



"Promoting Cutting-Edge Research and Public Policy Analysis for Sustainable Democracy"

ELECTORAL BATTLEGROUND: VOTERS' ROLL RIGMAROLE

July 2013

Foreword

Joseph Stalin once said, 'It is not the people who vote that count; it is the people who count the votes.' This profound statement perfectly applies to the Zimbabwe situation ahead of elections to be held on 31 July 2013. In this briefing paper the Zimbabwe Democracy Institute (ZDI), examines the ongoing electoral processes focusing on the mobile voter registration process to demonstrate that the process is chaotic and insufficient to deliver credible, free and fair elections.

Although political violence is likely to be less than the widespread and extreme levels witnessed in 2008, this coming election, nevertheless, is unlikely to comply with the Southern African Development Community (SADC) standards on democratic elections given the levels of manipulation of electoral processes and voters' roll and detailed in this report. Without proper and credible processes to register potential voters, the goal of ensuring that Zimbabwean citizens fully participate in decision-making processes to freely choose who they wish to govern over them is severely compromised.

This briefing paper is ZDI's contribution to sharpening and deepening discourse on democratic processes in Zimbabwe with a view to promote full, effective and informed participation of citizens in political processes. The ultimate goal of elections and other democratic processes is the improvement of human conditions through the installation of accountable governments respectful of people's aspirations. It is hoped that Zimbabweans will continue to move towards meaningful electoral processes that create genuine space and opportunities for citizens to freely express their will. It is not enough that elections take place with minimal violence; it is essential that each vote counts, and that the people who vote should matter and not just those who count the votes.

May political leaders, policy makers and SADC leaders take note of concerns and recommendations contained in this briefing paper for use in promoting the development of democratic institutions in Zimbabwe and nurture our nascent democratic culture.

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Introduction

Zimbabwe's March 2008 harmonized national elections (simultaneously holding presidential, parliamentary and local government elections) showed that the country has capacity to hold relatively democratic elections, yet the June 2008 presidential run-off election where the Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) deployed widespread violence and intimidation also proved that elections without choice are a reality in Zimbabwe.

This paper focuses on the voter registration exercise run by the Registrar-General of Elections under the supervision of the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC) which ended on 9 July 2013. The objective is to understand the transparency of the process, how the process was done by the election management bodies, the significance of conducting a credible voter registration process in the holding of democratic elections in contested transitional societies such as Zimbabwe and the environment under which the voter registration process was undertaken as well as the credibility of the election management bodies and their workers in the administration of this critical component of the electoral cycle.

The research is informed by the role played by ZEC and the Registrar-General of Voters (Tobaiwa Mudede) in the 2008 disputed polls, the security sector influence and subsequent electoral, legal and personnel reforms that have taken place under the inclusive government formed in February 2009 when ZANU-PF joined hands with the two formations of the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) following the disputed 2008 presidential election run-off.

The Zimbabwe Democracy Institute argues, based on available evidence, which as Zimbabwe prepares for the 31 July 2013 elections, the problematic, partisan, and militarized ZEC secretariat that presided over the 2008 sham election remains intact, now serving newly appointed commissioners. Among ZDI's objectives, working with other partners in the pro-democracy movement, is the attainment of a democratic Zimbabwe. The objective of this paper is to examine and present major political implications for Zimbabwe's next

general election if ZEC and the Registrar-General of Voters fail to conduct a credible and therefore democratic voter registration process that will ensure that all citizens who want to participate in the elections are given an opportunity to do so.

Informed by lessons of the failed democratic transition in 2008 organized by the unchanged and entrenched ZEC, this paper proposes a robust audit of the voters roll to the satisfaction of all Zimbabwe interested in the holding of free and fair elections. It's a pre-emptive paper for the counter-strategy for the pro-democracy movement as we seek to break away from ZEC electoral shenanigans of the past and chart ways for possible successful democratic transitions via elections.

The voter registration exercise and the roll that should guide the coming elections are so critical due to the shifting of election strategies from overt violence to technical manipulation of various electoral processes with the voters' roll manipulation being the new battle ground for attaining political hegemony with limited use of coercion. ZDI has produced this paper because we think that elections are a possible vehicle in transition to democracy given the authoritarian rule Zimbabwe has been grappling with for the past three decades.

The significance of voter registration in elections

The Zimbabwe Democracy Institute believes strongly that Zimbabwe can achieve democratization through elections, but only when the conditions are right, including sufficient institutional and electoral reforms that allow multi-party democracy to prevail. The voter registration process and the voters' roll that will come out of this national process need to be credible to avoid technical manipulation of the election through gerrymandering in the distribution of the voter registration centers across the nation. This paper addresses a



procedural approach to democracy using elections as the vehicle. ZEC and the Registrar-General's Office manage elections and related matters, hence ZDI's decision to focus on interrogating and examining the capacity of electoral management bodies to deliver credible elections through such critical processes as the voter registration process. An undemocratic or manipulated voters' roll will not produce a free and fair election.

In a country where elections have been hotly disputed in the past, it is essential to critically examine both the administrative aspect of the election such as the preparation of the voters' roll and the environment attendant to the registration process as well as the exercise of fundamental civil and political liberties such as freedom of assembly, association, expression, religion and the media. This comes against the background of observations that Zimbabwe is a pseudo-democracy – that is – as Diamond (1996)¹ defines – a nation with opposition political parties that meets some tenets of electoral democracy such as regular holding of elections but fails to provide a sufficiently fair arena for contestation to allow the ruling party to be turned out of power. The preparation of a credible voters' roll is one such arena that should be scrutinized as Zimbabwe prepares for the election on 31 July 2013.

Dahl (1971)² talks of a procedural minimum of democracy with elections being a central factor. As Lindblom (1980)³ articulates, 'The most conspicuous difference between authoritarianism and democratic regimes is that in democratic regimes citizens choose their top policy makers in genuine elections.' Lindberg (2009)⁴ argues that once regular elections become established, certain state officials gain a formally defined role in protecting political rights. In such circumstances, in electoral authoritarian regimes such as Zimbabwe,

¹ S., Lindberg, (2009), *Democratization by Elections, A MIXED RECORD*, The Journal of Democracy, Volume 20, Number 3

² Dahl, R., (1971), *Oligarchy: Participation and Opposition*. Yale University: New Haven.

³ Lindblom, C., 1980. *The Policy Making Process*. Prentice-Hall. Englewood Cliffs.

⁴ S., Lindberg, (2009), *Democratization by Elections, A MIXED RECORD*, The Journal of Democracy, Volume 20, Number 3

military commanders, police and security officials, judges must then ask themselves whether or not actions friendly to democracy will advance their future institutional status, individual careers and overall prominence, it is argued.

