boundaries in Zimbabwe;
- To analyse the current framework for determining and reviewing electoral boundaries in Zimbabwe; and
- To recommend the redrawing of the boundaries of the 210 constituencies in Zimbabwe based on the current voter register and population statistics.

ZESN trained and deployed 10 supervisors and 30 enumerators, who were deployed to every province and district to collect data on delimitation. ZESN used a representative multi-stage and probability proportionate to size sampling techniques to draw a representative sample of 2 400. However, ZESN managed to reach 2390 respondents (99%) of the sample. ZESN applied gender quota and endeavored to ensure 50/50 representation.

ZESN conducted a review of the legal framework on delimitation, in order to assess where further improvements need to be made. The delimitation process in Kenya was also reviewed to enable to learn lessons for Zimbabwe.

ZESN also purchased the February 2019 voters' roll to conduct an analysis of registered voters by ward and by constituency. A formula was applied to rationalize constituencies in terms of the registered voters on the February 2019 voters' roll.

The following key issues are emanating from the research:

### **Observed gaps in the legal framework**

Public participation and consultation are important in the electoral process. However, the legal framework does not contain provisions for public participation in the delimitation process. Public participation enhances transparency, public trust, public confidence and credibility of the process.

There are no provisions on handling boundary disputes. Whilst the Constitution provides for the ZEC to make further considerations on any matter concerning delimitation, however the Commission's decision is final. Experiences from the past have shown that aggrieved political parties perceive that their concerns on boundary demarcations were not addressed due to lack of effective dispute resolution mechanisms either in the law or by the Electoral Commission.

The role of CSOs and interested parties is not clear. There should be mechanisms to involve CSOs, as observers, in order to enhance integrity and credibility of the process.

Whilst the Section 160 of the Constitution provides for Delimitation to be conducted after the census, there might not be adequate time for the delimitation report to be finalised before the elections. The delimitation report has to be finalised 6 months before the elections, or the Commission will revert to the old boundaries, yet the census is conducted in

August and it will take months for the census results to be finalised. The Commission, Parliament and Electoral Stakeholders need to find a holistic solution to this issue.

### **Citizen Knowledge of the Delimitation Process**

From the field research, a majority (83.52%) of citizens does not know about the delimitation process. Of those who are aware of delimitation, slightly above a quarter (25.89%) are aware of when delimitation occurs; nearly a third (29.70%) have knowledge of the legal framework on delimitation; and 38.32% have knowledge of the authority responsible for delimitation.

This points out to a need to raise awareness on the provisions of elections (including delimitation), in the Constitution and Electoral Act. ZESN, has posited that voter education should be a continuous process and that the voter education provided should be comprehensive, adequate and timely.

### **Role of Stakeholder and stakeholder consultations**

A majority of citizens (79.09%) believe that the ZEC should consult stakeholders on delimitation of electoral boundaries. Top 5 of the stakeholders that the ZEC should consult based on hierarchy of responses are, citizens; traditional leaders; civil society organisations; Government; and, political parties. A majority of citizens (53.2%) believe that the Government should provide adequate financial resources towards the delimitation process.

Nearly a fifth (18.89%) of the citizens want ZEC to consult stakeholders throughout the entire process, from planning until the delimitation process is finalised. When asked how citizens could participate in the process; 67.2% of citizens said through public hearings; 17.3% said through social media; and, 15.6% said through written submissions.

From these views and opinions, the ZEC should seriously consider putting in place mechanisms for consulting stakeholders, as the process will then be perceived as open, transparent, credible and will build public confidence and trust.

### **Impartiality of the ZEC and enhancing transparency of the process**

A majority (62.43%) believe that the ZEC is impartial to conduct delimitation. In order to enhance transparency of the process, citizens want the ZEC to conduct stakeholder engagement meetings; provide regular updates; conduct civic and voter education; and, need to further strengthen the independence of the electoral commission.

83.56% of the citizens pointed out that the ZEC should have a roadmap for the delimitation process. Nearly three in ten (28.61%) said roadmap should be publicized 1 year before delimitation is scheduled to take place; 26.45% said 6 months before delimitation begins; 18.69% pointed out that it should be released 3 months before delimitation starts; and, 16.93% said the roadmap has to be available 1 month before delimitation begins.

A delimitation roadmap will increase transparency and make the ZEC accountable to stakeholders. From the findings citizens generally believe that the ZEC should have a delimitation roadmap.

There is need to strengthen the independence of the Commission and build trust amongst citizens, so that it is perceived as independent. The ZEC should consider conducting inclusive and regular meetings with stakeholders, to ensure openness of the process.

### **Proposed Constituencies**

To calculate the current proposed number of constituencies, based on the February 2019 voters' roll a formula was used. Firstly, the registered voters were divided by the total number of constituencies to obtain the average registered voters per constituency. To find the number of constituencies per province, total provincial registered voters were divided by the average. Applying the +/- 20% threshold provided for in the Constitution gave these figures; the lowest number of registered voters expected for any constituency would be 21 663, the average will be 27077 and the highest number of registered voters expected would be 32493.

From the analysis of the February 2019 voters' roll, the following provinces might have decreases in their constituencies: Bulawayo from 12 to 10; Masvingo from 26 to 23; Matabeleland North from 13 to 12; and, Matabeleland South from 13 to 10. Constituencies in Mashonaland East and Midlands will remain unchanged. Increases will be experienced in the following provinces: Harare from 29 to 33; Manicaland from 26 to 27; Mashonaland West from 22 to 24; and, Mashonaland Central from 18 to 20. The calculations are based on the number of registered voters' in each province.

### **Conclusions and Recommendations**

To conclude the delimitation process is of fundamental importance in the electoral process and for the conduct of credible elections, ensuring equality of the vote and fair representation. The research has shown that there is need to rationalize constituencies that are too big and those that are too small. The delimitation process should embed the principles of transparency, non-discrimination, representativeness, equality of the vote, and impartiality. The ZEC must be perceived to be a fully independent and transparent election management body. Citizen and stakeholder participation will ensure public confidence, trust, integrity and credibility of the delimitation of electoral boundaries.

Civic and voter education will be of paramount importance for citizens to understand how boundaries are demarcated and to understand any changes to wards and constituencies resulting from the delimitation, from the research citizens know very little about delimitation. The different role of electoral stakeholders needs to be clarified, and electoral stakeholders need to be involved throughout the process.

Whilst delimitation will be conducted before the 2023 elections, it is imperative for stakeholders to engage in the process of delimitation. These engagements should focus on strengthening the independence of the ZEC, provision of civic education, stakeholder engagements and reviewing the legal framework for delimitation.

Based on the research, the ZESN proffers the following recommendations:

## **Recommendations to the ZEC**

### ***The ZEC should:***

#### **1. Conduct Voter and Civic Education**

- Conduct comprehensive civic and voter education on the delimitation process. The civic and voter education should be accurate, comprehensive and inclusive. It should include information of how the delimitation will be conducted. This can be done by raising awareness on the provisions of delimitation in the Constitution and the Electoral Act.
- The voter and civic education should also be conducted after the delimitation of electoral boundaries to inform the electorate of changes in wards and constituencies, as polling stations might change because of changes to wards and constituencies.
- The ZEC in consultation with stakeholders should produce a civic and voter education manual focusing on delimitation. The civic education should be inclusive of vulnerable and marginalized groups including people living with disabilities.

#### **2. Stakeholder Engagement**

- The ZEC should consider engaging electoral stakeholders on the delimitation process. The engagement can include conducting feedback and consultative meetings. The engagement meetings will go a long way in enhancing accountability and credibility of the process.
- ZEC should commence stakeholder engagements and open discussions on the pros and cons of delinking the Census report and delimitation process.

#### **3. Public Participation**

- The ZEC should ensure that the public participates in the delimitation of electoral boundaries. This can be done by putting in place mechanisms, for example public hearings that promote public participation provide for mechanisms to allow

submission of memorandum both print and electronic, use of social and mainstream media. This will go a long way in building public confidence and trust.

- The Electoral Act should be amended to incorporate provisions that promote the public participation of citizens.

#### **4. Roadmap**

A comprehensive roadmap on Delimitation should be publicized well on time. This will allow other stakeholders, for example CSOs to have oversight on delimitation. CSOs can also plan in accordance to the set timelines in the roadmap. The roadmap will enhance transparency of the process.

- The ZEC should release the delimitation timetable at the earliest opportunity to enable civil society actors engage in provision of civic education to complement the ZEC civic education programme

#### **5. Voter Registration Mobilisation**

- Voter registration mobilisation exercise should be conducted before delimitation, to allow the Commission to register as much as possible all eligible voters. This will enhance accuracy of the process. The drive will ensure representativeness and equality of the vote, as well as to prevent malapportionment of electoral constituencies and wards.

#### **6. Further regulations on delimitation**

- These regulations can include mechanisms for participation of citizens
- Regulations that facilitate the involvement of CSOs in the process, as observers to provide an oversight role
- Regulations for alternative dispute resolutions mechanisms pertaining to the delimitation process.

## **7. Delimitation budget**

- ZEC must also set its delimitation budget in consultation with relevant stakeholders to make the process as transparent as possible.
- ZEC should consult parliament and treasury to ensure timely resourcing of the delimitation process.

### ***The Parliament of Zimbabwe should:***

## **8. Legal review of provisions of delimitation**

- The legal review will entail enacting provisions that facilitate participation of citizens and key electoral stakeholders in the process.
- Mechanisms for legal redress in cases of boundary disputes, and complaints and appeals mechanism.
- The law must provide for provisional delimitation maps to be advertised widely to ensure their accuracy to enable interested parties to properly scrutinize and give feedback on the maps. The delimited maps must be made available to the public at ward level and at constituency level and the public must have access to them.
- Electoral stakeholders need to revisit the provisions on the timing of the delimitation process.

### ***The Government of Zimbabwe and Development Partners:***

## **9. Provide resources**

- The Government should provide adequate resources (especially financial) to the ZEC on time for the process
- Strengthen, guarantee and commit to put in place mechanisms that further promote the independence of the electoral commission
- The role of the Executive in the delimitation of Constituencies and Wards should be limited.
- Government and development should provide for resources for technical support to ZEC.

### **Civil Society Organisations**

#### **10. Conduct civic and voter education**

- CSOs should conduct civic and voter education on the delimitation of electoral boundaries before the process begins and after the process ends.
- The voter and civic education should be inclusive of vulnerable and marginalized groups, including People Living with Disabilities, minority ethnic groups, women, youth, amongst others

#### **11. Accreditation and observation of the process**

- CSOs should consider observing the delimitation process and the various delimitation consultations that ZEC may conduct to promote transparency, openness and accountability.

## 1. Introduction

Electoral boundaries create geographical divisions or electoral constituencies for the purpose of electing government representatives<sup>1</sup>. Delimitation is generally based on the principles of equal suffrage and proportionality. IDEA (2014 p.77) notes that the principle of one man one vote should apply, hence the drawing of electoral boundaries and the method of allocating votes should not distort the distribution of voters or discriminate against any group. Delimitation is the process of drawing electoral boundaries.

The ZEC defines delimitation as the process of dividing the country into Constituencies and Wards for the purposes of elections of persons to constituency seats in the National Assembly and of councilors to local authorities<sup>2</sup>. Delimitation must be conducted an independent and impartial institution.

Electoral boundaries create a strong geographic link between constituents and representatives, which allows constituents to hold their representatives accountable<sup>3</sup>. Fair constituency-delimitation procedures will take into account a range of information, including available census data, territorial contiguity, geographic and topographic accessibility, and communities of interest. The setting of election boundaries is critical as it also affects the allocation of polling stations in the different wards. If delimitation is carried out late, the list of polling stations will inevitably be published late with no time to sort out mistakes, or adequately review and rectify any anomalies. If it will not be carried out the letter and the spirit of the constitution will be contravened more so access to political rights as there will be no fair representation and equality of the vote.

---

<sup>1</sup> Open Election Initiative: Section 3: Key Election Process Categories Electoral Boundaries What are Electoral Districts; available at< <https://openelectiondata.net/en/guide/key-categories/electoral-boundaries/>>

<sup>2</sup> <https://www.zec.org.zw/pages/delimitation>

<sup>3</sup> Open Election Initiative: Section 3: Key Election Process Categories Electoral Boundaries What are Electoral Districts; available at< <https://openelectiondata.net/en/guide/key-categories/electoral-boundaries/>>

### **1.1. Context Analysis**

In Zimbabwe electoral boundaries are a critical factor of the electoral outcome. Zimbabwe is divided into 210 National Assembly constituencies, 1 958 wards and 60 senatorial seats. The predominant electoral system in place in Zimbabwe for some time has been the *First Past the Post*, a system which is greatly impacted by the demarcation of boundaries and numbers of registered voters. Also, the requirement for voter registration and actual voting to take place within a specified constituency, has led to electoral processes that have been contested. National Assembly seats determine the allocation of constituencies.

Electoral boundaries delimitation needs to be managed properly to avoid manipulation and undue political influence. Population changes or changes to administrative or electoral boundaries may necessitate redrawing of boundaries. In Zimbabwe population changes have been triggered by a number of factors; increased rural- urban migration; population displacements/ forced evictions have resulted in the development of informal settlements; economic pull and push factors resulting in Zimbabweans seeking better opportunities in other towns/cities and countries; and political factors. In most such instances the delayed boundary delimitation has led to an increase or decrease in voting numbers in particular places, as well as dilution of certain votes, swinging the outcome in favour of certain political parties. Settlements of displaced persons have commonly arisen near sparsely populated low-density areas that are close to rural constituencies, or where there is open land that can be inhabited.

### **1.2. Historical perspective**

In the past, there have been allegations of manipulation of electoral boundaries. This perception, that the process is flawed and subject to manipulation, has been fueled by a general lack of trust of the institution involved in spearheading the process

Before the 2013 Constitution came into force, there were a number of problems with delimitation of boundaries. The independence of the Delimitation Commission responsible

for this process was questionable. All the members of the Delimitation Commission (DC) were appointed by the President, an Executive with vested interests in the elections. The Delimitation Commission relied on the Electoral Supervisory Commission (ESC), and the Registrar General's office for information to conclude its work. The process was not transparent and generally there was no access to relevant information for stakeholders.

In 2000, delimitation was done well after the five-year interval set in terms of section 59(4) of the old Constitution. The delimitation exercise was predicated on the number of registered voters at the time, including those who were on the supplementary voters' roll. This voters' roll was not provided on time hence the DC did not have adequate time to complete the delimitation process. Although opposition parties objected to some constituencies losing seats and others gaining– with a noticeable trend of rural gaining and urban losing – no tangible action was taken to rectify this.

During the 2008 harmonised elections, the DC conducted a process that was heavily criticised. Of particular concern was the failure by the ZEC to carry out its educative mandate after the boundaries were set. The public was not adequately and timeously informed about the delimitation of constituencies and the comprehensive changes in boundaries. Knowledge of the new constituencies and wards was not widespread prior to polling day. The timing of the Delimitation left inadequate time for voters to establish their ward and constituency boundaries and subsequently inspect the voters' roll. For other stakeholders such as civil society, there was limited access to information about delimitation of boundaries that was insufficient for purposes of comprehensive voter education and review/analysis.

In 2008, the allocation of polling stations was done on 8 March 2008 – 20 days before polling day - in contravention with section 51 of the Electoral Act requiring information about polling stations to be provided at least 21 days prior to the polling date.

Anomalies in delimitation of constituencies were also observed by other external independent observers ahead of the March 2008 elections. For instance, the Pan African Parliament election observation team, after reviewing the information contained in the '2008 Delimitation Report' observed the following;

- One ward in the Harare North constituency of ward 42 had a block that purportedly had 8450 voters, many of whom were registered under the names of cooperatives.
- This was a deserted location that had some residential stands with a few scattered wooden shacks.
- 8450 was almost a third of the so-called registered voters from Harare North.

ZESN (2008 p.8) also noted inconsistencies in the 2008 delimitation; for example, provinces that were largely rural, Mashonaland East, Mashonaland West, Midlands and Masvingo received more new constituencies, while urban provinces such as Bulawayo did not receive a significant number of new constituencies. The ZESN report noted further that in Mutare, the northern suburbs of Murambi, Fern Valley and Greenside were mixed with rural areas. Generally, the delimitation reports have been provided late, making it virtually impossible for the proposed boundaries and maps to be scrutinised by interested parties.

### **1.3. Principles of Delimitation**

Handley, L, in a Chapter published in *Challenging the Norms and Standards of Election Administration* (IFES, 2007 p. 59-74), points out that a number of the proposed guidelines are narrowly focused and not universally applicable. This is because there are different procedures and mechanisms used to delimit electoral boundaries. According to Handley, underlying many of the proposed standards are the following fundamental principles:

- Impartiality
- Equality of voting strength
- Representativeness
- Non-discrimination
- Transparency

- ✚ **Impartiality:** This refers to the independence of those conducting delimitation. The delimitation authority should be nonpartisan and professional. It is important that the process be perceived as independent and nonpartisan to build trust and public confidence. Lack of trust in the delimitation boundary authority can damage the credibility of the delimitation process. Hence the delimitation committee, should not be perceived as aligned to a political party.
  
