

FREE AND FAIR? *Observation of Selected African Elections*

Stephen Chan

Stephen Chan is Professor of World Politics at SOAS, University of London

ABSTRACT

The first large-scale election observation was of Zimbabwe's 1980 independence elections. Since then, election observation has become a regular worldwide feature and many international organisations, official agencies, and non-governmental organisations field observation teams. They all use similar methodologies, largely derived from the original 1980 model. A third of a century later, it may be time to consider whether the use of electoral observation has outlived its usefulness – or is itself being used to mask forms of electoral cheating. This paper considers five 21st century African elections – in Kenya (2007), Zimbabwe (2008, 2013 and 2018) and Zambia (2016), through the reflections of a pioneer of the 1980s observation prototype.

Keywords: election observation, free and fair, peaceful and credible, plausible, algorithm

PERSONAL NOTE

I was a member of the Commonwealth Secretariat in the 1970s and 1980s. Under its Secretary-General, Shridath Ramphal, it played a major diplomatic and advisory role leading to the Lancaster House negotiations in late 1979, which established the preconditions for Zimbabwe's independence after years of war between Rhodesian white settlers and two guerrilla armies who sought majority rule.¹ Those preconditions included an election, free campaigning by those previously outlawed, and a truce. Ramphal had inserted into the final Lancaster House agreement a provision that the elections and campaign were to be observed independently of the warring parties and the British government that temporarily assumed responsibility for the country (Chan 1988, pp. 42-45). In the second part of January 1980, just over a week before Commonwealth observers

¹ For a dissident guerrilla view, see Wilfred Mhanda, 2011 *Dzino: Memories of a Freedom Fighter*, Weaver, Harare.

were to be despatched, a small party from the Commonwealth Secretariat was sent to Rhodesia with the brief both to establish a headquarters for observation, and to work out whether and how observation could be conducted. There were no detailed instructions. Electoral observation had not been attempted before, certainly not on this scale, Rhodesia being about three quarters the size of California. Peter Snelson and I conducted a rapid reconnaissance of the country in a single week, and our report formed the only field input for the plan then devised by Ramphal's representative, Moni Malhoutra, for observation and the deployment of observers. Both in this first week, and in the weeks of observation that followed, and with barely a thought for the health and safety of the observers in a war-torn land, we – the organisers – had no advance idea of what we were doing. We were involved in an extemporisation, under hazardous conditions, which assumed a pattern of work and did the job – in the end, I think, very well (Chan 1985). Since then, until 2010, I have attended many elections in Africa and elsewhere, but always as a solo observer. In 2010, I was invited to lead one of the teams of an electoral observation group in the Sudanese elections which were part of the prelude to South Sudanese independence a year later. The Carter Center, the African Union, and the Arab League sent observer groups as well and all used methodologies essentially no different from those of 1980. They had become bureaucratically more robust (or fussy), but they had acquired no greater depth or forensic capacity. After acting as a solo observer in the 2013 and 2018 Zimbabwean elections and Zambia's 2016 elections, and watching the observer groups as well as the elections very closely, I concluded that electoral observation, while not worthless, has limited worth.

DEVELOPMENTS IN ELECTION OBSERVATION

The success of the 1980 Zimbabwe observation was almost immediately shaded by a less successful observation of the elections in Uganda later that year. Emboldened by its Zimbabwean success, the Commonwealth Secretariat sent an observation group to an election with very different conditions.² After the fall of Idi Amin in 1979, facilitated by the Tanzanian army as well as Ugandan rebel irregulars, unsuccessful interim governments were formed under Yusuf Lule (April–June 1979), himself a former Commonwealth Assistant Secretary-General; Godfrey Binaisa (June 1979–May 1980); and Paulo Muwanga, who served for ten days in May before a presidential commission took over. This ended with the elections of

2 For an early contemplation of the differences, see Simon Hardwick, 1982, 'Administrative aspects of the Uganda election – December 1980: A comparison with Zimbabwe', *Public Administration and Development*, vol. 2 p. 2.

December 1980 which were won by Milton Obote, whom Amin had overthrown in 1971 and who had taken exile in neighbouring Tanzania.

But Tanzania, which had overthrown Amin, was a key power-broker in Uganda. It wanted stability in its neighbour and Obote was the preferred choice of Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere. That in itself was unavoidable, given the terrible administration of Amin, but the 1980 elections were certainly unfair, and to a greater or lesser extent rigged. Certainly, afterwards, one of the Commonwealth Secretariat members present accepted that they were rigged. The electoral commission was not impartial and the country had insufficient public administrative infrastructure to hold a nationwide election. The *Economist* described the Commonwealth Observer Group (COG) as 'shameful' for validating it despite the misgivings of its own chairman, although a critical but more measured academic response suggested the Commonwealth sought to maintain some means of influencing Obote in his future conduct as president (Willis, Lynch & Cheeseman 2017, pp. 211-238). Figures like the current Ugandan President, Yoweri Museveni, immediately took to the bush to wage guerrilla war.

The difference with Zimbabwe was that, under Amin, Uganda lacked not only public administration but effective government. Rhodesia always had a government and the strategy of the guerrillas was to deny it governmental space, but large parts of the country remained under discernible government. The United Kingdom assumed responsibility for the tasks of government in the interregnum between Rhodesia and Zimbabwe, but was anxious to be rid of the whole affair, albeit without losing face or causing domestic backlash back home, as many British citizens were related to the white settlers. Even so, the UK had no strategic interests in Zimbabwe; whereas Tanzania had every strategic interest. The Tanzanians had invaded Uganda only after Amin had first invaded Tanzania. The Tanzanians wanted a guarantee that this could not happen again and wanted a reliable and familiar man in charge. Whereas a polyglot Commonwealth military force of British, New Zealand, Kenyan and Fijian troops went to Zimbabwe to help keep the peace during the electoral period, peacekeeping in Uganda was entirely conducted by the Tanzanian army under a central command with directive capacities in many parts of the country. Finally, the opposing forces largely kept the truce in Zimbabwe, but disparate armed groups maintained hostilities at various levels throughout the Ugandan elections. Observation required Tanzanian security, and the COG was nowhere as intrepid and determinedly independent as its predecessor in Zimbabwe as it had less capacity to observe. Tanzania was a Commonwealth member with an illustrious record of support for liberation and efforts at egalitarian socialism. It was not to be gainsaid, and the result it sought in the election was validated by the Commonwealth. Observation had become part of the regional power politics of East Africa.

