

26 March 2022 By-Elections

ACRONYMS

ACHPR African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights

CBOs Community Based Organisations
CCC Citizens Coalition for Change
CSOs Civil Society Organisations
DOP Democratic Opposition Party

ESN-SA Electoral Support Network Of Southern Africa

FAS Federation of African State FREEZIM Free Zimbabwe Congress

GNDEM Global Network of Domestic Election Monitors
ICCPR International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

LEAD Labour, Economists and African Democrats

LTOs Long Term Observers
MA'AT ZIM MA'AT Zimbabwe

MDC-A Movement for Democratic Change Alliance

MISA Media Institute of Southern Africa
MOPA Maintenance of Peace and Order Act

MP Member of Parliament NPF New Patriotic Front

PDP People's Democratic Party
PZ Patriotic Zimbabweans

RPZ Republican Party of Zimbabwe

SADC Southern African Development Community

STOs Short Term Observers
UDA United Democratic Alliance

UDHR Universal Declaration of Human Rights

UZA United Zimbabwe Alliance

ZANU-PF Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front

ZAPU Zimbabwe African People's Union
ZBC Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation
ZEC Zimbabwe Electoral Commission
ZESN Zimbabwe Election Support Network

ZLP Zimbabwe Labour Party
ZRP Zimbabwe Republic Police

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Zimbabwe Election Support Network (ZESN) expresses gratitude to its member organisations and election volunteers who made observation of the by-elections successful. This includes ZESN Board Members, Provincial Taskforce Members, Long Term Observers (LTOs) and Short Term Observers (STOs), as well as the Secretariat. ZESN also acknowledges the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC) for facilitating a smooth accreditation process for its election observers.

The network also commends every citizen who exercised their right to vote in the 26 March 2022 by-elections.



EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

On 26 March 2022, by-elections were held to fill in 28 vacancies in National Assembly seats and 122 in local authorities. This was after a long period, far beyond the 90 days set by Zimbabwe's electoral laws for the filling in of such vacancies, owing to the indefinite suspension of by-elections from early 2020. Most of the vacancies arose as a result of recalls that followed squabbles in the then main opposition, the MDC Alliance.

While by-elections continued to be suspended on account of COVID-19, other sectors of the economy opened and activities resumed in schools, churches and other public facilities. ZESN Long Term Observers (LTOs) observed the pre-election environment and processes. In the pre-election period, ZESN observed electoral malpractices that include violence during campaigns; restriction of some opposition campaign activities; vote buying; unequal access to the public media among others, however ZBC. On the eve of the sitting of the nomination courts, Nelson Chamisa announced the launch of a new political party, ending a fight over the name 'MDC Alliance'. Most of the candidates who were nominated as CCC candidates were elected Mps and Councillors on the MDC Alliance ticket in 2018.

The nomination courts set twice to receive nomination papers for National Assembly elections after the setting aside of an initial High Court order declaring the absence of vacancies in six constituencies. On Election Day, static observers were deployed to observe at some polling stations, mobile teams were deployed to constituencies, and a central communication centre was set up. ZESN observers were provided with checklists to standardise observation and reporting. Voters' rolls for National Assembly and local government elections closed at different times, with the implication that voters who were not aware of it learnt on Election Day that in some cases they could only vote for Members of Parliament but not Councillors. This pointed to the inadequacy of voter education.

On polling day, polling was generally well administered by ZEC with due processes and procedures being followed, except for a few instances where the voters' roll was not displayed outside polling stations before Election Day; some polling stations were located at private properties; and lighting became a challenge at some polling stations as the day ended, among other things. While the Election Day was largely peaceful, there were reports of some people who were writing down names of voters close to polling stations. COVID-19 protocols were enforced, with voters who did not have face masks turned away. Outside some of the polling stations, ZESN observed teams from the Ministry of Health and Child Care who were vaccinating citizens against COVID-19 for free.

Gender inclusion in elections was commendable on the part of the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC) and the Police as many female polling officials and Police officers were seen at the polling stations.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

High numbers of assisted voters as well as redirected voters were observed at some polling stations. The participation of women and youth in the by-elections was noticeably low. CCC won 19 of the seats while ZANU-PF emerged victorious in nine. After the 2018 harmonised elections, 20 of the seats were held by the MDC Alliance, seven by ZANU-PF, and only one by the NPF. Overall, turnout was very low in the by-elections. In view of the observations made, there is need for robust civic and voter education interventions encouraging voters to vote in elections; peace building initiatives targeting political parties and local communities and their leadership to reduce incidences of violence and intimidation; avoiding setting up polling stations in privately owned properties or near controversial spaces, for instance near political party billboards or offices; and considering having the same closing date for National Assembly and local authority by-elections voters' rolls, among other things.

ABOUT ZESN

ZESN is a coalition/network of 37 Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) which was formed in the year 2000. The major focus of the Network is to promote democratic processes in general and free and fair elections in particular. ZESN is the secretariat of the Electoral Support Network of Southern Africa (ESN-SA) and is a member of The Global Network of Domestic Election Monitors (GNDEM). Following the invitation of ZEC ZESN was accredited to observe the 26 March by-elections.

Earlier, ZESN deployed Long Term Observers (LTOs) in the constituencies around the country observing and reporting on election-related developments. Thus, ZESN relied on reports from its LTOs who observed the pre-electoral period and the Election Day processes. ZESN's election observation methodology is based on the Constitution of Zimbabwe and Electoral Laws of the country. The Network is independent in its findings and conclusions. In addition, ZESN's assessment of the by-elections was also guided by a number of regional and international conventions and declarations which Zimbabwe is signatory to, such as; the SADC Principles and Guidelines Governing Democratic Elections, the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (ACHPR), the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). The Network is also guided by the GNDEM's Declaration of Global Principles for Nonpartisan Election Observation and Monitoring by Citizen Organisations and the Code of Conduct for Nonpartisan Citizen Election Observers.



INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE BY-ELECTIONS

Zimbabwe held by-elections to fill in vacancies in the National Assembly and Local Authorities on 26 March 2022. The seats fell vacant mostly as a result of recalls that ensued following internal party squabbles within the main opposition, the MDC Alliance that were settled by the courts. Table 1 below shows the causes of the occurrence of vacancies in National Assembly constituencies where by-elections were held. Contrary to what would ordinarily happen, the by-elections were held long after the lapse of the 90-day period within which vacancies should be constitutionally filled in. This was because of the indefinite suspension of by-elections by the government on account of the COVID-19 pandemic and in spite of the opening of other sectors of the country and resumption of other activities such as physical church gatherings, reopening of schools, restaurants, bars and other public facilities. In the 2018 harmonised elections, 20 of the National Assembly seats were won by the MDC Alliance, seven by ZANU-PF, and only one by the NPF. In the 26 March 2022 by-elections, the MDC Alliance won 19 of the seats while ZANU-PF emerged victorious in nine.

Table 1: Causes of vacancies in constituencies where by-elections were held

	Constituency	МР	Party	Sex	Cause of Vacancy
1	Binga North	Prince Dubeko Sibanda	MDC A	M	Recalled
2	Chivi South	Killer Zivhu	ZANUPF	M	Recalled
3	DangamvuraChikanga	Prosper Chapfiwa Mutseyami	MDC A	M	Recalled
4	Epworth	Earthrage Kureva	MDC A	M	Recalled
5	Glen Norah	Wellington Chikombo	MDC A	M	Recalled
6	Harare Central	Murisi Zwizwai	MDC A	М	Recalled
7	Harare East	Tendai Biti	MDC A	М	Recalled
8	Highfield East	Erick Murai	MDC A	M	Recalled
9	Highfield West	Happymore Chidziva	MDC A	M	Recalled
10	Kambuzuma	Willias Madzimure	MDC A	M	Recalled

10	Kambuzuma	Willias Madzimure	MDC A	М	Recalled
11	Kuwadzana East	Charlton Hwende	MDC A	М	Recalled
12	Marondera Central	Caston Matewu	MDC A	M	Recalled
13	Mutasa South	Regai Tsunga	MDC A	M	Recalled
14	St Mary's	Dickson Unganai Tarusenga	MDC A	М	Recalled
15	Mkoba	Amos Chibaya	MDC A	M	Recalled
16	Mufakose	Susan Matsunga	MDC A	F	Recalled
17	Pumula	Sichelesile Mahlangu	MDC A	F	Recalled
18	Nkulumane	Ivumile Kucaca Phulu	MDC A	M	Recalled
19	Mbizo	Settlement Chikwinya	MDC A	М	Recalled
20	Gokwe Central	Victor Matemadanda	ZANU-PF	М	Promoted to ambassador
21	Glen View North	Kennedy Dinar	MDC A	М	Death
22	Kuwadzana	Miriam Mushayi	MDC A	F	Death
23	Kwekwe Central	Masango Matambanadzo	NPF	М	Death
24	Murehwa South	Joel Biggie Matiza	ZANU-PF	M	Death
25	Mberengwa South	Alum Mpofu	ZANU-PF	М	Death
26	Marondera East	Patrick Chidhakwa	ZANU-PF	М	Death
27	Mwenezi East	Joosbi Omar	ZANU-PF	М	Death
28	Tsholotsho South	Zenzo Sibanda	ZANU-PF	М	Death

LEGAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE BY-ELECTIONS

The legal framework that governs elections in Zimbabwe includes the Constitution, Electoral Act, Statutory Instruments and Regulations. In terms of Sections 158 (3) and 159 of the Constitution of Zimbabwe, and Section 39 of the Electoral Act, by-elections should be held within 90 days after a seat falls vacant. The 26 March 2022 by-elections did not comply with this requirement as by-elections were indefinitely suspended through Statutory Instrument (SI) 225A of 2020 on account of COVID-19 from early 2020.

