# Appendix A

2002 Elections: Politically Related Deaths

Name	Affiliation	<b>Date Of Death</b>	Province	Constituency
Mr Bhebhe Newman	MDC	01-Feb-02	Mat North	Nkayi
Chitehwe	ZNLWVA	01-Jan-02	Harare	Hatfield
Chatunga Richard	MDC	20-Jan-02	Masvingo	Bikita East
Dube Nqobizita	MDC	01-Mar-02	Bulawayo	Nkulumane
Katsamudanga Tichaona	MDC	05-Feb-02	Harare	Harare North
Kumalo Khape	MDC	06-Feb-02	Mash West	Mhondoro
Maphosa Richard	MDC	20-Jan-02	Masvingo	Bikita East
Maphosa Stephen	ZANU PF	02-Feb-02	Harare	Budiriro
Mapingure Atnos	UNKNOWN	09-Jan-02	Masvingo	Zaka
Matope Kenneth	MDC	13-Jan-02	Mash Central	Guruve
Masarira Gibson	ZANU PF	09-Jan-02	Masvingo	Zaka
Mijoni Simwanja	UNKNOWN	15-Jan-02	Midlands	Kwekwe
Moyo Henry	MDC	07-Feb-02	Masvingo	
Mpofu Muchenje	MDC	19-Jan-02	Midlands	Mberengwa
Munyaradzi	UNKNOWN	14-Feb-02	Mash East	Marondera East
Munikwa Isaac	ZANU PF	17-Jan-02	Masvingo	Zaka
Mupawaenda Takatukwa	UNKNOWN	16-Feb-02	Mash West	Zvimba South
Mutemaringa Fungisai	MDC	27-Jan-02	Mash East	Murehwa
Ncube Mthokozisi	MDC	26-Jan-02	Bulawayo	Pelandaba
Namaire Solomon	MDC	23-Jan-02	Manicaland	Makoni
Ngundu Shepherd	MDC	05-Feb-02	Mash Central	Mount Darwin
Nhitsa Takesure	MDC	20-Feb-02	Mash Central	Rushinga
Nyanzira Tariro	ZANU PF	08-Feb-02	Manicaland	Buhera North
Sanyamahwe Kuziva	MDC	18-Jan-02	Mash East	Murehwa South
Shelton Lloyd	ZANU PF	27-Feb-02	Mash East	Chikomba
Sibindi Joseph	MDC	01-Jan-02	Bulawayo	
Sibindi Halaza	MDC	30-Jan-02	Mat North	Tsholotsho
Sibanda James	MDC	01-Feb-02	Mat North	Nkayi
Sibanda Charles	MDC	02-Mar-02	Midlands	Zhombe
Sacwe Jameson	MDC	29-Jan-02	Mat North	Lupane
Unnamed (1)	UNKNOWN	23-Jan-02	Masvingo	Mwenezi
Unnamed (2)	UNKNOWN	23-Jan-02	Masvingo	Mwenezi
Unnamed	UNKNOWN	26-Feb-02	Bulawayo	Makokoba

Source: ZESN, 2002 Presidential and Local Authority Elections Report (Draft - April 2002).

# Appendix B

# **Polling Station Shifts: Harare**

Constituency	Number of polling stations	Total
Budiriro	GENERAL ELECTION 2000	11
Budiino	ELECTION 2002	7
Dzivarasekwa	GENERAL ELECTION 2000	13
	ELECTION 2002	9
Glen Norah	GENERAL ELECTION 2000	14
	ELECTION 2002	8
Glen View	GENERAL ELECTION 2000	9
	ELECTION 2002	7
Harare Central	GENERAL ELECTION 2000	15
	ELECTION 2002	10
Harare East	GENERAL ELECTION 2000	21
	ELECTION 2002	11
Harare North	GENERAL ELECTION 2000	17
	ELECTION 2002	9
Harare South	GENERAL ELECTION 2000	18
	ELECTION 2002	13
Hatfield	GENERAL ELECTION 2000	11
	ELECTION 2002	4
Highfield	GENERAL ELECTION 2000	8
	ELECTION 2002	6
Kambuzuma	GENERAL ELECTION 2000	9
	ELECTION 2002	7
Kuwadzana	GENERAL ELECTION 2000	8
	ELECTION 2002	7
Mabvuku	GENERAL ELECTION 2000	11
	ELECTION 2002	8
Mbare East	GENERAL ELECTION 2000	14
	ELECTION 2002	12
Mbare West	GENERAL ELECTION 2000	10
	ELECTION 2002	8
Mufakose	GENERAL ELECTION 2000	13
	ELECTION 2002	9
Total Count of G	ENERAL ELECTION 2000	202
Total Count of El	LECTION 2002	135

POLLIN	G ST	ATI	ONS	8		ections % DTE
Constituency	2000	2002	Reduction	% Reduction	ZANU PF	MDC
Budiriro	11	7	4	36%	17%	82%
Dzivarasekwa	13	9	4	31%	24%	72%
Glen Norah	14	8	6	43%	16%	82%
Glen View	9	7	2	22%	16%	75%
Harare Central	15	10	5	33%	20%	79%
Harare East	21	11	10	48%	18%	75%
Harare North	17	9	8	47%	19%	76%
Harare South	18	13	5	28%	26%	69%
Hatfield	6	4	2	33%	29%	63%
Highfield	8	6	2	25%	17%	67%
Kambuzuma	9	7	2	22%	15%	79%
Kuwadzana	8	7	1	13%	21%	77%
Mabvuku	11	8	3	27%	23%	73%
Mbare East	14	12	2	14%	28%	71%
Mbare West	10	8	2	20%	19%	81%
Mufakose	13	9	4	31%	20%	77%
TOTAL	202	135	67	33%	20%	75%

Source: CHRA data sheets, March 2002.

# Appendix C

# **National Polling Station Shifts and Concentrations**

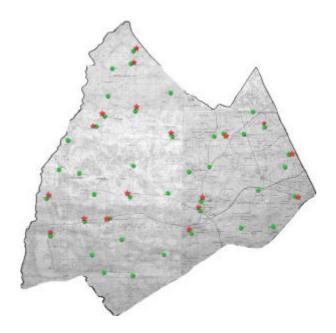
Still waiting to receive this information from ZESN