The term 'free and fair' was first used at the Zimbabwean elections.³ It was used again, albeit in a qualified way, to scepticism and criticism in Uganda (Namusoke 2016) but it established these loose terms as undefinable and partially adjustable litmus tests for elections that lasted until 2013. In an attempt to avoid a repeat of the violence and 'electoral cleansing' of 2007 in Kenya, on 27 February 2013 the UN Secretary-General, Ban Ki-Moon, talked of the need to be 'credible and peaceful', probably without the intention of devising a lower standard. That is the heart of this paper.

METHODOLOGIES OF ELECTORAL OBSERVATION IN 1980 AND 2016

The very early Commonwealth decision in Zimbabwe was that observation had to be decentralised. The British Governor, Nicholas Soames, had undertaken to mount a separate observation exercise in which observers – usually sent by governments, together with journalists – would fly from the capital to and from chosen locations on a daily basis. They would have a military escort to ensure safety and as many observers who wanted to come would be welcomed. In part, the political rationale was to create a range of opinions about the elections so that, in the event of dispute over the results, at least some voices would declare that a proper exercise had taken place, though safety was also a genuine factor. Thus, decentralised Commonwealth observation, without inbuilt security, was clearly an exercise in risk. Observers were rotated around the various decentralised zones on a weekly basis, and a small secretariat remained in place in all zones to prepare the observation and, crucially, to liaise with all parties and all security forces. There were four major armed groups in total, of which three were full armies (also dispersed into centres) and one a smaller para-military group, as well as a peacekeeping unit from four different foreign armies. The administrative organisation of the election was decentralised to provinces and districts, so observation mirrored electoral, military, and public administrative decentralisation. By and large, modern electoral observation has sought to spread itself throughout the country being observed, but without rotation of observers (there were four full rotations in Zimbabwe), without a presence more than a month before the elections, and without on-site secretariats. Certainly, there has been an effort not to depend on security forces from the incumbent government, but an entire float of health and safety procedures have meant that observation tends to avoid what may be still war-zones or zones of great volatility. In the South Sudan elections of 2010, UN peacekeeping bases were meant to provide

3 It was the declared intention of the British government to hold 'free and fair' elections. The conclusion of the Commonwealth Observer Group was that it was 'a valid and democratic expression' (Commonwealth Secretariat 1980, p. 74).

accommodation on request from travelling observers, but the Chinese and Kenyan peacekeeping camps did not comply.⁴ Although the Ukrainian and Canadian camps did, many regions were under curfew, so observers were discouraged from travelling to areas where observation was most needed for fear of being stranded without shelter as curfew fell. Decentralised observation has continued since Zimbabwe.

What has developed most radically since 1980 has been the use of bureaucratic check lists. These can be easily tabulated to give 'scores' for different aspects of electoral conduct. There are generally tick boxes for whether party agents were the prescribed distance from the polling desks, whether special assistance was available for the disabled and elderly, whether all documents, ballots and ballot boxes were in place, whether voters' rolls were accessible, etc. Observers tick off the boxes and move onto the next polling station. The 1980 Zimbabwe observation used no such formal lists, but by and large sought to observe exactly such indicators of good polling practice. The result over the years is two-fold: observation groups publish tabulated results that give an impression of nationwide electoral practice; governments and electoral commissions mount very good election days with good procedures conforming to accepted international norms, precisely for the benefit of observers. The focus on the election day itself, and the final days of campaigning when observers disperse to decentralised stations, means that campaigning in the weeks prior (such as access to rallies, advertising, media, whether or not harassment and violence took place, and by whom) may be common knowledge and the subject of reportage, but not always observation. Election day itself might be 'free and fair' – people could vote freely, all contesting parties were represented on the ballot fairly – but the preceding campaign may have been fraught to the point that it was not 'credible and peaceful', let alone always 'free and fair'. The timing of dispersal of observers to decentralised points becomes critical. A contentious election requires at least one month of decentralised but coordinated observation. But early dispersal requires careful and detailed briefing as to what should be observed, as there are few universal campaign indicators that are not also heavily generalised. For instance, subtle psychological intimidation of voters by means of cultural signs or local language may not be appreciated by foreign observers. A youthful party militant rattling a box of matches in a marginal seat was taken by local people as a threat to burn property if the vote went against the government. The expression, in Shona, 'the spirits see through all barriers', was interpreted as a statement that polling booths and especially transparent ballot boxes could not hide the identity of voters who chose the opposition. The severe beating up of an opposition supporter was calculated, perhaps tabulated,

4 Personal experience in South Sudan at the time.

to spread fear among his family, relatives and friends. Here, an injured body that lives to tell the tale is of much greater use than a dead one. But this kind of multiplier effect might not make an impact on observers who would report on the small incidence of such beatings. It is where intimidation oversteps its own restraints – threats by inference, exemplary but not wholesale violence – that it becomes naked and of concern to observers and the international community. The 2007 Kenyan elections were a case in point.