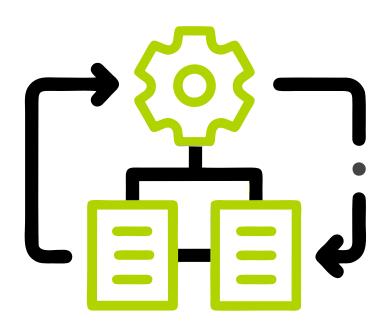
In respect of the 26 March by-elections, there were issues relating to the timing of the closing of voters' rolls for the National Assembly and local authority elections. Section 26A of the Electoral Act seems to provide that for all elections at every level: Presidential, National Assembly, and local authority, voters' rolls should close for purposes of registering to vote in those elections, two days after the election proclamation by the President. However, this is potentially inconsistent with Section 121A (3) of the same Act that provides for voters' rolls in local authority (ward) elections to close on the day the vacancy occurs.

Perhaps owing to voter education inadequacies, on the day of the by-elections, some voters were not aware that they would only be eligible to vote for Members of Parliament but not Councillors owing to the difference in the timing of the closing of the voters' rolls.



OBSERVATION METHODOLOGY

In the pre-election period, ZESN observed the political environment and key electoral processes. LTOs' data collection and reporting were standardised by use of the same reporting checklists. The Network further trained and deployed Election Day mobile observation teams and static Constituency Result Centre-based observers. In total there were over 200 observers: static (polling station-based) observers; mobile observer teams; and some manning the central communication centre. These STOs also had checklists to guide the collection of relevant Election Day data. The questions on the checklists tracked the Election Day processes from the arrival of polling officers, polling stations set up, voting through to the closing, counting and collation of results at polling stations and Constituency Result Centres. The observation wasconducted in line with the Electoral Laws of Zimbabwe, the revised Southern African Development Community (SADC) Principles and Guidelines Governing Democratic Elections as well as other regional and African election guidelines and principles.



PRE-ELECTIONS OBSERVATIONS

Through its ongoing long term observation, ZESN observed the pre-election period. The following observations were made:

1 Campaigns

Reports received from ZESN observers indicate that in many constituencies, campaigns by prospective candidates interested in contesting in the by-elections started well before the by-elections were proclaimed and sitting of the nomination court. During the campaigns, there were concerns raised by some electoral contestants who alleged that the Police was selectively applying COVID-19 restrictions and the Maintenance of Peace and Order Act (MOPA) to benefit the incumbent.

ZANU-PF launched its by-election campaigns with a rally in Epworth on 12 February 2022. The rally, which was addressed by party senior leadership including the party President Emmerson Mnangagwa and Vice President Dr. Constantino Chiwenga, was reportedly attended by thousands of supporters. Addressing supporters at the rally, President Mnangagwa promised residents of the informal settlement that the government would grant title deeds for their properties and regularize their settlements. Subsequently, ZANU-PF held rallies in Marondera, Kwekwe, Chegutu, Bulawayo, Tsholotsho and Binga. ZANU-PF promised the electorate empowerment projects and blamed the opposition for service delivery failure in areas where the opposition has jurisdiction.

The CCC launched its by-elections campaign on 20 February 2022 at Zimbabwe Grounds in Highfield. Like ZANU-PF's rallies, CCC rallies were attended by many supporters. CCC however suffered some restrictions. For example, the Highfield rally was held under conditions set by the Police, including that the party was expected to control the behaviour of its members before, during and after the launch; members would not intimidate passers-bys and those who had nothing to do with the party's campaign launch; people would not be bussed from other constituencies; and members would not be involved in *toyi-toying*, convoying of vehicles of people chanting slogans and singing and disseminating hateful and defaming information, cooperation with all government agencies was urged. The party was also urged to observe COVID-19 regulations outlined by the government. The Police indicated that any deviation would result in the dispersing of the crowd.

On the 26th and 27th of February, CCC rallies were scheduled for Gokwe and Kwekwe respectively. The Gokwe rally failed to materialise after people were reportedly dispersed by members of the Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP). It was reported that although the ZRP had earlier authorised CCC to hold their rally in Gokwe, they later reported that they had manpower shortages and instructed the opposition party to postpone the event. Skirmishes between the police and the party supporters were reported.

Newsday. 18 February 2022. Police set tough conditions for Chamisa rally Newsday. 18 February 2022. Police set tough conditions for Chamisa rally. VOA. 27 February 2022. Zimbabwe Police Use Dogs, Tear Gas against Opposition. Newsday. 1 March 2022. CCC Kwekwe violence: Police finger Zanu PF. The Herald. 28 February 2022. Police arrest 16 for rally violence. 263 Chat. Police Release 11 Kwekwe Violence Suspects. The Chronicle. 2 March 2022. Five in court over CCC Kwekwe rally violence.

Violence erupted during the CCC's Kwekwe rally when the party's president, Nelson Chamisa, was addressing the crowd. The violence, which was allegedly spearheaded by ZANU-PF supporters in CCC regalia, led to the death of Mboneni Ncube, a CCC supporter and the injuring of many others. Amidst the chaos, CCC's National Youth leader, Secretary for Rural Mobilisation & Strategy and the Highfield West Constituency candidate, Happymore Chidziva, rushed to the microphone and urged CCC's youths to retaliate. The following day, the Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP) nabbed 16 suspects in relation with the violence. Eleven of the sixteen were released the following day whilst the other five appeared in the Kwekwe Magistrate's Court. The court remanded them in custody until 15 March. It appears the issue is fading and media coverage or reporting of the issue has almost ceased. The opposition campaign was centred around criticising the incumbent government, which was accused of responsibility for service delivery failures and failure to provide for the welfare of the citizenry.

The MDC Alliance, led by Douglas Mwonzora, officially launched their campaign for the 26 March by-elections with a rally at Zororo Grounds in Highfield. Mwonzora encouraged people not to vote Chamisa and CCC accusing the recalled candidates of incompetence. Mwonzora stated that he and his team had outwitted both President Emmerson Mnangagwa and Chamisa, demonstrating their competence. Media reports indicated that the MDC Alliance rallies were not attended by many people, with estimates ranging from 300 to their official claim of 5,000 attendees.

Despite initially stating that they would not be holding rallies, the Labour, Economist and African Democrats (LEAD) led by Linda Masarira notified the police of the intention to hold a rally in Epworth. LEAD claimed that the scheduled rally was disrupted by ZANU-PF supporters. A video which was released by 263 Chat, an online media channel, showed a group of people in ZANU-PF regalia standing a few metres from alleged members of LEAD. In its campaign, the LEAD mainly focussed on gender equality, the empowerment of women and labour movement issues.

During the campaign period, especially towards the eve of the elections, reports of vote buying intensified. For instance, two days prior to the election, a video was posted on Twitter in which a ZANU-PF candidate for Dangamvura Chikanga Constituency was handing out groceries and cash on election eve. Also, in a move that was largely seen as vote-buying, President Emmerson Mnangagwa handed over dozens of bicycles and fishing boats to people in Binga North Constituency, a few days before the by-elections. ZESN observers noted that in Mutasa South Constituency, fertilisers and other inputs were distributed a couple of days before the polls whilst in Epworth, ZANU PF National Assembly candidate, Zalerah Makari allegedly did the same a few days to the election.

2 Pre-election environment: electoral violations

Despite the fact that the Election Day was mostly peaceful, the days leading up to it were marked by a number of reports of intimidation and violence. Cases of violence were recorded, with the worst being the one that led to the death of CCC supporter, Mboneni Ncube, at the party's rally in Kwekwe. Sixteen people were arrested and five appeared at Kwekwe Magistrate's Court on 1 March and remanded in custody to March 15. It remains unclear whether the ruling has been handed down by the courts or is yet to be made. In Chitungwiza, a CCC supporter, Agatha Mujati, reportedly suffered head injuries on 28 February after she was allegedly attacked by suspected ZANU-PF members at her house. In another incident, ZANU-PF's campaign crew was allegedly attacked by unknown assailants in Bulawayo on 14 February.

