

# Mhondoro-Mubaira By-Elections 5<sup>th</sup> March 2016.

## A preliminary study of the Voters Roll and Political Environment

### Introduction

The purpose of this report is to place in the public domain important information with regard to the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC) which is neither well documented nor publicised, this information is not well documented because, due to lack of funding, our analysis lacks sufficient depth while those with access to funds either lack the technical skills or political will to address the issues illustrated in this report.

The introduction of a Biometric Voters Roll (BVR) will be a step forward in the establishment of ZEC's integrity but does not tackle the structural and political dynamics dividing ZEC. The lack of independence and internal cohesion in the ZEC and lack of structural integration within ZEC the general election in 2018 (or before) will experience the same problems as in past elections . Zimbabwe needs to resolve both its severe economic crisis and the lack of political credibility, and an undisputed election will go some way to doing this where a clean, accurate open and transparent voters roll is the key starting point.

This report, which focuses on the impending Mhondoro-Mubaira by-election. Some reforms have been made by ZEC, but these are inadequate, both in the protocols and methodology of ZEC. The anomalies in the Voters Roll and the attempts to prevent the exposure of the fraudulent 2013 Voters Roll illustrate the urgent need for further funding to investigate, expose and resolve a potentially explosive situation.

### The Roll we got

The roll was purchased and received from ZEC on Friday 5 Feb - 30 days before Election Day which is an improvement on previous by-Elections where the roll was withheld until just a few days before. For example this was the case of the Harare East by Election of 10<sup>th</sup> June 2015 where the candidate only got the eRoll 4 days before the election thus giving him insufficient time to effectively use the roll. <sup>1</sup>

The roll supplied on a single CD at a cost of \$10 contained the passwords for the main and supplementary rolls and a "disclaimer" certificate authenticating the validity and warning against tampering.

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<sup>1</sup> This can severely prejudice a candidate and has been raised about the 2013. Here see Matyszak, D. A (2014), *An examination of the Performance of the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC) in Managing the 2013 Elections in Zimbabwe*. December 2014. Harare: Research & Advocacy Unit

The rolls were supplied in two files marked "Main" and "Supplementary" with the following number of voters.

Main roll ( password = ZEC2016 )	16232 records
Supplementary roll ( password = zec2016 )	20409 records
<u>Total</u>	<u>36641 records</u>

### Why is ZEC producing two rolls ?

Clarification is required from ZEC as to why they are producing 2 voters rolls for each polling station. Our understanding is that the MAIN roll is derived from ZEC's pilot project and the Supplementary roll is derived from the 2013 roll.

It should be noted that the constitution specifically requires that the eRoll be fully searchable which is not the case with the two rolls provided. It is only when the two rolls are combined into a single file can one do a full search and expose the duplicates and errors as this report attempts to do.

The following observations can be made :-

- In this dataset data from all wards are consolidated into single files, in previous datasets data from each ward were supplied in separate files.
- In this data set the full polling station name and polling station code are given; in previous data sets only the name was given
- Polling Stations assigned a code eg. 3200CHE0903
  - Where 32 is the District code CHE is the first 3 letters of the district { Chegutu } 09 is the Ward and 03 is the polling station within the ward.
- In this data set block numbers are not supplied; Previous data sets included block numbers, where block numbers are important because they are a sub-division of the Ward which enhances the voting address accuracy and the allocation to an appropriate Ward.
- ZEC should engage with stakeholders to agree on the minimum data standards for the voters roll.

### Gender balance

When the Main and Supplementary rolls are combined, the gender balance is as follows :-

- Female = 20954 = 57.2% of total
- Male = 15687 = 42.8% of total
- Total = 36641

## Identity Document system (ID)

The Zimbabwe ID system is designed to give persons a unique identification number that utilises a checking mechanism which is the Mod-23 check-digit algorithm to prevent data capture errors and the like.

