



ZIMBABWE ELECTIONS 2008

Examining The Popular and Presidential Choice - Hiding or Run Off?

SIT^o – States in Transition Observatory

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While the world waits anxiously for the announcement of the Presidential Elections in Zimbabwe, it seems to pay less and less attention to the results that have been already revealed and their implications - not only for how they will affect the political terrain in Zimbabwe and the SADC region, but also for what can be deduced about the occluded Presidential results.

Methodology:

This was an unusual election for Zimbabwe in several ways. Firstly, the actual results have been made available, courtesy of the requirement under the Electoral Act to post results on the outside of every polling station, as well as constituency command posts. This was required under the previous Act, but ignored in the 2005 election.¹ This meant that accurate results could be obtained for every constituency, as well as for every type of poll – Presidential, House of Assembly, Senate, and Local Government, and has changed the nature of this election immeasurably.

Secondly, there were a number of independent measures of the ZEC results based on the results posted outside polling stations. The activist group Sokwanele published the findings of Parallel Voter Tabulation [PVT] for 118 constituencies for the House of Assembly results by the time of going to press. ZESN (the Zimbabwe Election Support Network) has also been collecting the posted results, but all that was available by the time of going to press was the ZESN Parallel Voter Tabulation [PVT] findings for the Presidential Election.

Thus, for the present report, we are able to test the veracity of the ZEC results for the House of Assembly against the PVT produced by Sokwanele only. However, we are also able to test the House of Assembly results against the Senate results reported by ZEC. If the ZEC figures are shown to be reliable against the PVT count, then the full ZEC figures for the House of Assembly and Senate can be used with some confidence to make deductions about the presidential poll.

House of Assembly results:

The accuracy of ZEC's figures may be checked in several ways. In the first analysis below the table reveals that the PVT shows less voters than that of ZEC². To examine the innocence of this discrepancy (which may for example have arisen because the PVT inadvertently omitted returns from some of the polling stations) the question may be put as to whether there is any indication that the greater number of votes stated by ZEC have been disproportionately allocated.

As can be seen from Table 1 [over], the overall number of estimated voters from the PVT is indeed less than that recorded in the official count provided by ZEC [and recorded by the NGO Kubatana]. However, the correlation between the two data sources is extremely high [0.87 – in statistician parlance 1 is perfect], which means that there is extremely good agreement on the total number of voters overall.

¹ See Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum (2005), *Of Stuffed Ballots and Empty Stomachs. Reviewing Zimbabwe's 2005 Parliamentary Election and Post- Election Period*. July 2005, HARARE: ZIMBABWE HUMAN RIGHTS NGO FORUM.

² The PVT analysis reported by Sokwanele was 56% of all constituencies overall, and as can be seen from Table 1 Sokwanele achieved a nearly 50% sample for 7 of the 10 Provinces.

Table 1
Comparison of Sokwanele [PVT] and ZEC results by Province.

Province	PVT Votes	ZEC Votes	Difference
Bulawayo [9=75%]	33354	33668	3358
Harare [21=72%]	136645	155713	22072
Manicaland [17=65%]	129612	130283	2681
Mash Central[9=50%]	75939	84423	9220
Mash East [9=39%]	64227	64390	9663
Mash West [10=45%]	64107	68188	6401
Masvingo [11=42%]	75107	79585	5466
Mat North [11=85%]	55303	68781	17716
Mat South [7=54%]	28544	30299	1901
Midlands [14=50]	90141	93989	5814
Totals:	752979	809319	84292

An additional method of examining the convergence between the data sources is to look at the differences between the two data sources. Again, it is evident that there is considerable convergence [see Appendix 1]. If the PVT over-estimated the results, then this was an over-estimate across the board for all parties as was the case for any underestimate. If the PVT over-estimated, then this was corrected uniformly in the ZEC results for all votes, and especially for the votes for MDC (Tsvangirai) and ZANU PF. More simply, the comparison between the PVT and ZEC does not show any strange differences such as a sudden increase in votes for ZANU PF as against a decrease in votes for the MDC seen on the PVT. This is a finding of some significance.