# Appendix D

# **Murehwa Constituency: Polling Stations and Militia Camps**

Red Spots: Militia Camps Green Spots: Polling Stations

**Source: MDC Interim Report on 2002 Elections** 



# Appendix E

# **2002 Elections Official Results**

Province/ Constituency	MLA	4	<									
	KUMBULA	MAYA	SIWELA	TOT OTHER	MDC	MDC %	ZANU-PF	ZPF %	SPOILED	TOTAL ANNOUNCED	REG'D VOTERS	% Voter Turnout
BULAWAYO (8)												
Bulawayo North East	44	23	37	104	18669	82%	3794	17%	117	22684	43,502	52.1%
Bulawayo South	35	37	34	106	18624	79%	4666	20%			45,832	
Lobengula Magwegwe	44	21	32	97	15364	83%	2896	16%		18414	44,350	41.5%
Makokoba	75	21	23	119	13176	81%	3027	19%	6	16330	39,633	41.2%
Mpopoma	47	17	26	90	14000	81%	3137	18%	90	17314	39,412	43.9%
Nkulumane	45	25	34	104	18602	78%	4917	21%	97	23720	49,087	48.3%
Pelandaba	49	23	60	132	15485	81%	3376	18%	83	19076	46,138	41.3%
Pumula Luveve	66	27	51	144	17970	81%	4015	18%	127	22256	49,327	45.1%
TOTAL	405	194	297	896	131890	81%	29828	18%	630	163243	357281	45.7%
			•	•					•			
HARARE (19)												
Budiriro	40	17	7	64	20749	83%	4082	16%	88	24984	48,582	51.4%
Chitungwiza	50	25	20	95	16901	70%	6855	29%	154	24005	48,525	49.5%
Dzivarasekwa	27	26	166	219	18046	70%	7385	29%	166	25816	46,078	56.0%
Glen Norah	43	20	14	77	19021	82%	3907	17%	110	23116	47,938	48.2%
Glen View	23	10	3	36	16527	85%	2709	14%	85	19357	47,151	41.1%
Harare Central	31	18	11	60	13880	76%	4292	23%	74	18306	36,808	49.7%
Harare East	64	23	23	110	16717	73%	5828	26%	179	22834	36,808	62.0%
Harare North	62	7	22	91	19525	77%	5696	22%	117	25434	46,852	54.3%
Harare South	29	22	11	62	13646	68%	6219	31%	106	20033	35,027	57.2%
Hatfield	54	32	27	113	15354	61%	9502	38%	318	25289	40,366	62.6%
Highfield	38	16	13	67	14919	82%	3187	17%	107	18291	37,958	48.2%
Kambuzuma	23	38	6	67	15469	82%	3299	17%	78	18913	34,687	54.5%
Kuwadzana	23	28	7	58	18263	78%	5047	22%	72	23440	39,481	59.4%
Mabvuku	64	35	32	131	17039	76%	5066	23%	236	22478	44,396	50.6%
Mbare East	49	26	17	92	11353	67%	5192	31%	236	16873	35,065	48.1%
Mbare West	34	19	9	62	14382	80%	3342	19%		17894	36,058	
Mufakose	51	17	21	89	12101	60%	7661	38%				
St Mary's	78	8	22	108	20094	74%	6546	24%	220	26998	48,656	55.5%
Zengeza	35	28	14	77	15846	73%	5580	26%	118	21621	47,251	45.8%
TOTAL	818	415	445	1678	309832	75%	101395	24%	2808	415771	795059	52.3%
MANICALAND (14)												
Buhera North	403	123	156	682	12897	43%	16248	54%	419	30246	46,031	65.7%
Buhera South	836	255	255	1346	12720	42%	15531	51%		30171	43,610	
Chimanimani	351	136	111	598	12750	43%	15859	54%			43,867	67.6%
Chipinge North	310	160	147	617	12940	56%	9198	40%		23152	47,682	
Chipinge South	791	229	313	1333	18356	67%	6954	25%			49,850	
Makoni East	269	77	68	414	7850	42%	10230	54%			34,186	
Makoni North	378	107	91	576	4795	20%	18352	76%			34,846	
Makoni West	380	133	117	630	8511	37%	13590	59%				
Mutare Central	48	23	21	92	21296							

Province/ Constituency	KUM BULA	MA YA	SIW ELA	TOT OTHE R	MDC	MDC %	ZANU-PF	ZPF %	SPOILED	TOTAL ANNOUNCED	REG'D VOTERS	% Voter Turnout
Mutare South	297	100	94	491	8742	45%	9673	50%	358	19264	34,214	56.3%
Mutare West	568	142	109	819	7724	34%	13788	60%	474	22805	37,591	60.7%
Mutasa	271	103	111	485	12923	52%	10832	44%	503	24743	35,721	69.3%
Nyanga	507	197	177	881	12781	38%	19418	58%	616	33696	46,160	73.0%
TOTAL	5529	1832	1820	9181	172225	48%	172547	48%	6493	360446	577398	62.4%
MASH CENTRAL (10)	)											
Bindura	291	105	93	489	11279	35%	19932	62%	404	32104	50,215	63.9%
Guruve North	291	130	111	532	2700	8%	28517	89%			40,268	79.9%
Guruve South	233	87	64	384	2646	11%		86%	244	i	39,065	
Mazowe East	322	101	88	511	7683	28%		68%	431	27029	47,280	
Mazowe West	184	76	64	324	6219	27%	16471	70%	419		44,355	52.8%
Mt Darwin North	362	171	157	690	2144	7%				i	36,061	90.7%
Mt Darwin South	292	135	125	552	2205	7%	29680	90%	578		39,143	84.3%
Muzarabani	248	100	47	395	3463	12%	25260	86%	417	29535	38,853	76.0%
Rushinga	220	108	126	454	2523	8%		89%	409	i	35,202	85.4%
Shamva	294	105	99	498	4277	14%	25863	83%			47,835	64.9%
TOTAL	2737	1118	974	4829	45139						418277	70.5%
MASH EAST (12)	400	404	440	050	7005	200/	00.450	740/	254	24.405	40.000	C 4 40/
Chikomba	426	121	112	659	7035	22%				31495	48,898	
Goromonzi	284	132	109	525	9680	31%				i	49,837	62.0%
Hwedza	382	157	130	669	7282	24%	21436				49,314	60.6%
Marondera East	187	51	51	289	11667	42%			275		44,153	63.3%
Marondera West	259	82	78	419	4891	22%	16591	74%		22292	36,318	
Mudzi	488	225	244	957	4226	11%			946	i	48,539	82.3%
Murehwa North	317 399	123	94 127	534	5102	23%		74% 73%	340 413	i	33,858	66.7%
Murehwa South Mutoko North		143 101		669	5180	22%	16913			23175	34,323	67.5%
	314	94	81 82	496	3748			83%		27082	35,135	
Mutoko South	201	<u> </u>	- 02	377	2120		27339				36,356	
Seke UMP	218 297	90 130	57 125	365 552	12551 3197	45% 8%				28036 41710	46,009 44,077	60.9% 94.6%
TOTAL	3772				76679						506817	
MASH WEST (12)									1	П		
Chegutu	172	118			11493						49,676	
Chinhoyi	78	44	22	144	8477	42%					34,510	
Hurungwe East	273	114	96		4635						38,001	66.1%
Hurungwe West	427	155	172	754	6218			76%			42,123	
Kariba	372	179	180	731	9780					i	49,106	
Makonde 	226	108	99	433	2662						39,210	
Mhondoro	195	92	60	347	10628			61%			50,294	57.6%
Zvimba North	229	117	88	434	4755						44,717	
Zvimba South	224	79	72	375	5687	16%					47,903	72.2%
TOTAL	2196	1006	877	4079	64335	25%	180724	71%	4569	253656	395540	64.1%
MASVINGO (14)												
Bikita East	464	152	187	803	6211	26%	16171	68%	523	23711	34,157	69.4%
Bikita West	552		150		8742						38,932	

Province/ Constituency				тот						TOTAL	REG'D	% Voter
	KUM BULA	MA YA	SIW ELA	OTHE R	MDC	MDC %	ZANU-PF	ZPF %	SPOILED	ANNOUNCED	VOTERS	Turnout
Chiredzi South	375	194	214	783	6389	23%	19437	71%	680	27289	45,740	59.7%
Chivi North	409	75	116	600	5638	23%	17683	72%	483	24404	38,725	63.0%
Chivi South	475	107	123	705	4987	21%	17190	74%	374	23256	40,529	57.4%
Gutu North	413	104	130	647	8934	27%	22524	69%	432	32537	48,834	66.6%
Gutu South	550	208	154	912	10845	36%	17594	59%	508	29859	48,100	62.1%
Masvingo Central	261	101	73	435	15471	60%	9757	38%	297	25960	39,670	65.4%
Masvingo North	264	87	80	431	9333	40%	13035	56%	300	23099	35,215	65.6%
Masvingo South	549	170	145	864	5526	27%	13317	66%	563	20270	34,864	58.1%
Mwenezi	479	158	147	784	3554	10%	29019	85%	819	34176	49,138	69.6%
Zaka East	400	207	168	775	5941	21%	21529	75%	504	28749	45,341	63.4%
Zaka West	546	160	141	847	7800	27%	19699	68%	641	28987	48,491	59.8%
TOTAL	6022	2012	1928	9962	108036	28%	254603	67%	7125	379735	593778	64.0%
MAT NODTH (7)												
MAT NORTH (7) Binga	386	213	419	1018	26886	77%	5351	15%	1613	34868	47,052	74.1%
Bubi Umguza	279	112	136		11970			56%		i i	50,268	58.4%
Hwange East	222	73	145	440	15950	73%		21%			40,968	53.0%
Hwange West	146	53	75	274	14736		4712	24%		i i	38,620	51.0%
Lupane	497	199	252	948	14525	61%	7778	33%			45,785	52.1%
Nkayi	268	395	215	878	15616			41%		i i	50,329	56.5%
Tsholotsho	420	137	246	803	10089	45%	10838	49%		i	44,383	50.1%
TOTAL	2218		1488		109772			34%			317405	56.8%
MAT SOUTH (8)												
Beitbridge	386	170	182	738	6844	28%	16448	66%	779	24809	43,558	57.0%
Bulilimamangwe North	507	175	224	906	11730	56%	7647	37%		i i	48,201	43.2%
Bulilimamangwe South	317	134	42	493	11994	61%	6625	34%	420	19532	38,995	50.1%
Gwanda North	200	55	91	346	12610	66%	5867	31%	262	19085	36,065	52.9%
Gwanda South	295	93	77	465	6774		12070	60%	734		34,832	57.5%
Insiza	295	95	117	507	10579	52%	9089	44%		20538	37,541	54.7%
Matobo	412	105	166	683	12565	54%	9740	42%	449	23437	46,106	50.8%
Umzingwane	199	72	79	350	11226	57%	5883	30%	2213	19672	33,717	58.3%
TOTAL	2611	899	978	4488	84322	50%	73369	44%	5779	167958	319015	52.6%
MIDLANDS (19)												
Kadoma Central	97	53	37	187	14446	60%	9345	39%	181	24159	45,126	53.5%
Kadoma East	43	198	43		3123	14%		83%		i i	41,970	53.6%
Kadoma West	76		52		5656			77%			38,878	71.7%
Kwekwe Central	90	57	35	182	17061	62%	9917	36%	141	27301	37,455	72.9%
Gokwe Central	378	124	107	609	9281	33%	17777	63%	395	28062	41,438	67.7%
Gokwe East	279	105	124	508	7830	23%	24773	73%	782	33893	38,179	88.8%
Gokwe North	380	157	214	751	7131	22%		73%			36,743	88.0%
Gokwe South	415	160	154	729	5744			71%		i i	39,981	61.2%
Gokwe West	582	166	129	877	6713		22044	72%	774	30408	39,480	77.0%
Silobela	178	81	102	361	15980			36%		25808	38,592	66.9%
Zhombe	336		123	582	8887	36%		61%			48,007	51.9%
Chirumanzu	418	124	125		6578			68%		i i	38,029	64.8%
Gweru	61	40	23	124	13332	70%		29%			34,057	56.2%
								46%				