As previously stated, allegations of vote-buying increased in the run-up to the March 26 by-elections. Some candidates utilised vote buying in a concerted attempt to garner votes.

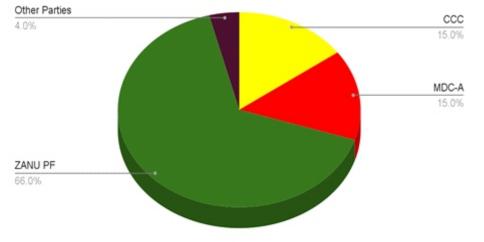
The systematic restrictions and conditions imposed on CCC gatherings by the Zimbabwe Republic Police - were a cause for concern. All in all, CCC had three rallies, either stopped by police or allowed to proceed under strict conditions. CCC rallies were reportedly stopped in Marondera, Binga, and Gokwe whilst stringent conditions were set for the Highfields rally.

3 Media Coverage of the By-elections

Although there are a few private media players, the media space in Zimbabwe is dominated by state-owned or state-run institutions. Until recently, the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC) operated the sole television channel in Zimbabwe. Following the proclamation of by-elections by President Emmerson Mnangagwa, the Media Institute for Southern Africa (MISA), Zimbabwe wrote to the ZBC requesting for implementation of fair and balanced coverage of political parties during the by-elections. A report released by the Media Monitors indicates that media coverage was tilted in favour of ZANU PF. Figure 1 below shows the media coverage of political parties ahead of the by-elections. While the ZBC produced a <u>By-Elections Coverage Schedule</u> it did not provide live coverage for the rallies of all the contesting political parties.

Figure 1 Distribution of space and time among political actors in all media.





Source: Media Monitors, 26 March 2022

Daily Maverick. 7 March. 2022. Zanu-PF accused of gangsterism in orgy of violence as Zimbabwe by-elections loom.

VOA. 14 February 2022. Zimbabwe's Ruling Party says Opposition Has Attacked its Election Campaign Team.

VOA. 13 March 2022. Zimbabwe Police Block Main Opposition Rallies.

Newsday. 18 February 2022. Police set tough conditions for Chamisa rally

263Chat. 24 March 2022. Terrified ZANU PF Blocking CCC Rallies: Chamisa

TechZim. 31 January 20, 2022. MISA writes a letter to ZBC urging fair coverage during elections.

Media Monitors. 26 March 2022. Distribution of space and time among political actors in all media.

3.1 Media coverage and gender

In total, there were 120 candidates across the 28 contested National Assembly seats. Of the 120, only 16 were female, representing 13% percent. Out of 28 National Assembly seats, female candidates contested in 13 constituencies. When combined with the number of female candidates who contested in the local authority by-elections across the 122 wards, the percentage rises to a paltry 15%. Media coverage for the few female candidates was low. Media Monitors noted that there was a gender imbalance in the media's coverage of elections. According to the Media Monitors reports, the coverage of women in politics was a mere 8% whilst their male counterparts received 92% of the coverage.

4 Voter education

In accordance with the custom, the ZEC provided voter education ahead of the by-elections. Other players, for example CSOs, complemented ZEC's voter education efforts. On 7 January 2022, the ZEC published a list of CSOs accredited to provide voter education. ZEC first conducted voter education for nomination for the 26 March by-elections. Whilst phase 1 of the mobile voter registration blitz was ongoing in February, ZEC voter education teams went ahead of voter registration teams to raise awareness about the voter registration blitz. At the time, the main focus of ZEC's voter education was on the mobile voter registration exercise. Closer to the by-elections, the Commission provided voter education for polling. CSOs and Community Based Organisations (CBOs) complemented ZEC's efforts. Several means were used to reach out to the electorate including the use of hailers, distribution of posters/calendars, fliers and door to door campaigns as well as addressing public gatherings.

5 Voter registration

While voter registration is continuous, ZEC had announced plans to roll out a voter registration blitz starting in December 2020. However, ZEC later postponed the blitz citing the need for the Civil Registry Department to first issue out national identity documents to as many people as possible. National identity documents are a requirement for one to be able to register to vote. The voter registration blitz commenced on 1 February 2022, after the proclamation of the election date by the President in January and the closing of the voters' rolls for National Assembly by-elections two days later. The timing of the closing of the voters' rolls may have led to the disenfranchisement of some potential voters who had hoped to register during the blitz.

On Election Day, some voters were not aware that they would not be eligible to vote for Councillors for wards in constituencies where they would elect Members of Parliament. This was because the voters' rolls for local authority elections closed way before those for the National Assembly by-elections. There appears to be some inconsistency in the law in relation to this. Section 26A of the Electoral Act seems to provide that for all elections at every level: Presidential, National Assembly, and local authority, voters' rolls should close for purposes of registering to vote in those elections, two days after the election proclamation by the President. However, this is potentially inconsistent with Section 121A (3) of the same Act that provides for voters' rolls in local authority (ward) elections to close on the day the vacancy occurs.

6 Candidates' nomination

Nomination Courts sat twice to receive nomination papers of candidates who would contest in the by-elections. On 26 January, the first sitting, nomination papers were received from candidates who would contest in 22 of the 28 vacant constituencies. The High Court had ruled that there were no vacancies in the other six constituencies namely Pumula; Nkulumane; Kambuzuma; Harare East; Mutasa South; and Mbizo. Recalled MPs from the named constituencies had appealed, arguing that the person who was purported to have recalled them was not a bonafide member of the People's Democratic Party (PDP) from which they had joined with other parties to form the MDC Alliance. However, the court order stopping by-elections in the constituencies was set aside by the same court on 27 January. Following this, President Mnangagwa issued another proclamation, contained in Statutory Instrument 16A of 2022, declaring vacancies in the six National Assembly seats and the Nomination Court to sit on 28 January 2022.

By the time of the sitting of the nomination courts, Douglas Mwonzora had written to ZEC stating that he had assumed the presidency of the MDC Alliance and that his party would therefore field candidates as the MDC Alliance in the upcoming by-elections. Nelson Chamisa, who was the presidential candidate for the MDC Alliance in the 2018 harmonised elections, announced the launch of a new political party called the Citizens Coalition for Change (CCC). On the nomination dates, many prospective candidates who were members of the MDC Alliance that Chamisa led in 2018, including those who had been recalled, were nominated under the CCC party. For the list of successfully nominated candidates, see ZESN's report on the 26 and 28 January nomination courts.



Picture of one of the Nomination Courts in session - Courtesy of ZEC

Election Day Observations

1.Polling opening and voting

ZEC notified stakeholders that all polling stations would post a voter's roll outside three days prior to the election. ZESN observers reported that by 26 March, the by-elections date, many polling stations had displayed the voters' roll outside. A few exceptions were noted, for example, Gwai Primary School in Mberengwa South Constituency.

ZESN observers reported that by 0700 hours almost all polling stations were open and polling had commenced. There were limited instances of polling stations opening between 0715 to 0800 hours. All the required voting materials such as ballot boxes, ballot papers, ZEC official stamp, indelible ink, and the voters' roll were available at the time of opening. All polling stations were adequately manned with an average of eight polling officials, with the majority of them being female in most cases. As voting continued, ZESN observers noted ZEC employees, particularly from the Results Collation Centres, travelling around polling stations delivering V11 forms for the voting counting process scheduled for later in the evening.



Picture 2: Voters verifying their names at one of the polling stations during the 26 March by-elections

While the Election Day was generally peaceful, with electoral processes well administered, a few incidents were reported. CCC member and Zengeza West MP, Job Sikhala made noise at Mangoromera Bus Terminus polling station in Ward 3 of Chitungwiza, protesting over the proximity of a billboard of President Mnangagwa in ZANU-PF regalia to the polling station. At Mkoba Polytechnic polling station A, there was some commotion after party posters were found spread a few metres from the station. Police officers summoned the suspected young men who denied the charges. At Donnybrook/Manresa Tent B in Harare East, a CCC agent had the Election Agent tag snatched by suspected ZANU-PF supporters.

At many polling centres, the common procedure was that identity documents would be checked twice, first at the entrance and secondly to check the name on the voter's roll inside the polling stations. An unfortunate incident was however recorded at Chisipite Senior School where someone voted on behalf of his brother. It was only when the brother turned up later during the day that this mishap was discovered and a complaint was lodged with the Police. There were reports relating to the poor quality of ink that was used to mark voters' fingers. The ink appeared to be easily erasable, raising concerns about the possibility of multiple voting.

There were also incidents arising from the location of the polling stations. For instance, at Musi Farm Tent, which was located at a private farm, the night before the polls, one polling officer reportedly came when the guard had already closed his gate resulting in him being denied entrance. At Mbizo 3 Play Centre, ZESN observers reported an incident where a man, roughly ten metres away but in his yard, was writing down the names of all people who were going to the polling station. The Presiding Officer and the Police reportedly engaged him but could not reprimand him on any charges as he was confined to his yard.