Before we look at those elections, what are the positive practices and oversights that derived from 1980? Certainly, dispersal ahead of polling day – but with various time-frames involved – is a feature, i.e. the observation is decentralised; it is not confined to observing a results-verification process at an electoral headquarters but seeks to observe voting and counting of votes on a widespread basis. Secondly, close observation of the actual polling process is a continuing feature, with especial attention to rules pertaining to fairness of access and, particularly, the absence of visible intimidation.

The politesse of observation developed from 1980, when it was treated with suspicion and could be dangerous. Now, it is as if an election could not be ‘proper’ without highly visible observation, and the observers are not so much intrepid pioneers as members of a tour bus party. They arrive in uniform gilets and badges and many are veterans of several observations and may be doing it for the per diems. In Zambia 2016, they seemed uniformly comfortable – which is to say they did not seem prepared for hardship zones. In a personal and purely anecdotal assessment many were portly and some were amazingly fat and ate conspicuously well.

But they shared a certain ignorance and naivety in 1980 to do with the lack of advanced in-depth information about national political culture, political organisation, past electoral trends, and efforts to model possible outcomes. In 1980, there had been no previous elections in which the liberation parties had participated, so there was no relevant electoral history, and computer modelling was not known. In Zambia in 2016, it was foreign embassies who were computer modelling results and trends, but no observer group. This is to say, and I shall elaborate later in this paper, that the observation process remains exactly as low-tech as it was in 1980.

KENYA 2007

The Kenyan presidential and parliamentary elections of 2007 were highly cynical. Both presidential candidates, Mwai Kibaki and Raila Odinga, had worked together in the outgoing government. Both were highly credible and experienced candidates, and it was Odinga who wore such mantle of liberation as a son of

Odinga – a figure of true importance in ending colonialism – could wear. Both men were capable of ethnic mobilisation, were well prepared to do so and to deploy such mobilisation forcefully, having also the ability to call it off at a moment's notice. Each knew the other's strengths and weaknesses and knew, no matter how difficult the campaign, they could work together again afterwards if they had to – even if there was no love lost between them.

Odinga was seen in the final months of the presidential campaign as the clear favourite. In a rare African country where opinion polls have some substance the aggregate of opinion polls in September and October had him ahead. With the exception of one week in November, weekly polls in October and November had him remaining ahead of Kibaki. The elections in December had three curious aspects:

1. The early counting had Odinga ahead, so any rigging against him would have occurred in the later stages of counting.
2. In the parliamentary contest, Odinga's party won 99 seats to Kibaki's 43 – although many parties were involved in a complicated contest.
3. Even so, Odinga's clear parliamentary majority over Kibaki, a margin of 2 to 1 seats, was belied by final presidential results that gave Kibaki 4 578 034 votes to Odinga's 4 352 993.

Great violence along ethnic lines erupted (Cheeseman 2015, pp. 166-7), and it took an incisive mediation by Kofi Annan to force the two sides to compromise on a coalition government.

In July, however, a US government-commissioned poll had Odinga ahead of Kibaki by 46% to 40% (Kelley 2008), with a 1.3% margin of error. What Annan's mediation did was to restore peace, force compromise, institute measures that sought to prevent a recurrence of such violence, and propagate a principle that inclusiveness was a greater virtue than electoral victory. What it did not do was to preserve an ethos of democracy, i.e. that choice was the essence of an election. This election was almost certainly rigged (Bloomfield 2008). Nevertheless, the principle was carried forward by Thabo Mbeki at the 2008 Zimbabwean elections, although he had certainly pioneered a similar principle in earlier talks in Democratic Republic of Congo. What did all this mean for electoral observation?

There were many observer groups present, including those from the EU, and their report concluded that 'the 2007 General Elections in Kenya fell short of key international and regional standards for democratic elections' (EU Commission 2007). It used no stronger language, although much of its language continued this disapproving tone. The report was comprehensive, but it gives no evidence of contemplating available electoral data:

1. past election results, projected forwards taking into account
 - a. boundary changes
 - b. demographic changes
2. opinion polling data, interrogated for location and demographic factors
3. variance of polling data with regard to urban locations and ethnic mix
4. early trends in counting adjusted for urban factors
5. final voting profile against each of the preceding four data-sets.

The observer groups would have, thereby, some sort of template against which to measure sudden shifts in voting pattern. Those sudden shifts would demand enquiry.

Rumour and anecdote refer to the fabled 'Israeli consultants', supposedly ex-Mossad, who apparently rig the results so that they are entirely in line with plausible variations against the template indicated above. Such rumours were abundant in the Zimbabwean elections a year after those in Kenya. Thus, 'rigged' elections are no longer won in a banal way with 90% of the vote cast for an incumbent, but with 50.1%, and founded on a spread and pattern of votes gained that are both plausible and within margins of error of early opinion polls and forecasts. The algorithms for this are basic and may exist only in rumour; but observer groups should at least have the capacity to understand the possibilities and plausibilities of both honest and dishonest elections.

Africa-wide protocol now has polling figures posted at every polling station. If there are 3 000 polling stations, there are 3 000 sets of results. It is impossible to have observer teams at each. However, party agents with smart phone cameras can be at each station and photograph each set of results. Alternatively, party agents and election officials can agree the final result, i.e. a 'parallel vote tabulation' and an official result can be made identical by a bureaucratic process. Where there is neither uniform process nor reliable photographs, the central vote verification system becomes critical – and it is at this point that modern coordinated rigging must occur. Observer access to the verification procedures becomes critical, preferably armed with data that indicates what is plausible and what is not.

Intimidation, violence and fake ballots have not necessarily disappeared. Fake ballots lose their utility in the sense that a paper trail is left and the risk of discovery is greater the more widespread is their use. This also means that a large number of people would be involved and people talk. Intimidation is slowly becoming less often a tactic of first recourse as people affected can talk to observers and broadcast moving pictures of violence on social media. The cleanest rig is still one conducted centrally by a small number of highly-skilled people. But Zimbabwe's 2008 election combined mass intimidation with a slow-motion count that suggested manipulation.