Province/ Constituency	KUM BULA	MA YA	SIW ELA	TOT OTHE R	MDC	MDC %	ZANU-PF	ZPF %	SPOILED	TOTAL ANNOUNCED	REG'D VOTERS	% Voter Turnout
Mberengwa West	403	101	135	639	4395	16%	21182	79%	496	26712	37,869	70.5%
Mkoba	41	26	14	81	16129	74%	5448	25%	131	21785	46,639	46.7%
Shurugwi	318	120	98	536	7950	28%	19724	69%	392	28602	42,411	67.4%
Zvishavane	246	92	74	412	10815	39%	15910	58%	340	27477	46,920	58.6%
TOTAL	4900	2023	1810	8733	174580	35%	308377	62%	8026	499712	765855	65.2%
OVERALL TOTALS	31,208	12,130	11,907	55,245	1,276,810	42%	1,689,219	55%	49,660	3,071,256	5,046,425	60.9%

# Appendix F

# **Elections: Comparative Results 2000/2002 By Province**

		ZANU PF		MDC		TOTAL
Province	Year And %	Votes Cast	%	Votes Cast	%	TOTAL
	2002	29,828	18%	131,890	81%	163,246
Bulawayo	2000	30,077	14%	169,844		
	Vote Difference	-249	4%	-37,954		
	% Change 2000-2002	-0.83%		-22.35%		-22.05%
	2002	101,385	24%	309,822		415,743
Harare	2000	94,223	22%	306,876		
	Vote Difference	7,162	2%	2,946		
	% Change 2000-2002	7.60%		0.96%		-0.77%
	2002	172,547	48%	172,225	48%	360,446
Manicaland	2000	86,993	44%	94,331	47%	
	Vote Difference	85,554	4%	77,894		
	% Change 2000-2002	98.35%		82.58%		80.40%
	2002	240,685	82%	45,139	15%	295,073
<b>Mashonaland Central</b>	2000	273,648	73%	91,005		
	Vote Difference	-32,963	9%	-45,866		/
	% Change 2000-2002	-12.05%		-50.40%		-21.76%
	2002	266,415	75%	76,607	22%	356,305
Mashonaland East	2000	190,041	72%	65,187		
	Vote Difference	76,374	2%	11,420		
	% Change 2000-2002	40.19%		17.52%		35.52%
	2002	230,321	70%	87,498	8	
Mashonaland West	2000	92,934	59%	57,023		
	Vote Difference	137,387	11%	30,475		/
	% Change 2000-2002	147.83%		53.44%		107.49%
	2002	254,603	67%	108,028		· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
Masvingo	2000	236,540	63%	127,649		
	Vote Difference	18,063	4%	-19,621	-5%	
	% Change 2000-2002	7.64%		-15.37%		0.49%
	2002	61,274	34%	109,771	8	
Matabeleland North	2000	28,723	20%	104,704		
	Vote Difference	32,551	13%	5,067		
	% Change 2000-2002	113.33%		4.84%		28.73%
	2002	73,369	44%	84,322		
Matabeleland South	2000	,	35%	95,720		
	Vote Difference	13,102	9%	-11,398	-5%	-5,441
	% Change 2000-2002	21.74%		-11.91%		-3.17%
	2002	258,780		151,355		
Midlands	2000	109,579	62%	61,305	35%	176,555
	Vote Difference	149,201	-1%	90,050	1%	248,628
	% Change 2000-2002	136.16%		146.89%		140.82%
	2002	1,689,207	55.02%	1,276,657	41.58%	3,070,180
TOTAL	2000	1,203,025	48.27%	1,173,644	47.09%	2,492,436
	Vote Difference	486,182	7%	103,013		
	% Change 2000-2002	40.41%		8.78%		23.18%

# Appendix G

2002 Elections:	Rural/Urban Sv	vings	<u> </u>						Swing	g *
			1.1	Zanu						
Constituency	Province	Loc.		PF	MDC	Total	Zanu PF %	MDC%	Zanu PF	MDC
Beitbridge	Matabeleland South	Rural		16,448	6,844	24,809		28%	7%	-8%
Bikita East	Masvingo	Rural		16,171	6,211	23,708		26%	10%	-15%
Bikita West	Masvingo	Rural		16,930	8,742			32%	14%	-19%
Bindura	Mashonaland Central	Urban		19,932	11,279			35%	9%	-10%
Binga	Matabeleland North	Rural		5,351	26,886	Ī	i	77%	4%	-7%
Bubi/Umguza	Matabeleland North	Rural		16,433	11,970	· ·		41%	26%	-18%
Budiriro	Harare	Urban		4,082	20,749	· ·		83%	-1%	1%
Buhera North	Manicaland	Rural		16,248	12,897	30,246		43%	9%	-13%
Buhera South	Manicaland	Rural		15,531	12,720	· ·		42%	-3%	12%
Bulawayo North East		Urban		3,794	18,669	· ·		82%	5%	-1%
Bulawayo South	Bulawayo	Urban		4,666	18,624	23,449		79%	7%	-6%
Bulilimamangwe	Bulawayo	Olban	l.	4,000	10,024	23,449	20%	19%	7 70	-0%
North Bulilimamangwe	Matabeleland South	Rural		6,625	11,994	19,532	34%	61%	-7%	6%
South	Matabeleland South	Rural		7,647	11,730	20,842	37%	56%	9%	-1%
Chegutu	Mashonaland West	Urban		16,083	11,493	28,317	57%	41%	6%	-3%
Chikomba	Mashonaland East	Rural		23,450	7,035	31,495	74%	22%	10%	-10%
Chimanimani	Manicaland	Rural		15,859	12,750	29,640	54%	43%	14%	-13%
Chinoyi	Mashonaland West	Rural		11,432	8,477	20,244	56%	42%	5%	-6%
Chipinge North	Manicaland	Rural		9,198	12,940	23,152	40%	56%	16%	-2%
Chipinge South	Manicaland	Rural		6,954	18,356	· ·		67%	2%	48%
Chiredzi North	Masvingo	Rural		20,718	8,665			29%	16%	-16%
Chiredzi South	Masvingo	Rural		19,437	6,381	27,481		23%	9%	-11%
Chirumhanzu	Midlands	Rural		16,791	6,578	· ·		27%	2%	-5%
Chitungwiza	Harare	Urban		6,855	16,901	24,005		70%	0%	-1%
Chivi North	Masvingo	Rural		17,683	5,638	· ·		23%	-1%	-3%
Chivi South	Masvingo Masvingo	Rural		17,190	4,987	23,256		21%	2%	-4%
Dzivaresekwa	Harare	Urban		7,385	18,046	,		70%	5%	-2%
Glen Norah	Harare	Urban		3,907	19,021	23,115		82%	1%	0%
Glen View	Harare	Urban		2,709				85%	-2%	10%
Gokwe Central	Midlands	Rural		2,709 17,777	9,281	28,062		33%	2%	0%
Gokwe East	Midlands	Rural		24,773				23%	-7%	6%
Gokwe Last Gokwe North	Midlands	Rural		23,663	7,830			22%	-1%	4%
Gokwe North	Midlands									
		Rural		17,398	5,744			23%	-7%	1%
Gokwe West	Midlands	Rural		22,044				22%	-5%	5%
Goromonzi	Mashonaland East	Rural		20,158	9,608	· ·		31%	6%	-8%
Guruve North	Mashonaland Central			28,517	2,700			8%	1%	-2%
Guruve South	Mashonaland Central			20,651	2,646			11%	4%	-2%
Gutu North	Masvingo	Rural		22,524				27%	7%	-7%
Gutu South	Masvingo	Rural		17,594				36%	8%	7%
Gwanda North	Matabeleland South	Rural		5,867	12,610			66%	11%	7%
Gwanda South	Matabeleland South	Rural		12,070	6,774			34%	9%	-7%
Gweru Rural	Midlands	Rural		9,608	10,401	20,865		50%	8%	-7%
Gweru Urban	Midlands	Urban		5,570	13,332	Ī	i	70%	5%	-6%
Harare Central	Harare	Urban		4,292	13,880	18,306	23%	76%	3%	-3%