- ✚ **Equality:** This refers to equality of voting strength. The populations of constituencies should be as equal as possible to provide voters with equality of voting strength. The concept of “equal” suffrage applied to constituency delimitation means that all voters should be granted a vote of equal weight in the election of representatives. Electoral boundaries should be drawn so that districts are relatively equal in population.
  
- ✚ **Representativeness:** Boundaries should be delimited taking into account administrative boundaries; geographic factors; and, factors related to the community of interest. International IDEA defines the community of interest as, administrative divisions; ethnic or racial or natural communities for example islands, delineated by physical features.
  
- ✚ **Non-discrimination:** The delimitation process should be devoid of electoral boundary manipulation that discriminates against voters on account of race, color, language, religion, or related status. Electoral boundaries should not be drawn in a manner that discriminates against any particular minority group. The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), Articles 2 and 25 (b), provides that suffrage be non-discriminatory.
  
- ✚ **Transparency:** The delimitation process should as transparent and accessible to the public as possible. Handley points out that the procedure for delimitation should be

accessible to the public through consultation. Transparency promotes public confidence in the integrity of the process. ZESN (2017 p. 8) points out that including public hearings into the process, to allow input is important. This gives citizens a sense of ownership.

#### **1.4. Rationale for the Research**

Delimitation is scheduled in 2023 after the national population census. Previous delimitation processes encountered the challenges raised above. ZESN believes that for a transparent process, stakeholders need to commence discussions earlier and have a say in the process and procedures build public confidence. As a way to start discussions with electoral stakeholders, ZESN conducted the research on the delimitation process, to gather citizen perceptions; to show areas where constituencies are likely to increase/decrease and to formulate recommendations.

In its report on the *Final Report of the 2018 Voters' Roll Audit*, ZESN (2018 p. 34), showed a list of constituencies whose registrants increased by more than 33% from the 2013 preliminary voters roll to the 2018 preliminary voters roll. Registrants in Harare South increased by 110%, Epworth by 102%, Goromonzi South by 99%, Dangamvura/ Chikanga by 98%, Kuwadzana 69%, Budiro by 63% and Seke by 43%. Furthermore, the ZESN report noted constituencies whose registrants decreased by more than 33% from the 2013 preliminary voters roll to the 2018 preliminary voters roll. Some of the constituencies are for example, Bulilima East experienced a decrease of -52%, Mangwe -42%, Bulilima West -43%, Insiza South -41%, Chiredzi South -39%, Magwegwe -38% and Pelandaba Mpopoma -36%. There are provinces whose registration decreased from the 2013 preliminary voters' roll and 2018 preliminary voters' roll according to the ZESN report. These are for example, Bulawayo, Masvingo, and Matabeleland South just to name a few, whilst the voter population increased in Harare and Mashonaland West. These changes in the registered voters indicate the need for delimitation to ensure equality and proportional distribution of registered voters. ZESN

(2018 p.67) further made recommendations on the need to rationalize constituencies that are too big and those that are too small.

Constituencies with high registration figures include; Harare South 76 287, Epworth 71 835, Dangamvura/ Chikanga 60 651, and Goromonzi South 73 031 with registered voters. This is in comparison to some constituencies with less than 15 000 registered voters. Examples of such include; Gutu North 14 165; Wedza South 14 295; Chikomba East 14 513; Insiza South 14 694; and Magwegwe 14 790 registered voters<sup>4</sup>. There is therefore need for rationalization to ensure the +/- 20% variation applies.

Other Election Observer Missions (EOMs) to the 2018 Zimbabwe general elections, also made recommendations on delimitation of electoral boundaries. These recommendations focus on timeliness of the process, inclusivity, independence, comprehensive legal framework; and legal redress, hence promoting transparency and public confidence. The recommendations include;

- Completing boundary delimitation no less than one year prior to the next election. To ensure inclusive consultation to increase public confidence in the boundary delimitation process, an independent, ad hoc, or permanent commission in charge of drawing the electoral constituency boundaries could be established<sup>5</sup>.
- Adopting an Act of Parliament that elaborates the legal framework for boundary delimitation, to also include provisions for consultations with political parties and civil society and a complaints and appeals mechanism before the parliamentary approval process<sup>6</sup>.

The Delimitation Research was conducted as part of the oversight function of the ZESN on elections and electoral processes in Zimbabwe. The findings from the research will be used

---

<sup>4</sup> The statistics of registered voters' are from the February 2019 voters' roll

<sup>5</sup> NDI/IRI Zimbabwe International Election Observer Mission; available at < <http://www.zesn.org.zw/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/Final-ZESN-2018-Harmonised-Election-Report.pdf>>

<sup>6</sup> European Union Election Observer Mission; available at < <http://www.zesn.org.zw/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/Final-ZESN-2018-Harmonised-Election-Report.pdf>>

for informed advocacy interventions with electoral stakeholders on what needs to be done to ensure integrity and credibility of the delimitation process.

#### **1.5. Objectives of the Study**

- To ascertain citizens' knowledge, attitudes and opinions on delimitation of constituency boundaries in Zimbabwe;
- To analyse the current framework for determining and reviewing electoral boundaries in Zimbabwe; and
- To recommend the redrawing of the boundaries of the 210 constituencies in Zimbabwe based on the current voter registration and population statistics.

## 2. Legal Framework on the Delimitation of Constituency Boundaries

### 2.1. Introduction

Though the process of delimitation differs from one country to another, there are generally accepted benchmarks and guidelines for delimitation of electoral boundaries. International IDEA (2002 p. 27) notes that the legal framework for elections should seek to ensure that the boundaries of electoral units are drawn in such a way as to achieve the objective of according equal weight to each vote to the greatest degree possible to ensure fair representation.

According to International IDEA (2002 p. 27) the legal framework needs to address the issue of how constituencies are to be defined and drawn. This in most cases is contained in relevant constitutional provisions. The legal framework for delimitation should state:

- The frequency of such determination;
- The criteria for such determination;
- The degree of public participation in the process;
- The respective roles of the legislature, judiciary and executive in the process; and
- The ultimate authority for the final determination of the electoral units

The key questions outlined below adopted from *ACE: The Electoral Knowledge Network*<sup>7</sup> corroborates with International IDEA on the provisions for the legal framework for delimitation. These key questions provide for who should conduct delimitation; independence of the delimiting authority; role of the legislature; public input; delimitation criteria; and when should delimitation take place.

- Who will draw the district lines or boundaries? And who will have the ultimate responsibility for selecting the final districting plan?
- Should the persons who draw the districts be independent from the legislature?
- Should the boundary authority be politically neutral?

---

<sup>7</sup> <http://aceproject.org/ace-en/topics/bd/onePage>

- Should the legislature have any formal role at all in the process?
- Should some mechanism exist for public input into to the process?
- Should criteria be adopted for the line drawers to follow? If so, what should these delimitation criteria be?
- How often should districts be redrawn and how long should the redistricting process take?
- Under which criteria should districts be redrawn?

## 2.2. Legal Framework for Delimitation in Zimbabwe

The legal framework for delimitation of electoral boundaries, is provided for in detail in the Constitution of Zimbabwe Section 160 and 161. The Electoral Act also contains provisions on delimitation, whilst the Census and Statistics Act [Chapter 10:29] helps in the process of determining electoral boundaries.

## 2.3. Mandate to Conduct Delimitation

The mandate to conduct delimitation is vested in the ZEC, in accordance with Section 239 (f) of the Constitution of Zimbabwe. Previously in last delimitations, before 2008 there was a Delimitation Commission that was appointed by the President and mandated to delimit electoral boundaries. The Delimitation Commission was perceived as lacking, as it was appointed by a President who was a forerunner and interested party in the elections. The Constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment 20, promulgated in May 2013, vested in the ZEC the mandate to administer and manage all electoral processes; including voter registration then done by the Registrar General of Voters and delimitation then conducted by the Delimitation Commission. The centralization of functions to conduct and administer electoral processes and elections by the ZEC are provided for in Section 239 of the Constitution.

Even though the ZEC, has the mandate to delimit electoral boundaries, certain prerequisites should be fulfilled or guaranteed by the Government, agencies of government and all

institutions. These include Section 3 (2) of the Constitution on Founding values and principles, and in particular;

*Section 3 (2)- The principles of good governance, which bind the State and all institutions and agencies of government at every level, include-*

*(b) an electoral system based on-*

*(i) Universal adult suffrage and equality of votes;*

*(ii) free, fair, and regular elections; and*

*(iii) adequate representation of the electorate.*

Section 155 of the Constitution on Principles of Electoral System, should be guaranteed, as it contains provisions necessary for delimitation.

#### **2.4. Number of Constituencies and Wards**

The number of Constituencies and wards are provided for in Section 160 (1-2) of the Constitution. Constituencies for Members of Parliament should be 210, whilst number of wards for local authority elections are not specified.

*160 (1) For the purposes of electing Members of Parliament, the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission must divide Zimbabwe into two hundred and ten constituencies.*

*(2) For the purpose of elections to local authorities, the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission must divide local authority areas into wards according to the number of members to be elected to the local authorities concerned*

The threshold used for the local authority wards is uniform for the whole country. This is inconsistent with the provision of the law particularly section 160(2) of the Constitution. This therefore means that different local authorities will have different ward voter population thresholds. This follows from the fact that different local authorities have different predominant economic activities and land uses. Some are agricultural areas with vast swaths of land under agriculture and are hence sparsely populated, others are in wildlife areas, others are mining areas and some have high concentration of population in very small areas e.g. growth points and urban centres.

## 2.5. Timing of Delimitation

Delimitation is conducted once every 10 years, after a population census<sup>8</sup>. The last delimitation was conducted in 2007, before the March 2008 harmonised elections. With the adoption of a new Constitution in 2013, delimitation was synchronized with the census and since the 2013 elections were taken as the first election, this meant that delimitation would be done after 10 years. In accordance with the provisions of the Electoral Act, the ZEC should publish in a Gazette and in any other appropriate manner, notification for the delimitation process<sup>9</sup>. The process of delimitation, should be timely. If the delimitation of electoral boundaries is completed less than six months before the general elections, the boundaries will not apply to that election, and instead boundaries that existed before the delimitation will be applicable<sup>10</sup>. However electoral stakeholders need to revisit this provision because it will take not less than 6 months for the census results to be finalised, yet as stated above the delimitation report should be finalised 6 months before the elections. Therefore electoral stakeholders will need to discuss several options, including amending the Census Act, reviewing when delimitation will be conducted, amongst others.

## 2.6. Parameters of the Delimitation Process

Provisions for the parameters for delimitation are outlined in the Constitution, Section 161 (5). These parameters include:

- As far as possible, equal numbers of registered voters in each constituency and ward in Zimbabwe;
- No ward is divided between two or more local authority area; and
- No ward is divided between two or more constituencies.

The ZEC should consider the following when delimiting electoral boundaries in any area:

- Physical features;
- Means of communication in the area;

---

<sup>8</sup> Section 161 (1) of the Constitution of Zimbabwe

<sup>9</sup> Section 37A (1) of the Electoral Act, Chapter 2:13

<sup>10</sup> Section 161 (2) of the Constitution

- Geographical distribution of registered voters;
- Any community of interest as between registered voters;
- Existing electoral boundaries; and
- Population.

The constitution also sets a threshold of not more or less than 20% of registered voters in other wards or constituencies.

Furthermore there are a number of considerations which are factored in terms of the delimitation of wards such as:

- Service provision
- Economic capacity of the local authority to fund additional representatives (councillors)
- Future development plans and land use changes
- Growth in settlements
- Boundary alignments with-in and among the local authorities, districts and provinces; and
- Community of interest among others e.g. minority groups will receive special attention

## **2.7. Production of final report**

After delimiting wards and constituencies, the ZEC must submit to the President a preliminary report that contains:

- a) *a list of wards and constituencies, with names assigned and description of boundaries;*
- b) *a map or maps showing wards and constituencies; and*
- c) *any further information or particulars that are considered necessary.*

The report has to be presented before Parliament, within 7 days, after the President has received it, upon which within 14 days either the President or Parliament may refer the report back to the ZEC to make further considerations. Even if the report has been referred back to the ZEC, the final decision rests with the Commission on the issues concerned. This means that it is not mandatory for the ZEC to take into consideration issues raised by Parliament or the President, hence some issues might not be resolved. This provision provides ZEC discretionary powers on the issues that need further consideration. ZESN (2017 p. 11) further notes that the involvement of the executive and legislature in the formulation of the delimitation report is of no consequence as ZEC still has the final say.

The final report has to be submitted to the President, and publication must be made in the Government Gazette of the names of the wards and constituencies.

## **2.8. Gaps in the Legal Framework**

There is need to align the Electoral Act with the provisions of the Constitution on delimitation. International principles of delimitation should be embedded in the legal framework. Further, there should be provisions for consultations with political parties.

Public participation and consultation are important in the electoral process. However, the legal framework does not contain provisions for public participation in the delimitation process. Public participation enhances transparency, public confidence and credibility of the process. At which stage will citizens be involved in the process? How will citizens be involved? What are the strategies in place by the ZEC to involve citizens? These are some of the fundamental questions on the participation of citizens, which need to be addressed.

There are no provisions on handling boundary disputes or a complaints and appeals mechanism. Whilst the Constitution provides for the ZEC to make further considerations on any matter concerning delimitation, however the Commission's decision is final. Experiences from the past have shown that aggrieved political parties perceive that their concerns are not being addressed.

The role of the judiciary in the process, should be clearly stated. For example, which courts will adjudicate boundary disputes? Is it going to be the Electoral Court or a Special Court is going to be established?

The role of CSOs is not clear. There should be provisions to involve CSOs, in order to enhance integrity and credibility of the process. CSOs could conduct civic and voter education on the

process (raising awareness before and after), and accreditation of CSOs to observe the delimitation process, as part of oversight role.

### **3. Methodology**

This Chapter summaries the methods used for the research. It covers the research design, sampling techniques, data collection methods, data analysis, quality control, ethical considerations, and constraints and mitigation strategies.

#### **3.1. Research design**

The research used mixed methods for the research. Legal analysis of the provisions on delimitation was done, to note adequacy and/or any gaps. A comprehensive desk research on Regional Perspectives on Delimitation: The Case of Kenya was conducted. The desk research will enable to glean lessons for delimitation in Zimbabwe.

A survey was conducted using quantitative research techniques, to gather citizen opinions and perspectives on delimitation in Zimbabwe. Bhat A, defines quantitative research as the systematic investigation of phenomena by gathering quantifiable data and performing statistical, mathematical or computational techniques<sup>11</sup>. Information is gathered using statistical methods. Quantitative research is scientific, systematic and objective because of the rigor applied in sampling, which is representative of the entire population. Examples of quantitative researches including; surveys, online polls, questionnaires, etc. A representative scientific using multi-stage and probability proportionate to size was used for the survey. The findings from the research can be generalized. A structured research questionnaire, with close-ended questions was used for data collection.

---

<sup>11</sup> Bhat A; Quantitative Research: Definition, Methods, Types and Examples: available at <  
<https://www.questionpro.com/blog/quantitative-research/>>

### 3.2. Sampling Techniques

The sample was based on the projected population of adult Zimbabweans aged 18 or more; that is the voting population up to 2018. The 2012 population census data was used as the base population to project the 2018 voting population. The survey sample was designed to be representative of Zimbabwe and is stratified by urban and rural strata. The sample was allocated using probability proportionate to size (PPS); the measure of size being the 2018 18+ projected population of provinces which is indicated on the table below. PPS was also used to select Enumeration Areas (EAs) from Zimbabwe Sampling Frame (developed after the 2012 census). The measure of size for EAs during selection was number of persons as per the projected population census figures indicated in the Table below:

**Table 1: Projected Population**

Province	Urban	Rural	Total
Bulawayo	408893	0	408893
Harare	1275112	64506	1336918
Manicaland	177588	731321	908909
Mashonaland Central	42942	576052	618994
Mashonaland East	111607	621139	732746
Mashonaland West	225688	607599	833287
Masvingo	90216	659292	749508
Matabeleland North	43978	342695	386673
Matabeleland South	53044	302812	355856
Midlands	247006	613272	860278
<b>Total</b>	<b>2676074</b>	<b>4518688</b>	<b>7194762</b>

The research used a representative sample of 2400. ZESN had targeted 2400 interviews but managed to conduct 2390 interviews, that is 99% of the targeted sample. The urban sample was 36.67% and the rural sample was 63.33% representative of the current rural-urban

population. Across provinces, the sample was allocated using PPS, hence the sample is proportional to the population of adult Zimbabweans in each province. Table 2 below shows the percentage of sampled respondents, for example Harare has the largest population, hence 18.95% of the sample was from Harare.