In areas where there were both local authority and National Assembly elections, two separate voters' rolls were used; one for local authority and the other for the National Assembly election. As a result, a few incidents were reported where voters' names appeared in the voters' roll for National Assembly and did not appear in one for local authority. For instance, at Rusike AFM Tent B in Marondera East as well as at Highlands Primary A in Harare East, the local authority voters' roll had one more voter than the National Assembly roll.

As dusk fell, lighting was a cause of discomfort for voters in some polling stations. At Mkoba Polytechnic polling station B, for instance, voters were refusing to use ZEC officials' torches due to scepticism and (mis)trust issues. Despite the ZEC ban on mobile phones in polling stations, some Presiding Officers ended up permitting voters to use their phones for lighting purposes. This opened up the potential risk of voters taking pictures of marked ballot papers.

2 COVID-19 protocols

COVID-19 mitigation measures were still applicable during the by-elections. Social distancing was observed especially in polling stations where there was sufficient space. Figure 2 below is a picture of voters queuing to vote with social distance maintained. A very strict stance was taken on the proper wearing of masks. ZESN observers noted cases where people were turned away after they turned up to vote without wearing masks. In most cases, these would return shortly wearing masks properly. Voters and all other stakeholders, including observers and election officials who entered polling stations, were sanitized at almost every polling station. All visitors to the polling stations were also required to register their names, ostensibly for COVID-19 contact tracing. There were issues regarding this, leading to some people refusing to sign whilst other polling stations later on stopped stipulating on this requirement. ZESN observers noted that many people raised concerns over the use of ordinary A4 books, without anything relating them either to the Ministry of Health or ZEC, and they were not comfortable with the arrangement. The inadequacy of information surrounding their purpose and significance did not make matters any better.



Picture 3:
Social distancing at a queue at Munyoro
Shopping Centre Tent in Nkulumane

Public health personnel also capitalised on the by-elections to strategically position their sites for COVID-19 testing and vaccination. ZESN observers noted public health personnel in some cases half a kilometre from the polling area, testing and vaccinating those willing for free. COVID-19 vaccination teams were on the ground in Mkoba, Harare East, St Mary's among other constituencies.

3 Women and special needs groups

ZESN observers noted that the composition of ZEC election officials, ZRP officers, as well as political party polling agents, was sensitive to gender; women were well represented. With respect to people with disabilities (PWDs), some polling stations, especially those in tents/open spaces, were easily accessible. However, some polling stations which were situated at schools were not PWD friendly. ZESN observers also noted that ZEC also adhered to the practice of having special voting booths to cater for PWDs at all polling stations, specifically wheelchair users.

4 Assisted voters

ZESN observers reported a high number of assisted voters in the by-elections, particularly in rural areas. In Tsholotsho South, Mberengwa South, and Binga North, the number of assisted voters was worryingly high. For example, at Mangani Business Centre Tent A in Binga North Constituency, the number of assisted voters was in excess of 30% of the votes cast. At Mbambangamandla in Tsholotsho South, out of the 162 people that voted, 37 were assisted to vote; at Nembe Primary polling station in Tsholotsho South, out of the 83 votes cast, 15 voters were assisted; and at Gwavamutangwi Primary School polling station in Mberengwa South, 21 of the 125 who voted were assisted. Cases of assisted voting were on account of illiteracy, old age and visual impairment.

5 Redirected voters

There were cases of people who were redirected having turned up to vote at the wrong polling station. The number of redirected voters was particularly high where there were more than one polling station at the same place, for example different classrooms at the same school serving as polling stations. The high number of redirected voters was also attributable to the absence or inadequacy of Election Day signage. In some cases, the signage was only visible after arrival at the polling station. Where there was more than one polling station on the same site, it was a lot harder for voters to identify the correct polling station for them. For instance, at Nkulumane Hall in Nkulumane constituency as well as Chisipite Senior School in Harare East, most of the people who wanted to access polling station B had to first ask at Polling A, since Polling A, due to its location, was the first port of call.

6 Turned away

Some people were turned away for producing invalid identification documents or because their names could not be found on the voters' roll, having sought to transfer their vote or registered after the cut-off date. The invalid documents include drivers' licences, expired passports, photocopies of national identity cards/passports, and workplace identity cards. While people with photocopies of IDs were generally turned away, reports indicate that there were very few instances where the Presiding Officers, in unison with political party agents, exercised discretion and allowed people with copies of their identity documents to vote.

7 Voter turnout

In many polling stations across the country observed by ZESN, turnout was very low. In some polling stations, there were small queues between 0700 hours and 0900 hours and by 1000 hours the queues had disappeared leaving election officials to just sit waiting for voters to come. In some constituencies, such as Mkoba and parts of Mberengwa South, turnout was low in the early hours of the morning as it was raining. Youth turnout was notably low as queues observed were predominantly made up of elderly women and men. By the end of polling, turnout at many polling centres was below 50% of registered voters.

ZESN noted a huge reduction in turnout in this by-elections when compared to the July 2018 harmonised elections. In most cases, the combined number of cast votes per constituency failed to reach the votes polled for the 2018 winning candidates. For example, in Dangamvura - Chikanga Constituency, whilst the 2018 winning candidate had 33 381 votes, all the votes that were polled for all candidates on 26 March were only 20 050. In Mwenezi East, 13 941 votes were cast and the 2018 winning candidate had 22 926 votes. The pattern was replicated in almost all of the 28 constituencies.

8 Political party agents

In line with the requirements of Section 95 (1a and b) of the Electoral Act, contesting candidates/parties are a llowed to have one agent inside the polling station and an additional two agents within the vicinity of the polling station. This means that a political party can have up to three agents per polling station. The presence of political party agents is necessary to enhance trust and accountability in elections. For the March 2022 by-election, ZANU-PF and CCC deployed party agents comprehensively. In a very few polling stations, there were also agents for the MDC-Alliance, UZA, LEAD and ZAPU.

A few cases were reported where some parties were trying either to smuggle or force in two or more agents inside the polling station at a time. At one point, there was an argument among agents at David Livingstone Primary School in Harare Central on whether a party contesting in both local authority and National Assembly by-elections required one or two agents in the polling station at a time. The case was resolved amicably with the intervention of ZEC officials, ZRP officers and other political party agents, resulting in each party having only one agent as provided for by the law. In another case involving a political party agent, at the Bullet Shopping Centre Tent, a ZANU PF female agent who was sanitizing people at the entrance to the tent was stopped by the ZEC roving supervisor.

9 Role of the Zimbabwe Republic Police

Generally, the officers of the Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP) are mandated with maintaining peace, law and orderin the society. In line with their constitutional duties, ZRP is engaged by ZEC to ensure that peace, law and order prevail during the elections. ZESN observers noted that the ZRP deployed across all polling stations. In most cases, the teams deployed by ZRP were gender sensitive, consisting of both female and male. On average, there were three police officers - one inside and two/three outside - at each polling station. ZESN noted that there were huge discrepancies with regard to how the police officers executed their duties. In some polling stations, for instance at Queen Elizabeth B Primary School in Nkulumane Constituency, police officers were helping with sanitizing people and checking for their names in the voters roll whilst in other polling stations they were not involved directly in election-related activities except but providing security services. Figure 3 below shows a police officer helping with the checking of voters' names on the voters' roll.



Figure 4:
ZRP officers assisting voters with checking names in the voters' roll at Queen Elizabeth Primary B polling station in Nkulumane Constituency.

10 Vote counting

With very few exceptions, all polling stations had closed by 1915 hours. Vote counting commenced around 1930 hours and went on smoothly in many polling stations. Vote counting was delayed by rains at tent-based polling stations particularly in Mkoba, Kwekwe Central, Mbizo and Tsholotsho South constituencies. The counting and verification of results was done well despite being worryingly slow considering the low turnout. However, some cases were reported where election officials appeared not too sure about how to fill in the V11 forms and handle other procedural issues. In extreme scenarios, some Presiding Officers ended up asking other election officials, party agents and observers, to help with simplifying or interpreting procedural issues outlined in the ZEC Election Manual. In the early hours of Sunday morning at Mbizo Collation Centre, some V11 forms were returned and sent back to polling stations for corrections after the Presiding Officer ruled that they had too many mistakes.

The movement of results to collation centres and displaying of results forms outside polling stations was affected by rains in some constituencies, for example in Tsholotsho South and Gokwe Central, and Mkoba constituencies.

Results

The outcome of the election showed that the real contest was between CCC and ZANU PF. CCC won 19 of the seats whilst ZANU-PF emerged victorious in nine, gaining two compared to 2018. No other political party won a seat neither was there any that came closer to winning one. For the 2022 March 26 by-election results, see Annexure 1.