ZIMBABWE 2008

These elections were set against previous attempts by the MDC opposition leader to achieve electoral victory, with earlier failures set against accusations of rigging (Chan 2003; Chan 2011). The problem was that no one plausibly explained how the rigging was conducted. However, by 2008 the government of Robert Mugabe and his Zanu-PF government had clearly achieved economic failure. There was drastically reduced agricultural output and revenues because of farm seizures and, above all, hyper-inflation of gigantic proportions. Amazingly, the government failed to recognise its own unpopularity, so the first round of the elections was not as badly marred by violence and intimidation as was the case in an unexpected second round. Election day itself, in keeping with the now-established practice of 'a good show for observation', was peaceful and the electoral process was well conducted.

The build-up to polling day was in some ways soporific. It was as if Zanu-PF was so confident of victory it wasn't really making an effort. A survey of its advertisements gives an indication: of the 21 different newspaper advertisements Zanu-PF published, only one, at the end of the campaign, listed their positive qualities. Nine were largely vituperative attacks on opposition leader, Morgan Tsvangirai. Three were attacks on the third presidential candidate, Simba Makoni. Three attacked international sanctions. Five dealt with electoral issues such as land and education. Almost all were shoddily designed, as were street posters and hoardings. However, in the last week there were well-designed, glossy hoardings of a besuited Robert Mugabe, shaking his fist, defending Zimbabwe against foreign ownership, set against a beautiful green and blue backdrop of Victoria Falls. But it was the Zambian side of the Falls (Chan 2011). Campaign research could not be described as a strong point.

Zanu-PF's own opinion polling indicated it would win with 57%, with just 27% for Tsvangirai and 14% for Makoni, but the details of the polling methodology were never released. Nevertheless, all this added to a sense of Zanu-PF confidence on the eve of the elections.

As the first results were announced, and a trend began to emerge with Tsvangirai ahead of Mugabe by 2 to 1, the announcement of results slowed, then ceased. The direction of this trend had been prefigured after polls closed the previous day. The South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) estimated a 52% victory for Morgan Tsvangirai. My own estimate was 56% for Tsvangirai (in Moore 2008). But I also had Mugabe receiving not even 40%, as Makoni picked up sufficient votes to deny him that. Tsvangirai's MDC first claimed 60% but later moderated that to 50.3%. Some years afterwards, Ibbo Mandaza, a Zimbabwean

intellectual insider, insisted it was as much as 70%.⁵ The basic thrust of all these estimates was a defeat for Robert Mugabe in the presidential vote and for his Zanu-PF party in the parliamentary vote.

The election concluded on the evening of 29 March 2008. Tallies for each polling station were posted outside the stations on the morning of 30 March. No further central announcements were made by the electoral commission from the afternoon of 30 March. Rumours of an Israeli 'consultancy team' arriving on 31 March, began circulating the afternoon of its supposed arrival. The derivative rumours then had the Zimbabwean military commanders demanding the 'arrangement' of a 52% vote for Mugabe, and a combined 48% for Tsvangirai and Makoni. They otherwise threatened a coup on behalf of Mugabe. The 'consultants' were anxious, however, to deliver final results that were mathematically credible, and this is where the modern science of rigging had its genesis. The results were finally announced on 2 May, so credibility was a painstaking exercise. In the end Tsvangirai received less than 50% of the votes cast although he outpolled Mugabe, and a run-off was required.

These results could not be dismissed as merely incredible and the era of dictators winning sham elections by 90% were over.

- Polling station results that had been independently verified, e.g. by photographs on smart phones with date and time records, had by and large to stand.
- Those not accurately verified, e.g. if photographs were blurred because of poor camera function, could be adjusted.
- It was important in adjusting Mugabe's tally upwards not simply to adjust Tsvangirai's downwards; instead many votes were appropriated from Makoni's total, and Makoni had no national network to protest on his behalf.
- Parliamentary results and presidential results had to indicate a degree of symmetry, i.e. it was unlikely that a huge number of those who voted for the MDC had also voted for Mugabe. The decision to allow the MDC a very narrow parliamentary majority meant that the vote for Tsvangirai could not be disproportionately lower than his party's parliamentary vote.
- Voting patterns had to be in general keeping with results from earlier elections, although there is much suspicion those too had been rigged, transferring patterns to an election of different circumstances required a mathematical logic of its own.

5 Mandaza in a private conversation with the author in Harare. Mandaza was the expert commentator on national radio as the results began to be broadcast, then were suspended.

- Finally, the ‘adjustment’ in the month-long count, in a normally efficient country, had to be conducted centrally, so the role of observers at the central verification count became of great importance. It was reported that an observer slept each night in the room with the assembled ballot boxes. But there were more 9 132 polling stations, and each would have filled more than one ballot box for each of the presidential, parliamentary, senate, and local council elections contested at once. All those contests attracted 4 406 candidates – so a single, surely sometimes sleeping, observer could not physically monitor them all; and seals broken during the night could be easily resealed authentically by resumption of the count each morning.
- Even so, the figures indicate that a ‘scientific’ rig was a monumental task, so a month was probably very good going – although the need for a month indicated that no ordinary count was being conducted.

The importance of observers, in ‘robust presence’ at all stages of the verification count conducted centrally, becomes a key lesson here. So too does the requirement for an additional layer of observation, i.e. an observable bureaucratically verified point of agreement between official polling station tallies and what are now called parallel vote tabulations (PVT). Software used in 2008 in Cambodia does not yet seem in use in Africa (COMFREL 2008). The PVT are tallies verified by party agents and accredited observers within each polling station, i.e. they verify results posted by the polling station staff having watched the count. The process of counting requires observation, but so does the moment of agreement between the official result and the PVT. This might seem a clumsy and gargantuan process, but it doesn’t even require heavy-duty software. Computer links via encrypted systems with firewalls and multiple but correlated passwords should provide at least a highly indicative preliminary picture. In some countries with less spread of WiFi, e.g. Sudan in 2010, this becomes difficult, but is less so in Zimbabwe.