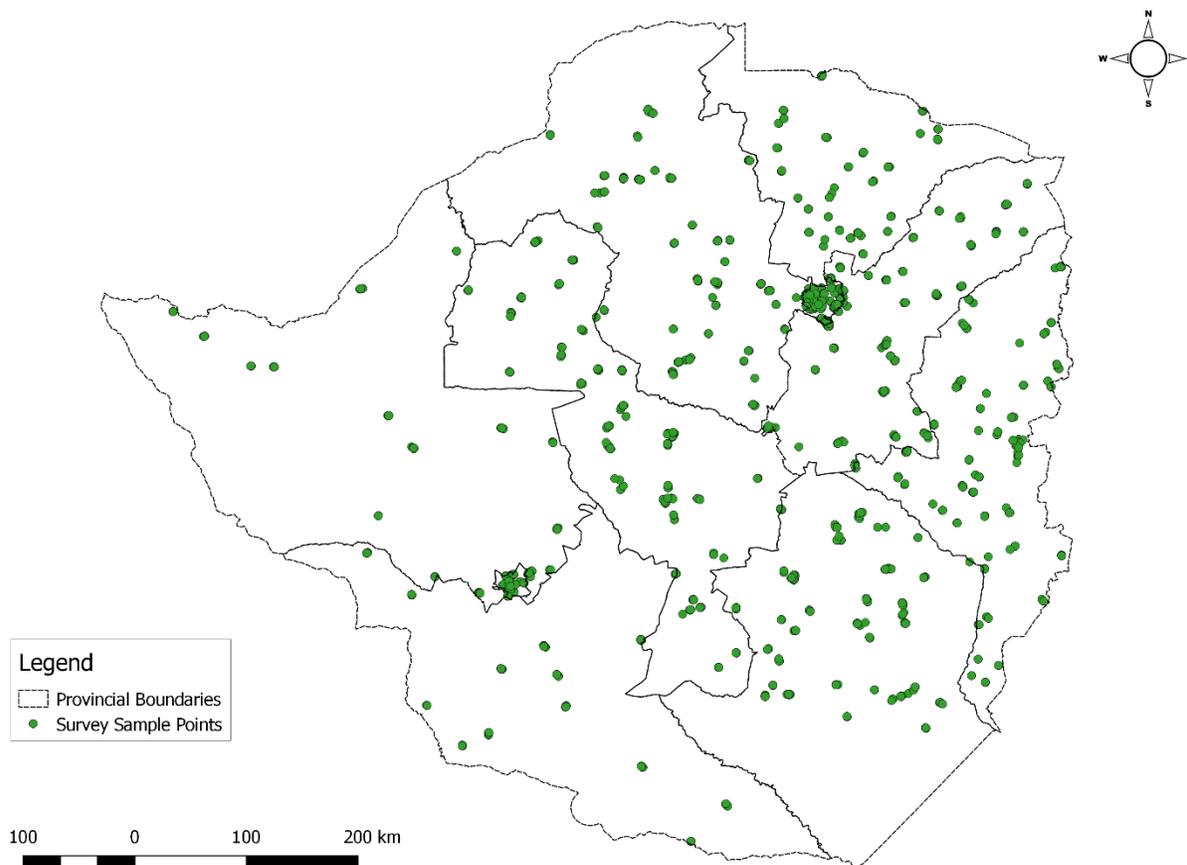
**Table 2: Respondents distribution per province**

<b>Province</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Bulawayo	5.69%
Harare	18.95%
Manicaland	12.34%
Mashonaland Central	8.91%
Mashonaland East	10.08%
Mashonaland West	12.34%
Masvingo	10.66%
Matabeleland North	4.22%
Matabeleland South	5.56%
Midlands	11.25%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>

The margin of error was +/-2% at a 95% confidence level.

The map below shows the areas that were reached by the research in all 10 provinces.

Figure 1: Areas reached by the Research



### Primary sampling units (PSU)

At the first stage the sampling frame was made up of Enumeration Areas (EAs). EAs are the smallest geographical units that consist of about 100 households. Each EA has a unique 10-digit geo-code that reflects the province, district, ward and land use sector in which it is located. For the purpose of survey, the sampling frame excluded non-household population, people residing on state land (national parks, safari areas, etc.) and in institutions, and these account for less than one percent of the population. A total of 300 EAs were sampled, with 8 interviews being conducted in each EA.

The selection of EAs (PSU) was done using the formula:

$$P_{hi} = \frac{A_h M_{hi}}{\sum M_{hi}}$$

Where:

$P_{hi}$  is the selection probability for EA number  $i$  in stratum  $h$

$A_h$  is the number of EAs selected in stratum  $h$

$M_{hi}$  is the number of people in EA number  $hi$  according to the population census

$\sum M_{hi}$  is the number of people in stratum  $h$  according to the population census

### Secondary sampling units (SSU)

Systematic Random Sampling was used to select households. In each enumeration area, 8 households were selected. The enumerators used a 5/8 interval to randomly select households in the urban areas. This entailed first skipping 5 households for the first interview, with counting starting from the right and the second house the enumerators would skip 8 households. In the rural areas because of distance and that the households are not linear, the enumerators skipped every 3<sup>rd</sup> house. Respondents were selected using simple random sampling or lucky draw, interchanging male and female, 48.72% of the respondents were male and 51.28% were females. In terms of age, 41.07% were youth between the ages of 18-35, 36.34% middle ages between 36-50 years, and 22.58% represented those aged 51+ years.

### 3.3. Data Collection Methods

Data collection was done using Open Data Kit (ODK), an open source tool that allows researchers to create, deploy and manage mobile data collection in any setting. ODK consists of ODK Build, for creating forms, ODK Collect for data collection, and ODK Aggregate for hosting data.

Programmed questionnaires are implemented on mobile smartphones and installed on a smartphone and the questionnaires are subsequently saved to the phone's SD memory, where they can be accessed and completed, even without internet connectivity<sup>12</sup>.

Data collection tools were coded into xml with in-built data quality control mechanisms to reduce error during data collection. The data was uploaded directly into an ODK Aggregate

<sup>12</sup> <https://qsel.columbia.edu/assets/uploads/blog/2013/06/Open-Data-Kit-Review-Article.pdf>

cloud server while Google Fusion tables was used for monitoring field activities with reports and maps being automatically generated to show coverage and progress.

### **3.4. Data analysis**

Data cleaning was done in Excel and Data Analysis was done using Excel and R packages i.e. Gmodels and Tidyverse. R is an open source programming tools for statistical analysis. The tidy verse is an opinionated collection of R packages designed for data science. All packages share an underlying design philosophy, grammar, and data structures<sup>13</sup>.

Gmodels was used to compare relationship between 2 variables, using CrossTable function available in Gmodels. The results were represented in a tabular format with rows indicating the levels of one variable and the columns indicating the levels of the other variable.

### **3.5. Quality control and Ethical Considerations**

#### **3.5.1. Quality control**

Data quality control involves standards, processes and procedures established to control and monitor quality (Chapman 2005 p. 5). In order for this research undertaking to be of the highest quality it was important that the research undertook the following steps to ensure accuracy of information gathered:

- Recruitment of skilled supervisors and enumerators;
- Training of enumerators and supervisors;
- Piloting or pre-testing of the checklists;
- Supervisors had to check sampling of enumeration areas, households and individuals;
- Supervisors back-checked households; Supervisors would select at least one household in an enumeration area to back check and check how household and individual sampling was done, and ask a few random questions from the checklist;
- Daily submission of field reports by supervisors;
- Daily teams debriefing;

---

<sup>13</sup> <https://www.tidyverse.org/>

- The ZESN secretariat conducted spot checks during data collection, to check adherence to sampling techniques;
- Use of Excel and R programming tools (Gmodels and Tidyverse) for quantitative data analysis and management; and
- Triangulation of data collected through various methods and from a variety of sources.

### **3.5.2. Ethical Considerations**

Informed consent was sought for all the respondents of this study. Prior to the interview, the interviewer would explain to the respondent the purpose of the research, how the findings would be used, and assure them of anonymity and confidentiality. Enumerators also explained that participation in the research was voluntary. Where an interview was not granted, enumerators, would sample the next household, by using the skip pattern. To ensure participant's confidentiality, personal identifiers were neither captured on the study tools and schedules, nor were records kept of names of respondents.

### **3.6. Constraints and Mitigation Strategies**

The following limitations were encountered during field work:

#### **Poor Road Infrastructure**

Due to the heavy rains that were experienced in some areas early February, the roads were in a bad state. Most of the bridges were washed away by the rains. Therefore, it was difficult to access remote locations, as some places did not have bridges, and some teams encountered challenges in crossing some flooded rivers. For example, Mberengwa and Gokwe enumeration areas were difficult to access due to flooded roads and poor road network. In Masvingo the vehicle was trapped in the mud in Gonarezhou National Park, and took hours to recover it, thereby delaying fieldwork. Enumeration areas that were inaccessible were systematically replaced, and the replacements did not exceed 5%. The replacements were made in Midlands-Mberengwa area; Masvingo and, in some cases

replacements were made because the area sampled could be a prison, army barrack or police camp.

### **GPS Location**

In some instances, e.g. Gokwe Nembudziya it was difficult to set the GPS location on the ODK mobile tool for data collection. In some areas, because of poor network reception, enumerators would send their checklists from another location, after leaving that area. This did not affect data collection, since geolocation had been recorded.

### **Political Suspicion and Uncertainty**

Although the enumerators were not physically abused during fieldwork, they were viewed with high suspicion in the rural areas. This posed a threat to enumerators as they were viewed as entering an unsanctioned territory. For example, in Matabeleland South, a Councilor in Mangwe district, ward 5, reported the team to the police. The enumerators had been thoroughly briefed on safety and security in the field. Enumerators were provided with identifiers (names tags) and introductory letters explaining the purpose of the research.

## 4. Findings

This Chapter focuses on presentation and discussion of findings from the research process. The following themes are discussed; assessing knowledge of the delimitation process; public opinion on the process; lessons from Kenya; role of stakeholders; provincial and constituency summaries.

### 4.1. Importance of the Delimitation Process

Delimitation is an important process for any electoral outcome. Delimitation is important for the process of demarcating electoral boundaries and voting areas. Generally, citizens are aware of the importance of the delimitation process. The table 3 below shows citizens sentiments on the importance of the delimitation process; from the top 3 responses, 32.0% pointed out that it is important for the redrawing of constituency boundaries; 31.5% said it is important for distribution of voters proportionally and 18.4% alluded to adequate representation of the electorate. (Consider use of word percent in text and % symbol in the tables)

**Table 3: Importance Delimitation**

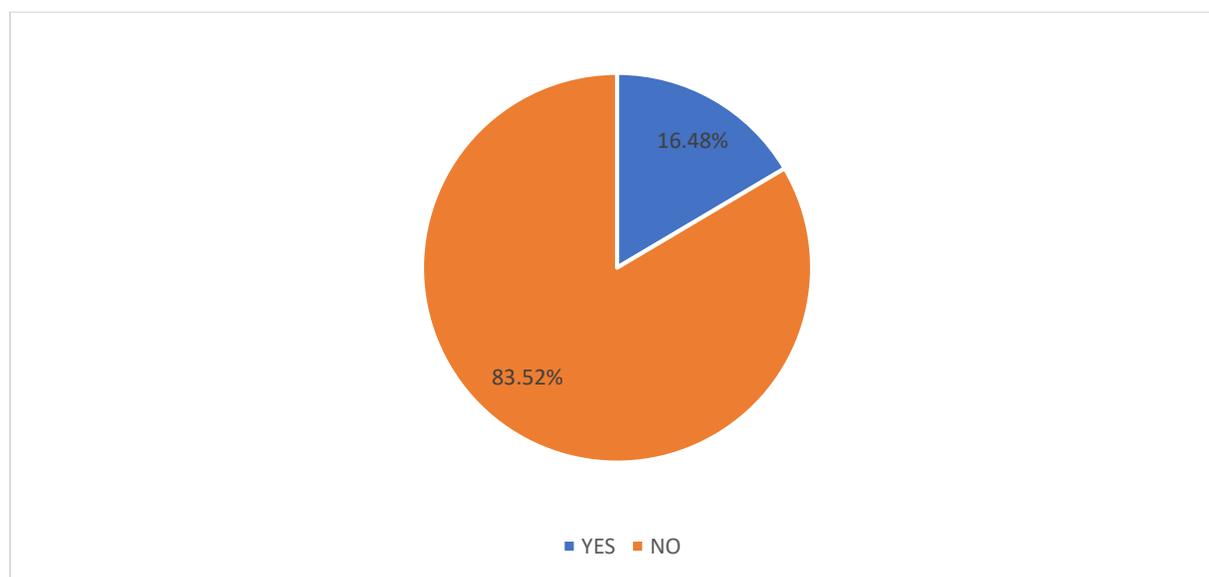
<b>Responses</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Allocate seats	10.8%
Distribution of voters proportionally	31.5%
Redrawing of constituency boundaries	32.0%
To prevent gerrymandering	17.3%
Because of the electoral system we use - FPTP	2.2%
Equality of the vote	16.5%
Adequate representation of the electorate	18.4%
Equal Distribution of Resources	1.0%

Don't Know	19.0%
Other (Specify)	1.2%

#### 4.2. Assessing knowledge of the Delimitation Process

Whilst delimitation might be a technical process, the research sought to assess level of knowledge and awareness of the process by citizens. From the research 16.48% were aware of the delimitation process, whilst 83.52% were not aware of the process (see the figure below). In the past there has been little input in terms of citizens views on the delimitation process, with concerns that the process lacked transparency. With the promulgation of a new Constitution in May 2013, there were new provisions on the delimitation process, meaning that citizens might require civic education on the process.

Figure 2: Awareness of the Delimitation Process



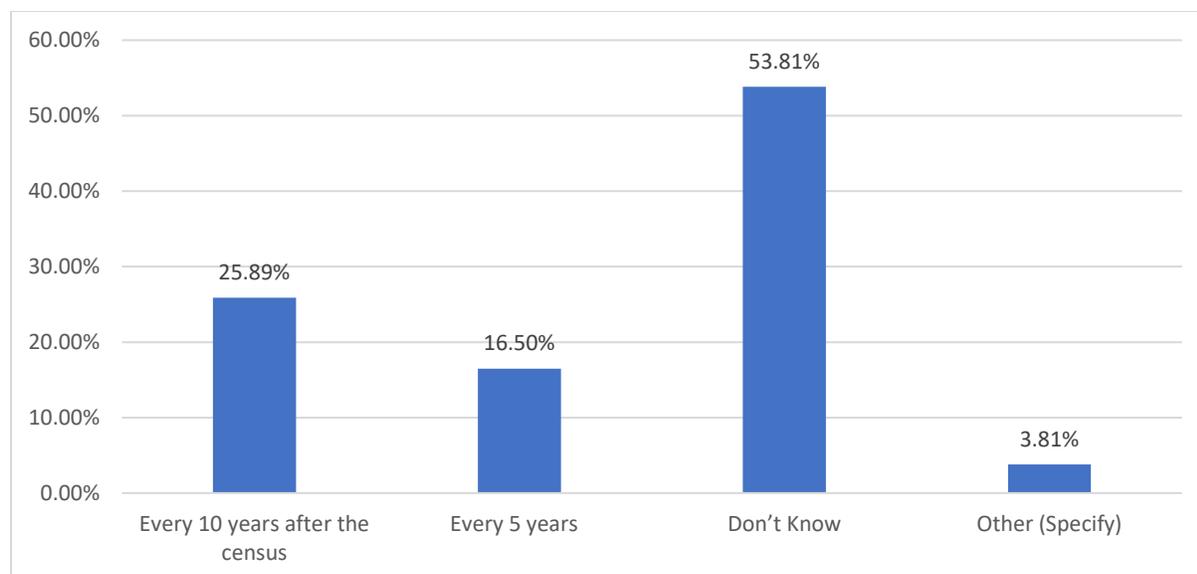
N= 2390

Awareness of the delimitation process, was higher for those with some level of education and becomes higher for those with higher levels of education (tertiary 26.89% aware of the delimitation process).

**Table 4: Awareness of Delimitation: Level of Education**

Row Labels	YES	NO	Grand Total
No formal education	13.22%	86.78%	100.00%
Primary	14.29%	85.71%	100.00%
Secondary	16.24%	83.76%	100.00%
High School	14.71%	85.29%	100.00%
Tertiary	26.89%	73.11%	100.00%
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>16.49%</b>	<b>83.51%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>

To further assess knowledge of the delimitation process, respondents were asked when delimitation occurs. Clearly a majority 70.31% does not know when delimitation is conducted (see the figure below). This could be an indication of lack of constitutional awareness. There could be other factors for example, lack of interest but this will need another study, as it was beyond the scope of the research.

*Figure 3: Frequency of Delimitation*

Knowledge of the frequency/ timing of delimitation increases for those with higher levels of education (see table below). Even though knowledge increases with one's level of

education, the majority across all levels were not aware of the timing of delimitation. There is need to popularize the provisions on delimitation of electoral boundaries.

**Table 5: Frequency of Delimitation: Level of Education**

	10 years after census	Every 5 years	Don't Know	Other	Grand Total
No formal education	18.75%	12.50%	68.75%	0.00%	100.00%
Primary	17.65%	15.29%	64.71%	2.35%	100.00%
Secondary	19.58%	16.40%	59.79%	4.23%	100.00%
High School	40.00%	22.50%	32.50%	5.00%	100.00%
Tertiary	48.44%	15.63%	31.25%	4.69%	100.00%
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>25.89%</b>	<b>16.50%</b>	<b>53.81%</b>	<b>3.81%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>

Respondents were asked who has the responsibility to conduct delimitation. The Table below indicates citizen responses on who is responsible for delimitation. Clearly the majority (61.67%)<sup>14</sup> did not know who has the responsibility to conduct delimitation. Previously, before the current constitution, the responsibility to conduct delimitation was vested in the Delimitation Commission, and from the responses there are 6.60% of respondents who still think that it is that Commission. The Government has a major role in the delimitation process, for example providing financial and human resources, it is the responsibility of the ZEC to conduct delimitation, as provided for in Section 239 of the Constitution. As above this lack of knowledge could point to absence of constitutional awareness.