- ☛ The ID system is made up of 4 components :-
  - Prefix - which indicates the registration centre
  - Unique 6 or 7 digit number
  - Check letter for MOD23 verification
  - Suffix - which is the person's home area - this has serious ethnic connotations and is not part of the ID verification system. eg the significance of the "00" suffix grouping all Caucasians into a single group.
  - **Observations.**
    - There are only 16 voters in the constituency with 00 suffix of which only 5 have "European sounding" names.
    - 26350 {78.3%} have the suffix 32 which is the district code for Chegutu on the National ID system.
  - The prefix and suffix are assigned as per regulations :

Statutory Instrument 331 of 1993. ACT 36/76 National Registration (Amendment) Regulations, 1993 (No.5) Rhodesia Government Notice 47 of 1977 [as amended at 16th February 2016 <sup>2</sup>. ACT 36/1976 National Registration Regulations, 1977

- ☛ There are 233 voters who have an ID where the suffix does not comply with the regulations in that there is no valid District code as per the Statutory Instrument and Regulations above.

## Invalid ID's ( failing the MOD23 algorithm )

The number of IDs which fail the mod-23 check-digit test is 694

- The number of voters whose ID fail the test is especially disturbing as in this computer age it should be detected prior to distribution, but, more importantly allows the incumbent to vote more than once where they are also in possession of a valid ID, and they appear on both Supplementary and Main rolls as supplied by ZEC.
- The 694 voters with invalid ID numbers is of concern :-
  - Because they should not pass the verification process
  - They are usually associated with a valid ID, thus giving the incumbent an additional chance to vote where the only deterrent is the ink which has proved ineffectual, and, in some cases not even used in previous elections.

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<sup>2</sup> This document reflects the regulations as amended at 16 February 2016. There have been no amendments since 2009. None of the amendments has updated the regulations to refer to the revised version of the principal Act (1996) or to change references to "Rhodesia" to "Zimbabwe", etc. The principal Act is now cited as the National Registration Act [Chapter 10:17]. as per *Veritas*

## Duplicates on the roll based on the ID No-

Full ID = 8 ..

Suffix removed - 168 ..

- Persons appearing twice based on the full ID who could vote twice as Mutapati Regina is registered in 2 different Wards, while the others are on different rolls ( Main or Sup ), and some with different Polling Stations, so the scoring<sup>3</sup> off in the register would not be detected.

<i>Surname</i>	<i>First Name</i>	<i>Id Number</i>	<i>Voting Address</i>	<i>Polling Station&amp; Code</i>	<i>Ward</i>	<i>Main/Sup</i>
MUTAPATI	REGINA	32-001086-N-32	KANAMANDARI VILLAGE, CHIEF RWIZI, CHEGUTU	GAVAZA PRIMARY 3200CHE 0501	5	Main
MUTAPATI	REGINA	32-001086-N-32	KANAMANDARI CHIEF RWIZI , CHEGUTU	NYOKANDOVE PS 3200CHE 0702	7	Sup
MUNEMO	WINNIFILDAH	32-014575-A-32	MUNEMO VILLAGE, CHIEF RWIZI, CHEGUTU	RUKUMA Sec Sch 3200CHE 0505	5	Main
MUNEMO	WINNIFILDAH	32-014575-A-32	MUNEMO VILLAGE CHIEF RWIZI , CHEGUTU	RUKUMA Sec Sch 3200CHE 0505	5	Sup
GOMBERA	SUSAN	32-032823-K-32	MUSARA VILLAGE, CHIEF CHIVERO, CHEGUTU	CHIKOWORE PS 3200CHE 0901	9	Main
GOMBERA	SUSAN	32-032823-K-32	MUSARA VILLAGE CHIEF CHIVERO, CHEGUTU	CHIKOWORE PS 3200CHE 0901	9	Sup
GOPE	ADDNICE	32-151461-P-32	MARUFU VILLAGE, CHIEF CHIVERO, CHEGUTU	MAROWA PRIMARY 3200CHE 0903	9	Main
GOPE	ADDNICE	32-151461-P-32	MARUFU VILLAGE CHIEF CHIVERO, CHEGUTU	MAROWA PRIMARY 3200CHE 0903	9	Sup

- Duplicate ID numbers without the Suffix.**

Because the ID validation methods used do not comprise the suffix part of the ID, this opens up considerable areas of potential fraud as the combining of the Main and Supplementary rolls has indicated in the number of duplicates detected.