In hegemonic electoral authoritarian regimes, elections are a means by which a regime tries to reproduce itself. Under this scenario, the electoral context, environment and administration are crafted to deliver a pre-determined outcome of regime retention and continuity. This is the premise of our interrogation of ZEC's capacity to hold free, fair and credible elections given its past electoral management malpractices and the vilification of the democratic political opposition as well as failing to produce election results on time and its manipulation by the executive incumbency. A credible and impartial voters' roll produced by ZEC is a critical factor in attempts to deliver a democratic electoral process and outcome and consequently a smooth transfer of power in Zimbabwe. A voters' roll that is endorsed by political and civic players as well as the general public is a critical ingredient of holding undisputed polls in Zimbabwe. Unfortunately, the voters' roll has been for quite some time, a critical center of contestations and disputations because the electoral authorities have privatized both the registration process and the voters' roll.

Samuel Huntington (1997)⁵ argues that elections can be perceived as a barometer for defining democracy. In his view, democracy could be understood as a means of constituting authority and making it responsible. A modern state, postulates Huntington (1997),⁶ could be perceived as having a democratic political system if its most powerful political officers are chosen through fair, honest, periodic elections in which candidates freely compete for votes in a system that allows universal suffrage. According to this definition elections are the essence of democracy. From this follows other characteristics of democratic systems. Free, fair and competitive

⁵ Huntington, S., (1997), After Twenty Years: The Future of the Third Wave, *Journal of Democracy*, 8.4 (1997), 3-12

⁶ Ibid

elections are only possible if there is some measure of freedom of speech, assembly, and press, and if opposition candidates and parties are able to criticize incumbents without fear of retaliation,(Huntington 1997:3).⁷

Zimbabwe Democracy Institute contends that the unreformed Registrar-General of Voters secretariat, as currently composed have so far failed to administer a credible voter registration process through such acts as criminalization of civic voter education by civic groups as well as the privatization of the voters roll. To worsen the situation, the ZEC secretariat and some remnants of the old commissioners, as currently composed, provides an opportunity for powerful political forces to undermine and manipulate popular influence through institutionalized mechanisms and political strategies to manipulate the voters roll. Electoral rules can be manipulated through such issues as who is registered to vote, how citizens vote, how the actual vote is counted and announced and how the votes are translated into governing power (Ginsberg et al 1986)⁸.

The 2008 election organized by ZEC is testimony to this. Results for the presidential poll in March 2008 were, without explanation, delayed for some six weeks and a sham June 2008 presidential run-off election condemned by SADC, the AU and the rest of the international community was deemed free and fair by the same ZEC. For this reason the ZEC secretariat and the Registrar-General's Office require both scrutiny and reform ahead of elections on 31 July 2013.

Despite the flawed nature of previous elections in Zimbabwe managed by ZEC and its predecessor the Electoral Supervisory Commission, surveys by Afro-barometer, Freedom House and the Mass Public Opinion Institute show that Zimbabweans still prefer elections as a way to choose their political leaders. In 2004, 75% of those surveyed preferred elections as a means whereas in 2005 about 74% preferred the same and the figure increased to 90% in 2009, 2010 and 2012.

⁷ Ibid p3

⁸ Ginsberg and Stone, A., (1986), *Do Elections Matter?* Sharpe: New York

The Zimbabwe Democracy Institute argues that since the controversial 1985 elections where PF ZAPU disputed a ZANU victory, Zimbabwe has had choice-less elections because of a number of reasons including the manner in which the elections management body has organized and run elections, particularly since the emergence of an organized threat to ZANU PF's political hegemony in the form of the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) led by Prime Minister Morgan Tsvangirai.

Zamchiya (2010)⁹ argues that the next general election is unique since 1980 in that it is the first election to take place following the establishment of the inclusive government in 2009. The next election will bring fundamental changes to the politics of Zimbabwe and is critical and arguably the most important since the 1980 election. ZDI thinks that understanding and unpacking the composition of the voter registration process and the voters roll that will be used in the administration of the coming elections can add value to finding ways of making sure that the election management bodies do not manipulate the voters roll to deliver an election without choice.

Key Questions and Methodology

The key questions guiding this paper are:

- What is the importance of elections in the democratic process?
- How was the voter registration process conducted and what informed the distribution voter registration centers across the country?
- Which institutions were responsible for the voter registration process?
- How transparent was the voter registration process?
- What was the context and environment under which the voter registration took place?

⁹ Zamchiya, P., (2010), Electoral Detectors, *unpublished work*

To answer these questions ZDI conducted a comprehensive desktop survey to compile information in the public domain and to expose electoral malpractices in order to reveal the how the coming elections could be influenced through this key electoral aspect. The research approach to this study of electoral bodies like ZEC and the Registrar-General's Office is largely informed by the interpretive and critical social science perspectives that advocate the adoption of qualitative methods of research.

The desktop survey was supplemented by carefully selected unstructured interviews with critical informants in the field of elections and politics in Zimbabwe. For security reasons, names of the key informants consulted have been withheld. The literature surveyed included academic books and journal articles, civil society reports including by the Zimbabwe Election Support Network, (ZESN), Zimbabwe's Electoral Amendment Act, 2013, the Afro barometer surveys on Zimbabwe, Election Resource Center Freedom House Survey Report on Zimbabwe (2012) and Mass Public Opinion Institute Surveys (2001, 2002, 2010 and 2012).

ZDI also did archival and contemporary media scan that was useful in giving insight into the electoral politics of Zimbabwe the military factor in the country's political and electoral affairs. Newspapers such as *The Independent*, *The Herald*, *The Chronicle*, *The Sunday Mail*, *The Daily News*, *The Daily News on Sunday*, *The Standard*, *Newsday*, *Financial Gazette* were of assistance to interrogate the work of the ZEC and its relationship with the security apparatus.

Key Research Findings

- ZEC has a mutual relationship with security apparatus and this highly compromises its independency and professionalism, thus it is confronted with institutional and personnel difficulties and credibility to deliver a credible free and fair election.
- The security sector is systematically entrenched in the country's political life and is capable of wrecking havoc. An election with an unreformed security sector poses critical threats to democratic electoral processes and transfer of power should their political masters lose an election.