**Table 6: Responsibility to conduct Delimitation**

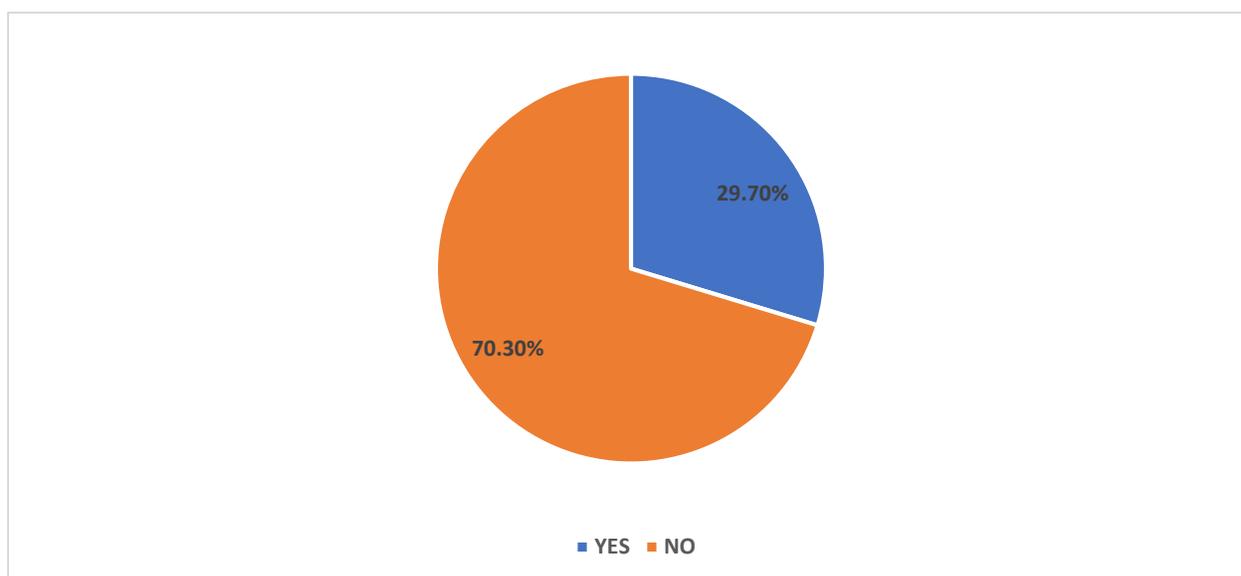
Delimitation Responsibility	Percent
Zimbabwe Election Commission (ZEC)	38.32%
Delimitation Commission	6.60%

<sup>14</sup> This combines those who said Delimitation Commission, Government, Don't Know or gave other responses.

Government	17.51%
Don't know	33.25%
Other	4.31%
	100.00%

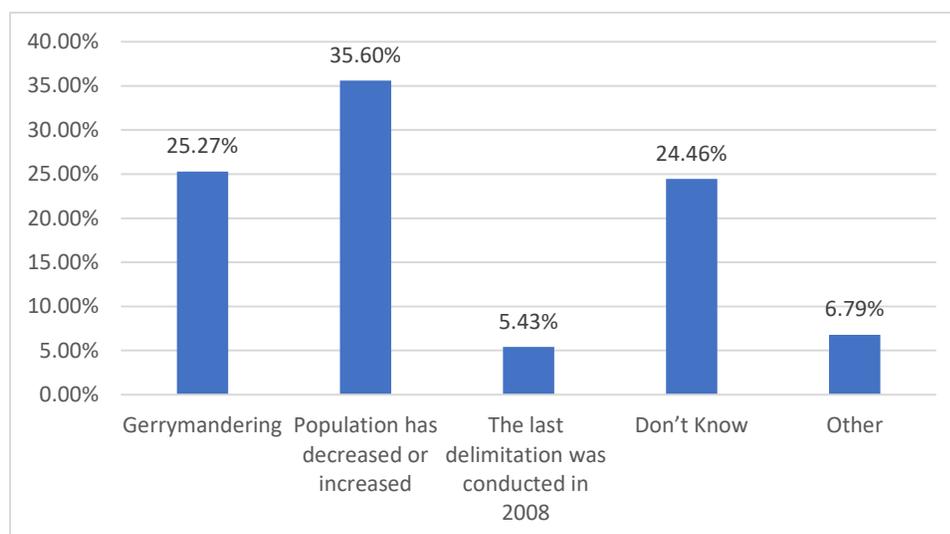
Even for those who are aware of the delimitation process, seven in ten (70.30%) did not have knowledge of the legal framework for delimitation (See Figure 3 below). There is need to popularize the provisions of the Electoral Laws. Section 7 of the Constitution provides for the promotion of public awareness of the Constitution.

Figure 4: Knowledge on the Legal Framework for Delimitation



Those who are aware of the delimitation process, were asked the challenges with the current electoral boundaries. Figure 4 below shows that, a plurality (35.60%) believe that the challenge is because of migration (increases and decreases in the population). ZESN (2017 p. 5) in the analysis on population projections, points out the increase of eligible voters from approximately 6.8 million in 2012 to 7 224 128 in 2018. Gerrymandering was pointed out by 25.27% as a challenge. This issue has been pointed out in past delimitations by opposition political parties, who pointed out that boundaries were delineated in favour of the ruling party.

Figure 5: Challenges with current boundaries

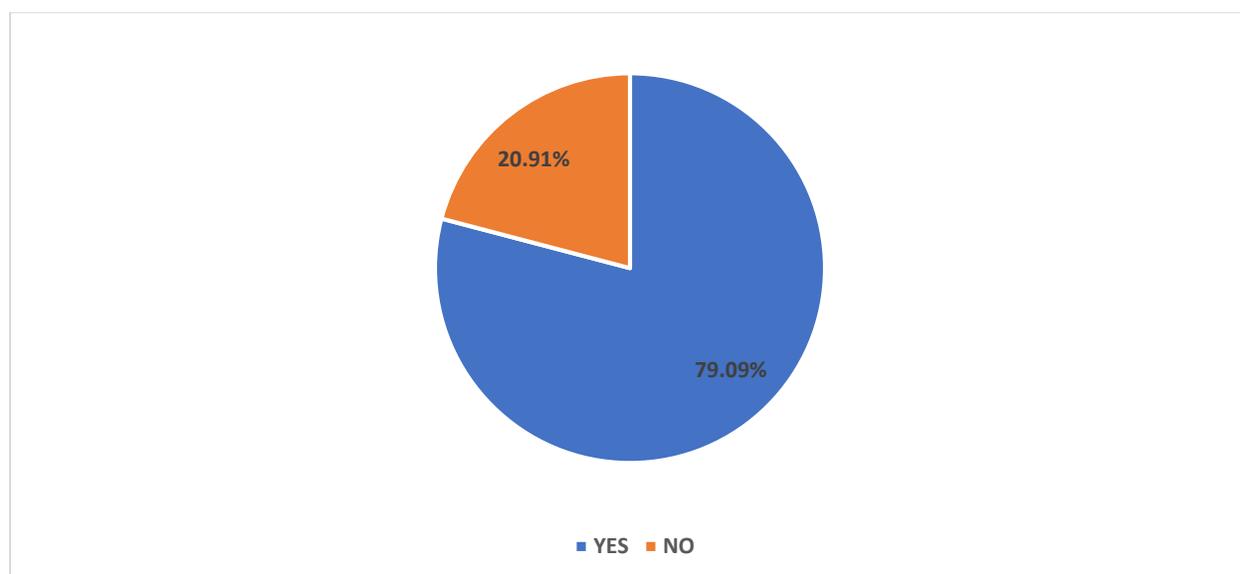


### 4.3. Public Opinion of the Delimitation Process

#### 4.3.1. Consultations for delimitation

Citizens were asked their opinions whether the ZEC should consult stakeholders. Clearly a majority (79.09%) felt that the ZEC should consult stakeholders when delimiting electoral boundaries. The process of consultation increases transparency and integrity of the process.

Figure 6: ZEC consult stakeholders

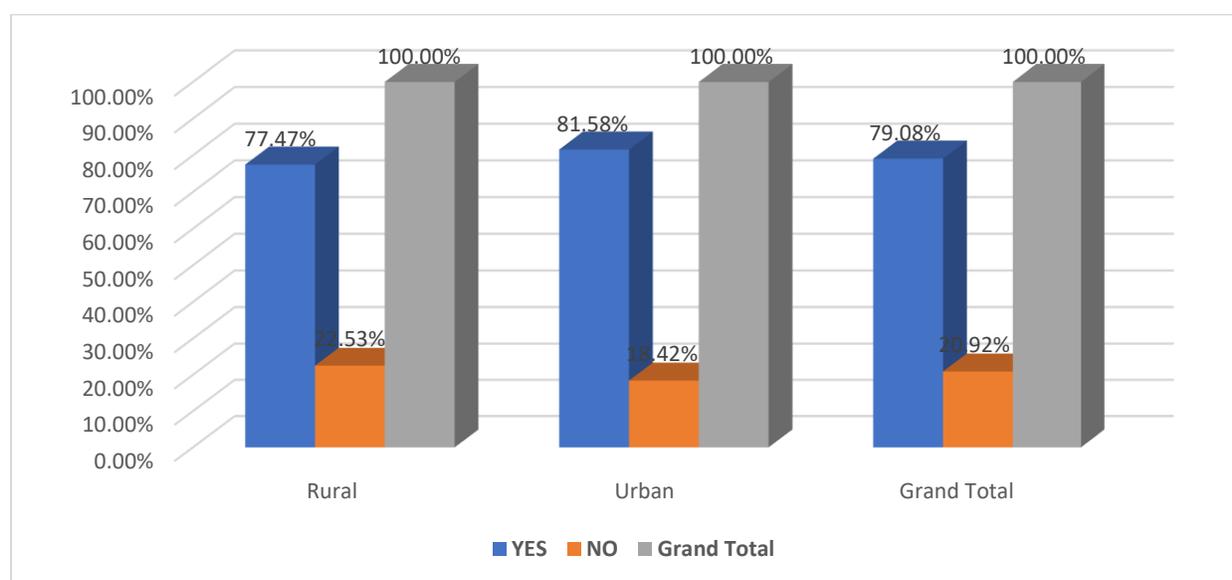


The table and figure below show that clearly across rural/ urban there are no significant differences as majorities consider it important for the ZEC to consult stakeholders. With such sentiments the ZEC should consider mechanisms for consulting stakeholders.

**Table 7: ZEC consult stakeholders: Rural/ Urban Setting**

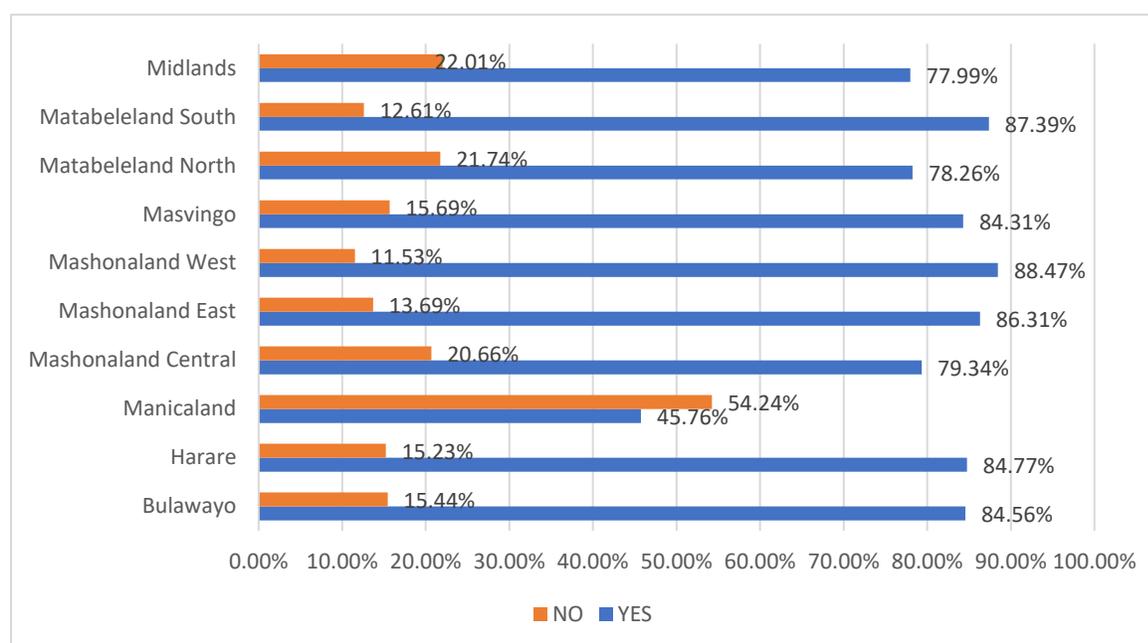
	Rural	Urban	Grand Total
YES	77.47%	81.58%	79.08%
NO	22.53%	18.42%	20.92%
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>

*Figure 7: Consult: Rural/ urban*



The importance of consultations cannot be understated as majority in 9 provinces, except in Manicaland (45.76%) believe that the ZEC should consult stakeholders when conducting delimitation.

Figure 8: Consult stakeholders: Province



When, further asked who the ZEC should consult, clearly respondents felt that ZEC should consult citizens when conducting delimitation. Nearly two in ten (19%) felt that traditional leaders should be consulted, and the ZEC does consult traditional leaders when boundaries are being delimited. 13% felt that CSOs (including CBOs, FBOs, Youth, Women organisations etc.) should be consulted.

Table 8: Stakeholders to be consulted by the ZEC<sup>15</sup>

	Value	Percent
Political parties	321	0.10
Civil society (CBOs, FBOs, Youth, Women)	407	0.13
Media	126	0.04
Government	395	0.13
Parliament	192	0.06
Citizens	1348	0.44
Traditional Leaders	595	0.19

<sup>15</sup> When interpreting the table please note that it is a multiple response question and does not add up to 100 percent. It shows the most common response among respondents from the available responses.

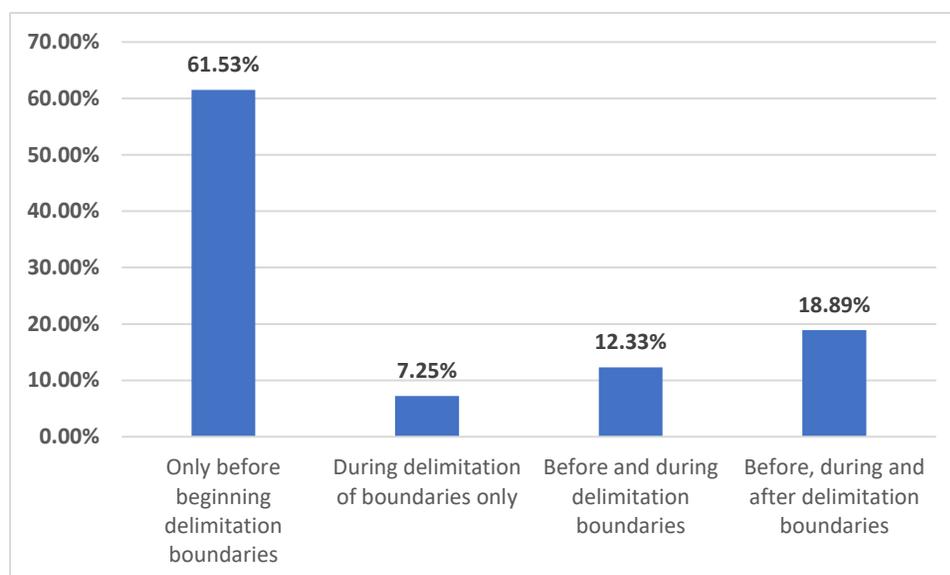
Local Government	16	0.01
Other	15	0.01

Replace the above table with this one

Stakeholder	Value	Percent (%)
Political parties	321	9.4
Civil society (CBOs, FBOs, Youth, Women)	407	11.9
Media	126	3.7
Government	395	11.6
Parliament	192	5.6
Citizens	1348	39.5
Traditional Leaders	595	17.4
Local Government	16	0.5
Other	15	0.4
Total	3415	100.0

Of those who said that the ZEC should consult stakeholders, 61.53%, said the consultations should be held prior to the delimitation process, 18.89% consultations should be held throughout the entire process; 12.33% before and during delimitation; and 7.25% during the delimitation of boundaries. The ZEC should consider mechanisms to engage stakeholders for the delimitation process. Public hearings, submissions amongst others can be held by the ZEC as a way to consult stakeholders.

Figure 9: When should consultative processes be held



### What delimitation will address?

Over the last 10 years, the population has increased and some constituencies have increased or decreased registered voters, resulting in uneven distribution of registered voters. When asked their perceptions about what the delimitation will address; 31.3% felt that it will address the unequal distribution of registered voters, closely related to this 31.1% pointed out that the delimitation will address unequal size of constituencies, and 22.8% said that it will address issues of alleged gerrymandering of boundaries. The table below illustrates some of the challenges citizens perceive the delimitation will address.