As previously highlighted, CCC was formed a few days prior to the nomination court sitting. The leadership as well as candidates of the CCC were previously candidates of MDC Alliance in 2018. In presenting the results of the 2022 by-elections, ZESN compares the difference polled between the top two candidates that is from CCC and ZANU PF. For purposes of this comparison, the party that contested as CCC in the 2022 by-elections will be taken to be the MDC Alliance in 2018. The rationale is based on two considerations. Firstly, the leadership of CCC is by and large the same as that of the MDC Alliance in 2018. Secondly and most importantly, most of the candidates who were elected MPs in the by-elections were the ones that represented MDC Alliance in 2018. The MDC Alliance was the main opposition political party by votes share in 2018 and in the by-elections the share of the votes logic would suggest that CCC is now the main opposition political party. CCC thus lost two seats that it won in 2018 while ZANU-PF gained one. For a comparison of results of the 26 March 2022 by-elections and the 2018 harmonised elections in constituencies where by-elections were held, see annexure 1.

Conclusion and Recommendations

The 26 March by-elections were largely peaceful despite the tensions of the few weeks preceding the election. Turnout was very low, the number of assisted voters relatively higher in rural constituencies. In light of the observations, ZESN proffers a number of recommendations including the following:

ZEC should avoid setting up polling stations in privately owned properties or near controversial spaces, for instance near political party billboards or offices.

ZEC should ensure that the voters' rolls displayed outside polling stations are easy to read by enlarging the font used and perhaps adding photographs to the same to allow for easier verification of the persons on such rolls.

ZEC should ensure adequate training is provided to polling officials that are seconded to ZEC from other Government departments to improve on consistency in the implementation of administrative procedures at the various polling stations.

ZEC should ensure that indelible ink of the appropriate standard is procured and ensure that members of the public are made aware whenever different colours of indelible ink are used. ZEC should improve voter education on the use of different timelines for the closure of the National Assembly Voters' Roll and the Local Authority Voters' Roll.

Robust Civic and Voter Education targeting the youth should be undertaken to promote voter registration in view of the upcoming delimitation exercise and the 2023 Harmonised Elections. The National Peace and Reconciliation Commission and other stakeholders should conduct peace building initiatives targeting local communities and their leadership to reduce incidences of violence and intimidation ahead of the 2023 Harmonised Elections.

Government should ensure equality before the law as well as the equal enjoyment of civil and political rights across the political divide.

National Assembly by-elections results

Below are the 28 National Assembly by-elections results. The tables contain both the 2018 and the 2022 results of the 28 National Assembly constituencies. Comparisons in terms of difference of the total votes polled are drawn for the top two candidates. The tables also indicated all the candidates that contested in 2018 and 2022 respectively.

Annexure 1. 28 National Assembly by-elections results

BINGA NORTH

2	018			2022					
Candidate	Sex	Party	Votes	Candidate	Sex	Party	Votes	Difference	
Sibanda Dubeko Prince	М	MDC-A	18 428	Sibanda Dubeko Prince	М	ccc	10120	-8308	
Mudenda Cephas Siangoma	М	ZANU-PF	7 751	Munsaka Kudakwashe	М	ZANU-PF	7971	+220	
Mudimba Jessie	F	PRC	621	Did not contest in the by	ons				
Munkuli Funwell	М	NCA	403	Did not contest in the by					
Muntanga Robert Baggio	М	ZIPP	384	Did not contest in the b	y-electi	ons			
Mwembe Peter	М	NPF	191	Did not contest in the by	y-electi	ons			
Siampuwo Robert	М	INDEP	133	Did not contest in the by	y-electi	ons			
			1	Mudimba Peggie		MDC A	356		
				Muzamba Clive		UDA	136		
				Mukuli Disciple		INDEP	220		

CHIVI SOUTH

	:	2018			2022					
Candidate	Sex	Party	Votes		Candidate	Sex	Party	Votes	Difference	
Zivhu Killer	М	ZANU PF	13 330		Zizhou Munyaradzi	М	ZANU-PF	6832	-6498	
Mhlolo Paul Thompson	М	MDC Alliance	3 312		Mhlolo Paul Thompson		ccc	1414	-1898	
Dzingirai Ivene	М	Independent	1 823		Did not contest in the by-elections					
Madzimure Tarisai	F	PRC	226		Did not contest in the by-ele	ections	;			
Malunguza Sharon	F	RPZ	184		Did not contest in the by-el	ection	S			
Zizhou Togarepi	М	ZIPP	248		Did not contest in the by-ele	ections	;			
					Chuma Faith	F	PZ	139		
	Mapope Shadreck M N					MDC-A	252			

DANGAMVURA-CHIKANGA

201	8				202	2		
Candidate	Sex	Party	Votes	Candidate	Sex	Party	Votes	Difference
Mutseyami Chapfiwa Prosper	М	MDC A	32 381	Mutseyami Chapfiwa Prosper	М	ссс	13132	-19249
Mupfumi Isau Fungai	М	ZANU PF	9 856	Mupfumi Isau Fungai	М	ZANU-PF	6304	-3552
Mudehwe Tendayi Lynnet	F	MDC-T	2 818	Mudzipurwa Taurai	М	MDC A	348	
Chipanga Hosiah	М	INDEP	1 385	Chipanga Hosiah		PZ	209	
Choto Ngoni	М	ZIPP	520	Did not contest in the by-election	ons			
Jerimani Alec	М	СР	282	Did not contest in the by-election	ons			
Kadzere Chengetai Richard	М	INDEP	327	Did not contest in the by-election	ons			
Machikwa Emmanuel	М	APA	170	Did not contest in the by-election	ons			
Maeresera Taziveyi Rajab	М	PRC	266	Did not contest in the by-elections				
	1	1	1	Zaranyika Anesu	М	MA'AT ZIM	57	

EPWORTH

201	8			2022					
Candidate	Sex	Party	Votes	Candidate	Sex	Party	Votes	Difference	
Kureva Earthrage	М	MDC-A	26 082	Kureva Earthrage	М	ccc	8283	-17799	
Damson Kudakwashe	М	ZANU-PF	16 149	Makari Zalerah Hazvineyi	F	ZANU-PF	10248	-5901	
Mukanhairi Damian	М	MDC-T	2 673	Mhetu Togarepi Zivai	М	MDC A	745		
Gosha Felix	М	INDEP	462	Did not contest in the by-	<u>l</u> elections				
Kahanda Calista	F	CODE	249	Did not contest in the by-					
Kamukosi Christopher	М	ZDU	151	Did not contest in the by-	Did not contest in the by-elections				
Kasvosve Memory	F	NCA	180	Did not contest in the by-	elections				
Charakupa Kudzai Shekelton	М	PRC	419	Did not contest in the by-e	elections				
Makari Zalerah Hazvineyi	F	INDEP	10 745	Contested on a ZANU PF t	icket and	won			
Mukaadira Lambert	М	FREEZIM	115	Did not contest in the by-	elections				
Muroyiwa Tichaona	М	ZIPP	111	Did not contest in the by-elections					
	•	1		Hazvina Innocent	М	INDEP	441		
				Musiyadzaanikwa Richard	М	LEAD	92		

GOKWE CENTRAL

2018				2022					
Candidate	Sex	Party	Votes	Candidate	Sex	Party	Votes	Difference	
Matemadanda Victor	м	ZANU PF	9997	Masvisvi Daveson	М	ZANU-PF	8068	-1929	
Mutegwe Lisias	М	MDC-A	8207	Mutegwe Lisias	М	ccc	5129	-3078	
Chinyama Abel Desai	М	ZIPP	434	Did not contest in the					
Chipa Vushe	М	INDEP	190	Did not contest in the	by-elec	tions			
Magombedze Tavonga Ranganai	М	PRC	239	Did not contest in the	by-ele	ctions			
Mangami Dorothy	F	INDEP	4496	Did not contest in the	by-ele	ctions			
Tembo Elika	F	NPF	192	Did not contest in the by-elections					
	•		•	Vakai Edward	М	MDC A	238		

HARARE EAST

	2018			2022						
Candidate	Sex	Party	Votes	Candidate	Sex	Party	Votes	Difference		
Biti Laxton Tendai	М	MDC -A	20 592	Biti Laxton Tendai	М	ccc	7534	-13058		
Mukupe Terence	М	ZANU-PF	8593	Gumbo Mavis	F	ZANU-PF	3045	-5548		
Gutu Obert Chaurura	М	MDC – T	1269	Mbanga Christopher	М	MDC A	114			
Mabviko Damiano	М	NCA	60	Did not contest in the						
Mudavanhu Peter	М	INDEP	239	Contested in the Local	Authority	y by-election	ns			
Mudzumwe Jobert	М	NPF	41	Did not contest in the	by-election	ons				
Sibanyoni Linda Kushinga	F	INDEP	485	Did not contest in the	by-election	ons				
Zvenyika Munyoro Itai	М	PRC	381	Did not contest in the	by-election	ons				
Mlambo Garikai	М	INDEP	798	Mlambo Garikai	М	UZA	100			
			1	Musarurwa Precious Nyaradzo	F	LEAD	25			