		L., I					=6		
Harare East	Harare	Urban	5,828	16,707	22,824	26%	73%	7%	-2%
Harare North	Harare	Urban	5,696	19,525	'	22%	77%	3%	1%
Harare South	Harare	Urban	6,219	13,646	'	31%	68%	5%	-1%
Hatfield	Harare	Urban	9,502	15,354	i i	38%	61%	9%	-2%
Highfield	Harare	Urban	3,187	14,919		17%	82%	0%	14%
Hurungwe East	Mashonaland West	Rural	19,455	4,635	'	77%	18%	5%	-3%
Hurungwe West	Mashonaland West	Rural	24,057	6,218	'	77%	20%	-1%	1%
Hwange East	Matabeleland North	Rural	4,610	15,950	'	21%	73%	2%	-6%
Hwange West	Matabeleland North	Rural	4,712	14,736	'	24%	74%	10%	-10%
Hwedza	Mashonaland East	Rural	21,436	7,282	'	72%	24%	0%	0%
Insiza		Rural	9,089	10,579		44%	52%	15%	-14%
Kadoma Central	Mashonaland West	Urban	9,345	14,446	i i	39%	60%	9%	-4%
Kadoma East	Mashonaland West	Rural	18,771	3,123		83%	14%	6%	-8%
Kadoma West	Mashonaland West	Rural	21,481	5,656	'	77%	20%	9%	-6%
Kambuzuma	Harare	Urban	3,299	15,469	'	17%	82%	3%	3%
Kariba	Mashonaland West	Rural	22,240	9,718	'	67%	29%	2%	-2%
Kuwadzana	Harare	Urban	5,047	18,263	'	22%	78%	0%	1%
Kwekwe	Midlands	Urban	9,917	17,061	27,301	36%	62%	3%	1%
Lobengula/ Magwegwe	Bulawayo	Urban	2,896	15,364	18,414	16%	83%	5%	-1%
Lupane	Matabeleland North	Rural	2,878 7,778	14,524	23,862	33%	61%	15%	-16%
Mabvuku	Harare	Urban	5,066	17,039	'	23%	76%	-1%	3%
Makokoba	Bulawayo	Urban	3,000	13,176	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	19%	81%	-1 % 4%	-4%
Makonde	Mashonaland West	Rural	20,421	2,662	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	85%	11%	9%	-8%
Makoni East	Manicaland West	Rural	10,230	7,850	'	54%	42%	5%	-7%
Makoni North	Manicaland	Rural	18,352	4,795	'	76%	20%	-6%	1%
Makoni West	Manicaland		13,590	4,793 8,511	23,143	59%	37%	1%	-1%
		Rural				56%			-8%
Marondera East	Mashonaland East	Rural	15,719 16,501	11,667	27,956		42%	7%	
Marondera West Masvingo Central	Mashonaland East	Rural Urban	16,591 9,757	4,891	22,292 25,960	74% 38%	22% 60%	6% -2%	-6% -1%
~	Masvingo Masvingo	Rural		15,471 9,333	'	56%	40%	-2% 7%	
Masvingo North	Masvingo	Rural	13,035 13,317	· ·	'	66%	27%	-6%	-4% 1%
Masvingo South	Masvingo			5,526					
Matobo		Rural	9,740	12,565		42% 68%	54%	12%	-15%
Mazowe East	Mashonaland Central Mashonaland Central		18,404	7,683		70%	28%	-2% 6%	1%
Mazowe West			16,471	6,219	ĺ .		27%		-6%
Mbare East	Harare	Urban	5,192	11,353		31%	67%	3%	-4%
Mbare West	Harare	Urban	3,332	14,382	'	19%	80%	0%	0%
Mberengwa East	Midlands Midlands	Rural	24,672	3,128	· ·	86%	11%	-3%	-1%
Mberengwa West	Mashonaland West	Rural	21,182	4,395		79%	16%	0%	0%
Mhondoro		Rural	17,681	10,628	'	61%	37%	19%	-13%
Mkoba	Midlands	Rural	5,448	16,129		25%	74%	2%	4%
Mount Darwin North	Mashonaland Central		29,238	2,144		89%	7%	5%	-2%
Mount Darwin South	Mashonaland Central		29,680	2,205		90%	7%	2%	-2%
Mpopoma	Bulawayo	Urban	3,137	14,000		18%	81%	4%	1%
Mudzi	Mashonaland East	Rural	33,838	4,226		85%	11%	-5%	3%
Mufakose	Harare	Urban	7,661	12,101	20,088	38%	60%	18%	-17%
Murehwa North	Mashonaland East	Rural	16,616	5,102		74%	23%	-1%	0%
Murehwa South	Mashonaland East	Rural	16,913	5,180		73%	22%	1%	-1%
Mutare Central	Manicaland	Urban	5,294	21,296		20%	79%	6%	-2%
Mutare North	Manicaland	Urban	7,580	17,940		29%	68%	3%	-3%
Mutare South	Manicaland	Rural	9,673	8,742		50%	45%	3%	-6%
Mutare West	Manicaland	Rural	13,788	7,724	i i	60%	34%	-2%	2%
Mutasa	Manicaland	Rural	10,832	12,923		44%	52%	12%	-4%
Mutoko North	Mashonaland East	Rural	22,357	3,748	'	80%	13%	-6%	1%
Mutoko South	Mashonaland East	Rural	27,329	2,120	30,375	90%	7%	-4%	1%