**Table 9: Addressed by the delimitation**

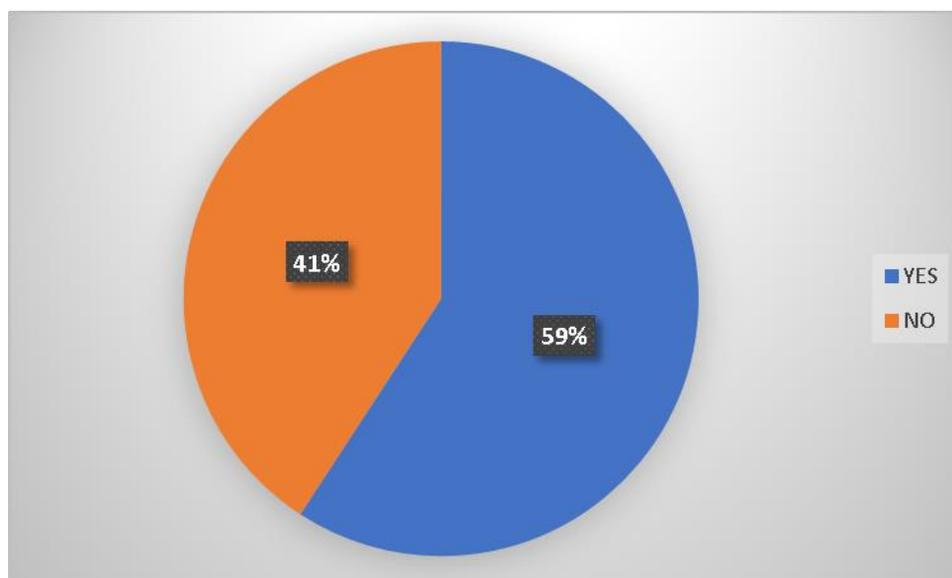
Gerrymandering of boundaries	544	22.8%
Unequal distribution of registered voters- some constituencies have a lot of voters- some too few voters	749	31.3%
It has been long since delimitation was conducted	230	9.6%
Unequal size of constituencies	743	31.1%
Increased population	449	18.8%

Confusion on Boundaries	30	1.3%
Don't Know	522	21.8%
Other (Specify)	79	3.3%
Total ??		

#### 4.4. Role of stakeholders (CSOs, Media, Political Parties, FBOs, Women, Youth)

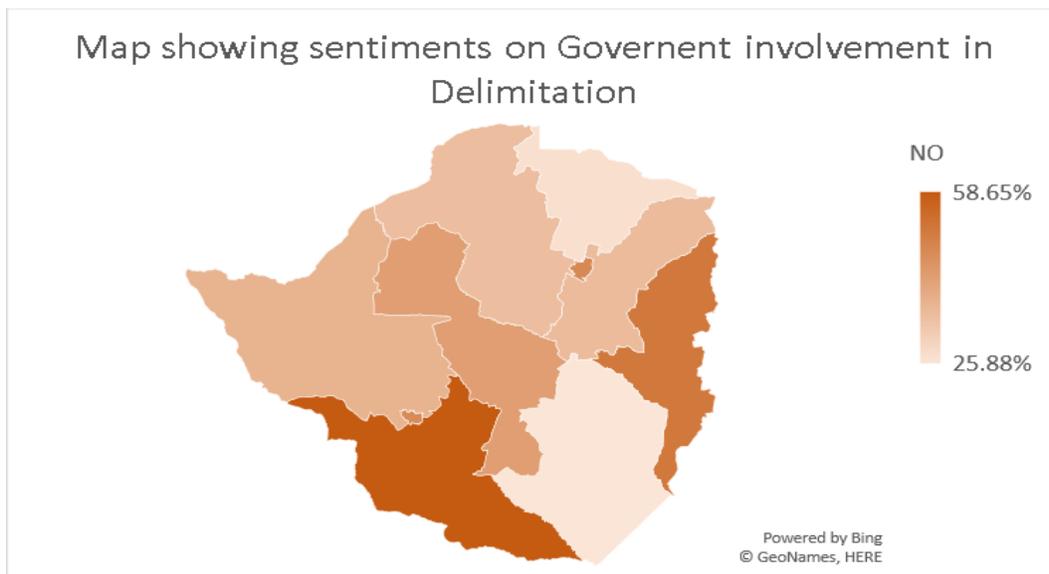
Whilst ZEC has the mandate to conduct delimitation, various stakeholders could be involved in the delimitation process. These stakeholders include media, Parliament, Government Agencies, political parties, CSOs amongst others. On involvement of the government in the delimitation process, 59% of the respondents felt that the Government should have a role in the delimitation.

Figure 10: Government should be involved in Delimitation



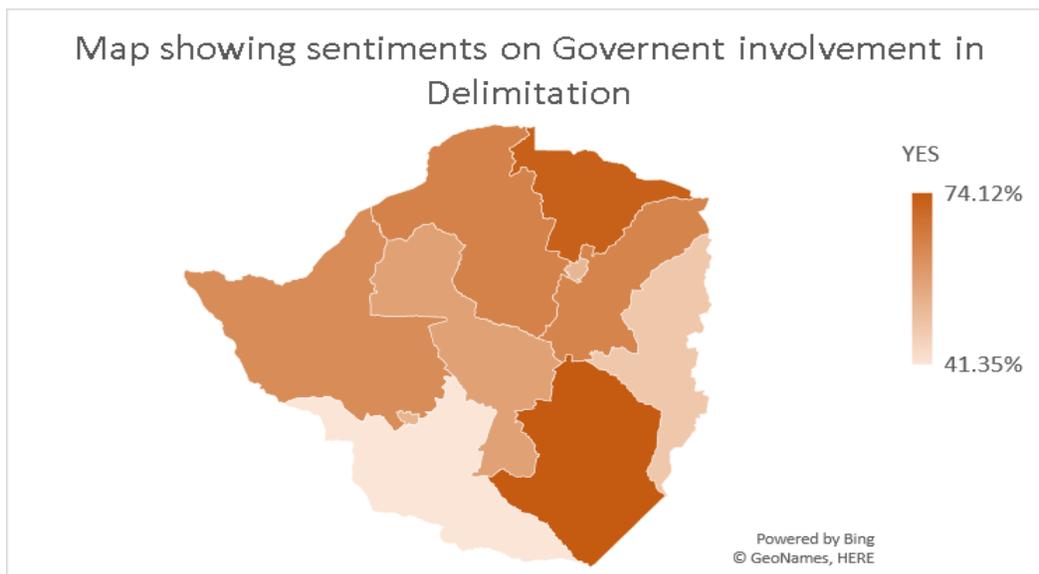
The 2 maps below show sentiment of Government involvement in delimitation. Masvingo and Mashonaland Central provinces rank high in terms of those who said the Government should be involved in delimitation, whilst Harare, Manicaland, and Matabeleland South ranked low for the same category.

Figure 11: Map showing Government involvement



Source: ZESN???

Figure 12: Map showing sentiment on Delimitation



Across all age categories, the majority want the Government to be involved in the delimitation process (see table below). This involvement could be through providing financial and human resources; and, an enabling framework for the delimitation process.

**Table 10: Government Involvement: Age**

Age group	YES	NO	Grand Total
18-35	59.63%	40.37%	100.00%
36-50	60.07%	39.93%	100.00%
51+	57.04%	42.96%	100.00%
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>59.21%</b>	<b>40.79%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>

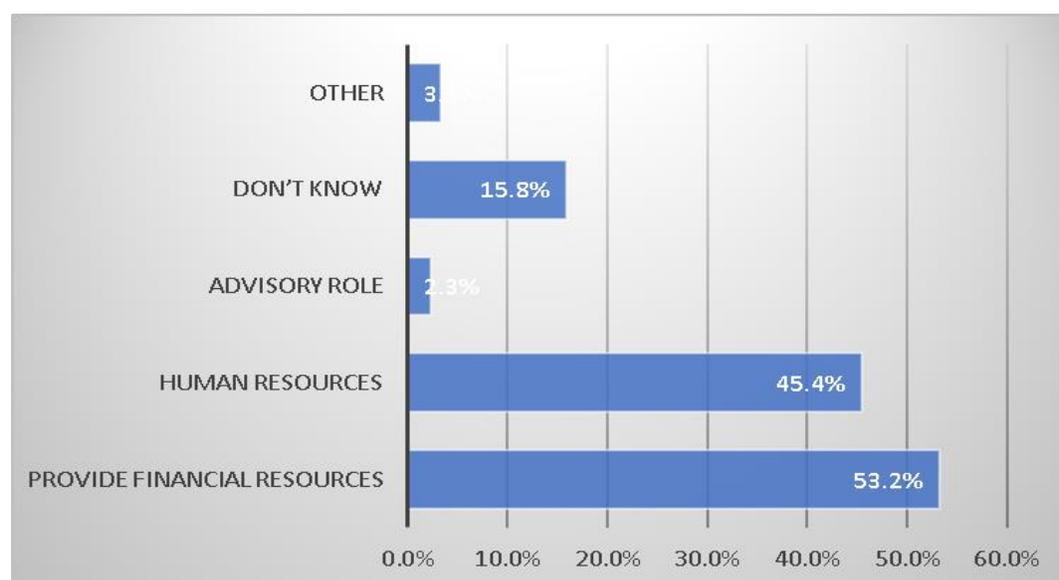
The table below indicates that analysis by rural/urban indicates that a majority believe that the government should be involved in delimitation reside in the rural areas, 66.78%. Mistrust could be generally higher for those residing in the urban areas.

**Table 11: Government Involvement: Rural/ Urban**

	Rural	Urban	Grand Total
YES	66.78%	33.22%	100.00%
NO	53.44%	46.56%	100.00%
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>61.34%</b>	<b>38.66%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>

Asked how the Government should be involved, majority (53.2%) wanted the government to provide financial resources, 45.4% wanted the Government to provide human resources and 2.3% wanted it to have an advisory role.

Figure 13: Government Involvement



### Citizen Involvement

Some countries have provisions that facilitate participation of citizens in the delimitation process. Citizens were asked their views on how they should be involved in the delimitation process, a majority (67.2%) preferred to be involved through public hearings, 17.3% through social media, 15.6% through making written submissions and 1.5% involved through engaging local leadership. Involvement of citizens increases transparency, builds public confidence and trust. The ZEC could consider some of these mechanisms to involve the public during the delimitation process.

**Table 12: Citizen Involvement<sup>16</sup>**

Public Hearings	67.2%
Written Submissions	15.6%
Social Media	17.3%
Door to Door Campaigns	0.8%
Engage Local Leadership	1.5%
Mass Media	0.5%

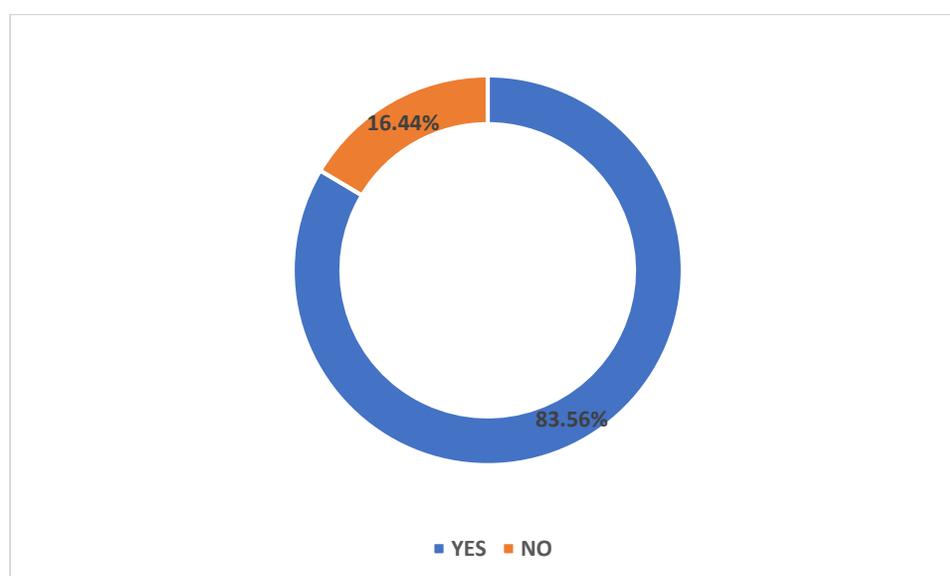
<sup>16</sup> This was a multiple response question

Don't know	14.2%
Other	0.5%

#### 4.5. Key considerations for Delimitation

##### 4.5.1. ZEC Roadmap on Delimitation

Clearly a majority 83.56% pointed out that the ZEC should have a roadmap for the delimitation process. The roadmap will contain detailed steps with; timelines, milestones, key processes, amongst others. CSOs with oversight on the electoral process, can use the roadmap as a tool to assess preparedness of the Commission.



Analysis from a gender perspective (see table below) does not show significant differences between males and females on whether the ZEC should have a roadmap. For both genders over 40% consider that the ZEC should have a delimitation roadmap.

**Table 13: ZEC Roadmap: Gender**

	Male	Female	Grand Total
Yes	41.38%	42.18%	<b>83.56%</b>
No	7.36%	9.08%	<b>16.44%</b>
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>48.74%</b>	<b>51.26%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>

The table below shows that, across province clearly majority consider that the ZEC should have a roadmap for the delimitation process. Whilst there are no major differences in percentages across most provinces, Manicaland has slightly above half (52.88%) who believe that the ZEC should have a roadmap for the delimitation process. Mat. South has the highest number at 96.24%, and followed by Masvingo with 94.51%.

**Table 14: Roadmap: Province**

Province	YES	NO	Grand Total
Bulawayo	90.44%	9.56%	100.00%
Harare	86.09%	13.91%	100.00%
Manicaland	52.88%	47.12%	100.00%
Mash. Central	82.16%	17.84%	100.00%
Mash. East	91.70%	8.30%	100.00%
Mash. West	89.15%	10.85%	100.00%
Masvingo	94.51%	5.49%	100.00%
Mat. North	81.19%	18.81%	100.00%
Mat. South	96.24%	3.76%	100.00%
Midlands	81.34%	18.66%	100.00%
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>83.56%</b>	<b>16.44%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>

In terms of sharing the roadmap, with stakeholders, 28.61% prefer a year before delimitation begins; 26.45% said 6 months before; 18.69% desire 3 months before; and, 16.93% said 1 month before. Sharing the calendar enables other stakeholders in the electoral process to plan, provides an opportunity for technical partners to assist; provides CSOs ample time to fundraise for processes like voter education and observation of the delimitation process, and enables citizens to engage with the process.

**Table 15: Delimitation Calendar Shared with Stakeholders**

Period	Percent
1 year before delimitation begins	28.61%

6 months before delimitation	26.45%
3 months before delimitation	18.69%
1 month before delimitation	16.93%
Don't Know	8.22%
Other (Specify)	1.10%
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>100.00%</b>

N = 1996

#### 4.5.2. Parameters for delimitation

Section 161 of the Constitution provides for parameters for delimitation, and these include taking consideration of physical features; means of communication; geographical distribution of registered voters', population amongst others. Citizens were asked a multiple response question on the types of data to be used for the delimitation process.

The table below illustrates the types of data citizens pointed out that should be used. A majority (56.3%) said that population census should be used. This corroborates with Section 161 (1) of the Constitution, that delimitation should be held after a population census. A plurality of 27.5% said physical features; and, 16.5% mentioned voter registration figures. Since delimitation depends on voter registration figures and an accurate voters' roll, it seems that citizens do not trust the accuracy of the voter registration process and the voters' roll.

**Table 16: Data used for Delimitation**

	<b>Values</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Voter registration figures	395	16.5%
Population census	1345	56.3%
Physical features	658	27.5%
Demographic data	242	10.1%

Political data	129	5.4%
Local Expertise	31	1.3%
Don't know	274	11.5%
Other (Specify)	24	1.0%

#### 4.5.3. Impartiality of the ZEC

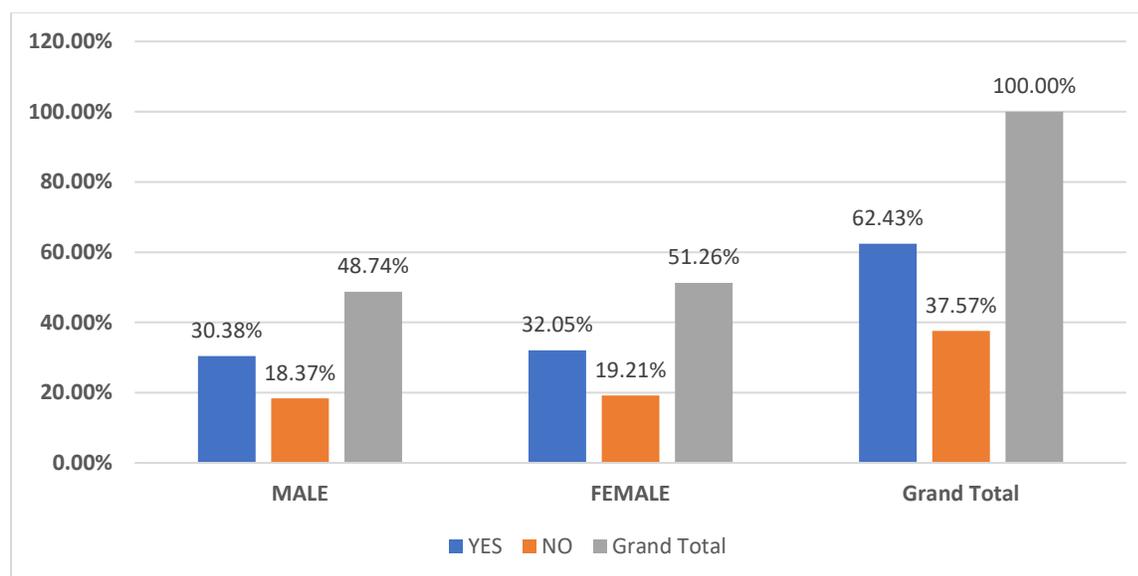
The independence of the ZEC has been one of the issues on the ZESN agenda for electoral reforms. Whilst the Constitution provides for the independence of the Commission, the alignment of the Electoral Act to the Constitution and political will, might go a long way in strengthening the independence of the ZEC. Citizens, generally (62.43%) believe that the ZEC is an impartial body to conduct delimitation. Handley et. al (2006 p. 22) point out that many countries with Boundary Commissions exclude anyone with political connections from serving on the Commission. This aims at excluding and political bias in the process.