GLEN NORAH

20	018			2022					
Candidate	Sex	Party	Votes	Candidate	Sex	Party	Votes	Difference	
Chikombo Wellington	М	MDC A	14998	Chikombo Wellington	F	ccc	5098	-9900	
Mudzengerere Alexio	М	ZANU-PF	4025	Magaya Chrispen Allen	М	ZANU-PF	1552	-2473	
Jaya Phillipa	F	UDA	183	Munyuki Allan	М	UDA	49	134	
Manomano Simbarashe	М	MDC -T	644	Mabhande Israel	М	MDC A	280		
Jiri Liberty Tapiwa	М	CODE	49	Did not contest in the by-	ns				
Juta Francis	М	BZA	67	Did not contest in the by-	electio	ns			
Konde Simon	М	INDEP	371	Did not contest in the by-	electio	ns			
Kwinjo Godwin Zvikomborero	М	ZIPP	151	Did not contest in the by-	electio	ns			
Mangwiro Dumisani	М	NCA	33	Did not contest in the by-	electio	ns			
Muchenyura Tinashe	М	PRC	120	Did not contest in the by-elections					
Story Finess	F	UANC	55	Did not contest in the by-elections					
				Garwe Kuda	М	NPF	58		

GLENVIEW

20	18			2022					
Candidates	Sex	Party	Votes	Candidate	Sex	Party	Votes	Difference	
Dinar Kennedy	М	MDC-A	10 523	Munengami Fani	М	ссс	4053	-6470	
Mambo Martin	М	ZANU-PF	2 957	Mambo Martin	М	ZANU-PF	1578	-1379	
Chikamveka Reuben	М	MDC –T	1 526	Mashaya Rhino	М	MDC A	112		
Chafa Silvia	F	CODE	100	Did not contest in t	he by-ele	ctions			
Chaparika George	М	PRC	192	Did not contest in the by-elections					
Chasakara Thomas	М	UDM	80	Did not contest in t	he by-ele	ctions			
Chiwamba Sitamire Fortunate	F	NCA	28	Did not contest in th	he by-ele	ction			
Kamtsamba Kevin Partson	М	ZDU	66	Did not contest in th	he by-ele	ctions			
Machingura Lovemore	М	ZIPP	76	Did not contest in th	he by-ele	ctions			
Shana Fungai	М	INDEP	59	Did not contest in the by-elections					
	•	•		Munyanduri Prudence Tatenda	F	NPF	20		

HARARE CENTRAL

2018				2022						
Candidate	Sex	Party	Votes	Candidate	Sex	Party	Votes	Difference		
Zwizwai Murisi	М	MDC -A	10876	Zwizwai Murisi	М	ссс	3332	-7544		
Mangwende Misheck	М	ZANU-PF	5632	Magweba Loice	F	ZANU-PF	1375	-4257		
Masarira Linda Tsungirirai	F	MDC - T	2251	Masarira Linda Tsungirirai	F	LEAD	20			
Bvirakare Francis	М	PRC	105	Marara Norest, Chiureki	М	MDC A	65			
Chinyati Christopher	М	BZA	191	Did not contest in the by-elec	tions					
Matsaira Brian	М	Indep	286	Did not contest in the by-elec	tions					
Toure Edith	F	NCA	173	Did not contest in the by-elections						
	ı	1	1	Rukanda Henry Gwinyai		MA'AT ZIM	3			

HIGHFIELD EAST

	2018			2022					
Candidate	Sex	Party	Votes	Candidate	Sex	Party	Votes	Difference	
Murai Erick	М	MDC A	13 079	Murai Erick	М	ссс	2709	-10370	
Mashonganyika Mike	М	ZANU-PF	3 648	Chikumbo Nobert	М	ZANU-PF	702	-2946	
Charama Nyaradzo	F	MDC -T	1 943	Bgwende Gilbert	М	MDC A	223		
Bgwende Gilbert	М	PRC	453	Did not contest in th	e by-elec	tions			
Chinamano Kudakwashe	М	INDEP	726	Did not contest in the					
Kwenda Onias	М	CODE	106	Did not contest in the					
Luveve Pennina	F	NCA	43	Did not contest in the	e by-elec	tions			
Mhizha Wellington	М	INDEP	412	Did not contest in the	e by-elec	tions			
Mushosho Cephas	М	ZIPP	100	Did not contest in the	e by-elec	tions			
Ndawana Edina	F	BZA	97	Did not contest in th	e by-elec	tions			
Shoko Timew Admire	М	UDF	23	Did not contest in th	e by-elec	ctions			
	1	1	1	Mupambwa Shelton	М	PZ	25		

HIGHFIELD WEST

	2018									
Candidate	Sex	Party	Votes	Candidate	Sex	Party	Votes	Difference		
Chidziva Happymore	М	MDC - A	11 515	Chidziva Happymore	М	ссс	3328	-8187		
Kasawaya Virimayi Dzorerayi	М	ZANU-PF	3 473	Juta Emmanuel	М	ZANU-PF	1202	-2271		
Mangachena Musekiwa	М	MDC -T	730	Hove Ruwuke Simon	М	MDC A	114			
Chitsora Kudakwashe Future	М	CODE	183	Three cand	Three candidates contested in the by-election					
Gwenzi George	М	PRC	150							
Marasiro Tsitsi Mercy	F	UDA	164							
Mutikani Claynious	М	ZIPP	44							
Mwendamberi Victor Vimbai	М	BZA	22							
Ngano Charles	М	NPF	28							
Nyamande Michael Ngoni	М	UANC	113							
Zivambiso Enock	М	NCA	21]						

KAMBUZUMA

20	018								
Candidate	Sex	Party	Votes		Candidate	Sex	Party	Votes	Difference
Madzimure Willias	М		10694		Madzimure Willias	М	ссс	4457	-6237
Mupandanyama Simbarashe	М	ZANU PF	4269		Nyamunokora Oscar	М	ZANU-PF	184	-4085
Gumbu Fungai	F	MDC –T	1164		Chiposi Fungai	М	MDC A	154	
Agoneka Michael	М	NPF	140	Three candidates contested in the by-election					
Chigiji Ereck	М	NCA	152						
Ganje Petronella	F	BZA	75						
Machaya Lewis Johnson	М	INDEP	172						
Mazana Netsai	F	PRC	183						
Mugwagwa Innocent Zvidzai	М	INDEP	1153						
Pika Ignatius	М	CODE	64						
Verukayi Annah	F	NPF	75						

KUWADZANA

:	2018			2022						
Candidate	Sex	Party	Votes	Candidate	Sex	Party	Votes	Difference		
Mushayi Miriam	F	MDC A	19 808	Matambo Johnson	М	ccc	7151	-12657		
Nhambu Betty	F	ZANU-PF	9 597	Nhambu Betty	F	ZANU-PF	2636	-6961		
Nyamupingidza Joseph Taperasei Tuli	М	MDC -T	1338	Madamombe Fatima	F	MDC A	259			
Chimbalanga Jossam	М	INDEP	202	Did not contest in the	by-electi	ons				
Mafirowanda Wongai	F	INDEP	602	Did not contest in the						
Mafuta Richard	М	NCA	69	Did not contest in the	by-electi	ons				
Makasi Jenifa	F	PRC	198	Did not contest in the	by-elect	ons				
Mbewe Maston Zippie	М	INDEP	63	Did not contest in the	by-elect	ons				
Muchemwa Munashe	М	INDEP	197	Did not contest in the	by-elect	ons				
Muchenje Piniel Brighton	М	ZIPP	113	Did not contest in the						
Mudimu Kuda Vincent	М	NPF	38	Did not contest in the	by-elect	ions				
	1	1	1	Mapfumo Nesbert	М	UDA	56			

KUWADZANA EAST

2018					2022				
Candidates	Sex	Party	Votes		Candidate	Sex	Party	Votes	Difference
Hwende Chalton	М	MDC-A	15 390		Hwende Chalton	М	ссс	5238	-10152
Chagadama Ernest Kudzaishe	М	ZANU-PF	3 862		Chagadama Ernest Kudzaishe	М	ZANU- PF	1311	-2551
Mutetwa Taurai	М	UDA	16		Chigariro Jedidiah K. S.	М	UDA	39	+23
Chikoore Shylet	F	PRC	160		Did not contest in the by	/-electi	ons		
Hamandishe Emmerson	М	BZA	114	Did not contest in the by-elections					
Katsande Crispen	М	NCA	84		Did not contest in the b				
Kauzani Ishmael	М	Independent	93		Did not contest in the b	y-electi	ions		
Magondo Stuart	М	ZIPP	79		Did not contest in the by	/-electi	ons		
Mangwiro Urayayi	М	Independent	1 127		Did not contest in the by	/-electi	ons		
Nyanguwo Teriazer	F	UANC	25		Did not contest in the by	/-electi	ons		
Nyanhi Musekiwa Gift	М	Independent	129		Did not contest in the b	y-elect	ions		
	ı	1	I		Kachidza Chamunorwa David	М	UZA	98	
					Mangwiro Urayayi	М	MDC A	146	
					Majiri Selestino	М	PZ	28	