These two analyses suggest that ZECs results for the House Assembly poll are highly reliable. It is thus debatable whether any advantage could be gained by a party challenging the results on the basis of the count at a parliamentary level. Of course, challenges could be mounted on other grounds – intimidation, violence, treating, etc – but this too seems unlikely given the general satisfaction by all parties and observer groups with the actual polling day. This seems to be the reason why the AU expressed concern over the challenges mounted by ZANU PF over the House of Assembly poll.

Senate Results:

The next comparison was between the House of Assembly results reported by ZEC with the Senate results also reported by ZEC. As indicated above, there were no independent reports, PVT or otherwise against which the ZEC Senate poll could be tested for reliability, and hence the comparison had to be done against the two different polls

reported by ZEC itself. However, it is probable that the two polls were linked, with party supporters voting in favour of their party's candidate in all the four polls in this Harmonised Election.

Table 3 [over] shows the seats won and the votes cast compared in the House of Assembly and Senate elections. It can be seen that there is very strong convergence between the overall votes cast in the two elections, and, to a large extent, strong convergence in the pattern of voting for the parties participating.

Table 2

Senate results compared with House of Assembly results.

	House of Assembly results					Senate Results				
	MDC(AM)	MDC(MT)	ZANU(PF)	Other	Total	MDC(AM)	MDC(MT)	ZANU(PF)	Other	Total
Bulawayo	-	11	-	-	95969	1	5	-	-	85116
Harare Province	-	28	1	-	279032	-	6	-	-	308545
Manicaland	-	20	6	-	365756	-	4	2	-	354297
Mash Central	-	2	16	-	201733	-	-	6	-	221725
Mash East	-	4	19	-	289818	-	-	6	-	284183
Mash West	-	6	16	-	249649	-	1	5	-	245522
Masvingo	-	14	12	-	314034	-	3	3	-	307538
Mat North	3	5	4	1	149494	3	2	1	-	139177
Mat South	7	2	3	-	117437	2	1	3	-	109591
Midlands	-	7	20	-	325459	-	2	4	-	328655
Total seats:	10	99	97	1	2388381	6	24	30	0	2384349
Total votes:	203392	984949	1111277	84731		289807	1020725	1004141	73708	
% of vote	8.52	41.24	46.53	3.55		12.15	42.81	42.11	3.09	

Since the elections were harmonised, it would be odd for a voter to cast a vote in the House of Assembly Poll, but not in that for the Senate. Indeed, as expected, there is a near perfect correlation between the overall number of votes cast in the two polls [0.99; p=0.001 - where p refers to the probability of error]. Furthermore, as seen in Table 3, MDC (Tsvangirai) and ZANU PF supporters mostly maintained their allegiances between the two polls, albeit ZANU PF less strongly, as evidenced by the drop in support for ZANU PF in the Senate poll [see Table 2 above].

Table 3

Correlations between total votes by party: Senate and House of Assembly

MDC(Tsvangirai) Senate v House of Assembly	0.98
MDC(Mutambara) Senate v House of Assembly	0.36
ZANU PF Senate v House of Assembly	0.95
Other - Senate v House of Assembly	-0.10
Totals - Senate v House of Assembly	0.99

These close correlations allow various deductions to be made about the Presidential Poll. It also adds further strength to the argument that the results of the 2008 elections, published by ZEC, are highly reliable, and not easily

challengeable on the basis of the count. There may be other reasons for challenge, as indicated above, but not on the count.