**Table 17: Impartiality of the ZEC**

	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percent</b>
YES	1492	62.43%
NO	898	37.57%
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>2390</b>	<b>100.00%</b>

The figure below shows, from a gender perspective, those who said the ZEC is an impartial body to conduct delimitation. Slightly more females (32.05%), compared to 30.38% males believe that the ZEC is an impartial body to conduct delimitation.

Figure 14: ZEC Impartiality: Gender



As revealed in the table below, when analysed by place of residence, a majority (68.30%) of those who believe that the Commission is impartial reside in the rural area. Inversely a majority (50.22%) who pointed out that the ZEC is not an impartial body to conduct delimitation reside in the urban areas. This could be because trust in the ZEC might be higher in the rural areas, and lower in the urban areas.

Table 18: Impartiality of ZEC to conduct Delimitation: Rural/ Urban

Row Labels	Rural	Urban	Grand Total
YES	68.30%	31.70%	100.00%
NO	49.78%	50.22%	100.00%
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>61.34%</b>	<b>38.66%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>

#### 4.5.4. Enhancing Transparency

Handley (2007) asserts that a delimitation process that is transparent and provides stakeholders with the information necessary to assess the process and even affect its outcome is more likely to receive the support of the public. Handley (2007) points out that transparency is important for maintaining public confidence in the integrity of the

delimitation process. For delimitation to be transparent, the process should be accessible to the public; open to scrutiny by stakeholders, and stakeholders ought to be consulted.

Mechanisms should be put in place to ensure access to information on the delimitation process. Handley (2007) further points out that, a public awareness program designed to educate stakeholders about the process is important, especially because delimitation can be a very technical exercise and not particularly well understood. Citizens were asked about their views on what the ZEC could do to enhance transparency in delimitation of boundaries. The table and figure below illustrate citizen perception on what ZEC can do to enhance transparency; 40.7% mentioned stakeholder engagement meetings, 39.6% pointed out that civic and voter education should be conducted; 33.6% said the electoral commission should provide regular updates on the process; and, 2% mentioned strengthening the independence of the ZEC. The ZEC should consider mechanisms for engagement and public awareness of the process.

**Table 19: Enhancing Transparency**

<b>Response</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Provide regular updates on the process	33.6%
Stakeholder engagement meetings	40.7%
Conduct civic and voter education on the delimitation process	39.6%
Independence of the Electoral Commission	2.0%
Don't Know	15.4%
Other	0.9%

#### **4.6. Provincial Summaries**

Estimates were made for the proposed number of constituencies based on the current registered voters, as at February 2019. The total number of registered voters' is 5 686 121, as in the February 2019 voters' roll. Harare has the largest number of registered voters at 899

333, then Midlands with 760 615, Manicaland has 732 292, Mashonaland West 654 272, Mashonaland East 632 013, and Bulawayo has the least number of registered voters at 257 924 (see table below). In addition, there are constituencies whose registration figures have increased greatly. For example, Harare South 76 287, Epworth 71 835, Dangamvura/Chikanga 60 651, and Goromonzi South 73 031 registered voters. Annex 2 shows the number of registered voters'.

To calculate the proposed number of constituencies a formula was used. Firstly, the registered voters were divided by the total number of constituencies to obtain the average registered voters per constituency. To find the number of constituencies per province, total provincial registered voters were divided by the average. Applying the +/- 20% threshold provided for in the Constitution gave these figures; the lowest number of registered voters expected for any constituency would be 21 662, the average will be 27 077 and the highest number of registered voters expected would be 32 493. For the purposes of this research the average was used to provide an overall picture.

The distribution of the constituencies will keep changing depending on voter registration. These are not conclusive but a reflection that is based on the February 2019 voters' roll. ZESN also notes that there is other data used for delimitation- these are projections based on current voter registration statistics (February 2019 voters roll)

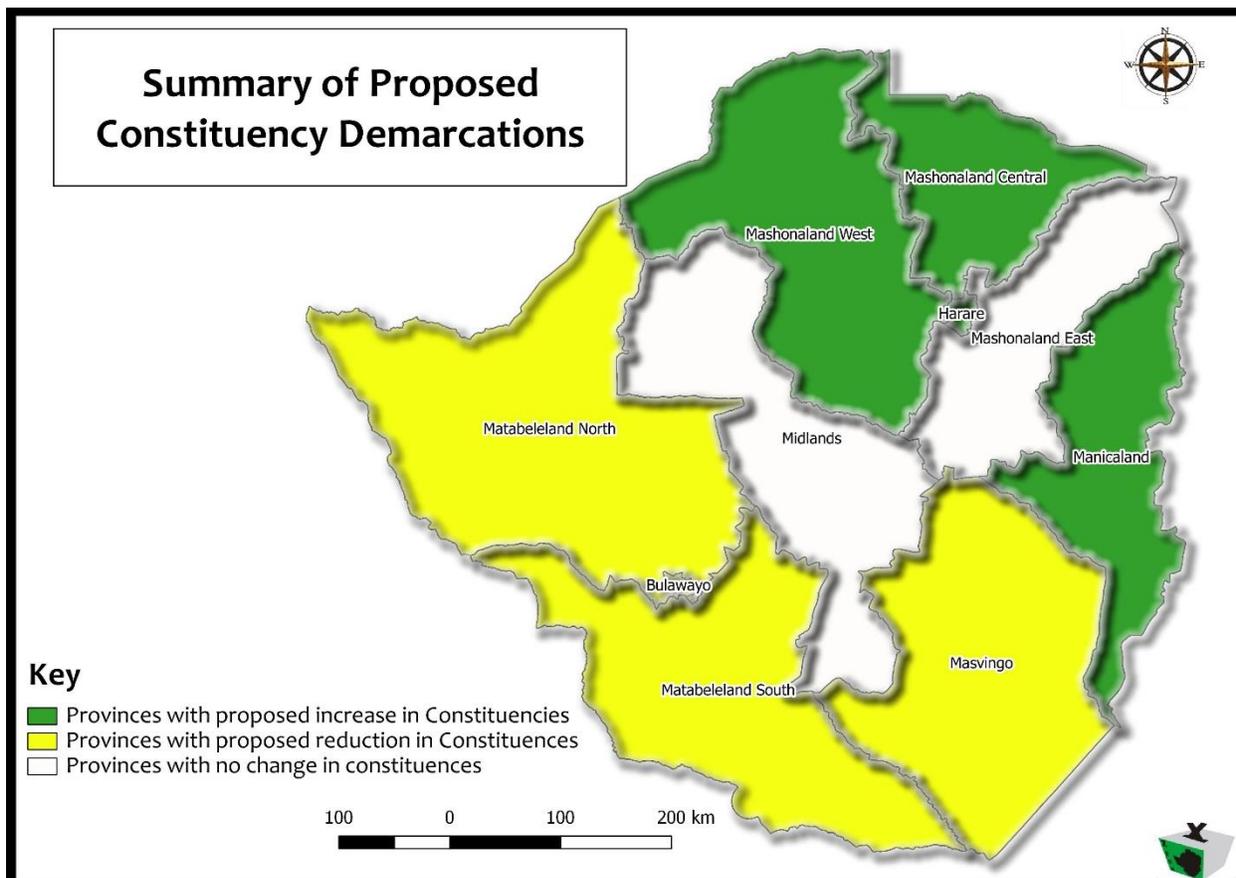
The table below indicates the proposed numbers of constituencies using the February 2019 voters' roll. There are provinces that will decrease in the total number of constituencies (Bulawayo, Matabeleland North and South, and Masvingo); there will be provinces with an increase in number of constituencies based on the registered voters (Harare, Manicaland, Mashonaland West, and Mashonaland Central) and the number of constituencies in some provinces will remain unchanged (Mashonaland East and Midlands).

**Table 20: Registered Voters': Constituencies**

<b>Province</b>	<b>Registered Voters</b>	<b>Current No. of Constituencies</b>	<b>Proposed No. of Constituencies</b>
BULAWAYO	257924	12	10
HARARE	899333	29	33
MANICALAND	732292	26	27
MASHONALAND WEST	654272	22	24
MASHONALAND EAST	632 013	23	23
MASHONALAND CENTRAL	531 310	18	20
MASVINGO	616 079	26	23
MATABELELAND NORTH	338 593	13	12
MATABELELAND SOUTH	263 690	13	10
MIDLANDS	760 615	28	28
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>5 686 121</b>	<b>210</b>	<b>210</b>
<b>AVERAGE CONSTITUNENCY SIZE</b>			<b>27 077</b>

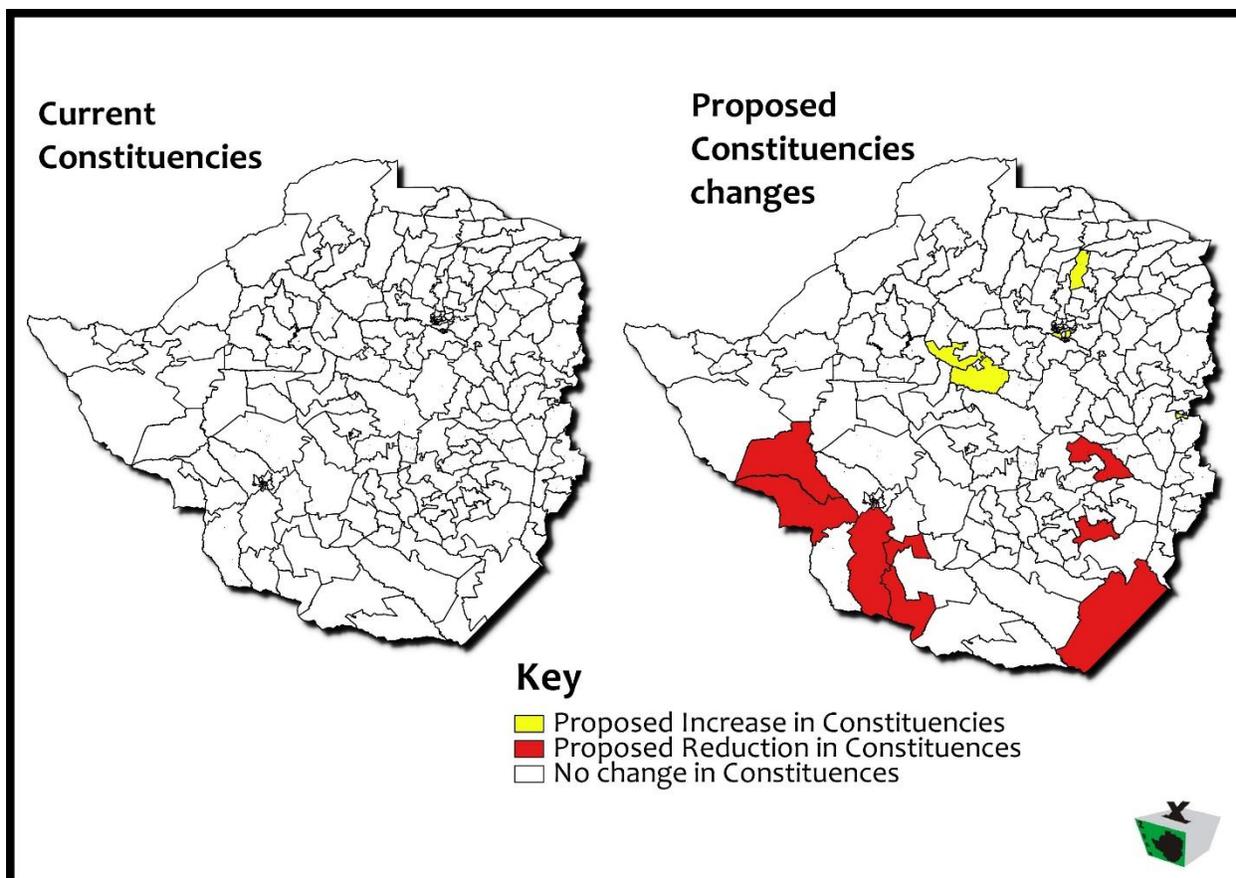
The map below further shows changes to the number of constituencies per province based on the statistics from the February 2019 voters' roll. These could change as voter registration is a continuous process.

Figure 15: Summary of Proposed Constituency Demarcations



#### 4.7. Constituency Summaries

The maps below show the current constituencies and constituencies were demarcations need to be made because of the large numbers of registered voters.



The table below provides an analysis of constituencies that are too big and those that are too small. From the statistics below, rationalization is needed for the 20% +/- variation provided for in the Constitution.

**Table 21: Comparison of Constituencies that are too big and those that are too small**

Too big	Small
Harare South- 76 287	Gutu North – 14 165
Goromonzi South -73 031	Wedza South- 14 295
Epworth – 71 835	Chikomba East- 14 513
Dangamvura Chikanga -60 561	Insiza South- 14 695

Budirio- 50 380	Magwegwe- 14 790
Bindura North- 48 718	Gwanda South- 15 251

### **Analysis of ward registration figures**

From the February 2019 voters' roll, examples of wards that are too big include; Harare South- ward 1, 76 287 registered voters; Kuwadzana East- ward 27, with 24 781 registered voters; Goromonzi South ward 25 with 21 621 registered voters; Zvimba East ward 35- 18 147 registered voters; Mwenezi East ward 13 – 15 873 registered voters; and Goromonzi West ward 4, 14828 registered voters. There are wards with too few registered voters these include; Bubi ward 6 with 62 registered voters; Gwanda North ward 10 with 96 registered voters; Bikita West- ward 23 with 169 registered voters; Bikita East – ward 27 with 201 registered voters; Chikomba West –ward 13 with 219 registered voters; and Chiredzi South- ward 12- 268 registered voters.

## 5. Regional Perspectives on Delimitation: Case of Kenya

### 5.1. Introduction (Historical Perspective and Context Analysis)

Since before independence, delimitation in Kenya have been carried out by an independent commission set up for this purpose. There have been various reviews of Electoral and Administrative boundaries since before and after independence<sup>17</sup>. After Independence from Britain in 1963, there were various electoral boundaries reviews that represent historical settlement that forms part of the socio-cultural fabric that builds up the Kenya state<sup>18</sup>.

At independence, Kenya adopted the 1963 Constitution referred to as the independence Constitution, which created two Houses of Parliament. These comprised the House of Representatives and the Senate. The House of Representatives had 117 elected members, each representing a Parliamentary Constituency. The Senate consisted of 41 elected members to represent the 40 administrative districts plus Nairobi Area. Colonial authorities following recommendations by the Royal Commission established in 1962 created the 117 constituencies. The Commission toured Kenya and at various venues including influential tribal leaders and chiefs. However, citizens were not consulted. The delimitation was for 1963 independence elections<sup>19</sup>.

Between 1964 and 1966, the Independence Constitution was amended and the Senate was abolished. This is when the 41 new Parliamentary Constituencies in the House of Representative were added to accommodate the Senators who were thus affected. In other words, the Senators were rewarded with these new constituencies, one from each district plus one covering Nairobi Area without subjecting them to an election until 1969. Thus by 1966, the House of Representatives, which was then renamed “The National Assembly” had 158 Parliamentary Constituencies. This consisted of the original 117 Parliamentary

---

<sup>17</sup> See the Various Boundaries Reviews for the British East African Company, the British East Africa Protectorate, Kenya Colony, Royal Commission on Boundaries Review, the Constitutional Review of 1966, Electoral commission of Kenya Boundaries Reviews of 1988,1992 and 1997.

<sup>18</sup> Constitutional of Kenya Article 89(5)(b)

<sup>19</sup> Legal Notice No. 344 of 19th December, 1966.

Constituencies plus the 41 newly created constituencies with the abolition of the senate. That number was decided upon by parliament alone. Parliament granted to the Electoral Commission (ECK) the power to determine the boundaries of these constituencies<sup>20</sup>.