We have observed in many data sets supplied by ZEC that persons have had the suffix of their ID change without being informed - This subtle change gives the incumbent two ID numbers which are thus no longer a unique identifier with the potential of multiple voting especially if the person is assigned different polling stations or Wards..

### Same Name same Date of birth

- Search of the rolls supplied revealed that there are a significant number of entries where there are voters with the same name and date of birth. While it is acknowledged that this could be coincidence and or the case of twins, the occurrence of same name same DoB is noted.

### Age demographics {lists available }

- Octogenarians = 1903

<sup>3</sup> (scoring off is the practice of drawing a line thru the voters entry on the roll to record the persons vote)

- Nonagenarians = 1174
- Centenarians = 374
- Invalid DoB = 12

Total over 80 years = **3463** = **9.5%** of the constituency. This is three times higher than would be anticipated according to the National Census, which put 2.7% of the total population as over 75 years of age.

S Name	F name	Date of Birth	ID No	Full Address
CHITSIGA	KERESIA	29/02/1959	53-741102-F-15	MUSONZA VILLAGE, CHIEF MASHAYAMOMBE, CHEGUTU

The above example of a person with an invalid address in that there is no 29<sup>th</sup> February 1959 being a non leap-year.

Checks and balances need to be in place so that what the voter submitted is verified and typos are eliminated

Of the 3451 voters of the age band 80 and above 717 are on the Main roll indicating the ZEC pilot recording is directly linked to the 2013 roll and because of the lack of "transparency and openness" we are of this opinion until ZEC advises to the contrary. Additionally, we do not subscribe to the notion that ZEC manually entered the current data, and although the "metadata" on the files purchased, has been changed there is clear evidence that the same files from the RG's offices are the core with alteration to give the impression that there is no historical link. There are only slight cosmetic differences between the ZEC and RG files which suggest that they share the same source.

**New Voters** - those voters appearing as first time registrants not appearing on any of the roll in our possession going back to January 2002.

Male - 2952

Female - 3398 Total NEW voters - 6350

The age distribution of the "NEW" voters is what would be expected save for a few elderly entries as the example of a 109 year-old female in Ward 9 who also has 2 different ID numbers. -

<i>lname</i>	<i>fname</i>	<i>gender</i>	<i>dob</i>	<i>Age years</i>	<i>ID No</i>	<i>Voting address</i>	<i>ward_no</i>
CHISAIRA	MARIENZANWI	F	14/04/1906	109	32-01965-P-32	RUGWERE VILLAGE CHIEF CHIVERO, CHEGUTU	9
CHISAIRA	MARIENZANWI	F	14/04/1906	109	32-079165-P-32	RUGWERE VILLAGE CHIEF CHIVERO, CHEGUTU	9