In the absence of such provisions, citizen groups have tried to devise electronic tools. An app, though not as scientifically-based as the one in Cambodia, was fielded as an independent tabulation-awareness tool in Gabon in 2016 (Muisyo 2016).

Distributing reliable phones should have been a priority as not all smart phone cameras were reliable in the Zimbabwe of 2008. Many pictures of polling station tallies were taken on Chinese clone phones. In the UK, the Liberal Democratic Party sent a shipment of such phones to Zimbabwe, but they failed to make it past South African customs in time.⁶ Observation should not be a closed-

⁶ LibDem spokesman, Ed Davey, Shadow Secretary of State for the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, to the author, discussion in the House of Commons after the Zimbabwean elections, 2008.

shop exercise conducted within an accredited group. Observation needs to reach out to civil society at least, and that should include disseminating technology for observation and as a part or adjunct of a PVT process. Observation as it is now could soon be overtaken by citizen reportage and tabulation, using far more sophisticated tools than at present.

In the runoff of 2008, Zanu-PF resorted to old-fashioned bludgeoning techniques of great and crude violence. Morgan Tsvangirai withdrew. Mugabe swept to victory with a count that lasted a single day.

ZIMBABWE 2013

These elections marked the end of the power-sharing government mediated into existence by Thabo Mbeki after the furore that accompanied the 2008 elections, and the long months of delicate and sometimes brutal negotiations that extended into 2009. Morgan Tsvangirai accepted the invented position of prime minister, despite probably having won the presidency – had the count in 2008 been straight-forward and honest. But he did not prove a good prime minister (Chan 2008). At the same time, his opposition colleague, Tendai Biti, had been a most successful minister of finance, stabilising the economy which had collapsed under hyper-inflation. What this meant for voters was not necessarily an automatic endorsement of Biti's party, but a judgement as to what power configuration would best safeguard these hard-won gains. This was a key consideration of a particularly comprehensive pre-election poll of voters' intentions. The 2012 Freedom House survey by South African academic, Susan Booysen, was scanned for its headline figures but left largely uninterrogated by some political quarters in Zimbabwe.

In a survey of 1 198 respondents and a margin of error of 2.8%, those headline figures had 47% of the respondents declining to provide a voting intention. This was seized upon by Tsvangirai's MDC strategists as meaning 47% were undecided. However, the survey was limited to 63 rural and 37 urban areas, consistent with population distribution. It showed consistent falls in approval ratings for both the MDC and Morgan Tsvangirai across a range of carefully calibrated survey topics, including stabilisation of the economy. And it showed falls in approval ratings across the range of topics in all the MDC urban strongholds. In those same strongholds, Zanu-PF approval ratings rose. On the key topic of 'trust', MDC approval ratings dropped below those for Zanu-PF; on the topic of capability to bring change, Zanu-PF outpolled the MDC by 29 to 22%.

Booyesen's report indicated to strategists that there was much to fight for, and also provided a range of topics over which to wage an electoral fight. Zanu-PF took the report far more seriously than the MDC and realised that, if rigging was to be employed, the report gave a template upon which final manipulated voting figures could be based and made to look credible. By this stage, Ban Ki-

Moon's formulation, 'peaceful and credible', had entered the lexicon. Zimbabwe's neighbours had rounded on the country to avoid the naked violence of 2008's second round, so rigging had to be accomplished without reliance on obvious intimidation and strong-arming. Credibility became the key motif in preparations for and assessments of the contest. In short, elections were managed to convince observers of their credibility, not their probity. Elections had become complex stage-managed validations rather than exercises in choice. Choice has to be convincingly against the incumbent, to the extent that an incumbent win would not be credible.

As it turned out, the election was won by President Mugabe and his Zanu-PF Party, certainly with irregularities in the electoral process – the voters' rolls begged various significant questions – but it would seem that the irregularities were designed to deny the opposition a constitutionally-blocking third of the parliamentary seats. Without any rigging, Zanu-PF could plausibly still have won by 52%. Even so, the spread of the vote was such that had the MDC healed the splits with breakaway factions and not faced a split opposition vote, and had it mounted a youth registration drive to ensure a greater youth turnout, the result would have been much closer. As it was, Mugabe defeated Tsvangirai by 2 110 434 to 1 172 349 votes; and Zanu-PF took 197 parliamentary seats to the MDC's 70, with 3 seats taken by others.

Nonetheless, in line with key aspects of the MDC's post-election complaints, Mugabe would still have won even had 100 000 mysteriously long-lived centenarians on the voters' roll, 305 000 turned away for not being properly registered, and 207 000 who required 'assistance' to cast their votes, all voted without exception for Tsvangirai (Chan & Gallagher, 2017).

In an election with some 20 000 domestic and international observers, and party agents at 96% of the polling stations, none could provide forensic evidence of how rigging would have changed the final result. The scale of victory could be deemed not fully credible, in terms of questions pertaining to the voters roll, but the fact of victory in itself could not be demonstrated to be implausible.

The question is whether or not there is a possible gradation from what is plausible to what is credible. Pre-election polling suggested the credibility of a Mugabe victory. The eventual size of that victory was the subject of questions to do with plausibility, but there was no coordinated effort to field a set of indices for plausibility.

ZAMBIA 2016

With a talent for exquisite euphemisms, UN Secretary-General, Ban Ki-Moon, called for these elections to be 'peaceful and orderly' – 'credible' was not at this stage mentioned nor 'free and fair'.