- Tight restrictions on the flow of information severely distort the electoral process as it denies voters the opportunity to make informed choices. Media cannot freely function under repressive laws like the Public Order and Security Act (POSA) and the Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act (AIPPA).
- The 30-day period for ward-based mobile voter registration stipulated in the new constitution signed into law on 22 May 2013 translates to about three days per ward. Many centres failed to register all the prospective voters within the days allocated per centre. The process was a violation of the law and citizens' fundamental civil and political liberties and therefore undemocratic.
- Distribution of voter registration centers was not sensitive to population density and therefore not proportional.
- It appears there was a political instruction to prevent potential urban voters from registering.
- The voters' roll that emerges from this sham process would not be an accurate record of Zimbabweans who should be on the roll.
- The voter registration process was organized and coordinated to disenfranchise so-called aliens from voting because of confusing messages on the required documents these people needed in order to regain their citizenship and consequently register to vote.

The political environment in the context of the 2013 Elections

Essential elements of representative democracy include, among others things, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, access to and the exercise of power in accordance with the rule of law, the holding of periodic, free and fair elections based on secret balloting and universal franchise as an expression of the sovereignty of the people, the pluralistic system of political parties and organizations, and the separation of powers and independence of the branches of government¹⁰.

¹⁰ Draft African Union Declaration on Elections, Democracy and Governance, Article 3, February 2003

The prevailing political and human rights environment could not escape spotlight as it evidently pose a threat to democratic elections. It is not conducive for the holding of credible, free and fair elections and it ignites uncertainties over the ultimate election outcome. The behavior of parties, candidates, supporters, media, and, in the end, the electorate hinges on political environment which has profound effects on who participates, who does not, the nature of their participation, how they do it, how well they do it and the outcome of an election.

The role of the security apparatus

ZANU-PF and the military have proven to be inseparable. The party has unwaveringly refused to divorce itself from a nationally poisonous relationship with the military hierarchy resulting in a military, police services, state intelligence and other critical arms of security sector that are so partial and always striving to please the other partner. In May 2013 ZANU-PF spokesperson Rugare Gumbo said no-one should expect the security forces to be non-partisan and neutral because they are a product of the liberation struggle.¹¹ This has culminated in a security sector that is operating ábove the law without any transparency or accountability to anyone else but the state president.ô¹²

ZANU-PF has militarized the political and electoral affairs in Zimbabwe leading to shrinkage of the democratic space to undesirable levels. It retains full control of the security sector apparatus, manipulating the armed forces ãwhich comprise of the army, air force, militia and paramilitary units, war veterans, CIO, and the police force and prison servicesö¹³ to further party interests. Security forces meddle in politics with impunity and total disregard of existing laws that prohibit such conduct. Resultantly, ZANU-PF acts at the

¹¹ Human Rights Watch, *The Elephant in the Room: Reforming Zimbabwe's Security Sector Ahead of Elections*, June 2013.

¹²“ Providing Security and Justice for the People: Security Sector Reform in Zimbabwe” ISS Paper 199, Hendricks and Hutton, 2009

¹³ Raftouplos and Alexander, 2006: 29

behest of generals and this compromises not only the election but the broader democratization process. Top security chiefs are on public record saying that they would not allow the MDC-T President Morgan Tsvangirai to assume the presidency if he wins, labeling him a national security threat.

“Tsvangirai doesn't pose a political threat in any way in Zimbabwe, but is a major security threat. He takes instructions from foreigners who seek to effect illegal regime change in Zimbabwe. This is what has invited the security forces to be involved [in politics] because we want to ensure we protect our national security interests.”¹⁴

Zimbabwe Defence Forces (ZDF) commander General Constantine Chiwenga, dismissing claims that service chiefs held a meeting with MDC-T officials to discuss their future after elections, had the audacity to refer to Prime Minister Tsvangirai as a psychiatric patient who needs a competent psychiatrist. This is a direct breach to Statutory Instrument 152 of 1988, Defence (Regular Force) (Officers) Regulations, section 90 which prohibits security officials from publishing views of a political character or causing them to be published in speeches, broadcasts, letters to the press, articles, leaflets, posters placards, books or otherwise. It is also a blatant violation of both the Constitution and the Defence Act. There have been no reprimands against the generals because their outbursts serve the hegemonic interests of ZANU-PF and President Mugabe.

“It's just not possible for me to entertain the MDC-T leader, we are different. Just like oil and water, we cannot mix. As the defence forces we will not respect or entertain people who do not value the ideals of the liberation struggle. We have no time to meet sellouts, mapuruvheya. Clearly Tsvangirai is a psychiatric patient who needs a competent psychiatrist. There is

¹⁴ Brigadier General Nyikayaramba, Quoted in The Herald (The Generals Respond to Tsvangirai)

nothing like that, we never met Tsvangirai, Giles Mutsekwa or anyone from the MDC-T. Why would we do that? We have no time for sellouts”¹⁵

Article 13 of the Global Political Agreement (GPA) states that “state organs and institutions do not belong to any political party and should be impartial in the discharge of their duties”¹⁶ but this is totally divorced from what is transpiring as pockets of politically motivated intimidation¹⁷ and political persecution by state security agents persists. Article 13 seeks to ensure that all state organs and institutions perform their duties ethically and professionally in conformity with the principles and requirements of a multi-party democratic system in which all parties are treated equally. The article provides that:

- (a) There be inclusion in the training curriculum of members of the uniformed forces subjects on human rights, international humanitarian law and statute law so that there is greater understanding and full appreciation of their roles and duties in a multi-party democratic system;
- (b) All state organs and institutions strictly observe the principles of the rule of law and remain non-partisan and impartial;

¹⁵ The Sunday Mail, 5 May 2013

¹⁶ Zimbabwe Global Political Agreement, September 2008

¹⁷ Mapuva, J., 2010. Government of National Unity (GNU) As a Conflict Prevention Strategy: Case of Zimbabwe and Kenya. *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa*, 12(6).

(c) Laws and regulations governing state organs and institutions are strictly adhered to and those violating them be penalized without fear of favor; and

(d) Recruitment policies and practices be conducted in a manner that ensures that no political or other form of favoritism is practiced¹⁸.

“Meeting such people will be a mockery to the thousands of people who sacrificed their lives fighting for the country’s independence. Who the hell does Tsvangirai think he is? No one can make us turn our back on the ideals of the liberation struggle. This country was liberated courtesy of a protracted struggle, some of us we carry severe scars from that struggle and its unimaginable of us to spit on that struggle through meeting sell outs.”¹⁹

Despite the call for professional, non-partisan conduct, the police launched an unprecedented clampdown on civil society organizations between October 2012 and April 2013 that was characterized by harassment, arrests, detentions, and general intimidation. In the period to the run up to the March constitutional referendum, Okay Machisa, the ZimRights National Director, was arrested for allegedly manipulating voter registration slips, producing statements falsely prejudicing the state and conspiracy to commit fraud.²⁰ Zimbabwe Electoral Support Network (ZESN) (Harare and Masvingo), the Zimbabwe Peace Project (ZPP), Center for Community Development (CCDZ) offices were also raided as the police reportedly searched for evidence of rebellion.