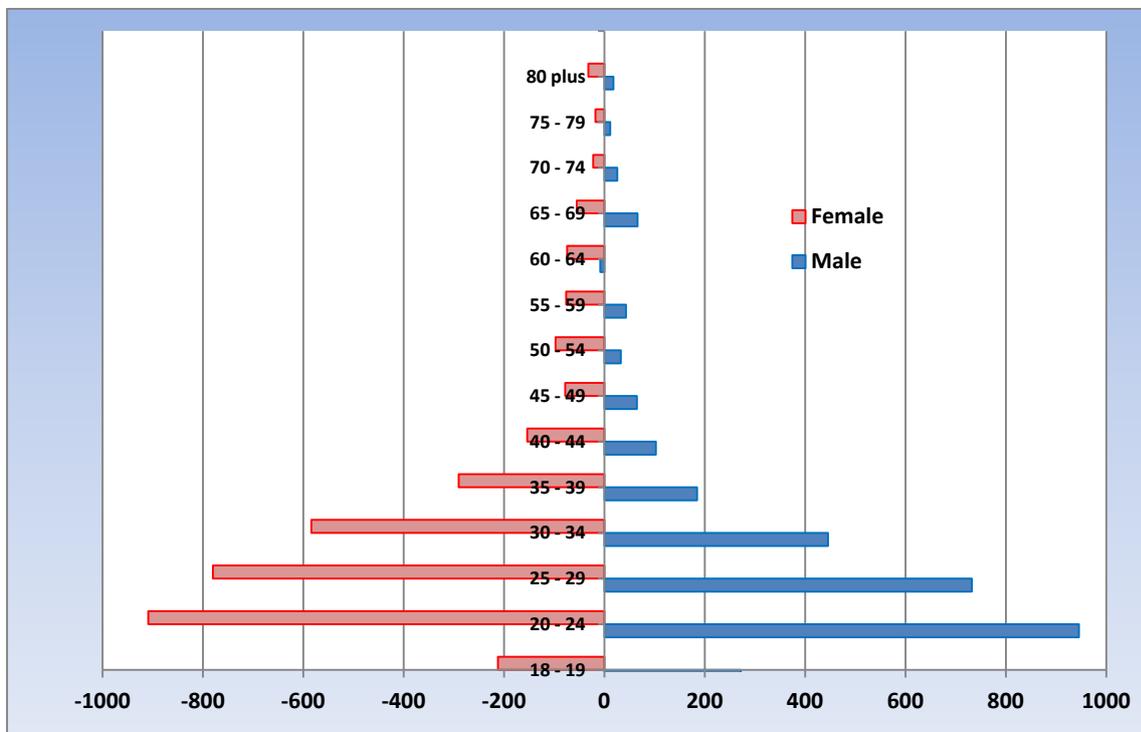


Figure 1 Age distribution of NEW voters

### Migrated into Mhondoro -

- 2986 previously registered voter migrated into since 2013 harmonised elections.
  - 1628 - 62.1% of the migrants into Mhondoro-Mubaira have come from Urban constituencies
    - 168 from SEKE constituency
    - 73 from Chitungwiza
    - 55 from Budiriro constituency
- Of the 2986 voters migrating into the constituency 1002 - 32.3% have a suffix 32 (district 32) indicating they are returning "home".

### Missing - either struck off or migrated out.

2344 voters previously registered in Mhondoro-Mubiria are there no longer, and, because we do not have the National roll, we cannot determine where the voter is now or if deceased or not.

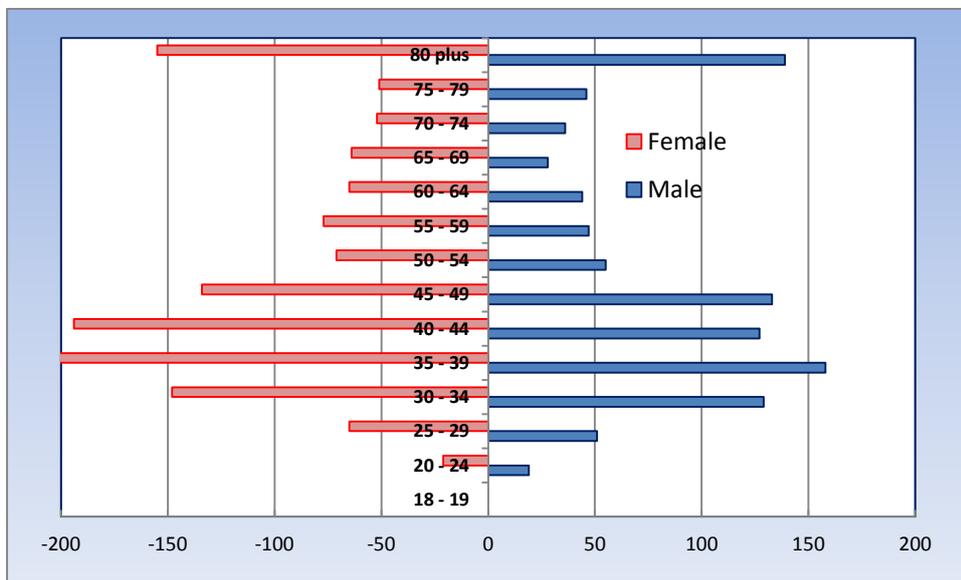


Figure 2 Age bands of Missing Voters since 2013.