The Presidential Poll:

As is now notorious, the results of the Presidential poll have not been disclosed to the public and, more confusingly, ZANU PF has asked for a recount. The MDC (Tsvangirai) has gone to court in order to have the results released. However, there are two estimates of what might have happened in the Presidential poll, one from the MDC (Tsvangirai), where the party claimed outright victory with 50.3% of the poll, and another from ZESN. ZESN claimed on the basis of a PVT, based on 435 polling stations nationwide, that Morgan Tsvangirai could win with between 47% to 51.8%, whilst Robert Mugabe was estimated to get between 39.2% to 44.4%. Simba Makoni would get somewhere between 7.1% to 9.3%. We can assume fairly safely that few voters gave their vote to Langton Towungana in the Presidential poll: ZESN estimated it would be less than 1%. However, the ZESN report must be approached with caution. With the estimate made from 435 polling stations out of over 9000, with wide variances in the size of the gap between ZANU PF and the MDC and a lack of homogeneity between areas, the methodology of extrapolation used by ZESN can easily give a false picture. However, this lack of homogeneity does not apply with equal force to the estimates of the vote for Simba Makoni and extrapolation appears reasonable here.

Table 4

Percentages polled for political parties in 2008 Harmonised Elections.

	MDC [TSVANGIRAI]	MDC [MUTAMBARA]	ZANU PF	OTHER
Senate	42.81	12.15	42.11	3.09
House of Assembly	41.24	8.52	46.53	3.55

So can these results help in understanding the Presidential election? It seems fair to speculate here in view of the delay in getting ZEC's results, and also because the result is so critical.

As can be seen from Table 4, and assuming, as has been seen already, that voters retain the allegiance shown in the House of Assembly Poll, MDC (Tsvangirai) increases his percentage of the poll from the House of Assembly poll to the Senate poll, while ZANU PF decreases its percentage. Actually, MDC (Tsvangirai) increases only marginally, but Mugabe drops 4.42%.

The reason behind this loss of votes is the key to deducing the presidential poll. The presidential poll has four candidates: Morgan Tsvangirai, Robert Mugabe, Simba Makoni and Langton Towugana. PVT assessments indicate that Langton Towugana garnered 1% of the vote or less.

Towugana and Makoni did not field, formally, any House of Assembly or Senate candidates and no independent won any seats in the Senate. However, Simba Makoni fought his campaign under a ZANU PF banner, but against the leadership of Mugabe. As a result some ZANU PF candidates were perceived to be pro Simba Makoni and indeed, in some constituencies, there were two ZANU PF candidates. Accordingly, since Makoni did not have candidates in the House of Assembly, his supporters would have voted for a ZANU PF candidate or an independent candidate. Voters supporting Simba Makoni form part of the 46,53% polled by ZANU PF. It may be assumed that the "pure" ZANU PF

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supporters would have voted for the ZANU PF candidate in the Senate poll. However, lacking a candidate in the Senate, the Makoni supporters, indicated as having voted for a ZANU PF candidate in the House of Assembly, would need somewhere to position their vote.

With this in mind, the following figures can be considered. The ZANU PF vote dropped by 4.42 percent in the Senate poll. The "other" vote dropped by 0.65%. Thus 5.07% of the votes were available for redistribution. The MDC factions picked up an extra 5.2%. (Assembly votes exceed the Senate votes by just over 4000 votes, thus the gains in votes in the Senate increase slightly in percentage terms on account of the lower denominator - the increases are slightly overstated and the decreases slightly understated). MDC (Mutambara) picked up 3.63% and MDC (Tsvangirai) 1.57%. It thus appears that 4.42% of the ZANU PF vote was in fact a Makoni vote which voted for MDC when no Makoni candidate was available. That 3.63% of the 4.42% of Makoni votes cast for the MDC in the Senate went to MDC (Mutambara) is to be expected due to the alliance between Mutambara and Makoni. That Tsvangirai picked up 0.79% of the Makoni vote despite the alliance can be considered in view of the fact that MDC (Mutambara) did not field any candidates in some Senate constituencies.