¹⁸ Zimbabwe Global Political Agreement, September 2008

¹⁹ The Sunday Mail, 5 May 2013

²⁰ Daily Maverick, South Africa, 4 July 2013

State sponsored intimidation and harassment is slowly but certainly escalating due to ZANU-PF's continued control of the security forces. On the 2nd of May at Kotwa business centre in Mashonaland East province, deployed soldiers terrorized villagers. The soldiers together with war veterans moved around in Mudzi North threatening villagers and telling them to stop supporting MDC and join ZANU-PF, alternatively promising them projects that include giving the villagers capital of up to \$5000 to start businesses. The terror campaign has been taken to churches by leader of war veterans Jabulani Sibanda who urged both traditional leaders and pastors to be wary of people supporting other political parties other than ZANU-PF.

In Gokwe, ward 23, on the 27th of April 2013, soldiers forced people to buy ZANU-PF membership cards at \$1 each. Threats were issued to those who did not have the resources that the 2008 political violence against opponents of the Mugabe regime would be meted against them. The reminder about the 2008 violence is enough to send shivers down anyone's spine and force them to part with their hard earned cash and purchase the cards. Such incidents of intimidation can make some people fail to register or register in fear to vote against their free will.

The constitutional role of Zimbabwe's police force is to maintain law and order. They are expected to enforce the law impartially and not to display political bias in carrying out their duties. 'Government Security Forces should act impartially and professionally'²¹ in executing their duties as given in the SADC Parliamentary Forum for elections. During the election period they are expected to offer protection against violation of their rights to members of all political parties. No such protection has been exhibited. The police rather unjustifiably detain people on clearly partisan grounds.

²¹ SADC Parliamentary Forum, Norms and Standards for Elections in the SADC Region



On the 17th of March 2013, Beatrice Mtetwa, a prominent lawyer and human rights defender was arrested during the course of discharging her professional duties after asking the police to produce a search warrant when they raided the home of her client, Prime Minister Morgan Tsvangirai's senior official. She was accused of obstructing the course of justice. She was detained in custody only to be released 8 days later, after a bail application at the High Court.

Prominent Zimbabwean human rights lawyer Beatrice Mtetwa pictured here exiting a police vehicle as she arrived at the Harare Magistrate's Court on March. 20. 2013 Credit: Nyarai Mudimu/IPS

Zimbabweans will vote on the 31st of July but the widespread observable facts depict a political environment that is still hostile to the conduct of a credible, free and fair election. The unwarranted arrests appear to be a ZANU-PF tactic aimed at silencing democratic voices, especially within civil society and human rights defenders.

Manipulation of electoral rules

When an ordinary Zimbabwean citizen and registered voter, Jealousy Mawarire, made a constitutional court application arguing that the delay in announcing a date for elections was a violation of his constitutional rights, the Constitutional Court agreed and directed President Mugabe



to ensure that elections are held no later than July 31st 2013. President Mugabe then invoked his powers as enshrined in the Presidential Powers (Temporary Measures) Act Chapter 10:20 and announced 31 July as the election date. This was not the proper thing to do because in terms of section 157 of the new Constitution, amendments to the Electoral Act can only be effected by an Act of Parliament and regulations made under the Presidential Powers Act do not qualify as an Act of Parliament. An 'Act of Parliament' is specifically and clearly defined in s. 131 (2) of the new Constitution as:

‘a Bill which has been ñ

(a) presented in and passed by both Houses of Parliament; and

(b) assented to and signed by the President in accordance with this Constitution’²²

Powers under the Presidential Powers Act should operate subject to the Constitution and this violated the law of the land. While the effect of regulations under the Presidential Powers Act is to override any other laws to the contrary, which make the President overly dominant and over-bearing toward Parliament, such a situation is untenable and cannot pass the constitutionality test under the new Constitution given that the making of primary legislation is in the exclusive domain of Parliament. The ruling interfered with the registration of voters negatively. Citizens who were not on the voters roll by 28 June, the day the nomination court sat could not contest in the coming elections.

²² Zimbabwe New Constitution 2013, signed into law on 22 May, 2013.

Freedom of expression and information

The undue restrictions on the flow of information severely distort the electoral process as it denies voters the opportunity to make an informed choice when it comes to casting their ballots. The government should safeguard the human and civil liberties of all citizens including the freedom of access to the media on the part of all stakeholders, during electoral processes.²³

The Police Commissioner, Augustine Chihuri issued a stern warning to journalist while addressing delegates at the official opening of the Commissioner-General of Police's sports gala in Harare,

*"I wish to take this opportunity to warn liars and peddlers of falsehoods who dream of talking to us, to this general and to that general, in their sleep that the law will visit them harshly. We are too busy to engage confused malcontents who do not know their identity and have a propensity to destroy what others, dead and alive, fought for. They must stop abusing the freedom and democracy that so many Zimbabweans died for. I advise journalists to stop being used in this regard"*²⁴

It seems his promise was unleashed; the law visited some journalists harshly and operating in such an environment definitely



compromises the role of media in an election. Wendy Muperi and Wonai Masvingise, journalists with privately-owned newspapers, *Daily News* and *Newsday* respectively, were on 21 June 2013, briefly detained by ZANU-PF security personnel while covering a demonstration at the political party's headquarters and

²³ African Union Declaration on Principles Governing Democratic Elections in Africa

²⁴ The Herald, April 30 2013

this reflects that there is no space for media to freely operate. <http://www.misa.org/component/k2/item/1865-zimbabwe-journalists-detained-at-zanu-pf-headquarters>. In a related incident, freelance reporter Paul Pindani was abducted by unidentified masked men, gagged, severely assaulted and left for dead, in the provincial city of Chinhoyi. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/media/greenslade/2013/jun/18/journalist-safety-zimbabwe>. This endangers media freedom and considering that media freedom is a pre-requisite for a credible election, this is a pointer to an all is not well scenario. The MDC-T has also made threats against journalists. However, the party leadership has been quick to condemn and apologize.

Politically motivated violence

Statistically, cases of politically motivated violence have been much lower ahead of the 31 July elections than was the case in 2008. It appears, as this briefing paper shows, that focus this time around is on manipulating the vote to steal the election and not the use of brute force. It is more about controlling, not the voters, but those who count the votes and related electoral processes. To gain regional acceptance and legitimacy, it appears ZANU-PF would want as little overt political violence as is possible while placing greater attention to manipulation and to ensuring that those who settle electoral disputes, the courts going up to the Constitutional Court, are lined to favour ZANU-PF.