KWEKWE CENTRAL

2018	3			2022					
Candidate	Sex	Party	Votes	Candidate	Sex	Party	Votes	Difference	
Matambanadzo Masango	M	NPF	7578						
Chebundo Blessing	М	MDC A	7127	Tobaiwa Judith	F	ссс	6639	-488	
Mugabe Kandros	М	ZANU-PF	4571	Mapurazi John	М	ZANU-PF	2883	-1688	
Madhonoro Tongai	М	ZIPP	124	Did not contest in the					
Matina Otto Owen Mhareyashe	М	INDEP	57	Did not contest in the	e by-elec	ctions			
Muparazi Learnmore	М	PRC	68	Did not contest in the	e by-eled	ctions			
Maupa Josiniah	М	INDEP	978	Did not contest in the	e by-eled	ctions			
	l	ı	•	Ndlovu Mbekezeli	М	MDC A	145		
				Dzingire Tafadzwa Lenin	М	UZA	165		

MARONDERA CENTRAL

2	.018				202	22			
Candidate	Sex	Party	Votes	Candidate	Sex	Party	Votes	Difference	
Matewu Caston	М	MDC A	14 604	Matewu Caston	М	ссс	6756	-7848	
Kundiona Cleopas	М	ZANU-PF	8 386	Mateveke Ignatius	М	ZANU-PF	4200	-4186	
Chasesa Fred	М	PRC	288	Did not contest in the by-	5				
Makayi Onias	М	ZIPP	71	Did not contest in the by-e					
Makaza Solomon	М	FreeZim	34	Did not contest in the by-e	Did not contest in the by-elections				
Makombe Francis	М	MDC T	840	Did not contest in the by-e	elections				
Munuhwa Chipo Contilda	F	INDEP	189	Did not contest in the by-e	elections				
Nyika Kingdom	М	INDEP	57	Did not contest in the by-e	lections				
		I	1	Muzavazi Witness M MDC-A 292					
				Pindirire Tawanda Carlos					

MARONDERA EAST

	2018			2022					
Candidate	Sex	Party	Votes	Candidate	Sex	Party	Votes	Difference	
Chidakwa Patrick M ZANU PF 18 365				Chiwetu Jeremiah	М	ZANU-PF	9379	-8986	
Chakaingesu Musekiwa	М	MDC-A	4 604	Machekanyanga Samuel	М	ССС	1874	-2730	
Mandaza Moses	М	ZLP	187	Mandaza Moses	М	ZLP	80		
				Tasarirenhamo Thomas	М	MDC A	104		

MBERENGWA SOUTH

	20	018				2022						
Candidate	Sex	Party	Votes		Candidate	Sex	Party	Votes	Difference			
Mpofu Alum	М	ZANU PF	12 791		Hungwe Tasara	М	ZANU-PF	7938	-4853			
Shoko Davies	М	MDC A	2507		Shoko Davies		ссс	1425	-1082			
Maphosa Swaziin	М	ZIPP	516		Only two ca	Only two candidates contested in the by-elections.						
Nkomo Ishechete Josta	М	APA	116		_							
Shoko Ronald	М	PRC	229									

MBIZO

20	18				2022			
Candidate	Sex	Party	Votes	Candidate	Sex	Party	Votes	Difference
Chikwinya Settlement	М	MDC A	15349	Chikwinya Settlement		ссс	7146	-8203
Mupereri Vongaishe	М	ZANU-PF	6164	Mupereri Vonngaishe		ZANU-PF	3232	-2932
Chinhava Tangai	М	NPF	544	Did not contest in the by-elections				
Choga Makesure	М	INDEP	77	Did not contest in the by-elections				
Fuyana Nqobile	М	INDEP	63	Did not contest in the by-elections				
Mangombe Godwin	М	INDEP	118	Did not contest in the by-elections				
Mutasa Mafios	М	NPF	162	Did not contest in the by-elections				
Mutemaringa Givemore	М	INDEP	125	Did not contest in the by-elections				
Mvududu Bright	М	INDEP	67	Did not contest in the by-elections				
Sambayi Ekbate	М	INDEP	1633	Did not contest in the by-elections				
Shinyira Tapfuma	М	ZIPP	141	Did not contest in the by-elections				
Zhavairo Onesimo Tafireyi	М	PRC	162	Did not contest in the by-elections				
	1			Mapfumo Eventhough Brave	М	MDC-A	185	
				Chibukwe Lovemore	М	UDA	89	
				Mutunami Gladys	F	UZA	103	

МКОВА

2018				20	22				
Candidate	Sex	Party	Votes		Candidate	Sex	Party	Votes	Difference
Chibaya Amos	М	MDC A	18 925		Chibaya Amos	М	ссс	6809	-12116
Simbi Charles	М	ZANU-PF	6088		Gondo William ZANU-PF			2613	-3475
Kamwemba Margaret	F	MDC-T	795		Chadoka Albert		MDC-A	230	
Makumbe Melania	F	BZA	1 307		Did not contest in the by-				
Mashamba Nelson	М	INDEP	187		Did not contest in the by-				
Mazviro Farai	М	APA	70		Did not contest in the by-	electic	ns		
Msongelwa Austin	М	Free ZIM	47		Did not contest in the by-	electic	ns		
Muindisi Anos	М	PRC	133		Did not contest in the by-	electic	ns		
Mutendeudzwa Sailas	М	UDA	81		Did not contest in the by-	electio	ns		
Nhlabati Wilfred Dumezweni	М	NPF	78		Did not contest in the by-	n			
Shamu Simbarashe Leonard	М	ZIPP	168		Did not contest in the by-elections				
,	I	ı	ı	I	Zihapa Marlven M FAS				

MUFAKOSE

20	018									
Candidate	Sex	Party	Votes		Candidate	Sex	Party	Votes	Difference	
Matsunga Susan	F	MDC -A	9087		Matsunga Susan	F	ссс	4039	-5048	
Derera Dunny	М	ZANU PF	2425		Marembo Melvin Taurayi	М	ZANU-PF	1128	-1297	
Jairos Charles	М	MDC -T	1075		Shambamuto Rodwell	М	MDC-A	218		
Chamunorwa Florence	F	INDEP	1683		Only three candidates con	tested	l in the by-e	lections.		
Chikerema Tinei Stanley	М	ZIPP	79							
Chiseva Agatha	F	INDEP	350							
Gahadza Abigail	F	NPF	112							
Khozomba Awali	М	BZA	202							
Lumumba Jonathan	М	CODE	108							
Ncube Desire Kudakwashe	М	FREEZIM	105							
Rosi Rosa	F	NCA	79							
Zivave Farirai Remember	М	PRC	135							

MUREWA SOUTH

2	018			2022					
Candidate	Sex	Party	Votes	Candidate	Sex	Party	Votes	Difference	
Matiza Biggie Joel	м	ZANU-PF	10 808	Masoka Nyasha	М	ZANU-PF	11125	+317	
Chawora Jeremy Jonathan	М	MDC-A	1 821	Munemo Rodreck		ccc	1729	-92	
Chodewa Tukisai	М	NCA	129	Did not contest in the	e by-el	ections			
Mangondo Noah Takawota Joni	М	INDEP	10 653	Did not contest in the	e by-el	ections			
Mupanguri Musatye	М	ZAPU	81	Did not contest in the	e by-el	ections			
Muparadzi Blessed	М	PRC	50	Did not contest in the	e by-el	ections			
	1	1	1	Nesara Simba	М	UDA	94		
				Marudza Dagmar	М	MDC-A	309		

MUTASA SOUTH

2018					2022					
Candidate	Sex	Party	Votes		Candidate	Party	Votes	Difference		
Tsunga Regai	М	MDC A	14 783		Tsunga Regai		ccc	5269	-9514	
Mugadza Misheck	М	ZANU-PF	12 736		Mugadza Misheck		ZANU-PF	5818	-6918	
Mukarakate Anyway	М	FREEZIM	201		Did not contest in the by	ons				
Munyoro Learnmore	М	ZIPP	185		Did not contest in the by	on				
Murahwa Daniel Ngonidzaishe	М	PRC	168		Did not contest in the by	-electio	ons			
Nyakunu Walter	М	APA	144		Did not contest in the by	-electio	ons			
Sande Patrick	М	ZDU	128		Did not contest in the by-elections					
	_				Ndoro Eurydice Lynette	F	INDEP	50		
					Tauzeni Pedzisai	M	MDC-A	162		