The matter would be simple if the Presidential race had been between a ZANU PF candidate and a MDC candidate. The MDC votes would indicate 54.96% to the MDC and 42.11% to ZANU PF making Tsvangirai the clear winner in the Presidential contest. However, 12.15% of the MDC Senate vote went to the Mutambara camp. In order to make a deduction about the Presidential vote we thus need to determine how that 12.15% divides between Makoni and Tsvangirai. It is assumed that no one who voted for the MDC (Mutambara) in the Senate voted for Mugabe in the Presidential ballot.

ZESN extrapolates from the PVT that Makoni obtained between 7.1% and 9.3% of the Presidential poll. The Senate results suggest that 4.42% of this came from ZANU PF (Makoni) supporters. Accordingly, the balance of between 2.68% and 4.88% would have come from MDC (Mutambara) supporters or independent supporters. (It is assumed that those voting for MDC (Tsvangirai) in the House of Assembly ballot would vote for Tsvangirai in the Presidential ballot). It may be assumed that a substantial number of the independent or "other" vote went to Makoni. Towugana is estimated by ZESN to claim under 1% of this. 2.1% of the "other" and independent vote thus is assumed as going to Makoni in the presidential election. This means that of the 2.68% or 4.88% to make the balance of 7.1% or 9.3% for Makoni 0.58% (2.68% - 2.1%) or 2.78% (4.88% - 2.1%) came from MDC Mutambara supporters.

We are now in a position to deduce the composition of the vital 12.15% for the Mutambara camp in the Senate using the maximum and minimums:

Using the maximum of 2.78%

3.63% = ZANU PF Makoni supporters

+

2.78% = Maximum number of Mutambara supporters of the 12.15% voting for Makoni

Total (max) = 6.41% voting for Makoni.

Thus minimum voting for Tsvangirai out of the 12.15% = 5.74%.

Tsvangirai thus claims a minimum of 48.55% (42.81 + 5.74)

Or:

Using the minimum of 0.58%

3.63% = ZANU PF supporters or others

0.58% = Minimum number Mutambara supporters voting for Makoni

Total (min) voting for Makoni = 4.21%

Thus maximum voting for Tsvangirai out of the 12.15% = 7.94%

Tsvangirai thus claims 50.76% (42.81 + 7.96).

Of course, this is speculation in the absence of the actual results. It is worth highlighting various assumptions that have been made. Firstly, these figures are dependent upon ZESN's estimate of a 7.1% to 9.3% vote for Makoni. The Tsvangirai vote increases in direct proportion to the decrease in any estimate of the Makoni vote. Many voters in Matabeleland might well not have voted for Makoni in view of his expressed adherence to ZANU PF, and in spite of the MDC (Mutambara) support for Makoni. The voters were acutely aware of the dangers of splitting the vote for the front runner. Secondly, the above analysis does not take into account the real possibility that ZANU PF supporters may have voted for ZANU PF ("pure") in the Parliamentary polls but for Makoni in the Presidential poll. This would mean that Makoni's 7.1% to 9% may be largely made up of ZANU PF supporters and did not draw many MDC votes. The bulk of the 8.5% of MDC (Mutambara) voters in the House of Assembly poll may have voted for Tsvangirai, thus increasing his presidential tally to up to 51% against Mugabe's 42% - not a narrow loss for Mugabe, but a hiding.

The implications of the 2008 elections

The 2008 Harmonised Elections have proved to be already most interesting, not only in their process, but also in the potential results. Initially, consider the process and the conclusions to be drawn from the above.

Firstly, there is the finding of extremely strong convergence between the ZEC results for the House of Assembly and an independent PVT analysis. This gives a good basis for accepting the results of the House of Assembly poll.

Secondly, there is again very strong convergence between the ZEC results for the House of Assembly poll and the Senate poll. This indicates that both the size of the poll and the preferences of the voters remain consistent over the polls, which has obvious implications, not necessarily conclusive, for the Presidential poll.

Thirdly, the MDC [Tsvangirai] have increased their share of the vote between the House of Assembly poll and the Senate poll, which also has implications for the Presidential poll.