Freedom of assembly

The African Charter on Human Rights requires that every individual should have the right to assemble freely with others and the right to freedom of movement. Credible, free and fair elections are only possible if citizens fully enjoy their freedom of speech, assembly, and press, and if opposition candidates and parties are able to criticize incumbents without fear. The Public Order and Security Act [*Chapter 11:17*] severely curtails basic freedoms as it gives the police wide powers to control public meetings and demonstrations. Under section 24 organisers of public gatherings, other than social gatherings, must give the police four days notice that they are going to hold them, and failure to give notice is a criminal offence punishable by up to six months imprisonment. Under these circumstances citizens could not freely meet to mobilize each other to register to vote.

While POSA demands that all political parties seek clearance first before holding meetings and rallies; approval to do so have been selective and politically biased. MDC formations rallies and meetings of civic society organizations on elections related issues have always been disrupted by ZANU PF thugs and in some cases, the police will act as catalyst of pandemonium arguing that they have reasonable grounds for believing that the public gathering will occasion, public disorder, breach of the peace and may obstruct thoroughfare.²⁵ The police seldom interfere with rallies and protest marches by ZANU (PF) and war veterans. Indeed the police often provide police escorts for these.

The electoral management body, Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC)



The organizational characteristics of the election management institutions have a considerable bearing both on the electoral process and on the results of that process. ZEC has the duty to conduct the electoral processes efficiently and fairly. However, politicization of ZEC is one major dimension of a wider disturbing phenomenon that is further narrowing democratic space. The same problematic, partisan, and militarized ZEC secretariat that

presided over the 2008 sham election remains intact, now serving newly appointed commissioners. ZEC, as currently composed, provides an opportunity to undermine the way through which powerful political forces can manipulate popular influence through institutionalized mechanisms and political strategies. Some of ZEC commissioners and key members of the secretariat at some point

²⁵ Zimbabwe Public Order and Security Act (Chapter 11:17) Section 25 (1) (a), (b), (c)

worked for the government security establishment. Impartiality, independence, efficiency, professionalism and transparency are values expected of ZEC, but are lacking thereby fueling suspicion and mistrust among political actors and the electorate.

Voter Registration Observations

While voter registration is an ongoing and continuous process in Zimbabwe, from 10 June 2013 to 9 July 2013, ZEC and the Registrar-General of Voters embarked on a mandatory 30-day constitutional mobile registration process. The mobile voter registration was supposed to be ward based for the prescribed period. The voter registration program was overshadowed by reports of widespread irregularities. In some cases there were apparently fraudulent activities that resulted in the inexplicable ballooning of the voters' roll in some constituencies by as many as 10 000 people in 48 hours. In ward 42 of Hatcliffe (Harare North), a constituency held by the Co-Home Affairs Minister Theresa Makone, on Monday 15th April the roll had a mere 5,196 voters, but by Wednesday 17th April it had 17,068 voters. These irregularities are 'clandestine efforts to shape election results'²⁶ it has been argued. In this particular case, there was a huge outcry especially when the Home Affairs Minister, who had voted in previous elections, discovered that her name was not on the voters' roll. Ironically the Registrar-General's Office is a department under the Home Affairs ministry.

ZEC fails to fully publicize the Mobile Voter Registration

ZEC's failure to promote public awareness about voter registration exercise has almost certainly resulted in a significant number of prospective voters failing to register. Many failed register due to poor organization. There was no prior publicity to the publication of the notices by the authorities. ZEC did not promote awareness of the voter registration exercise through the media and other initiatives, such as public meetings and road shows. ZEC also barred civil society organizations from conducting voter education.

"No adverts are being run in newspapers or aired on radio and television about voter registration and we suspect there is something suspicious about this seemingly clandestine process," says Regis Chingawo, (Coalition Against Corruption),

²⁶ Lehoucq, Fabrice 2003. Electoral fraud: Causes, types and consequences. Annual Review of Political Science, 6, pp. 233–256.

Restrictive voter registration requirements

The restrictive conditions attached to the registration process had serious repercussions and it affected many people from registering.



ZEC's decision to lift some of these restrictions half way through the process, such as residency endorsement letters from landlords and headman and replacing them with affidavits, speaks volumes for the chaotic nature of the exercise. These sorts of exclusive and elitist demands should never have been a condition in the first place, they were a hindrance.

The Constitution and the Electoral Act provides for political rights and states that every Zimbabwean has the right to vote in all elections and referendums to which this Constitution or any other law applies, and to do so in secret.²⁷ Demands for registration were too much and meant to frustrate prospective voters. In most urban centres such as Harare, the mobile registration teams did not spend 30-days in a ward as required by the law and in the majority of cases the registration was coordinated and organized to disenfranchise voters through premeditated delays and frustrations targeted against new voters of a young age and citizens that were deemed aliens that regained their citizenship under the new Constitution.

²⁷ The New Constitution of Zimbabwe, 2013

At the closure of the voter registration exercise, there were long queues in Budiro, Mabvuku, Chitungwiza, Highfields, Mabvuku, Hatcliffe, Sunningdale, Mount Pleasant and Marlborough. Thousands of prospective voters were turned away despite a circular by the ZEC Chairperson instructing election officials to register people that were on the queues. The failure by thousands of people to register is consistent with the skewed distribution of voter registration centres in urban areas and the coordinated and organized delays and bottle necks that most people faced coupled with the failure to implement the constitutional requirement of a 30-day intensive ward based registrations.



Reports by other civic groups that are authenticated by the distribution of the voter registration centres show that in most rural areas especially where ZANU PF got the most number of votes and seats in the 2008 election the voter registration was smooth and fast and officials took a number of days to clear prospective voters in the wards.

The dehumanization of “aliens”

Who gets on the voters' register is a fundamental issue for obvious reasons relating to the exercise of a fundamental right. Section 34 and 35 of the Constitution now recognizes citizenship by birth, descent and registration, meaning Zimbabweans of foreign origin, whose voting rights were stripped more than a decade ago, can now participate in an election. This was a positive development that “aliens” embraced with open hands. For them, this was a golden opportunity to exercise democratic rights and regain their citizenship.

Despite the provision of the new Constitution *aliens* continue to face difficulties in obtaining identity documents. At Treawley Training Centre in Zvimba, Mashonaland West, those formerly referred to as "aliens" were frustrated by the processes involved as they attempted to register.



Potential registrants were referred back to the Registrar General's office in their districts in order for them to address certain issues such as long birth certificates with no ID numbers and in some instances they were asked to surrender their original id cards and re-join the queue to get new ids, then wait to collect new ones and then re-join a queue to register to vote.²⁸ In Zengeza, the process of registering births for aliens was

glaringly slow and was so frustrating to the prospective voters.

Disproportionate distribution of Mobile Voter Registration Centers

Another major anomaly was evidenced in disproportionate distribution of the mobile voter registration teams throughout the country's provinces, with observations that some provinces, with a high contribution to the national population have fewer mobile registration centres. Distribution of centres should have taken cognizance of the fact that there is a difference in population density size, but here we have some provinces with a low contribution to the national population having a high number of centers as shown in Table 1

²⁸ Zimbabwe Election Support Network (ZESN) 19 June 2013

Table 1: Distribution of voter registration centres

Province	Number of Constituencies	Number of centres
Harare	29	18
Manicaland	26	49
Mashonaland West	22	77
Mashonaland East	22	100
Mashonaland Central	18	76
Masvingo	26	43
Midlands	28	74
Bulawayo	12	12
Matabeleland North	13	89
Matabeleland South	13	85

To this end, the limited number of voter registration centers in areas with higher populations shall have a huge bearing on the freeness and fairness of the impending elections.

Voters Roll Analysis as of 26 June 2013

The voters roll analysis below shows the numbers of registered voters in all the constituencies in Zimbabwe during the 2008 elections and the updated roll two weeks before the ending of the statutory 30-day intensive voter registration in 2013. The variances between the 2008 voters roll and the 2013 in different constituencies speaks to the distribution of voter registration centers noted in the report. In a number of constituencies, urban centers consistent with the fewer voter registration centers and the delays associated with the registration process there at this point record a decrease in the number of registered voters as compared to 2013. Unless this trend changes since the roll is not the final one which captures all registered voters, the delays, the bottle necks associated with the registration process and the impact of the lack of adequate voter registration centers could hugely affect the numbers of registered people. This could likely affect political parties whose support base lie in these urban areas.

Table 2: Analysis of the Voters' Roll

Province	Constituency	Identity	2008 Total	2010 Total	Change	2013 Total	Change	Key	
Bulawayo	BULAWAYO CENTRAL		29398	28642	-756	27600	-1042		Zanu PF
	BULAWAYO EAST		22745	22651	-94	24009	1358		MDC-T
	BULAWAYO SOUTH		23226	23556	330	21693	-1863		MDC-N
	EMAKHANDENI-ENTUMBANE		27651	27193	-458	25400	-1793		Swing Constitution
	LOBENGULA		27566	27143	-423	25008	-2135		
	LUVUVE		24730	25226	496	24846	-380		
	MAGWEGWE		26318	25990	-328	24024	-1966		
	MAKOKOBA		27285	27360	75	26195	-1165		
	NKETA		25143	25768	625	24942	-826		
	NKULUMANE		27372	27138	-234	25899	-1239		
	PELANDABA-MPOPOMA		28483	28156	-327	26505	-1651		
	PUMULA		25454	25685	231	24622	-1063		
	Sub Totals		315371	314508	-863	300743	-13765		
Harare	BUDIRIRO		29784	31187	1403	30890	-297		
	CHITUNGWIZA NORTH		27564	25860	-1704	27717	1857		
	CHITUNGWIZA SOUTH		28698	28888	190	28390	-498		
	DZIVARASEKWA		22668	22719	51	22971	252		

	EPWORTH		30377	30755	378	35703	4948		
	GLEN NORAH		26862	21792	-5070	20113	-1679		
	GLENVIEW NORTH		25866	21811	-4055	23183	1372		
	GLENVIEW SOUTH		29943	27061	-2882	24954	-2107		
	HARARE CENTRAL		26406	26098	-308	27595	1497		
	HARARE EAST		30765	27815	-2950	33180	5365		
	HARARE NORTH		26314	28155	1841	28681	526		
	HARARE SOUTH		24698	24760	62	36214	11454		
	HARARE WEST		26213	27439	1226	26297	-1142		
	HATFIELD		29552	29145	-407	28166	-979		
	HIGHFIELD EAST		30546	29638	-908	27777	-1861		
	HIGHFIELD WEST		25982	28683	2701	23182	-5501		
	KAMBUZUMA		21638	19459	-2179	22659	3200		
	KUWADZANA		23006	23337	331	22659	-678		
	KUWADZANA EAST		24289	23949	-340	22037	-1912		
	MABVUKU-TAFARA		31636	34745	3109	28265	-6480		
	MBARE		30914	31190	276		-31190		
	MOUNT PLEASANT		22245	22768	523	30100	7332		
	MUFAKOSE		21749	22948	1199	19818	-3130		
	SOUTHERTON		23240	22475	-765	21714	-761		
	ST. MARY'S		26863	27691	828	26898	-793		
	SUNNINGDALE		23321	22427	-894	20416	-2011		
	WARREN PARK		30602	29237	-1365	30481	1244		
	ZENGEZA EAST		30543	29661	-882	21645	-8016		
	ZENGEZA WEST		28228	28387	159	27717	-670		
	Sub Total		780512	770080	-10432	739422	-30658		
Manicaland	BUHERA CENTRAL		31208	32856	1648	30972	-1884		
	BUHERA NORTH		26366	27217	851	37075	9858		
1	BUHERA SOUTH		27178	29594	2416	29638	44		
	BUHERA WEST		34411	30705	-3706	30671	-34		
2	CHIMANIMANI EAST		28669	30484	1815	30466	-18		
	CHIMANIMANI WEST		26765	28102	1337	28849	747		
3	CHIPINGE CENTRAL		23229	25583	2354	28090	2507		
	CHIPINGE EAST		21756	27029	5273	26275	-754		
	CHIPINGE SOUTH		31110	33640	2530	34880	1240		
	CHIPINGE WEST		25013	25870	857	25178	-692		

	DANGAMVURA CHIKANGA		27288	29896	2608	30680	784		
	HEADLANDS		28222	28144	-78	27540	-604		
	MAKONI CENTRAL		23012	26525	3513	25463	-1062		
	MAKONI NORTH		27010	27937	927	27439	-498		
	MAKONI SOUTH		33035	32899	-136	31903	-996		
	MAKONI WEST		25115	26329	1214	25520	-809		
	MUSIKAVANHU		25982	27554	1572	26591	-963		
	MUTARE CENTRAL		28026	26919	-1107	25864	-1055		
	MUTARE NORTH		30198	32597	2399	34391	1794		
	MUTARE SOUTH		31334	33478	2144	33321	-157		
4	MUTARE WEST		30116	32408	2292	33877	1469		
	MUTASA CENTRAL		27387	29773	2386	28674	-1099		
	MUTASA NORTH		30203	33571	3368	32943	-628		
	MUTASA SOUTH		25331	27085	1754	30478	3393		
	NYANGA NORTH		30810	31839	1029	32969	1130		
	NYANGA SOUTH		29633	31587	1954	31336	-251		
	Sub Total		728407	769621	41214	781083	11462		
Mash Central	BINDURA NORTH		29165	33901	4736	37387	3486		
5	BINDURA SOUTH		30115	30511	396	30940	429		
	GURUVE NORTH		27698	32932	5234	34747	1815		
	GURUVE SOUTH		29556	30035	479	31294	1259		
	MAZOWE CENTRAL		26299	26955	656	25581	-1374		
	MAZOWE NORTH		22912	24109	1197	23828	-281		
	MAZOWE SOUTH		25011	26686	1675	26234	-452		
	MAZOWE WEST		22546	23793	1247	24138	345		
	MBIRE		30820	33107	2287	33750	643		
	MOUNT DARWIN EAST		22478	31303	8825	32704	1401		
	MOUNT DARWIN NORTH		31404	31057	-347	30923	-134		
	MOUNT DARWIN SOUTH		23818	23581	-237	24243	662		
	MOUNT DARWIN WEST		28713	29951	1238	31205	1254		
	MUZARABANI NORTH		27115	28954	1839	27708	-1246		
	MUZARABANI SOUTH		22248	23137	889	26661	3524		
	RUSHINGA		33973	33847	-126	36156	2309		
	SHAMVA NORTH		28904	28797	-107	30827	2030		
	SHAMVA SOUTH		26574	26643	69	29380	2737		
	Sub Total		489349	519299	29950	537706	18407		

Mash East	CHIKOMBA CENTRAL		24203	25381	1178	24874	-507		
6	CHIKOMBA EAST		23299	22677	-622	21516	-1161		
	CHIKOMBA WEST		32133	31851	-282	35255	3404		
	GOROMONZI NORTH		29269	29787	518	30380	593		
	GOROMONZI SOUTH		31328	31261	-67	36789	5528		
7	GOROMONZI WEST		28045	29031	986	30086	1055		
	MARAMBA PFUNGWE		23816	30981	7165	33658	2677		
	MARONDERA CENTRAL		28342	28253	-89	26888	-1365		
	MARONDERA EAST		26341	24120	-2221	28411	4291		
	MARONDERA WEST		25280	25422	142	24572	-850		
	MUDZI NORTH		32027	31621	-406	32517	896		
	MUDZI SOUTH		22061	25400	3339	26037	637		
	MUDZI WEST		24335	25831	1496	26987	1156		
8	MUREWA NORTH		25284	30212	4928	28718	-1494		
	MUREWA SOUTH		28386	28319	-67	29367	1048		
	MUREWA WEST		32314	32167	-147	29874	-2293		
	MUTOKO EAST		27528	26876	-652	26211	-665		
	MUTOKO NORTH		28281	30893	2612	29643	-1250		
	MUTOKO SOUTH		26459	27502	1043	26037	-1465		
	SEKE		29404	31333	1929	30575	-758		
	WEDZA NORTH		22036	26832	4796	25872	-960		
9	WEDZA SOUTH		23245	22903	-342	21654	-1249		
	UZUMBA		31706	32912	1206	33770	858		
	Sub Total		625122	651565	26443	659691	8126		
Mash West	CHAKARI		25586	22730	-2856	25815	3085		
	CHEGUTU EAST		25059	33061	8002	32000	-1061		
	CHEGUTU WEST		26190	26293	103	27259	966		
	CHINHOYI		27110	28723	1613	27477	-1246		
	HURUNGWE CENTRAL		26904	26875	-29	26144	-731		
	HURUNGWE EAST		31251	30741	-510	30125	-616		
	HURUNGWE NORTH		26309	26808	499	28681	1873		
	HURUNGWE WEST		26879	27191	312	26261	-930		
	KADOMA CENTRAL		29100	28026	-1074	25873	-2153		
	KARIBA		33062	31065	-1997	34431	3366		
10	MAGUNJE		27402	27427	25	26428	-999		

	MAKONDE		30486	29923	-563	29604	-319		
	MHANGURA		21175	30209	9034	31361	1152		
	MHONDORO-MUBAIRA		29786	30350	564	29545	-805		
	MHONDORO-NGEZI		20063	26652	6589	26760	108		
	MUZVEZVE		23192	26736	3544	27846	1110		
	NORTON		25783	26924	1141	27793	869		
	SANYATI		22638	23274	636	23584	310		
	ZVIMBA EAST		27333	27293	-40	27493	200		
	ZVIMBA NORTH		27183	26920	-263	26471	-449		
	ZVIMBA SOUTH		27258	26956	-302	25931	-1025		
	ZVIMBA WEST		26633	26526	-107	26702	176		
	Sub Total		586382	610703	24321	613584	2881		
Masvingo	BIKITA EAST		31309	30154	-1155	27954	-2200		
	BIKITA SOUTH		30948	30633	-315	29601	-1032		
11	BIKITA WEST		30353	31354	1001	29357	-1997		
	CHIREDDI EAST		24127	27495	3368	26560	-935		
	CHIREDDI NORTH		30597	38228	7631	43301	5073		
	CHIREDDI SOUTH		27278	27188	-90	25178	-2010		
	CHIREDDI WEST		30290	33537	3247	33657	120		
	CHIVI CENTRAL		31146	31952	806	30057	-1895		
	CHIVI NORTH		26895	27906	1011	25610	-2296		
	CHIVI SOUTH		29760	33868	4108	31751	-2117		
	GUTU CENTRAL		24188	25547	1359	24344	-1203		
	GUTU EAST		24490	25273	783	23638	-1635		
	GUTU NORTH		21901	21876	-25	20533	-1343		
	GUTU SOUTH		26203	26717	514	24046	-2671		
	GUTU WEST		22809	25294	2485	24755	-539		
12	MASVINGO CENTRAL		25551	25960	409	26251	291		
13	MASVINGO NORTH		21696	23782	2086	23181	-601		
	MASVINGO SOUTH		27100	27717	617	27019	-698		
	MASVINGO URBAN		33871	33439	-432	35209	1770		
14	MASVINGO WEST		22601	22513	-88	22167	-346		
	MWENEZI EAST		32681	31794	-887	33278	1484		
	MWENEZI WEST		33282	37320	4038	41310	3990		
	ZAKA CENTRAL		27839	29227	1388	26489	-2738		
	ZAKA EAST		23485	23318	-167	21645	-1673		