### Polling Stations based roll

- ☛ ZEC's criterion for a polling station based roll is "between 500 & 1500" voters per PS - polling station.
- ☛ Because ZEC are using exactly the same stations as used by the RG in 2013 the allocation as per the CD do not conform to the above criterion.
  - 5 Polling Stations are allocated less than 500 voters, lowest being allocated only 263 potential voters.
  - Only 3 polling stations are allocated more than 1000 with the most being 1331 potential voters.

### Exactly the same address

- ☛ Out of the total combined Main & Supplementary rolls of 36640 records, 34591 [ 94,4% ] have an address associated with a Chief when theory shows that only 15,6% of the constituency did not have to get an authorisation letter from a chief or headman..
  - 9423 Full Address with Chief Chivero which indicates the influence the Chief and/or Headman has on persons and the verification of their residential address for registration purposes.
  - 1194 Addresses with Chief Mashayamombe - same applies as for Chief Chivero and all the other chiefs in the constituency
- ☛ **Identical Full Address**
  - The database search reveals significant numbers of voters on the roll with exactly the same (identical) addresses :-

○ Examples of exactly the same FULL ADDRESS : -

BURE VILLAGE CHIEF CHIVERO, CHEGUTU	Appears times	342
KAWANZARUWA VILLAGE CHIEF CHEVERO, CHEGUTU	Appears times	287
CHIRIKURE VILLAGE CHIEF CHIVERO, CHEGUTU	Appears times	280
KASEKE VILLAGE CHIEF CHIVERO, CHEGUTU	Appears times	268
CHIKOORE VILLAGE CHIEF CHIVERO, CHEGUTU	Appears times	222
JONHERA VILLAGE CHIEF CHIVERO, CHEGUTU	Appears times	219
KOROKA VILLAGE CHIEF CHIVERO, CHEGUTU	Appears times	197
GOREDEMA VILLAGE CHIEF CHIVERO, CHEGUTU	Appears times	188

DENHERE VILLAGE CHIEF CHIVERO, CHEGUTU	Appears times	159
KAVERO VILLAGE CHIEF CHIVERO, CHEGUTU	Appears times	139
DIKITO VILLAGE CHIEF CHIVERO, CHEGUTU	Appears times	108

The above examples of the numbers of identical Full Addresses is confirmation of what we already know in that the registration of villagers is done by the headman where a list is sent to the chief who in turn sends the list in spreadsheet form to the RG for registration. The rudimentary study of the Marondera-Central pilot registration project carried out by ZEC indicates that this practice was still being carried out as it does in this study.



"Everyone will vote where he or she is registered at the ward-based polling station and we want to see the area that will kick the ball off target," he warned.

"We shall know how each area will have voted because votes will also be counted at polling stations.

"We shall know how the Marange apostles would have voted, the same applies to those who attend services for [Emmanuel] Makandawa, [Walter] Magaya, Mugodni, Salvation Army, even n'angas.

"Votes are counted at the polling station [so] we shall know whose Sabhuku's [village head] or traditional chief's people would have sold out."

Kasukuwere blasted former Mhondoro Mubaira MP Sylvester Nguni, ex vice-president Joice Mujuru and former secretary for administration Didymus Mutasa, among others for allegedly deviating from Zanu PF ways resulting in their expulsion.

"Zanu PF saw that Nguni, Mujuru, Mutasa and others were no longer following the party way of doing certain things and we chucked them out because Zanu PF will not walk with you if you deviate from its way," he said.

The constituency fell vacant after Zanu PF [resigned Nguni] accusing him of working for Mujuru's People First project. Zanu PF candidate Engineer George Gangaranwe will contest against Rodwell Nyanganya of Freedom Front party.

Freedom Front president Cosmas Mponda said his party would contest the by-election despite clear indications that Zanu PF was [intimidating voters] and planning to rig the polls.