In 1986, Parliament fixed the maximum number of Parliamentary Constituencies at 188. ECK retained the powers to divide the county into the stipulated number of constituencies with such boundaries and names as Parliament may order. Since the maximum number of constituencies was fixed at 188 by parliament, all that the ECK could do was to draw the boundaries and give names to the constituencies. That is what the ECK did in 1987. It identified the 188 constituencies and declared their names. The boundaries were reviewed for purposes of the election of 1988<sup>21</sup>.

In 1996, Parliament increased the maximum number of Parliamentary Constituencies from 188 to 210, thus creating an additional 22 constituencies. The power of the ECK remained unaltered. The ECK exercised these powers with a view to creating the 22. It is on the basis of these consultations and written submissions/memoranda that ECK determined the new constituencies, adjusted constituency boundaries and replaced names of some constituencies, thus Kenya now divided into 210 constituencies<sup>22</sup>.

## **5.2. The Current Legal Framework for the Delimitation: The Constitution of Kenya, 2010**

The 2010 Constitution of Kenya, makes fundamental changes to the legal framework for delimitation of boundaries undertaken in the previous reviews. It establishes the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission, which is mandated to conduct and manage elections and referenda and undertake boundaries delimitation. Article 89 of the Constitution provides the criteria for delimitation of the boundaries of constituencies and wards, obligation for consultation of all interested persons, and provisions on the judicial

---

<sup>20</sup>Parliamentary Constituencies (Preparatory Review) (No.2) Act No. 35 of 1966.

<sup>21</sup> The 188 constituencies were gazette vide Legal Notice No. 370 of 24th December 1986.

<sup>22</sup> Legal Notice No. 298 of 23rd September 1996

review of the decisions of the Commission. The extracts of the relevant legal provisions include:

1. Article 89 of the Constitution caps the number of constituencies at 290 and stipulates the frequency, manner and criteria for the delimitation of boundaries of constituencies and wards.
2. Article 89(5) specifically states that the “boundaries of each constituency shall be such that the number of inhabitants in the constituency is as nearly as possible equal to the population quota”.
3. Article 89(6) provides variations around this quota, not greater than or lesser than:
  - a) Forty per cent (40%) in the case of cities and sparsely populated areas; and,
  - b) Thirty per cent (30%) for other areas.
4. Article 89(5) further mandates the Commission to take into account other factors such as:
  - i) Geographical features and urban centres;
  - ii) Community interest, historical, economic and cultural ties; and,
  - iii) Means of communication.
5. In reviewing constituency and wards boundaries, the Commission shall consult all interested parties and work towards progressively ensuring that the number of inhabitants in each constituency and ward is as nearly as possible equal to the population quota.
6. Article 89(9) of the Constitution provides that the Commission shall publish the names and details of such boundaries in the Kenya Gazette. These boundaries, other than the first one under the new Constitution, shall come into effect on dissolution of Parliament first following its publication. Once published, any person aggrieved by the decision of the Commission in terms of the names and details of such boundaries, may apply to the High Court within 30 days for a review of such a decision. The High Court will have to determine the matter within three months of such application.

During delimitation the Commission has to also adhere to other articles of the constitutional provisions that include:

- i. Article 1; all sovereign power belongs to the people of Kenya, and must be exercised as per the Constitution; Sovereign power is exercised either directly or through democratically elected representatives
- ii. Article 5: Defines the territory of Kenya – consists the territory and territorial waters on the effective date and any additional areas and waters as defined by an Act of Parliament
- iii. Article 10; On national values and principles of governance – all state organs, state officers, public officers and all persons are enjoined in the observance of Article 10 whenever they make or implement public policy decisions. This include: Patriotism, national unity, sharing and devolution of power, the rule of law, democracy and participation of the people, equity, social justice, inclusiveness, equality, non-discrimination, protection of the marginalized, transparency, accountability and integrity
- iv. Article 81 (d); general principles for the electoral system; delimitation of boundaries is a salient component of representation of the people. as a general principle, Kenya’s electoral system speaks to universal suffrage based on the aspirations for fair representation and equality of vote
- v. Article 88 (4)(c): Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission is clothed with the Constitutional mandate to delimit Constituencies and Wards

### **5.3. Key Procedures and Processes for Boundaries Delimitation in Kenya:**

For Kenya to deliver the delimitation process there is concerted effort to involve all interested parties as stipulated in the Constitution. However, the delimitation process involves among others; legal review and interpretation of the constitution to come up with a working definition of the various legal issues that face the delimitation process; this includes; setting up the rules of procedures for the delimitation: this includes who is to make

decisions, when they are to make decisions, how these decisions are made, how the various parameters will be interpreted and implemented and what data will be used including what accuracy levels and deviations are permissible.

Development of a Strategy and Work plan: This involves a participatory process with the Commission and with a select civil society, government and private sector to ensure that the process, procedures and activities for each sector are aligned and well-articulated. Training of staff and civic education providers and other subcontractors on key delimitation issues.

The process of delimitation in Kenya involves a multi-disciplinary approach and may involve seeking out specialists and experts to inform the process on contract basis. Acquiring Geography Information System software and hardware.

Selection of public hearings methodology, acquisition of the Hansard's teams and schedule for public hearings and conducting the public hearings where the citizenry make submissions on their perceptions and suggestions on the composition of their wards and constituencies. This is complemented with data acquisition, collection and collation, followed by data analysis, modelling and determination of the methodology and formula for delimitation, finally the delimitation reports are prepared and gazette. The constitution now allows recourse to the High Court process this has to be within 30 days and the courts only have 3 months to resolve any disputes.

#### **5.4. Key considerations for delimitation in Kenya**

Kenya key consideration in delimitation is the population quota that is the number derived from dividing the population of the country by the total number of Population Quota: means the number obtained by dividing the number of the inhabitants of Kenya by the number of constituencies and wards into which Kenya is divided under article 89<sup>23</sup>.

---

<sup>23</sup> see the Article 89 (12) of the constitution of Kenya, 2010

However, the number of inhabitants may be greater or lesser than the population quota as specified under Article 89(6) - the number of inhabitants of a constituency or ward maybe greater that or lesser than the population quota by a margin of not more than;

- a. 40% for cities and sparsely populated areas and
- b. 30% for other areas.

Delimitation shall take account of:

- c. Geographical features and urban areas
- d. Community of interest, historical, economic and cultural ties
- e. Means of communication

The delimitation is run on a Geographical Information Systems (GIS) that enables digital design of maps real-time and highly ICT intense with robust statistical analysis tools for both quantitative and qualitative data. Delimitation is an expensive process that is well planned and executed in a timely, cost effective and efficient manner to gain acceptance amongst stakeholders.

### **5.5. Role of Stakeholders in the Delimitation**

The principle of public participation and involvement is a running thread throughout the Constitution. The Commission is required by the Constitution and the IEBC Act to observe the principle of public participation and consultation with stakeholders in its processes delimitation of Constituencies and Wards<sup>24</sup>. Public Outreach mechanisms used in delivering the delimitation agenda are; a communication strategy, civic education and public awareness.

To meet this requirement, the Kenyan delimitation process involves Public Outreach mechanisms to be able to deliver its delimitation agenda

- a. A communication strategy,
- b. Civic education and

---

<sup>24</sup> Article 89(7)(a)

c. Public awareness.

The issues to be conversed in the communication strategy include: Crafting a corporate image that gives prominence to the Boundaries review, Publishing of a brochure outlining the boundaries mandate, Sensitization meetings with the media, Content analysis of print, electronic and social media coverage on Boundaries, Targeted media plan, Media buying schedule, Content development infomercials and advertisements for public outreach Use of print, electronic and social media to mobilize the public hearings and civic education forums by publishing activities, venues and schedules of the exercises and Media monitoring.

Civic Education, this is aimed at training and equipping opinion leaders and the general public with the requisite skills on the process and procedure for delimitation to enable them to submit views through oral submissions, memorandum and social media platforms as required by the constitution.

This is done through public private partnerships. Civic education performs the following functions; educate the public on the criteria to be taken into consideration, empower them to proactively participate in the delimitation process and Heighten interest in the boundary delimitation exercise\evolve thoughts and start debates around boundary delimitation and consolidate community aspirations through consolidation of the community of interest in presentations and submission.

Public awareness is done through creating deliberate exercises that sensitize, consult and create public awareness using various media tools to reach the principal stakeholder's and elicit the desired participation and engagements that are needed in the delimitation process.

Stakeholder Consultations that is all inclusive and is carried out in a credible and accountable manner: this involves consultation with the heads of the three arms of government, the various county governments, ministries, departments and agencies of government, the civil

society including; professional groups, business community, religious groups, cultural leaders/elders, political groups, special interest groups, and the general public. The stakeholder consultation is expected to be comprehensive and all inclusive. There is also a deliberate effort to recruit, accredit and partner with civil society organizations and mainstreaming them in the provisions of civic education and mobilization of participants in the public hearing and publicity campaigns.

#### **5.6. Challenges in the Delimitation of Electoral Boundaries and Units in Kenya**

Delimitation process in Kenya is an elaborate, intense, consultative process that is highly emotive and technical coupled with differing community of interests and ethnic and /or clan loyalties. It provokes a lot of attention and resistance in equal measures, among this is the limited awareness and understanding of the constitutional parameters for delimitation. This makes it harder to meet the constitutional parameters more so when populations have to be moved to other areas to meet the population quotas. In many cases the public were unwilling to accept alteration of boundaries based on constitutional parameters.

Non-alignment of electoral boundaries to administrative units. This is influenced by the fact that resource allocation and access to government services are linked to administrative and electoral boundaries.

Due to varied climatic regions in Kenya where all the 12 climatic zones are present, it is hard to get the right quota to ensure fairness in representation and equality of the vote given also the large variations of between the city and sparsely populated areas when a constituency in the city can be three times the size of that in sparsely populated areas due to the plus or minus forty percent (40%) from the population quota. The large variation for completion of the delimitation process given as 8 to 12<sup>th</sup> year presumes that the Commission is wise enough to use the population census data but may be prone to abuse for political expediency as a Commission can delay the process to promote partisan interests.

### 5.7. Lessons for Zimbabwe from the Kenyan Experience

Like Kenya; Zimbabwe is a member of the United Nations and the African Union in the Kenyan delimitation experiences and thus can benefit from the successes mitigate the challenges that are faced by Kenya as two have similar demographics, historical, socio-cultural and geographical issues. Both Zimbabwe and Kenya have the United Nations declarations on political rights based on universal suffrage and equality of the vote<sup>25</sup>. The equality of the vote principle in representation is well situated to ensure that each vote has an equal weigh as the next. This however may run hollow if there is no supporting legislation making it mandatory for every Zimbabwe of 18 years to register as a voter; many are the cases in affluent and very poor areas were a majority of the citizens do not register as voters. The two countries explicitly dictate that the delimitation will use the census data. The centennial census is important to get the most plausible figures.

In the Kenyan constitution public participation is key in any government administrative action, thus the need to have legislation in Zimbabwe to ensure public participation in mainstreamed in the electoral process more so boundaries delimitation. The ZEC would then be required to hold public hearings on the parameters for delimitation as well as submissions on the possible areas of inclusion and exclusion. In order for the public participation to meet its purpose there should be an intense campaign for civic education and public outreach to educate, inform and compel the citizens to fully participate in the delimitation process.

The Zimbabwe citizens should be accorded a chance to for arbitration and dispute resolution through giving provisions in a supplementary legislation to the ZEC act to allow judicial intervention in case of a dispute.

---

<sup>25</sup> see Constitution of Kenya 2010; Article 81 and Zimbabwe Constitution 2013 Section 155 (1)(c)

The independence of the body conducting delimitation in Kenya is enshrined in the constitution just as the case in Zimbabwe, what needs to be done is making this possible in spirit and conduct of their mandate.

## **6. Conclusions and Recommendations**

### **6.1. Conclusion**

To conclude the delimitation process is of fundamental importance in the electoral process and for the conduct of credible elections. The research has shown that there is need to rationalize constituencies that are too big and those that are too small. The delimitation process should embed the principles of transparency, non-discrimination, representativeness, equality of the vote, and impartiality. The ZEC must be perceived to be independent and transparent. The ZEC needs to become a fully independent commission, free from any manipulation, including political interference. Citizen and stakeholder participation will ensure public confidence, trust, integrity and credibility of the delimitation of electoral boundaries.

Civic and voter education will be of paramount importance for citizens to understand how boundaries are demarcated and to understand any changes to wards and constituencies resulting from the delimitation, from the research citizens know very little about delimitation. The different role of electoral stakeholders need to be clarified, and electoral stakeholders need to be involved throughout the process. Whilst delimitation will be conducted before the 2023 elections, it is imperative for stakeholders to engage on the process of delimitation. These engagements should focus on strengthening the independence of the ZEC and reviewing the legal framework for delimitation.

### **6.2. Recommendations**

Based on the research, the ZESN proffers the following recommendations:

#### **Recommendations to the ZEC**

***The ZEC should:***

### **1. Conduct Voter and Civic Education**

- Conduct comprehensive civic and voter education on the delimitation process. The civic and voter education should be accurate, comprehensive and inclusive. It should include information of how the delimitation will be conducted. This can be done by raising awareness on the provisions of delimitation in the Constitution and the Electoral Act.
- The voter and civic education should also be conducted after the delimitation of electoral boundaries to inform the electorate of changes in wards and constituencies, as polling stations might change because of changes to wards and constituencies.
- The ZEC in consultation with stakeholders should produce a civic and voter education manual focusing on delimitation. The voter education should be inclusive of vulnerable and marginalized groups including people living with disabilities.

### **2. Stakeholder Engagement**

- The ZEC should consider engaging electoral stakeholders on the delimitation process. The engagement can include conducting feedback and consultative meetings. The engagement meetings will go a long way in enhancing accountability and credibility of the process.

### **3. Public Participation**

- The ZEC should ensure that the public participates in the delimitation of electoral boundaries. This can be done by putting in place mechanisms, for example public hearings that promote public participation, use of social and mainstream media. This will go a long way in building public confidence and trust.
- The Electoral Act should be amended to incorporate provisions that promote the public participation of citizens in the process.

### **4. Roadmap**

- A comprehensive roadmap on Delimitation should be publicized well on time. This will allow other stakeholders, for example CSOs to have oversight on delimitation. CSOs can also plan in accordance to the set timelines in the roadmap. The roadmap will enhance transparency of the process.

### **5. Voter Registration Mobilisation**

- Voter registration mobilisation exercise should be conducted before delimitation, to allow the Commission to register as much as possible all eligible voters. This will enhance accuracy of the process. The drive will ensure representativeness and equality of the vote, as well as to prevent malapportionment of electoral constituencies and wards.

## **6. Further regulations on delimitation**

- These regulations can include mechanisms for participation of citizens and engagement of electoral stakeholders.
- Regulations that facilitate the involvement of CSOs in the process, as observers to provide an oversight role and to complement ZEC in voter education.

## **7. Delimitation budget**

- ZEC must also set its delimitation budget in consultation with relevant stakeholders to make the process as transparent as possible.

### ***The Parliament of Zimbabwe should:***

#### **8. Legal review of provisions of delimitation**

- The legal review will entail enacting provisions that facilitate participation of citizens in the process.
- Mechanisms for legal redress in cases of boundary disputes, and complaints and appeals mechanism.
- The law must provide for provisional delimitation maps to be advertised widely to ensure their accuracy to enable interested parties to properly scrutinise the maps. The delimited maps must be made available to the public at ward level and at constituency level and the public must have access to them.
- Electoral stakeholders need to revisit the provisions on the timing of the delimitation process

### ***The Government of Zimbabwe:***

#### **9. Provide resources**

- The Government should provide adequate resources (especially financial) to the ZEC on time for the process.
- Strengthen, guarantee and commit to put in place mechanisms that further promote the independence and enhance the capacity of the electoral commission.

### ***Civil Society Organisations***

#### **10. Conduct civic and voter education**

- CSOs should conduct civic and voter education on the delimitation of electoral boundaries before the process begins and after the process ends. The voter and civic education should be inclusive of vulnerable and marginalized groups, including People with Disabilities (PWDs), minority ethnic groups, women, youth, amongst others.

#### **11. Accreditation and observation of the process**

- CSOs should consider observing the process to promote transparency, openness and accountability.