peleland North	Rural Rural Rural Urban	25,260 29,019 11,552	3,463 3,554 15,616	*	85%	12% 10%	2% -7%	-4% 3%
peleland North vayo	Rural	11,552	*	*		10%	-7%	3%
vayo		, ,	15,616	20 441			il and the second secon	1
-	Urban	4.015		28,441	41%	55%	16%	-11%
caland		4,917	18,602	23,720	21%	78%	6%	-5%
	Rural	19,418	12,781	33,696	58%	38%	12%	-13%
vayo	Urban	3,376	15,485	19,076	18%	81%	4%	-3%
vayo	Urban	4,015	17,970	22,256	18%	81%	4%	-5%
		26,669 14,667	2,523 12,551			8% 45%	3% 11%	-2% -4%
onaland Central	Rural	25,863	4,277	31,065	83%	14%	8%	-8%
ınds	Rural	19,724	7,950	28,602	69%	28%	2%	-1%
ınds	Rural	9,191	15,980	25,808	36%	62%	10%	-7%
e	Urban	6,546	20,094	26,998	24%	74%	-1%	0%
eleland North	Rural	10,838	10,089	22,256	49%	45%	18%	-21%
peleland South	Rural	5,883	11,226	17,672	33%	64%	18%	-4%
onaland East	Rural	37,341	3,197	41,681	90%	8%	-2%	1%
ingo	Rural	21,529	5,941	28,749	75%	21%	11%	-13%
ingo	Rural	19,699	7,800	28,987	68%	27%	8%	-14%
e	Urban	5,580	15,846	21,621	26%	73%	0%	2%
ınds	Rural	15,112	8,887	24,934	61%	36%	6%	-6%
onaland West	Rural	21,509	4,755	27,270	79%	17%	6%	-9%
onaland West	Rural	27,846	5,687	34,595	80%	16%	5%	-5%
		15,910		27,477	58%	39%	1%	-3%
	onaland Central onaland East onaland Central onds onds e beleland North beleland South onaland East ongo ongo e onds onaland West onaland West onaland West onds	vayo Urban onaland Central Rural onaland East Urban onaland Central Rural nds Rural nds Rural e Urban oleleland North Rural onaland East Rural onaland Rural onaland Rural onaland West Rural	vayo         Urban         4,015           onaland Central Ponaland East         Urban         26,669           onaland East         Urban         14,667           onaland Central Rural Ponaland Central Rural Ponaland Rural Ponaland Rural Ponaland Ponal	vayo         Urban         4,015         17,970           onaland Central Onaland East         Rural Onaland East         26,669         2,523           onaland Central Rural Onaland Central Rural Onaland Central Rural Onaland Central Rural Onaland East Rural Onaland East Onaland East Rural Onaland East East Onaland East Rural Onaland East East Onaland	vayo         Urban         4,015         17,970         22,256           onaland Central Onaland East         Urban         26,669         2,523         30,055           onaland East         Urban         14,667         12,551         28,036           onaland Central Rural         25,863         4,277         31,065           onds         Rural         19,724         7,950         28,602           onds         Rural         9,191         15,980         25,808           oe         Urban         6,546         20,094         26,998           oeleland North         Rural         10,838         10,089         22,256           onaland East         Rural         5,883         11,226         17,672           onaland East         Rural         37,341         3,197         41,681           ongo         Rural         21,529         5,941         28,749           ongo         Rural         19,699         7,800         28,987           onaland West         Rural         15,112         8,887         24,934           onaland West         Rural         21,509         4,755         27,270           onaland West         Rural         27,846	vayo         Urban onaland Central Rural onaland Central Rural onaland East         4,015         17,970         22,256         18% onaland Central Rural onaland East         26,669         2,523         30,055         89% onaland East           onaland Central Rural onaland Central Rural onaland Central Rural onaland Central Rural onaland East         25,863         4,277         31,065         83% onaland East           onaland Central Rural onaland East onal onal onal onal onal onal onal onal	Payo Urban 4,015 17,970 22,256 18% 81% onaland Central Rural 26,669 2,523 30,055 89% 8% onaland East Urban 14,667 12,551 28,036 52% 45% onaland Central Rural 25,863 4,277 31,065 83% 14% onaland Rural 19,724 7,950 28,602 69% 28% onds Rural 9,191 15,980 25,808 36% 62% onaland North Rural 10,838 10,089 22,256 49% 45% onaland East Rural 5,883 11,226 17,672 33% 64% onaland East Rural 37,341 3,197 41,681 90% 8% onaland East Rural 19,699 7,800 28,987 68% 27% onaland Rural 15,112 8,887 24,934 61% 36% onaland West Rural 27,846 5,687 34,595 80% 16% onaland West Rural 15,910 10,815 27,477 58% 39%	Payo Urban 4,015 17,970 22,256 18% 81% 4% onaland Central Rural Urban 14,667 12,551 28,036 52% 45% 11% onaland Central Rural Urban 14,667 12,551 28,036 52% 45% 11% onaland Central Rural 25,863 4,277 31,065 83% 14% 8% ands Rural 19,724 7,950 28,602 69% 28% 2% onds Rural 9,191 15,980 25,808 36% 62% 10% one of the order of the orde

Source: CHRA Data Sheets

# Appendix H

#### SADC PARLIAMENTARY FORUM ELECTORAL RECOMMENDATIONS

(signed March 2001, Windhoek, Namibia)

#### **Preamble**

Cognisant of the above situation, we the election observer delegations of the SADC Parliamentary Forum created pursuant to Article 10(6) of the SADC Treaty:

- Recalling the Commitment of the Heads of States and Government to democracy and to
  the individual's inalienable Right to participate by means of free and democratic
  processes in farming the society in which he or she lives; and to peace and stability in the
  SADC region; the Windhoek Declaration on Freedom of the Press; the Blantyre
  Declaration on Gender Equality of 1997; the Harare Declaration of 1991 and other
  International Conventions and Instruments to which all SADC countries are Signatories;
- Recalling the provisions of Article 5 of the Constitution of the SADC Parliamentary Forum which, inter-alia, calls for the promotion of the principles of human rights and democracy and the encouragement of good governance, transparency and accountability within the SADC region;
- Recalling the role of the SADC Parliamentary Forum in Election Observation in the SADC region;

For the purpose of institutionalizing and strengthening electoral institutions including democratic processes DO HEREBY make the following recommendations relating to elections and individual rights; elections and the Government; and fostering transparency and integrity in electoral process.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS

#### PART 1 ELECTIONS AND INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS

### 1. Registration and Nomination

#### Problem

While Voter registration is a prerequisite to smooth elections it is common knowledge that some individuals intending to exercise their right to vote or to be voted as candidate in an election have been prevented from doing so through cumbersome voter registration requirements, nomination technical details, removal from the voters' registration, intimidation through political violence and kidnapping of candidates. For a voter to be properly identified as a national of a particular state, there is need to have an identity.

### Recommendations

1. The right to vote and to be voted for should be accepted as a birth right in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women. Therefore, eligible individuals should have the right to non-discriminatory voter registration and nomination procedures. This right should be enshrined in the constitution of a country.

- 2. There should be provisions and practical arrangements for continuous voter registration and an updated voters' register must be made available to all stakeholders in the elections.
- 3. During nomination and selection of candidates all political parties contesting elections must ensure adequate gender balance in compliance with the SADC Blantyre Declaration on Gender Development (1197) calling on all political parties contesting an election to commit themselves to a minimum of 30 per cent women party candidates by the year 2005.
- 4. Provision be made for people with disability to participate fully in the electoral process.
- 5. Provisions should be made to ensure that prospective voters are provided with a form of national identity card in good time for registration.

# 2. Voting and Secrecy

#### Problem

There are numerous cases in our countries whereby eligible voters have been unable or prevented from exercising their right to vote through violence, lack of information on location of polling station, intimidation and misinformation.

Furthermore, there are situations whereby the secrecy of the ballot has been severely compromised by making votes queue behind their party candidates, village headmen and threats based on the ability of competing candidates/parties to use modern communication equipment to tell which way a voter has voted.

#### Recommendations

- 1. The right of eligible individuals to vote unimpeded and the right to vote in secrecy in a ballot box should be protected and enshrined in the constitutions of the SADC countries.
- 2. Any measures such as political violence, kidnapping, murder, threats and sanctions such as denial of development opportunities in opposition controlled areas that prevent eligible individuals to register to vote and to vote in secrecy should be perpetually outlawed by SADC member states.
- 3. Illiterate persons, old people and persons with disabilities should be given assistance when voting by persons of their choice.

#### 3. Freedom of Association and Expression

#### Problem

It is common in some of the SADC countries that members of the electorate belonging to other parties have been intimidated, beaten up, tortured and even murdered for belonging to opposing parties and for openly expressing their support for their preferred party. Yet one of the fundamental principles of multi-party democracy and political development process is that there should be freedom of association and expression. This principle is violated from one election to another.

#### Recommendation

- 1. The sanctity of the freedom of association and expression should be protected and strictly adhered to.
- 2. Relevant electoral laws and code of conduct should provide for this sanctity.
- 3. Governments should establish by law ad hoc Electoral Tribunals and enforce electoral laws and codes of conduct during elections. They should deal with election conflicts.

#### 1.2 PART 2ELECTIONS AND THE GOVERNMENT

# 1. Commitment to Pluralism, Multi-party Democracy and Politics

#### Problem

The meeting welcomed the commitment of pluralism and multi-party democracy in the first place by all SADC countries. However, the meeting noted that there is still inadequate and lip service commitment to multi-party democracy and politics among some of our leaders and politicians. They talk democracy but use undemocratic means to gain or remain in power. Yet the success of multi-party democracy and politics depends to a large extent on Government, political parties and other stakeholders committing themselves to upholding the values and practices that go with these concepts. The existence and sustainability of pluralism, multi-party democracy and politics depends on the Government's belief in a democratic culture and wish to practice democracy. It calls for the Government to be tolerant of opposing political views and to harmoniously co-exist with opposition political parties.

#### Recommendation

The concepts of pluralism, multi-party democracy and politics should be enshrined in the constitution as the preferred form of political development and basis of good governance. All stakeholders should commit themselves to pluralism, multi-party democracy and politics as a condition for participating in the political process of the country.

#### 2. Date of Elections

#### Problem

In most SADC countries the date as to when elections are held is a prerogative of the ruling party if not of the President or Prime Minister. The announcement for when the elections will take place is often not made in good time an as such does not allow all stakeholders to prepare for elections. This has been one of the many sources of election conflicts resulting in some opposition parties boycotting the elections.

#### Recommendations

- 1. SADC Governments should ensure that the dates for general election are fixed by provisions in their Constitutions or electoral laws.
- 2. If this is not possible the Head of Government should be required by the electoral law to give adequate notice of not less than 90 days (3 months) and not more than 120 (4 months) from the date of dissolution of Parliament for an election date to give sufficient time to the Electoral Commission to prepare for the elections and to demonstrate fair play.
- 3. The Parliament of each SADC State should be involved in the alteration of fixing of election dates.

# 3. Misuse of Public Resources and Funding of Political Activities

#### Problem

In most countries the ruling party and its government seek an unfair advantage over opposition parties through the use of public funds and assets for its political activities, particularly meeting campaign expenses. When opposition parties get a share of public funds, there are complaints that such funds are inadequate, payment is delayed and given at the will of the ruling party to the disadvantage of opposition parties.

#### Recommendations

1. In the interest of creating conditions for a level playing field for all political parties and promoting the integrity of the electoral process, parties should not use political funds in

- the electoral process. The electoral law should prohibit the Government to aid or to abet any party gaining unfair advantage.
- 2. Where a policy decision is taken to financially support political parties with taxpayers' money, which is necessitated by the poor resource background of most political parties, an agreed upon formula must be used and adhered to in allocating funds to the contesting parties. A commonly used formula is according to the number of seats each party holds in Parliament.
- 3. Those countries that are not yet funding contesting political parties should introduce the necessary legislation to do so in order to foster uniformity and leveling the playing field.
- 4. There must be accountability in the use of public funds.

# 4. Government, Political Parties, NGOs and the Media

#### Problem

In the majority of SADC countries the state owned media is controlled by Government. This often causes imbalance in the playing field between the stakeholders mainly the ruling party and opposition parties. It contributes to lack of transparency through selective reporting. Where the opposition parties are given air time, it is too short and the timing may be inappropriate. The recent emergence of a vibrant private media has greatly contributed to some balance in political coverage of both ruling and opposition parties.

#### Recommendations

- 1. Governments should take the emergence of private media as a healthy development in the institutionalization of the democratic process, the conduct of elections and should therefore refrain from taking decisions and actions that thwart the development of a strong private media. There should therefore be a domestic information law that reaffirms the existence of private media.
- 2. Governments should take cognizance of the fact that the involvement of political parties in the electoral process fosters the transparency of the system and generates public confidence in the system. Opposition parties should therefore also be given equal opportunity and agreed upon time and space on the state owned media to put their announcements and broadcasts and advertisements. This is a true test of the Government's commitment to pluralism and multi party democracy and a democratic political process.
- 3. The role of the civil society, mainly in election monitoring and civic education, should be recognized by Governments.

#### 5. Electoral Commissions

# Problem

Electoral Commissions do play a very important role in the preparation for and conduct of elections. However, the establishment, composition, status, independence, impartiality and professionalism of some of the Electoral Commissions have come under serious scrutiny and doubts particularly from opposition parties and members of the public. These commissions are accused of being pro the ruling party that has appointed them.

#### Recommendations

- 1. In the interest of promoting and entrenching pluralism, multi-party democracy and the integrity of the electoral process, the complete independence and impartiality of the Electoral Commission in dealing with all political parties should be reaffirmed in the constitution.
- 2. The commissioners should be selected by a panel of judges set up by the Chief Justice or the equivalent, on the basis of the individual's caliber, stature, public respect,

- competence, impartiality and their knowledge of elections and political development processes. The selection of commissioners should be done in consultation with all political parties and other interested stakeholders. The selected commissioners are to be approved by Parliament.
- 3. To further enhance the independence and impartiality of the Electoral Commission it should have its own budget directly voted for by Parliament and not get its allocation from a Ministry or a Government Department.
- 4. The Electoral Law should empower the Electoral Commission to recruit and dismiss its own support staff on the basis of professionalism and competence rather than getting seconded staff from Ministries and Departments. Such staff have no loyalty to the Electoral Commission.
- 5. Security to tenure of electoral commissioners should be entrenched in the constitutions of the SADC countries.

# PART 3 FOSTERING TRANSPARENCY AND INTEGRITY IN THE ELECTORAL PROCESS

It is necessary to start this section by defining what the terms transparency, leveling the playing field and free and fair elections mean in the context of managing elections. These concepts are important in fostering transparency and integrity in the electoral process.

# **Transparency**

Transparency refers to the degree of openness in the election process. It is important in the conduct of elections in that it enables the public at large, political parties and candidates to be informed on a timely basis about developments concerning electoral matters. It is a confidence building measure.

### **Level Playing Field**

In the context of elections, the expression "level playing field" refers to a requirement that the election rules and regulations apply fairly to all political parties and candidates. It requires that the Electoral Commission deals openly and on equal terms with each of the political parties to enhance transparency.

#### **Free and Fair Elections**

Whether elections are free and fair is a judgmental position on the whole process of conducting elections.

#### Problem

Experience has so far shown that the above three concepts feature prominently when elections are held in any of the SADC countries. Opposition parties often complain about the lack of transparency in the manner in which Electoral Commissions manage elections, the playing field being skewed in favour of the ruling party and for the loosing parties the elections being not free and fair. What is discussed below are some ingredients of good practices that Governments should seriously consider adopting to enhance transparency, ensure a level playing field, and guarantee free and fair elections.

### 1. Registration of Voters

# Problem

Registration of voters in SADC countries is a once off thing, done when elections are eminent. Experience shows that this practice leaves out a substantial proportion of eligible voters. A properly compiled register of voters provides a sound basis for the organization of

free and fair elections. The compilation of a satisfactory voters' register is a biggest test of the impartiality and technical competence of the Electoral Commission.

### Recommendation

Registration of voters should therefore be a continuous exercise and not just wait for an election.

#### 2. Voter Education

#### Problem

In some cases voters' education is left to NGOs and political parties. Due to lack of funds it is inadequately funded and poorly managed.

#### Recommendation

The Electoral Commission should be required by law to provide for a satisfactory and adequately funded voter education programme that helps voters to be acquainted with the voting procedures and other aspects of civic awareness.

# 3. Boundary Delimitation Commissions

#### Problem

The main function of a Boundary Delimitation Commission is to draw the boundaries of constituencies in a fair manner applying a stipulated formula such as the electoral quota which uses the average electorate of the constituencies as the basic size of the electorate to be placed in a constituency. Experience has shown that this is not always adhered to.

#### Recommendations

- 1. In the interest of promoting plural, multi-party democracy and enhancing integrity of the electoral process, the independence and impartiality of the Boundary Delimitation Commission in drawing up constituency boundaries should be reaffirmed in the constitutions of SADC countries. The tenure of office of the Commissioners should be guaranteed in the constitution.
- 2. The drawing up of constituency boundaries should be left to the technical competence of the Boundary Delimitation Commission without political interference. The Commission should consult stakeholders in this process. Gerrymandering should be outlawed.
- 3. Recommendation of the Boundary Delimitation Commission should not be altered by any stakeholder.

#### 4. Nomination Process

#### Problem

The nomination process has been a vulnerable stage in election preparation. Prospective candidates have been prevented from submitting their nomination papers due to violence, procedural deficiencies and inadequate role of the courts.

#### Recommendation

It is therefore recommended that technical requirements/rules should be kept to the absolute minimum. The Electoral Commission should have powers to extend the time for particular nomination center and prospective candidates should have the right to appeal to the High Court.

#### 5. Election Campaign

#### Problem

Election campaign in a number of SADC countries is often riddled with violence, murder, intimidation, destruction of property, unequal access to state owned media and accusations by opposition parties of a lack of a "level playing field" among the parties contesting an election.

#### Recommendation

The Electoral Commission and all stakeholders in the electoral process should therefore be required by law and be empowered to ensure that political parties and candidates should denounce violence in elections in order to ensure that:

- unimpeded freedom of campaign throughout the country;
- free and unimpeded access to Voters' Rolls;
- all Government Security Forces should act impartially and professionally;
- Presidential candidates must be provided with free and adequate security during the election process;
- equal and free access to the state owned media;
- a code of conduct developed through consensus from all political parties to guide behaviour in the conduct of campaigns; and
- reasonable safeguards at political meetings, rallies, polling stations and party premises.

The ad hoc Electoral Tribunal shall enforce the foregoing recommendations.

### 6. Funding of Political Campaigns

#### Problem

The funding of election campaigns is an area where the misuse of public funds is common and the playing field is not even. Experience in most countries is that the ruling party is well resourced (financially and assets wise) while opposition parties are poorly funded. Ceilings on political expenditure are either not there or ignored by all. The rich engaged in lavish expenditure to win votes.

#### Recommendation

The Electoral Commission should therefore be legally empowered to prohibit certain types of expenditures so as to limit the undue impact of money on the democratic process and the outcome of an election. It should be empowered to ensure that proper election expenses returns are submitted on time, to inspect party accounts, and for parties to have properly audited and verified accounts.

#### 7. Role of the Courts

#### Problem

Experience shows that the courts come into the electoral process in terms of:

- 1. handling appeals during the registration and nomination stages;
- 2. dealing with election offences; and
- 3. attending to election petitions.

In most countries the courts are either under-funded or understaffed or too bureaucratic to deal promptly with election petitions and offences. Yet the courts are an important player in ensuring a plural and multi-party democratic process.

#### Recommendations

- 1. The courts should be strengthened in terms of both human and financial resources to enable them adequately deal with election petitions and offences and to ensure a level playing field and free and fair elections.
- 2. There must be time limits for resolving election petitions.
- 3. In enhancing democracy all electable positions should be subject of judicial review.
- 4. All cases emanating from electoral petitions should be subject to electoral review.

#### 8. The Electoral Commission and the Media

#### Problem

Technical competence, impartiality in dealing with political parties and independence of government control are not the only qualities of a good Electoral Commission. Good relations with the media is a desirable quality in that it fosters public confidence in the electoral process. Experience from the SADC countries is that the relations between the Electoral Commission and the private media is not only a good one. Yet the media plays an important role in terms of fostering the integrity and transparency of the Electoral Commission and on building public confidence in the activities of the Commission. Therefore, the Electoral Commission and the media should view themselves as allies and not as adversaries in the institutionalization of the democratic process in the conduct of elections.

#### Recommendations

The following good practices are offered for adoption by Electoral Commissions in our Region:

- 1. periodic meetings with representatives of the media at every important stage of the electoral process as a way of communicating with the general public; and
- 2. general media briefings and general statements to the media to avoid misrepresentation.

### 9. Polling Stations

#### Problem

In some SADC countries, polling stations are in private houses, shops and stores. This compromises the integrity of the voting process and the secrecy of the ballot.

### Recommendation

Polling stations should be public places such as schools, tents, mobile vehicles that are neutral.

#### 10. Ballot Boxes

#### Problem

The nature of ballot boxes has become the subject of concern in the voting process. Some countries still use opaque wooden boxes which defeat the call for transparency in the electoral process. Other countries are a step ahead in that they use transparent ballot boxes in line with the general call of transparency in the electoral process.

#### Recommendation

Those SADC countries that still use opaque wooden ballot boxes are urged to discard them in favour of transparent ballot boxes.

#### 11. Counting of Votes

#### Problem

The counting of votes is another area in the electoral process riddled with accusations of elections being rigged in favour of the wining party. The system of transporting ballot boxes

from polling stations to a central counting center creates opportunities for missing ballot boxes and other ballot boxes being sneaked in. This is a violation of free and fair elections.

#### Recommendations

- 1. The counting of votes should be done at the polling station where the candidates and/or their election agents are present. Such candidates and agents should be allowed to remain with the boxes from closure of polling station to counting of votes.
- 2. There should be immediate release of official election results on completion of counting, signed by returning officers and confirmed by party agents.
- 3. Verification and reconciliation of ballots should be done before counting begins and this should be done in the presence of candidates and all their agents.
- 4. In the event of a long lapse of time between the completion of voting and the commencement of the counting, the ballot boxes should be sealed and opened in the presence of all polling agents.
- 5. The Electoral Commission should prepare and make available a time-table of the electoral process, including the acquisition of electoral materials, packaging and distribution to polling centers. The time-table, including all stages of electoral events should, by law, be made accessible to all stakeholders.

#### 12. Acceptance of Election Results

#### Problem

It is common in some SADC countries that both ruling and opposition parties do not easily accept election results. Some ruling parties as well as opposition parties do not accept the legitimacy of each other. In some cases, opposition parties are denied funds that are due to them. The tendency therefore is for opposition parties to act outside parliamentary jurisdiction.

#### Recommendations

- 1. The culture of accepting election results should be cultivated and encouraged, especially when election observers have certified the results as free and fair.
- 2. Political parties contesting elections must accept defeat after fair contests.

### 13. Managing Post Election Conflicts

### Problem

Lack of confidence, trust and dialogue has led to conflicts among political leaders before, during and after elections.

#### Recommendations

- 1. There is need for consensus building.
- 2. There is need to create an institutional machinery at the SADC Parliamentary Forum level to handle conflicts that arise before, during and after elections.
- 3. SADC countries should work out a mechanism of ensuring that there is a harmonious relationship and cooperation between the ruling parties before and after elections.

# 14. Role of Observers

#### Problem

There is a growing realization among SADC countries that have embraced multi-party democracy that the presence of observers (local, regional and international) generates confidence in the political process and international standing of the country. It often assists the electorate and the losing political parties and candidates to accept the election results if the election is judged by the observers to have been held under legitimate conditions. However, what is disputed is what constitutes free and fair elections and on the part of the

host government who should be allowed to observe the elections. Some international bodies and local observers are suspended of having their own agenda and may not be impartial and have therefore been barred by host governments from observing the elections.

#### Recommendations

Despite these concerns, election observers should be accepted as part of the process of institutionalize multi-party democracy and as a mechanism to persuade governments to adhere to the ingredients of free and fair elections. These ingredients include:

- 1. acceptance by all political parties that all eligible citizens have had a fair opportunity to register as voters and to cast their votes;
- 2. political parties contesting the election having a fair opportunity to campaign including an equitable access to the state owned media;
- 3. the Government of the day creating a "level playing field" condition in which all political parties have the opportunity to put their policies and programmes to the electorate;
- 4. the removal of any existing state of emergency before an election campaign begins;
- 5. certification by all Polling Agents that the Voting was free and fair at respective polling stations:
- 6. the acceptance by the host government of election observers as a factor in fostering transparency, integrity and in institutionalizing the democratic process in the conduct of elections.

# 15. The Role of the SADC Parliamentary Forum in Election Observation

#### Problem

The Forum has been experiencing difficulties in some member countries in respect of timely accreditation; confusion about who has authority to invite the Forum to observe the Elections; and a common understanding of how the lessons from observing elections are shared with the stakeholders. A problem also exists in SADC because of the absence of a regional body that can assist in resolving electoral disputes.

#### Recommendations

- 1. The SADC Parliamentary Forum should continue to observe elections so as to promote democratic practices and sustainable peace in the region in line with the objectives of the Forum.
- 2. SADC Parliamentary Forum Observer Missions should observe the pre-election (including voter registration), election, and post-election periods. The timing of the pre-election entry point shall be determined by the Secretariat in consultation with stakeholders.
- 3. SADC Parliamentary Forum should widely circulate its election Observation Reports and engage stakeholders in the aftermath of elections.
- 4. All Governments should endorser a standing invitation to the SADC Parliamentary Forum to observe elections whenever they are held in any SADC country without having to wait for a formal invitation from the host Government.
- 5. In line with the SADC Declaration with inter alia calls upon all Governments to ensure the full participation of women with a minimum of 30% of women in all areas of decision making, including Parliaments. The reform of all laws that impede the full participation of women in elections, electoral processes and management of elections. To this end, each and every recommendation automatically incorporates provisions that are designed to advance the women's role in the governance of SADC countries.

## 16. Code of Conduct for the Forum as Regional Observers

#### Problem

Whereas observers have the noble duty to see that elections are held in a free and fair atmosphere it does not mean that they are 100% impartial. Some election observers may have their own hidden agendas. They therefore cannot carry out their work without some guidelines on their behaviour. However, SADC Parliamentary Forum undertakes to observe elections impartially in line with the Constitution and Code of Conduct for the Forum.

#### Recommendations

Election results should be accepted by both ruling and opposition parties and what is due to opposition parties should be given without delay in accordance with the law.

It is therefore recommended that Governments should take a policy position recognizing the role of observers, as long as:

- 1. observers must be non-partisan at all times and seen to be so. They should not express partisan political views whether by word, symbol, conduct, song or otherwise;
- 2. to respect the laws of the host Government;
- 3. to respect the role, status and authority of the Electoral Commission and presiding officers at all times;
- 4. not to communicate with the voters at any time within the precincts of the polling station;
- 5. not to interfere in the electoral process at any time; and
- 6. to channel any complaints they may have to the relevant Government and electoral officials.

#### 17. Reform of Electoral Laws

#### Problem

Some of the electoral laws are cumbersome and bureaucratic. This leads to the difficulties of attainment of good electoral standards and norms within the region.

#### Recommendation

There is need to harmonize SADC countries electoral laws. This will enhance and promote the attainment of plural politics, democracy, peace and stability in the SADC region.

#### Part IV CONCLUSION

The above recommendations on norms and standards in conducting plural and multi-party elections, if adopted and implemented by the SADC Governments, would certainly go a long way to entrenching a democratic culture, in minimizing conflict and contributing to political stability and peaceful development in Southern Africa.

SADC Parliamentary Forum should set up a monitoring mechanism to ensure successful implementation of the recommendations.

# Appendix I

#### **Sources Consulted in the Research**

# 1. Organisations Consulted

### (i) National Organisations

Amani Trust Matabeleland: Shari Eppel, Director

Catholic Comission for Justice and Peace (CCJP): Tarsi Zimbiti, Acting National Director, Harare; E. Nyakotosa, regional Director, Bulawayo

Civic Alliance for Social and Economic Progress (CASEP)\*: William Chikuvanyanga, Outreach Coordinator; Rene Loewenson, Director TARSC (CASEP Secretariat)

Civic Education Network (CIVNET): Taurai Chigunwe, Coordinator, Northern Region (Harare); Allen Sibanda, Assistant Coordinator Southern Region (Bulawayo)

Combined Harare Residents Association (CHRA): Michael Davies, Acting Chairman

Crisis in Zimbabwe: Brian Kagoro, Coordinator

Media Monitoring Project Zimbabwe (MMPZ): Andrew Moyse, Director

National Constitutional Assembly (NCA): Research and Advocacy Coordinator

Training and Research Support Centre (TARSC): Rene Loewenson, Director

Zimbabwe Civic Education Trust (ZIMCET): David Chimhini, Executive Director

Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU): Wellington Chibebe, Secretary General; Mlamleli Sibanda, Information Officer

Zimbabwe Council of Churches (ZCC): Zachariah Godi, Programme Officers, Justice Peace and Reconciliation Unit

Zimbabwe Elections Support Network (ZESN): Rindai Chipfunde, Coordinator; Belinda Musanhu, monitoring coordinator; voter education coordinator

Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights / NGO Human Rights Forum: Tawanda Hondoro, Chairman (ZLHR, HRF), ZESN Deputy Spokesperson

Zimrights: David Jamali, Programme Officer

\* CASEP election monitoring activities included the participation of the Community Working Group on Health, Public Services Association, Zimbabwe Project Trust, Zimbabwe Teachers Association, Zimbabwe National Association of Student Unions and the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions

# (ii) International Organisations

Electoral Institute of Southern Africa (EISA), Johannesburg

Network of Independent Monitors, Selvan Chatty (Regional Programme Officer)

Oxfam Canada, Jim McKinnon (Southern Africa Programme Officer)

SADC Elections Support Network (Johannesburg)

South African National Association of NGOs, Johannesburg

# 2. Reports and Documentation

### (i) Observer Reports on the 2002 Elections

Amani Trust Matabeleland and Network of Independent Monitors: *Analysis of Zimbabwe Presidential Election in Terms of SADC Parliamentary Forum Electoral Recommendations* 

CASEP: Report on the Presidential Elections; and, Conditions in the Pre-Election Period

CHRA: Report on Presidential and Municipal Elections

Commonwealth Observer Group: *Preliminary Report*; and, *Report of the Commonwealth Observer Group* 

COSATU: COSATU Statement on the Zimbabwe Presidential Election

Crisis in Zimbabwe Coalition: *Civic Groups' Indictment fo the Presidential Election*; and, *Press Statement on Election Results* (13 March 2002)

EISA: Interim Statement on Presidential Elections

Ghana Observer Team: Statement on Zimbabwe Presidential Elections

IDASA: The Zimbabwe Presidential Election: A Synopsis of available Election Observer Mission Reports & Findings

International Crisis Group: Zimbabwe at the Crossroads: Transition or Conflict

MDC: Preliminary Report: Second Working Draft. Presidential Elections of Zimbabwe 9-11 March 2002

Network of Independent Monitors: Summary of Preliminary Report of Observations Before, During and After the 2002 Presidential Elections

Nigerian Observation Team: Statement by Chief Ernest A.O. Shonekan, Leader of the Delegation (13 March 2002)

Norwegian Election Observation Mission: *Presidential Elections in Zimbabwe 2002: Final Report*; and, *Statement* (12 March 2002)

Registrar General's Office – Presidential Election 2002: Results

SADC Parliamentary Forum Election Observation Mission: *Statement* (13 March 2002)

South African government: Statement on the Elections in Zimbabwe (14 March 2002)

South African Observer Mission: Interim Statement by the South African Observer Mission on the Zimbabwean Presidential Elections of 9 and 10 March 2002

ZCTU: Summary of Information and Observations: Interim Report

ZESN: Post-Election Assessment (12 March 2002); 2002 Presidential and Local Authority Elections Report (Draft)

Zimbabwe Watch: Statement on Elections (14 March 2002)

Zimbabwe Women's Coalition: Statement of the Zimbabwe Women's Coalition on the 2002 Presidential Elections

ZIMCET: Provincial Observer Reports on Presidential Elections

Zimrights: *Preliminary Report* (22 March 2002)

#### NB: Final reports are pending from:

EISA, MDC, SADC Elections Support Network, SADC Parliamentary Forum, South African Observer Mission, ZCTU and ZESN

### (ii) Selected Related Reports

Amani Trust Matabeleland: monthly reports on violence and torture; April 2002 reports on food security and violence

CASEP: Pre-election bulletins on abuse of information rights, health rights, and the disruption of public sector workers

CHRA: Statement to Observer Missions on Triparite Elections
Harare polling station distribution and flow-through analysis

Crisis in Zimbabwe Coalition: *Briefing No.6: Special Election Update* (and other Election Bulletin briefings)

Danish Physicians for Human Rights: Zimbabwe 2002. The Presidential Election: 44 days to go. (24 January 2002)

Human Rights Forum: Briefing Paper No. 1, Pre-Election Danger Signals Of Large-Scale Disenfranchisement

How to Rig and Election: Evidence of a Systematic Campaign to Prevent a Free and Fair Poll. A report by the Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum, November 2001 Human Rights Monitor;

Militia Camps in Zimbabwe (spreadsheet data)

Monthly bulletins on rights violations, Elections Challenges newsletter International Crisis Group: *Zimbabwe's Elections: the Stakes for Southern Africa* (Africa Briefing, 11 January 2002)

Johnson, RW: How Did Mugabe Win Re-Election? (19 March 2002)

MISA Zimbabwe: alerts and bulletins

MMPZ: media updates and special election bulletins

Probe Market Research: Top Line Results (audit of Voter Roll of January 2002)