"There is nothing that we can do, but we can't afford to [lose our heads]," he said.

"We need to participate to give people an alternative. We are doing it for the welfare of people. Life is difficult for them, that is the reason why we are in politics."

According to the 2013 voters roll, there are 26 913 registered voters in the constituency.

The by-election will be held on March 9.

☛ We can furnish affidavits confirming that the above is common practice and that the individual conformed through intimidation and fear which is still rampant.

The article adjacent being an example

Figure 3 Threats and intimidation 24th January 2016.

### Kasukuwere threatens voters

January 24, 2016 in Local, News, Politics

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Zanu PF commissar Saviour Kasukuwere has threatened unspecified action against villagers who will vote for an opposition candidate in the forthcoming Mhondoro-Mubaira by-election.

**NUNURAI JENA**

Speaking at a rally at Mubaira Growth Point last week, Kasukuwere said villagers should be careful how they vote since it will be easy to know which area had voted for which party using the ward-based polling stations.

Figure 4 from the press of 24th Jan 2016

Notes :-

There are two CHIWARA Villages

**Voting Address**

CHIWARA VILLAGE CHIEF CHIVERO, CHEGUTU  
 CHIWARA VILLAGE CHIEF MASHAYAMOMBE

**Polling Station**

MAVHUDZI PRIMARY SCHOOL  
 GORA PRIMARY SCHOOL

**PS Code**

3200CHE0806  
 3200CHE0602

One in Ward 8 (Chivero) one in Ward 6 (Mashayamombe) -

Sure name	F Name	ID Number	Voting Address	Polling Station	PS Code	Ward
KWARAMBA	VICTORY	32-129369-B-32	GORE VILLAGE CHIEF CHIVERO, CHEGUTU	MUTEMASANGO BUSINESS CENTRE TENT	3200CHE0906	9
KADUNGURE	ENOCK	32-107057-Z-32	GORE VILLAGE CHIEF CHIVERO,	RUKUMA BUSINESS CENTRE	3200CHE	1

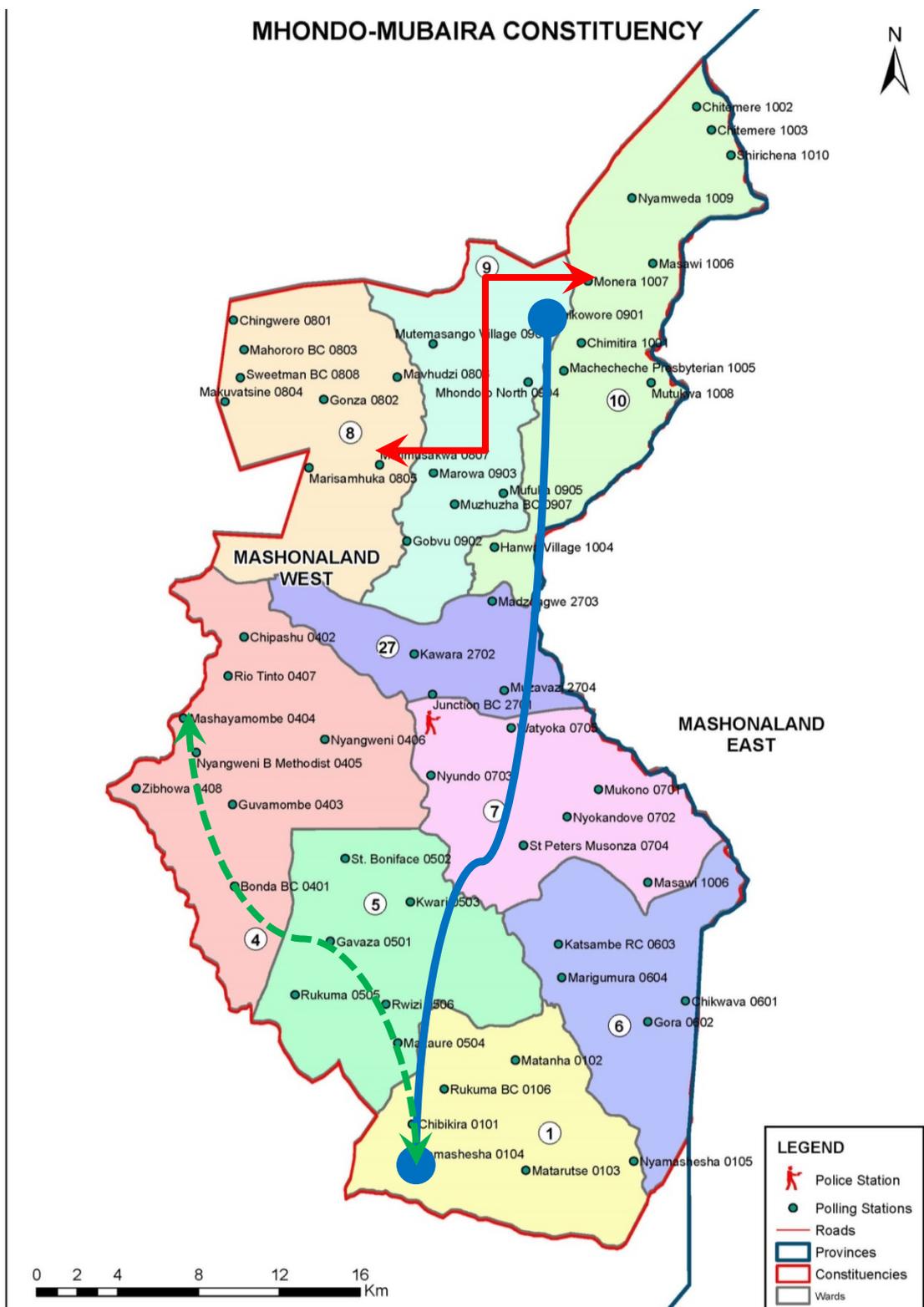
Gore Village in Ward 1 has 3 different Chiefs - Chivero, Mashayamombe and Nherea according to the "Full Addresses"