	ZAKA NORTH		28815	30116	1301	28300	-1816		
	ZAKA WEST		22069	22916	847	21119	-1797		
	Sub Total		711284	745124	33840	726310	-18814		
Mat North	BINGA NORTH		31635	33088	1453	32955	-133		
	BINGA SOUTH		29686	28582	-1104	29645	1063		
	BUBI		26365	32767	6402	34368	1601		
	HWANGE CENTRAL		23146	22850	-296	22723	-127		
	HWANGE EAST		34136	22953	-11183	23517	564		
	HWANGE WEST		29970	25290	-4680	25056	-234		
	LUPANE EAST		25254	25292	38	25364	72		
	LUPANE WEST		22625	22495	-130	21368	-1127		
	NKAYI NORTH		26258	24520	-1738	25755	1235		
	NKAYI SOUTH		28207	29966	1759	27337	-2629		
	TSHOLOTSHO NORTH		27539	27709	170	27363	-346		
	TSHOLOTSHO SOUTH		30533	30525	-8	29874	-651		
	UMGUZA		37868	33569	-4299	36825	3256		
	Sub Total		373222	359606	-13616	362150	2544		
Mat South	BEITBRIDGE EAST		29152	29509	357	16381	-13128		
	BEITBRIDGE WEST		23173	22938	-235	28192	5254		
	BULILIMA EAST		35218	28599	-6619	37330	8731		
	BULILIMA WEST		29431	36191	6760	28043	-8148		
	GWANDA CENTRAL		23272	24187	915	24751	564		
	GWANDA NORTH		22657	22543	-114	22209	-334		
	GWANDA SOUTH		24074	23933	-141	23341	-592		
	INSIZA NORTH		22488	23879	1391	25516	1637		
	INSIZA SOUTH		25072	25607	535	24901	-706		
	MANGWE		32986	33799	813	33658	-141		
	MATOBO NORTH		23237	24218	981	23251	-967		
	MATOBO SOUTH		23631	23179	-452	22487	-692		
	UMZINGWANE		33192	32315	-877	33331	1016		
	Sub Total		347583	350897	3314	343391	-7506		
Midlands									
15	CHIRUMANZU		25960	26726	766	26189	-537		
	CHIRUMANZU ZIBAGWE		22366	24260	1894	30936	6676		
16	CHIWUNDURA		30874	32102	1228	33506	1404		

	GOKWE		24172	24840	668	23741	-1099		
	GOKWE-CHIREYA		29324	29231	-93	28966	-265		
	GOKWE-GUMUNYU		29321	24242	-5079	23828	-414		
17	GOKWE-KABUYUNI		23699	30033	6334	29437	-596		
	GOKWE-KANA		29387	29784	397	29478	-306		
	GOKWE-MAPFUNGAUTSI		32383	32253	-130	32288	35		
	GOKWE-NEMBUDZIYA		28899	29150	251	26601	-2549		
	GOKWE-SENGWA		28462	25945	-2517	24947	-998		
18	GOKWE-SESAME		35034	34279	-755	32650	-1629		
	GWERU URBAN		29473	29051	-422	29060	9		
	KWEKWE CENTRAL		24131	23480	-651	23139	-341		
	MBERENGWA EAST		22024	22355	331	22051	-304		
	MBERENGWA NORTH		24542	28170	3628	28777	607		
	MBERENGWA SOUTH		29003	28857	-146	28506	-351		
	MBERENGWA WEST		22821	22830	9	22234	-596		
	MBIZO		24901	24765	-136	24558	-207		
	MKOBA		32901	31568	-1333	30819	-749		
	REDCLIFF		31554	29412	-2142	29134	-278		
	SHURUGWI NORTH		24120	26357	2237	27051	694		
	SHURUGWI SOUTH		22141	23033	892	23096	63		
19	SILOBELA		26590	29245	2655	27808	-1437		
	VUNGU		27029	27165	136	26175	-990		
20	ZHOMBE		32058	32140	82	31172	-968		
	ZVISHAVANE-NGEZI		24664	27591	2927	29038	1447		
	ZVISHAVANE-RUNDE		32837	31782	-1055	29864	-1918		
	Sub Total		770670	780646	9976	775049	-5597		

Recommendations:

- The government of Zimbabwe should make sure that the security forces desist from interfering in the political and electoral affairs of the State
- ZEC and the Registrar-General of Voters should be open and transparent in the production of a credible voters roll to ensure credible, free and fair elections that result in a legitimate government acceptable to all.

- The voters roll to be used in the 31 July 2103 election should be thoroughly audited to the satisfaction of political and civic players to avoid disputes emanating from a contested votersöroll.
- SADC and African Union observers should examine the votersöroll
- The government of Zimbabwe and ZEC should allow local, regional and international election observers to monitor and observe all polling stations to make sure that only those people that are on the voterös roll participate in this election and allow one person one vote.

About the Zimbabwe Democracy Institute

The Zimbabwe Democracy Institute (ZDI) is a politically independent and not for profit public policy think-tank based in Zimbabwe. Founded and registered as a trust in terms of the laws of Zimbabwe in November 2012 (Deed of Trust Registration Number MA1223/2012), ZDI serves to generate and disseminate innovative ideas, cutting-edge research and policy analysis to advance democracy, development, good governance and human rights in Zimbabwe. The Institute also aims to promote open, informed and evidence-based debate by bringing together pro-democracy experts to platforms for debate. The idea is to offer new ideas to policy makers with a view to entrenching democratic practices in Zimbabwe. The ZDI researches, publishes and conducts national policy debates and conferences in democratization, good governance, public finance and economic governance, public policy, human rights and transitional justice, media and democracy relations, electoral politics and international affairs.

ZDI was born out of a realization that there is an absence of credible policy and research analysis by Zimbabwean organisations. A careful assessment of most publications on Zimbabweös political economy shows that a majority of them are generated from outside Zimbabwe.

3.1. Vision

A democratic Zimbabwe in which citizens fully participate in all matters of governance, realize and assert social economic and political rights.

3.2. Mission

To promote cutting-edge research and public policy analysis institute for sustainable democracy

To be the leading cutting-edge research and public policy analysis institute for sustainable democracy

3.3. Objectives

1. To strengthen policy formulation and implementation through public policy debate in Zimbabwe.
2. To inculcate a culture of critical debate on public affairs among Zimbabwean citizens.
3. To ensure that Zimbabwe's development trajectory is shaped by locally generated information and knowledge.
4. To stimulate citizen participation by strengthening the capacity of state and non-state actors in undertaking research and analysis of public policy.
5. To ensure the direct participation of women in public policy formulation and implementation.
6. To ensure direct participation of youths in public policy formulation and implementation.