This leads to the conclusion that, on the count of these two polls, the ZEC results are reliable, and therefore it is clear that the opposition, if united, should conventionally form the new government. On a run off the combined Makoni-Tsvangirai tally gives 58% to Mugabe's 42% which, on current voter turn out translates to some 382 141 votes.

Then, there is the matter of the Presidential poll. It seems probable that Robert Mugabe has come a clear second to Morgan Tsvangirai on our analysis, but it is also possible that he has already lost. If the former, then the delay in announcing the results, and instituting the run-off, is now a serious problem. As the Electoral act requires, there are 21 days between the election and the run-off, and already one week has been lost, and Zimbabwe drifts into what is possibly a major crisis: who is governing and on what basis? Much more seriously, if the second scenario applies, then there is an attempt to subvert the constitution, and Morgan Tsvangirai and the MDC are already the government, being denied their constitutional right to govern. The question to be asked is whether we are in conflict before the run-off or whether there has been some form of coup?

To allege a coup is never a trivial assertion, and, within the framework of the Zimbabwe Constitution, the AU Constitutive Act,³ and the SADC Treaty,⁴ this is serious allegation, but one that deserves more attention than is currently granted by either the AU or SADC. When the current government of Zimbabwe is plausibly in violation of its own constitution and legislation, it is not enough to assert, as has the President of South Africa, that it is too early for international response. SADC has pinned its hopes for a resolution of the Zimbabwe crisis on a free and fair election, and has pre-emptively declared this to be so, yet the deafening silence from SADC suggests that we have re-entered yet another phase of "quiet diplomacy". This does neither the AU nor SADC any credit, nor does it assist the ordinary people of Zimbabwe who put their trust in the mediation and the possibility of a genuine free and fair election.

³ As Article 30 of the AU Constitutive Act states: "*Governments which shall come to power through unconstitutional means shall not be allowed to participate in the activities of the Union*".

⁴ As Article 33 of the SADC Treaty states: *Sanctions may be imposed against any Member State that:*

- a. persistently fails, without good reason, to fulfill obligations assumed under this Treaty;*
- b. implements policies which undermine the principles and objectives of SADC; or*
- c. is in arrears in the payment of contributions to SADC, for reasons other than those caused by natural calamity or exceptional circumstances that gravely affect its economy, and has not secured the dispensation of the Summit.*

APPENDIX 1

Comparison of ZEC and PVT results for the House of Assembly results: MDC compared with Zanu (PF).

[Simple binary indications are given for whether the difference between PVT and ZEC resulted in MDC or Zanu (PF) increasing or decreasing its share of the vote]