## 7. References

1. ACE: Project; (2012) 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition; Boundary Delimitation; available at< <http://aceproject.org/ace-en/topics/bd/introduction/bd20>>
2. Constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment (No. 20) Act 2013
3. Handley L. (2007 p. 59-74); Chapter Published in Challenging the Norms and Standards of Election Administration: Boundary Administration (IFES); available at< [https://ifes.org/sites/default/files/4\\_ifes\\_challenging\\_election\\_norms\\_and\\_standards\\_wp\\_bn\\_del.pdf](https://ifes.org/sites/default/files/4_ifes_challenging_election_norms_and_standards_wp_bn_del.pdf)>
4. Handley L. et. al (2006); IFES; Delimitation Equity Project: Resource Guide; available at< [https://www.ifes.org/sites/default/files/delimitations\\_manual\\_full\\_o.pdf](https://www.ifes.org/sites/default/files/delimitations_manual_full_o.pdf)>
5. IDEA; (2002 p. 27-31); International Electoral Standards Guidelines for reviewing the legal framework of elections: Guidelines Series; available at< <https://www.idea.int/sites/default/files/publications/international-electoral-standards-guidelines-for-reviewing-the-legal-framework-of-elections.pdf>>
6. IDEA; (2014 p. 77); International Obligations for Elections: Guidelines for Legal Frameworks; Stockholm, Sweden
7. Zimbabwe Electoral Commission; Delimitation Reports; available at< <https://www.zec.org.zw/pages/delimitation>>
8. Zimbabwe Election Support Network; (2008 p.8); A Profile of Constituencies: Understanding Elections in Zimbabwe; Harare
9. Zimbabwe Election Support Network; (2017); Argument for Delimitation of Boundaries in Zimbabwe in 2022
10. Zimbabwe Election Support Network; (2017 p. 5); 2018 Population Projections for Zimbabwean Aged 18+; available at< <http://www.zesn.org.zw/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/ZESN-2018-Population-Projections-for-Zimbabweans-Aged-18.pdf>>
11. Zimbabwe Election Support Network (2018 p. 67); Report on the 30 July Harmonised Elections; Harare
12. Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum; June 2011; The Electoral Process in Zimbabwe; Human Rights Bulletin: Number 62 English; available at< <http://www.hrforumzim.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/03/The-Electoral-Process-in-Zim-62-2011.pdf>>

## 8. Annexures

### Annexure 1: Survey Checklist



Name of enumerator: .....

Enumerator ID: .....

Date of Interview: .....

Time of Interview: .....

Name of supervisor: .....

#### Household Selection Procedure

- *It is your job to select a random (this means any) household. A household is a group of people who presently eat together from the same pot.*
- *Your field supervisors will select the sampling start point for each village. Use 5/8 (for urban) and skip the 3rd household (for rural) interval pattern to select a household. That is, walking in your designated direction away from the start point. For rural village, select the 3<sup>rd</sup> household for the first interview, counting houses on both the right and the left (and starting with those on the right if they are opposite each other). Once you leave your first interview, continue on in the same direction, this time selecting the 6th household, again counting houses on both the right and the left. For urban areas, select the 5th household for the first interview and select the 8th household for the second interview, and so and so forth.*
- *If you are unable to speak with anybody in the household throughout replace by the NEXT numbered household.*
- *If no one is at home (i.e., premises empty), substitute with the very next household. If the interview is refused, use an interval of 5/8 to select a substitute household, counting houses on both the right and the left.*
- *When you find a household with someone home, please introduce yourself using the following script. You must learn this introduction so that you can say it exactly as it is written below.*

#### Introduction

My name is ....., from the Zimbabwe Election Support Network (ZESN). ZESN is an independent, nonpartisan and apolitical nongovernmental organisation established in 2000 to promote democratic processes in general and free, fair and credible elections in particular. As part of its oversight, ZESN is conducting a research on electoral boundaries/ delimitation in Zimbabwe.

This research will enable ZESN to engage with key stakeholders ahead of the delimitation process. You are part of the 2400 households that have been selected for the interviews. I am therefore requesting to randomly select someone from your household to interview. We want to interview only those who are aged 18 years and above. The interview will take 20 minutes to complete. **Please show them the letter of introduction.**

**Note: The person must give his or her informed consent by answering positively. If participation is refused, walk away from the household. Substitute the household using an interval of 3 households for rural areas and 8 for urban areas. If consent is secured, proceed to Respondent Selection.**

### **Respondent Selection Procedure**

- Within the household, it is your job to select a random (this means any) individual. This individual becomes the interview respondent. In addition, you are responsible for alternating interviews between men and women.
- Please tell me the names of all males / females [select correct gender] who presently live in this household. I only want the names of males / females [select correct gender] who is Zimbabwean citizen and aged above 18 years
- If this interview must be with a female, list only women's names. If this interview is with a male, list only men's names. List all eligible household members of this gender who are 18 years or older, even those not presently at home but who will return to the house at any time that day.
- Randomly select the person to interview by writing names on pieces of paper, pick one name and conduct the interview that person. If you are permitted to interview someone, please make they sign the consent form. Please re-introduce yourself to the person you are interviewing if when you entered the household that was not the person you first met with.

### **Demographic Information**

1. Province [*Do not ask respondent, code the province*]

<b>Province</b>	
Bulawayo	1
Harare	2
Manicaland	3
Mashonaland Central	4
Mashonaland East	5
Mashonaland West	6
Masvingo	7
Matabeleland North	8
Matabeleland South	9
Midlands	10

2. Name of District

---

3. Name of Constituency

---

4. Ward number

5. Location [*Do not ask respondent*]

<b>Location</b>	
Urban	1
Rural	2
Peri-Urban	3

6. Gender [*Do not ask*]

<b>Gender</b>	
Male	1
Female	2

## 7. Age

<b>Age</b>	
18-35	1
36-50	2
51+	3

## 8. Employment Status

<b>Employment Status</b>	
Formally Employed	1
Informally employed	2
Unemployed	3
Student	4
Retired	5

## 9. Level of Education

<b>Level of Education</b>	
No formal education	1
Primary	2
Secondary	3
High School	4
Tertiary	5

## 10. Marital Status

<b>Marital Status</b>	
Married	1
Single	2
Divorced	3
Widowed	4
Refused to answer	5

11. Do you have a disability?

Yes	1
No	2

## Section A

### Knowledge about the Delimitation Process?

1. Are you a registered voter?

Yes	1
No	2
Refused to answer	88

2. If yes, skip to the next question, if **No**, why didn't you register to vote?

Registration centre was too far	1
I did not have the required identification documents	2
I did not have proof of residence	3
I was not interested in registering	4
I did not know that voter registration was taking place	5
I did not have time to go and register	6
I am not interested in politics	7
I was threatened not to register	8

3. Why did you decide to register?

It is my right	1
I want to vote in the elections	2
I want to vote for a party of my choice	3
I was forced	4
Everyone was registering	5
Refused to say	6
Other specify	99

4. Are you aware of the Delimitation of Constituency Boundaries? [*If no, go to number 9*]

Yes	1
No	2

5. If yes, when does delimitation occur?

Every 10 years after the census	1
---------------------------------	---

Every 5 years	2
Don't Know	3
Other.... Specify	99

6. Who is responsible for Delimitation of Electoral Boundaries?

Zimbabwe Election Commission (ZEC)	1
Delimitation Commission	2
Government	3
Don't know	4
Other..... Specify	99

7. Are you aware of the legal framework that guides delimitation boundary?

Yes	1
No	2

8. What are the challenges with the existing boundaries?

Gerrymandering	1
Population has decreased or increased	2
The last delimitation was conducted in 2008	3
Don't Know	4
Other....Specify	99

## Section B

**Delimitation of Electoral Boundaries is conducted by the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC), every 10 years after a population census has been conducted. Section 160 of the Constitution of Zimbabwe provides that Zimbabwe should be delimited into 210 constituencies.**

9. Should the ZEC consult stakeholders, when conducting the Delimitation? *[If no skip to 12]*

Yes	1
No	2

10. Who should the ZEC consult? *[Code as many as possible]*

Political parties	1
Civil society (CBOs, FBOs, Youth, Women)	2
Media	3
Government	4
Parliament	5
Citizens	6
Traditional Leaders	7
Other ..... Specify	99

11. When should the consultative processes be held?

Only before beginning delimitation boundaries	1
During delimitation of boundaries only	2
Before and during delimitation boundaries	3
Before, during and after delimitation boundaries	4

12. Should the Government be involved in the process of delimitation? *[if no, skip and go to number 13]*

Yes	1
No	2

13. If yes, how should the Government be involved?

Provide financial resources	1
Human resources	2
Don't know	3
Other..... Specify	99

14. How should citizens be involved in the process?

Public Hearings	1
Written Submissions	2
Social Media Platforms	3
Don't know	4

15. Should the ZEC produce a detailed roadmap/ calendar of the Delimitation process?

Yes	1
No	2

16. When should the ZEC share the roadmap/ calendar with stakeholder?

1 year before delimitation begins	1
6 months before delimitation	2
3 months before delimitation	3
1 month before delimitation	4
Don't Know	5
Other... specify	99

17. What issues do you think the delimitation will address?

Gerrymandering of boundaries	1
Unequal distribution of registered voters- some constituencies have a lot of voters- some too few voters	2
It has been long since delimitation was conducted	3
Unequal size of constituencies	4
Increased population	5
Don't Know	6
Other ..... Specify	99

18. What data should be used for the Delimitation? [*Multiple responses*]

Voter registration figures	1
Population census	2
Geographical data	3
Demographic data	4
Political data	5
Don't know	6
Other..... Specify	99

19. In your own opinion why is delimitation important?

Allocate seats	1
Distribution of voters proportionally	2
Redrawing of constituency boundaries	3
To prevent gerrymandering	4
Because of the electoral system we use - FPTP	5
Equality of the vote	6
Adequate representation of the electorate	7
Don't Know	8
Other.....Specify	99

20. In your opinion is the ZEC an impartial body to conduct delimitation of electoral boundaries?

Yes	1
No	2

21. What can the ZEC do to enhance transparency in the boundaries delimitation process?

Provide regular updates on the process	1
Stakeholder engagement meetings	2

Conduct civic and voter education on the delimitation process	3
Don't Know	4
Other..... Specify	99

22. Are you aware of your ward boundary?

Yes	1
No	2

### Section C

Now we are going to talk about physical features, infrastructure and community of interest in your area

23. What are the main means of communication in the area?

---



---

24. What type of roads are in the Constituency? **[Multiple]**

Tarred	1
Dirt Road/ Dust/ Gravel	2
Footpaths	3

25. Are there any rivers/ dams in the Constituency? **[skip to 27]**

Yes	1
No	2

26. Names of the Rivers and Dams

---



---

27. Are there any mountains in the area? **[Skip to 29]**

Yes	1
No	2

28. Names of mountains

---



---

29. Are there any clinics/ hospitals/ health centres in the areas?

Yes	1
No	2

30. Names of the clinics/ hospitals/ health centres in the area

---



---



---

31. Are there any schools in the area?

Yes	1
No	2

32. Names of the schools

---



---



---

33. How is the population distributed in the area?

Densely populated	1
Sparse populated	2
Evenly Distributed	3

34. Are there any churches in the area?

Yes	1
No	2

35. Give names of the churches

---



---



---

36. Are there any sacred places in the area?

Yes	1
No	2

37. What are their names

---



---



---

38. Main economic activities in the area?

---

---

---

**Thank you very much your answers have been very helpful**

Time Interview ended: \_\_\_\_\_

I hereby certify that this interview was conducted in accordance with instructions received during training. All responses recorded here are those of the respondents who were pre-selected.

Interviewer Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

## Annexure 2: Registration by Constituency

Based on the February 2019 Voter's roll

HARARE	Constituency	Total Registrants
	Harare South	76287
	Epworth	71835
	Budiriro	50380
	Kuwadzana	38333
	Harare East	37779
	Harare North	36496
	Harare West	35984
	Hatfield	35370
	Chitungwiza South	34738
	Dzivarasekwa	32279
	Warren Park	31528
	St Marys	29392
	Mabvuku-Tafara	29347
	Mbare	28429
	Chitungwiza North	27442
	Zengeza West	26884
	Zengeza East	25739
	Kuwadzana East	24781
	Glen Norah	24015
	Highfield East	23753
	Mount Pleasant	23113
	Harare Central	22569
	Kambuzuma	21428
	Glenview South	20309
	Highfield West	19211
	Sunningdale	18690
	Mufakose	18042
	Glenview North	17941
	Southernton	17239
	<b>Total</b>	<b>899333</b>
<b>MIDLANDS</b>	Chiwundura	41801

	Zvishavane Ngezi	35365
	Mkoba	34889
	Gweru Urban	34542
	Chirumanzu/Zibagwe	33080
	Shurugwi North	32932
	Gokwe Mapfungautsi	30861
	Redcliff	29602
	Gokwe Central	29546
	Mbizo	29479
	Gokwe Sasame	29445
	Silobela	28891
	Zhombe	28416
	Gokwe-Kabuyuni	28259
	Gokwe-Chireya	27614
	Mberengwa North	26507
	Vungu	25639
	Gokwe-Nembudziya	25443
	Kwekwe Central	24366
	Gokwe Kana	24047
	Zvishavane Runde	22684
	Shurugwi South	22098
	Gokwe Sengwa	21793
	Gokwe-Gumunyu	21677
	Mberengwa South	19634
	Chirumanzu	19411
	Mberengwa East	16824
	Mberengwa West	15770
	<b>Total</b>	<b>760615</b>
<b>MANICALAND</b>	Dangamvura/Chikanga	60651
	Mutare North	37974
	Mutare South	35912
	Mutare West	34680
	Mutasa South	33701
	Chimanimani East	30643
	Mutasa North	30337
	Chipinge Central	30020
	Nyanga South	29491
	Nyanga North	28185

	Buhera South	28095
	Headlands	28026
	Buhera Central	27164
	Mutasa Central	26830
	Makoni Central	26381
	Buhera West	26050
	Chipinge South	25611
	Makoni South	25483
	Chimanimani West	23437
	Chipinge East	22198
	Mutare Central	22169
	Makoni North	21994
	Buhera North	20026
	Musikavanhu	19364
	Chipinge West	19181
	Makoni West	18689
	<b>Total</b>	<b>732292</b>
<b>MASVINGO</b>	Chiredzi North	44181
	Masvingo Urban	42334
	Chiredzi West	38736
	Mwenezi West	34895
	Mwenezi East	33233
	Bikita West	25649
	Chivi Central	24872
	Chivi South	24180
	Zaka Central	23581
	Bikita East	23576
	Masvingo North	23104
	Zaka North	22565
	Gutu West	21712
	Bikita South	20857
	Masvingo South	20738
	Gutu Central	20293
	Masvingo West	19710
	Chivi North	19380
	Masvingo Central	18610
	Chiredzi East	18015
	Gutu South	17610

	Chiredzi South	16233
	Gutu East	16001
	Zaka East	15984
	Zaka West	15865
	Gutu North	14165
	<b>Total</b>	<b>616079</b>
<b>MASH WEST</b>	Muzvezeve	40429
	Zvimba East	38364
	Chakari	36295
	Kadoma Central	36178
	Chinhoyi	35287
	Mhangura	34830
	Norton	34642
	Kariba	32337
	Hurungwe East	31663
	Hurungwe Central	30601
	Chegutu West	29720
	Makonde	29553
	Zvimba North	28641
	Chegutu East	28292
	Mhondoro-Ngezi	27023
	Zvimba South	25594
	Hurungwe West	23909
	Hurungwe North	23446
	Mhondoro Mubaira	23026
	Magunje	22357
	Zvimba West	21176
	Sanyati	20909
	<b>Total</b>	<b>654272</b>
<b>MASH EAST</b>	Goromonzi South	73031
	Seke	44663
	Goromonzi West	38972
	Chikomba West	30208
	Goromonzi North	29852
	Mutoko South	29214
	Marondera Central	29030
	Murewa South	28034

	Maramba Pfungwe	27864
	Marondera East	27551
	Murewa North	27449
	Murewa West	26930
	Uzumba	26893
	Mudzi North	24772
	Mutoko North	23272
	Mudzi South	22716
	Wedza North	20811
	Mutoko East	19654
	Marondera West	17788
	Mudzi West	17628
	Chikomba Central	16873
	Chikomba East	14513
	Wedza South	14295
	<b>Total</b>	<b>632013</b>
<b>MASH CENTRAL</b>		
	Bindura North	48718
	Shamva South	34745
	Bindura South	34695
	Mazowe South	32714
	Guruve North	32029
	Guruve South	30895
	Rushinga	29928
	Mt Darwin South	29147
	Mbire	28950
	Muzarabani South	28788
	Mt Darwin West	28671
	Mt Darwin East	27910
	Shamva North	27059
	Mazowe West	25542
	Mazowe North	24832
	Mt Darwin North	22946
	Mazowe Central	22541
	Muzarabani North	21200
	<b>Total</b>	<b>531310</b>
<b>BULAWAYO</b>		
	Bulawayo Central	23004
	Bulawayo East	21676

	Bulawayo South	16734
	Emakhandeni-Entumbane	18523
	Lobengula	17719
	Luveve	34814
	Magwegwe	14790
	Makokoba	18189
	Nketa	28591
	Nkulumane	21808
	Pelandaba-Mpopoma	17031
	Pumula	25045
	<b>Total</b>	<b>257924</b>
<b>MAT SOUTH</b>	Beitbridge East	34757
	Gwanda Central	27621
	Insiza North	25888
	Umzingwane	25520
	Matobo North	19134
	Mangwe	18873
	Bulilima East	18000
	Beitbridge West	16445
	Gwanda North	16203
	Bulilima West	15992
	Matobo South	15311
	Gwanda South	15251
	Insiza South	14695
	<b>Total</b>	<b>263690</b>
<b>MAT NORTH</b>	Binga South	35962
	Binga North	33681
	Bubi	33372
	Umguza	32788
	Hwange West	32283
	Hwange Central	27473
	Nkayi South	24622
	Hwange East	21330
	Nkayi North	21270
	Lupane East	20595
	Tsholotsho South	19590
	Tsholotsho North	17833

	Lupane West	17794
	<b>Total</b>	<b>338593</b>
	<b>TOTAL REGISTRANTS</b>	<b>5686121</b>