MWENEZI EAST

	2018	2022							
Candidate	Sex	Party	Votes	Candidate	Sex	Party	Votes	Difference	
Omar Joosbi	М	ZANU PF	22 926	Makope Master	М	ZANU-PF	12177	-10749	
Bhasikiti Chuma Kudakwashe	М	MDC-A	3 574	Mandizvidza Tendekai	М	ССС	1573	-2001	
Mhango Turner	М	FREE ZIM	317	Mhango Turner	М	FREEZIM	191	-126	
Mashora Josiya	М	ZIPP	511	Did not contest in the by-elections					

NKULUMANE

2018	3			2022					
Candidate	Sex	Party	Votes	Candidate Sex Party Votes Difference					
Phulu Kucaca Ivumile	М	MDC-A	7409	Phulu Kucaca Ivumile M CCC 2760 -4649					
Ndlovu David	М	ZANU-PF	4261	Ndlovu David ZANU-PF 1900 -2361					
Ndlovu Dorothy Molly	F	MDC-T	1295	Mangena Gideon M MDC A 150					
Sibanda Miniyothando	М	RPZ	61	Ncube Gregory Lovejoy M RPZ 45					
Makubalo Senzeni	F	ZIPP	117	Did not contest in the by-elections					
Moyo David	М	PRC	1295	Did not contest in the by-elections					
Moyo Qinisani	М	INDEP	1701	Did not contest in the by-elections					
Ndlovu Colson	М	ZAPU	455	Did not contest in the by-elections					
Ndlovu Mbonisi	М	PPPZ	160	Did not contest in the by-elections					
Nobela Joe	М	FZC	198	Did not contest in the by-elections					
Sibanda Killian	М	NPF	811	Did not contest in the by-elections					
Sibanda Mkhaliphi Tanaka	М	ERA	44	Did not contest in the by-elections					
Sibanda Sibhekubuhle	М	NCA	20	Did not contest in the by-elections					
Whatt Morege	F	ZDU	71	Did not contest in the by-elections					
Xaba Partone	М	MRP	333	Did not contest in the by-elections					
				Tokwido Dumisani M DOP 18					

PUMULA

2018					2022						
Candidate	Sex	Party	Votes		Candidate	Sex	Party	Votes	Difference		
Mahlangu Sichelesile	F	MDC-A	9241		Mahlangu Sichelesile	F	ccc	3092	-6149		
Mpofu Kumbulani	М	ZANU-PF	4650		Nsingo Pumulani M ZANU-PF		1212	-3438			
Ncube Richard	М	ZAPU	911		Ncube Richard		ZAPU	227			
Moyo Ndumiso	М	UDA	111		Ndlovu Ntandoyenkosi		UDA	33			
Phugeni Kalpani	М	MDC-T	1917		Mhlanga Albert		MDC-A	110			
Bhebhe Hosea George	М	ZDU	142		Did not contest in the	by-elec	tions				
Hlongwane Sifiso George	М	PRC	248		Did not contest in the	tions					
Hove Marano	М	NCA	64		Did not contest in the	tion					
Jaison Esnath	F	FZC	65	Did not contest in the by-elections							
Mphamba Letlogonolo Nhlanhla	М	INDEP	91	Did not contest in the by-elections							
Ncube Godfrey Malaba	М	NPF	715	Did not contest in the by-elections							
Ncube Losiya	F	INDEP	243		Did not contest in the	by-elec	tions				
Ncube Peter	М	ZIPP	92		Did not contest in the by-elections						
Ncube Xolani	М	MRP	332		Did not contest in the	by-elec	tions				
Nkala Nkululeko	М	INDEP	838		Did not contest in the	by-elec	tions				
Nyathi Paul	М	ZRDP	260		Did not contest in the	by-elec	tions				
Peresu Zacheous	М	FJCZ	92		Did not contest in the	by-elec	tions				
Sebata Ulokile	М	MAAT ZIM	62		Did not contest in the	by-elec	tions				
Sibanda Artwell	М	UMD	103		Did not contest in the	by-elec	tions				
Tagara Godwin	М	INDEP	89		Did not contest in the	by-elec	tions				
	1				Nyoni Stanford	М	RPZ	27			
					Tshuma Thabani	М	Indep	62			

ST MARY'S

		2	022					
Candidate	Sex	Party	Votes	Candidate	Sex	Party	Votes	Difference
Tarusenga Unganai Dickson	М	MDC A	10 219	Tarusenga Unganai Dickson		ccc	5830	-4389
Guyo Phillip	М	ZANU-PF	7 438	Jinjika Norbet		ZANU-PF	4483	-2955
Chimedza John	М	PRC	536	Did not contest in the by-elections				
Goliati Samson	М	BZA	348	Did not contest in the by-elections				
Gudo Maria	F	NCA	89	Did not contest in the by-elections				
Gwata Garikayi Hillary	М	INDEP	4 287	Did not contest in the by-elections				
Madimutsa Mambo	М	CODE	93	Did not contest in the by				
Makonola Rhoda	F	ZDU	81	Did not contest in the by				
Mapuranga Hughstess	М	MDC-T	1 888	Did not contest in the by	-electio	ns		
Mashiri Tsitsi Patience	F	INDEP	102	Did not contest in the by-elections				
Takaedza Thelma	F	ZIPP	111	Did not contest in the by	-electio	ns		
	1	1		Puzo Adam	М	MDC-A	201	
				Sanyanga Marcos	М	INDEP	55	

TSHOLOTSHO SOUTH

	2022							
Candidate	Sex	Party	Votes	Candidates	Sex	Party	Votes	Difference
Sibanda Zenzo	м	ZANU-PF	8 283	Ncube Musa	F	ZANU-PF	4759	
Nkomo Innocent Zenzo	М	MDC-A	2 508	Sibanda Tapson Nganunu	М	ccc	2879	
Mlingo Mthabisi	М	ZAPU	486	Mthombeni Leonard	М	ZAPU	868	
Moyo Bongani	М	ZDU	122	Moyo Bongani		INDEP	155	
Dube Maxwell	М	MDC-T	1 628	Four candidates, a	above con	tested in the	by-elections.	
Mathe Thamusanqo	М	ZIPP	254					
Matshazi Lawrence Hastings	М	INDEP	1540					
Ndlovu Colin	М	INDEP	137					
Nkomo Edward	М	NPF	167					
Nyathi Majaha	М	RPZ	73					
Sebele Sithithibele	F	PRC	131					

ST MARY'S

	2022							
Candidate	Sex	Party	Votes	Candidate	Sex	Party	Votes	Difference
Tarusenga Unganai Dickson	М	MDC A	10 219	Tarusenga Unganai Dickson		ccc	5830	-4389
Guyo Phillip	М	ZANU-PF	7 438	Jinjika Norbet		ZANU-PF	4483	-2955
Chimedza John	М	PRC	536	Did not contest in the by-elections				
Goliati Samson	М	BZA	348	Did not contest in the by				
Gudo Maria	F	NCA	89	Did not contest in the by				
Gwata Garikayi Hillary	М	INDEP	4 287	Did not contest in the by-elections				
Madimutsa Mambo	М	CODE	93	Did not contest in the by				
Makonola Rhoda	F	ZDU	81	Did not contest in the by	-electio	ns		
Mapuranga Hughstess	М	MDC-T	1 888	Did not contest in the by	-electio	ns		
Mashiri Tsitsi Patience	F	INDEP	102	Did not contest in the by-elections				
Takaedza Thelma	F	ZIPP	111	Did not contest in the by	-electio	ns		
	1			Puzo Adam	М	MDC-A	201	
				Sanyanga Marcos	М	INDEP	55	

TSHOLOTSHO SOUTH

	2022							
Candidate	Sex	Party	Votes	Candidates	Sex	Party	Votes	Difference
Sibanda Zenzo	М	ZANU-PF	8 283	Ncube Musa	F	ZANU-PF	4759	
Nkomo Innocent Zenzo	М	MDC-A	2 508	Sibanda Tapson Nganunu	М	CCC	2879	
Mlingo Mthabisi	М	ZAPU	486	Mthombeni Leonard	М	ZAPU	868	
Moyo Bongani	М	ZDU	122	Moyo Bongani		INDEP	155	
Dube Maxwell	М	MDC-T	1 628	Four candidates, a	above con	tested in the	by-elections.	
Mathe Thamusanqo	М	ZIPP	254	-				
Matshazi Lawrence Hastings	М	INDEP	1540					
Ndlovu Colin	М	INDEP	137					
Nkomo Edward	М	NPF	167					
Nyathi Majaha	М	RPZ	73	1				
Sebele Sithithibele	F	PRC	131	-				



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