Province	Constituency	PVT	ZEC	Diffs	MDC	MDC	ZPF	ZPF
		Votes	Votes		[up]	[down]	[up]	[down]
Bulawayo	Bulawayo Central	3188	3786	598	1	0	1	0
Bulawayo	Bulawayo East	3491	3587	96	1	0	1	0
Bulawayo	Bulawayo South	4254	2764	1490	0	1	0	1
	Emakhandeni -							
Bulawayo	Entumbane	3885	3886	1	1	0	1	0
Bulawayo	Lobengula	3052	3850	798	1	0	1	0
Bulawayo	Luveve	3188	3325	137	1	0	1	0
Bulawayo	Makokoba	4155	4123	32	0	1	1	0
Bulawayo	Nketa	4219	4371	152	1	0	0	0
Bulawayo	Nkulumane	3922	3976	54	1	0	0	1
Harare	Budiriro	12302	11880	422	0	1	0	1
Harare	Chitungwiza South	6695	6243	452	1	0	1	0
Harare	Dzivarasekwa	5210	6374	1164	1	0	1	0
Harare	Epworth	4861	6220	1359	1	0	1	0
Harare	Glen Norah	4690	7030	2340	1	0	1	0
Harare	Glen View North	7680	7800	120	1	0	0	0
Harare	Harare Central	5087	5944	857	1	0	0	1
Harare	Harare East	6149	8377	2228	1	0	1	0
Harare	Harare West	4855	7938	3083	1	0	1	0
Harare	Hatfield	5119	9575	4456	1	0	1	0
Harare	Highfield East	8379	8216	163	0	1	1	0
Harare	Highfield West	7523	7532	9	1	0	0	0
Harare	Kuwadzana	8379	8763	384	1	0	0	0
Harare	Kuwadzana East	8379	8381	2	1	0	0	1
Harare	Mabvuku/Tafara	7644	7677	33	1	0	1	0
Harare	Mt Pleasant	4294	3875	419	0	1	1	0
Harare	Mufakose	5777	5731	46	0	1	0	1
Harare	Southerton	5201	6092	891	1	0	0	1
Harare	St Marys	3752	6508	2756	1	0	1	0
Harare	Zengeza East	6989	7570	581	1	0	1	0
Harare	Zengeza West	7680	7987	307	1	0	0	1
Manicaland	Buhera North	7510	7511	1	1	0	0	0
Manicaland	Chimanimani East	5880	6915	1035	1	0	1	0
Manicaland	Chimanimani West	8568	8558	10	0	1	1	0
Manicaland	Chipinge Central	6372	6377	5	0	0	1	0
Manicaland	Chipinge East	7003	7038	35	1	0	0	0
Manicaland	Chipinge West	7028	6968	60	0	1	0	1
Manicaland	Dangamvura Chikanga	9905	9965	60	1	0	0	1
Manicaland	Headlands	7267	7257	10	0	1	0	1
Manicaland	Makoni Central	7065	7060	5	0	1	0	1

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Manicaland	Makoni North	4925	5055	130	0	1	1	0
Manicaland	Makoni South	6211	6501	290	1	0	1	0
Manicaland	Musikavanhu	9762	9766	4	1	0	1	0
Manicaland	Mutare North	9329	9158	171	1	0	0	1
Manicaland	Mutare South	8261	7606	655	1	0	1	0
Manicaland	Mutasa South	8118	8207	89	1	0	0	0
Manicaland	Nyanga North	8285	8312	27	0	1	1	0
Manicaland	Nyanga South	8123	8029	94	0	1	0	1
Mashonaland								
Central	Bindura North	8975	9093	118	1	0	1	0
Mashonaland								
Central	Bindura South	5025	6059	1034	1	0	1	0
Mashonaland								
Central	Guruve South	4206	9284	5078	1	0	1	0
Mashonaland								
Central	Mazowe Central	5773	5573	200	0	1	0	1
Mashonaland								
Central	Mazowe West	4019	5148	1129	1	0	1	0
Mashonaland								
Central	Mbire	9084	9610	526	0	1	1	0
Mashonaland								
Central	Mt Darwin East	11189	12122	933	0	0	1	0
Mashonaland								
Central	Mt Darwin West	13236	13270	34	0	0	1	0
Mashonaland								
Central	Rushinga	14432	14264	168	0	1	0	1
Mashonaland								
East	Goromonzi North	6625	5626	999	0	0	1	0
Mashonaland								
East	Goromonzi South	5327	5305	22	0	0	0	1
Mashonaland								
East	Marondera Central	6999	8022	1023	1	0	1	0
Mashonaland								
East	Mudzi North	7861	8041	180	1	0	1	0
Mashonaland								
East	Mudzi South	6595	8202	1607	1	0	1	0
Mashonaland								
East	Mudzi West	7334	9417	2083	0	1	1	0
Mashonaland								
East	Murewa South	9860	9032	828	0	1	0	1
Mashonaland								
East	Wedza North	9168	6267	2901	0	1	0	1
Mashonaland								
East	Wedza South	4458	4478	20	1	0	1	0
Mashonaland								
West	Chegutu East	9224	9222	2	0	1	0	1
Mashonaland								
West	Chegutu West	6867	6772	95	0	1	1	0
Mashonaland								
West	Hurungwe Central	3780	4997	1217	0	1	1	0
Mashonaland								
West	Kadoma Central	7280	8180	900	1	0	0	1