Since 1991 there has been violence in Zambian elections with youthful party thugs mobilised to intimidate opposition candidates and prevent them from campaigning. Zambians have played down this aspect of their elections, partly because of the lingering doctrine from the Kenneth Kaunda era that Zambians were more peaceful than others, and also in the belief that violence in other countries is much worse (Chan 1992, pp. 188-192). In 2016 it seemed that both main parties let their youth off the leash more than ever before.

The other major aspect was that the nation's newspapers reported largely in favour of the incumbent president. *The Post*, the independent newspaper that supported the opposition, was forcibly shut down just before the elections, ostensibly on grounds of failing to pay its tax bills. In a land lacking the impact of electronic and social media in countries like Zimbabwe and South Africa, there was no balance of extremes in an otherwise lacklustre press.

Both these aspects faded in significance when it came to accusations and suspicions of rigging in the electoral count. That count took three days with a very slow start, a surge, and then another slowdown at a critical point. There seemed discrepancies between Electoral Commission of Zambia announcements and the parallel vote tabulations conducted by opposition party agents. Forms for reconciling these official and unofficial counts were not available at all stations.

The contest seemed all the keener because of new requirements that the winner needed over 50% of all votes cast, rather than a simple majority. Without 50% being achieved, there would have to be a runoff between the top two candidates. This meant an incumbent could always look forward to a second chance in a runoff. It also meant that any rigging had to deliver not only a majority of the votes, but enough to avoid a runoff. Both sides had forecasts with identical conclusions: that whoever won would do so by no more than 52%.

Finally, the Electoral Commission announced a 50.35 victory for President Lungu. Immediately afterwards, the Commission's results website went down. When it came back up a day later, there was reasonable congruity between its count and that of the PVTs. The official figures said that Lungu had gained 1 860 877 votes and Hichilema 1 760 347, with other candidates far down the field (Electoral Commission of Zambia 2016).

Suspicious were focused on the secrecy of the Commission's vote verification. Whereas polling station and constituency centre counts had been open to accredited observers and party agents, the EU Election Observation Commission regretted 'that its observers do not have access to the verification of results at the national results centre, despite formal requests' (EU 2016, p. 9). Suspicious were amplified when the announcement of results slowed down just as the major urban centres were coming in. It had been opposition strategy to take its normal strongholds by a large margin, but to capture sufficient of the urban vote in Lusaka

and the northern cities of Ndola and Kitwe (Lungu's strongholds) to prevent the incumbent from realising the full benefit of his own heartland – a strategy that failed after a brief initial success. Kabwata constituency in Lusaka is a case in point. In what should have been Lungu territory, the melting-pot effect had Hichilema run him close. If this pattern had been more widely replicated in the cities, the outcome would have been different. But for all the suspicious circumstances outlined above, as well as media bias, unreasonable exploitation of incumbency, and violence, Hichilema announced he would petition the Constitutional Court to annul the outcome. This petition failed on procedural grounds.

ZIMBABWE 2018

The circumstances of this election revolved around the fall of Robert Mugabe and the death of opposition leader, Morgan Tsvangirai. Emerson Mnangagwa sought victory as a constitutional validation of his having assumed the presidency in the wake of a (virtual) military coup. To enhance this validation, but also as part of his campaign to win economic support for an increasingly impoverished country, he invited observers from the USA, the European Union, and above all the Commonwealth, seeking with victory also to re-enter the Commonwealth with its range of political and possible economic contacts.

There were repetitions of 2013 in suspicions surrounding the voters' roll, but there was by and large freedom to campaign outside the cities. The new opposition leader, Nelson Chamisa, had however alienated sections of his own MDC party by the way in which he had secured the leadership. Even without this, the MDC performance in parliament had been lacklustre since 2013, and pre-polling figures compiled by Western embassies suggested that, while Chamisa had much support in the presidential race, the MDC had much less support in the parliamentary race.

None of the observer groups fielded secretariats outside Harare although they did seek to deploy widely, especially just before and on election day. None brought in-house computer experts although a small number of Western embassies had added such personnel to their staffs.

Even so, it was clear that Chamisa engendered a late surge in support for himself, and this took Mnangagwa's party by surprise so that, in the final results, Mnangagwa very narrowly avoided having to contest a second round against Chamisa. This is not to say Chamisa would have won any second round, but coming so close did give the sense of open possibilities. The MDC trailed far behind, by contrast, in the parliamentary contest.

Despite a range of irregularities, starting from the voters' roll, observer groups found it difficult to deny plausibility to the point of credibility for the election. There had been largely free campaigning, so the fairness of the result

would hinge on circumstances surrounding the count. The results of the count took time but the delay was not inordinate. It was enough, however, to spark public unrest and a minor protest broke out near the headquarters of the electoral commission. In full view of many observers, including foreign journalists and photographers, the army came storming in – all guns firing – to suppress this protest. Those observers not at the scene were shown moving pictures captured by journalists from distinguished newspapers. The sound of gunfire could be heard from all the main hotels where observers were staying.

The next day at the Bronte Hotel, where the Commonwealth and Carter Center observers were staying, Nelson Chamisa sought to give a press conference. Before it could get underway, the hotel was invaded by a truckload of armoured riot police, tear gas canisters at the ready. They pushed and manhandled often elderly observers and seemed oblivious that they were being filmed and internationally broadcast in real time by the foreign journalists.

The result was that the observers consolidated their doubts about the elections and added, from their own direct experience, that it had not been peaceful.

TOWARDS A NEW SET OF OBSERVATION OUTCOMES

The following observations are based on the discussion of the elections above together with the author's observation of elections and referenda since 1980.

Firstly, elections conducted in the immediate aftermath of war and great violence. The 1980 Uganda elections are an example of the difficulties that come from war – not just within the war-torn country itself, but from external pressures to broker, even gerrymander an electoral settlement that will offer some degree of stability. In such conditions, stability becomes a greater value than democracy.

Secondly, elections which have no intention of allowing an incumbent government to be replaced – even if great public protest is directed against the result, and an external mediator works towards a compromise or coalition government, with governmental places for those who were officially 'defeated', but who probably 'won'. In such conditions, inclusivity becomes a greater value than democracy.

These suggestions are for observer groups at elections where the surrender of power is possible, if reluctant; and the test of free and fair lies in the quality and forcefulness of this reluctance.

Observation cannot be a condensed affair, nor should it be contained only within the observer group but also in its links with other observer and civic groups. A 'condensed' observation, in my mind, is one which has taken less than a month on the ground. At the very least, an advance team of experts, or those

briefed on the constitutional, electoral, and political affairs of the country should be in place as a reconnaissance unit a month before polling day. Most observer groups now contain such experts, but they are called upon to answer questions as they arise in the final phases of observation, and not to present to the observers their own latest observations gleaned from time in the country.

The reconnaissance team also needs to be energetic and mobile, traversing the country. At the 2010 Sudanese elections, while assigned to areas of South Sudan still enjoying forms of contention or war-readiness, we took a simple executive decision: if we saw an EU, AU, or Carter Center car, we weren't out far enough. We never saw an Arab League car. We went until there were no other observers for miles around – but then asked 'why?'

To be Free and Fair

In addition to on site presence before polling day, these would be the requirements for an observer group to declare elections 'free and fair':

1. A clear moratorium on violence by all organised contenders. This has to be sustained all the way through the counting process.
2. No hinderance on physical campaigning, and state security has been made available to all organised contenders for their major rallies.
3. All media has been free to report on the election, even if that means a moratorium on debt owed by any section of the media.
4. That media is comprehensive, i.e. it should include access to broadcasting including vernacular radio.
5. The incumbent government does not make use of incumbency during the campaign, e.g. by launching or opening huge public works as a campaigning strategy, or by utilising state funding for its own campaign while denying exactly such funding to organised challengers.
6. Polling day conforms to the now established protocols of access and facilitation and secrecy.
7. Procedures are in place at each polling station to agree official and PVT final figures and for these to be transmitted to electoral commissions in a recorded manner.
8. All electoral commission verification procedures are witnessed by observers.
9. The observers detect no untoward variations between sustained opinion polling before the elections, voting patterns in the previous election, voting patterns for parliamentary and presidential can-

didates, and voting patterns in adjacent densely populated urban constituencies, without clear margins of error being explicated, or other decisive characteristics taken into account.

10. There is no interruption to the counting process, i.e. once started, it is continuous, observable and gives no pause for tampering or adjustment.

To be Peaceful and Credible

1. 'Peaceful' relates to the same condition, 1 and 2 above, pertaining to 'Free and Fair'.
2. Basically, 'Peaceful and Credible' relates to conditions, above, 3 to 6, about conditions of campaigning, but it is a judgement call as to their being not 'good' but 'good enough', i.e. campaigning met difficulties, especially for opposition candidates, but on a by-and-large basis, campaigns were able to be nationally conducted and a clear opposition message could be put across.
3. However, the real test of 'credibility' lies in 7 to 10, above, to do with counting, i.e. it was not seamless, not always continuous, and there were lacunae in opportunities for observation; but, by-and-large, margins of error allowed for a not fully perfect result to be regarded as 'credible'. The rationale behind 'margins of error' needs to be made clear by the observer group.

To be Plausible but Problematic

This judgement resides primarily in the tests for 7 to 10, above, i.e. the margins of error are larger than satisfactory, larger than fully explicable – but are conditionally explicable – and it is for the observer group to make this explication clear and how it was utilised in its final judgement.

To be Not Fully Plausible

When the conditions outlined in 'conditionally explicable' deviate from full plausibility, i.e. the key inference here is of intervention of a sustained and planned and calculated manner in key stages of the counting and verification process.

To be Implausible

What happened in 2016 in Gabon provides a key example where, after a critical pause in the counting and announcement of results, the president was returned

by a key constituency where turnout was 20% higher than national turnout, and voting in favour of the president was similarly higher than in any other part of the country. This delayed, sudden, decisive variation is grounds for implausibility.

To be Unacceptable

When both campaigning and counting were subject to so many observable interventions of an untoward nature that no credibility or plausibility attaches to the outcome. This should have been the verdict of observation of the 2008 elections over two rounds in Zimbabwe, despite efforts to render the final results of the first round in a sense 'plausible'.

The term 'not conforming to international standards', in regular use, should be amplified by the addition of one of these last three categories.

CONCLUSION

Election observation has become mired in the conduct of polling day itself and shortly thereafter, but observers have not always been available in the country to note a full swathe of campaign conduct. Above all, concentration on all aspects of counting, and testing of the count as outlined above, has not been sufficiently robust at all recent African elections. Insofar as African governments now prepare almost immaculate polling days – feats of organisation involving thousands of polling stations – election observation has accomplished something. Observation still needs to consider a more extended presence during campaigning. But, importantly, it must address its own key next stage, which involves the forensics of observing and testing the count. What does this mean? In summary it should involve testing the electoral commission's count as follows:

1. Against PVTs.
2. Against opinion polls, patterns from previous elections; results in adjacent constituencies; and the concerns of NGOs who also fielded observers.
3. Monitoring the transmission process as agreed local totals reach central points. How is this done? If manually, against what parallel electronic process?
4. The count at each stage should be tested against computer projections from when the last batch of results came in, calibrated against a range of different conditions, types of constituency, and electoral histories and patterns.
5. Testing the robustness of data assemblage in the central verification process and observing all aspects and moments of the verification.

Given that specialist consultant firms are rumoured to adjust results in a credible, or at least plausible way, observers require the technological and forensic skills to play the 'adjusters', not merely naked 'riggers', at their own game. Whether or not these adjusters exist observer capacity to apply computerised forensic tests will at least delay the advent of any such manipulation in the future – or at least make their task much harder. In short, the protection of electoral democracy today and tomorrow requires sharp observation skills using contemporary technology.

There can be upwards of 20 000 observers at African elections, although more than double that number were at the very large 2019 Democratic Republic of Congo elections. The bulk of these will be local civic action group observers. It seems a large number but, in an election of e.g. 5 000 polling stations, it means an average attendance at each station of four observers at any one time; if they come from disparate groups, their observations may also be disparate, as there is no means to coordinate or harmonise verdicts. In any case, their attendance on election day will be to compile checklists of good polling station administration and conduct.

The number involved in observation is greater in many cases, as interested countries, e.g. those with large aid programmes to the country concerned, will have many volunteers from their own civic action, think tank, and advocacy groups from their own country. While not accredited as observers, they will accompany selected local observer groups and will report to their own embassy, where the political officers will certainly be number crunching the observed results. Thus, both the election and observation will be the subject of parallel observation and assessment not intended for publication, but for reportage to government offices back home. Official observer groups should have number crunching capacity themselves, especially those from large international organisations, such as the AU.

CODA

Is the continual observation of elections over many years in many countries dispiriting? My personal experience is that I no longer enjoy it and would rather not do it anymore. But, as a private observer, I have my own methodology and part of that is to observe election day in the slums of the great cities. I lived in Kliptown, the poorest part of Soweto, for the last two South African elections; I was in George, the poorest part of Lusaka for the 2016 Zambian elections. It is for the people who must live with the results of election after election that elections should be held in an honest, free and fair manner. A paper like this one, which outlines a gradation downwards of categories from 'free and fair', indicates a harsh realisation that the poor will not be able to vote their way out of wretchedness.

Acknowledgement

An earlier version of this article appeared in *Democracy in Africa*, 28 January 2017.

----- REFERENCES -----

- Ban Ki Moon 2013, 'All Kenyans must work to ensure upcoming polls are peaceful and credible', UN News, <<http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=44243#.VU5FGViko>>
- Ban Ki Moon 2016, *Lusaka Times* 16 August, <<https://www.lusakatimes.com/2016/08/16/un-secretary-general-congratulates-zambia-peaceful-elections/>>
- Bloomfield, S 2008, <<http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/africa/kibaki-stole-kenyan-election-through-vote-rigging-and-fraud-772349.html>>.
- Booyesen, S 2012, *Change and 'New' Politics in Zimbabwe*, Freedom House, Harare. <<https://www.freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/Change%20and%20New%20Politics%20in%20Zimbabwe.pdf>>.
- Chan, S 1988, *The Commonwealth in World Politics: A Study of International Action 1965 to 1985*, Lester Crook, London.
- Chan, S 1985, *The Commonwealth Observer Group in Zimbabwe*, Mambo, Gweru.
- Chan, S 1992, *Kaunda and Southern Africa: Image and Reality in Foreign Policy*, I.B. Tauris, London.
- Chan, S & Gallagher, J 2017, *Why Mugabe Won: The 2013 elections in Zimbabwe and their aftermath*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Chan, S 2008, 'The Tragedy of Tsvangirai', *Prospect*, August.
- Chan, S & Gallagher, J 2017, *Why Mugabe Won: The 2013 elections in Zimbabwe and their aftermath*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Cheeseman, N 2015, *Democracy in Africa: Successes, Failures, and the Struggle for Political Reform*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Committee for Free and Fair Elections in Cambodia (COMFREL) 2008, <http://www.comfrel.org/eng/components/com_mypublications/files/16636312248089632008_COMFREL_PVT_Report.pdf>
- Commonwealth Secretariat 1980, *Southern Rhodesia elections, February, 1980: report of the Commonwealth Observer group on elections leading to independent Zimbabwe*, Commonwealth Secretariat, London.
- Electoral Commission of Zambia 2016, <<https://elections.org.zm/news/tag/2016-general-elections/>>.
- European Union Election Observation Mission 2017, *Kenya: Executive summary* <http://eeas.europa.eu/eucom/missions/2007/kenya/index_en.htm>.

- European Union Election Observation Mission 2002, *Sierra Leone presidential and parliamentary elections, 14th May 2002: final report*.
- European Union Election Observation Mission 2016, *Zambia: Preliminary Statement, 'Generally well-administered and peaceful election day marred by systematic bias in state media and restrictions on the campaign*, Lusaka, 13 August.
- Kabeireho, J 2008, 'How UPC "rigged" the 1980 elections', *Observer* 10 December, <<https://www.observer.ug/component/content/article?id=1855:how-upc-rigged-the-1980-elections>>.
- Kelley, KJ 2008, 'US-funded exit poll says Raila won elections', *The Daily Nation*, 10 July.
- Moore, D 2008, 'An Academic's Journalism in the Zimbabwean Interregnum', *Association of Concerned African Scholars Bulletin* 79: Special issue on Zimbabwe crisis, Spring 2008, no. 79, <<http://concernedafricascholars.org/bulletin/issue79/moore/>>
- Mugabe, F 2016 'Observers contradict themselves on 1980 poll', *Daily Monitor* <<http://www.monitor.co.ug/Magazines/PeoplePower/Observers-contradict-themselves-on-1980-poll/689844-3104412-y82yeqz/index.html>>.
- Mugabe, F 2016, 'Election should not have been held says former EC boss', *Monitor*, 2 January, <<http://www.monitor.co.ug/News/Insight/1980-elections-former-EC-boss/688338-3018004-34y77qz/index.html>>.
- