

**ABRIDGED AUDIT REPORT OF THE
ZIMBABWE ELECTORAL COMMISSION'S
2022 PRELIMINARY DELIMITATION REPORT**

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PREFACE

With the draft delimitation report now a part of public discourse, as Zimbabweans, we are once again presented with an opportunity to allow for the meeting of minds in the run up to the 2023 General Elections while at the same time making great strides towards fully embracing the Constitution of Zimbabwe promulgated in 2013. This is the first delimitation based on a new constitution and, therefore, this occasion presents an opportunity for Zimbabwe to trudge towards embracing democratic processes while aligning electoral practices with the constitution and worldwide best practices.

According to Section 3(1)(f) of the Constitution of Zimbabwe, "*Zimbabwe is founded on respect for the recognition of the equality of all human beings.*" Section 3(2)(b) of the Constitution then further enunciates that, "*the principles of good governance, which bind the State and all institutions and agencies of government at every level, include 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.*" Any delimitation carried out in Zimbabwe should, therefore, respect equal suffrage.

By and large, the spirit of delimitation is to equally empower, rather than to exclude individuals or communities from meaningful participation. An election is a once-off event; however, community participation and service access are an everyday thing – the same things which are affected by the process of delimitation.

What follows is an abridged analysis of the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission's Preliminary Delimitation Report measured against the Electoral Act [Chapter 2:13], the Constitution of Zimbabwe and relevant statutes. It is our aim that through this report, every citizen will be able to understand not just delimitation as a scientific process, but also the humane ends it must be able to meet. In this regard, we had to abridge the report and re-structure our findings into a non-technical report as much as we possibly could to facilitate the ease of comprehension. We believe that through these doses of factual arguments, we are serving you - our community - with vital information that will make you better participants in the democratic process. Step by step towards an enlightened citizenry, we are united to serve. We are you; you are us. Together, we will make a better Zimbabwe.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Following the release of the preliminary delimitation report, it was imperative that the soundness and fairness of ZEC's proposed electoral boundary changes be appraised. This had to be done objectively and impartially. To achieve this, we carried out a data-driven audit basing primarily on the official data which ZEC provided.

The audit first evaluated the integrity of the delimitation data. This task entailed the evaluation of the consistency, accuracy and completeness of the delimitation data. The second objective was to critically evaluate the technical accuracy of the statistical methods which ZEC used during the delimitation. This objective centered on the technical evaluation of ZEC's compliance with Section 161(6) of the 2013 Constitution of Zimbabwe as well as the criteria ZEC used to reconfigure boundaries. The third objective was to identify the major delimitation changes ZEC made vis-à-vis the 2007/8 delimitation boundaries. This included the identification of significant boundary changes, collapsed constituencies and wards as well as newly created constituencies and wards. The necessity of these changes was also reviewed. The penultimate and most important objective of this audit was to establish the relative fairness of the delimitation. This covered potential biases in the delimitation that were detected from the data, including, but not limited to possible cases of gerrymandering. For this purpose, the delimitation outcome was compared against the 2007/8 boundaries and harmonised election results as well as the subsequent by-election results. Lastly, the audit sought to proffer data-driven solutions and recommendations that could help to redress any technical flaws made by ZEC.

From the findings, we established that the delimitation report had momentous flaws and shortfalls that are unbecoming the standards expected from a Chapter 12 institution. The delimitation data was to a great extent inaccurate, with dozens of cases of arithmetic miscalculations. While human error partly contributed, the poor state of the data ZEC used as well as the lack of data quality assurance mechanisms were the major causes. A case in point, we found six different national voter totals from the data that ZEC availed. The effect of these data quality issues went beyond just affecting the totals, but the accuracy of the acceptable thresholds for the ward and constituency voter populations – something that would necessitate the overhaul of the entire process. Further, the maps and the delimitation report were extremely incoherent - from non-existing constituencies, to wards in wrong constituencies, missing polling stations, phantom polling stations among other discrepancies. We also confirmed the erroneous calculation and inconsistent ill-implementation of the voter population thresholds which severely undermined the constitution. From the tracking of all the boundary changes, we established that these changes were in most cases indicative of an unfair gerrymandering exercise that evidently made unfair inroads for the ruling party, particularly, in marginal seat constituencies.

Overall, the delimitation fell short of the minimum regional and international standards as well as the standards set forth in our very own constitution. The major conclusion was that the preliminary delimitation report is a sham as it severely undermines democracy in Zimbabwe and that ZEC in its current shape and form is not technically capable of handling credible and transparent processes. The major recommendation was for the delimitation to be rectified inclusively and transparently - time permitting, but most importantly, for ZEC to be held accountable for breaching the constitution.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND

Section 155 of the Constitution of Zimbabwe sets out the principles that our electoral system is founded on and one of the key aspects prescribed in Section 155(1)(c) is that our elections must be, “*based on universal adult suffrage and equality of votes.*” In order to guarantee the equality of votes, constituencies and wards ought to be delimited such that for as far as is possible, each and every constituency has equal numbers of voters [§161(3)], although no constituency or ward should have more than 20% more or fewer voters than other constituencies or wards [§161(6)]. The constitution further provides a timeline of when a delimitation exercise should be conducted, that is, once every ten years as soon as possible after a population census [(§161(1)]. It was in this regard that ZEC carried out the delimitation from June 2022 leading to the recently published preliminary delimitation report.

This is not the first that a delimitation has been conducted in Zimbabwe. The first post-independence delimitation was conducted in 1985 and the most recent one was conducted 15 years ago in 2007/8. However, the 2007/8 delimitation was by and large ill-implemented, fast-tracked and was marred with widespread reports and allegations of gerrymandering and poor stakeholder consultation. This partly contributed towards the 2008 disputed election, and matters relating to electoral boundaries have been strongly contested ever since, even during the recent 2018 harmonized elections.

Nevertheless, the recent delimitation, being the first one after the implementation of the new constitution, offered a fresh hope that the past delimitation malpractices would finally be remedied. Regrettably, that has not been the case. Delimitation in Zimbabwe is primarily based on the number of registered voters and this information can only be accessed from the voters roll. Sadly, the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC) has persistently been illegally refusing to release the National Voters Roll for almost a year, since February 2022. This is not the first time, but the same modus operandi has been used before. When the delimitation was carried out in 2007/8, the Registrar General’s Office along with ZEC refused to avail the voters roll. The subsequent 2008 and 2013 elections were carried out blindly without stakeholders having access to the voters roll.

It was only after the 2008 and 2013 elections that the rolls were officially released and the shambolic nature of these voters' rolls was audited and unearthed.

In 2018, ZEC released the first two versions of the voters roll, albeit untimely. The first version of the voters' roll was released on 18 June 2018, barely a month before the elections, and had **5,683,936** registered voters. The second version was released on 25 July 2018, just 5 days before elections, and had **5,695,706** entries. However, this last release was not the version which ZEC used during the election, despite the actual election voters roll having already been printed. Not any single stakeholder had access to the **final version** of the 2018 voters roll, neither did CSU who got the voters roll from ZEC two days before the election following a High Court order. ZEC's deposition during the Constitutional Court electoral petition admitted that the number of registered voters in the final voters' roll used for the elections was in fact **5,695,936**, not what stakeholders got. These historic numerical discrepancies raise interest in monitoring ZEC on anything involving numbers - the delimitation included.

The only available national voters roll after the 2018 elections was officially released by ZEC in February 2022 (Appendix A), but ZEC later disowned this voters' roll (Appendix B) after our audit exposed massive irregularities, anomalies, administrative malpractices and cases of electoral fraud. We also confirmed all these findings on the ZEC BVR inspection website, which ZEC later removed from the internet up to this very day. Thereafter, ZEC has been refusing to release the national voters roll and no stakeholder has managed to get access to it from ZEC ever since, including the final delimitation voters roll. ZEC's refusal to release the delimitation voters roll is illegal as it violates Section 21(3) of the Electoral Act which clearly states that, "*The Commission shall **within a reasonable period of time** provide **any person** who requests it, and who pays the prescribed fee, with a copy of any voters roll, including a consolidated roll, either in printed or in electronic form as the person may request.*" The only offer which ZEC made was the voluminous and unauditible print version for a whopping US\$187,000 – an unjustifiably high and restrictive cost – after ZEC raised the cost of black and white printing ten-fold in August 2022 to US\$1.00/page from US\$0.10/page¹, despite commercial printers still charging US\$0.10/page for the same.

¹ SI145/2022

With the sustained secrecy on the delimitation primary data, that is, the voters roll, the urgency and imperativeness to audit the delimitation outcome was further buttressed.

In addition, the delimitation process in itself has not been fully consultative and fully transparent. Our efforts to meet ZEC in person were met with stark resistance from ZEC officials despite our genuine concerns regarding the gravity of the issues we found in the roll. This violates Section 139(k) of the Constitution of Zimbabwe which specifies that one of the functions of ZEC is to receive complaints from the public. This also violates Section 37A(2) of the Electoral Act which specifies that, ZEC ought to entertain representations from voters, political parties and other interested persons and bodies that would be affected by the decisions made by the Commission. The opaqueness of the delimitation exercise which effectively shut us out of the process, along with other stakeholders from effectively participating as required by the law further fueled our interest in auditing the delimitation outcome to establish whether ZEC fully complied with the law and to investigate the objectivity of the delimitation.

ZEC not only shut us out, but many other stakeholders including, but not limited to the Bulawayo City Council and Harare City Council.² Despite genuine concerns that these cities raised seeking the addition of more wards from the current 29 to 35 and from 46 to 55, respectively, in order to cope with the population growth since 2007/8 when the last delimitation was done, ZEC refused to offer these cities more wards. Instead, ZEC unfairly removed one ward from Harare. As our statistical results will confirm, despite the just ended delimitation, urban voters remain severely under-represented having been deprived by ZEC of more representatives at both Local Authority level as well as National Assembly level. This is retrogressive and violates the equality of vote principle set forth in the new constitution. When a Chapter 12 institution like ZEC fails to abide by the constitution of the land, this brings the entire process into disrepute thereby entailing the need to extensively audit the outcome to determine the extent to which ZEC complied with the law.

It is in light of the foregoing concerns that we undertook to carry out this task in the best interest of transparency as a pro bono national service.

² Appendix C

1.2 OBJECTIVES OF THE AUDIT

The audit was carried out with five main objectives:

- To evaluate the integrity of the delimitation data presented in the preliminary delimitation report.
- To evaluate the credibility of the technical methods which ZEC used during the delimitation.
- To identify the major delimitation changes which ZEC made relative to the 2007/8 delimitation boundaries.
- To empirically evaluate the impartiality and fairness of the delimitation outcome in the context of gerrymandering
- To proffer data-driven solutions and recommendations that may help to redress any technical flaws that might be on the report.

1.3 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE AUDIT

The spate of disputed elections in Zimbabwe should be put to rest. The Zimbabwe Electoral Commission is highly culpable for being at the forefront of the past disputed elections as well as for stifling democracy in Zimbabwe by failing to fully implement their constitutional mandate. One of the ways through which disputed elections can be avoided is if the culture of transparency and accountability can be inculcated at the Commission. Sections 233(d), §321(4), §3(2)(g), §9(1) and §194(1)(h) of Zimbabwe's Constitution calls for ZEC to promote transparency and accountability. We envisage that through similar audits like these, the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission will be encouraged to abide by the constitution and strive to attain the highest possible quality standards knowing that their processes are being monitored and audited. ZEC has been averse to having their processes and operations audited to the extent of refusing to have the Auditor General to audit their financial statements since 2018 - which violates the Electoral Act. ZEC has also been opposed to the request from the public to have Chartered Auditors to officially audit the voters roll. The evident aversiveness of ZEC to transparency not only contradicts and violates the principles and values set forth in the Constitution for Chapter 12 institutions, but also erodes public trust. We do hope that through audits like these, the transparency gap at ZEC will be bridged.

1.4 LIMITATIONS

Lack of Transparency by ZEC: The major limitation was the opaqueness, or rather, lack of transparency by ZEC during the delimitation exercise; the key pain point being the official delimitation voters roll which was shrouded in secrecy. ZEC refused to avail the final delimitation voters roll as required by the law. To this effect, the scope of this audit was limited. For instance, we could not establish the magnitude of deceased voters, double voters, misallocated or displaced voters, voters with fake IDs, and other discrepancies and their individual and collective effect on the delimitation outcome. On 31 May 2022, a day after the delimitation voters roll closed, ZEC gazetted the intention to delete 32,010 deceased voters. In June and July 2022, ZEC also made changes to more than 180,000 records based on our February exposé and gazetted them. However, it is not clear whether the reported delimitation voters roll total of 5,804,376 which ZEC reports to be accurate as at 30 May 2022 includes all these changes which ZEC made after the closure of the delimitation roll. It would have been judicious if ZEC had been transparent and availed the final delimitation voters roll. Sadly, stakeholders are sailing blindfolded with no means to cross-validate ZEC voter statistics which were used for the delimitation. The gravity of this opaqueness by ZEC has been further exacerbated by the fact that from the very same preliminary delimitation report, as exposed in the results section, we found **SIX different totals** of the delimitation voter population which contradict the total that ZEC alleges to be the official. Without access to the voters roll, the entire delimitation exercise by ZEC is nothing, but just a mere subterfuge, a sham and a total waste of scarce public funds.

Limited Information Provided: Further, in the delimitation report, ZEC only published polling station codes for each and every ward as well as the just the composite population for all the ward's polling stations. However, ZEC did not disaggregate the population by polling station and this made it almost impossible to audit population changes at polling station level. Also, ZEC did not provide details on the one-to-one mapping of the old polling stations and the new polling stations, neither did ZEC assign names to proposed polling stations. Therefore, we were unable to exhaustively audit the movements of polling stations across boundaries following the delimitation which reconfigured hundreds of electoral boundaries. This could have been easier had ZEC provided the delimitation voters roll. Regardless, we managed to circumvent these

limitations by delimiting the scope of the audit. We avoided delving into matters that would necessitate cross-validation with the official delimitation voters roll which ZEC had refused access to. Instead, we only used the data from the delimitation report.

Unavailable Population Data. Section 161(1) of the Constitution of Zimbabwe states that, “*Once every ten years, on a date or within a period fixed by the Commission so as to fall as soon as possible **after a population census**, the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission must conduct a delimitation of the electoral boundaries into which Zimbabwe is to be divided.*” In addition, Section 161(6)(f) of the Constitution further adds that, “*in dividing Zimbabwe into wards and constituencies, the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission **MUST**, in respect of **any area, give due consideration to—its population.***” These two clauses make it abundantly evident that it is imperative to use the most current census data to assist with the delimitation. Nevertheless, despite the National Census having been conducted from 21 April up to 5 May 2022, the final census report had not yet been published at the time of both the delimitation as well as at the time of this audit. The unavailability of this census data makes the entire delimitation process a problematic as ZEC did not use the precise population data to meet the requirements of §161(6)(f) of the Constitution. The unavailability of official final census data also made it impossible for us to audit the decisions made by ZEC during the delimitation. A typical case in point is the reduction of wards in Harare District despite the exponential population growth in the past decade. This would also have been useful to help review other areas where ZEC collapsed constituencies.

1.5 STRUCTURE OF THE REPORT

This report is a summarized version of a more detailed technical report and has been toned down in terms of technical language, methodological detail, statistical outputs and in-text citations to be more accessible to all audiences. However, all the major findings are contained herein, albeit summarized as well as the anomaly lists having been cut short. To further make the report more accessible, we further split the results thematically and presented the report in six chapters. The first chapter is this one and this provided the background into the delimitation along with the context of this audit. The next chapter summarises the methodology. Chapter 3-5 presents the key results, while Chapter 6 resents the conclusions and recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

METHODOLOGY

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This abridged chapter presents the methodological aspects that we adopted to facilitate this audit. The data sources that we used are outlined along with the data pre-processing and analytical tools and techniques we used. The main goal of this section is to ensure the ease of replication or reproducibility of our findings. To tone down on the technical matters given the need to have the report easily comprehended by everyone, the full technical details have been excepted, but are in the unabridged technical report, along with the scripts used and corresponding outputs.

2.2 DATA SOURCES AND PREPARATION

The main data source that was used for this audit was the preliminary delimitation report from ZEC which comprised of the preliminary draft report itself along with its annexures, that is, voter population totals, wards and national assembly constituency boundary descriptions as well as wards and national assembly maps. Other secondary data sources were also considered, although they were used sparingly as and when it was inevitably necessary and these include the 2007/8 delimitation report, the 2018 Harmonized Election national voters roll, 2018 Harmonised Election Presidential and Parliamentary results, Government Gazettes by ZEC, post 2018 by-election voter results and the 2022 pre-delimitation voters roll. The 2022 delimitation data from ZEC was not availed in an analysis-ready format, but had to be first extracted, transformed and loaded using custom Python and R scripts. Further preprocessing entailed merging, joining and concatenation of dataframes and this was again implemented in Python using the Pandas library. With respect to the evaluation of the boundary changes, the 2008/2022 delimitation map overlay analysis was done in ArcGIS.

2.3 DATA ANALYSIS TOOLS AND METHODS

The statistical aspect of the audit was implemented in Python, R, SPSS and Excel. For most of the findings, simple arithmetic operations were conducted along with

general descriptive statistics, including measures of central tendency and dispersion of the voter population. Beyond these basics, machine learning statistical techniques were implemented in Python and R. These included unsupervised and supervised learning clustering and classification techniques for which cluster analysis and discriminant analysis approaches were used respectively. Beyond this, anomaly detection was also carried out using the ward, local authority and constituency voter distribution deviations for the delimitation data both alone as well as in comparison with the 2022 pre-delimitation voters roll. The latter was very useful to facilitate the timely detection of significant discrepancies and the detection of problematic movements of voters following the delimitation given the time-sensitivity of this audit.

To evaluate the integrity of the data, we computed the differences in the delimitation voter population for wards, constituencies, local authorities and provinces. The voter population for the 1,970 wards was extracted from the delimitation report, totaled and compared with ZEC's published totals. The same was done for the data from the 92 local authorities and 210 constituencies. Further focus dwelt on the evaluation of the compliance of ZEC's proposed constituency sizes against Section 161(6) of the 2013 Constitution. The constitution clearly specifies that differences between constituencies ought to be within 20% difference relative to each other ($\pm 10\%$), and not relative to the mean. We argue how ZEC used the wrong methodology by calculating the difference relative to the mean. Nonetheless, in the interest of objectivity, we used both the flawed ZEC threshold of mean $\pm 20\%$, as well as the optimal mean $\pm 10\%$ threshold. All constituencies and wards with a difference above 20% were deemed to be non-compliant with Section 161(6) of the 2013 Zimbabwe Constitution. Statistical inference was also conducted to further confirm the systematic bias of ZEC's delimitation.

To identify the major delimitation changes made vis-à-vis the preceding 2007/8 delimitation boundaries, georeferencing was first done to ensure the spatial alignment of both maps, followed by geospatial anomaly detection. Notable discrepancies in the wards, local authorities and constituencies were also identified. However, the main focus was on the detection of possible gerrymandering and calculating the extent of influence of ZEC's delimitation changes on the electoral outcome based on the 2018 election results. Aggregated ward-level presidential election results were used for this purpose in the case of wards which ZEC reallocated to other constituencies.

CHAPTER THREE

FINDINGS ON DATA QUALITY FLAWS

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Prior to the analysis of the delimitation data, it was imperative to first evaluate its quality. For this purpose, we used three benchmarks, that is, completeness of the data, its accuracy and its consistency. We present this chapter in four main sections. The first section looks into the completeness of the data, while the second section evaluates the consistency and accuracy of the data, and the fourth section provides a summary of the findings.

3.2 EVALUATING THE COMPLETENESS OF THE DATA

We first investigated whether the delimitation data provided by ZEC matched with the expected total numbers of records at provincial level, local authority level as well as constituency level.

3.2.1 Completeness Evaluation of Provincial Data

Section 267(1) of the Constitution fixes the number of provinces at 10, that is, Bulawayo Metropolitan, Harare Metropolitan, Manicaland, Mashonaland Central, Mashonaland East, Mashonaland West, Masvingo, Matabeleland North, Matabeleland South and Midlands. From our audit, all the statistical and map data which ZEC provided never violated this constitutional provision. There were no missing provinces, neither were there more provincial boundaries on the maps.

3.2.2 Completeness Evaluation of Local Authority Data

The Constitution does not fix a specific total number of local authorities. However, this is subject to change as they can be proclaimed whenever need arises. From the analysis of the data provided in the delimitation report, we found 92 local authorities. This reflects an increase of 3 local authorities from the pre-delimitation total of 89. The additional three local authorities included Chirundu Local Board, Lupane Local Board and Mvurwi Town Council and these were all bona fide additions.

Chirundu Local Board had been proclaimed in 1983, but had not been delimited. Lupane Local Board had been proclaimed in 2007, but had also not been delimited. The third was Mvurwi Town Council which was proclaimed in 2010. The incorporation of these three authorities clarifies the discrepancy in the new total we found (92).

However, we expected to find Beitbridge Municipality, but this was missing. Instead, ZEC used the old name Beitbridge Town Council for the delimitation. Our expectation for Beitbridge Municipality arises from the fact that on 9 March 2018, Proclamation 1 of 2018 was gazetted³ creating the local authority Beitbridge Municipality to replace Beitbridge Town Council. However, in the 2022 delimitation report, ZEC did not give reference to Beitbridge Municipality, but Beitbridge Town Council. ZEC does not clarify why they chose to use the old name for the local authority in lieu of the new one.

On the same note, we also expected to find the local authority Kadoma Municipality when we disaggregated the ward data. However, this was missing, despite ZEC mentioning it in-text. Instead, ZEC used the name Kadoma City Council as below.

Local Authority	Ward	Number of Registered voters
Kadoma City Council	2	2 841
Kadoma City Council	3	2 787
Kadoma City Council	4	3 417
Kadoma City Council	5	3 343
Kadoma City Council	6	2 991
Kadoma City Council	8	2 646
Kadoma City Council	9	2 592
Kadoma City Council	11	3 258
Kadoma City Council	12	2 746
Kadoma City Council	13	3 327
Kadoma City Council	17	2 563
Total		32 277

Figure 1 – Kadoma City Council used in lieu of Kadoma Municipality

Source: Preliminary Delimitation Report, page 255 (c.f. pp252, 258)

The 2008 delimitation report identified the local authority as Kadoma Municipality not as Kadoma City Council. Elections which were conducted prior to 2008 had also been using the Local Authority Kadoma Municipality. Even elections conducted after the 2008 delimitation have always been conducted under the Kadoma Municipality⁴, not

³ Statutory Instrument 28/2018

⁴ Appendix E

Kadoma City Council. ZEC does not specify why they chose to interchange the two Kadoma Municipality and Kadoma City Council in their delimitation report. Regardless, for the purpose of analysis, we corrected this discrepancy. However, ZEC ought to clarify why they chose to use a very old local authority name Kadoma City Council.

3.2.3 Completeness Evaluation of Constituency Data

Sections 124(1)(a) and 160(1) of the constitution fix the absolute total number of constituencies at 210. The constituencies themselves can be changed following a delimitation, but the absolute total of 210 constituencies ought to be maintained. From the analysis of the pre-delimitation data from ZEC, none of the existing constituencies was missing. The post-delimitation data in the report had 210 constituencies. However, we discovered problems on the delimitation maps involving a missing constituency and two ghost constituencies.

3.2.3.1 Missing Constituency – Seke

On pages 192 and 201 of the delimitation report, ZEC identifies Seke as being a constituency. However, this Seke Constituency was missing on the maps. Rather, the closest match on the maps was Seke East constituency as shown in Figure 2.

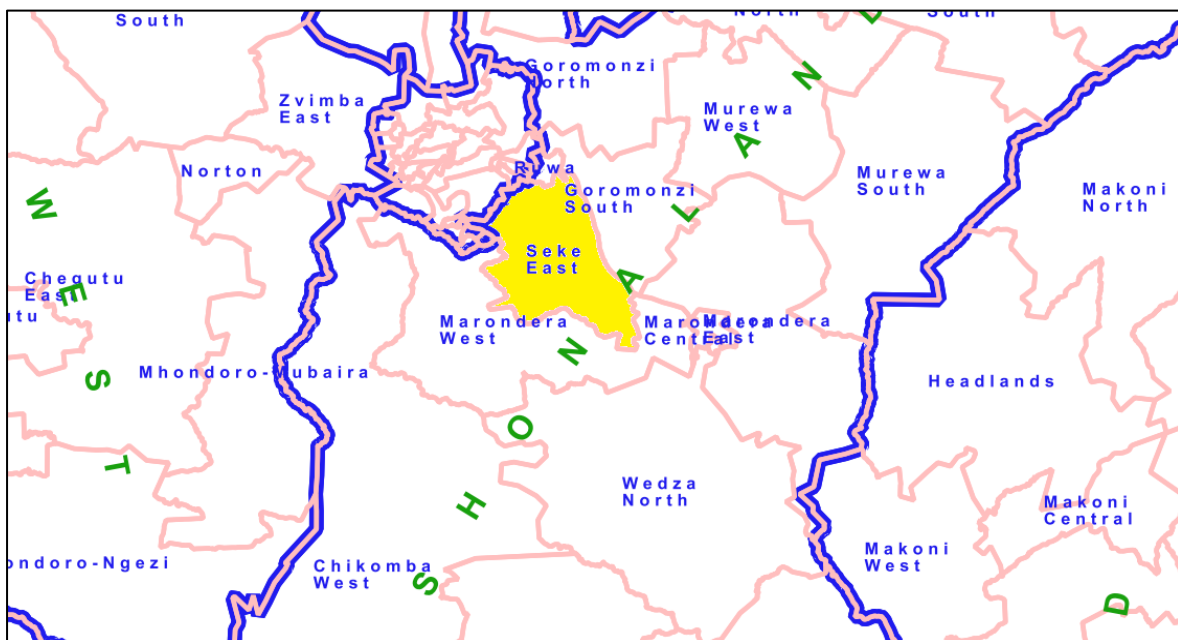


Figure 2 – Unknown Constituency – Seke East Constituency

Source: National National Assembly Map, ZEC (2022)

Seke East as a constituency has never existed, does not exist and was not mentioned anywhere in the preliminary delimitation report. This constituency only exists on both the ward map and the national assembly map which ZEC provided. The plausible match is Seke Constituency which was missing on the maps, but was listed in the delimitation report (page 201). Given that the maps do not have any other directional variant of Seke (eg. Seke West), it is possible that this discrepancy might have arisen due to human error and poor data quality assurance mechanisms at ZEC.

3.2.3.2 Ghost Constituencies

We also found instances where ZEC used constituency boundaries to demarcate two dubious constituencies in Manicaland Province, making the total number of constituencies 212, instead of the constitutional threshold of 210. In addition, there was no data in the report which justified the existence of these two constituencies. These two illegitimate ghost constituencies are illustrated below.

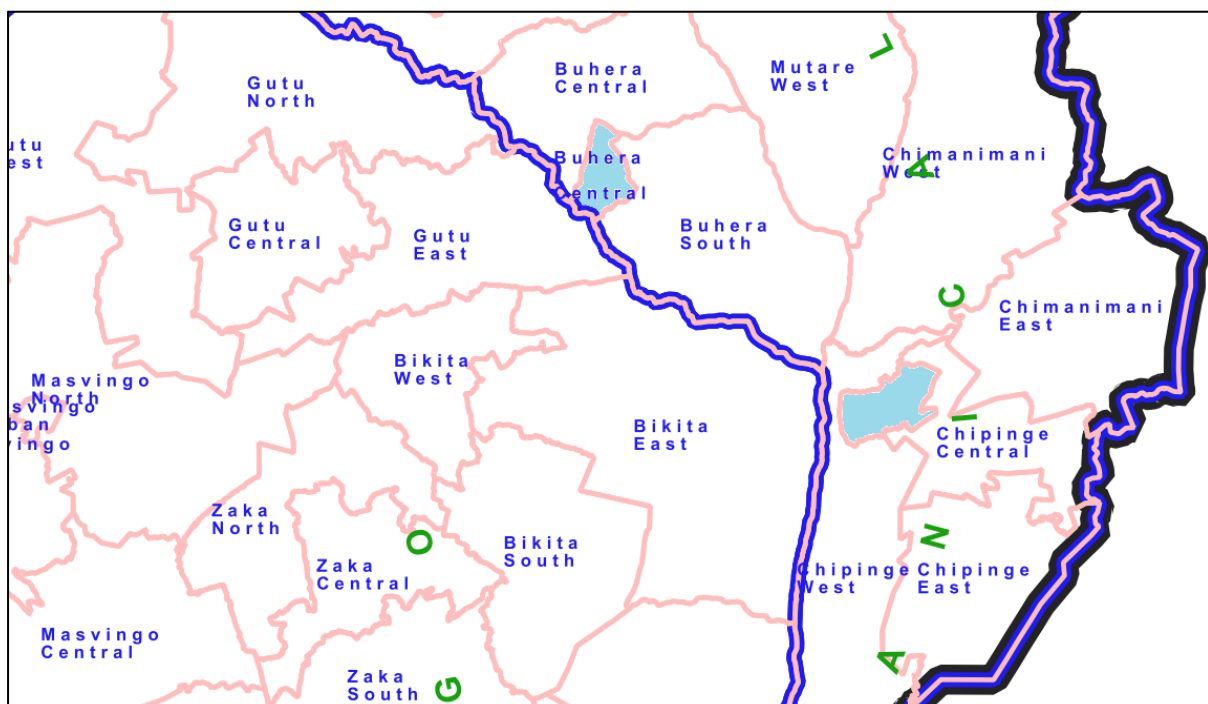


Figure 3 – Ghost Constituencies – Buhera Ward 24 and Chipinge Ward 4

Source: National Assembly Map, ZEC (2022)

Upon further inquiry, we identified the first one as being Chipinge RDC Ward 4. ZEC demarcated the ward as an independent stand-alone constituency. This is inaccurate. As a matter of fact, from the Ward map, this phantom constituency is Chipinge RDC

ward 4 and is just a mere ward among the 8 wards which fall under Chipinge West constituency. {1, 3, 4, 5, 16, 20, 21, 22 and 23}. Therefore, its designation by ZEC as a constituency on both the ward map and national assembly map was erroneous.

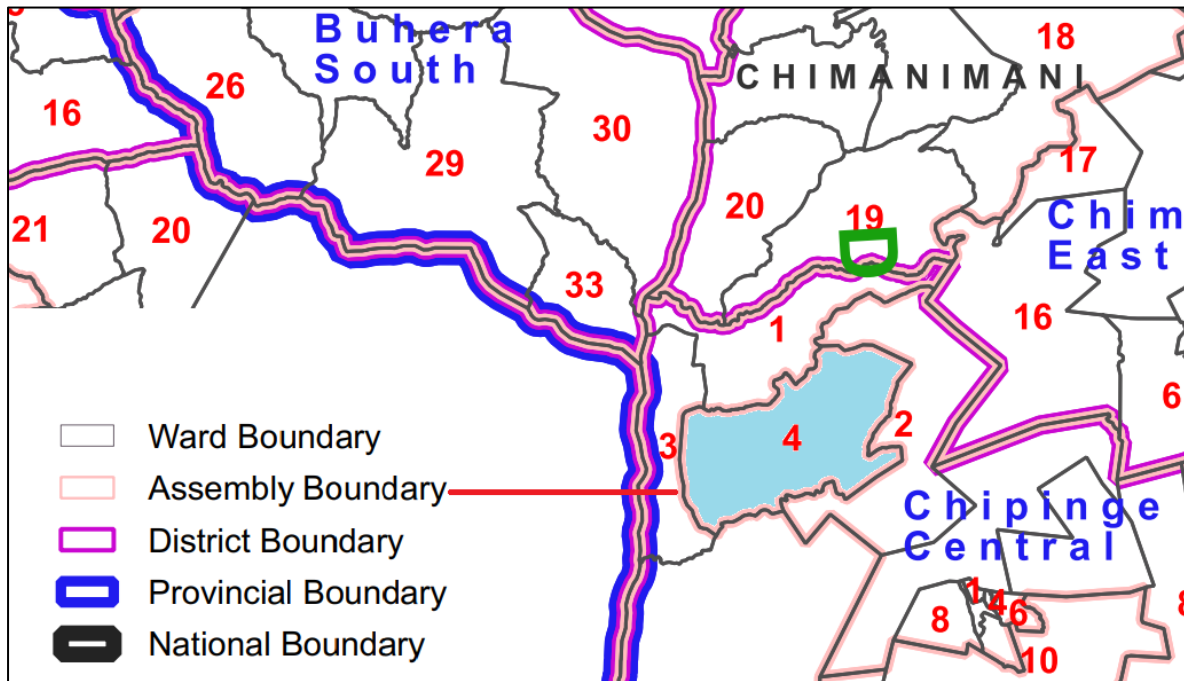


Figure 4 – Ghost Constituency – Chipinge RDC Ward 4
 Source: National Wards Map, ZEC (2022)

The second ghost constituency in Figure 5 was labeled on both the ward and national assembly delimitation maps as Buhera Central constituency.

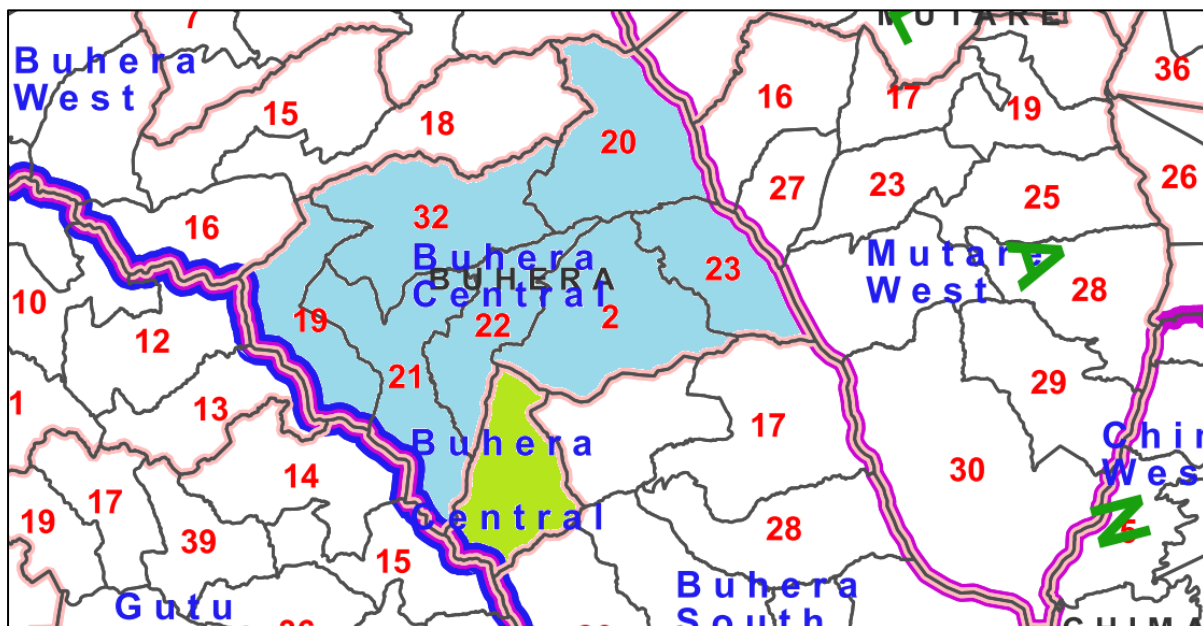


Figure 5 – Ghost Constituency – Buhera RDC Ward 24
 Source: National Wards Map, ZEC (2022)

In the process, ZEC created two Buhera Central constituencies when they should be just one. Buhera Central should be comprised of 8 wards {2, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 32}. However, from Figure 3 and Figure 5, the delimitation maps show two Buhera Centrals and both are demarcated and labeled as constituencies. The first one is comprised of 7 wards {2, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 32}, while the second one has just one ward {24}. This technically makes both constituencies inconsistent with the data presented in the preliminary delimitation report on page 85 where Buhera Central constituency was defined as being composed of 8 wards, not one and not seven.

The fact that these ghost constituencies were on both the wards map and the national assembly maps confirms that at ZEC, there were never any mechanisms in place to ensure the coherence of the maps and the delimitation report. ZEC failed to ensure that all the constituencies that were presented on the maps were consistent with the data presented in the report.

3.2.4 Completeness Evaluation of Ward Data

Constitutionally, the total number of wards is not fixed in the constitution, but this can change for any local authority depending with the financial capacity to fund these new wards and representation demands of any given local authority. However, while local authorities can propose the number of wards, according to Section 160(2) and 239(f) of the constitution, only ZEC can then carry out the delimitation of these wards.

Due to the non-alignment of the laws and the new constitution, the previous and incumbent presidents have often usurped this constitutional mandate for ZEC using the unaligned Urban Councils Act and the Rural District Councils Act. Some of the ward differences observed between the 2008 and 2022 delimitations were partly due the unconstitutional presidential proclamations that altered wards between the two delimitations. Cases in point include Proclamations 4 and 5 of 2013 which altered wards in Makoni Rural District Council and Rusape Rural District Council respectively; as well as Proclamation 3 of 2014 which altered Gokwe South wards.

Following the delimitation, the total number of wards increased from 1958 wards in 2008, to 1970 following the addition of 13 new wards, that is, 3 for Hurungwe Local

Board, 4 for Lupane Local Board and 6 for Mvurwi Town Council. While we expected 1971 wards, we only found 1970 wards. This discrepancy arose as a result of the removal of Harare East Ward 46 from Harare Municipality by ZEC.

Also worth noting is that while previously (including the previous elections) there were no registered voters in Hwange Local Board Ward 13 and Matobo RDC Ward 20, this time around, ZEC managed to rectify this anomaly and allocated voters to these wards. During the 2018 harmonised elections, ZEC only fielded 1,956 wards out of the 1,958 wards, but this has now been resolved.

Overall, the ward data extracted from the Local Authority summaries was to a great extent complete, but there were some problems and these are summarized below.

3.2.4.1 Missing Ward Labels

The delimitation maps provided by ZEC had inadequate details that could have allowed a comprehensive audit. ZEC did not include important reference points such as topographic features and important thematic data, but most importantly, the details which ZEC chose to provide often had missing data such as ward labels. A typical example is illustrated in Figure 6 below.

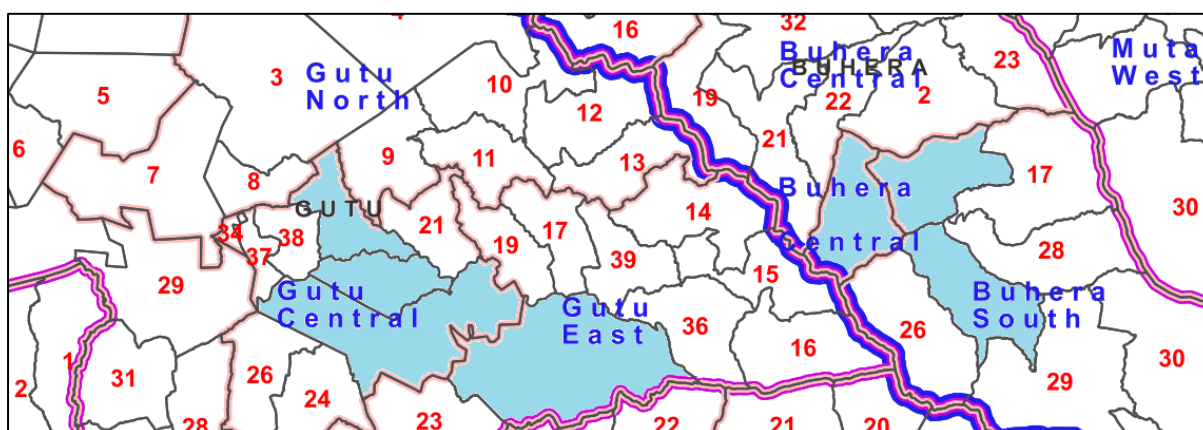


Figure 6 – Missing Ward Labels – Gutu

Source: National Wards Map, ZEC (2022)

Ward labels are an important piece of information that allows anyone to be able to track whether the ward boundaries changed between 2008 and now, and can also facilitate the determination whether the ward area has been reconfigured or not. With

many wards not defined on the maps, this severely limited our capacity to track all the ward changes and reconfigurations. There were many instances where there was more than enough space on the map to put in the labels, but ZEC just could not provide this information. A typical case in point is Gokwe, illustrated in Figure 7.

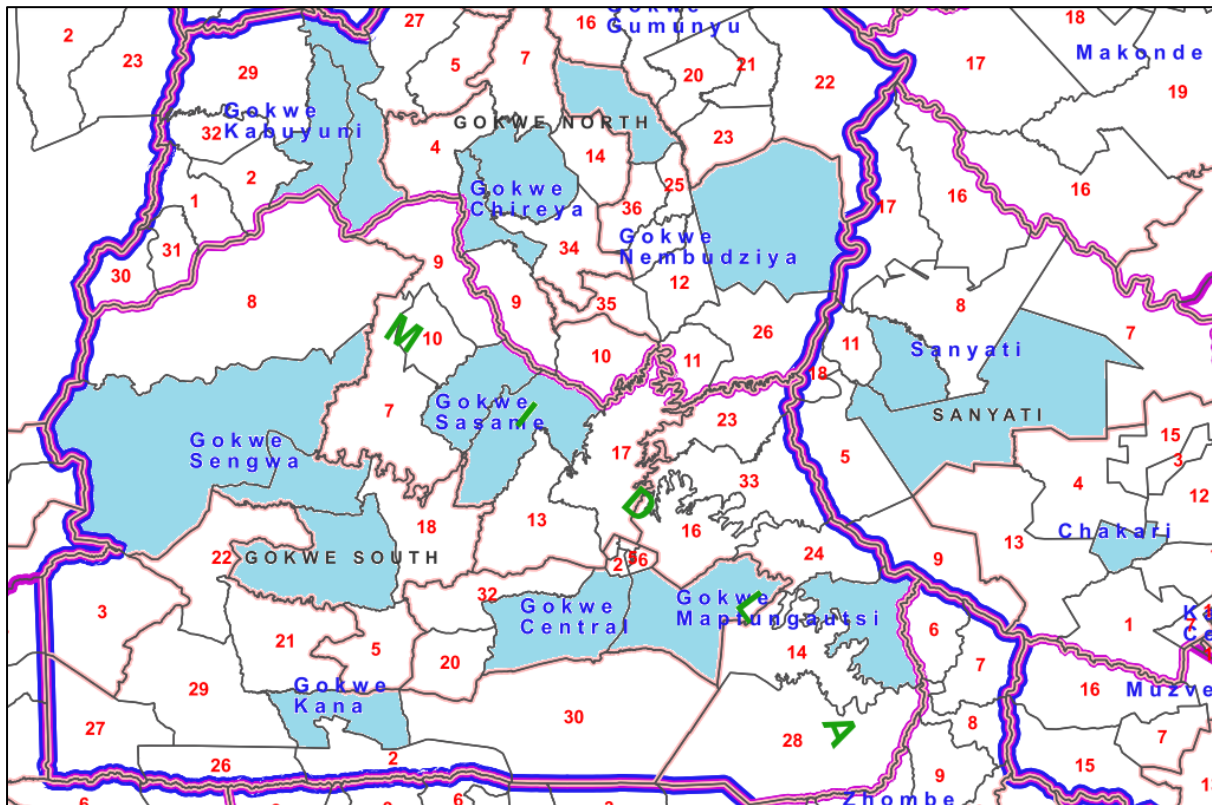


Figure 7 – Missing Ward Labels – Gokwe

Source: National Wards Map, ZEC (2022)

To circumvent this problem, we referred to the provided Ward Boundary Descriptions annexure and corrected the national map, albeit being very time-consuming in constituencies that had more than one missing ward label. However, for some constituencies with just one missing label, we rectified this problem by deducing the missing ward number and also comparing with the 2008 delimitation data.

3.2.4.2 Missing Wards from Constituency Ward Lists

While the data extracted from Local Authority lists was complete, we found out that some of the ward data presented under constituency summaries was missing. A typical case in point is Silobela Constituency in Midlands province. On page 473 of the

preliminary delimitation report, ZEC indicated that the constituency comprised of 13 Zibagwe Rural District Council wards {4, 5, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29}. However, the provided table had only 12 wards implying a missing ward.

24. SILOBELA: 28 521 Registered Voters
 The Constituency has 28 521 registered voters. It consists of wards 4, 5, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 25, 26, 27, 28 and 29 of Zibagwe Rural District Council.

LOCAL AUTHORITY	WARD	NUMBER OF REGISTERED VOTERS
Zibagwe RDC	4	1 918
Zibagwe RDC	5	1 987
Zibagwe RDC	17	2 134
Zibagwe RDC	18	1 961
Zibagwe RDC	19	2 443
Zibagwe RDC	20	1 939
Zibagwe RDC	21	2 146
Zibagwe RDC	25	1 983
Zibagwe RDC	26	2 162
Zibagwe RDC	27	2 301
Zibagwe RDC	28	2 793
Zibagwe RDC	29	2 087
Total		28 521

Figure 8 – Missing Ward 15 from Silobela Constituency

Source: Preliminary Delimitation Report, pp 473-474

The table which ZEC provided above has a missing Ward 15. While we could establish that Zibagwe RDC indeed had Ward 15 from Page 453, and also confirm that Silobela did indeed has Ward 15 from the provided maps, this needless back-and-forth cross-validation process was a futile time-consuming exercise where the numbers could not tally and where the labels of the wards affected were missing on the maps. We illustrate this using an example of Zvimba East Constituency, Ward 7. On page 260, ZEC states that Ward 7 is in Zvimba East. However, on the table provided, Ward 7 is missing. There is, however, Ward 29 which ZEC had not mentioned.

19. ZVIMBA EAST: 32 764 Registered Voters
 This Constituency has a total of 32 764 registered voters. It is made up of wards 1, 7, 9, 10, 11, 24, 25, 26, 28 and 35 of Zvimba Rural District Council.

Local Authority	Ward	Registered voters
Zvimba RDC	1	4 675
Zvimba RDC	29	3 889
Zvimba RDC	9	3 362
Zvimba RDC	10	3 583
Zvimba RDC	11	3 170
Zvimba RDC	24	3810
Zvimba RDC	25	2 821
Zvimba RDC	26	3 582
Zvimba RDC	28	2 998
Zvimba RDC	35	3 386
Total		32 764

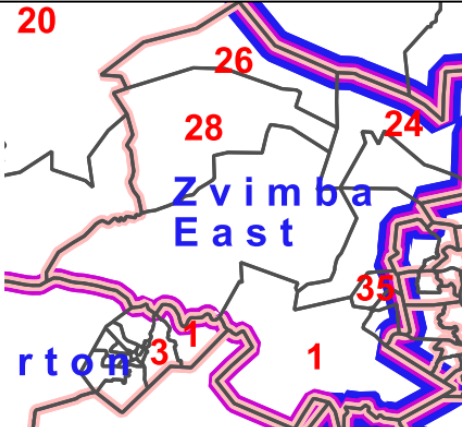


Figure 9 – Missing Ward 7 from Zvimba East Constituency

Source: Preliminary Delimitation Report, pp 260

In such cases, to confirm or disconfirm the presence of Ward 7 or 29 in Zvimba East constituency, the ward map is very useful. However, from Figure 9 above, ZEC did not label all the Zvimba East wards, including the one we needed to confirm thereby complicating the verification process. Considering that ZEC often presented the wards in a hierarchical order, it would be easy to flag Ward 29 as a possible error and could be in fact Ward 7. We tracked Zvimba RDC Ward 7 and found it under Zvimba West Constituency. However, the narration for Zvimba West on Page 261 in the delimitation report only mentions Ward 29, although Ward 7 is reflected in the table. At least this time, we confirmed Ward 7 from the maps to be under Zvimba West.

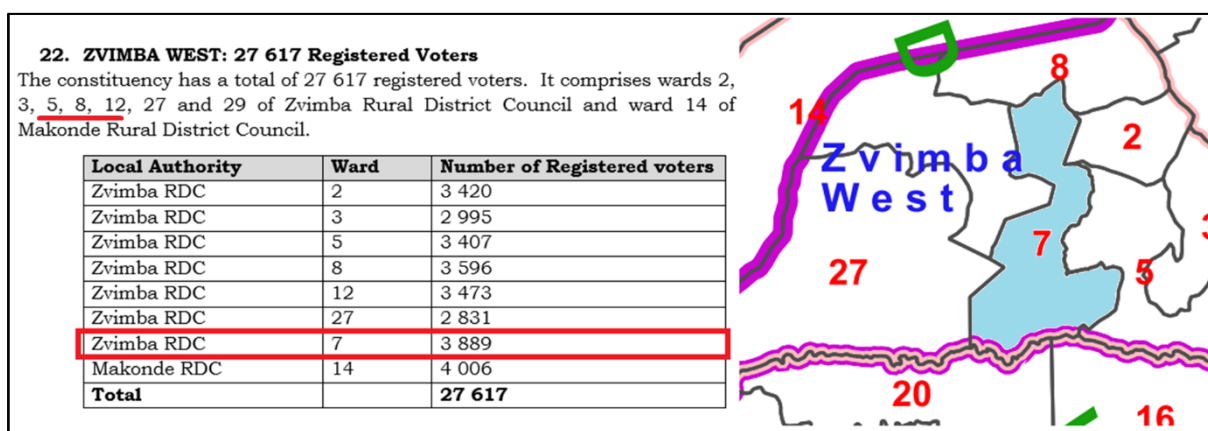


Figure 10 – Missing Ward 29 from Zvimba West Constituency

Source: Preliminary Delimitation Report, pp 261

There was now another problem - the number of registered voters for Zvimba Ward 7 and Ward 29 were exactly the same, **3,889** (c.f. Figure 9 and 10). This contradicts the Local Authority data in the report on pages 245-246, where ZEC states that Ward 7 has 3,889 voters and Ward 29 has 3,377 voters. These numerical contradictions were many in the report as shall be shown in the following section. The verification process was made more complex in the wake of missing data as illustrated above.

The failure by ZEC to provide complete data is unprofessional and regrettable. In the absence of the actual delimitation voters roll which they are refusing with, it then becomes difficult to verify the numbers and confirm which of the figures are correct or incorrect. Data completeness is a very important aspect of data integrity, but ZEC failed to meet the standard expectations given the fact that the data they shared was riddled with missing data which, coupled with inconsistencies, rendered the entire delimitation process technically problematic.

3.2.5 Completeness Evaluation of Polling Station Data

The number of polling stations is not cast in stone in the constitution. This is, however, regulated by the Electoral Act. The general principle is that polling stations are created by ZEC in consultation with the stakeholders, but no polling station can have more than 1000 registered voters assigned to it. In the preliminary delimitation report, ZEC never mentioned the total number of polling stations/polling areas. Therefore, we were not able to establish whether the availed stations matched the total we expected ZEC to provide. However, all the polling station data was audited relative to the available and past data. We found missing polling stations in the data which ZEC provided.

3.2.5.1 Missing Polling Stations on Maps

In the delimitation report, ZEC listed the polling stations for each and every ward. However, this data failed to tally with the maps which ZEC provided as there were missing polling stations on many of the wards. An example is illustrated below.

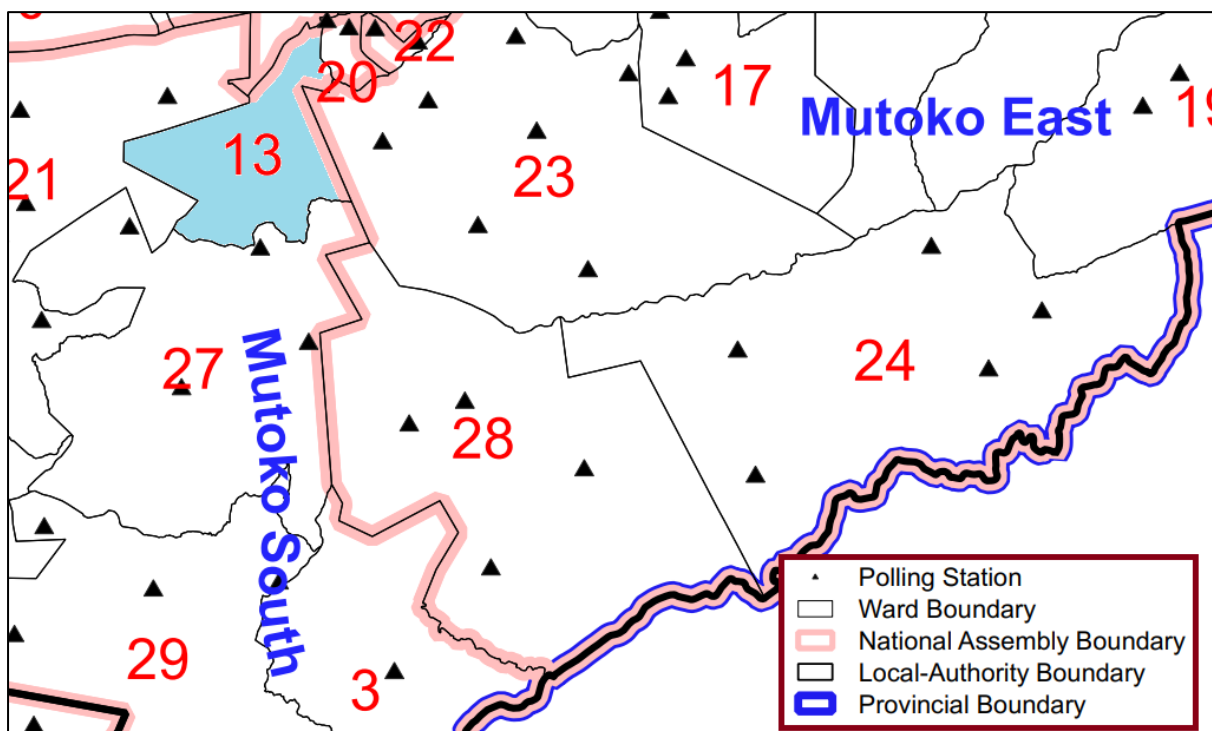


Figure 11 – Missing Polling Stations – Mutoko South Ward 13

Source: Mashonaland East Provincial Map, ZEC (2022)

On page 181 of the delimitation report, ZEC states that Mutoko RDC Ward 13 has 2,619 registered voters and that there are three polling areas, that is, 4800MTK1301A,

4800MTK1302 and 4800MTK1303. However, from the maps provided, these polling stations were completely missing. There were also cases where the polling stations listed were partly present on the maps, but did not tally. We present an example below.

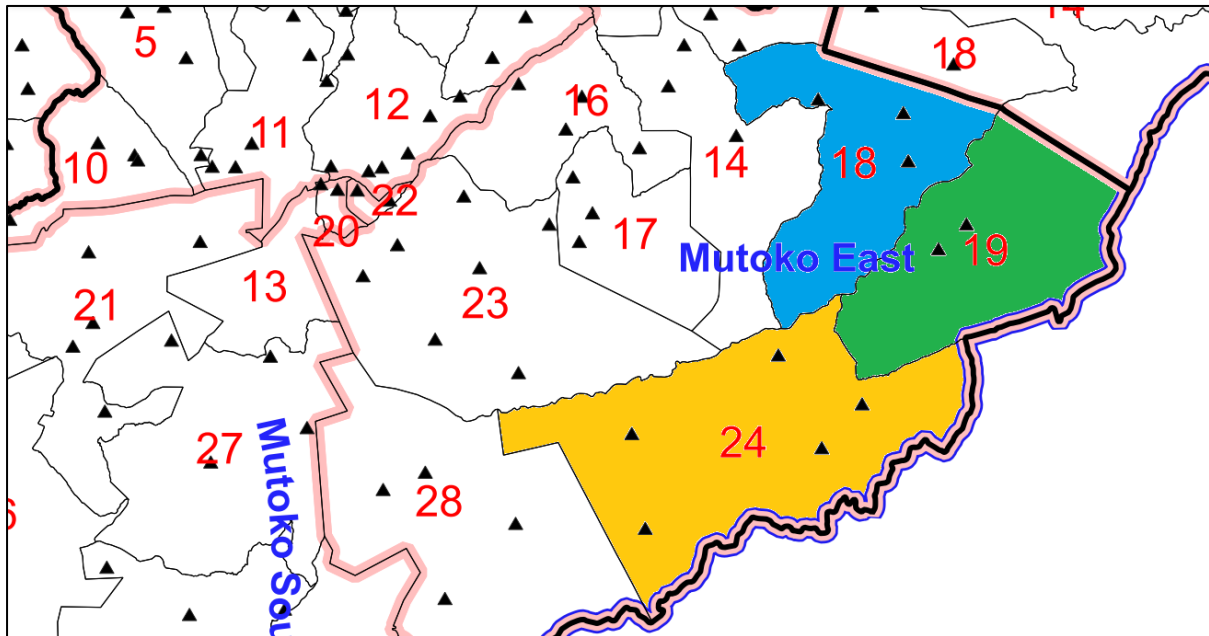


Figure 12 – Missing Polling Stations – Mutoko East Wards 18, 19, 24

Source: *Mashonaland East Provincial Map, ZEC (2022)*

Ward 18: On page 182 of the delimitation report, ZEC states that Mutoko RDC Ward 18 has 2,043 registered voters and that there are five polling areas, that is, 4800MTK1803, 4800MTK1804, 4800MTK1805, 4800MTK1806 and 4800MTK1807. However, from the maps provided, there were only three polling stations, implying that two polling stations were missing.

Ward 19: On the same page 182 of the delimitation report, ZEC states that Mutoko RDC Ward 19 has 1,996 registered voters and that there are four polling areas, that is, 4800MTK1902, 4800MTK1903, 4800MTK1904 and 4800MTK1906. However, from the maps provided, there were only two polling stations, implying that two polling stations were missing.

Ward 24: On the same page 182 as well of the delimitation report, ZEC states that Mutoko Ward 24 has 1,996 voters and that there are 8 polling areas: 4800MTK2401, 4800MTK2402, 4800MTK2403, 4800MTK2404, 4800MTK2405, 4800MTK2406,

4800MTK2407 and 4800MTK2408. Nonetheless, from the map data, there were only four polling stations, implying that four polling stations were missing.

These three examples are only but a drop in the ocean of similar cases where the data provided sharply contradicted the map data. Therefore, due to this missing polling station data which was prevalent on the maps, the total number of polling stations on the maps did not tally with the number of polling stations listed in the report.

3.2.5.2 Ghost Polling Stations

Further to the foregoing issue, we also discovered ghost polling stations that were missing in the delimitation report, but were indicated on the provincial maps. We present a typical example in Figure 13 below.

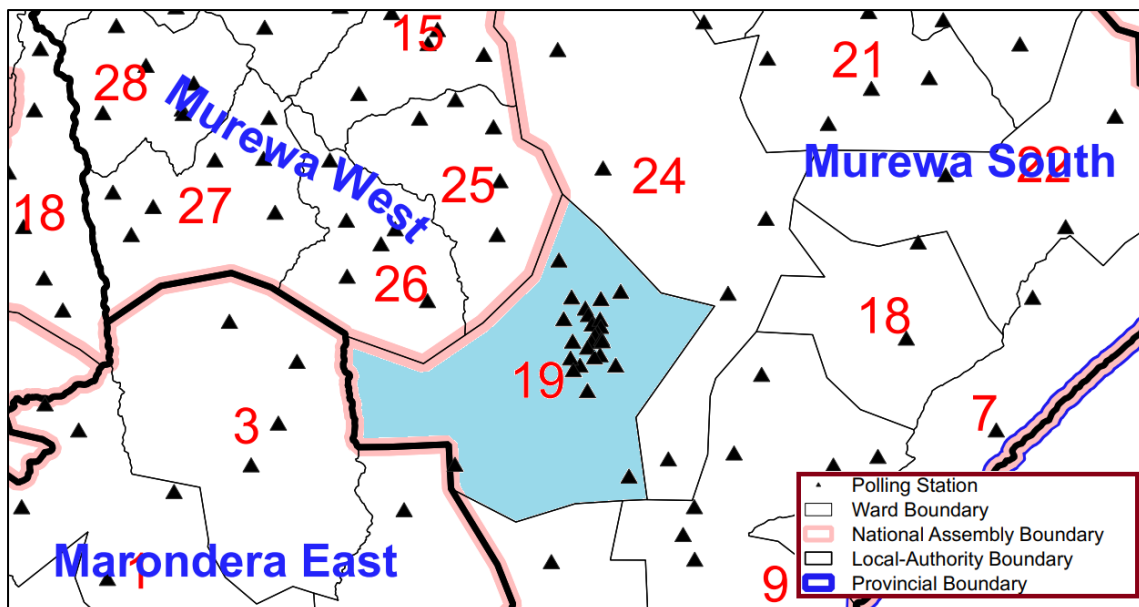


Figure 13 – Ghost Polling Stations – Murewa South Ward 19

Source: Mashonaland East Provincial Map, ZEC (2022)

On page 177 of the delimitation report, ZEC indicates that Ward 19 has only 2,518 registered voters and that there are only three polling areas, that is: 4700MRE1901, 4700MRE1902 and 4700MRE1903. However, from the maps provided, there are **26 polling stations** in the same Ward 19. That implies a polling station for less than 100 voters each which is unreal. Therefore, there are 23 unaccounted for ghost polling stations in Murewa South constituency Ward 19 based on the map data ZEC provided. Some of these were even mapped to residential homes which is unconstitutional and illegal. ZEC ought to clarify on these ghost polling stations.

3.2.5.3 Missing Polling Stations in Statistical Data

In addition, there were instances where ZEC listed sub-stations such as 4800MTK1405B, but did not list the other substations such as 4800MTK1405A (page 181), or listed the sub-station 4800MTK2202A but failed to list other substations (page 182). Having the voters roll could help a great deal to resolve these discrepancies, but ZEC insists on preventing everyone access, which is illegal.

3.2.6 Data Completeness Summary

This section reviewed the completeness of the data. However, while the data provided by ZEC checked out on the aggregate totals expected from the number of provinces (10), constituencies (210) and Local Authorities (92), there were significant gaps that were found. The majority related to the missingness of the ward data as well as polling station data. The latter in particular was associated with significant discrepancies between the delimitation report and the delimitation maps. Overall, the quality of the data which ZEC used for the delimitation did not meet the expected quality standards.

3.3 EVALUATING THE CONSISTENCY OF THE DATA

Data consistency is a fundamental aspect of data quality. In the context of the delimitation report, we evaluated the consistency of the data provided by ZEC using a multifaceted approach by reviewing both the cartographic data, statistical data and reported statements by ZEC. Regarding the map data, we evaluated its consistency vis-à-vis the data which ZEC provided in the report, as well as against other official records from ZEC and the Government. For the statistical data, we parsed and extracted all the tables that were presented in the delimitation report. We checked the general consistency of the data by determining whether the tallies at each stage were consistent regardless of the level of analysis, be it at ward level, or constituency level, provincial level or national level. ZEC failed to ensure that the delimitation data was consistent and this section demonstrates this in three main sections. The first section presents the evaluation of the map data, the second section evaluates the statistical voter population data from the report, while the third section critically evaluates the polling station data.

3.3.1 Inconsistent and Inaccurate Map Data

We comprehensively reviewed the delimitation maps which ZEC provided. The major discrepancies that we found are summarized below.

3.3.1.1 Ward Composition Mismatch

After comparing the ward composition for all the constituencies on the maps, we found many instances where what ZEC wrote in the delimitation report did not match the wards that were assigned on the map. Below, we present an excerpt from the delimitation report on the composition of Gokwe Kana constituency.

8. GOKWE-KANA: 27 416 Registered Voters		
The Constituency has 27 416 registered voters. It consists of wards 1, 2, 3, 21, 26, 27, 29 and 30 of Gokwe South Rural District Council.		
LOCAL AUTHORITY	WARD	NUMBER OF REGISTERED VOTERS
Gokwe South RDC	1	3 431
Gokwe South RDC	2	3 458
Gokwe South RDC	3	3 185
Gokwe South RDC	21	3 715
Gokwe South RDC	26	3 174
Gokwe South RDC	27	3 011
Gokwe South RDC	29	3 158
Gokwe South RDC	30	4 284
Total		27 416

Figure 14 – Ward Composition for Gokwe Kana Constituency

Source: Preliminary Delimitation Report, pp 465-466

The delimitation report lists Ward 3 as being one of the eight wards of Gokwe Kana constituency. However, on the map below, Ward 3 falls under Gokwe Sengwa. The constituency demarcation on Ward 3 separates Gokwe Kana from Ward 3. In fact, Ward 3 has previously not been part of Gokwe Kana, but Gokwe Sengwa. While its movement to Gokwe Kana might be a recent proposition as shown in the delimitation report, unfortunately, the map that ZEC provided does not reflect this change.

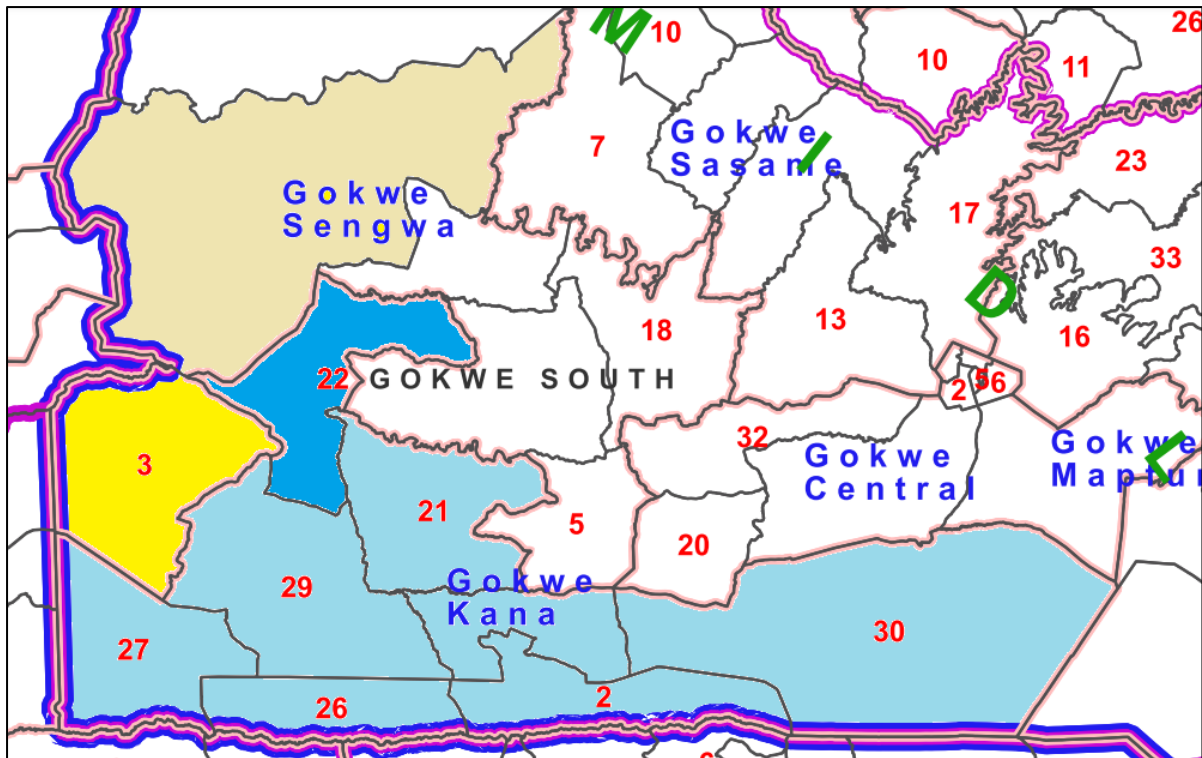


Figure 15 – Ward Composition Mismatch – Gokwe Kana Wards 3, 22

Source: National Wards Map, ZEC (2022)

In addition, the map above further shows that Ward 22 is located in Gokwe Kana constituency. However, on pages 465-466 of the delimitation report, Ward 22 is not listed on the Gokwe Kana wards. Rather, Ward 22 is listed as being a ward in Gokwe Sengwa constituency on page 467 of the delimitation report. This is shown below.

12. GOKWE-SENGWA: 24 289 Registered Voters
 The Constituency has 24 289 registered voters. It is made up of wards 4, 5, 6, 8, 18, 22 and 31 of Gokwe South Rural District Council.

Figure 16 – Ward Composition for Gokwe Sengwa Constituency

Source: Preliminary Delimitation Report, pp 467

In this regard, it is evident that there is a huge discrepancy between the data in the preliminary delimitation report and the maps which ZEC provided.

To further expose the prevalence of these flaws, we provide another example from another constituency in proximity; Gokwe-Mapfungautsi. From the map illustrated below, ZEC claims that Ward 16 is in Gokwe-Mapfungautsi.

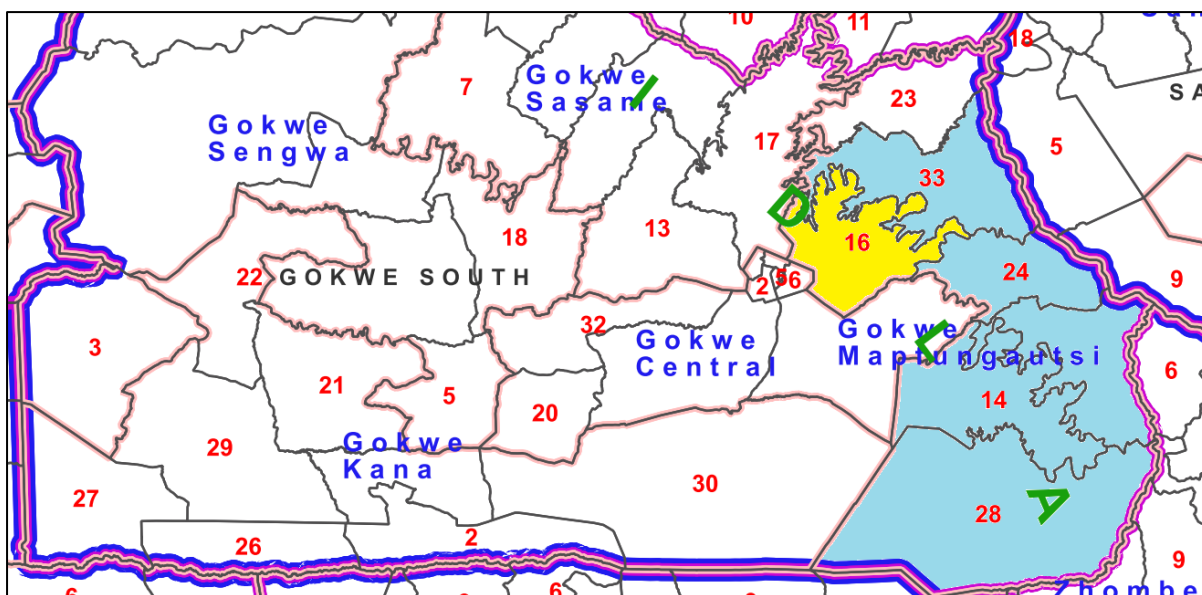


Figure 17 – Ward Composition Mismatch – Gokwe Mapfungautsi Ward 16

Source: National Wards Map, ZEC (2022)

However, reverting back to the preliminary delimitation report on page 466, Ward 16 is not listed as being part of Gokwe-Mapfungautsi, but Wards 14, 23, 24, 25, 28 & 33.

9. GOKWE – MAPFUNGAUTSI: 25 774 Registered Voters
 The Constituency has 25 774 registered voters. It is made up of wards 14, 23, 24, 25, 28 and 33 of Gokwe South Rural District Council.

LOCAL AUTHORITY	WARD	NUMBER OF REGISTERED VOTERS
Gokwe South RDC	14	4 494
Gokwe South RDC	23	4 400
Gokwe South RDC	24	4 095
Gokwe South RDC	25	4 262
Gokwe South RDC	28	4 361
Gokwe South RDC	33	4 162
Total		25 774

Figure 18 – Ward Composition for Gokwe Mapfungautsi Constituency

Source: Preliminary Delimitation Report, pp 466

Rather, Ward 16 is listed as being a ward under Gokwe Central (see below).

4. GOKWE CENTRAL: 31 686 Registered Voters
 The Constituency has 31 686 registered voters. It comprises wards 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 of Gokwe South Town Council and wards 15, 16, 19, 20 and 32 of Gokwe South Rural District Council.

Figure 19 – Ward Composition for Gokwe Central Constituency

Source: Preliminary Delimitation Report, pp 463

Based on the foregoing, there is a crystal-clear discrepancy between what ZEC said in the delimitation report and what ZEC illustrated on the map. These inconsistencies undermine the credibility of the delimitation given the prevalence of their occurrences.

3.3.1.2 Distant Polling Stations

Section 22A(2) of the Electoral Act states that, “ZEC shall consult all interested parties when determining the location of polling stations and their areas.” In spite of this, ZEC unilaterally allocated polling stations that are far away from the voters. This is a violation of the law. As a case in point, Figure 20 below illustrates how ZEC allocated a polling station that is 50km away from the voters in Mutoko.

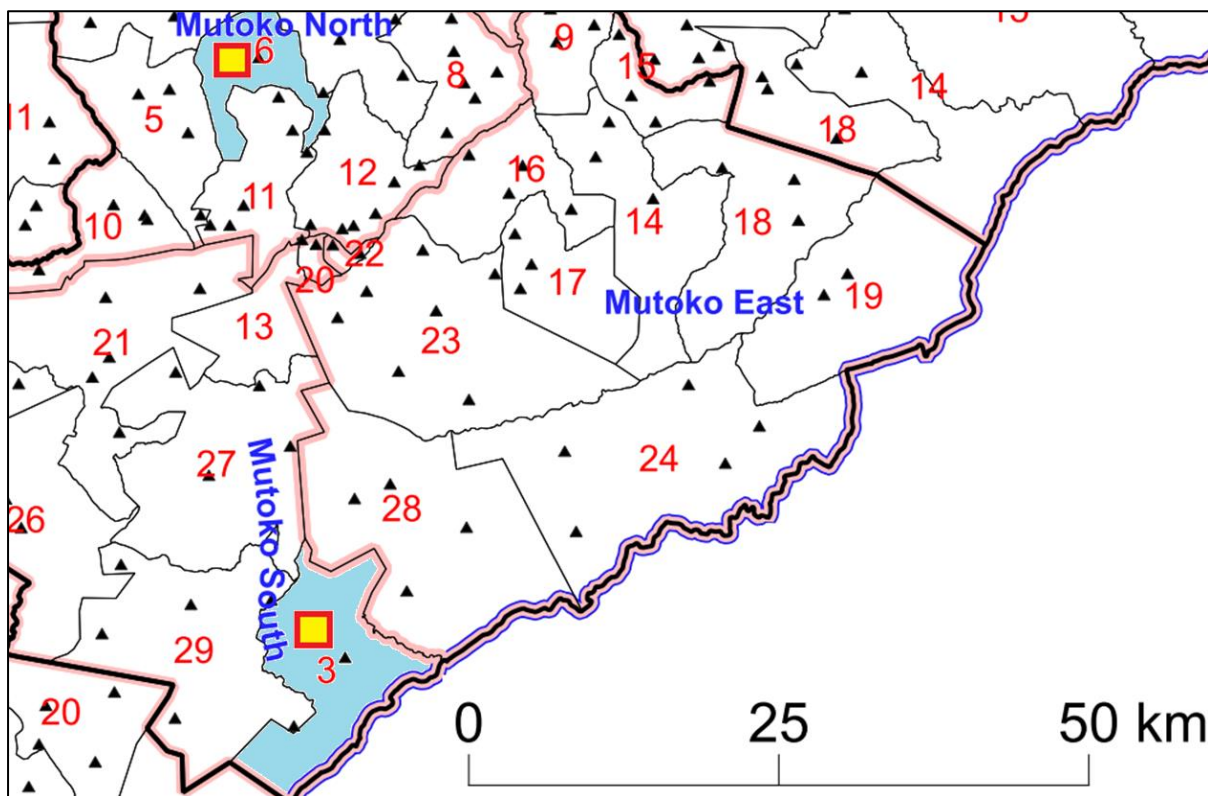


Figure 20 – Polling Station Allocated to Voters 50km Away – Mutoko

Source: Mashonaland East Provincial Map, ZEC (2022)

On page 180 of the delimitation report, ZEC lists the polling station **4800MTK0303** as servicing both Mutoko RDC Ward 3 and 6 voters. Ward 3 is in Mutoko South Constituency while Ward 6 is in Mutoko North Constituency. There are three wards in-between spanning a total distance of almost 50Km. Breaking down the polling station code, 4800MTK**0303**, it is evident that this polling station is located in Mutoko District

[48; MTK] RDC [00], Ward 3 [03], and is the third polling area in this ward [03]. Therefore, this polling station is located in Ward 3 and the voters who have been allocated this polling station and will be affected are in Ward 6.

Another example, but of polling stations within the same constituency, is polling area **7700TAK0102** located in Chirumanzu constituency Ward 1 under Takawira RDC. On page 441 of the delimitation report, ZEC allocated this polling station to Ward 1. However, on page 442 of the same report, ZEC also allocated the same polling station to Ward 8 voters, almost 20km away, and this is illustrated in Figure 21 below.

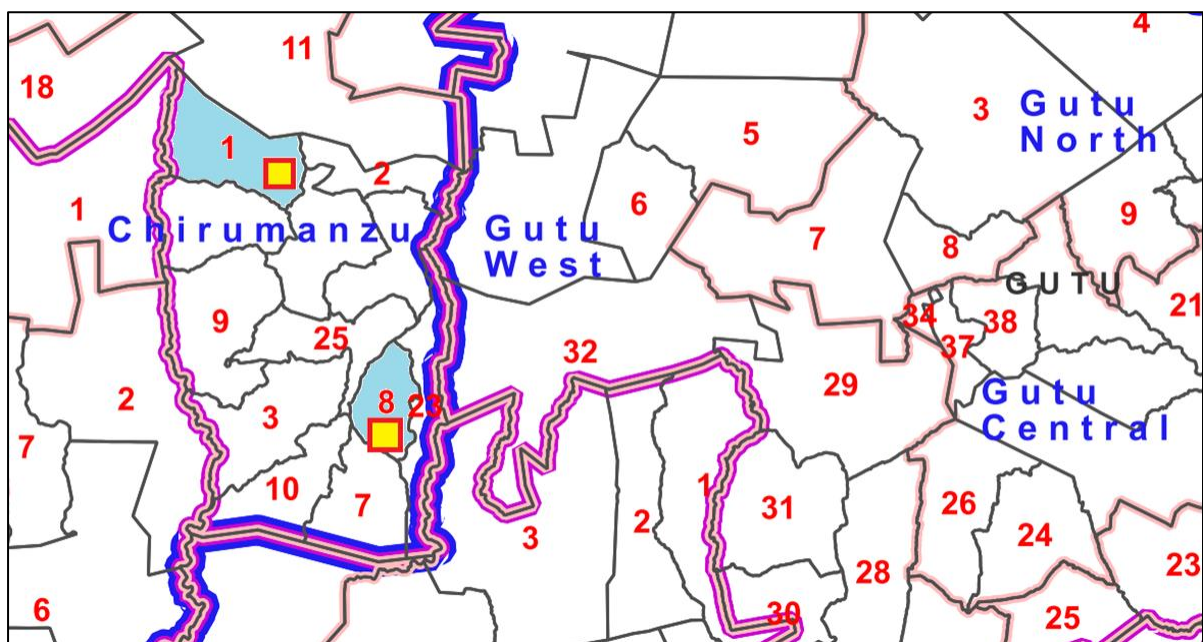


Figure 21 – Polling Station Allocated to Voters 20km Away – Chirumanzu

Source: National Wards Map, ZEC (2022)

From the foregoing, voters in Ward 8 will have to travel past three wards to get to their allocated polling station in Ward 1. These are only a few out of the many instances where wrong polling stations were allocated and this is a clear violation of the Electoral Act as well as the Constitution of Zimbabwe.

In the delimitation report, ZEC only provided a consolidated total number of voters per ward, but did not provide the disaggregated total number of voters for each station. Having the voters roll would have helped to quantify the number of voters who shall

be affected by these irrational and unprofessional misallocations, but sadly ZEC chose the illegal and unconstitutional option not to avail this delimitation voters roll.

3.3.2 Inconsistent and Inaccurate Voter Population Data

We further reviewed the voter population data which ZEC presented in the delimitation report. The optimal approach to determine the integrity of the data and its consistency throughout is to tally the aggregates from different levels of analysis. This section presents the consistency and accuracy calculations basing on the totals of the data from constituency data, local authority data and ward data, then comparing this against the official totals which ZEC mentioned.

3.3.2.1 Official National Voter Population vs Constituency Aggregate

We parsed and extracted all the 10 constituency tables (similar to page 84, 139 etc) then calculated the national voter population. The total number of voters based on the constituency data was **5,806,964**. We then compared this total to the official voter population which ZEC alleges to be **5,804,376** on page ix of the delimitation report. There was a difference of 2,588 unaccounted voters. For better clarity, we further aggregated the data by province and the results are presented in Table 1.

Table 1 – Official Voter Population vs Constituency Population, by Province

Province	Alleged Official	Constituency Aggregate	Discrepancy
Bulawayo Metropolitan	270,938	270,938	0
Harare Metropolitan	952,102	952,102	0
Manicaland	738,624	738,624	0
Mashonaland Central	536,463	536,463	0
Mashonaland East	641,668	644,256	-2,588
Mashonaland West	661,289	661,289	0
Masvingo	632,320	632,320	0
Matabeleland North	340,427	340,427	0
Matabeleland South	267,617	267,617	0
Midlands	762,928	762,928	0
Grand Total	5,804,376	5,806,964	-2,588

The results do confirm that there was a discrepancy in Mashonaland East. While the official voter population for Mashonaland East is 641,668, the constituency total for Mashonaland East is 644,256. The other provinces had no issues, at least for now.

3.3.2.2 Official National Voter Population vs Ward Aggregate

We proceeded to parse and extract all the 1970 individual wards from their respective Local Authority data tables from the delimitation report (eg. Page 1). We grouped them by province and calculated the overall provincial and national voter population. We compared these totals to the “official” provincial and national total. The totals are expected to be the same, if consistent, but we established that they were inconsistent. The aggregate total for the ward data is in fact **5,806,485**, and this is 2,109 voters more than the official total voters of 5,804,376 as shown in Table 2.

Table 2 – Official Voter Population vs Ward Population, by Province

Province	Alleged Official	Ward Aggregate	Discrepancy
Bulawayo Metropolitan	270,938	270,938	0
Harare Metropolitan	952,102	952,102	0
Manicaland	738,624	738,724	100
Mashonaland Central	536,463	536,470	7
Mashonaland East	641,668	641,669	1
Mashonaland West	661,289	663,289	2000
Masvingo	632,320	632,320	0
Matabeleland North	340,427	340,427	0
Matabeleland South	267,617	267,617	0
Midlands	762,928	762,929	-1
Grand Total	5,804,376	5,806,485	2109

From Table 2, the major discrepancy was in Mashonaland West where there were 2,000 more voters, followed by Manicaland (100 voters), then minor discrepancies were observed for Mashonaland Central, Mashonaland East and Midlands.

In the previous section, based on the constituency data, Mashonaland East had a discrepancy of 2,588 votes, but based on the ward data, the discrepancy was now just 1 voter. This confirms that the data was not consistent at each level, with different levels of analysis from the report yielding different results. All in all, basing on the ward population data which ZEC provided yielded a third different population of 5,806,485, which is also different from the constituency total 5,806,964, and official 5,804,376.

3.3.2.3 Official Voter Population vs Constituency Ward Population, by Province

ZEC also presented the **constituency total voter population, by ward** (see Page 8 for instance). We parsed and extracted all the 210 constituencies and their reported ward voter populations from the delimitation report. This data was then aggregated by

province and we compared the totals with the “official” provincial and national total. The national totals again failed to tally. Based on this data, the overall national total was now a fourth different **5,798,059**; the overall discrepancy being 6,317. Table 3 presents the comparison of the findings.

Table 3 – Official Voter Population vs Constituency Ward Population

Province	Alleged Official	Constituency Ward Aggregate	Discrepancy
Bulawayo Metropolitan	270,938	270,938	0
Harare Metropolitan	952,102	952,072	30
Manicaland	738,624	739,427	-803
Mashonaland Central	536,463	529,371	7,092
Mashonaland East	641,668	641,668	0
Mashonaland West	661,289	661,290	-1
Masvingo	632,320	632,320	0
Matabeleland North	340,427	340,427	0
Matabeleland South	267,617	267,617	0
Midlands	762,928	762,929	-1
Grand Total	5,804,376	5,798,059	6,317

The major discrepancy was in Mashonaland Central whose official voter population on page ix of the preliminary delimitation report was 536,463, and this was 7,092 voters higher than the calculated total of 529,371. To identify the problem constituencies, we further compared the constituency ward aggregate totals in Mashonaland Central (see Pages 139-148 of the delimitation report) against the provincial summary of the constituency populations (page 139) and confirmed that the discrepancy stemmed from two Mashonaland Central constituencies, that is, Mt Darwin South and Mt Darwin West. On page 139 of the delimitation report, ZEC reports the population of Mt Darwin South to be 29,624 and that of Mt Darwin West to be 29,025. However, on page 145, ZEC reports the ward total population for Mt Darwin South to be 25,532, while on the same page, the ward total population for Mt Darwin West is now 26,025.

We further investigated the Manicaland discrepancy of 861 voters and traced these to Buhera Constituency. On page 85 of the delimitation report, ZEC reports a total of 24,493 in the table title, however, for the aggregate total for Buhera Central, ZEC reported a false summation of 25,296 resulting in the mismatch. With respect to Harare province, we tracked the discrepancy of 30 to Zengeza West constituency. On page 37 of the report, ZEC reports the total population of Zengeza West to be 31,669. However, the actual total for the five wards is in fact 31,699, which is where the difference stems from. While Marondera East constituency did not have a discrepancy

above because of the ward data we had used, it is worth noting that the total of 25,117 that ZEC reported on the report pages 192 and 196 were both incorrect. Rather, the ward consolidated total for Marondera East of 22,529 was the correct population size. All these are huge discrepancies trigger questions around the integrity of the ZEC data as well as the overall accuracy of the ZEC's constituency and ward size calculations.

3.3.2.4 Reported Ward vs Constituency Disaggregated Ward Population

In the delimitation report, ZEC presented the 1,970 wards by Local Authority and their respective voter populations (see page 1). ZEC also presented the distribution of the same wards by constituency (see page 8). In the previous section, we used the **reported constituency totals** and compared with the official total. However, we proceeded to extract the **individual ward voter populations** from each and every constituency, not the reported total. We then calculated the national voter population using the two datasets. We found 30 wards that had voter population discrepancies and these are presented in Table 4 below.

Table 4 – LA Ward Population vs Constituency Ward Population

Constituency	Local Authority	WARD	Ward POP Reported	Ward POP by Constituency	Discrepancy
Headlands	Makoni RDC	20	2384	2284	100
Guruve North	Guruve RDC	16	1994	1993	1
Mbire	Mbire RDC	15	2065	2059	6
Mt Darwin East	Pfura RDC	9	2726	1722	1004
Mt Darwin East	Rushinga RDC	9	1722	2726	-1004
Chikomba West	Chikomba RDC	8	2198	2197	1
Wedza South	Chikomba RDC	22	1719	1766	-47
Wedza North	Marondera RDC	8	2262	2253	9
Wedza North	Marondera RDC	10	2238	1979	259
Wedza North	Marondera RDC	11	2587	1660	927
Hurungwe East	Hurungwe RDC	14	4404	4405	-1
Kadoma Central	Kadoma City Council	9	2358	2592	-234
Mhangura	Makonde RDC	2	3998	2951	1047
Mhangura	Makonde RDC	3	3537	3216	321
Mhangura	Makonde RDC	4	3358	2966	392
Mhangura	Makonde RDC	5	2909	3459	-550
Mhangura	Makonde RDC	6	2944	3998	-1054
Mhangura	Makonde RDC	10	2951	3537	-586
Mhangura	Makonde RDC	11	3216	3358	-142
Mhangura	Makonde RDC	13	2966	2909	57
Mhangura	Makonde RDC	15	3693	2944	749
Zvimba South	Zvimba RDC	22	3005	3703	-698
Zvimba East	Zvimba RDC	29	3377	3889	-512
Zvimba South	Zvimba RDC	34	3703	3005	698
Bubi	Bubi RDC	19	1158	1234	-76
Bubi	Bubi RDC	23	1234	1158	76
Umzingwane	Umzingwane RDC	11	1095	1096	-1
Chirumanzu	Takawira RDC	25	1854	1812	42
Vungu	Vungu RDC	4	2476	2477	-1
Vungu	Vungu RDC	15	2642	2643	-1

None of the totals matched the overall official total population of 5,804,376 voters. The national voter population based the local authority ward data was 5,806,485 while disaggregated constituency ward voter population was now **5,805,703**, a fifth total. We found most of the discrepancies in Makonde RDC where 9 wards were affected. These are Ward 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 10, 11, 13 and 15 and are better illustrated in Figure 22.

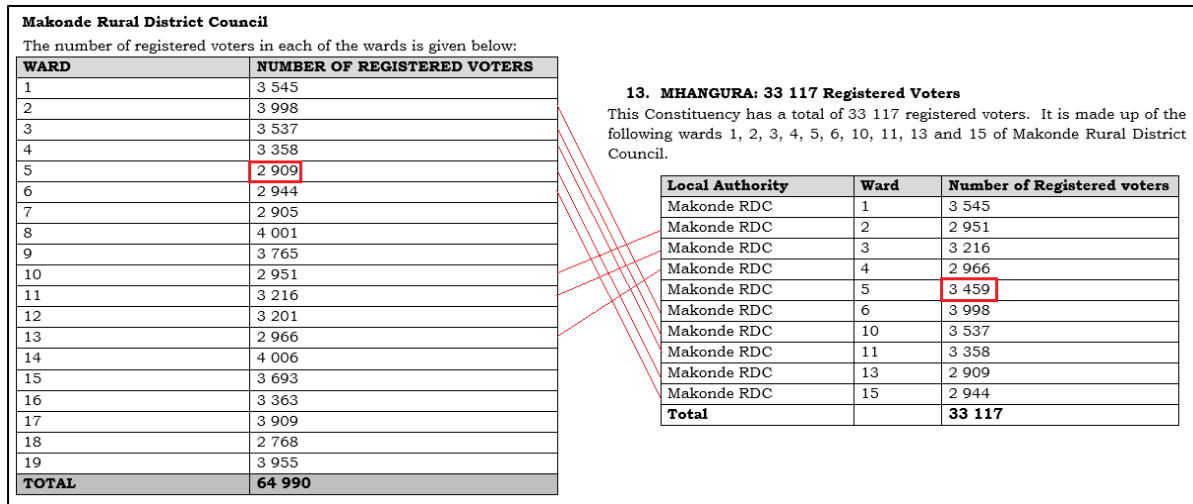


Figure 22 – Constituency vs Local Authority Ward Discrepancies – Makonde RDC
Source: ZEC Preliminary Delimitation Report, pp 228 & 255

For Makonde RDC, this is a possible human error where, for instance, the Local Authority data population for Makonde RDC Ward 2 (3,998) on page 228 was transposed with the Mhangura Constituency population for Makonde RDC Ward 6 (3,998). The major problem with the above lies with the fact that from the Mhangura Constituency data, Ward 5 had a unique voter population that could not be mapped to any of the Makonde RDC ward data. In fact, the Local Authority data for Makonde RDC Ward 5 reports a population of 2,909, which was obviously erroneously transposed with Mhangura Constituency Ward 13. The net effect of the error would be inconsequential to the Local Authority and constituency totals if all the problem wards mapped to each other. The fact that Ward 5 population does not match between the two presents a challenge as this affects both the LA total as well as the national total.

On top of the above discussed concerns, from Figure 22, ZEC reported the Mhangura Constituency total as 33,117. However, adding the ward totals gives a totally different total of 32,883, that is, a gap of 234 voters. This implies that either the Makonde RDC ward data is wrong, or the Mhangura Constituency ward data is wrong, or both are

wrong. Unfortunately, we could not confirm the correct figures without the voters roll, but we could only infer and qualify the poor data integrity from these inconsistencies.

To further investigate the discrepancies in Table 4 above, we compared the reported constituency total population, for instance, the 32,764 for Zvimba East on page 251 against the population from the respective wards under that constituency on page 260. The results are presented in Figure 23 showing the correct calculation.

19. ZVIMBA EAST: 32 764 Registered Voters
 This Constituency has a total of 32 764 registered voters. It is made up of wards 1, 7, 9, 10, 11, 24, 25, 26, 28 and 35 of Zvimba Rural District Council.

Local Authority	Ward	Registered voters
Zvimba RDC	1	4 675
Zvimba RDC	29	3 889
Zvimba RDC	9	3 362
Zvimba RDC	10	3 583
Zvimba RDC	11	3 170
Zvimba RDC	24	3810
Zvimba RDC	25	2 821
Zvimba RDC	26	3 582
Zvimba RDC	28	2 998
Zvimba RDC	35	3 386
Total		32 764

35,276

Figure 23 – Excerpt exposing an Illegal Constituency

Source: ZEC Preliminary Delimitation Report, pp 260

The actual aggregate of the Ward population sizes for Zvimba East constituency is 35,276 and not the 32,764 which ZEC presented. This is 2,512 voters more than the officially reported size. Effectively, based on the ZEC data this means that Zvimba East constituency violates Section 161(6) of the constitution using ZEC’s own methodology since the voter population was now above ZEC’s maximum threshold of 33,169 voters (see page xi of the delimitation report). In this case, ZEC under-reported the actual size of an unconstitutionally over-sized Zvimba East constituency.

It’s cases like these where having access to the delimitation voters roll would probably vindicate ZEC if there was truly a genuine error, but without access, these potentially fraudulent cases further widen the trust rift between the electorate and ZEC. Using this method, we also confirmed the findings in the preceding table on Mt Darwin South and

Mt Darwin West, along with other examples such as the Wedza North constituency whose population ZEC over-reports by 1,195 voters as 28,465 on page 202 of the report when in fact the actual summation of the population is 27,270. This was also witnessed for Chirumanzu constituency in Midlands whose reported population is 22,732 on page 461, and on its respective ward breakdown on page 462. However, re-adding the ward populations in this constituency results in a different population of 22,690. Another example is Wedza South which had **3 different voter populations**.

22. WEDZA SOUTH: 25 385 Registered Voters
 The constituency has 25 385 registered voters. It is made up of the following wards 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 and 13 of Wedza Rural District Council and Wards 22, 23, 24, 28, 29 and 30 of Chikomba Rural district Council.

Local Authority	Ward	Number of Registered Voters
Wedza RDC	7	2 480
Wedza RDC	8	2 167
Wedza RDC	9	2 274
Wedza RDC	10	2 253
Wedza RDC	11	1 979
Wedza RDC	12	1 660
Wedza RDC	13	1 828
Chikomba RDC	22	1 766
Chikomba RDC	24	2 199
Chikomba RDC	28	1 766
Chikomba RDC	29	2 122
Chikomba RDC	30	1 470
Total		23 917

23,964

Figure 24 – Constituency with 3 Different Populations, Wedza South
 Source: ZEC Preliminary Delimitation Report, pp 203

On page 192 on the Mashonaland East National Assembly constituency populations, ZEC reported that Wedza South had **25,385** registered voters and this is also reported on the ward breakdown of the constituency of page 203. However, ZEC then goes ahead to report an aggregate total of **23,917** voters which self-contradicts with the earlier reported total. Most importantly, both these totals turn out to be all wrong when the wards' totals are summed up as they now give a different total of **23,964**. Thus, based on ZEC data, for Wedza South, we have three completely different populations.

Another case in point is Silobela Constituency. On page 473-474 of the delimitation report, ZEC reports the total population for the constituency to be 28,521. However,

from the correct summation of the ward population data in that constituency, the total is 25,854 which is a difference of 2,667 voters. On the same page 474, ZEC reports the total population for Vungu constituency as 26,101. However, the correct total from the ward totals is, in fact, 26,103. Similar discrepancies are prevalent throughout the report. These numerical contradictions have one implication that there are very serious numerical flaws in the delimitation report. The only way to confirm the correct numbers is through the primary data source, that is, the voters roll, which, unfortunately, ZEC does not want anyone to have access to in contravention of the law.

Further, amongst these discrepancies, were those that did not have a net effect on the national total, but affected the Local Authority total, thereby rendering the subsequent ward size threshold calculations problematic. One typical example is Pfura RDC Ward 9, which on page 129 has a voter population of 2,726, but when cross referenced to its respective constituency data on page 144, the voter population changes to 1,722. This is a possible transposition error with Rushinga RDC Ward 9. The list in Table 4 above also has discrepancies whose net effect affects the national total such as Marondera RDC Ward 11 whose reported ward population is 2,587 on page 166, but the respective constituency disaggregated total for the ward is just 1,660 on page 202. To further add clarity, below is a case study of Kadoma Municipality Ward 9.

9. KADOMA CENTRAL: 32 277 Registered Voters			Kadoma Municipality	
This Constituency has a total of 32 277 registered voters. It comprises wards 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13 and 17 of Kadoma Municipality.			The number of registered voters in each of the wards is given below:	
Local Authority	Ward	Number of Registered voters	Ward	NUMBER OF REGISTERED VOTERS
Kadoma City Council	2	2 841	1	3 017
Kadoma City Council	3	2 787	2	2 841
Kadoma City Council	4	3 417	3	2 787
Kadoma City Council	5	3 343	4	3 417
Kadoma City Council	6	2 991	5	3 343
Kadoma City Council	8	2 646	6	2 991
Kadoma City Council	9	2 592	7	2 869
Kadoma City Council	11	3 258	8	2 646
Kadoma City Council	12	2 746	9	2 358
Kadoma City Council	13	3 327	10	3 037
Kadoma City Council	17	2 563	11	3 258
Total		32 277 32,511	12	2 746
			13	3 327
			14	2 477
			15	2 592
			16	3 010
			17	2 563
			TOTAL	49 279

Figure 25 – Constituency vs Local Authority Ward Discrepancies – Kadoma
 Source: ZEC Preliminary Delimitation Report, pp 221 & 255

Firstly, it is worth reiterating that ZEC erroneously used the Local Authorities Kadoma Municipality and Kadoma City Council interchangeably. Back to the figures, on the

ward by constituency table for Kadoma Central Constituency, ZEC reports that the voter population of Ward 9 is 2,592, but this contradicts with the ward by local authority table on page 255, whose total for the same ward is 2,358.

Also, worth noting is that ZEC presents the Kadoma Central Constituency total as 32,277, yet the actual total population for Kadoma Central Constituency based on the disaggregated ward population is 32,511. Unfortunately, while it is glaringly clear that the data that ZEC reported is riddled with inconsistencies, there was no way to distinguish correct totals from incorrect totals given ZEC's illegal and unconstitutional secrecy around the voters roll.

3.3.2.5 Official Local Authority Population vs LA Ward Population

On page 483 of the Preliminary Delimitation Report, ZEC reported the Local Authority population sizes as at 30 May 2022 (Schedule 3). ZEC also reported the individual Local Authority totals after the delimitation (see page 1). We calculated the overall national voter population before delimitation using the Schedule 3 LA and confirmed 5,804,376. However, using the Local Authority totals provided by ZEC after delimitation (see page 1), the national voter population became **5,804,076** which is the **sixth totally different national total**. Table 5 shows the major discrepancies.

Table 5 – Local Authority Population Discrepancies

Province	Local Authority	Schedule 3	Reported	Discrepancy
		LA Total	LA Total	
Mashonaland West	Chirundu Local Board	5,970	1,655	4,315
Mashonaland West	Hurungwe RDC	113,586	117,901	-4,315
Matabeleland North	Kusile RDC	34,881	36,290	-1,409
Matabeleland North	Lupane Local Board	3,056	1,647	1,409
Manicaland	Makoni RDC	105,858	103,598	2,260
Mashonaland Central	Mazowe RDC	104,376	103,031	1,345
Mashonaland Central	Mvurwi Town Council	3,369	4,714	-1,345
Manicaland	Rusape Town Council	14,944	17,304	-2,360
Midlands	Takawira RDC	41,837	41,975	-138
Midlands	Tongogara RDC	42,039	41,901	138
Matabeleland North	Tsholotsho RDC	38,619	38,219	400
Total (including all other omitted LAs)		5,804,376	5,804,076	300

Above, there are some genuine movements of voters. For instance, Chirundu Local Board wards, Lupane Local Board wards, Mvurwi Town Council wards. These have bona fide new wards which affected the population for Hurungwe RDC, Kusile RDC and Mazowe RDC respectively. ZEC had also acknowledged on pages 127, 215 and

340 of the preliminary delimitation report to have erroneously omitted the inclusion of voters in these local authorities at time of the report's publication. There was also a bona fide movement of 138 voters from Tongogara RDC to Takawira RDC. The overall net effect of these discrepancies on the national voter population was zero, and these were inconsequential. However, the remaining discrepancies were between Makoni RDC and Rusape Town Council, as well as Tsholotsho RDC on its own.

The Makoni RDC and Rusape Town Council discrepancy involved the sanctioned movement of voters which resulted in non-tallying totals. On page 56 of the preliminary delimitation report, ZEC acknowledges the movement of 2,260 Makoni RDC Ward 16 voters to Rusape Town Council. However, from Table 5 above, there is a net inflow of 2,360 voters, but the net outflow is 2,260 from Makoni RDC, which is a difference of 100 phantom voters. We failed to account of these 100 voters and failed to identify where the discrepancy might have arisen from. With respect to Tsholotsho RDC, we managed to track the source of the discrepancy. On page 485 of the report, ZEC indicated that the 30 May 2022 Local Authority Voter population for Tsholotsho RDC was 38,619. However, in the same delimitation report on page 346, ZEC reported that the post-delimitation population for Tsholotsho was now 38,219, which offsets the pre-delimitation total population for the local authority by 400 voters.

3.3.2.6 Inconsistent Delimitation Voters Roll Population

The above findings do question the integrity of the data used by ZEC. The fact that we found six different national voter population totals is reflective of how shambolic the raw data ZEC used is. In this section, we submit our concerns and reservations regarding the integrity of the voters roll which ZEC used.

On page viii of the delimitation report, **ZEC lied** when they said, "*The voters' roll for delimitation closed on 30 May 2022 and as at that date, the country had 5,804,376... **An inspection of the voters' roll** was conducted to allow voters to inspect the voters roll and to make corrections **BEFORE this national figure was arrived at.**" As a matter of fact, the inspection of the delimitation voters roll was only carried out from 17-26 July 2022 (Appendix G), not before 30 May 2022 as claimed. Therefore, ZEC presents the impression that on 30 May, the voters roll had been inspected and the*

total which they report throughout the delimitation report was accurate as at that date, which is **incorrect**. Most importantly, the problem with that statement is that it gives the impression that the overall total could only have been arrived at **after** inspection, and since we know that the delimitation roll inspection was conducted in June, we are also aware the ZEC Gazetted the intention to remove **32,010 deceased voters** on 31 May 2022 (Appendix H), a day after the closure of the delimitation roll, and also made extensive changes to 180,000 records in June and July 2022 (Appendix J).

ZEC has not been transparent on whether the voters roll they used for the delimitation retained **ALL** the entries as at 30 May as they claim, or whether it now excluded the deceased voters that ZEC later removed 7 days later after 31 May. The final voter population was only published five months later on 16 October 2022 before which there were further changes to the voters roll such as the further removal of 6,533 deceased in August 2022 (General Notice 1470 of 2022); further alterations (General Notice 1411C of 2022; GN1411D; GN1411E), and most importantly, the removal of a further 17,541 deceased voters which was Gazetted on 11 October 2022 (Appendix I), just 5 days before the publication of the delimitation population size. Being marred in secrecy, the integrity of the delimitation voters roll is thus inherently questionable.

To further investigate this, we compared the delimitation voter population published by ZEC on pages 478-483 of their report with the population from the February 2022 version of the national voters roll. There is a difference of 197,450 voters and these can be largely be attributed to the voter registration blitz that was conducted prior to the delimitation. Table 6 presents the top 25 differences between the two voters rolls.

From February to May 2022 when ZEC allegedly closed the delimitation voters roll, the voter population of Harare South constituency increased by 8,948 voters, and this was the highest among all other constituencies. This is an important anomaly to investigate, but without the delimitation voters roll, it is impossible to determine their demographic profiles and where these voters were previously registered. The second highest improvement was Budiriro constituency, which gained 4,975 voters, with the third being Harare West which gained 3,296 voters. St. Marys constituency was the fourth highest, gaining 3,292 voters and the fifth was Chitungwiza South constituency

which gained 3,109 voters. All these constituencies were from Harare Metropolitan. Other notable improvements from other provinces were Mashonaland East {Goromonzi South, Seke, Marondera Central}; Manicaland {Dangamvura/Chikanga}, Mashonaland West Province {Chinhoyi, Norton}; Bulawayo Metropolitan {Pumula, Luveve} as well as Masvingo {Masvingo Urban}.

Table 6 – Top 25 Voter Population Change; Feb VR vs May Delimitation VR

	Province	Constituency	Feb 2022	May 2022	Gap
1	Harare Metropolitan	Harare South	75,482	84,430	8,948
2	Harare Metropolitan	Budiriro	49,719	54,694	4,975
3	Harare Metropolitan	Harare West	35,540	38,836	3,296
4	Harare Metropolitan	St Marys	28,888	32,180	3,292
5	Harare Metropolitan	Chitungwiza South	34,082	37,191	3,109
6	Mashonaland East	Goromonzi South	72,233	75,260	3,027
7	Harare Metropolitan	Kuwadzana	37,908	40,838	2,930
8	Manicaland	Dangamvura/Chikanga	60,343	63,042	2,699
9	Harare Metropolitan	Kuwadzana East	24,445	27,068	2,623
10	Harare Metropolitan	Chitungwiza North	26,877	29,383	2,506
11	Harare Metropolitan	Zengeza West	26,373	28,859	2,486
12	Harare Metropolitan	Mabvuku-Tafara	28,889	31,331	2,442
13	Harare Metropolitan	Dzivarasekwa	31,822	34,238	2,416
14	Mashonaland West	Chinhoyi	34,749	37,095	2,346
15	Mashonaland West	Norton	34,168	36,510	2,342
16	Mashonaland East	Seke	43,835	46,129	2,294
17	Bulawayo Metropolitan	Pumula	24,541	26,764	2,223
18	Harare Metropolitan	Highfield East	23,350	25,515	2,165
19	Harare Metropolitan	Zengeza East	25,222	27,383	2,161
20	Bulawayo Metropolitan	Luveve	34,178	36,327	2,149
21	Harare Metropolitan	Glenview North	17,755	19,854	2,099
22	Masvingo	Masvingo Urban	41,676	43,767	2,091
23	Harare Metropolitan	Hatfield	34,843	36,887	2,044
24	Mashonaland East	Marondera Central	28,556	30,527	1,971
25	Harare Metropolitan	Glenview South	20,166	22,126	1,960

The **major concerns** arise from the bottom 25 constituencies which are presented in Table 7 below. From this, it is evident that there was hardly any increase in the voter population for some of the constituencies particularly in Midlands between February 2022 and May 2022 when the delimitation voters roll closed. This is a huge anomaly. In fact, there were more voters in February than May for five of the constituencies. The most plausible explanation behind this may be attributed to large-scale constituency transfers, coupled with poor voter registration levels which might not have surpassed the removal of deceased voters. However, it would have been easier to establish the correct position had ZEC availed the final delimitation voters roll for auditing.

The bottom 5 constituencies were all from Midlands with the least improved being Gokwe-Chireya, followed by Zhombe, then Gokwe Mapfungautsi, Gokwe-Gumunyu

and Vungu. Other least improved voter populations in the bottom 25 from Midlands were for Silobela, Gokwe Sengwa, Mberengwa East, Shurugwi South, Gokwe Kana, Mberengwa West, and Shurugwi North.

Table 7 – Bottom 25 Voter Population Change; Feb VR vs May Delimitation VR

	Province	Constituency	Feb 2022	May 2022	Gap
186	Manicaland	Mutare North	37,516	37,701	185
187	Midlands	Silobela	28,331	28,515	184
188	Mashonaland Central	Guruve South	30,602	30,784	182
189	Manicaland	Makoni North	21,729	21,908	179
190	Mashonaland East	Chikomba Central	16,438	16,611	173
191	Mashonaland East	Marondera West	17,403	17,571	168
192	Mashonaland Central	Mt Darwin West	28,371	28,513	142
193	Midlands	Gokwe Sengwa	21,577	21,712	135
194	Manicaland	Buhera Central	26,867	26,998	131
195	Matabeleland North	Lupane East	20,051	20,172	121
196	Mashonaland West	Hurungwe West	23,711	23,832	121
197	Mashonaland East	Chikomba East	14,121	14,240	119
198	Midlands	Mberengwa East	16,589	16,707	118
199	Midlands	Shurugwi South	21,619	21,735	116
200	Matabeleland South	Beitbridge West	16,098	16,212	114
201	Midlands	Gokwe Kana	23,763	23,871	108
202	Midlands	Mberengwa West	15,601	15,694	93
203	Matabeleland North	Nkayi North	21,012	21,089	77
204	Matabeleland North	Hwange East	20,978	21,051	73
205	Midlands	Shurugwi North	32,309	32,340	31
206	Midlands	Vungu	24,995	24,972	-23
207	Midlands	2 Gokwe-Gumunyu	21,548	21,510	-38
208	Midlands	Gokwe Mapfungautsi	30,505	30,463	-42
209	Midlands	Zhombe	27,858	27,809	-49
210	Midlands	Gokwe-Chireya	27,445	27,386	-59

Nkayi North constituency and Hwange East constituency, both from Matabeleland North, were also among the bottom 10 constituencies in terms of improvements in voter population. Other notable poor population improvements from other provinces were: Matabeleland South Province {Beitbridge West}, Mashonaland East Province {Chikomba Central, Marondera West, Chikomba East}; Manicaland Province {Mutare North; Makoni North; Buhera Central}, Mashonaland West Province {Hurungwe West} and Mashonaland Central {Guruve South}. The above comparisons raise several questions regarding the final voters roll which ZEC used for delimitation.

Between February and 30 May 2022, we found only one documented instance where ZEC removed deceased voters from the roll (General Notice 269 of 2022). On 12 February, ZEC gazetted a list of only 761 deceased voters, among which only 3 were from Gokwe-Chireya, none of the deceased were from Zhombe, 8 were from Gokwe-Mapfungautsi, 2 were from Gokwe-Gumunyu and none were from Vungu. These

removals alone cannot warrant the poor increase in voter registration in light of the voter registration blitz that was conducted. Other plausible factors such as the manipulation of the voters' roll can explain this major discrepancy. This is the major reason why it is imperative for ZEC to be transparent and avail the delimitation voters roll as required by the law so that we can be able to audit these changes and highlight areas of concern. Unfortunately, the delimitation roll remains a state secret.

3.3.3 Inconsistent and Inaccurate Polling Station Data

In this section, we present the major discrepancies that we found with respect to the polling stations that ZEC listed in the delimitation report. To better understand this section, it is vital to understand how polling stations are coded. Each and every polling station has a code that is made up of 5-6 separate parts.

In the delimitation report, ZEC also defines the standard format for the code. However, they made a very serious blunder. The third part is not the district name, per se, but rather the local authority. Taking for instance, Chiredzi Town Council and Chiredzi Rural District Council, both are from the same Chiredzi district, however, their polling station codes are different. A typical Chiredzi Town Council polling station code appears as: 1401**CTC**0101, while a typical Chiredzi RDC appears as 1400**CHR**3208. Both have the same District Code 14, however, the third part which ZEC alleges to be the district is not. For Chiredzi Town Council, the abbreviation is CTC, while for the Chiredzi RDC this is CHR. These are different, albeit being from the same district because this third part is **NOT for the district, but local authority** as corrected below.

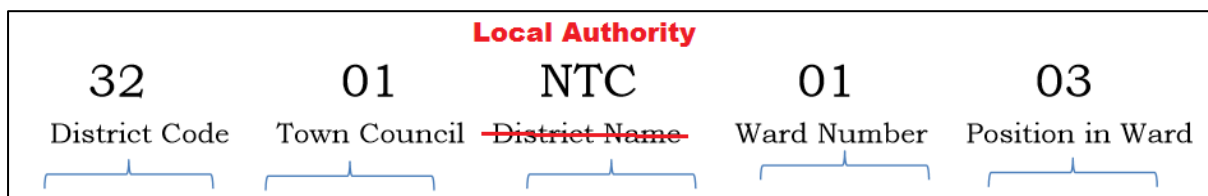


Figure 26 – Polling Station Code Format, Also Correcting ZEC
Source: Preliminary Delimitation Report, pp xvi

In Hwange District we have three Local Authorities, that is, Hwange Local Board (HLB) Victoria Falls Municipality (VIC) and Hwange RDC (HWA). The corresponding polling

station codes are: **7901HLB**0301, **7901VIC**0502, and **7900HWA**1201 respectively. The middle abbreviation is clearly not for the district Hwange as claimed by ZEC, but for the local authority. In Chegutu District, we have Chegutu Municipality (CHM) and Chegutu Rural District Council (CHE). In Gwanda District we have Gwanda Municipality (GWM) and Gwanda RDC (GWA), In Marondera District we have Marondera Municipality (MAM) and Marondera RDC (MAR) et cetera. All these are confirmations that ZEC made a mistake in the above illustration that showed how polling station codes are created by claiming that the abbreviation in the middle of the polling station code is for the district, when in fact, it is for the local authority.

Part 1: The first two digits define the district where the polling station is located and in the above example, 32 is for Chegutu District.

Part 2: The next two digits identify the type of local authority that the polling station is located in. This is either [00] or [01], depending with the local authority type. For rural areas, we have **Rural District Councils** and their code is [00]. For urban areas, we have **Municipalities** and **Town Councils**, and for peri-urban areas, we have **Local Boards**, and the code for all the three is [01].

Part 3: The third part is the abbreviation for the Local Authority, not district as claimed by ZEC. This can be three characters as in the case above, or in some cases 4 characters eg UMZN for Umzingwane.

Part 4: The next two digits after the district abbreviation identify the ward number. This is always written in two digits (e.g. 01 for Ward 1).

Part 5: The last two digits just simply serialise the polling stations in a ward from 01 for the first polling station, 02 for the second polling station et cetera.

Part 6: This will be a letter if there are sub-polling stations. In the case of polling areas with sub-polling stations, eg. City Hall in Bulawayo Central, each sub-polling station has a unique polling station code with a letter (A, B, C etc.) appended/suffixed to the polling area code, eg. 0801BYO0101A and 0801BYO0101B.

Having clarified the standard format of polling stations and how they are coded, the subsequent sections explore several aspects relating to polling stations where we identified discrepancies including, but not limited to duplicate polling stations, non-existent polling stations and the mixing up of polling stations.

3.3.3.1 Duplicate Polling Stations

In the delimitation report, ZEC reported some polling area codes twice. We identified 55 duplicate polling stations. Of these, 23 were duplicated within the same ward, while the other 32 were duplicated across different wards. This is very problematic since all polling stations should have a unique code. On page 51 of the delimitation report, ZEC reported that Ward 17 under Chipinge RDC has eight polling areas with codes: 1300CPG1701, 1300CPG1702, 1300CPG1703, 1300CPG1705, **1300CPG1706**, **1300CPG1706**, 1300CPG1707 and 1300CPG1708. This is illustrated below.

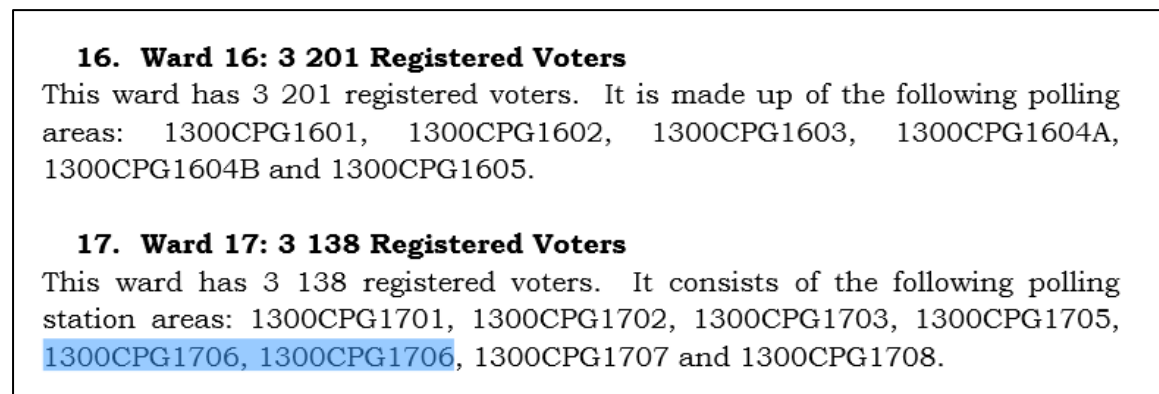


Figure 27 – Duplicate Polling Station Codes – Chipinge

Source: *Preliminary Delimitation Report, pp 51*

The polling station code 1300CPG1706 was duplicated in the same ward. The problem with this is that it becomes uncertain whether it was a mistake, or a typo that resulted in the duplicate given that **1300CPG1704** should be there and is missing. Either way, both scenarios have an effect on the actual total number of polling stations. To put this into perspective, we give an example of Norton Town Council Ward 13.

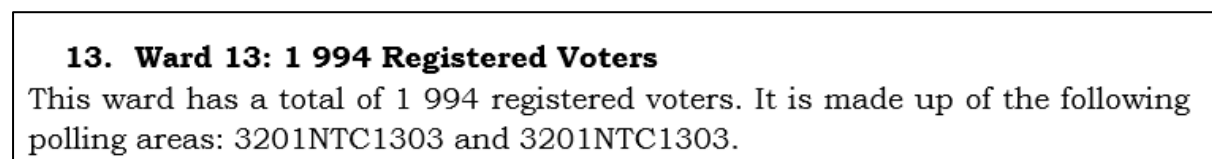


Figure 28 – Duplicate Polling Station Codes – Norton

Source: *Preliminary Delimitation Report, pp 237*

On page 237, ZEC states that there are two polling areas with codes 3201NTC1303 and 3201NTC1303. However, given the population of 1,994, this cannot be a single polling station since the maximum number of voters for any polling station is 1,000. Second, the numbering of polling areas in a ward should start with 01, not 03 as in the current case [013201NTC1303] and this is an indication that there are missing two polling areas in Ward 13. The subsequent total number of polling stations in this ward is not reflective of the actual correct number.

Also duplicated within the same ward were the stations **1800CHIK1003** Chikomba RDC Ward 10 (page 151 of the delimitation report), **2300GOS0103** Gokwe South RDC Ward 1 (page 412); **2300GOS2509** Gokwe South RDC Ward 25 (page 415) **2501RLB0401** Ruwa Local Board Ward 4 (page 185); **3800HUR2109, 3800HUR2110**, Hurungwe RDC Ward 21 (page 220); **3900MTB1101** Matobo RDC Ward 11 (page 389); **3900MTB1501** Matobo RDC Ward 15 (page 389); **4200MKI1904** Makoni RDC Ward 19 (page 58); **4200MKI2106** Makoni RDC Ward 21 (page 59); **5800ZRDC2805** Zibagwe RDC Ward 28 (page 458); **6301HRE2503, 6301HRE2504** Harare Municipality Ward 25 (page 24); **6301HRE2801** Harare Municipality Ward 28 (page 25); **6301HRE3205** Harare Municipality Ward 32 (page 26); **6301HRE3605** Harare Municipality Ward 36 (page 26); **6301HRE4401** Harare Municipality Ward 44 (page 28); **7100GVE0605** Guruve RDC Ward 6 (page 110); **7300TSH1603** Tsholotsho RDC Ward 16 (age 348); **8300ZKA3304** Zaka RDC Ward 33 (page 305) and lastly, **8600ZVI1802** Zvimba RDC Ward 18 (page 248).

This duplication of polling stations within the same wars, whether deliberate or an inadvertent human error, is a serious matter which ZEC should be transparent on how this came to be. ZEC also duplicated polling stations across wards. Table 8 presents the list of all polling stations that ZEC duplicated across wards and constituencies.

For these wards, ZEC created duplicate records and put the same polling station in two completely different wards, some of which were in two different constituencies. For instance, 4800MTK0303 on page 180 of the delimitation report was assigned to voters in both Mutoko South (Ward 3) and Mutoko North constituency (Ward 6). There were also instances where the polling station was duplicated across different wards, yet it belonged to neither of the wards. A typical example is the Kadoma polling station

2401KAD1603. This is a Ward 16 polling station, but on page 223 of the delimitation report, ZEC allocated it to Ward 12 and 13 respectively. Another such polling station is **2400SAN0502** from Sanyati. This is located in Ward 5 polling station, however on page 242 of the delimitation report, ZEC allocated this to both Ward 4 and Ward 9.

Table 8 – Duplicate Polling Stations across Different Wards

Polling Station	Local Authority	Wards with Duplicate P/S		Correct Ward
		First Ward	Second Ward	
0400BKT0205	Bikita RDC	Ward 2	Ward 1	Ward 2
0400BKT0805	Bikita RDC	Ward 8	Ward 7	Ward 8
0500BIN1003	Bindura RDC	Ward 10	Ward 13	Ward 10
0500BIN1101	Bindura RDC	Ward 11	Ward 12	Ward 11
0500BIN1102	Bindura RDC	Ward 11	Ward 12	Ward 11
0500BIN1103	Bindura RDC	Ward 11	Ward 12	Ward 11
0500BIN1104	Bindura RDC	Ward 11	Ward 12	Ward 11
0500BIN1105	Bindura RDC	Ward 11	Ward 12	Ward 11
0700BUH	Buhera RDC	Ward 19	Ward 23	-
1500MAZ0102	Mazowe RDC	Ward 1	Ward 4	Ward 1
1500MAZ3406	Mazowe RDC	Ward 34	Ward 35	Ward 34
2400SAN0108	Sanyati RDC	Ward 1	Ward 14	Ward 1
2400SAN0502	Sanyati RDC	Ward 9	Ward 4	Ward 5
2400SAN1301	Sanyati RDC	Ward 8	Ward 17	Ward 13
2401KAD1201	Kadoma Municipality	Ward 12	Ward 13	Ward 12
2401KAD1202	Kadoma Municipality	Ward 12	Ward 13	Ward 12
2401KAD1603	Kadoma Municipality	Ward 12	Ward 13	Ward 16
4100KUS0405	Kusile RDC	Ward 4	Ward 5	Ward 4
4301MAM0804	Marondera Municipality	Ward 8	Ward 11	Ward 8
4800MTK0303	Mutoko RDC	Ward 3	Ward 6	Ward 3
4800MTK0606	Mutoko RDC	Ward 11	Ward 6	Ward 6
5800ZRDC0106	Zibagwe RDC	Ward 1	Ward 2	Ward 1
5800ZRDC2304	Zibagwe RDC	Ward 23	Ward 24	Ward 23
5802RECM0503	Redcliff Municipality	Ward 5	Ward 6	Ward 5
7001CHIM0904	Chinhoyi Municipality	Ward 9	Ward 14	Ward 9
7001CHIM1001	Chinhoyi Municipality	Ward 10	Ward 1	Ward 10
7001CHIM1002	Chinhoyi Municipality	Ward 10	Ward 11	Ward 10
7001CHIM1003	Chinhoyi Municipality	Ward 10	Ward 1	Ward 10
7500MTR2001	Mutare RDC	Ward 20	Ward 14	Ward 20
7500MTR2002	Mutare RDC	Ward 20	Ward 13	Ward 20
7700TAK0102	Takawira RDC	Ward 1	Ward 8	Ward 1
7700TAK1502	Takawira RDC	Ward 15	Ward 16	Ward 15

These duplicates are very serious discrepancies which ZEC ought to clarify on as they can disenfranchise voters if the polling stations are very distant as was the case..

3.3.3.2 Non-Existent Polling Station Codes

We also found many non-existent polling station codes which ZEC had listed in the delimitation report. The first type are polling station codes that had non-existing district codes. For instance, District codes 17 and 74 do not exist in Zimbabwe. However, we found polling stations that ZEC claimed were from these non-existent districts. The excerpt in Figure 29 below from page 329 of the preliminary delimitation report shows polling stations with a fake district code 17.

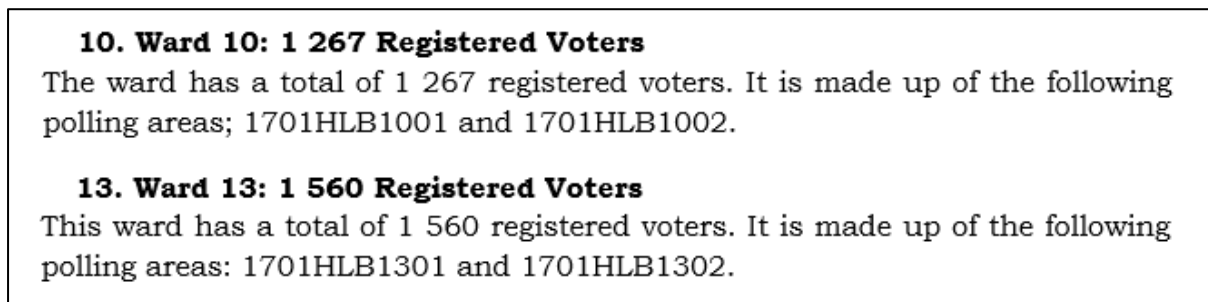


Figure 29 – Polling Stations with Fake District Code

Source: Preliminary Delimitation Report, pp 329

These polling stations {1701HLB1001, 1701HLB1002, 1701HLB1301, 1701HLB1302} are all fake. The district abbreviation HLB shows that the polling station falls under Hwange Local Board. However, the District Code for Hwange where Hwange Local Board is located is 79, not 17.

We also found polling stations with District code 74 under Mutare Municipality on page 63 of the delimitation report. These are 7401MUM0607, 7401MUM0705 as well as 7401MUM0707. District 74 does not exist in Zimbabwe and this makes these polling stations bogus. Another example was the polling station 000MAK0504 from Makonde Rural District Council. Nevertheless, with the prefix of 00, this is incorrect since the correct district code for Makonde District is 70. Sadly, ZEC failed to detect these loopholes before they published the report and neither did the parliament afterwards.

3.3.3.3 Wrong District on Polling Station Code

We also found cases where the polling station district code matched an existing district code, but was the wrong ward. For instance, on page 278 of the delimitation report,

ZEC lists **1300CHV1304** as being part of Chivi RDC. However, the code 13 is for Chipinge Rural District Council and not Chivi. Other related examples of non-existent polling station codes include cases like **59801KWE0803**, **59801KWE0703** and **59801KWE0603**, from Kwekwe Municipality illustrated in Figure 30.

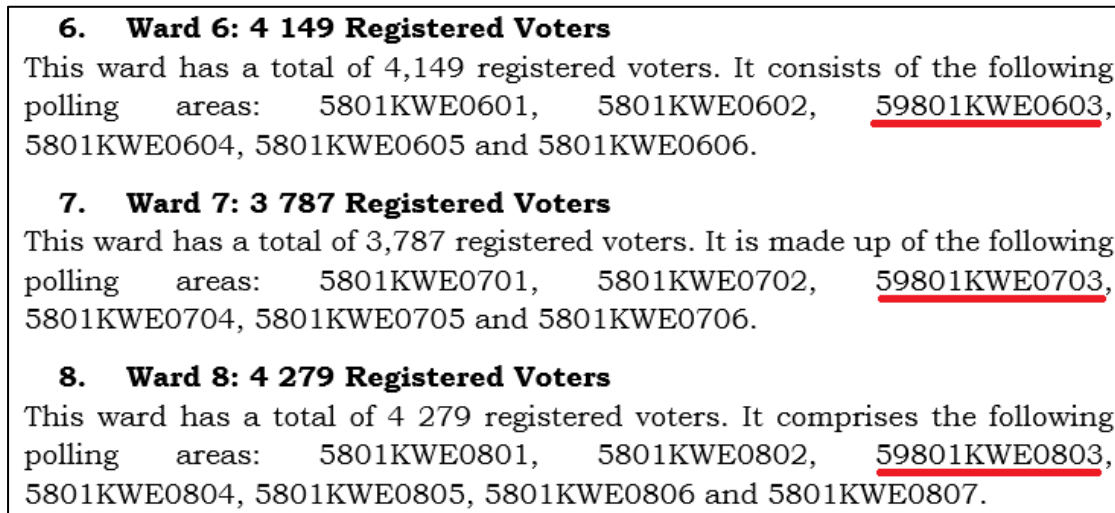


Figure 30 – Non-Existent Polling Station Codes – Kwekwe Municipality

Source: *Preliminary Delimitation Report*, pp 424

In the above instances, the first two digits are 59, which is the code for Manyame Rural District. However, given that there were five digits, with the third being 8, we could assume that this was as a result of human error since the correct district code for Kwekwe is 58. On pages 413 and 414 of the delimitation report, there are three Gokwe South Rural District Council polling station codes: **300GOS1102**, **300GOS1905** and **300GOS1805**. The first digits are not four as expected, but three. The correct district code for Gokwe South District is 23. However, from the provided polling station codes, they do not indicate that they are from District 23, which makes them invalid. This further exposes ZEC's sloppiness in failing to implement strict data quality standards.

3.3.3.4 Wrong Wards Assigned Polling Station

More concerning was the prevalence of polling stations that were assigned to the wrong polling stations. The ward where the polling station is located is obtained from the first two digits soon after the local authority abbreviation. For instance, given the polling station code: 2400SAN0209, this polling station is in Sanyati Ward 2. We found 160 polling stations which ZEC had assigned to the wrong constituencies. The majority

were in Sanyati RDC (50), followed by Mutare RDC (24), Kadoma Municipality (20), Bindura RDC (17), Runde RDC (11), Chinhoyi Municipality (7), then Chipinge RDC (6), Makoni RDC (6), and Zibagwe RDC (6). The remaining had frequencies below 5. The full list of wrongly assigned polling stations is presented in Appendix K. A case in point is Mutare RDC where we found are 24 wards out of 36 wards that are now overlapping across ward boundaries and in some instances, across constituencies. These overlaps are presented in Table 9 below.

Table 9 – Wrong Ward Assigned to Polling Stations – Mutare RDC

Polling Station	Constituency In Report	Ward in Report	Correct Ward	Correct Constituency
7500MTR0104	Makoni South	Ward 8	Ward 1	Mutare North
7500MTR1504	Mutare South	Ward 20	Ward 15	Mutare South
7500MTR1501	Mutare South	Ward 6	Ward 15	Mutare South
7500MTR1804	Mutare West	Ward 19	Ward 18	Mutare West
7500MTR2002	Mutare South	Ward 13	Ward 20	Mutare South
7500MTR2001	Mutare South	Ward 14	Ward 20	Mutare South
7500MTR2004	Mutare South	Ward 36	Ward 20	Mutare South
7500MTR2206	Mutare South	Ward 21	Ward 22	Chimanimani West
7500MTR2208	Mutare South	Ward 7	Ward 22	Chimanimani West
7500MTR2405	Mutare West	Ward 25	Ward 24	Mutare West
7500MTR2902	Mutare West	Ward 28	Ward 29	Mutare West
7500MTR0304	Mutare North	Ward 31	Ward 3	Mutare North
7500MTR0301	Mutare North	Ward 5	Ward 3	Mutare North
7500MTR3407	Mutare North	Ward 4	Ward 34	Mutare North
7500MTR0502	Mutare South	Ward 35	Ward 5	Mutare North
7500MTR0601	Mutare South	Ward 20	Ward 6	Mutare South
7500MTR0812	Mutare North	Ward 9	Ward 8	Makoni South
7500MTR0903	Mutare West	Ward 16	Ward 9	Mutare North
7500MTR0811	Mutare North	Ward 9	Ward 8	Makoni South
7500MTR0810	Mutare North	Ward 9	Ward 8	Makoni South
7500MTR3405	Mutare North	Ward 4	Ward 34	Mutare North
7500MTR0503	Mutare South	Ward 35	Ward 5	Mutare North
7500MTR0302	Mutare North	Ward 31	Ward 3	Mutare North
7500MTR2003	Mutare South	Ward 14	Ward 20	Mutare South

From the results above, the polling station 7500MTR0104 is located in Mutare RDC Ward 1 which is in Mutare North, but ZEC assigned this to Ward 8 which is in Makoni South. The Same applies to the polling station 7500MTR2206 which belongs to Mutare RDC Ward 22 in Chimanimani West Constituency, as listed on page 87 of the report, but was listed as being part of Ward 21 under Mutare South constituency. These discrepancies expose the poor state of the delimitation data.

3.3.3.5 Invalid Local Authority Abbreviation

Each and every polling station includes an abbreviated local authority code. Due to the lack of quality assurance standards at ZEC, we found many polling stations with invalid contractions. For instance, ZEC contracted Bulilima RDC as BML instead of BLM for the polling stations 5600BML2003 and 5600BML2002 on page 373 of the report. ZEC also erroneously abbreviated Chipinge RDC as CPGP instead of CPG for the polling stations 1300CPGP0704, 1300CPGP0703, 1300CPGP0702 and 1300CPGP0701 on page 50 of the delimitation report as illustrated in Figure 31.

7. Ward 7: 3 368 Registered Voters
This ward has 3 368 registered voters. It is made up of the following polling areas: 1300CPGP0701, 1300CPGP0702, 1300CPGP0703 and 1300CPGP0704.

Figure 31 – Non-Existent Local Authority Contraction – Chipinge RDC

Source: *Preliminary Delimitation Report, pp 50*

These errors were most common in Insiza RDC where 26 polling stations use an invalid contraction NIZ in lieu of INZ as illustrated in Figure 32.

20. Ward 20: 1 764 Registered Voters
This ward has a total of 1 764 registered voters. It consists of the following polling areas: 2100NIZ2002, 2100NIZ2003 and 2100NIZ2008.

21. Ward 21: 2 041 Registered Voters
This ward has a total of 2 041 registered voters. It comprises the following polling areas: 2100NIZ2103, 2100NIZ2104, 2100NIZ2105 and 2100NIZ2106.

22. Ward 22: 1 969 Registered Voters
This ward has a total of 1 969 registered voters. It is made up of the following polling areas: 2100NIZ2201, 2100NIZ2203, 2100NIZ2205 and 2100NIZ2206.

23. Ward 23: 1 809 Registered Voters
This ward has a total of 1 809 registered voters. It consists of the following polling areas: 2100NIZ2301, 2100NIZ2302, 2100NIZ2303 and 2100NIZ2304.

Figure 32 – Non-Existent Local Authority Contraction – Insiza RDC

Source: *Preliminary Delimitation Report, pp 383 (c.f. pp 381)*

These errors were also found in Nkayi RDC where ZEC ill-contracted Nkayi as NK in lieu of NKY. For instance, on page 345 of the delimitation report there is 5300NK3005, 5300NK3004, 5300NK3003, 5300NK3002, 5300NK3001, and 5300NK2905. Others completely excluded the contraction, such as polling station 39002403 in Matobo RDC, page 390. These discrepancies all point to the poor data quality assurance.

3.3.3.6 Invalid Polling Station Format

As clarified in the introduction of this section, a valid polling station code format has 8 digits, four digits before the local authority contraction and four after. The first two on the far left are for the district code, the next two on the left side are for the type of local authority, while two at the far right are for the position of the polling station in a ward and the other two immediately after the local authority abbreviation are for the ward. Below is an extract of valid polling station codes from a 2018 ZEC polling station list.

CONSTITUENCY	LOCAL AUTHORITY	WARD	POLLING STATION NAME	POLLING STATION CODE
Zvimba South	Zvimba RDC	22	Sacred Heart Secondary School	8600ZVI2204
Zvimba South	Zvimba RDC	23	Banket (St Joseph Catholic) Primary School	8600ZVI2301
Zvimba South	Zvimba RDC	23	Kuwadzana Community Hall	8600ZVI2302
Zvimba South	Zvimba RDC	32	Bhachi Primary School	8600ZVI3201
Zvimba South	Zvimba RDC	32	Maquadzi Primary School	8600ZVI3202
Zvimba South	Zvimba RDC	32	Mimosa Farm Tent	8600ZVI3203
Zvimba South	Zvimba RDC	32	Northwood Farm Tent	8600ZVI3204

Figure 33 – Valid Polling Station Codes – Zvimba

Source: ZEC 2018 Polling Station List

Nevertheless, there were many polling stations that were invalid for many factors, the majority having inadequate digits. A case in point is Zvimba RDC on page 246.

<p>2. Ward 2: 3 420 Registered Voters</p> <p>The ward has a total of 3 420 registered voters. It consists of the following polling areas: 8600ZVI0201, 8600ZVI860202, 8600ZVI860203, 8600ZVI860204, 8600ZVI860205 and 8600ZVI860206.</p>

Figure 34 – Invalid Polling Station Codes – Zvimba

Source: Preliminary Delimitation Report, pp 246

These are invalid polling station codes with 10 digits instead of 8 digits. The same was found in Gutu RDC for instance the polling station 2700GTU270506, which had more digits than expected. Another example is Chipinge RDC Ward 28.

<p>28. Ward 28: 3 400 Registered Voters</p> <p>This ward has 3 400 registered voters. It is made up of the following polling areas: 1300CPG20801, 1300CPG20802, 1300CPG20806, 1300CPG20803, 1300CPG20804 and 1300CPG20805.</p>

Figure 35 – Non-Existent Polling Station Codes – Chipinge RDC Ward 28

Source: Preliminary Delimitation Report, pp 52

All the polling station codes in Ward 28 are wrong. There are five digits at the end instead of four. Further reviewing, we could see that the ward should be 28, but was represented as 208, which could likely be a human error. Another example from

Chipinge is the polling station 1300CPG25B (page 52) which excludes the last two digits after the ward code. ZEC sometimes erroneously assigned these bad codes to the ward part of the code by assigning an extra digit as below.

10. Ward 10: 1 264 Registered Voters

This ward has a total of 1 264 registered voters. It is made up of the following polling areas: 2801GWM1003, 2801GWM01004 and 2801GWM1005.

Figure 36 – Non-Existent Polling Station Code – Gwanda Municipality Ward 10
Source: Preliminary Delimitation Report, pp 379

The above polling station can be easily mistaken as a polling station from Ward 01, yet it is from Ward 10. In Mutare Rural District Council Ward 27 there is a bad code 7500MTR27601 (page 70) which should have been 7500MTR2701 after excluding the 6. In Umguza Rural District Council Ward 12 there is another bad code 68400UMG1212 (page 352) where the district code can be mistaken with 68, yet it was supposed to start with 84. There are many other non-existent polling station codes such as 1800CHIK001 Chikomba Rural District Council Ward 1 (page 150); 6600TON0302t Tongogara RDC Ward 3 (page 445), et cetera.

On the other hand, 0700BUH290 Buhera RDC Ward 29 (page 43) and these two stations from Marondera Municipality 4301MAM050 and 4301MAM010 (pages 163-164) were shorter and one can only tell the ward, but not the position of the polling stations in the ward: The same was witnessed many other local authorities, for instance Bindura RDC 0500BIN200 on page 103 of the report; Chegutu RDC 3200CHE150 on page 210, Gwanda on page 375: RDC2800GWA010. Other local authorities had invalid 6-digit polling station codes eg., Pfura RDC: 4500PFU02 on page 134, Bulilima RDC: 5600BLM04 on page 372; Bulawayo Municipality: 0801BYO1 on page 3, among others. The prevalence of these errors is highly reflective of the poor data quality assurance by ZEC, and the unprofessional manner in which ZEC handles its data which undermined the credibility of the entire delimitation.

3.3.3.7 Letter/Numerical Mix-Up

We also observed that for virtually all the polling station codes under Goromonzi RDC, ZEC mixed up the letter “l” in GZl with the numeral “1”. ZEC erroneously abbreviated Goromonzi as GZ1 on 146 polling stations out of 151 as illustrated below.

22. Ward 22: 3 571 Registered Voters

This ward has a total of 3 571 total registered voters. It comprises the following polling areas: 2500GZ12201, 2500GZ12202, 2500GZ12203, 2500GZ12204, 2500GZ12205, 2500GZ12206, 2500GZ12207 and 2500GZ12208.

Figure 37 – Alpha–Numeric Mix–Up – Goromonzi

Source: Preliminary Delimitation Report, pp 155-158

While the 'error' is benign, problems arise when there are polling stations with missing digits from the same local authority, for instance 2500GZ1019 on page 155 of the report where the polling station can be mis-identified as belong to Ward 10, when it in fact belongs to ward 01. More quality assurance questions arise when more errors are found in the same district such as polling station 2500GZ2006 on page 157 of the report, where the local authority is ill-abbreviated, instead of 2500GZI2006 (page 157). Using Goromonzi RDC as an example, there were also further anomalies such as for the polling station 200GZ12303 (page 157) where ZEC used the wrong district code, or the polling station 2500GZ108 (page 155) where ZEC omitted the ward number. The prevalence of these data quality problems raises enough questions to doubt the credibility and integrity of the entire delimitation process.

3.4 SUMMARY

The foregoing abridged findings explored the different data quality facets of the datasets extracted from the preliminary delimitation report. The most important finding is that apart from ZEC's self-reported provincial and constituency totals, NONE of the other data provided matches the alleged official national voter population from ZEC. In fact, we found 6 different voter population totals, that is, 5804376 (official); 5806964; 5806485; 5798059; 5805703 and 5804076 by aggregating the raw data provided at different levels, that is, provincial level, local authority level, constituency level and ward level, as well as the self-reported totals for each. This is unacceptable. This lack of coherence of the data provided is highly indicative of severe data integrity issues. The delimitation report is riddled with discrepancies and inconsistencies which suggests professional malpractice and incompetence, and is unbecoming the stature of a national body like ZEC. This probably explains why ZEC has repeatedly refused to avail the final delimitation voters roll in complete disregard of the law. Garbage in – garbage out (GIGO). The fact that ZEC made calculations using flawed and unverifiable data renders the entire process flawed.

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS ON DELIMITATION TECHNICAL FLAWS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter delves into the technical aspects of the delimitation to evaluate the extent to which ZEC implemented this accurately and fairly. We first review ZEC's approach towards the population size readjustments vis-a-vis Section 161(6) of the 2013 Constitution. We then empirically demonstrate the significant flaws with ZEC's approach, and the last part evaluates ZEC's compliance with their own criteria.

4.2 SIMPLIFYING SECTION 161(6) OF THE CONSTITUTION OF ZIMBABWE

Cognizant of the need for the delimitation process to safeguard the equality of vote, Section 161(3) and 161(4) dictates that "*The boundaries of constituencies/wards must be such that, so far as possible, at the time of delimitation **equal numbers of voters are registered in each constituency/ward.***" Nonetheless, the same constitution also acknowledges that strict adherence to this requirement may not be possible when secondary factors are considered [§161(6)(a-f)]. To accommodate this, the constitution creates a leeway for the deviation of the ward/constituency voter population and explicitly mentions that, "*no constituency or ward of the local authority concerned may have more than twenty per cent more or fewer registered voters than the other constituencies or wards.*" The maximum difference of 20% directed by the constitution can only be achieved if we restrict the range of the difference to be $\pm 10\%$ about the mean. To better explain this, we have created Figure 38.

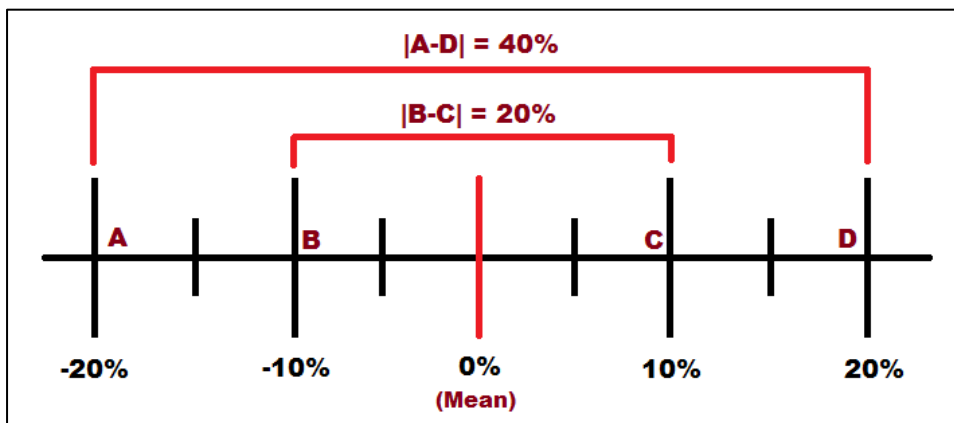


Figure 38 – Percentage Differences between Data Points about the Mean

As the diagram clearly illustrates, with Constituency B and C being in the extreme ends, Constituency C has 20% more voters than Constituency B, and likewise, Constituency B has 20% less voters than Constituency C. This way, these two constituencies with extreme population sizes have a maximum difference of 20%, which satisfies the statistical and legal prescriptions of Section 161(6). However, extending the range to $\pm 20\%$ by adding Constituencies A and D about the mean would mean that the difference between Constituency A and Constituency D becomes 40% which undoubtedly violates Section 161(6) of the 2013 Zimbabwe Constitution.

ZEC misinterpreted the constitution for reasons best known to them and created incongruent constituencies and wards. It is worth noting that the 1987 Lancaster House constitution clearly stated that, “*the Commission may depart from the requirements of [equal voters], but in no case to any greater extent than twenty per centum more or less than the average of registered voters in constituencies on the common roll.*” Based on this clause, adopting Constituency A and D was once constitutional and was used in 2008. However, following the new 2013 constitution, this provision was changed and now requires the difference not to exceed 20% relative to all other constituencies, and not relative to the average as done by ZEC.

4.3 PROVING ZEC’S VIOLATION OF THE CONSTITUTION USING BASIC MATH

To ascertain whether or not ZEC complied with Section 161(6) of the constitution, several approaches were used. For the benefit of doubt, we first used ZEC’s own methodology to prove how flawed their approach was.

The respective percentage difference between any two given constituencies, was calculated using the formula:

$$\% \text{ Difference} = \frac{| \text{Difference} |}{\text{Mean}} \times 100 = \frac{| B - C |}{(B + C) / 2} \times 100$$

ZEC calculated the delimitation population thresholds using the following formula:

$$\begin{aligned}
Threshold_{const} &= Voters_{mean} \pm \frac{20}{100} (Voters_{mean}) \\
&= \frac{Voters}{Constituencies} \pm \frac{20}{100} \times \left(\frac{Voters}{Constituencies} \right) \\
&= \frac{5804376}{210} \pm 0.2 \times \left(\frac{5804376}{210} \right) \\
&= 27639.89 \pm 0.2 \times (27639.89) \\
&= 27639.89 \pm 5527.98 \\
&= (22112; 33169)
\end{aligned}$$

According to ZEC's implementation above, the minimum acceptable constituency size was 22,112 and the maximum acceptable was 33,169. Applying these two thresholds to the first equation to determine the difference between them gives us:

$$\begin{aligned}
\% \text{ Difference} &= \frac{|22112 - 33169|}{(22112 + 33169) / 2} \times 100 \\
&= 2 \times \frac{|22112 - 33169|}{(22112 + 33169)} \times 100 \\
&= 200 \times \frac{|-11057|}{55281} \\
&= 200 \times \frac{11057}{55281} \\
&= 200 \times 0.200 \\
&= 40.00\%
\end{aligned}$$

From these results, it is evident that by using ZEC's flawed approach, the difference in voter population between the two possible extremes would be 40%. Using ZEC's criteria, this is a clear violation of the $\pm 20\%$ threshold set by Section 161(6) of the Constitution of Zimbabwe. In the context of the actual data, we will use Harare East (33103) and Shurugwi South (22141).

$$\begin{aligned}
\% \text{ Difference} &= \frac{|33103 - 22141|}{(33103 + 22141) / 2} \times 100 \\
&= 2 \times \frac{|33103 - 22141|}{(33103 + 22141)} \times 100 \\
&= 200 \times \frac{|10962|}{55244} \\
&= 200 \times \frac{10962}{55244} \\
&= 200 \times 0.200 \\
&= 39.69\%
\end{aligned}$$

The results show that the population of Harare East constituency is 39.69% more than that of Shurugwi South. Reciting §161(6) of the Constitution, “*no constituency [or ward of the local authority concerned] may have more than twenty per cent more or fewer registered voters than the other constituencies or wards.*” Using ZEC’s own ±20% criteria, the explicit requirements of §161(6) have clearly been violated. In order to meet the requirements of the constitution, the optimal threshold to use is the ±10%, that is **[24876, 30404]**. This safeguards the requirement that no constituencies of wards can be more than 20% the size of other constituencies/wards. Applying the lower 24876 limit and upper limit 30404, we get a percentage difference of:

$$\begin{aligned}
\% \text{ Difference} &= \frac{|24876 - 30404|}{(24876 + 30404) / 2} \times 100 \\
&= 2 \times \frac{|24876 - 30404|}{(24876 + 30404)} \times 100 \\
&= 200 \times \frac{|-5528|}{55280} \\
&= 200 \times \frac{5528}{55280} \\
&= 200 \times 0.100 \\
&= 20.00\%
\end{aligned}$$

Using a range of $\pm 10\%$ about the mean with lower and upper constituency thresholds of **24876** and **30404**, the maximum possible for any chosen constituencies within this range is 20%, which satisfies the constitutional requirements, and not ZEC's approach.

4.4 PROVING ZEC'S VIOLATION OF THE CONSTITUTION USING THEIR METHOD

In this section, we prove how ZEC violated the requirements of the constitution using their own formula on page xi of the preliminary delimitation report. According to ZEC's flawed approach, the difference should not be more than 20% above or below the mean. For delimiting wards, ZEC first divided the Local Authority population by the number of wards to establish the average, then they calculated the 20% variance.

4.2 Local Authority Wards

The total number of registered voters in each local authority was divided according to the number of members to be elected to the local authority concerned. A twenty per cent variance from the local authority average was then determined. For example in Bulawayo Municipality the number of registered voters of **270 938** was divided by 29 wards to give an average of **9 343**. The twenty per cent variance was determined resulting in in a maximum registered voter threshold of **11 212** and a minimum threshold of **7 474** voters. Thus, any ward delimited was expected to fall within the minimum and maximum thresholds.

Figure 39 – ZEC's formula for Determining Ward Population Sizes

Source: 2022 Preliminary Delimitation Report, pp xi

Using this method, we established 9 Local authorities where ZEC violated the constitution using their own method. Hwange Rural District Council, Gwanda Rural District Council, Zvimba Rural District Council, Makoni Rural District Council, Bindura Municipality, Victoria Falls Municipality, Pfura Rural District Council, Marondera Municipality, and Beitbridge Town Council. Taking Hwange RDC for instance from page 331, the distribution of wards and their populations is presented in Table 10.

Table 10 – Hwange Rural District Council Voter Population

WARD	VOTERS	WARD	VOTERS	WARD	VOTERS
1	2,188	8	1,019	15	2,101
2	2,267	9	2,014	16	1,925
3	1,960	10	2,060	17	2,213
4	1,589	11	2,390	18	1,438
5	1,552	12	1,411	19	1,294
6	1,477	13	1,546	20	2,030
7	1,953	14	2,054	TOTAL	36,481

There were 36,481 voters and 20 wards and therefore the average ward size was:

$$Mean = \frac{\sum WPopulation}{Wards} = \frac{36481}{20} = 1824.05$$

The 20% threshold above and below the mean which ZEC used was:

$$\begin{aligned} Threshold_{20\%} &= Voters_{mean} \pm \frac{20}{100} (Voters_{mean}) \\ &= 1824 \pm (0.2 \times 1824) \\ &= 1824 \pm 364.8 \\ &= (1459; 2189) \end{aligned}$$

Therefore, the allowable ward voter population range in Hwange Rural District Council was supposed to be a minimum of 1,459 and a maximum of 2189 voters. However, a total of 7 wards failed to meet ZEC's criteria. The most affected was Ward 8, whose reported total was 1,019 and was below the 20% lower threshold of 1,459. This violates Section 161(6) of the Constitution which dictates that "*no ward of the local authority concerned may have more than twenty per cent more or fewer registered voters than the other constituencies or wards*" and this applies to the other six Hwange RDC wards, that is, Ward 2, 11, 12, 17, 18, 19. For this assessment, we used ZEC's own data as well as ZEC's own methodology and established their complete disregard of their own standards not just for 9 Local Authorities and this affected a total of 22 wards. The list of the problem wards is presented in Table 11.

Using ZEC's methodology, the number of voters in a ward was above the maximum threshold for Beitbridge Town Council Ward 5, Hwange RDC Ward 17, Hwange RDC Ward 2, Hwange RDC Ward 11, Makoni RDC Ward 13, Makoni RDC Ward 16, Makoni RDC Ward 8, Makoni RDC Ward 12, Marondera Municipality Ward 9, Victoria Falls Municipality Ward 4, and Zvimba RDC Ward 1. On the other hand, the number of voters in a ward was below the minimum threshold for Bindura Municipality Ward 4, Gwanda RDC Ward 20, Hwange RDC Ward 8, Hwange RDC Ward 19, Hwange RDC

Ward 12, Hwange RDC Ward 18, Makoni RDC Ward 25, Pfura RDC Ward 19, Victoria Falls Municipality Ward 3, Zvimba RDC Ward 18, and Zvimba RDC Ward 6.

Table 11 – Wards Violating §161(6) of the Constitution using ZEC’s Formula

Province	Local Authority	Ward	Voters	LA Mean	20% Min	20% Max	Gap	Violation Type
Mat South	Beitbridge TC	5	4323	3489	2791	4187	136	Above
Mash Central	Bindura Mun	4	1559	1962	1569	2354	-10	Below
Mat South	Gwanda RDC	20	1524	1981	1585	2377	-61	Below
Mat North	Hwange RDC	8	1019	1824	1459	2189	-440	Below
Mat North	Hwange RDC	19	1294	1824	1459	2189	-165	Below
Mat North	Hwange RDC	12	1411	1824	1459	2189	-48	Below
Mat North	Hwange RDC	18	1438	1824	1459	2189	-21	Below
Mat North	Hwange RDC	17	2213	1824	1459	2189	24	Above
Mat North	Hwange RDC	2	2267	1824	1459	2189	78	Above
Mat North	Hwange RDC	11	2390	1824	1459	2189	201	Above
Manicaland	Makoni RDC	25	2111	2656	2125	3188	-14	Below
Manicaland	Makoni RDC	13	3202	2656	2125	3188	14	Above
Manicaland	Makoni RDC	16	3226	2656	2125	3188	38	Above
Manicaland	Makoni RDC	8	3231	2656	2125	3188	43	Above
Manicaland	Makoni RDC	12	3274	2656	2125	3188	86	Above
Mash East	Marondera Mun	9	3057	2544	2035	3053	4	Above
Mash Central	Pfura RDC	19	2028	2541	2032	3049	-4	Below
Mat North	Victoria Falls Mun	3	1593	2000	1600	2400	-7	Below
Mat North	Victoria Falls Mun	4	2416	2000	1600	2400	16	Above
Mash West	Zvimba RDC	18	2622	3318	2654	3981	-32	Below
Mash West	Zvimba RDC	6	2624	3318	2654	3981	-30	Below
Mash West	Zvimba RDC	1	4675	3318	2654	3981	694	Above

In Chapter 3, we also demonstrated that the population size for Zvimba East constituency based on the ward sizes provided by ZEC was in fact 35,276, contrary to the self-reported total of 32,764. This is way beyond the maximum voter threshold of 33,169 for constituencies which ZEC used as specified on page xi of their report.

4.5 PROVING ZEC’S VIOLATIONS OF THE CONSTITUTION USING STATISTICS

The ill-implementation of Section 161(6) of the Constitution by ZEC failed to safeguard that a comparatively equal voter population was achieved across the constituencies. To confirm this, we used unsupervised learning methods to identify homogenous constituency groups using the post-delimitation constituency population data. Using both the Silhouette approach and the gap-statistic method, we confirmed that the optimal number of clusters from the constituency population data were two clusters and the outcome is presented in Figure 40 below.

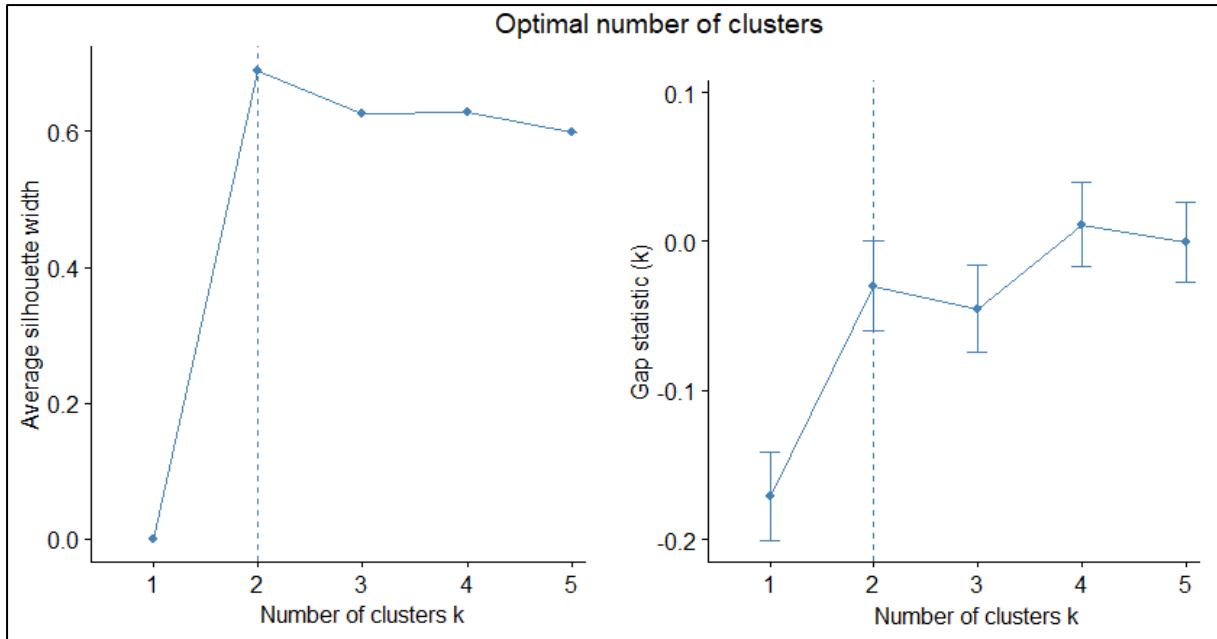


Figure 40 – Identifying Optimal Number of Clusters in Data

Following the implementation of cluster analysis, two clusters were extracted and these had more constituencies which were concentrated at the tails. From this finding, we discovered that the distribution of the voter population across constituencies was not close to being uniform and was not within tolerable deviations, but was highly skewed, with Cluster 1 being positively skewed and Cluster 2 negatively skewed.

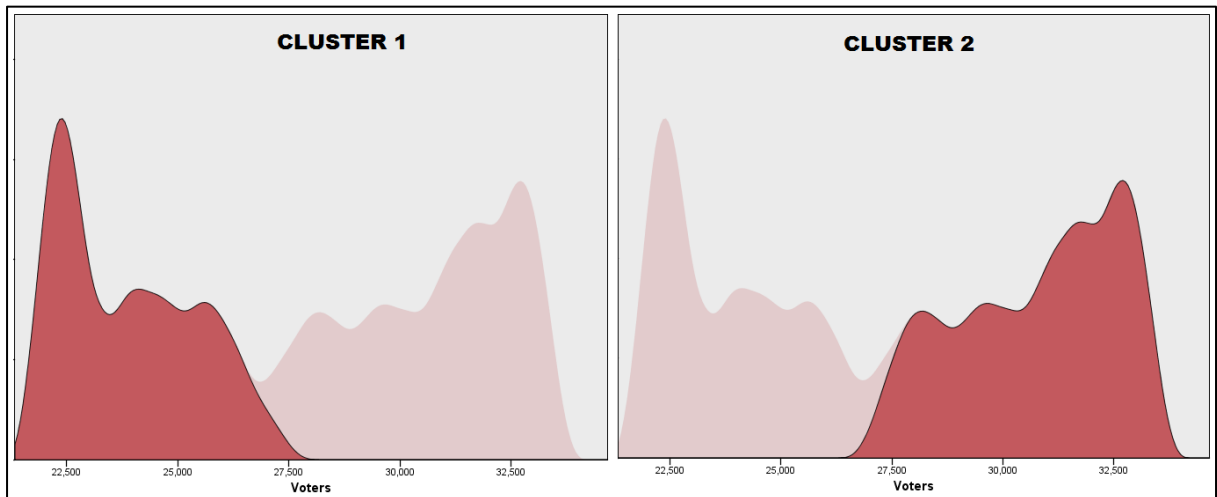


Figure 41 – Cluster Comparison of Voter Population across Constituencies

The foregoing is further proof that ZEC failed to abide by §161(3) of the constitution to ensure that close to equal constituencies were created. In addition, the distribution of constituency voters across provinces is illustrated in the box-and-whisker plot below.

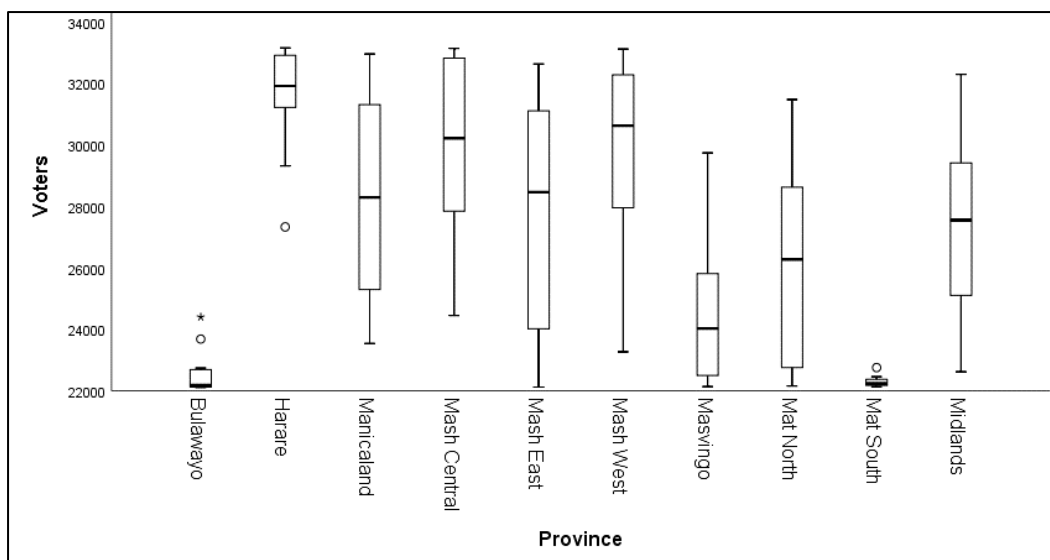


Figure 42 – Distribution of Constituency Voter Population by Province

The results show how virtually all Bulawayo (M = 22578.17; SD = 733.991) and Matabeleland South (M = 22301.42; SD = 178.332) constituencies were kept very low in terms of the population threshold. However, Harare (M = 31736.73; SD = 1355.833) had the highest concentration of constituencies with populations above 30,000. Unlike other provinces, both the lower and upper quartiles for Harare were all above 30,000.

Table 12 – Average Constituency Voter Population by Province

	N	Mean	SD	SE	95% CI	
					LCI	UCI
Bulawayo	12	22578.17	733.991	211.885	22111.81	23044.52
Harare	30	31736.73	1355.833	247.540	31230.46	32243.01
Manicaland	26	28408.62	3098.065	607.581	27157.28	29659.95
Mash Central	18	29803.50	3008.695	709.156	28307.31	31299.69
Mash East	23	27898.61	3647.297	760.514	26321.40	29475.82
Mash West	22	30058.59	2890.507	616.258	28777.01	31340.17
Masvingo	26	24320.00	1956.689	383.738	23529.68	25110.32
Mat North	13	26186.69	3468.613	962.020	24090.63	28282.75
Mat South	12	22301.42	178.332	51.480	22188.11	22414.72
Midlands	28	27247.43	2725.846	515.136	26190.46	28304.40
Total	210	27639.89	3828.509	264.192	27119.06	28160.71

There was a relatively balanced distribution of voters per constituency in Manicaland province, and Midlands Province, while Mashonaland East, Mashonaland West and Mashonaland Central were notably negatively skewed, with both medians being greater than 30,000. On the other hand, Masvingo and Matabeleland North had relatively small sized constituencies with respective medians being below six of the constituencies, and both were positively skewed. However, with respect to Section 161(6), the ideal range of acceptable mean ratings would be [24876; 30404] and using this threshold, we calculated the number of constituencies per province that failed to

comply by either being below the lower threshold limit **24876**, or above the upper threshold limit **30404**, as well as those that complied within the [24876; 30404] range. The summary of the provincial distribution of constituency population based on the correct legal interpretation of Section 161(6) of the constitution is presented below.

Table 13 – Extent of Compliance with Section 161(6) of the Constitution

	Non-Complying (below)		Complying		Non-Complying (above)		Overall Non-Compliance
	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Bulawayo	12	100.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	100.00%
Harare	0	0.0%	4	13.3%	26	86.7%	86.70%
Manicaland	3	11.5%	15	57.7%	8	30.8%	42.30%
Mash Central	1	5.6%	8	44.4%	9	50.0%	55.60%
Mash East	7	30.4%	8	34.8%	8	34.8%	65.20%
Mash West	2	9.1%	7	31.8%	13	59.1%	68.20%
Masvingo	18	69.2%	8	30.8%	0	0.0%	69.20%
Mat North	6	46.2%	5	38.5%	2	15.4%	61.60%
Mat South	12	100.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	100.00%
Midlands	6	21.4%	18	64.3%	4	14.3%	35.70%
Total	67	31.9%	73	34.8%	70	33.3%	

Out of the 210 constituencies, 67 (31.9%) fell below the acceptable threshold, while 70 (33.3%) fell above the acceptable thresholds, and this amounts to a total of 137 (65.2%) non-complying constituencies, with only 73 (34.8%) complying. For constituencies that failed to comply by virtue of being below the acceptable range, all 12 (100%) constituencies in Bulawayo failed to comply, along with all the 12 (100%) constituencies in Matabeleland South. Also notable were Masvingo where 18 (69.2%) of the 26 constituencies were below the legal threshold, as well as Matabeleland North, which had 6 (46.2%) of the 13 constituencies below the threshold.

Regarding those that failed to comply by virtue of being above the acceptable range, 26 (86.7%) of the constituencies in Harare failed to comply. Further, 13 (59.1%) of the 22 constituencies in Mashonaland West failed to comply; and Mashonaland Central had 9 (50.0%) out of the 18 constituencies that failed to comply. There was a comparative non-compliance parity between constituencies below (30.4%) and above (34.4%) the acceptable thresholds in Mashonaland East. Lastly, for constituencies that complied, the majority were in Midlands where 18 (64.3%) out of the 28 constituencies complied. The second highest was Manicaland where 15 (57.7%) out of the 26 constituencies complied. The other 8 provinces had compliance levels below 50%. With respect to the 92 local authorities, only one, Rusape Town Council, had wards that were never above 20% of each other, while the rest were non-compliant.

We further analysed the distribution of voters by the type of local authority to ascertain whether there was parity or disparity in the average ward population sizes. We compared all the four types of local authorities, that is, RDCs, Municipalities, Town Councils, and Local Boards. Municipalities had extreme outliers with ward sizes being above 15,000 voters per ward. All these outliers were from Harare Municipality where 33 wards had a voter population above 15,000. The worst cases were Ward 1 (18792 voters), Ward 35 (18770 voters), Ward 8 (18741 voters), Ward 41 (18473 voters), Ward 2 (18400 voters) and Ward 44 (18292 voters). The average size of municipalities was 6258 voters per ward, against the 3543 voters for Local Board wards, 2440 voters for RDCs, and 1807 voters per ward for Town Councils. This is presented below.

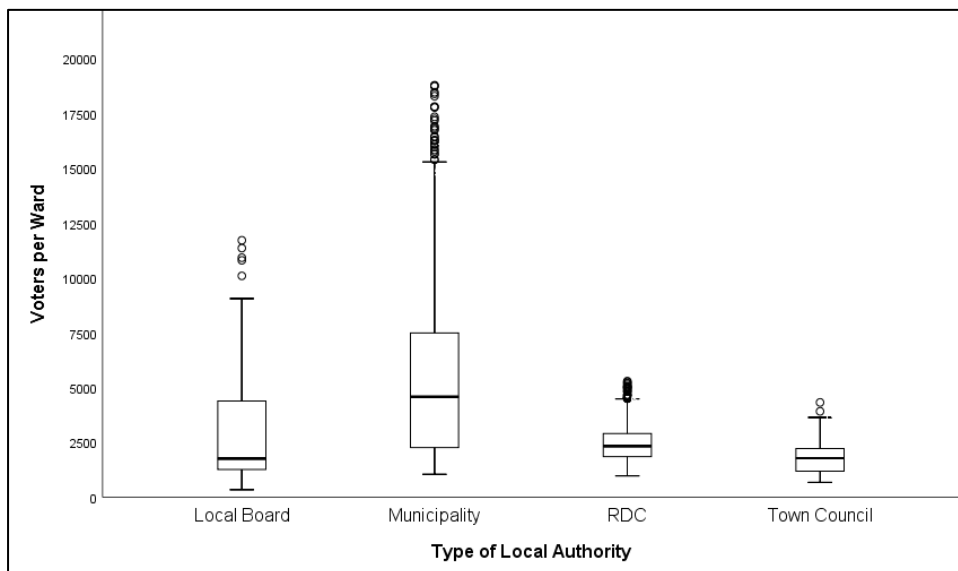


Figure 43 – Distribution of Ward Voter Population by Local Authority

We further analysed the voter population data for all the 1970 wards and 92 local authorities. The descriptive statistics for the distribution of ward voter population by the type of local authority are presented in Table 14.

Table 14 – Distribution of Ward Voter Population by Local Authority Type

	Local Boards	Municipalities	RDCs	Town Councils
Local Authorities	5	16	60	11
Wards	38	267	1569	96
Mean	3543	6258	2440	1807
Median	1763	4583	2330	1782
Lower Quartile	1265	2266	1854	1187
Upper Quartile	4423	7502	2907	2218
Range	11376	17747	4318	3644
Minimum	341	1045	972	679
Maximum	11717	18792	5290	4323
Standard Deviation	3551.25	5076.13	814.24	745.30
Skewness	1.310	1.135	0.700	0.714
Kurtosis	0.391	0.003	0.321	0.748

The highest voter population range for Municipality wards was 17,747, with a minimum ward size of 1,045 voters and a maximum of 18,792 voters. The second highest population range was for Local Boards (Range = 11,376) with a minimum ward size of 341 voters and maximum of 11,717 voters. Rural District Councils had a lower range of 4,318 voters, the minimum being 972 voters and maximum being 5,290 voters. Lastly, the least range of 3,644 was for Town Councils, having a minimum ward voter population of 679 and a maximum of 4,323. These statistics generally demonstrate the huge disparity between local authorities, with urban municipality voters being under-represented as compared to RDCs and Town Councils. While the dynamics of population density ought to be considered in line with §161(6c) of the Constitution of Zimbabwe, §161(6f) also equally stresses the importance to consider the actual population of the wards. The foregoing ward disparities expose how ZEC failed to create more urban municipality wards resulting in the huge ward size anomalies.

4.6 SUMMARY

This abridged chapter empirically evaluated the technical flaws that were made by ZEC in the preliminary delimitation report. The major focal problem related to the misinterpretation of §161(6) of the Constitution by ZEC. ZEC failed to ensure that constituencies and Local Authority wards did not exceed a difference of 20% with other constituencies and wards. ZEC's approach of calculating 20% above and below the mean resulted in the maximum difference between constituencies being 40%, which contravened the provisions of the constitution. We further demonstrated how the threshold should be maintained between -10% and +10% about the mean to ensure that none of the delimited constituencies/wards would have a difference of more than 20% with any other constituency/ward to meet the constitutional requirements. Nevertheless, using the specific criteria set by ZEC, we established that ZEC failed to meet their own delimitation standards in Zvimba East constituency, as well as in nine local authorities. We further demonstrated statistically how ZEC failed to create more constituencies and wards in urban areas, particularly Harare and Bulawayo, to accommodate the population expansion in urban areas, the growing population pressures on urban representatives, and the need to ensure equality of the vote, as well as the equitable and fair representation of urban voters.

CHAPTER FIVE

FINDINGS ON DELIMITATION MAJOR CHANGES

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This abridged chapter extends the previous chapter as it now focuses on identifying the major electoral boundary changes following the recent delimitation by ZEC. The chapter is presented in two parts. The first part summarizes the major changes that were made by ZEC and this is done by province, while the second section discusses these changes, focusing mainly on the assessment of the partiality of ZEC during the delimitation and in particular, gerrymandering.

5.2 MAJOR DELIMITATION CHANGES

To determine the major changes which ZEC had made during the delimitation, we made use of the 2007/8 delimitation report and the corresponding delimitation maps, as well as the 2022 delimitation report and its corresponding delimitation maps. Given the fact that ZEC refused to avail the final delimitation voters roll, our analysis was as a result dependent on tracking all the changes to constituency and ward boundaries. To achieve this, we carried out geospatial overlay analysis using ArcGIS. The map vectors were first aligned prior to running automated spatial outlier detection. We also relied on the provincial, constituency and local authority population aggregates as at 30 May 2022. However, it is worthy to note that the ward and polling station population breakdowns as at 30 May 2022 were not availed, along with the polling station GIS data and this limited the scope and ease of detecting superfluous and suspicious boundary changes based on the polling station populations. In this light, this section only focuses on the changes ZEC made up to ward level, not polling station level.

5.2.1 Bulawayo Province

Bulawayo Province has maintained 12 constituencies although it was severely reconfigured. Out of these, five constituencies have maintained their original names and these are Bulawayo Central, Bulawayo South, Nketa, Nkulumane and Pumula.

Bulawayo Central: This constituency was previously allocated three wards {1, 2, 5}, but now falls under two wards {1, 4}. Ward 1 has been extended into partly into Wards 2, 3, 4 and 4. Ward 4 was previously under Bulawayo East constituency. Ward 2 is now under Bulawayo North, while Ward 5 is now under Bulawayo South

Bulawayo South: This constituency has retained two wards although they have changed from {6, 21} to {5, 7}. The previous Ward 6 has been merged with Ward 5 from Bulawayo Central to form a new Ward 5. The new Ward 7 was previously under Makokoba constituency, but has been resized and extended south-westerly cutting across the previous Ward 21. Ward 21 is now under the new Pelandaba Tshabalala.

Nketa: This constituency has retained three wards {24, 25, 26}. However, these three wards mainly constitute the old Ward 25 and 26 and part of the old Ward 24. Part of the old Ward 25 is now the new Ward 24. Ward 26 remains the same, although it has been resized to accommodate a new Ward 25 which is situated where the old Wards 24, 25 and 26 intersected.

Nkulumane: The constituency previously had three wards {20, 22, 23}, but now has two wards {22, 23}. The old wards 22 and 23 have been merged, the resized to form the new Ward 23. The other part of the old Ward 4 is now Ward 22, although this has been resized taking up part of the old Ward 22. The old Ward 20 is no longer under Nkulumane, but the new Pelandaba Tshabalala.

Pumula: This constituency has retained its previous 3 wards {17, 19, 27}. However, these wards have all been resized. Ward 17 has been partially resized, but the major changes have been made to Ward 19 and 27 which have been severely downscaled.

On the other hand, seven constituencies have been reconfigured and renamed. They were previously Bulawayo East {3,4}, Emakhandeni-Entumbane {10, 11}, Lobengula {12, 14}, Luveve {15, 16, 28}, Magwegwe {18, 29}, Makokoba {7, 8} and Pelandaba-Mpopoma {9, 13} collectively covering 15 wards. After being reconfigured, there are now 7 new constituencies, that is, Bulawayo North {2, 3}, Cowdray Park {6, 15, 28}, Emakhandeni – Luveve {11, 16}, Entumbane-Njube {10, 12}, Lobengula – Magwegwe {14, 18, 29}, Mpopoma-Mzilikazi {8, 9} as well as Pelandaba-Tshabalala {13, 20, 21}.

Bulawayo North: This comprises of two wards {2, 3}. Ward 2 was previously under Bulawayo Central. In terms of size, Ward 2 has been extended partially as it now encroaches the northern parts of Ward 8. Ward 3 was previously under Bulawayo East. Its size has been partly reduced owing to the extension of Wards 1 and 4 into its south western and south eastern boundaries respectively.

Cowdray Park: This comprises of three wards {6, 15, 28}. The area covered by these three wards was previously Ward 28 in Luveve constituency. This ward was part of Luveve constituency along with the old Ward 15 and 16, both of which have now been removed. Effectively, the old Ward 28 is now a separate constituency that has now been split up into three new wards 6, 15 and 28.

Emakhandeni – Luveve: This comprises of two wards {11, 16}. The new Ward 16 has been created by merging the old Ward 15 and 16 which were both under Luveve constituency. However, this new Ward 16 has been paired with Ward 11 to form the new Emakhandeni – Luveve. Ward 11 has been partly extended into Ward 16

Entumbane–Njube: This comprises of two wards {10, 12} and has been created from the same old Wards 10 and 12, despite both having been resized. Ward 10 was previously under Emakandeni-Entumbane, while Ward 12 was previously under Lobengula. The north western half of Ward 10 has been retained, while the south eastern half has been merged with Ward 8. Ward 12 has also been resized.

Lobengula – Magwegwe: This falls under three wards {14, 18, 29}. The new Wards 18 and 19 were previously under Magwegwe constituency, but have now been resized. Ward 29 has been reduced in size while Ward 18 has been partly extended into the old Ward 8 and Ward 27. Lastly, Ward 14 used to be under Lobengula constituency, but has been resized and is now part of Lobengula – Magwegwe.

Mpopoma–Mzilikazi: This comprised of two wards {8, 9}. Ward 8 was previously under Makokoba constituency, but has been resized downwards as Ward 2 and Ward 7 encroached into it. Ward 9 was previously under Pelandaba-Mpopoma constituency, and has also been resized.

Pelandaba–Tshabalala: This last constituency comprises of three wards {13, 20, 21}. Ward 20 was once under Nkulumane constituency, but has now been separated and has also been split into two. The south-western end remains Ward 20, while the north eastern half has been merged with the old Ward 13 to form a bigger Ward 13. Lastly, Ward 21 has been resized following the extension of Ward 7.

5.2.2 Harare Province

Constituencies in Harare have also been severely configured. We summarise these changes separately by the three local authorities, that is, Chitungwiza Municipality, Epworth Local Board and Harare Municipality. We have also condensed the changes and the full details are in the unabridged technical report.

5.2.2.1 Chitungwiza Municipality

Chitungwiza Municipality has retained the old 5 constituencies, that is, Chitungwiza North, Chitungwiza South, St Marys, Zengeza East and Zengeza West. However, changes have been made with respect to the number of wards to four of the five constituencies. Zengeza East constituency has retained five wards although they have changed from {13, 14, 15, 16, 20} to {13, 14, 15, 20, 21}. However, Zengeza West constituency has lost one ward from the previous six {6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12} to just five {2, 6, 10, 11, 12}. Chitungwiza North constituency previously had four wards {17, 19, 21, 25}, but now has five wards {8, 19, 22, 23, 25}. Chitungwiza South constituency also had four wards {18, 22, 23, 24}, but now has five wards {9, 16, 17, 18, 24}. The number of wards for St Marys constituency have been reduced from the previous 6 wards {1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 8}, to just 5 wards {1, 3, 4, 5, 7}.

5.2.2.2 Epworth Local Board

The previous 7 wards have been maintained although they have been reconfigured from just one constituency to three constituencies. One constituency previously existed, Epworth Constituency, but three new constituencies have been created. These are Epworth North, Epworth South and Hunyani. Epworth North has three wards {1, 6, 7} under Epworth Local Board. Epworth South also has three wards {2, 4,

5} under Epworth Local Board. However, Hunyani was formed by merging Ward 3 from Epworth Local Board and Ward 8 from Harare Municipality.

5.2.2.3 Harare Municipality

Harare Municipality previously had 46 wards, but has lost a ward and now 45 remain. However, it has gained one more constituency from the previous 29 and now has 30. Seventeen constituencies have been retained, albeit with minor to severe boundary changes and these are Dzivarasekwa, Glen Norah, Glenview North, Glenview South, Harare Central, Harare East, Harare South, Harare West, Hatfield, Highfield East, Kuwadzana East, Mabvuku-Tafara, Mbare, Mount Pleasant, Mufakose, Southerton as well as Sunningdale constituency.

Dzivarasekwa constituency retained two wards {39, 40}. Glen Norah constituency also retained two wards {27, 28}. While Glenview North constituency retained its name, there are now two wards {26, 30}, up from the previous one {30}. Glenview South constituency has retained the previous two wards {31, 32}. Harare Central has been retained, and has been extended, but retains two wards {2, 6}, previously {5, 14}. Harare East constituency has been retained, but has lost one ward from the previous three {8, 9, 46} to just two {8, 18}. Harare South has been retained and split into two wards {12, 35} from the previous Ward 1. Harare West constituency has retained the previous two wards {16, 41}. Hatfield constituency has also retained two wards {22, 23}. Mabvuku-Tafara has been retained, but has lost one ward from the previous three {19, 20, 21} to just two {20, 21}. Mbare constituency retains two wards {3, 4} and so does Mt. Pleasant {7, 17}, and Southerton {11, 13}. Mufakose constituency has been retained with two wards, although they are now {34, 35} from the previous {15, 36}. Sunningdale has also been retained with two wards {2, 10}, previously {10, 12}.

Significant changes have been made to thirteen constituencies. Two new constituencies, Churu, {1, 6} and Hunyani {8} have been created from Harare South. Another new constituency, Hatcliffe, has been created with two wards {19, 42}. Budiro constituency has been reconfigured into two distinct constituencies, that is, Budiro North and Budiro South. Further, the number of wards has increased from the previous two {33, 43} to four, that is {34, 43} for the new Budiro North constituency and the other two for the new Budiro South constituency {29, 33}. Harare North

constituency, formerly Wards 18 and 42, was reconfigured and is now Hartcliffe. Kambuzuma Constituency {14, 36} was collapsed along with Warren Park constituency {5, 15}. Highfield used to have four wards and two constituencies, Highfield East {24, 25} and Highfield West {26, 29}, but these two have been merged into just one constituency, Highfield, with two wards {24, 25}. Further, two old constituencies Kuwadzana {38, 44, 45} and Kuwadzana East {37} have been reconfigured to two wards each and renamed to Kuwadzana East {37, 45} and Kuwadzana West {38, 44}.

5.2.3 Manicaland Province

Manicaland province previously had 25 constituencies, but one more constituency has been added after Dangamvura/Chikanga was split up. Figure 44 presents the major changes and voter movements which ZEC made in Manicaland Province.

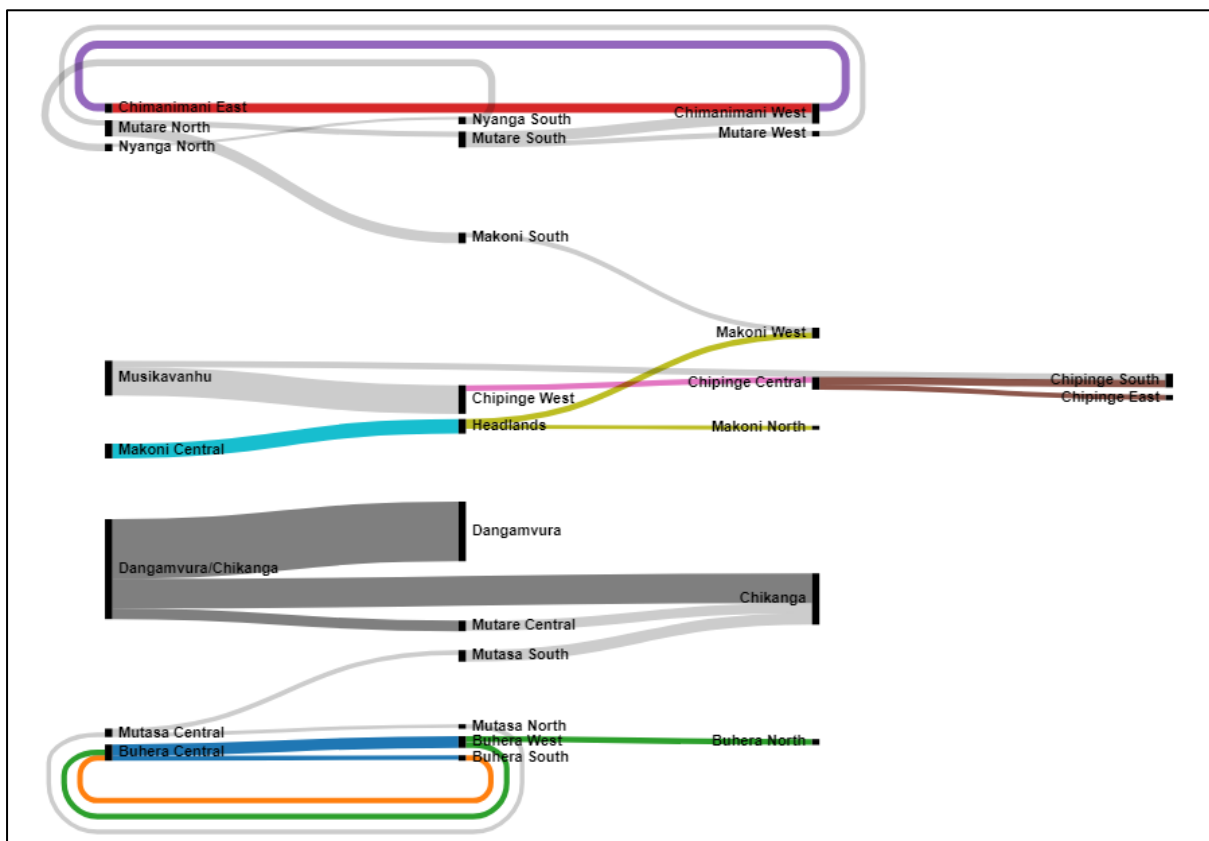


Figure 44 – Delimitation Voter Movements – Manicaland Province

A total of 24 Manicaland constituencies have been retained as they were with some ward changes and these are Buhera Central, Buhera North, Buhera South, Buhera

West, Chimanimani East, Chimanimani West, Chipinge Central, Chipinge East, Chipinge West, Chipinge South, Headlands, Makoni Central, Makoni North, Makoni South, Makoni West, Mutare Central, Mutare North, Mutare South, Mutare West, Mutasa North, Mutasa Central, Mutasa South, Nyanga North, and Nyanga South.

Buhera RDC: Part of Ward 14 has been moved from Buhera West to Buhera North. Ward 16 and Ward 18 have been moved from Buhera Central to Buhera West, and lastly, Ward 24 has been moved from Buhera Central.

Chimanimani RDC: Wards 1 and 7 Have been moved from Chimanimani East to West. Wards 8 and 17 have been moved from Chimanimani West to East. In addition, part of Ward 22 has been removed from Mutare South and added to Chimanimani East. Some wards have been reconfigured, for instance Ward 7, which has been greatly reconfigured by merging some of its parts with other nearby wards.

Chipinge RDC: Ward 2 has been moved from Chipinge West to Chipinge Central. Ward 10 has been merged with Ward 11 to form a new Ward 10 and has been moved from Chipinge Central to Chipinge East. Wards 20, 21, 22, and 23 have been moved from Musikavanhu constituency to Chipinge West. The remaining Ward 25 has been moved to Chipinge South. Effectively, Musikavanhu no longer exists.

Chipinge Town Council: No major inter-constituency boundary changes

Makoni RDC: Ward 10 has been moved from Headlands constituency to Makoni North constituency. Wards 11, 20 and 38 have been moved from Makoni Central to Headlands. Ward 12 has been moved from Headlands to Makoni West. Ward 26 has been moved from Makoni South to Makoni West

Mutare Municipality: Ward 1 has been moved from Mutare Central to Chikanga. Wards 6, 16 and 19 have been collapsed from Dangamvura/Chikanga into Chikanga constituency. Ward 14 has also been moved from Mutasa South to Chikanga. Wards 7, 8, 9, 13, 15 and 18 have been collapsed from Dangamvura/Chikanga into Dangamvura constituency. Ward 17 has been collapsed from Dangamvura/Chikanga into Mutare Central constituency. Effectively, the Dangamvura/Chikanga constituency no longer exists as this has been split up.

Mutare RDC: Ward 10 has been moved from Mutare West to Mutare North. Ward 26 has been merged with Ward 27 to form a new Ward 26 then they were moved together with Ward 22 from Mutare South to Chimanimani West. Ward 35 has been moved from Mutare North to Mutare South.

Mutasa RDC: There are two main changes. Ward 10 has been moved from Mutasa Central to Mutasa North. Ward 27 has been moved from Mutasa Central to South.

Nyanga RDC: There are three major changes. Ward 8 and part of Ward 9 have been removed from Nyanga North to Nyanga South. Ward 14 has been moved from Nyanga South to Nyanga North.

Rusape Town Council: No major inter-constituency boundary changes

5.2.4 Mashonaland Central Province

The major change was the addition of an new local authority, Mvurwi Town Council, to make them 11. All the 18 constituencies have been retained. Figure 45 illustrates the major movements of voters within Mashonaland Central.

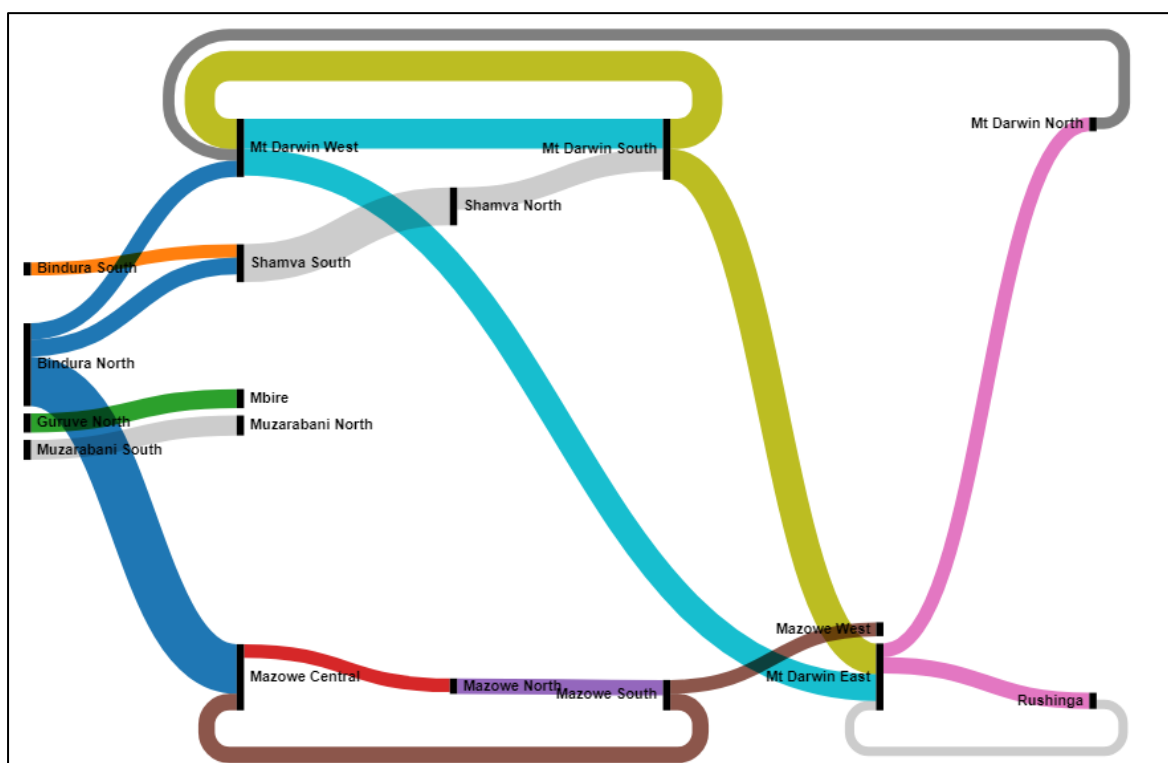


Figure 45 – Delimitation Voter Movements – Mashonaland Central Province

The retained constituencies are Bindura North, Bindura South, Guruve North, Guruve South, Mazowe Central, Mazowe North, Mazowe South, Mazowe West, Mbire, Mt Darwin East, Mt Darwin North, Mt Darwin South, Mt Darwin West, Muzarabani North, Muzarabani South, Rushinga, Shamva North, Shamva South.

Bindura Municipality: No major inter-constituency boundary changes.

Bindura RDC: There are six main changes. Wards 1, 3 and 19 have been moved from Bindura North constituency to Mazowe Central Constituency. Ward 2 was moved from Bindura North to Mt Darwin West. Ward 7 was moved from Bindura North to Shamva South and lastly, Ward 8 was moved from Bindura South to Shamva South.

Chaminuka RDC: There are five main changes. Wards 2 and 3 have been moved from Shamva North constituency to Mt Darwin South constituency. Wards 11, 15 and 27 have been moved from Shamva South to Shamva North constituency.

Guruve RDC: No major inter-constituency boundary changes.

Mazowe RDC: There are three major changes. Ward 6 has been moved from Mazowe Central to Mazowe North constituency. Ward 13 has been moved from Mazowe South to Mazowe Central. Lastly, Ward 22 has been moved from Mazowe South to Mazowe West constituency.

Mbire RDC: Here, ZEC made two notable movements, that is, Ward 6 and 14 which were moved from Muzarabani North constituency to Mbire constituency.

Muzarabani RDC: Two major changes were made. Wards 17 and 18 have been moved from Muzarabani South constituency to Muzarabani North, then reconfigured.

Mvurwi Town Council: This is a new local authority. Six wards have been created {1, 2, 3, 4,5, 6} and these fall under Mazowe North constituency.

Pfura RDC: From Mt. Darwin West, ZEC moved Ward 9 and parts of two wards {8, 36} from Mt Darwin West to Mt Darwin East. Ward 11 has been moved from Mt Darwin

East to North. Four Wards {13, 28, 29, 30} have been merged into one big Ward 29 in Mt Darwin South. Further, five more wards in Mt Darwin West {17, 18, 19, 20, 21} have been severely reconfigured with Ward 19 being split-up into two, and the others being resized. Almost half of Ward 22 has been moved from Mt Darwin South to West. Parts of Ward 8,9 and 10 in Mt Darwin East have been moved to Rushinga Constituency.

Rushinga RDC: There are several notable intra-constituency reconfigurations. Wards 1 and 2 have been merged to form a new bigger Ward 1. The previous Ward 20 has been split and another part has been merged with Ward 20. Wards 7, 22, and 23 have been resized as well. Similar reconfigurations have been observed for Wards 14, 16, 17 and 18. No significant exchanges with other constituencies have been observed.

5.2.5 Mashonaland East Province

There were two major changes in this province, that is, the collapse of Chikomba Central constituency as well as the formation of a new constituency, Ruwa. Effectively, the number of constituencies did not change and still stands at 23.

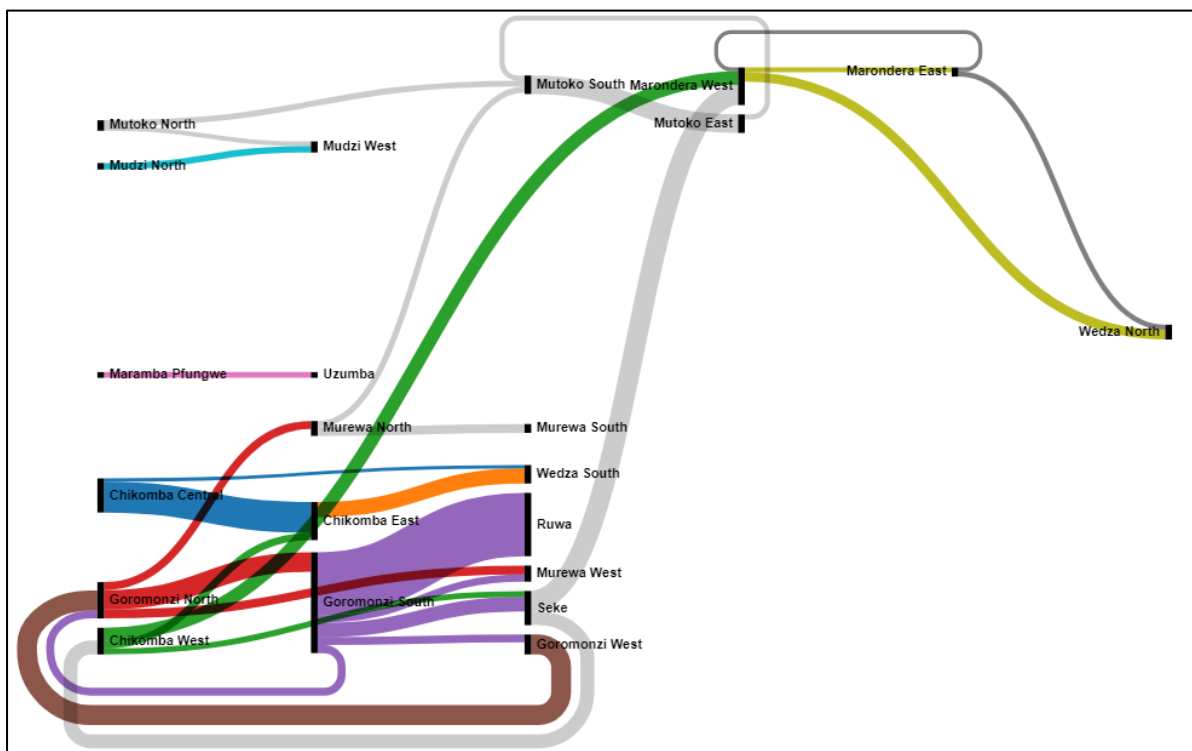


Figure 46 – Delimitation Voter Movements – Mashonaland East Province

Twenty-two constituencies have been retained and these include: Chikomba East, Chikomba West, Goromonzi North, Goromonzi South, Goromonzi West, Maramba Pfungwe, Marondera Central, Marondera East, Marondera West, Mudzi North, Mudzi South, Mudzi West, Murewa North, Murewa South, Murewa West, Mutoko East, Mutoko North, Mutoko South, Seke, Uzumba, Wedza North, and Wedza South.

Chikomba RDC: Major changes have been done here involving 16 wards. Chikomba Central has been collapsed and merged with Chikomba East and West. Wards {3, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23} have been moved from formally Chikomba Central to Chikomba East constituency, while the other Ward 22 has been moved to Wedza South constituency. Two wards {2, 4} in Chikomba West have been resized and severely reconfigured. Ward 15 has been moved from Chikomba West to Chikomba East. From Chikomba East, four wards {24, 28, 29, 30} have been moved to Wedza South constituency.

Goromonzi RDC: Goromonzi was also severely reconfigured and this involves 11 wards. Wards {6, 7, 8} have been moved from Goromonzi West to Goromonzi North constituency. After being Moved, Wards 7, 8 and 9 were then merged together. Ward 10 has been moved from Goromonzi North to Murewa North. Ward 12 has been moved from Goromonzi North to Murewa West. Ward 17 has been reconfigured and part of it has been moved from Goromonzi South to North. Ward 18 has been merged with Ward 19 to form a new Ward 18 and was then moved from Goromonzi South to Murewa West. Ward 22 has been merged with part of Ward 23 to form a new Ward 22, and at the same time, the other part of Ward 23 has been merged with Ward 24 to form a new Ward 24. These new Wards 22 and 24 have then been moved from Goromonzi South constituency to Seke constituency.

Manyame RDC: Firstly, Wards 9 and 16 have been merged, then split again into two. These two new wards, together with the northern part of Ward 10 were then moved from Seke constituency to Marondera West constituency. Secondly, the remaining part of Ward 10 was then merged with Ward 11 to form a new ward. Wards 12 and 13 have been merged and their new combined ward is now 13. These two new wards were then moved to Chikomba West constituency. Third, in Chikomba West constituency,

Wrds 7 and 8 have been resized and a new Ward 4 has been created inbetween. At the same time, Ward 15 has been moved from Chikomba West constituency to Chikomba East constituency.

Marondera Municipality: No major inter-constituency boundary changes.

Marondera RDC: There were five major changes. Ward 4 has been moved from Marondera East to Marondera West constituency. Ward 7 has been moved from Marondera East to Wedza North constituency. Lastly, three wards {9, 10, 11} have now been moved from Marondera West to Wedza North constituency.

Mudzi RDC: Only one notable change was observed, that is, the movement of Ward 9 from Mudzi North to Mudzi West constituency.

Murewa RDC: There were several changes. First, Wards 1 and 2 have been merged into one big Ward 1. Second, four more wards have been merged and these include Wards 6, 7, a greater part of Ward 5 and eastern half of Ward 9. The result is one big Ward 5. The remaining part of Ward 5 has been merged into Ward 4, while the remaining part of Ward 9 has now formed a new Ward 2.

Mutoko RDC: Wards 2, 3, 6, 7, 5 and have have been reconfigured and resized. Ward 3 has been moved from Mutoko North to Mudzi West. Ward 4 has been moved from Mutoko North to Mudzi West constituency. Ward 13 has been moved from Mutoko East to Mutoko North constituency, then collapsed and merged into Wards 8 and 12. In Mutoko East, Wards 14, 16, 17 and 18 have been reconfigured and the old names remain. Lastly, four wards {22, 23, 24, 28} from Mutoko South constituency have been moved to Mutoko East constituency.

Ruwa Local Board: Out of the nine wards, eight {1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8} have been separated from Goromonzi South constituency and now fall under a completely new constituency, Ruwa constituency. Ward 9 remains under Goromonzi South.

Wedza RDC: In Wedza South constituency, Wards 13 and 14 have been merged into one big Ward 13. Also, the southern part of Ward 9 has been merged with Ward 11.

In Wedza North constituency, Ward 3 has been extended with part of Ward 2. The remaining Ward 2 has been merged with Ward 1 and was then split into three Wards.

Zvataida RDC: Only one key change was done, that is, the movement of Ward 7 from Maramba Pfungwe constituency to Uzumba constituency. This moved ward was then merged with part of Ward 9 to form a bigger Ward 7.

5.2.6 Mashonaland West Province

In Mashonaland West, the major change that ZEC made is the inclusion of a new local authority, Chirundu-Local Board which has three new wards that all are under Hurungwe North constituency. All the 22 constituencies have been retained. However, several constituencies were reconfigured through the movement of wards and part of wards. Figure 47 below best illustrates the observed movements.

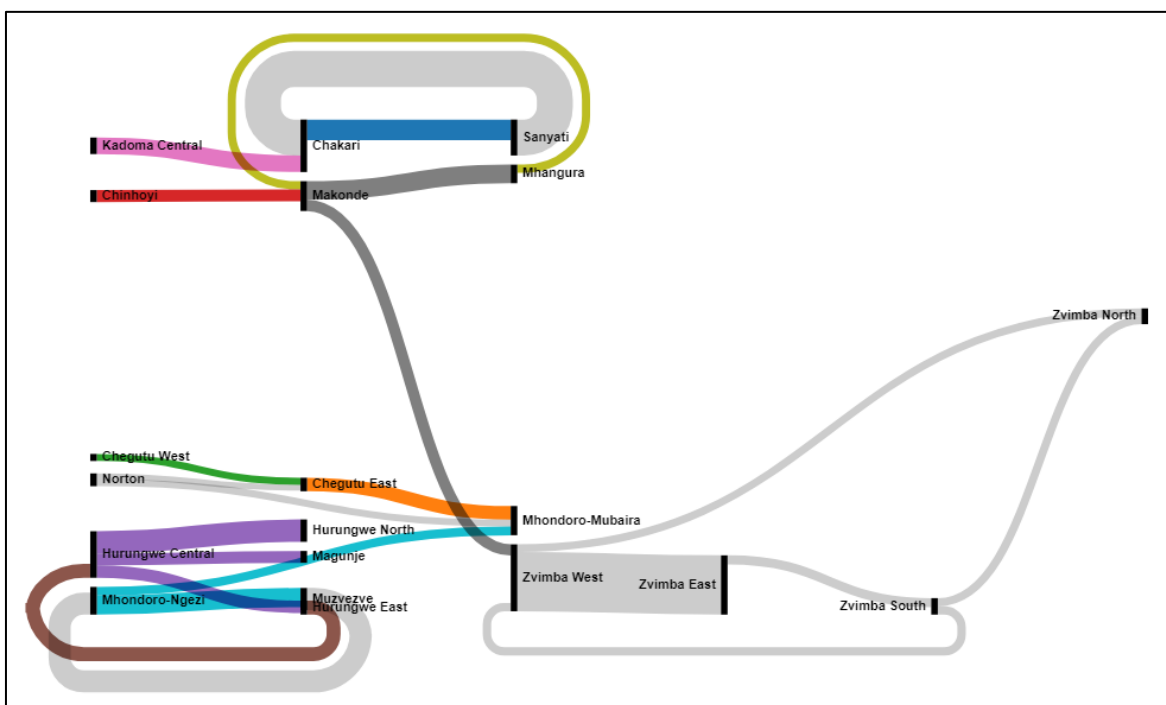


Figure 47 – Delimitation Voter Movements – Mashonaland West Province

The constituencies retained are Chakari, Chegutu East, Chegutu West, Chinhoyi, Hurungwe Central, Hurungwe East, Hurungwe North, Hurungwe West, Kadoma Central, Kariba, Magunje, Makonde, Mhangura, Mhondoro-Mubaira, Mhondoro-Ngezi, Muzvezve, Norton, Sanyati, Zvimba East, Zvimba North, Zvimba South, and Zvimba West. The major changes that have been done are summarized below.

Chegutu Municipality: No major inter-constituency boundary changes.

Chegutu RDC: Ward 2 has been split up and moved from Chegutu East to Mhondoro Mubaira constituency. The remaining part of Ward 2 has been split into two new wards, 22 and 17. Ward 22 in Chegutu East has been merged with Ward 17 to form a bigger Ward 22. The old Wards 16, 17 and 18 have been merged together into one big Ward 16. Ward 19 has been partly extended into Ward 11. Ward 13 has been moved from Norton constituency to Chegutu East. Ward 15 has been moved from Norton to Mhondoro Mubaira and subsequently split into two, that is, Ward 15 and Ward 18. Ward 25 has been moved from Chegutu West to Chegutu East.

Chinhoyi Municipality: There has not been much notable changes. Worth mentioning is that two wards {14, 15} have been moved from Chinhoyi constituency and now fall under Makonde constituency.

Hurungwe RDC: There were four main changes. Three wards have been removed from Hurungwe Central. Wards 1 and 4 are now under Hurungwe North, while Ward 23 is now under Magunje. Lastly, Ward 21 in Hurungwe East has been moved Hurungwe Central and then got merged with Ward 5 to form one big Ward 21.

Kadoma Municipality: Only two wards have been affected. They have both been moved from Kadoma Central constituency and now fall under Chakari constituency.

Kariba Municipality: No major inter-constituency boundary changes.

Karoi Town Council: No major inter-constituency boundary changes.

Makonde RDC: Wards 17 and 18 have been merged together into one big Ward 17. Wards 15 and 16 have also been merged together into Ward 16. Part of the new Ward 16 was then merged with Ward 19. Further, Wards 10, 12 and 14 have been merged together into one big Ward 14, and this was then moved in its entirety to Zvimba West constituency. Ward 9 has been split into two, that is Ward 8 and 9. Five Wards {1, 2, 3, 4, 11} in Makonde constituency have been reconfigured and resized.

Mhondoro–Ngezi RDC: There are five key changes. Ward 4 has been merged with Ward 2 and then into a bigger Ward 4 which was then moved from Mhondoro-Ngezi constituency to Mhondoro-Mubaira. Ward 1 was merged with Ward 3. Ward 5 has

been merged with Ward 8. Ward 6 has been merged with Ward 7. Ward 11 has been split up into three different wards. Two Mhondoro-Ngezi wards {7, 8} have been moved to Muzveze constituency. On the other hand, two wards {12, 13} have been moved from Muzveze to Mhondoro-Ngezi constituency.

Norton Town council: No major inter-constituency boundary changes.

Nyaminyami RDC: No major inter-constituency boundary changes.

Sanyati RDC: Six wards have been reallocated. Wards 5 and 7 have been moved from Chakari constituency to Sanyati constituency. The moved Ward 5 was then split up into three, that is, Ward 5, Ward 9 and an extra portion that got merged with Ward 4 to form Ward 13. On the other hand, the moved Ward 7 was then merged with Ward 6 and then split up leaving Ward 6 with a bigger area than Ward 7. Wards 2 and 3 in Chakari constituency have been reconfigured five wards {2, 3, 4, 12, 15}. Ward 1 has been split up into two wards {1; 14}. In Sanyati constituency, there were many reconfigurations as well. The new Ward 5 from Chakari merged with Ward 12, collapsing Ward 12. Ward 9 and 10 have been merged. Wards 8, 13, 14 and 15 have been merged and a new Ward 8 has been formed.

Zvimba RDC: There are extensive changes. Ward 1 has been merged with Ward 8 to form a bigger Ward 8. Ward 2 has been merged with Ward 28 forming a new Ward 2. Ward 12 was merged with Ward 10. Ward 11 was merged with Ward 27, forming a bigger Ward 27. Ward 7 was merged with two other wards Ward 9 and Ward 29, resulting in a bigger Ward 7. Ward 5 was merged with part of Ward 4. On the other hand, Ward 3 has been moved from Zvimba South to Zvimba West, and was then merged with the other part of Ward 4. Ward 20 has been moved from Zvimba East to Zvimba South. Lastly, Ward 23 has been moved from Zvimba South to Zvimba North.

5.2.7 Masvingo Province

In Masvingo province, two new constituencies have been created. These include Chiredzi Central constituency which has been created following the collapse of Gutu South constituency and its subsequent merging with neighboring constituencies. The second is Zaka South constituency which has been created from the merging of Zaka East and Zaka West constituency. Overall, there are 26 constituencies.

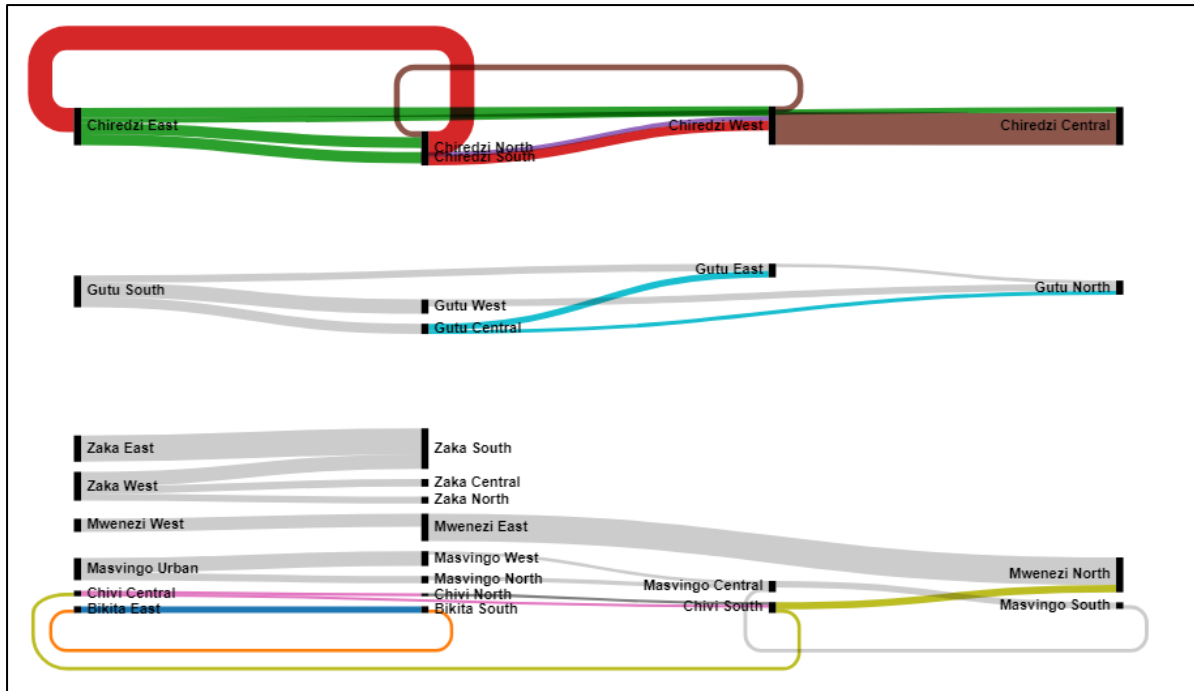


Figure 48 – Delimitation Voter Movements – Masvingo Province

Out of 26 constituencies, 24 have been retained and these are: Bikita East, Bikita South, Bikita West, Chiredzi East, Chiredzi North, Chiredzi South, Chiredzi West, Chivi Central, Chivi North, Chivi South, Gutu Central, Gutu East, Gutu North, Gutu West, Masvingo Central, Masvingo North, Masvingo South, Masvingo Urban, Masvingo West, Mwenezi East, Mwenezi North, Mwenezi West, Zaka North, and Zaka South. The major changes that ZEC has made are summarized below.

Bikita RDC: There are a few notable changes. Ward 14 has been moved from Bikita East constituency to Bikita South. Ward 24 and 27 have been merged into one big Ward 24. Wards 11 and 23 have been merged and a new Ward 11 has been created. Wards 28 and 29 have been merged. Wards 2 and 3 have also been merged and then split into three separate wards {1, 2, 3}. Ward 15 has been split into two wards {15, 18}. The other changes are minute boundary changes e.g., between Ward 4 and 5.

Chiredzi RDC: There are many changes that have been done as a result of the formation of Chiredzi Central constituency. Five wards {1, 2, 20 (part), 21, 24, 32} have been moved from Chiredzi North to Chiredzi East. Wards 3, 4 and 25 have been merged into one big Ward 4. Ward 5 has been merged into Ward 22. Wards 6, 8, 9 and part of Ward 22 have been moved From Chiredzi East to Chiredzi South. Ward 16 has been moved from Chiredzi North to Chiredzi West and was then reconfigured

along with Wards 18, 27, and 28 to create new resized wards. Ward 14 has been collapsed and the two adjacent wards 13 and 15 got extended into what was previously Ward 14. Ward 19 was once under Chiredzi West, but has not been moved to Chiredzi Central. Ward 30 has also been moved from Chiredzi West constituency to Chiredzi North, and Ward 31 has been moved from Chiredzi East to Central. There are other changes that have been done such as the resizing of Ward 17 to create an additional Ward 8, the resizing of Ward 20, among other minor adjustments.

Chiredzi Town Council: This was previously under Chiredzi West, but all the 8 wards now fall under the newly formed Chiredzi Central constituency.

Chivi RDC: Few significant changes have been made. Ward 11 has been moved from Chivi Central to Chivi North. Ward 21 has been moved from Chivi Central to Chivi South and Ward 22 has been moved from Chivi South to Chivi Central.

Gutu RDC: Gutu was reconfigured to a great extent following the collapse of Gutu South constituency. Ward 2 and 7 have been moved from Gutu West to Gutu North. Ward 11 has been moved from Gutu Central to Gutu North. Ward 13 has been moved from Gutu East to Gutu North. Ward 17 and 19 have all been moved from Gutu Central to Gutu East. Wards 27, 28 and 30 have been moved from Gutu South to Gutu West. Wards 23 and 25 have been moved from Gutu South to Gutu East. Wards 20, 24, 26 and 40 have been moved from Gutu South to Gutu Central. Effectively, Gutu South wards are now under different constituencies.

Masvingo Municipality: Masvingo wards have also been altered albeit with minimal changes. Wards 2 and 4 which were formally under Masvingo Urban have been moved to Masvingo West. Further, Ward 8 was also previously under Masvingo Urban, but is now under Masvingo North.

Masvingo RDC: Out of the 35 wards, major changes were witnessed in five of the wards. Ward 13 has been moved from Masvingo North to Masvingo Central. Ward 21 has been moved from Masvingo West to Masvingo Central. Ward 20 was collapsed by merging with Ward 11. Lastly, Ward 23 has been moved from Masvingo South to Masvingo Central. The other changes were simply ward reconfigurations.

Mwenezi RDC: Ward 1 was previously under Chivi South, but is now under Mwenezi North. Six wards {2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7} were under Mwenezi East, but have been moved to Mwenezi North. These have further been reconfigured through resizing to the extent that Wards 2 and 5 have been collapsed, but they have now been recreated, along with Ward 18, by splitting up Ward 13. Also noteworthy is that Ward 14 and 15 have been moved from Mwenezi West to Mwenezi East.

Zaka RDC: There are many changes that we observed in Zaka following the collapse of Zaka East and West and the creation of a new constituency, Zaka South. A total of 11 wards have been reassigned to Zaka South. These comprise of 7 from Zaka East {20, 21, 25, 26, 30, 31, 32}, along with 4 from Zaka West {24, 27, 28, 29}. Ward 17 and 23 have been merged into one big Ward 17 and then moved from Zaka West to Zaka Central. Ward 8 has been split up into two wards {8; 23}. Lastly, Ward 22 and 33 have been moved from Zaka West to Zaka North.

5.2.8 Matabeleland North Province

There was not much significant change in the number of constituencies. However, the configuration of some of the constituencies changed. Noteworthy is the incorporation of a new local authority, Lupane Local Board, which resulted in the creation of four additional wards in Matabeleland North province. The movements are shown below.

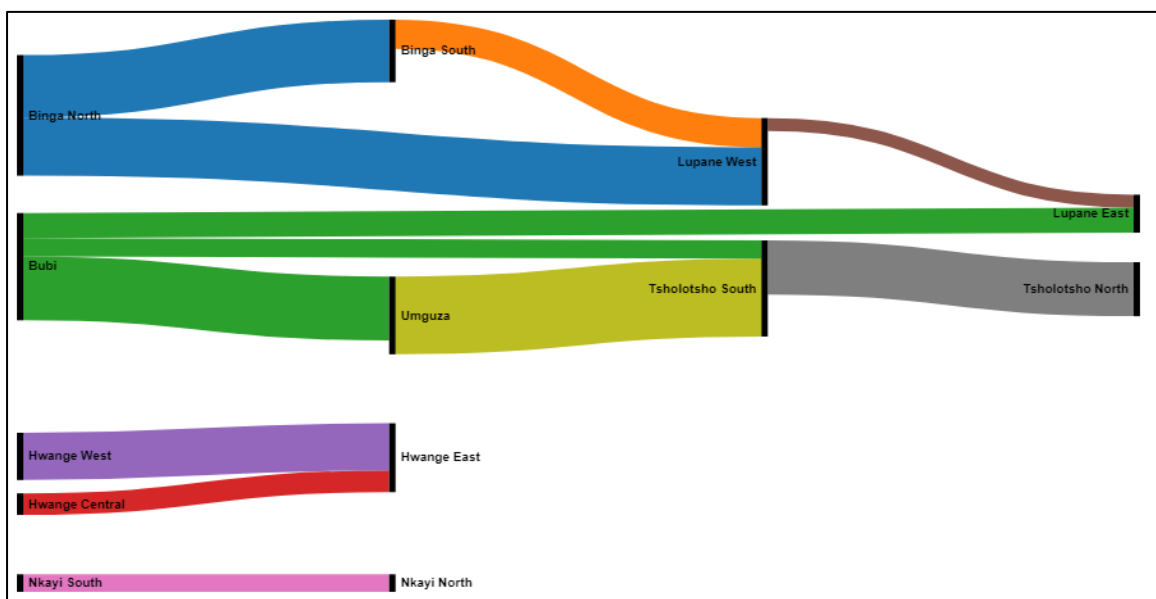


Figure 49 – Delimitation Voter Movements – Matabeleland North Province

All the 13 constituencies have been retained and these include: Binga North, Binga South, Bubi, Hwange Central, Hwange East, Hwange West, Lupane East, Lupane West, Nkayi North, Nkayi South, Tsholotsho North, Tsholotsho South, and Umguza. The next section presents the major highlights of the changes.

Binga RDC: Regarding intra-constituency changes, Ward 1 and 22 have been merged into one big Ward 1. Ward 3 and 4 have also been merged into a new Ward 3. Ward 17 has been split up into two wards, that is, Ward 4 and Ward 17. Ward 16 has also been split up into two. Ward 21 has been split up into three wards {21, 22, and 12}. However, of these three, Ward 12 and 22 have further been moved from Binga North constituency, while Ward 21 remains in Binga South. Ward 25 and 13 have been merged together and have now formed Ward 13. Wards 8, 9 and 10 have been reconfigured and resized. Further, Wards 11 and 12 have been merged together and the resulting Ward 11 has been moved from Binga North to Binga South. Lastly, Ward 19 has been changed from Binga South to Lupane West.

Bubi RDC: In Bubi, Ward 21 has been split up into Ward 5 and Ward 21. Ward 20 has been split up, and the bottom half has been merged with Ward 8 to form a new Ward 20. The remaining top part of Ward 20 is now a separate Ward 6. Further, ZEC has merged Wards 5 and 9 and formed a bigger Ward 9. Most notably, Wards 17 and 18 have been moved from Bubi constituency to Lupane East constituency.

Hwange Local Board: No major inter-constituency boundary changes.

Hwange RDC: There are four main changes. Two wards {4, 6} have been moved from Hwange West constituency to Hwange East. Ward 19 has been collapsed after it was merged with Ward 18 to form a new Ward 19. Further, Ward 20 has been changed from Hwange Central constituency to Hwange East.

Kusile RDC: Minor changes were observed. Ward 24 and Ward 25 have been merged together and now form the new Ward 24. Other notable changes observed have been made to Wards 1, 2, 4, 10, 15, 19 and 28.

Lupane Local Board: This is a new local authority. Four wards have been created.

Nkayi RDC: Minor changes have been observed. The notable ones include the reconfigurations of Wards 1, 2, 3, 6, 10, 19, 29, et cetera. The most notable change is that Ward 15 has been changed from Nkayi South to Nkayi North constituency.

Tsholotsho RDC: Reconfigured in size are wards such as Ward 4 and Ward 2. Also reconfigured are Ward 8 and 21 which have been merged and reformed. Ward 11 has been created from the restructuring of Wards 12, 13 and 22. Further, two major changes have been done the first being Wards 13 and 22 which have been changed from Tsholotsho South constituency to Tsholotsho north. The second major change is the incorporation of four Umguza Wards 14, 16, 17 and 18.

Umguza RDC: Ward 18 and 13 have now been merged and a bigger ward 12 has been created. Ward 16 has been extended into Ward 14, and then got split into three wards, the biggest upper section being Ward 16, while two new wards have been created at the bottom, that is, Ward 17 and Ward 18. Ward 19 and 15 have been merged, then got split midway into two, that is, Ward 13 and Ward 15. There have been eight main changes. Regarding the constituency movements, three wards {3, 10, 11} have been changed from Bubi constituency to Umguza constituency, while five more wards {12, 14, 16, 17, 18} have been changed from Umguza constituency to Tsholotsho South constituency. The greater part of Ward 10 has been merged with a greater part of Ward 17 to form Ward 10. The remaining parts of Ward 17 and 10 have been merged with Ward 12. Lastly, Ward 7 has been extended into Ward 6, while Wards 4 and 5 have been reconfigured in terms of size.

Victoria Falls Municipality: No major inter-constituency boundary changes.

5.2.9 Matabeleland South Province

By and large, the major change has been the merging of Bulilima East and West constituencies and this has formed a single Bulilima constituency. Subsequently, number of constituencies have reduced from the previous 13 to 12. Gwanda Central has been reconfigured, and a new Gwanda -Tshitauze constituency has been formed. Changes have also been done to Matobo South and Matobo North and these have been reconfigured to Matobo-Mangwe constituency as well as Matobo. The major movements of voters as a result of the delimitation are illustrated below.

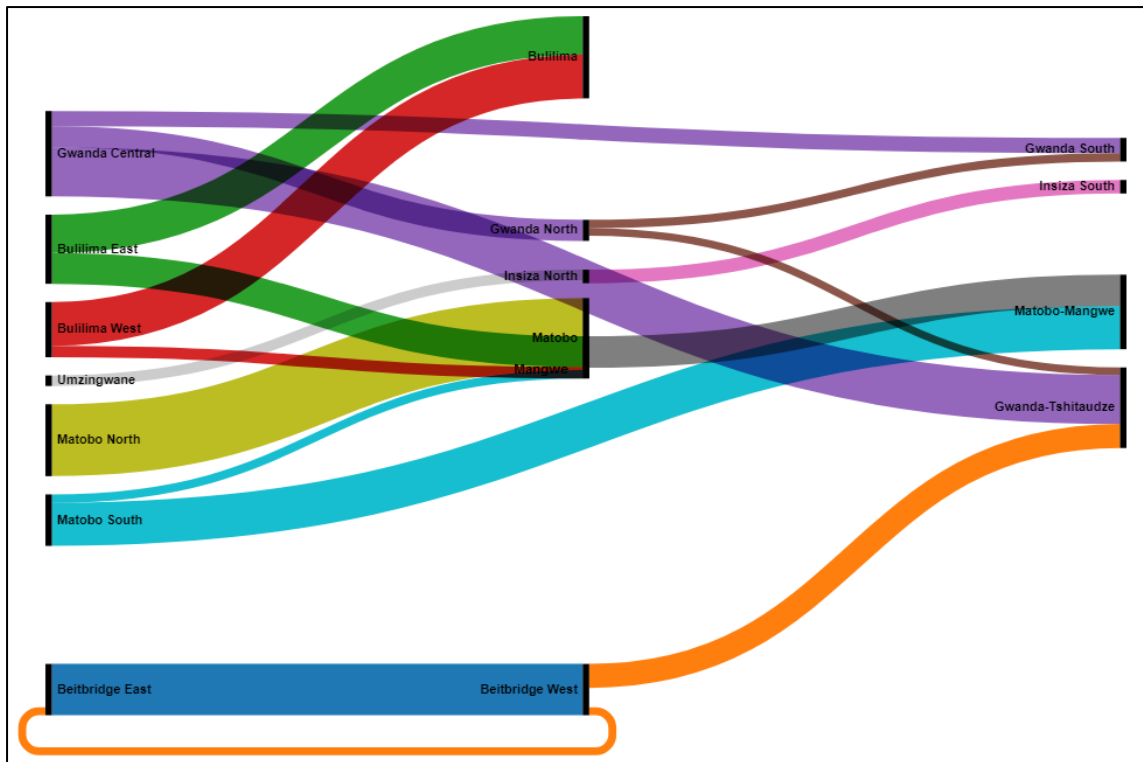


Figure 50 – Delimitation Voter Movements – Matabeleland South Province

Eight of the constituencies have not been dropped and these are: Beitbridge East, Beitbridge West, Bulilima East, Bulilima West, Gwanda Central, Gwanda North, Gwanda South, Insiza South, Insiza North, Mangwe, Matobo South, Matobo North, and Umzingwane. However, some have been reconfigured as discussed below.

Beitbridge RDC: Several notable changes have been done. The old Ward 4 is no longer under Beitbridge West, but East. Ward 6 is now under Beitbridge West, from Beitbridge East. The remaining three wards {10, 11, 12} have been moved from Beitbridge West to Gwanda -Tshitauzde. Wards 8 and 14 have been merged and are now Ward 8. Ward 7 has also been merged with part of Ward 6, while Wards 2, 3, 5, 13 and 15 have been reconfigured in terms of size. Lastly, Ward 22 has been merged with Ward 23, then was split into three wards {10, 22, 23}. These wards were all under Gwanda Central which has been collapsed and are now under Gwanda -Tshitauzde.

Beitbridge Town Council: Out of the six wards, three of these {1, 4, 5} are now under Beitbridge West from Beitbridge East Constituency.

Gwanda Municipality: There are 10 wards and out of these 3 wards {3, 5, 10} have been moved from the collapsed Gwanda Central constituency to Gwanda North

constituency. The remaining seven wards {1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10} were also under the now collapsed Gwanda Central and now fall under the new Gwanda -Tshitsaudze.

Gwanda RDC: Wards 4 and 5 have been merged into a bigger Ward 4. Ward 8 has been extended into Ward 7. Ward 21 was previously under Gwanda Central, but has been moved to Gwanda North, then got split into two Wards {5, 21}. Ward 13 and 14 have been moved from Gwanda Central to Gwanda South. Wards 22 and 23 have been merged then got split into three, the third being Ward 10, and they no longer fall under Gwanda Central, but Gwanda -Tshitaudze.

Insiza RDC: Ward 14 has been extended into part of Ward 22. Ward 20 has been merged with Ward 10, then got split up into three, a small northern Ward 20, another small middle area Ward 11, and the other bigger southern part being Ward 10. These latter two wards {10, 11} were then moved from Insiza North constituency to Insiza South constituency. Ward 15 and 16 have been merged then got split up into three new wards {12, 15, 16}. Other old Insiza South wards {3, 5, 6, 8, 11, 2} have been reconfigured, and now have different ward numbers and ward sizes.

Mangwe RDC: There are nine main changes. The major changes have been done following the reconfiguration of constituencies and this has affected seven wards {7, 8, 9, 10, 15, 16, 17} which ZEC has now transferred from Mangwe constituency to the new Matobo-Mangwe constituency. Also changed are two wards {2, 12} which have been moved from Bulilima West constituency to Mangwe constituency.

Matobo RDC: All the wards have been reconfigured. Eight wards {1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8} were previously under Matobo South constituency, but are now under the new Matobo-Mangwe constituency. Two more wards from Matobo South {9, 10} now fall under Matobo constituency. The remaining 14 wards {11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25} which were previously under Matobo North now fall under Matobo constituency. Most of the wards have been resized.

Plumtree Town Council: All the six wards {1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6} no longer fall under Bulilima East constituency, but have been moved to Mangwe constituency.

Umzingwane RDC: Out of the 20 wards, we have noted three main changes. Wards 7 and 13 have been moved from Umzingwane to Insiza North constituency. Also, Ward 9 which was under Matobo North constituency now falls under Matobo constituency. The other changes related to ward size reconfigurations. For instance, Ward 18 has been merged with Ward 3, then got split up into Ward 18, Ward 10 and Ward 3.

5.2.10 Midlands Province

The province has maintained a total of 28 constituencies, however, there are two major changes. Mberengwa North and South constituencies have been collapsed into one constituency, Mberengwa Central, while Mbizo constituency has been split up into two new constituencies, Mkoba North and Mkoba South. Figure 51 below illustrates the major movements of voters.

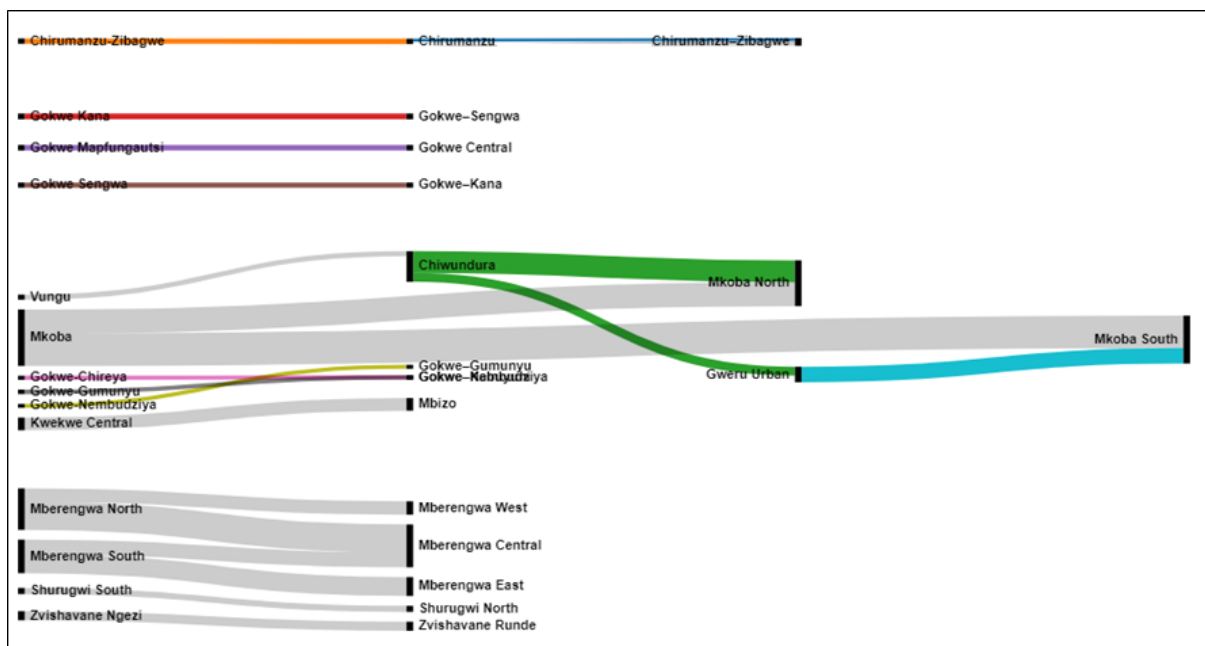


Figure 51 – Delimitation Voter Movements – Midlands Province

The 25 constituencies that remained unchanged are: Chirumanzu, Chirumanzu–Zibagwe, Chiwundura, Gokwe – Gumunyu, Gokwe–Kana, Gokwe – Kabuyuni, Gokwe –Mapfungautsi, Gokwe Central, Gokwe Chireya, Gokwe–Nembudziya, Gokwe–Sasame, Gokwe–Sengwa, Gweru Urban, Kwekwe Central, Mberengwa East, Mberengwa West, Mbizo, Redcliff, Shurugwi North, Shurugwi South, Silobela, Vungu, Zhombe, Zvishavane Ngezi, and Zvishavane Runde.

Gokwe North RDC: Regarding constituency movements, Ward 23 has been moved from Gokwe-Nembudziya to Gokwe-Gumunyu. Also noteworthy is that Ward 35 has been moved from Gokwe-Chireya to Gokwe-Nembudziya. For intra-constituency movements, Ward 32 and 6 have been merged and a new Ward 6 has been created. Ward 2 has also been split up, with the northern area being now Ward 32, while the southern area remains Ward 2. Further, Wards 25 and 24 have been merged, creating one Ward 25. Lastly, Ward 36 has been split up into two creating a Ward 25 and 36.

Gokwe South RDC: In Gokwe Kana, Ward 22 has been merged with Ward 29 and Ward 21, and all the three have now been reconfigured. Part of the old Ward 22 has also merged with Ward 3 and the new Ward 3 now falls under Gokwe-Sengwa (according to the map). Part of the old Ward 22 has also been merged with part of Ward 4 which was under Gokwe-Sengwa, meaning that the boundary has been shifted upwards encroaching into Gokwe-Sengwa, but the resultant new Ward 22 is still under Gokwe Kana. Ward 15 has been split up into two, and two new wards have been created. The new southern ward remains in Gokwe Kana as Ward 30, while the northern ward is now under Gokwe Mapfungautsi. Wards 13, 18 and 32 have also been reconfigured through resizing.

Gokwe South Town Council: No major inter-constituency boundary changes.

Gweru Municipality: The major changes have been the changes that have been made to the wards following the collapse of Mkoba constituency and the creation of two new constituencies, Mkoba North and Mkoba South. Mkoba North now comprises of Wards 11, 13, 14, 15, 16 and 17, while Mkoba South now comprises of Wards 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12. Four wards {12, 13, 15, 16} were also previously under Mkoba, but are now under the new Mkoba North constituency. Ward 5 has been moved from Chiwundura constituency to Gweru Urban constituency.

Kwekwe Municipality: The major changes relate to the addition of two wards to Mbizo, that is, Wards 9 and 13.

Mberengwa RDC: There have extensive ward changes following the collapse of Mberengwa North and South constituencies. Eight Mberengwa North wards {2, 9, 10, 15, 16, 17, and 35} now fall under Mberengwa Central. An extra ward 37 was created in Mberengwa Central from the reconfiguration of Ward 2. The old Ward 37 which was once in Mberengwa North was merged with Ward 13 from Mberengwa West, together with part of Ward 1 from Mberengwa West. The new merged Ward 13 is now under Mberengwa West. Other four Mberengwa North wards {1, 11, 12, 36} have been moved to Mberengwa West. Further, five Mberengwa South wards {24, 25, 26, 27, 28} now fall under Mberengwa Central constituency, and an additional five Mberengwa South wards {18, 19, 21, 22, 23} have been moved to Mberengwa Est constituency.

Redcliff Municipality: No major inter-constituency boundary changes.

Runde RDC: No major changes have been done. Ward 14 has been split up into two wards {1, 14}, while the previous Ward 1 and 2 have been merged into a big Ward 2. Ward 9 has been extended upwards taking part of Ward 4 and Ward 2.

Shurugwi Town Council: No major inter-constituency boundary changes.

Takawira RDC: There were no extensive changes. However, it is noteworthy that two wards {11, 18} have been moved from Chirumanzu–Zibagwe to Chirumanzu. Also, Ward 4 has been merged with Ward 10 to form a new Ward 10.

Tongogara RDC: Wards 4, 6 and 22 have been merged together and a big Ward 6 has been created. Part of Ward 5 has also been encroached by Ward 6. Also merged is Ward 2 and Ward 23, and the new ward still named Ward 2. Ward 21 has been split up in Shurugwi South, and Ward 18 has also been split in Shurugwi North. The southern part of Ward 21 remains as Ward 21, and the northern part of Ward 18 remains as Ward 18. However, the two other parts from the two splits have now been merged together forming a new Ward 23, Shurugwi North. This merge has effectively extended the bottom left boundary for Shurugwi South upwards into Shurugwi North.

Vungu RDC: The boundaries for Ward 15, 17 and 19 have been reconfigured. Ward 5 and 6 have been merged into Ward 6, collapsing Ward 5. Ward 4 has encroached

Ward 3 and Ward 7 has encroached Ward 8. Most importantly is the fact that Ward 19 has taken up part of Ward 16 from Chiwundura constituency.

Zibagwe RDC: Ward 1 and 31 have been merged then split into three different wards, that is, Ward 1, Ward 31 and Ward 33. Ward 20 has been split up into two wards, Ward 20 and Ward 4. Ward 11 has been merged and extended with the bottom part of Ward 20. Ward 12 has now been split into two, that is Ward 12 and 24. Lastly, Wards 16 and 17 have been extended by merging with part of Ward 22.

Zvishavane Town Council: Only two wards have been changed and these are Ward 8 and 9. They have been moved from Zvishavane Ngezi to Zvishavane Runde.

5.3 EVALUATING THE FAIRNESS OF THE DELIMITATION

This section extends the preceding section by critically examining ZEC's decisions to change selected electoral boundaries and to establish the implications of these decisions towards the possible outcome of the electoral outcome. In other words, we sought to empirically investigate gerrymandering fears which some voters expressed. In simple terms, gerrymandering refers to the systematic manipulation of electoral boundaries with a view to giving an undue and unfair advantage to a political party and/or candidate in an election. To evaluate whether ZEC unduly and unfairly changed electoral boundaries or not, we used the data that ZEC provided in the delimitation voters roll. We also referenced the outcome of the 2018 harmonised election results as well as the subsequent by-elections.

From the review of the major changes which ZEC made, we established that the majority of ZEC decisions when moving wards or part of the wards across constituency boundaries unfairly favoured ZANU-PF. This was particularly evident in marginal seat constituencies and swing constituencies. For clarity, marginal seat constituencies are those that were won by a margin of less than 10% votes. Often times, there would not be any need to move voters, but ZEC proceeded to move them in cases where this would benefit ZANU-PF. Sometimes, there would be a need to move voters, but the decision to select the specific wards that had to be moved also oftentimes unfairly favoured ZANU-PF. We explore these instances by examining five case studies.

5.3.1 CASE STUDY 1 – Mutasa South Constituency Gerrymandering

Mutasa South is a marginal seat constituency that is located in the Manicaland province. For a better context, we provided the pre-delimitation setup below.

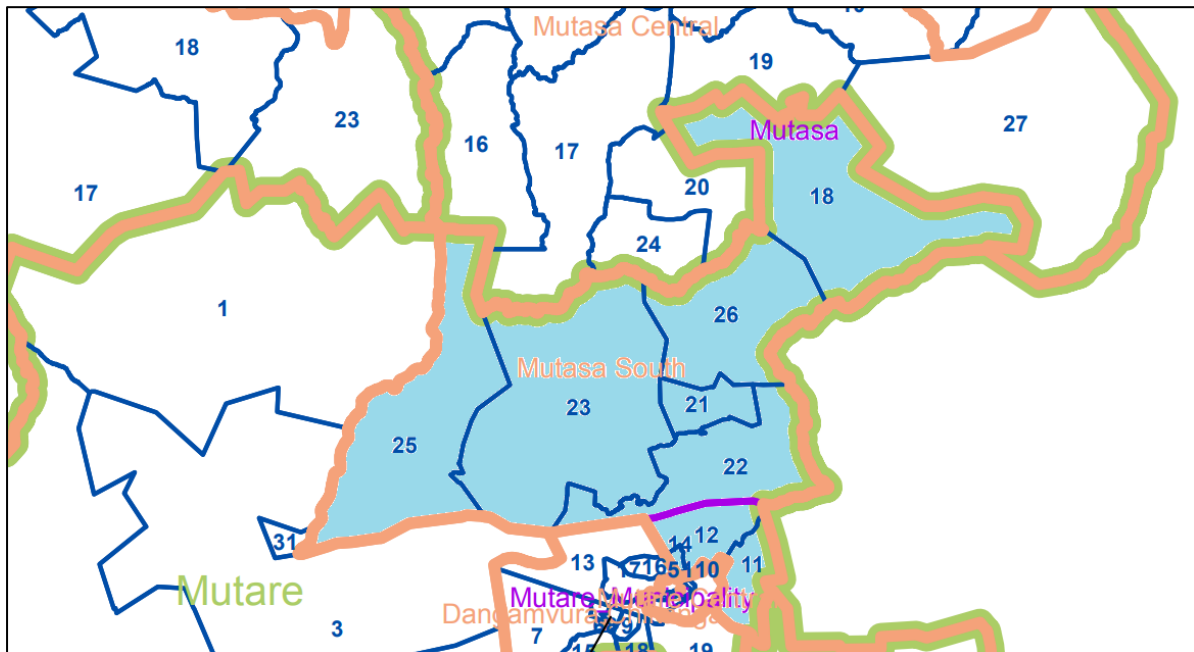


Figure 52 – Mutasa South Constituency before Delimitation

Source: Manicaland Provincial Map, ZEC (2008)

In 2018, MDC-A won the National Assembly election for Mutasa South constituency by **2,047** votes (7.22%), with 14,783 votes against 12,736 for ZANU-PF. However, in the recent March 2022 by-elections, ZANU-PF won by just **629** votes amid reports of endemic electoral malpractices, with their candidate having 5,818 votes and the main opposition having 5,269 votes, while other candidates had a combined of 826 votes.

Prior to the delimitation, the constituency comprised of 9 wards, 3 urban {11, 12, 14} and 6 rural {18, 21, 22, 23, 25, 26}. The total voter population for Mutasa South was **34,358** as at 30 May 2022 and this makes it more than the maximum possible voter population of **33,169** by **1,189** voters. The proportion of opposition votes to ZANU-PF votes is highest in Ward 11 and Ward 14, while for ZANU-PF, the proportion of their votes is highest in Ward 25 and Ward 25. The more neutral wards that are adjacent to neighboring constituencies are Wards 18 and 26.

To meet the delimitation population requirements, ZEC simply needed to move at least **1,190** voters from Mutasa South. ZEC had the option to remove any one of the four less populated Mutasa South's northern wards and merge them with Mutasa Central constituency (population **24,955**). Ward 23 has a population of **1,880**; Ward 26 has a population of **2,264**; Ward 25 has a population of **2,344**, and Ward 18 has a population of **2,388**. Instead, ZEC decided to remove Ward 14's **6,340** voters (mainly opposition) and put it under Chikanga Constituency. Ironically, ZEC proceeded to take Mutasa Central Ward 27's **2,642** voters (mainly ZANU) and added to Mutasa South Ward 18.

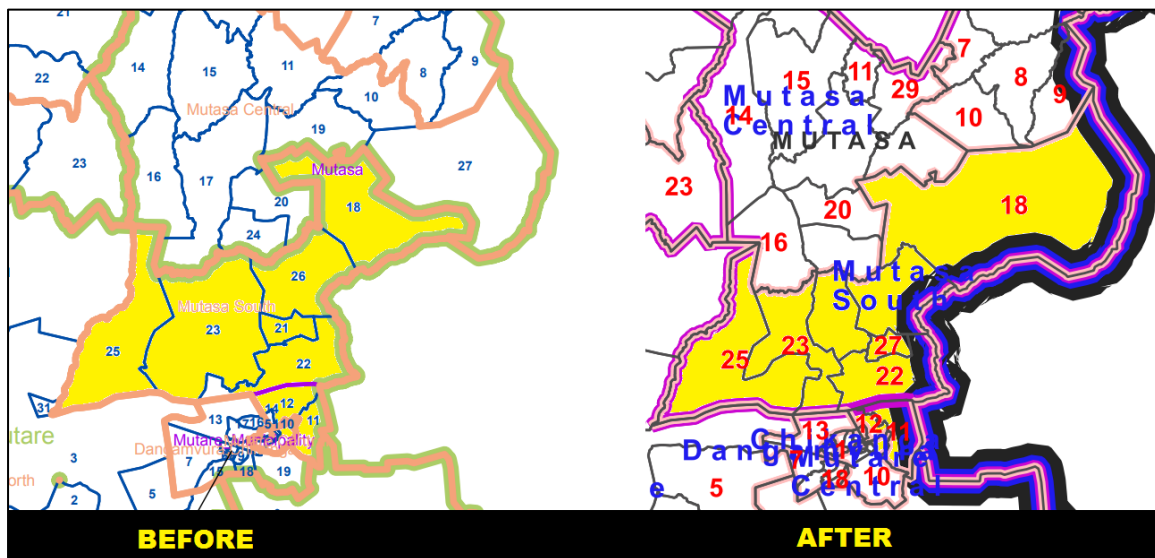


Figure 53 – Gerrymandering – Mutasa South Constituency
 Source: Manicaland Provincial Map, ZEC (2008; 2022)

Back to the movement of Ward 14 to Chikanga constituency, the problem arises from the fact that Dangamvura/Chikanga constituency had a voter population of **63,042** before delimitation. If ZEC had split this constituency equally into two, there would be **31,521** voters in each, and this is within the allowed delimitation population range for constituencies. Dangamvura/Chikanga constituency, therefore, could be split into two separate constituencies without mixing it up with voters from other constituencies. Instead, ZEC decided to move **6,340** voters from Mutasa South Ward 14 to Chikanga.

There was absolutely no need to move such a huge number from Mutasa South. Since the proportion of the main opposition votes in this ward is 72.99% this implies that the opposition has lost approximately **4,627** votes, and ZANU-PF has lost only **1,713** votes. Therefore, the needless removal of Ward 14 from Mutasa South means that the

opposition has lost an approximate net advantage of **2,914** votes. In 2018, the main opposition won the parliamentary seat for Mutasa South by **2,047** votes. ZEC has now weakened the opposition in Mutasa South by removing **6,340** Ward 14 voters who have **2,914** opposition votes more than ZANU-PF. This means that the main opposition would not have won this parliamentary seat in 2018 without Ward 14, and the likelihood of the opposition winning Mutasa South in 2023 is now very low.

The further extension of Mutasa South into a ZANU-PF dominated ward 27 in Mutasa Central will only work to ZANU-PF's advantage as a means to consolidate their winning margin. This is how gerrymandering works. The electoral boundaries have been systematically altered to remove an opposition stronghold ward when there was no need to remove such huge numbers.

5.3.2 CASE STUDY 2 – Chipinge East Constituency Gerrymandering

Chipinge East constituency is another marginal seat constituency that is also located in the Manicaland province. The delimitation voter population was **22 516** and this was within the acceptable constituency voter population range [22,112 - 33,169].

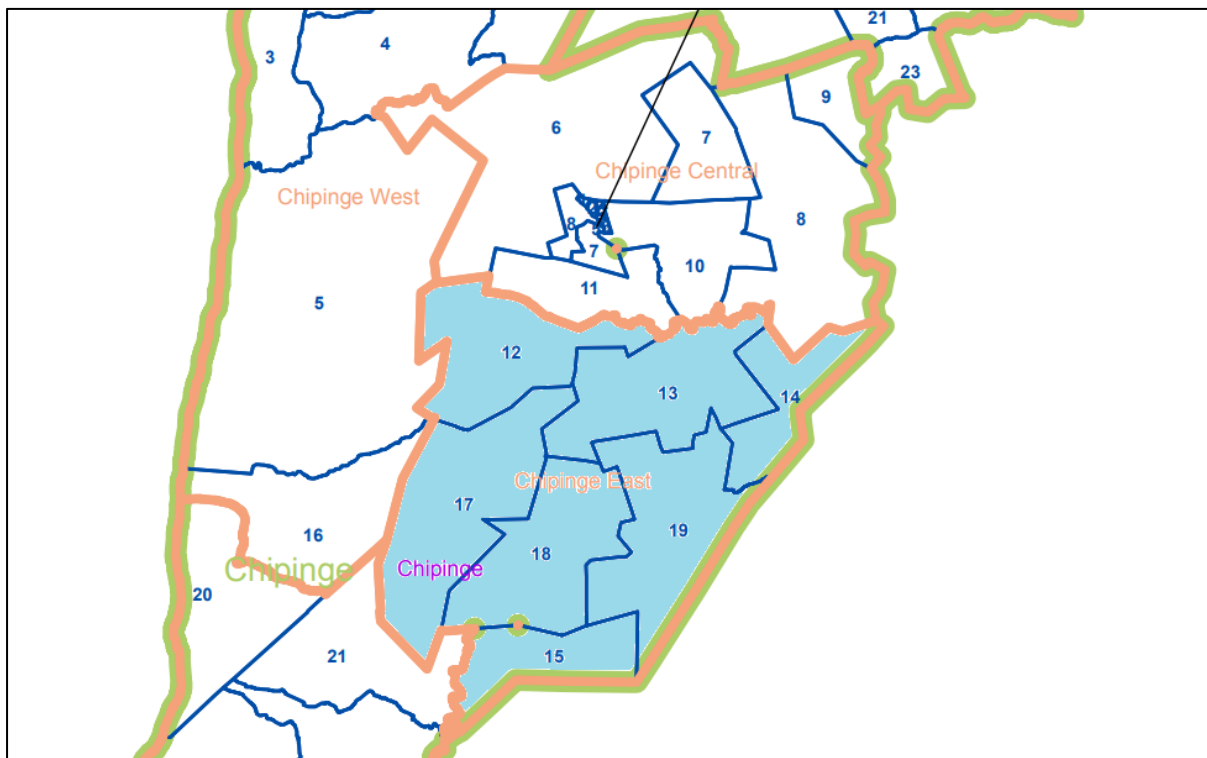


Figure 54 – Chipinge East Constituency before Delimitation
Source: Manicaland Provincial Map, ZEC (2008)

In 2018, an opposition candidate, Mlambo Mathias Matewu (MDC-A), won by just 618 votes (3.39%), and had 8,967 votes against ZANU-PF's 8,349 votes. Prior to the delimitation, Chipinge East had 7 wards {12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19} and all fell under the Chipinge RDC jurisdiction. The proportion of opposition votes to ZANU-PF votes is highest in five wards {14, 15, 17, 18, 19}, and in all those wards, MDC-Councillors also won. On the other hand, ZANU-PF has more votes in 2 wards {12, 13} and likewise, both wards were won by ZANU-PF councillors.

The constituency already met the delimitation population requirements. Therefore, ZEC had no urgent need to add or remove any voters from the current setup. However, for some reason, ZEC decided to move Ward 10 and 11 from Chipinge Central constituency to Chipinge East. These two wards have now been merged into a new Ward 10. The current number of voters in this new Ward 10 is **2,867**.

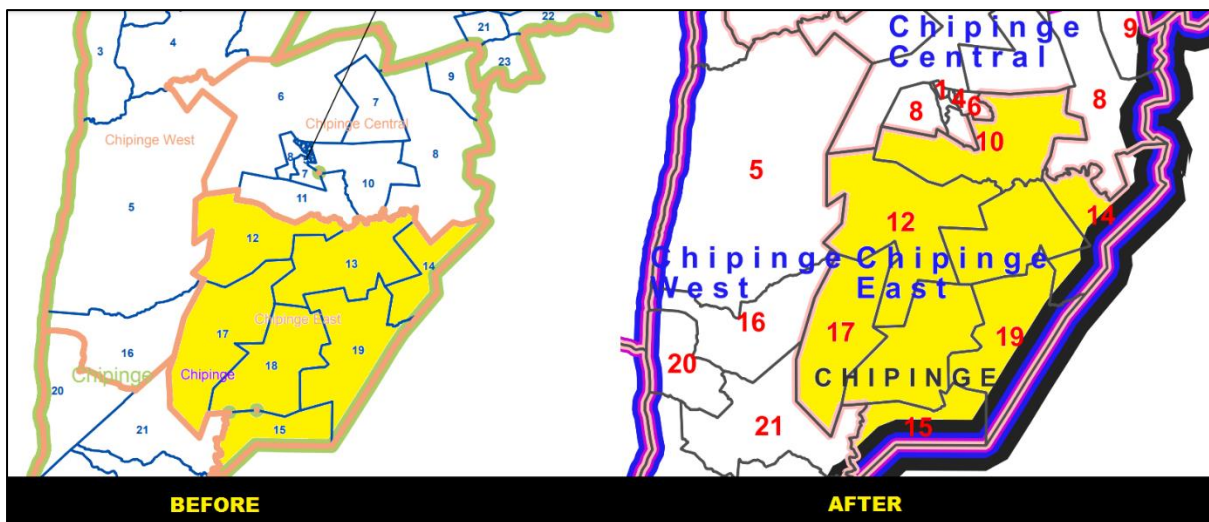


Figure 55 – Gerrymandering – Chipinge East Constituency
 Source: Manicaland Provincial Map, ZEC (2008; 2022)

Historically, in the old Ward 10, had 79.72% votes for ZANU-PF while for Ward 11, 81.78% votes were for ZANU-PF. The weighted average proportion of ZANU-PF votes for the two merged wards is **80.54%**. This is also confirmed by the Councilor votes. In 2018, the ZANU-PF Ward 10 candidate, Sithole Piason, had 1,166 votes (79.16%) against only 241 votes (16.36%) for the main opposition. For Ward 11, the ZANU-PF candidate Dube Enos Chamunorwa got 797 votes (81.83%), while the main opposition got only 157 (16.12%). Moving Ward 10 and 11 from Chipinge Central to Chipinge East implies that ZEC has moved approximately **2,309** ZANU-PF voters against an

approximate **498** main opposition votes. The net effect is 1,811 more votes for ZANU-PF. Back to the 2018 results, the main opposition candidate won by just **618 votes**, with the addition of a net 1,811 votes in favour of ZANU-PF, this implies that the likelihood of ZANU-PF winning the parliamentary seat for Chipinge East is now higher if all other factors are held constant.

5.3.3 CASE STUDY 3 – Chimanimani West Constituency Gerrymandering

Chimanimani West is another marginal seat constituency that is located in the Manicaland province. The voter population when delimitation started was **23,984**. This population is within the allowed constituency voter population range [22,112 - 33,169].

Prior to delimitation, there were 11 wards in this constituency {2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 17, 18, 19, 20}. In most of the wards, there is not much significant gap between ZANU-PF and the opposition votes and this makes it a typical marginal seat constituency. In 2018, ZANU-PF won the parliamentary seat by a marginal **1,558** votes (7.60%). This was, however, ZANU-PF’s lowest performance relative to neighboring constituencies. In Chimanimani East, ZANU-PF had won by **13,458** votes. In Buhera South, ZANU-PF had won by **6,816** votes and in Mutare South, they had won by **6,445** votes.

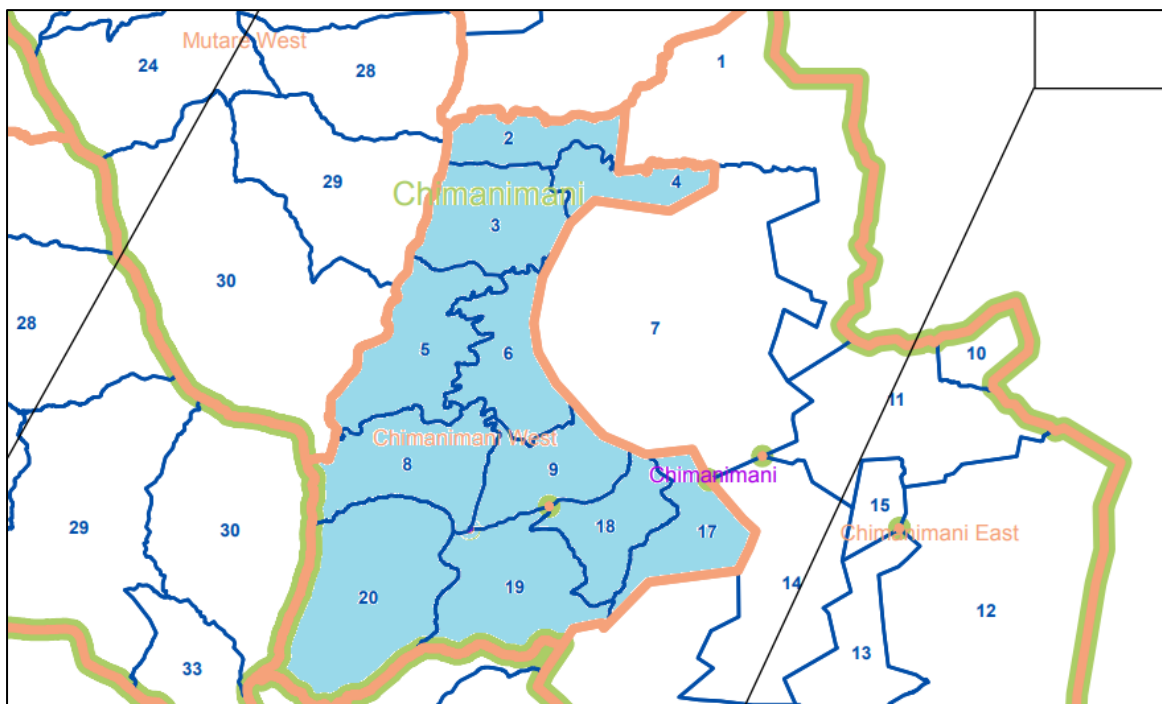


Figure 56 – Chipinge West Constituency before Delimitation

Source: Manicaland Provincial Map, ZEC (2008)

The constituency already met the delimitation constituency population requirements and so there was not much need to extensively reconfigure the constituency. However, despite this, ZEC removed one marginal ward 17 (2,233 voters; 56.21% ZANU-PF) **from Chimanimani West** and moved them **to Chimanimani East** constituency, which is a ZANU-PF dominated territory. This ward will not have any effect on Chimanimani East, being a very safe constituency where ZANU won by 13,458 votes.

In return, they swapped this ward by moving two wards with a strong ZANU-PF support base **from Chimanimani East to Chimanimani West**. These are Ward 1 (2,454 voters; 80.71% ZANU-PF), as well as Ward 7 (2,716 voters; 80.06% ZANU-PF). In other words, ZEC switched wards between two constituencies by removing one ward that had a weak ZANU-PF support base from a marginal constituency (Chimanimani West) and replacing them with two wards (combined population 5,170) that had a very strong ZANU-PF support base from a safe constituency (Chimanimani East). In addition, ZEC also used the same modus operandi and reinforced ZANU-PF's new dominance in Chimanimani West by moving a greater part of one more ward, Ward 22 (2, 866 votes; 75.23% ZANU-PF) from another safe neighboring constituency, Mutare South, to Chimanimani West. Figure 57 illustrates these movements.

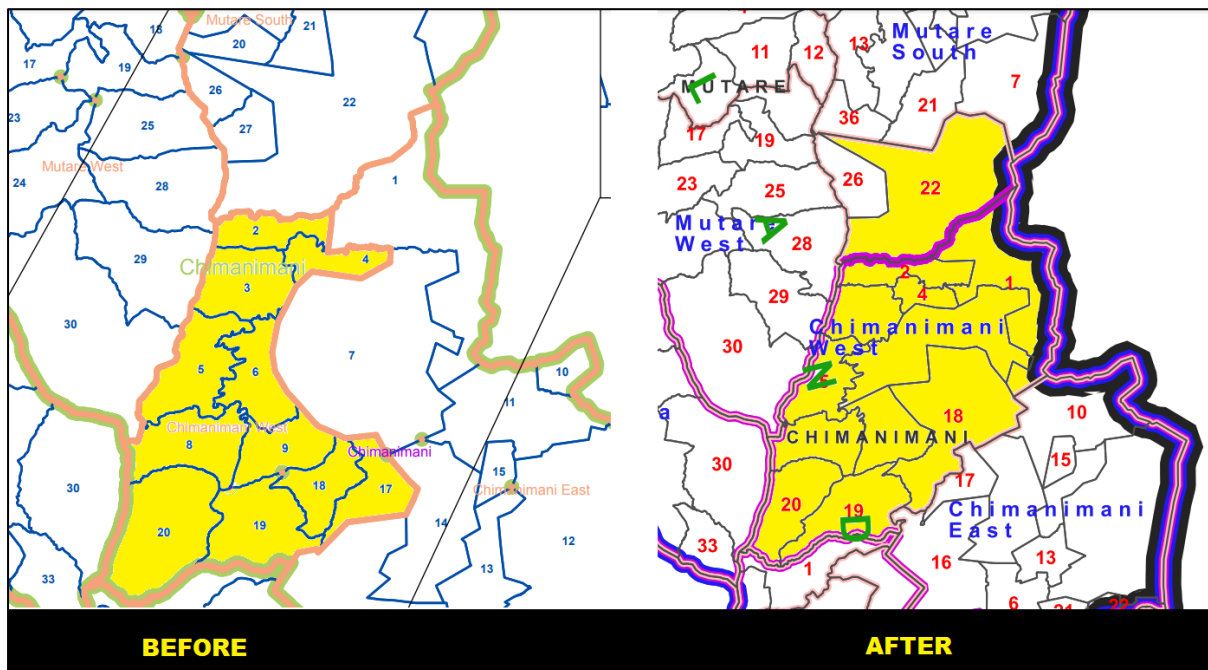


Figure 57 – Gerrymandering – Chipinge East Constituency
 Source: Manicaland Provincial Map, ZEC (2008; 2022)

Now onto the effects, the removal of Chimanimani West Ward 17 (2,203 voters) where 56.21% vote for ZANU-PF and 41.13% the main opposition implies that ZANU-PF has sacrificed 1,255 votes, against 918 votes, that is, a **net advantage of 337 votes**. However, the inclusion of Ward 1 (2,454 voters) where 80.71% support ZANU-PF and 17.19% the main opposition implies that ZANU-PF has gained 1,980 votes against 422 opposition votes, that is, a **net advantage of 1,559 votes**. Second, the inclusion of Ward 7 (2,716 voters) where 80.06% support ZANU-PF and 18.05% the main opposition implies that ZANU-PF has gained 2,174 votes against 490 opposition votes, that is, a **net advantage of 1,684 votes**. Lastly, the inclusion of Ward 22 (2,866 voters) where 75.23% support ZANU-PF and 21.25% the main opposition implies that ZANU-PF has gained 2,156 votes against 609 opposition votes, that is, a **net advantage of 1,547 votes**. Therefore, as a result of the gerrymandering which ZEC has done, the overall effect is a net advantage increase by **4,453 votes** in favour of ZANU-PF. In addition to the 2018 election marginal net advantage of 1,558 votes, this means that the overall net advantage that ZANU-PF now has in Chimanimani West stands at approximately 6,011 votes. Effectively, Chimanimani West constituency is no longer a marginal constituency, but now a safe seat in favour of ZANU-PF.

5.3.4 CASE STUDY 4 – Harare Metropolitan Province

The manner in which the delimitation has been executed in Harare tends to disadvantage the opposition more and favors ZANU-PF. The opposition has lost three national assembly seats and have only gained one which is a net loss of two constituencies. The opposition lost Warren Park, Kambuzuma, and one Highfield (merged). At the time of delimitation, Warren Park had 32,750 registered voters, while Kambuzuma had 22,653 voters and the merged Highfield East and Highfield West had a collective population of 46,087. Warren Park fell within ZEC's cutoff threshold, and so did Kambuzuma. The two Highfield constituencies could have been maintained given that the average population for each was 23,044, which again falls within the delimitation threshold. Instead of maintaining these constituencies, ZEC unfairly pushed the threshold for Harare constituencies' voter population higher to an average of 31,736 resulting in the collapse of these constituencies. The opposition may have gained an extra constituency following the splitting up of Budiro, but that does not compensate the unfair and undue loss of 3 national assembly seats.

Further, despite the evident population growth of Harare and Bulawayo over the past 15 years, ZEC unilaterally decided to unfairly reduce the number of wards in Harare instead of increasing them as requested by the local authorities. In 2021, the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission confirmed that it was not their mandate to determine the number of wards, but that the Local Authorities had that responsibility.

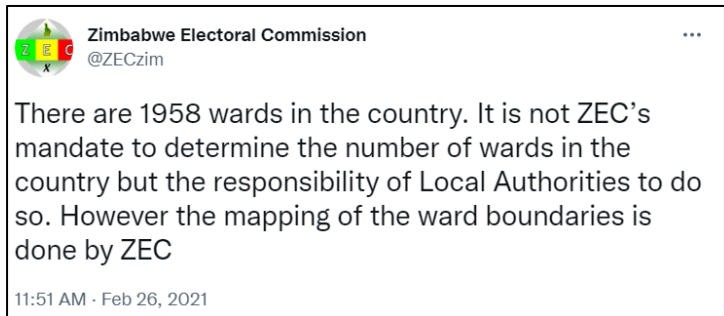


Figure 58 – ZEC on the issue of Number of Wards

Source: ZEC (2021); Twitter handle @zeczim

During the delimitation, the Harare City Council requested 9 more wards from 46 to 55, while Bulawayo City Council requested 6 more wards from 29 to 35 in order to meet the representation demands from the growing population, but ZEC refused and instead, decided to remove a ward from Harare Municipality.

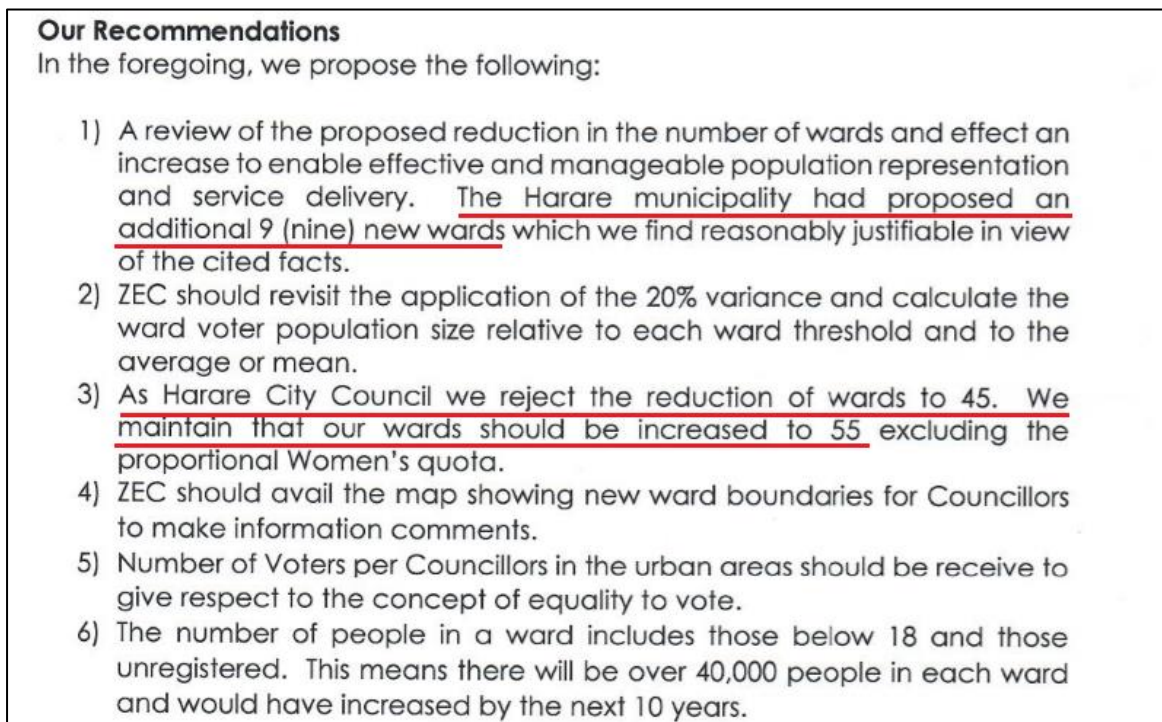


Figure 59 – Harare Municipality Letter to ZEC Requesting More Wards

Source: Harare Municipality (2022), see Appendix C for full letter.

Despite the assurances from ZEC that the number of wards can only be determined by the local authorities, ZEC never gave due consideration to the persistent genuine and justifiable requests from the Harare City Council and Bulawayo City Council to have their residents better represented by creating more wards. Statistical results in Chapter 4 exposed how under-represented Harare urban municipality residents were, particularly Harare and also how ZEC unfairly set the voter population sizes of wards and constituencies in Harare Metropolitan province. This is a clear violation of the principle of equality of vote and the ethos of equality prescribed by the Constitution of Zimbabwe. According to Section 3(2)(b) of the Constitution of Zimbabwe, our electoral system must be based on:

- i. universal adult suffrage and **equality of votes**;
- ii. free, fair and regular elections; and
- iii. **adequate representation of the electorate**

After the delimitation, we have wards that are as small as 341 voters, while wards in Harare are as big as 18,700 voters. This clearly violates the need for adequate representation of the electorate as stipulated in the constitution. At present, the average number of voters per ward in Harare Municipality is 16,101. Had ZEC cooperated with Harare Municipality and conformed with the requested 55 wards, the average number of voters per ward would have been 13,174. While this is still high, that would have reduced the pressure on the Councillors to a great extent and ensured that Harare residents were better represented than what ZEC unilaterally did.

Poor representation is not only affecting Harare alone, but Bulawayo Metropolitan Province as well. In the top 100 wards with high voter population, 29 are in Bulawayo Metropolitan Province (all Bulawayo province wards), 68 are in Harare Metropolitan Province (out of 77 wards in Harare province) and the remaining 3 are in Manicaland (out of 260 Manicaland wards). Harare's biggest ward has 18,792 voters and is also at the 1st position countrywide. Bulawayo's biggest ward has 11,209 voters and is at the 48th position countrywide. Manicaland's biggest ward has 6,616 voters and is at the 90th position countrywide. The rest of the other provinces have maximum ward sizes that have less than 6,000 voters. This clearly demonstrates how ZEC regards urban voters as not worthy of fair local government representation.

5.3.5 CASE STUDY 5 – Epworth/Hunyanani Gerrymandering

To further expose the unfairness of ZEC, this section delves deeper into the pro-ZANU-PF decision-making processes at ZEC where wards were moved from Epworth constituency to the new Hunyanani constituency

Epworth is a marginal seat swing constituency located in Harare province. The voter population for Epworth when the delimitation started was 72,549 and this was more than double the maximum constituency voter population of 33,169. Undoubtedly, the constituency had to be split up and reconfigured. The ward map of Epworth prior to the delimitation is illustrated below.

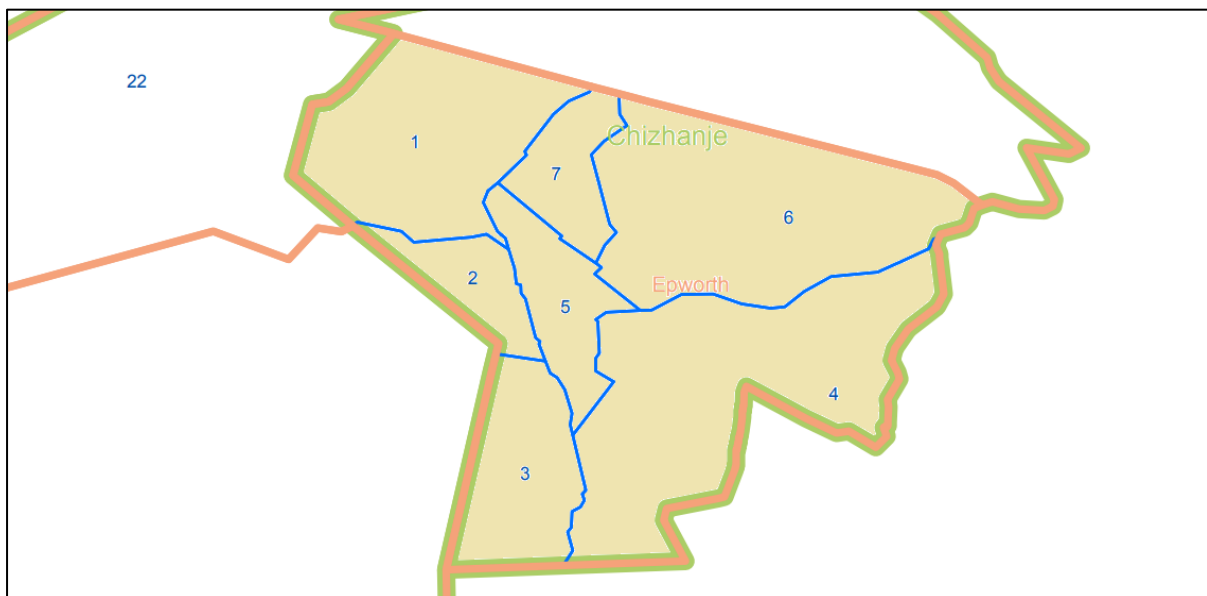


Figure 60 – Epworth Constituency before Delimitation

Source: Harare Provincial Map, ZEC (2008)

Epworth was comprised of 7 wards. Wards 1, 3 and 6 are opposition strongholds, the major stronghold in terms of proportion being Ward 3. For these three wards, in 2018, the opposition won by more than 2,000 votes. On the other hand, ZANU-PF has the greatest support in Ward 2, but in the other remaining wards, there is a near-parity. For instance, in Ward 4, the 2018 opposition council candidate had 3656 votes, while the ZANU-PF candidate had 3393 votes. In Ward 5, the main opposition had 2,353 votes against ZANU-PF's 2,026, and in Ward 7, the main opposition had 4,005 votes against ZANU-PF's 4,017 votes, and ZANU-PF won this ward by just 12 votes.

With respect to the national assembly, in 2018, the opposition candidate, Earthrage Kureva (MDC-A) won the national assembly election and had 26,082 votes. However, the ZANU-PF votes had been split when a ZANU-PF member, Zalera Hazvineyi Makari, stood as an independent candidate and got 10,745 votes, while the other ZANU-PF candidate, Kudakwashe Damson got 16,149 votes. Thus, the combined total for these two ‘ZANU-PF candidates’ was 26,894 votes, which were higher than the opposition winner by just **812 votes**. In March 2022, by-elections were conducted in Epworth and the ZANU-PF candidate, Zalera Hazvineyi Makari, won by **1,965 votes** having acquired 10,248 votes against the opposition’s 8,283 votes.

Having explored the background regarding the political dynamics in Epworth, we now review ZEC’s delimitation decisions. As stated earlier, the voter population of Epworth was more than double the maximum allowed threshold. Epworth had to be split up into two and residual voters had to be allocated elsewhere. The only option for ZEC was to merge the residual voters from Harare South with residual voters from Epworth to form a new constituency, which is what ZEC did. However, major problem at hand is the selection criteria that ZEC used to move voters away from Epworth. For better context, below is the map of Epworth ward configuration vis-à-vis Harare South.

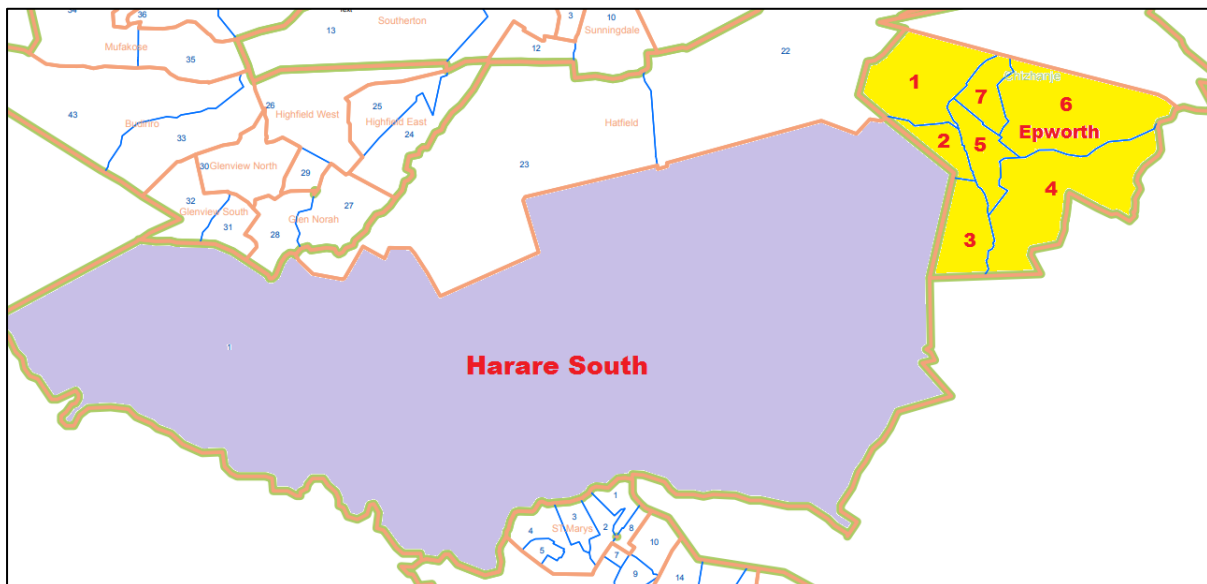


Figure 61 – Harare South and Epworth before Delimitation
Source: Harare Provincial Map, ZEC (2008)

From this map, it is evident that for any movement of voters from Epworth to merge with 18,741 voters from Harare South, ZEC had to choose between Ward 2 and 3.

Ward 2 is a ZANU-PF stronghold while Ward 3 is an opposition stronghold. In the end, none of this would matter if ZEC was independent. What would matter would be the population of these wards to arrive at the final decision whether to move either of the wards, or both or part of either of the two wards.

Ward 2 had **10,095** voters while Ward 3 had **8,591** voters, a difference of 1,504 votes. However, as discussed in the preceding Harare case study, ZEC’s sliding scale had set the constituency voter population sizes for Harare too high such that, excluding Hunyani, the smallest constituency in Harare had **29,318** voters (St. Marys), followed by **29,696** (Glenview South). To remain consistent with these Harare thresholds, it was more sensible for ZEC to move 10,095 voters from Ward 2 and merge with the 18,741 voters from Harare South to form Hunyani constituency. Under these conditions, Hunyani would have **28,836** voters, instead of moving just 8,591 voters from Ward 3 to form a new Hunyani constituency with **27,332** voters. On page xii of the delimitation report, ZEC admitted that they used a sliding rule where the upper voter population threshold was used for Harare constituencies. Technically, to remain consistent with this rule, the new Hunyani constituency had to be formed from Epworth Ward 2, not 3. Unfortunately, politics got into the way. ZEC decided to remove Ward 3 instead.

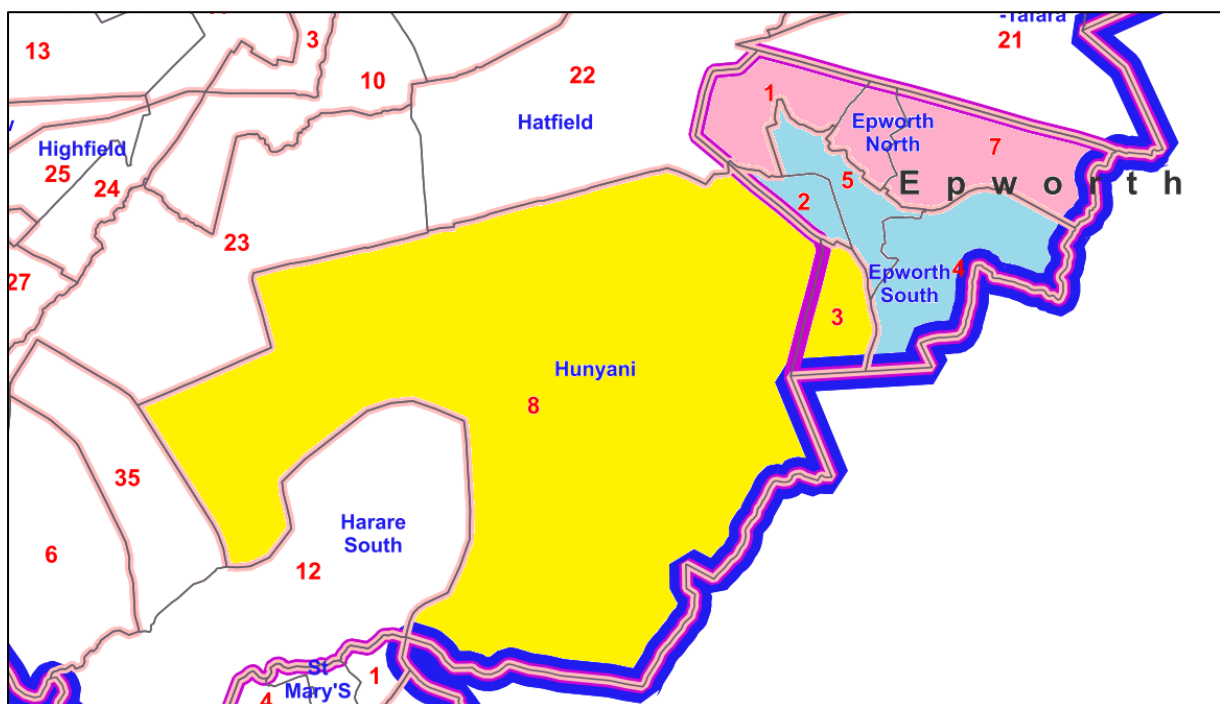


Figure 62 – Gerrymandering – Epworth/Hunyani Constituencies after Delimitation
 Source: National Wards Map, ZEC (2022)

Removing Ward 3 from Epworth had political advantages for ZANU-PF as they would be moving away an opposition stronghold. On the other hand, moving away Ward 2 which, technically, was the best option for ZEC disadvantaged ZANU-PF. Following the removal of Ward 3, the opposition has lost a net advantage of over 2000 votes in Epworth. In the process, ZEC violated their delimitation sliding rule for Harare and have created an outlier constituency whose voter population is no longer consistent with the rest of the other Harare constituencies. This is illustrated below.

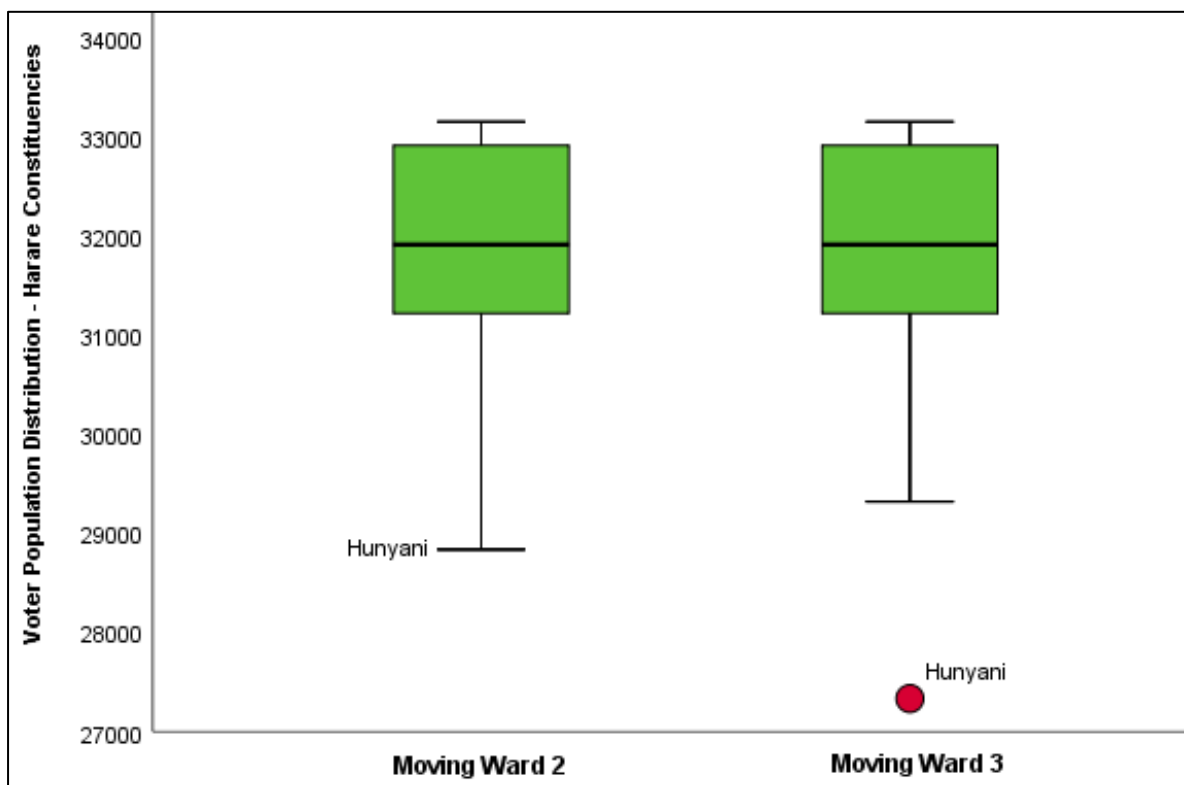


Figure 63 – Effect of Epworth Gerrymandering on Harare Voter Distribution

From the foregoing box-and-whisker plot, had ZEC moved Epworth Ward 2, the resultant Hunyani constituency would have been consistent with, and within, the constituency size range for Harare which ZEC had set using their 'sliding rule'. On the other hand, moving Ward 3 would create an outlier constituency. ZEC chose to violate their own sliding rule thresholds for Harare to accommodate the creation of a new Hunyani constituency with Epworth Ward 3, instead of Ward 2. In short, there was no technical reason to select Ward 3 from Epworth in lieu of Ward 2. The decision by ZEC to remove Ward 3 was purely political and a perfect definition of gerrymandering as this put ZANU-PF at an undue and unfair advantage in Epworth.

ZEC used a strict delimitation rule for Harare which resulted in Harare losing a ward as well as three constituencies that could have been retained if their sliding rule was fair and flexible. However, ZEC chose to relax and violate this self-made rule to create a pro-ZANU-PF constituency that did not meet their sliding rule thresholds to facilitate the dilution of opposition votes. This is how unfair the delimitation was.

There are many other cases of gerrymandering in the ZEC delimitation report. For instance, in Zvishavane Ngezi - a marginal seat constituency, ZEC unduly removed two urban Wards 8 and 9 from the constituency and diluted their effect in Zvishavane Runde, a ZANU-PF stronghold. The significance of this unfair removal of two Zvishavane Town Council wards and mixing them with rural district council wards was to dilute opposition votes to secure a safe seat for ZANU-PF in Zvishavane Ngezi. The opposition has, as a result, lost an advantage of just over 2000 votes and the gap between ZANU-PF and opposition votes has further widened in favour of ZANU-PF. Another case in point is Chiwundura constituency which the opposition won by just 217 votes in 2018, but now ZEC has deliberately moved away an excessive number from opposition wards way beyond what was expected. The resultant Chiwundura constituency now has advantage in favour of ZANU-PF. There are many other gerrymandering examples covered at length in the unabridged technical report.

5.4 SUMMARY

In this section, we provided an overview of the changes that ZEC has made to the 2007/8 delimitation boundaries, and the new changes that have been made. We primarily focused on highlighting the major constituency changes as well as inter-constituency ward movements. We presented the changes by province as well as by local authority. However, in some instances, we also reported the intra-constituency ward changes. This information is vital as it provides an additional context of the changes relative to the existing boundaries. We then proceeded to critically review the changes which ZEC made. Unfortunately, most of the changes made during the delimitation tend to disadvantage the opposition than they do to ZANU-PF. This brings into question the credibility of the entire delimitation process given that it fails to meet the general fairness standards. We also found out that ZEC chose to break their own standards where such violations would ultimately give ZANU-PF an advantage. The following chapter concludes the report also presents the main recommendations.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The foregoing chapters presented the major findings from the audit of the preliminary delimitation report by the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission. There were five major objectives that we sought to accomplish, that is, to evaluate the integrity and quality of the delimitation data, to evaluate the credibility of the technical methods which ZEC used during the delimitation, to identify the major delimitation changes which ZEC made relative to the 2008 delimitation boundaries, to evaluate the impartiality and fairness of the delimitation outcome in the context of gerrymandering and to proffer data-driven solutions and recommendations that may help to redress technical flaws that might be on the report. In this brief chapter, we present the main conclusions and finally, we present the recommendations.

6.2 CONCLUSIONS

From the data quality findings, we identified dozens of instances where the data in the delimitation report failed to meet the expected quality standards. From missing data, to huge statistical discrepancies, the presented data was highly inconsistent. The prevalence of gross miscalculations further marred the integrity of the data. While errors are inevitable in any large-scale data project, with proper data quality assurance protocols in place, their pervasiveness would have been detected and remedied on time. However, considering the fact that these irregularities were found on more than a third of the pages in the preliminary delimitation report, it is our considered conclusion that *the delimitation data is highly compromised and that the delimitation report is beyond redemption*. While ZEC might attempt to superficially window-dress these irregularities without addressing the underlying problems, the effects of this sham delimitation will persist and haunt Zimbabweans for the next 10 years.

We also evaluated the credibility of the technical methods which ZEC used during the delimitation, particularly in relation to ZEC's compliance with Section 161(6) of the constitution. We demonstrated how ZEC's approach violates the provisions of the

constitution using three different methods, and how voter populations using ZEC's approach resulted in constituencies that are up to 40% different from each other. More concerning, however, was ZEC's partisan and intentional severe underrepresentation of voters in urban areas which violates the constitution [§3(2)(b)(iii)]. Further, we demonstrated how ZEC failed to abide by their own formula and created boundaries that fell outside the expected voter population thresholds. We, therefore, conclude that *the criteria used by ZEC does not safeguard the equality of the vote* – an important founding value and principle of the Constitution of Zimbabwe [§3(2)(b)(i)]. The refusal by ZEC to consider the requests from urban local authorities for an upward review of the number of wards is a major attestation to the systematic disenfranchisement of urban voters and the systematic suppression of their democratic rights.

While electoral boundary changes were inevitable, the criteria used by ZEC was, to a great extent, flawed and partisan. In the findings, we presented cases where there was intentional gerrymandering and in all those cases, ZEC unduly and unfairly changed electoral boundaries to give an advantage to ZANU-PF while suppressing opposition strongholds. We hereby conclude that *the delimitation exercise was, by and large, unfair and partisan*. Section 236 of the Constitution of Zimbabwe is crystal clear that the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission should not (a) act in a partisan manner; (b) further the interests of any political party or cause; and (c) prejudice the lawful interests of any political party or cause. The partisan conduct of ZEC during the delimitation by furthering the interests of ZANU-PF and prejudicing the opposition which we identified and documented in this report implies that the delimitation report by ZEC is a product of an unconstitutional process and does not reflect the will of Zimbabweans.

6.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

The last objective of this audit sought to proffer data-driven recommendations that would help to redress delimitation flaws in the delimitation report.

6.3.1 Recommendations to ZEC

Be Transparent: The Zimbabwean constitution is founded on the principles and values of transparency, equality and, inter alia, fairness. Section 3(2)(g) of the same

constitution also stresses that all agencies of the Government must promote transparency and accountability. Section 321(4) of the Constitution further states that ZEC “*may determine its own procedures, but any such procedures must be fair and promote transparency in the performance of ZEC’s functions.*” It is unfortunate that ever since its formation in 2004, ZEC has not been transparent. Their processes are opaque and not fair. The recent delimitation was not an exception. From their secrecy with the voters roll to the unexpected last-minute delimitation changes contrary to what the public demanded and expected, ZEC has failed to be transparent. In this regard, we recommend that ZEC ought to “*respect the people of Zimbabwe, from whom the authority to govern is derived*” [§3(2)(f) of the Constitution]. The Commission is not a private office, but a public office. Section 194(1)(h) of the Constitution of Zimbabwe on the basic values and principles governing public administration clearly states that, in all tiers of Government, ZEC included, “*transparency must be fostered by providing the public with **timely, accessible and accurate information.***” The current opaqueness of ZEC’s processes is unconstitutional, retrogressive, and further fuels the democratic backsliding in Zimbabwe. We further recommend that ZEC should also avail the delimitation voters roll as well as the most current version and have them audited by top-tier auditing firms and ensure that all discrepancies have been resolved.

Be Fair: According to Section 236 of the Constitution of Zimbabwe, *ZEC should not act in a partisan manner; should not further the interests of any political party or cause and should not prejudice the lawful interests of any political party or cause.* It is unfortunate that the since time immemorial, ZEC has been accused of being partisan and of furthering the interests of ZANU-PF, while stifling the democratic rights of opposition parties. The just-ended delimitation has also empirically confirmed these accusations, from the unfair underrepresentation of urban voters, to the manipulation of electoral borders to give an unfair advantage to ZANU-PF. This is contrary to the fundamental values that define us as Zimbabweans. Section 56 of the Constitution of Zimbabwe is clear that, “*All persons are equal and that every person has the right not to be treated in an unfairly discriminatory manner*”. Section 155(1)(c) on the principles of Zimbabwe’s electoral system further reiterates that our elections must be based on the equality of votes. The discrimination of urban voters and the systematic deprivation of their right to fair representation is unconstitutional. Delimitation was meant to redress this representation inequity, but ZEC failed to address this imbalance for

reasons best known to them. We hope that there is still time for ZEC to portray at least some semblance of fairness, and resolve the underrepresentation of urban voters.

Be Professional: The delimitation report has hundreds of irregularities that border on professional malpractice, whether they were intentional or not. Most of the problems we found in the report could have been avoided if ZEC carried out their constitutional mandate professionally. The evident lack of data quality assurance and data quality controls at ZEC is indicative of a Chapter 12 institution that is being poorly managed. Section 194(1)(a) of the Constitution of Zimbabwe states on the basic values and principles governing public administration stresses that in all Government institutions, ZEC included, “*a high standard of professional ethics must be promoted and maintained.*” The administrative failures evident from the flaws in the delimitation report do not inspire any confidence, and clearly demonstrate that there is a significant dearth of professionals at ZEC. We strongly recommend that ZEC revisit their recruitment and selection process to ensure that they hire the best professionals who are not partisan, but have the greatest regard for professional standards and ethics.

6.3.2 Recommendations to Fellow Zimbabweans

Elections are the keystone of democracy, political stability and economic development. Zimbabwe should now stop the never-ending cycle of disputed elections. The elephant in the room has always been the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission. ZEC is the custodian of our democracy and ought to be run by competent Commissioners and employees who hold the highest respect for Zimbabweans, and the Constitution of Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe deserves an electoral management body whose employees exude the highest levels of professional ethical conduct. Sadly, this has not been the case as the commission is failing to be transparent and independent. The current delimitation leaves Zimbabwe in an impasse of either embracing a shambolic new delimitation or reverting back to the 2008 sham delimitation. We strongly recommend that to stop this never-ending cycle of disputed elections, and to ensure that future electoral processes at ZEC are conducted fairly, transparently, professionally and constitutionally, every Zimbabwean should call for the current electoral commission to be held accountable for their professional malpractice and for their urgent resignation, disbandment or otherwise for a referendum on the urgent need for extensive structural reforms at ZEC. Unless ZEC reforms, disputed elections will never end.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: OFFICIAL RECEIPT FOR THE FEBRUARY 2022 VOTERS ROLL

Printed by Printflow (Private) Limited.

ZIMBABWE ELECTORAL COMMISSION

RECEIPT

Serial 014712

From [REDACTED]

to

State method of payment (cheque, etc.) and write in serial number where applicable. UFB

Credit: Computer code Total 20 → 0

Additional particulars:
ELECTRONIC VOTERS ROLL
NATIONAL VOTERS ROLL
TWENTY UNITED STATES DOLLARS

ZIMBABWE ELECTORAL COMMISSION ACCOUNTANT
Date-stamp
FEB 2022
P BAG 7782, CAUSEWAY
ZIMBABWE TEL 04-789130

[Signature]
EMURUMBWA
Issuing Officer

APPENDIX B: ZEC DISOWNING THEIR FEBRUARY 2022 VOTERS ROLL

The Voters Roll

Each year leading to an election, the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission encounters various allegations that have to do with the voters roll. Again it has been observed that once that has started, false and misleading allegations will be carried into the election year as a fall-back position. These allegations are always made through the media and no prior clarification is sought from the Commission. In essence, there is always an attempt to drag the Commission to engage in a public wrangle with the electorate over issues concerning its mandate. It is not part of the Commission's mandate to address issues in the media or to engage in unproductive public debates on issues concerning electoral information in its custody. The Commission has established and publicised stakeholder platforms where it freely addresses stakeholder concerns in an amicable fashion and without exposing the public to grandstanding antics. Therefore, genuine stakeholders do not make noise in the media but do know where to take their grievances to. The Commission has an open door policy where it allows stakeholders to raise any issues with it and responds professionally to same. It is not at war and will never engage in a war with its stakeholders but it will endeavour to share useful information with all for election purposes. Any aggrieved stakeholder is free to visit the Commission to seek for information but it is both retrogressive and irresponsible for any person or stakeholder to cause alarm and despondency by peddling falsehoods.

The alleged 2022 Voters Roll

Now that various issues have been raised in the social media concerning an alleged 2022 voters roll that is being analysed by a certain consultant of a stakeholder, the Commission ought to give a response to let the public know of the truth and other administrative processes being undertaken regarding the issue.

The Commission wishes to dissociate itself with the copy of the alleged voters roll that was allegedly issued to the stakeholder concerned for the reason that it was not procedurally issued and for the record, it has reason to believe that there was connivance between certain members of its staff and a representative of the stakeholder to issue a tempered copy so as to suit that stakeholder's narrative.

Preliminary investigations have indicated that the proper procedure followed once a person requests for the voters roll in terms of section 21(3) of the Electoral Act [Chapter 2:13] was not observed. There is no written record of the request made by the stakeholder concerned to the Chief Elections Officer as is the normal procedure. There is no record or information confirming that the CEO sanctioned the issuance of that alleged voters roll. In fact what has been established is that the alleged voters roll was issued on a verbal request to an officer in the department concerned without the approval or knowledge of the Chief Elections Officer. The request document upon which it was issued does not bear any signature from any ZEC official.

APPENDIX C: HARARE CITY COUNCIL DELIMITATION CONCERNS



OFFICE OF THE MAYOR
TOWN HOUSE, HARARE, ZIMBABWE
POST OFFICE BOX 990
TELEPHONE 752577/9, 781810/7
FAX: 751127
E-MAIL: hhem@hararecity.co.zw
ADDRESS ALL CORRESPONDENCE TO THE MAYOR

5th December 2022

The Chief Elections Officer
Zimbabwe Electoral Commission
No 1 Mahachi Quantum Building
Harare

Att: The Chief Elections Officer

RE: Concerns over the proposed Harare Municipality Delimitation by the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission

Reference is made to the above-mentioned subject matter;

This minute serves to register our concerns with regards the ZEC proposed Harare Municipality delimitation. The basis of our concerns are as follows:

1. The proposed delimitation disregarded the Population Census Outcome
Cognisant of Section 161 (1) which prescribes that the population Census precedes the delimitation process, the proposed reduction of wards from 46 to 45 is evidence that the census outcome was disregarded in the delineation of the ward boundaries. Notwithstanding the voters roll statistics as the primary determinant of delimitation, it should be noted that the registered population in Harare Municipality constitutes only 28% of the entire population hence the reduction in the number of wards is not justifiable as this inevitably bloats the ward population densities. Given the Census figures and the 45 proposed wards, the average ward population becomes 41,102, whilst that of the registered voter population is 16,101 (and the upper limit being 19,321) which is incomprehensible and unsustainable in both instances.

It is instructive to note that the current delineation if it becomes law will subsist for the next 10 years, as such, the number of proposed wards does not factor in the number of inhabitants who are in the ineligible voting bracket, juxtapose this with the population size (16% of the total population) and the growth rate motivated by rural to urban migration. The wards populations are too huge and impact on service delivery.

2. Incoherent application of the 20% variance on the Voter population threshold

In light of the variation to the principle of equality of voting strength, Section 161 (6) of the Constitution prescribes that "no constituency or ward of the local

Harare to achieve a WORLD CLASS CITY STATUS by 2025

*authority concerned may have more than twenty percent more or fewer registered voters than the **other** such constituencies or wards."*

The interpretation of this provision implies that the 20% variation should apply to the wards / constituencies relative to each other and not the average as stated by ZEC in its proposal. For instance, if ZEC was to apply the +20% upper limit on the ward average, then that threshold should transcend to all wards in that local authority and not use both the +20% and -20% factors same time. The inverse can also be applied on the -20% variation to all wards in the local authority.

ZEC calculated the +/-20% variance based on the average, hence its voter population on a sliding scale ranges from the 20% minimum threshold of 12,081 to the +20% maximum threshold of 19,321 (average threshold being 16,101). This has resulted in some wards being prejudiced by being unfairly collapsed or split with a net effect of affecting effective ward representation and serviceability.

Our Recommendations

In the foregoing, we propose the following:

- 1) A review of the proposed reduction in the number of wards and effect an increase to enable effective and manageable population representation and service delivery. The Harare municipality had proposed an additional 9 (nine) new wards which we find reasonably justifiable in view of the cited facts.
- 2) ZEC should revisit the application of the 20% variance and calculate the ward voter population size relative to each ward threshold and to the average or mean.
- 3) As Harare City Council we reject the reduction of wards to 45. We maintain that our wards should be increased to 55 excluding the proportional Women's quota.
- 4) ZEC should avail the map showing new ward boundaries for Councillors to make information comments.
- 5) Number of Voters per Councillors in the urban areas should be receive to give respect to the concept of equality to vote.
- 6) The number of people in a ward includes those below 18 and those unregistered. This means there will be over 40,000 people in each ward and would have increased by the next 10 years.

Your response to the stated concerns will be greatly appreciated.


Cllr JACOB MAFUME
MAYOR OF HARARE

APPENDIX D: ZEC'S RESPONSE ON HARARE DELIMITATION CONCERNS

1 Nelson Mandela Ave.
Corner Kaguvi St. & Jason Moyo Ave.
Private Bag 7782
Causeway
Harare



Telephone: +263(04)759130, 774095
752950, 756252, 774215
752749, 752937, 755721
Facsimile: +263(04)770660/781903
Website: www.zec.org.zw

Ref: B/17/2/199

12 December 2022

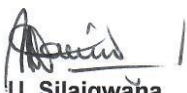
Office of the Mayor
Townhouse
P.O. Box 990
Harare

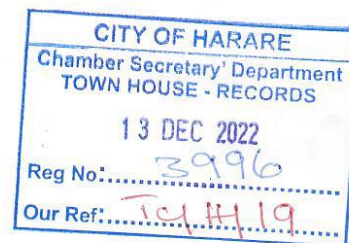
Attention: Councillor Jacob Mafume

CONCERNS OVER THE PROPOSED HARARE MUNICIPALITY DELIMITATION BY THE ZIMBABWE ELECTORAL COMMISSION

We acknowledge your letter dated 5 December 2022 on the above subject matter.

We take note of your concerns which will be tabled before the Commission.


U. Silaigwaña
Chief Elections Officer
Zimbabwe Electoral Commission



Commissioners: Chairperson: Hon. Justice P.M. Chigumba, Deputy Chairperson Mr R.S. Kiwa, Mrs A.M.M. Ambrose, Mr J. Mangwana, Mr S. Manhivi, Mrs R. Murutare, Ms C. Mpofu, Dr J.M. Nzvenga, Mr K. Shava

APPENDIX E: KADOMA MUNICIPALITY BY-ELECTION



ELECTION NOTICE

Electoral Act [Chapter 2:13]

Ward 2 Kadoma Municipality By-election: 8 June 2019

Polling Stations

Notice is hereby notified in terms of section 51(3) of the Electoral Act [Chapter 2:13], that the Commission has established five (5) polling stations for the by-election which shall be located at the centres specified in the Schedule below.

Voting will commence at 7 o'clock in the morning and end at 7 o'clock in the evening on voting day.

SCHEDULE

Names of Polling Stations

Local Authority	Ward	Polling Station	Facility	Ballot papers
Kadoma Municipality	2	Rimuka 1 A High	School	650
Kadoma Municipality	2	Rimuka 1 BA High	School	700
Kadoma Municipality	2	Rimuka 1 BB High	School	700
Kadoma Municipality	2	Rimuka 1 CA High	School	700
Kadoma Municipality	2	Rimuka 1 CB High	School	700
Total				3450

The Ward Elections Officer for the ward is **Kusikwenyu Edeline** and the Ward Collation Centre shall be at Rimuka High School.

BALLOT PAPER PRINTING

It is further notified in terms of section 52A of the Electoral Act [Chapter 2:13], that Print Flow (Pvt) (Ltd) located at corner George Silundika Avenue and Epton Street Harare was given the mandate to print the ballot papers to be used for the by election.

A total of **three thousand four hundred and fifty (3450)** ballot papers have been printed for Ward 2 of Kadoma Municipality and distributed as shown in the schedule above.

U. Sidiqwana (Mr)
ACTING CHIEF ELECTIONS OFFICER
ZIMBABWE ELECTORAL COMMISSION



Zec Zimbabwe

www.zec.org.zw



@ZECzim

APPENDIX F: DELIMITATION VOTERS ROLL CERTIFICATE



CERTIFICATE

IT IS HEREBY certified that this voters' roll is a true copy of the consolidated national voters' roll of Zimbabwe prepared in terms of Section 21 of the Electoral Act [Chapter 2:13] for the 2022 Delimitation exercise.

This voters' roll is issued by the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission and shall not be tampered with or altered in any way.

Note that, in terms of Section 21(9) of the Electoral Act [Chapter 2:13], any person who, having been provided with this voters' roll:

(a) alters the voters' roll, that is to say, excises any name from, adds any name to or otherwise alters the voters' roll with the intent to misrepresent to any person that the altered voters' roll is the authentic voters' roll for any election; or

(b) without the prior consent of the Commission, makes use of the voters' roll for commercial or other purposes unconnected with an election shall be guilty of an offence and liable to a fine not exceeding level ten or to imprisonment for a period not exceeding five years or to both such fine and such imprisonment.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'U. Silaigwana'.

U. Silaigwana (Mr.)

CHIEF ELECTIONS OFFICER
ZIMBABWE ELECTORAL COMMISSION

APPENDIX G: INSPECTION OF DELIMITATION VOTERS ROLL



Inspection of the Delimitation Voters' Roll

It is hereby notified for general information that the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission shall lay open the delimitation voters' roll for inspection by the public in accordance with Section 21 of the Electoral Act [Chapter: 13] as read with section 10(2) of the Electoral (Voter Registration) Regulations Statutory Instrument 85 of 2017. The purpose of the inspection of the voters' roll is to allow members of the public to check if their names are appearing on the voters' roll and to check if their details are correctly captured and if not, to correct such anomalies.

The voters' roll will be polling station specific and available for inspection at the elections centres listed in the schedule below during the period 17 to 26 July 2022 from 07:00 hrs to 17:00 hrs.

The electorate is advised to visit polling stations where they are registered to vote to inspect the voters' roll. Alternatively, voters can check their details on the USSD platform by dialling *265# or the online platform bvinspection.zec.org.zw

Once all the corrections have been taken on board, the Commission will then produce the final voters' roll that will be used for the purpose of conducting the delimitation exercise.

The Commission urges all members of the public to take a keen interest in this important process by coming out in large numbers to inspect the voters' roll.


Hon. Mrs Justice P.M. Chigumba
CHAIRPERSON
ZIMBABWE ELECTORAL COMMISSION

APPENDIX H: REMOVAL OF DECEASED VOTERS, 31 MAY 2022

General Notice 1197 of 2022.

ELECTORAL ACT [*CHAPTER 2:13*]

Removal of Deceased Persons from Voters Roll

IT is hereby notified, in terms of section 33(4) read with section 27(1) of the Electoral Act [*Chapter 2:13*], that voter registration officers have reason to believe that the persons whose names are listed in the First Schedule, and who were registered as voters for the constituencies, wards and polling stations listed therein have died. The names of those persons will be removed from the voters roll unless notice of appeal is given to the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission.

By means of this notice, notification is made to any voter on the First Schedule who may be alive to lodge an objection, at the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission Mahachi Quantum, 1, Nelson Mandela Avenue, corner Kaguvi Street and Jason Moyo Avenue, Harare, and at the respective Commission Provincial Offices, to the inclusion of his or her name in the First Schedule using the form prescribed in the Second Schedule no later than seven days from the date of publication of this notice.

U. SILAIGWANA,
Chief Elections Officer,
Zimbabwe Electoral Commission.

31-5-2022.

FIRST SCHEDULE

APPENDIX I: REMOVAL OF DECEASED VOTERS, 11 OCT 2022

General Notice 2161A of 2022.

ELECTORAL ACT [*CHAPTER 2:13*]

Removal of Deceased Persons from Voters Roll

IT is hereby notified, in terms of section 33(4) as read with section 27(1) of the Electoral Act [*Chapter 2:13*], that voter registration officers have reason to believe that the persons whose names are listed in the First Schedule, and who were registered as voters for the Constituencies, Wards and Polling Stations listed therein have died. The names of those persons will be removed from the voters roll unless notice of appeal is given to the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission.

By means of this notice, notification is made to any voter on the First Schedule who may be alive to lodge an objection, at the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission Mahachi Quantum, 1, Nelson Mandela Avenue, corner Kaguvi Street and Jason Moyo Avenue, Harare, and at the respective Commission Provincial Offices, to the inclusion of his or her name in the First Schedule using the form prescribed in the Second Schedule no later than seven (7) days from the date of publication of this notice.

U. SILAIGWANA,
Chief Elections Officer,
Zimbabwe Electoral Commission.

11-10-2022.

FIRST SCHEDULE

APPENDIX J: ALTERATION OF VOTERS ROLL, 23 JUNE 2022

General Notice 1331E of 2022.

ELECTORAL ACT [CHAPTER 2:13]

Alteration of Voters' Roll

IT is hereby notified, in terms of section 35(2) of the Electoral Act [Chapter 2:13], that the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission has altered the voters' rolls for the Constituencies and wards listed hereunder to correct errors contained therein. The First Schedule below specifies the altered voters' rolls and the names of the persons affected by the alterations as well as the nature of the alterations.

By means of this notice, notification is made to any voter whose name appears in the First Schedule who may have an objection to the alteration/correction to lodge an objection, at the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission Mahachi Quantum, 1, Nelson Mandela Avenue, corner Kaguvi Street and Jason Moyo Avenue, Harare or at the respective Commission Provincial and District Offices, to the inclusion of his or her name in the First Schedule using the form prescribed in the Second Schedule (See Attached Form) no later than seven days from the date of publication of this notice.

U. SILAIGWANA,
Chief Elections Officer,
Zimbabwe Electoral Commission.

23-6-2022.

FIRST SCHEDULE

ALTERATIONS MADE ON THE VOTERS ROLL AND THE NAMES OF PERSONS AFFECTED BY THE SAID ALTERATIONS

APPENDIX K: WRONGLY ASSIGNED POLLING STATIONS

Polling Station	Province	Local Authority	Wrong Ward	Correct Ward
0400BKT0805	Masvingo Province	Bikita RDC	7	8
0400BKT0205	Masvingo Province	Bikita RDC	1	2
0500BIN1905	Mashonaland Central	Bindura RDC	21	19
0500BIN1904	Mashonaland Central	Bindura RDC	21	19
0500BIN1903	Mashonaland Central	Bindura RDC	21	19
0500BIN1601	Mashonaland Central	Bindura RDC	18	16
0500BIN1202	Mashonaland Central	Bindura RDC	10	12
0500BIN1105	Mashonaland Central	Bindura RDC	12	11
0500BIN1104	Mashonaland Central	Bindura RDC	12	11
0500BIN1103	Mashonaland Central	Bindura RDC	12	11
0500BIN1102	Mashonaland Central	Bindura RDC	12	11
0500BIN1101	Mashonaland Central	Bindura RDC	12	11
0500BIN1003	Mashonaland Central	Bindura RDC	13	10
0500BIN1002	Mashonaland Central	Bindura RDC	13	10
0500BIN0605	Mashonaland Central	Bindura RDC	10	6
0500BIN0602	Mashonaland Central	Bindura RDC	10	6
0500BIN0307	Mashonaland Central	Bindura RDC	19	3
0500BIN0306	Mashonaland Central	Bindura RDC	19	3
0500BIN0302	Mashonaland Central	Bindura RDC	19	3
7001CHIM1404	Mashonaland West Province	Chinhoyi Municipality	15	14
7001CHIM1003	Mashonaland West Province	Chinhoyi Municipality	1	10
7001CHIM1002	Mashonaland West Province	Chinhoyi Municipality	11	10
7001CHIM1001	Mashonaland West Province	Chinhoyi Municipality	1	10
7001CHIM0904	Mashonaland West Province	Chinhoyi Municipality	14	9
7001CHIM0901	Mashonaland West Province	Chinhoyi Municipality	14	9
7001CHIM0402	Mashonaland West Province	Chinhoyi Municipality	12	4
1300CPG20806	Manicaland Province	Chipinge RDC	28	20
1300CPG20805	Manicaland Province	Chipinge RDC	28	20
1300CPG20804	Manicaland Province	Chipinge RDC	28	20
1300CPG20803	Manicaland Province	Chipinge RDC	28	20
1300CPG20802	Manicaland Province	Chipinge RDC	28	20
1300CPG20801	Manicaland Province	Chipinge RDC	28	20
2401KAD1603	Mashonaland West Province	Kadoma Municipality	12	16
2401KAD1603	Mashonaland West Province	Kadoma Municipality	13	16
2401KAD1402	Mashonaland West Province	Kadoma Municipality	9	14
2401KAD1303	Mashonaland West Province	Kadoma Municipality	6	13
2401KAD1302	Mashonaland West Province	Kadoma Municipality	7	13
2401KAD1203	Mashonaland West Province	Kadoma Municipality	17	12
2401KAD1202	Mashonaland West Province	Kadoma Municipality	13	12
2401KAD1201	Mashonaland West Province	Kadoma Municipality	13	12
2401KAD0803	Mashonaland West Province	Kadoma Municipality	7	8
2401KAD0802	Mashonaland West Province	Kadoma Municipality	4	8
2401KAD0801	Mashonaland West Province	Kadoma Municipality	9	8
2401KAD0702	Mashonaland West Province	Kadoma Municipality	2	7
2401KAD0701	Mashonaland West Province	Kadoma Municipality	3	7
2401KAD0601	Mashonaland West Province	Kadoma Municipality	4	6
2401KAD0401	Mashonaland West Province	Kadoma Municipality	3	4
2401KAD0302	Mashonaland West Province	Kadoma Municipality	7	3
2401KAD0301	Mashonaland West Province	Kadoma Municipality	9	3
2401KAD0202	Mashonaland West Province	Kadoma Municipality	5	2
2401KAD0104	Mashonaland West Province	Kadoma Municipality	14	1
2401KAD0102	Mashonaland West Province	Kadoma Municipality	7	1
4100KUS0405	Matabeleland North Province	Kusile RDC	5	4
4200MKI1002	Manicaland Province	Makoni RDC	11	10
4200MKI0902	Manicaland Province	Makoni RDC	10	9
4200MKI0811	Manicaland Province	Makoni RDC	11	8
4200MKI0810	Manicaland Province	Makoni RDC	11	8

Polling Station	Province	Local Authority	Wrong Ward	Correct Ward
4200MKI0801	Manicaland Province	Makoni RDC	11	8
4200MKI0509	Manicaland Province	Makoni RDC	6	5
5600MAN1504	Matabeleland South Province	Mangwe RDC	16	15
4301MAM0804	Mashonaland East Province	Marondera Municipality	11	8
1500MAZ3406	Mashonaland Central	Mazowe RDC	35	34
1500MAZ3405	Mashonaland Central	Mazowe RDC	35	34
1500MAZ0102	Mashonaland Central	Mazowe RDC	4	1
7500MTR3407	Manicaland Province	Mutare RDC	4	34
7500MTR3405	Manicaland Province	Mutare RDC	4	34
7500MTR2902	Manicaland Province	Mutare RDC	28	29
7500MTR2405	Manicaland Province	Mutare RDC	25	24
7500MTR2208	Manicaland Province	Mutare RDC	7	22
7500MTR2206	Manicaland Province	Mutare RDC	21	22
7500MTR2004	Manicaland Province	Mutare RDC	36	20
7500MTR2003	Manicaland Province	Mutare RDC	14	20
7500MTR2002	Manicaland Province	Mutare RDC	13	20
7500MTR2001	Manicaland Province	Mutare RDC	14	20
7500MTR1804	Manicaland Province	Mutare RDC	19	18
7500MTR1504	Manicaland Province	Mutare RDC	20	15
7500MTR1501	Manicaland Province	Mutare RDC	6	15
7500MTR0903	Manicaland Province	Mutare RDC	16	9
7500MTR0812	Manicaland Province	Mutare RDC	9	8
7500MTR0811	Manicaland Province	Mutare RDC	9	8
7500MTR0810	Manicaland Province	Mutare RDC	9	8
7500MTR0601	Manicaland Province	Mutare RDC	20	6
7500MTR0503	Manicaland Province	Mutare RDC	35	5
7500MTR0502	Manicaland Province	Mutare RDC	35	5
7500MTR0304	Manicaland Province	Mutare RDC	31	3
7500MTR0302	Manicaland Province	Mutare RDC	31	3
7500MTR0301	Manicaland Province	Mutare RDC	5	3
7500MTR0104	Manicaland Province	Mutare RDC	8	1
4800MTK0606	Mashonaland East Province	Mutoko RDC	11	6
4800MTK0303	Mashonaland East Province	Mutoko RDC	6	3
6700RDC0206	Midlands Province	Runde RDC	1	2
6700RDC0205	Midlands Province	Runde RDC	1	2
6700RDC0204	Midlands Province	Runde RDC	1	2
6700RDC0203	Midlands Province	Runde RDC	1	2
6700RDC0202	Midlands Province	Runde RDC	1	2
6700RDC0201	Midlands Province	Runde RDC	1	2
6700RDC0108	Midlands Province	Runde RDC		1
6700RDC0107	Midlands Province	Runde RDC		1
6700RDC0106	Midlands Province	Runde RDC		1
6700RDC0103	Midlands Province	Runde RDC		1
6700RDC0101	Midlands Province	Runde RDC		1
2400SAN1502	Mashonaland West Province	Sanyati RDC	8	15
2400SAN1501	Mashonaland West Province	Sanyati RDC	8	15
2400SAN1402	Mashonaland West Province	Sanyati RDC	8	14
2400SAN1401	Mashonaland West Province	Sanyati RDC	8	14
2400SAN1302	Mashonaland West Province	Sanyati RDC	8	13
2400SAN1301	Mashonaland West Province	Sanyati RDC	8	13
2400SAN1301	Mashonaland West Province	Sanyati RDC	17	13
2400SAN1204	Mashonaland West Province	Sanyati RDC	18	12
2400SAN1203	Mashonaland West Province	Sanyati RDC	5	12
2400SAN1202	Mashonaland West Province	Sanyati RDC	6	12
2400SAN1201	Mashonaland West Province	Sanyati RDC	18	12
2400SAN0902	Mashonaland West Province	Sanyati RDC	10	9
2400SAN0901	Mashonaland West Province	Sanyati RDC	10	9
2400SAN0702	Mashonaland West Province	Sanyati RDC	6	7
2400SAN0510	Mashonaland West Province	Sanyati RDC	9	5
2400SAN0509	Mashonaland West Province	Sanyati RDC	9	5

Polling Station	Province	Local Authority	Wrong Ward	Correct Ward
2400SAN0507	Mashonaland West Province	Sanyati RDC	9	5
2400SAN0505	Mashonaland West Province	Sanyati RDC	13	5
2400SAN0504	Mashonaland West Province	Sanyati RDC	13	5
2400SAN0502	Mashonaland West Province	Sanyati RDC	9	5
2400SAN0502	Mashonaland West Province	Sanyati RDC	4	5
2400SAN0407	Mashonaland West Province	Sanyati RDC	13	4
2400SAN0404	Mashonaland West Province	Sanyati RDC	13	4
2400SAN0403	Mashonaland West Province	Sanyati RDC	13	4
2400SAN0402	Mashonaland West Province	Sanyati RDC	13	4
2400SAN0312	Mashonaland West Province	Sanyati RDC	12	3
2400SAN0310	Mashonaland West Province	Sanyati RDC	15	3
2400SAN0309	Mashonaland West Province	Sanyati RDC	7	3
2400SAN0308	Mashonaland West Province	Sanyati RDC	15	3
2400SAN0307	Mashonaland West Province	Sanyati RDC	15	3
2400SAN0306	Mashonaland West Province	Sanyati RDC	7	3
2400SAN0303	Mashonaland West Province	Sanyati RDC	15	3
2400SAN0302	Mashonaland West Province	Sanyati RDC	15	3
2400SAN0301	Mashonaland West Province	Sanyati RDC	7	3
2400SAN0213	Mashonaland West Province	Sanyati RDC	12	2
2400SAN0211	Mashonaland West Province	Sanyati RDC	4	2
2400SAN0210	Mashonaland West Province	Sanyati RDC	13	2
2400SAN0209	Mashonaland West Province	Sanyati RDC	12	2
2400SAN0207	Mashonaland West Province	Sanyati RDC	12	2
2400SAN0204	Mashonaland West Province	Sanyati RDC	12	2
2400SAN0203	Mashonaland West Province	Sanyati RDC	4	2
2400SAN0202	Mashonaland West Province	Sanyati RDC	4	2
2400SAN0201	Mashonaland West Province	Sanyati RDC	12	2
2400SAN0115	Mashonaland West Province	Sanyati RDC	14	1
2400SAN0113	Mashonaland West Province	Sanyati RDC	14	1
2400SAN0111	Mashonaland West Province	Sanyati RDC	14	1
2400SAN0108	Mashonaland West Province	Sanyati RDC	14	1
2400SAN0104	Mashonaland West Province	Sanyati RDC	14	1
2400SAN0101	Mashonaland West Province	Sanyati RDC	14	1
2400SAN03011	Mashonaland West Province	Sanyati RDC	7	3
7700TAK1502	Midlands Province	Takawira RDC	16	15
7700TAK0102	Midlands Province	Takawira RDC	8	1
8300ZKA2006	Masvingo Province	Zaka RDC	29	20
5800ZRDC2304	Midlands Province	Zibagwe RDC	24	23
5800ZRDC1806	Midlands Province	Zibagwe RDC	19	18
5800ZRDC0108	Midlands Province	Zibagwe RDC	2	1
5800ZRDC0107	Midlands Province	Zibagwe RDC	2	1
5800ZRDC0106	Midlands Province	Zibagwe RDC	2	1
5800ZRDC05802A	Midlands Province	Zibagwe RDC	8	5

APPENDIX L: DISTRIBUTION OF WARDS

Province	Local Authority	Constituency	Wards
Bulawayo Metropolitan	Bulawayo Municipality	Bulawayo Central	2
Bulawayo Metropolitan	Bulawayo Municipality	Bulawayo North	2
Bulawayo Metropolitan	Bulawayo Municipality	Bulawayo South	2
Bulawayo Metropolitan	Bulawayo Municipality	Cowdray Park	3
Bulawayo Metropolitan	Bulawayo Municipality	Emakhandeni - Luveve	2
Bulawayo Metropolitan	Bulawayo Municipality	Entumbane-Njube	2
Bulawayo Metropolitan	Bulawayo Municipality	Lobengula – Magwegwe	3
Bulawayo Metropolitan	Bulawayo Municipality	Mpopoma-Mzilikazi	2
Bulawayo Metropolitan	Bulawayo Municipality	Nketa	3
Bulawayo Metropolitan	Bulawayo Municipality	Nkulumane	2
Bulawayo Metropolitan	Bulawayo Municipality	Pelandaba-Tshabalala	3
Bulawayo Metropolitan	Bulawayo Municipality	Pumula	3
Harare Metropolitan	Chitungwiza Municipality	Chitungwiza North	5
Harare Metropolitan	Chitungwiza Municipality	Chitungwiza South	5
Harare Metropolitan	Chitungwiza Municipality	St Marys	5
Harare Metropolitan	Chitungwiza Municipality	Zengeza East	5
Harare Metropolitan	Chitungwiza Municipality	Zengeza West	5
Harare Metropolitan	Epworth Local Board	Epworth North	3
Harare Metropolitan	Epworth Local Board	Epworth South	3
Harare Metropolitan	Epworth Local Board	Hunyani	1
Harare Metropolitan	Harare Municipality	Budiriro North	2
Harare Metropolitan	Harare Municipality	Budiriro South	2
Harare Metropolitan	Harare Municipality	Churu	2
Harare Metropolitan	Harare Municipality	Dzivarasekwa	2
Harare Metropolitan	Harare Municipality	Glenorah	2
Harare Metropolitan	Harare Municipality	Glenview North	2
Harare Metropolitan	Harare Municipality	Glenview South	2
Harare Metropolitan	Harare Municipality	Harare Central	2
Harare Metropolitan	Harare Municipality	Harare East	2
Harare Metropolitan	Harare Municipality	Harare South	2
Harare Metropolitan	Harare Municipality	Harare West	2
Harare Metropolitan	Harare Municipality	Hatcliffe	2
Harare Metropolitan	Harare Municipality	Hatfield	2
Harare Metropolitan	Harare Municipality	Highfield	2
Harare Metropolitan	Harare Municipality	Hunyani	1
Harare Metropolitan	Harare Municipality	Kuwadzana East	2
Harare Metropolitan	Harare Municipality	Kuwadzana West	2
Harare Metropolitan	Harare Municipality	Mabvuku Tafara	2
Harare Metropolitan	Harare Municipality	Mbare	2
Harare Metropolitan	Harare Municipality	Mount Pleasant	2
Harare Metropolitan	Harare Municipality	Mufakose	2
Harare Metropolitan	Harare Municipality	Southerton	2
Harare Metropolitan	Harare Municipality	Sunningdale	2
Manicaland	Buhera RDC	Buhera Central	8
Manicaland	Buhera RDC	Buhera North	9
Manicaland	Buhera RDC	Buhera South	8
Manicaland	Buhera RDC	Buhera West	8
Manicaland	Chimanimani RDC	Chimanimani East	12
Manicaland	Chimanimani RDC	Chimanimani West	11
Manicaland	Chipinge RDC	Chipinge Central	5
Manicaland	Chipinge RDC	Chipinge East	8
Manicaland	Chipinge RDC	Chipinge South	8

Province	Local Authority	Constituency	Wards
Manicaland	Chipinge RDC	Chipinge West	9
Manicaland	Chipinge Town Council	Chipinge Central	8
Manicaland	Makoni RDC	Headlands	9
Manicaland	Makoni RDC	Makoni Central	3
Manicaland	Makoni RDC	Makoni North	9
Manicaland	Makoni RDC	Makoni South	9
Manicaland	Makoni RDC	Makoni West	9
Manicaland	Mutare Municipality	Chikanga	5
Manicaland	Mutare Municipality	Dangamvura	6
Manicaland	Mutare Municipality	Mutare Central	6
Manicaland	Mutare Municipality	Mutasa South	2
Manicaland	Mutare RDC	Chimanimani West	2
Manicaland	Mutare RDC	Makoni South	2
Manicaland	Mutare RDC	Mutare North	10
Manicaland	Mutare RDC	Mutare South	11
Manicaland	Mutare RDC	Mutare West	11
Manicaland	Mutasa RDC	Mutasa Central	11
Manicaland	Mutasa RDC	Mutasa North	13
Manicaland	Mutasa RDC	Mutasa South	7
Manicaland	Nyanga RDC	Nyanga North	14
Manicaland	Nyanga RDC	Nyanga South	17
Manicaland	Rusape Town Council	Makoni Central	10
Mashonaland Central	Bindura Municipality	Bindura North	12
Mashonaland Central	Bindura RDC	Bindura North	3
Mashonaland Central	Bindura RDC	Bindura South	12
Mashonaland Central	Bindura RDC	Mazowe Central	3
Mashonaland Central	Bindura RDC	Mt Darwin West	1
Mashonaland Central	Bindura RDC	Shamva South	2
Mashonaland Central	Chaminuka RDC	Mt Darwin South	2
Mashonaland Central	Chaminuka RDC	Shamva North	15
Mashonaland Central	Chaminuka RDC	Shamva South	12
Mashonaland Central	Guruve RDC	Guruve North	12
Mashonaland Central	Guruve RDC	Guruve South	12
Mashonaland Central	Mazowe RDC	Mazowe Central	8
Mashonaland Central	Mazowe RDC	Mazowe North	8
Mashonaland Central	Mazowe RDC	Mazowe South	8
Mashonaland Central	Mazowe RDC	Mazowe West	11
Mashonaland Central	Mbire RDC	Mbire	17
Mashonaland Central	Muzarabani RDC	Muzarabani North	14
Mashonaland Central	Muzarabani RDC	Muzarabani South	15
Mashonaland Central	Mvurwi Town Council	Mazowe North	6
Mashonaland Central	Pfura RDC	Mt Darwin East	10
Mashonaland Central	Pfura RDC	Mt Darwin North	10
Mashonaland Central	Pfura RDC	Mt Darwin South	10
Mashonaland Central	Pfura RDC	Mt Darwin West	10
Mashonaland Central	Rushinga RDC	Mt Darwin East	3
Mashonaland Central	Rushinga RDC	Rushinga	22
Mashonaland East	Chikomba RDC	Chikomba East	14
Mashonaland East	Chikomba RDC	Chikomba West	11
Mashonaland East	Chikomba RDC	Wedza South	5
Mashonaland East	Goromonzi RDC	Goromonzi North	7
Mashonaland East	Goromonzi RDC	Goromonzi South	6
Mashonaland East	Goromonzi RDC	Goromonzi West	7
Mashonaland East	Goromonzi RDC	Murewa North	1
Mashonaland East	Goromonzi RDC	Murewa West	2

Province	Local Authority	Constituency	Wards
Mashonaland East	Goromonzi RDC	Seke	2
Mashonaland East	Manyame RDC	Chikomba West	5
Mashonaland East	Manyame RDC	Marondera West	7
Mashonaland East	Manyame RDC	Seke	9
Mashonaland East	Marondera Municipality	Marondera Central	12
Mashonaland East	Marondera RDC	Marondera East	10
Mashonaland East	Marondera RDC	Marondera West	8
Mashonaland East	Marondera RDC	Wedza North	5
Mashonaland East	Mudzi RDC	Mudzi North	6
Mashonaland East	Mudzi RDC	Mudzi South	6
Mashonaland East	Mudzi RDC	Mudzi West	6
Mashonaland East	Murewa RDC	Murewa North	9
Mashonaland East	Murewa RDC	Murewa South	11
Mashonaland East	Murewa RDC	Murewa West	9
Mashonaland East	Murewa RDC	Mutoko South	1
Mashonaland East	Mutoko RDC	Mudzi West	1
Mashonaland East	Mutoko RDC	Mutoko East	11
Mashonaland East	Mutoko RDC	Mutoko North	9
Mashonaland East	Mutoko RDC	Mutoko South	8
Mashonaland East	Ruwa Local Board	Goromonzi South	1
Mashonaland East	Ruwa Local Board	Ruwa	8
Mashonaland East	Wedza RDC	Wedza North	8
Mashonaland East	Wedza RDC	Wedza South	7
Mashonaland East	Zvataida RDC	Maramba Pfungwe	8
Mashonaland East	Zvataida RDC	Uzumba	9
Mashonaland West	Chegutu Municipality	Chegutu West	12
Mashonaland West	Chegutu RDC	Chegutu East	14
Mashonaland West	Chegutu RDC	Chegutu West	2
Mashonaland West	Chegutu RDC	Mhondoro-Mubaira	12
Mashonaland West	Chegutu RDC	Norton	1
Mashonaland West	Chinhoyi Municipality	Chinhoyi	13
Mashonaland West	Chinhoyi Municipality	Makonde	2
Mashonaland West	Chirundu Local Board	Hurungwe North	3
Mashonaland West	Hurungwe RDC	Hurungwe Central	2
Mashonaland West	Hurungwe RDC	Hurungwe East	7
Mashonaland West	Hurungwe RDC	Hurungwe North	6
Mashonaland West	Hurungwe RDC	Hurungwe West	6
Mashonaland West	Hurungwe RDC	Magunje	5
Mashonaland West	Kadoma Municipality	Chakari	2
Mashonaland West	Kadoma Municipality	Kadoma Central	11
Mashonaland West	Kadoma Municipality	Muzveze	4
Mashonaland West	Kariba Municipality	Kariba	9
Mashonaland West	Karoi Town Council	Hurungwe Central	10
Mashonaland West	Makonde RDC	Makonde	8
Mashonaland West	Makonde RDC	Mhangura	10
Mashonaland West	Makonde RDC	Zvimba West	1
Mashonaland West	Mhondoro–Ngezi RDC	Mhondoro-Mubaira	1
Mashonaland West	Mhondoro–Ngezi RDC	Mhondoro-Ngezi	10
Mashonaland West	Mhondoro–Ngezi RDC	Muzveze	5
Mashonaland West	Norton Town Council	Norton	13
Mashonaland West	Nyami-Nyami RDC	Kariba	12
Mashonaland West	Sanyati RDC	Chakari	8
Mashonaland West	Sanyati RDC	Sanyati	10
Mashonaland West	Zvimba RDC	Zvimba East	10
Mashonaland West	Zvimba RDC	Zvimba North	10

Province	Local Authority	Constituency	Wards
Mashonaland West	Zvimba RDC	Zvimba South	8
Mashonaland West	Zvimba RDC	Zvimba West	7
Masvingo	Bikita RDC	Bikita East	10
Masvingo	Bikita RDC	Bikita South	11
Masvingo	Bikita RDC	Bikita West	11
Masvingo	Chiredzi RDC	Chiredzi Central	2
Masvingo	Chiredzi RDC	Chiredzi East	7
Masvingo	Chiredzi RDC	Chiredzi North	7
Masvingo	Chiredzi RDC	Chiredzi South	8
Masvingo	Chiredzi RDC	Chiredzi West	8
Masvingo	Chiredzi Town Council	Chiredzi Central	8
Masvingo	Chivi RDC	Chivi Central	10
Masvingo	Chivi RDC	Chivi North	11
Masvingo	Chivi RDC	Chivi South	11
Masvingo	Gutu RDC	Gutu Central	10
Masvingo	Gutu RDC	Gutu East	10
Masvingo	Gutu RDC	Gutu North	10
Masvingo	Gutu RDC	Gutu West	11
Masvingo	Masvingo Municipality	Masvingo North	1
Masvingo	Masvingo Municipality	Masvingo Urban	7
Masvingo	Masvingo Municipality	Masvingo West	2
Masvingo	Masvingo RDC	Masvingo Central	10
Masvingo	Masvingo RDC	Masvingo North	8
Masvingo	Masvingo RDC	Masvingo South	10
Masvingo	Masvingo RDC	Masvingo West	7
Masvingo	Mwenezi RDC	Mwenezi East	6
Masvingo	Mwenezi RDC	Mwenezi North	5
Masvingo	Mwenezi RDC	Mwenezi West	7
Masvingo	Zaka RDC	Zaka Central	11
Masvingo	Zaka RDC	Zaka North	12
Masvingo	Zaka RDC	Zaka South	11
Matabeleland North	Binga RDC	Binga North	11
Matabeleland North	Binga RDC	Binga South	11
Matabeleland North	Binga RDC	Lupane West	3
Matabeleland North	Bubi RDC	Bubi	21
Matabeleland North	Bubi RDC	Lupane East	2
Matabeleland North	Hwange Local Board	Hwange Central	15
Matabeleland North	Hwange RDC	Hwange East	17
Matabeleland North	Hwange RDC	Hwange West	3
Matabeleland North	Kusile RDC	Lupane East	15
Matabeleland North	Kusile RDC	Lupane West	13
Matabeleland North	Lupane Local Board	Lupane West	4
Matabeleland North	Nkayi RDC	Nkayi North	15
Matabeleland North	Nkayi RDC	Nkayi South	15
Matabeleland North	Tsholotsho RDC	Tsholotsho North	13
Matabeleland North	Tsholotsho RDC	Tsholotsho South	9
Matabeleland North	Umguza RDC	Tsholotsho South	5
Matabeleland North	Umguza RDC	Umguza	14
Matabeleland North	Victoria Falls Municipality	Hwange West	11
Matabeleland South	Beitbridge RDC	Beitbridge East	7
Matabeleland South	Beitbridge RDC	Beitbridge West	5
Matabeleland South	Beitbridge RDC	Gwanda -Tshitauzde	3
Matabeleland South	Beitbridge Town Council	Beitbridge East	3
Matabeleland South	Beitbridge Town Council	Beitbridge West	3
Matabeleland South	Bulilima RDC	Bulilima	19

Province	Local Authority	Constituency	Wards
Matabeleland South	Bulilima RDC	Mangwe	3
Matabeleland South	Gwanda Municipality	Gwanda -Tshitauze	7
Matabeleland South	Gwanda Municipality	Gwanda North	3
Matabeleland South	Gwanda RDC	Gwanda -Tshitauze	3
Matabeleland South	Gwanda RDC	Gwanda North	10
Matabeleland South	Gwanda RDC	Gwanda South	11
Matabeleland South	Insiza RDC	Insiza North	10
Matabeleland South	Insiza RDC	Insiza South	13
Matabeleland South	Mangwe RDC	Mangwe	10
Matabeleland South	Mangwe RDC	Matobo-Mangwe	7
Matabeleland South	Matobo RDC	Matobo	16
Matabeleland South	Matobo RDC	Matobo-Mangwe	9
Matabeleland South	Plumtree Town Council	Mangwe	6
Matabeleland South	Umzingwane RDC	Insiza North	2
Matabeleland South	Umzingwane RDC	Matobo	1
Matabeleland South	Umzingwane RDC	Umzingwane	17
Midlands	Gokwe North RDC	Gokwe – Gumunyu	9
Midlands	Gokwe North RDC	Gokwe – Kabuyuni	10
Midlands	Gokwe North RDC	Gokwe–Chireya	8
Midlands	Gokwe North RDC	Gokwe–Nembudziya	9
Midlands	Gokwe South RDC	Gokwe – Mapfungautsi	6
Midlands	Gokwe South RDC	Gokwe Central	5
Midlands	Gokwe South RDC	Gokwe–Kana	8
Midlands	Gokwe South RDC	Gokwe–Sasame	7
Midlands	Gokwe South RDC	Gokwe–Sengwa	7
Midlands	Gokwe South Town Council	Gokwe Central	6
Midlands	Gweru Municipality	Gweru Urban	6
Midlands	Gweru Municipality	Mkoba North	6
Midlands	Gweru Municipality	Mkoba South	6
Midlands	Kwekwe Municipality	Kwekwe Central	6
Midlands	Kwekwe Municipality	Mbizo	8
Midlands	Mberengwa RDC	Mberengwa Central	13
Midlands	Mberengwa RDC	Mberengwa East	12
Midlands	Mberengwa RDC	Mberengwa West	12
Midlands	Redcliff Municipality	Redcliff	9
Midlands	Runde RDC	Zvishavane Ngezi	6
Midlands	Runde RDC	Zvishavane Runde	13
Midlands	Shurugwi Town Council	Shurugwi North	13
Midlands	Takawira RDC	Chirumanzu	14
Midlands	Takawira RDC	Chirumanzu–Zibagwe	11
Midlands	Tongogara RDC	Shurugwi North	11
Midlands	Tongogara RDC	Shurugwi South	13
Midlands	Vungu RDC	Chiwundura	9
Midlands	Vungu RDC	Vungu	10
Midlands	Zibagwe RDC	Chirumanzu–Zibagwe	4
Midlands	Zibagwe RDC	Redcliff	5
Midlands	Zibagwe RDC	Silobela	13
Midlands	Zibagwe RDC	Zhombe	11
Midlands	Zvishavane Town Council	Zvishavane Ngezi	8
Midlands	Zvishavane Town Council	Zvishavane Runde	2