The map of the constituency on the following page shows the Wards and polling stations

example	L Name	F Name	ID No	Voting Address	Polling Station & PS Code	Ward
<b>A</b>	MWEDZIWENDIRA	ERIDA	32-002117-J-32	DENYA VILLAGE CHIEF NHERERA, CHEGUTU	NYAMASHESHA PRIMARY SCHOOL – 3200CHE 0104	<b>1</b>
	CHAWASEMA	PESISTANCE	63-600138-J-70	DENYA VILLAGE, CHIEF CHIVERO, CHEGUTU	CHIKOWORE PRIMARY SCHOOL – 3200CHE 0901	<b>9</b>
<b>B</b>	MAKWARA	EMMANUEL	32-158987-V-32	DHENYA VILLAGE CHIEF CHIVERO, CHEGUTU	RUKUMA BUSINESS CENTRE TENT – 3200CHE 0106	<b>1</b>
	CHENJERA	IMMACULATE SUSAN	27-2001904-S-24	DHENYA VILLAGE, CHIEF CHIVERO, CHEGUTU	CHIKOWORE PRIMARY SCHOOL – 3200CHE 0901	<b>9</b>
<b>C</b>	KASIRORI	EDMORE	32-131307-H-32	KAROKA VILLAGE CHIEF CHIVERO, CHEGUTU	MUTIMUSAKWA PRIMARY SCHOOL – 3200CHE 807	<b>8</b>
	MUPAKAVIRI	ESNATH	32-018473-M-32	KAROKA VILLAGE CHIEF <b>NYAMWEDA</b> , CHEGUTU	MACHECHECHE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH – 3200CHE 1005	<b>10</b>
	MASIACHENGU	TATENDA	71-136762-R-71	KAROKA VILLAGE, CHIEF CHIVERO, CHEGUTU	MUTIMUSAKWA PRIMARY SCHOOL – 3200CHE 0807	<b>8</b>
<b>D</b>	NYAPOKOTO	IDAH	32-012322-B-75	BINDA VILLAGE CHIEF MASHAYAMOMBE , CHEGUTU	MARIGUMURA PRIMARY SCHOOL – 3200CHE 0604	<b>6</b>
	CHINJEKURE	NOAH	63-387435-K-32	BINDA VILLAGE CHIEF MASHAYAMOMBE , CHEGUTU	MASHAYAMOMBE PRIMARY SCHOOL – 3200CHE 0404	<b>4</b>

Examples A, B, C & D show how persons with exactly the same voting address are in different Wards and allocated different polling stations.