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Mashonaland								
West	Kariba	7159	7090	69	0	1	1	0
Mashonaland								
West	Mhondoro - Mubaira	6776	6906	130	0	1	1	0
Mashonaland								
West	Norton	5291	6070	779	1	0	1	0
Mashonaland								
West	Sanyati	4200	6415	2215	0	1	1	0
Mashonaland								
West	Zvimba North	7000	6784	216	0	1	0	1
Mashonaland								
West	Zvimba South	6530	5752	778	0	1	0	1
Masvingo	Bikita South	7064	6916	148	0	1	0	1
Masvingo	Chiredzi South	5249	5147	102	0	1	0	1
Masvingo	Chiredzi West	6205	6259	54	0	1	1	0
Masvingo	Gutu Central	6398	6398	0	0	0	1	0
Masvingo	Gutu East	5537	6306	769	1	0	1	0
Masvingo	Masvingo North	4776	4799	23	1	0	1	0
Masvingo	Masvingo Urban	7564	9162	1598	1	0	1	0
Masvingo	Mwenezi East	9664	9696	32	0	1	1	0
Masvingo	Mwenezi West	11000	12636	1636	1	0	1	0
Masvingo	Zaka East	4093	4953	860	0	1	1	0
Masvingo	Zaka North	7557	7313	244	0	1	1	0
Matabeleland								
North	Binga North	11653	16335	4682	1	0	1	0
Matabeleland								
North	Bubi	7181	7433	252	0	1	1	0
Matabeleland								
North	Hwange Central	0	5045	5045	0	1	1	0
Matabeleland								
North	Hwange East	4679	5140	461	0	1	1	0
Matabeleland								
North	Hwange West	4969	6318	1349	1	0	1	0
Matabeleland								
North	Lupane East	5075	5424	349	1	0	1	0
Matabeleland								
North	Lupane West	3113	3311	198	1	0	1	0
Matabeleland								
North	Nkayi North	4600	4634	34	1	0	1	0
Matabeleland								
North	Nkayi South	4847	5958	1111	1	0	1	0
Matabeleland								
North	Tsholotsho North	5651	3532	2119	0	1	0	1
Matabeleland								
North	Tsholotsho South	3535	5651	2116	1	0	1	0
Matabeleland								
South	Beitbridge East	4668	4741	73	1	0	1	0
Matabeleland								
South	Beitbridge West	4236	4239	3	0	1	1	0
Matabeleland								
South	Bulilima East	3108	3180	72	1	0	0	0
Matabeleland								
South	Gwanda North	2615	3645	1030	1	0	0	1

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South								
Matabeleland								
South	Insiza South	5202	5252	50	1	0	0	0
Matabeleland								
South	Matobo North	3576	3503	73	0	1	0	0
Matabeleland								
South	Umzingwane	5139	5739	600	1	0	1	0
Midlands	Chirumanzu	4631	4631	0	0	1	0	0
Midlands	Chiwundura	5840	5864	24	0	0	1	0
Midlands	Gokwe Sesame	5500	8849	3349	1	0	1	0
Midlands	Mberengwa East	7211	7292	81	0	1	1	0
Midlands	Mberengwa North	9716	9722	6	1	0	1	0
Midlands	Mberengwa South	8504	8291	213	0	1	0	1
Midlands	Mbizo	6776	6006	770	0	1	1	0
Midlands	Mkoba	8531	8590	59	1	0	1	0
Midlands	Shurugwi North	6000	6453	453	0	1	1	0
Midlands	Shurugwi South	4704	5058	354	1	0	1	0
Midlands	Silobela	4644	4624	-20	0	1	0	0
Midlands	Vungu	3756	4287	531	0	1	1	0
Midlands	Zvishavane Ngezi	4640	4632	-8	1	0	0	1
Midlands	Zvishavane Runde	9688	9690	2	1	0	1	0
	Totals:	752979	809319	84292	65	46	77	29