- ☛ A & B :- The Blue curved line shows the where the voters with a voting address of "DENYA VILLAGE" are over 70 kilometres apart -
- ☛ C :- The Red straight line shows allocation of persons with exactly the same (identical) voting address with polling stations with a ward separating.
- ☛ D :- the Green dotted line crosses Ward 5 into another Ward.



### Concluding comments

1. ZEC continues to supply the eRoll in 2 parts without cause or explanation.
  - a. Late delivery - well after nomination court
  
2. The files supplied on the CD from ZEC are in a mess requiring considerable sorting. The following were observed:-
  - a. Different file formats

- b. The numerous errors we have highlighted appear to show the absence of documented standard operating procedures (SOP) in ZEC's data processing department.
3. The number of voters with exactly the same "voting address" is alarming and confirms the "Fast Track" registration method carried out by Chiefs and Headman.
4. Taking cognisance of the fact that the ID validation does NOT consider the suffix portion of the ID, we ran a duplicate check on the ID without the "suffix", and find there are persons registered at different polling stations which enables one to vote twice once the finger ink has been washed off. This enables persons to vote more than once, assuming that the presence of finger ink cannot be detected, or is not tested for. This has occurred in the past.
5. The number of voters with an ID that does not conform to the National Registration Regulations as amended. This is of great concern, and, although not a ZEC problem, it does have considerable bearing on the authenticity of both the National registration and the resultant voters roll.
6. The number of invalid voters registered with invalid IDs is unacceptable.
7. The "new" voters ie. first time voters, is heavily biased towards females at 1,6 to 1
8. Migration into Mhondoro from Urban constituencies is 61,2% of the total migrants.
9. While the distribution of age of "new" registration are what would be expected in general, there are however a high number of persons over 70 years of age registering for the first time. The number of elderly exceeds what might be expected according to the 2013 Census.

### **Conclusions.**

The report confirms without doubt the need for a new voters roll created from scratch without the ghosts of the past and a BVR methodology which is recommended and will go a long way to achieve a clean roll acceptable to the masses and the international community.

This study uncovers evidence of ZEC and Governmental malfeasance, misfeasance, nonfeasance, and malfeasance in the obligations to the people of Zimbabwe.

### **Recommendations**

With the general harmonised elections scheduled for June 2018 or earlier dependant on circumstances there in just 27 months to sort out all the errors and procedures that this report has identified. With the talk of a BVR constantly in the press there needs to be a concerted effort to ensure that the best for Zimbabwe is achieved.

1. The IT department and staff of the ZEC needs to be evaluated and upgraded by recruiting the appropriate personnel rather than attempting to train the current staff.
2. The introduction of a BVR must not be confused with a BVS.
  - a. BVR { biometric voters **roll** }
    - i. Where the individual and unique features are recorded to alleviate the chances of fraud and duplications. The software chosen is of paramount importance.
    - ii. In a BVR it is quite feasible to issue a unique voters card with the biometric features imbedded for use at polling to replace the current requirement of ID as a proof of identity.
      - ie. no need for electronic equipment at each polling station on voting day.
  - b. BVS { biometric voters **system** }
    - i. A BVSystem requires a BVR and then electronic equipment at each polling station on voting day to identify the voter and then to record the vote. All the negative attributes mentioned in the discussion relate to the system and not the roll itself.

R ( Topper ) Whitehead  
for FreeZim  
22<sup>nd</sup> February 2016

### **Note**

All the detailed lists and extractions from which the examples given in this report are available on request.

ie. the lists of the migrations, new voters, duplicates etc.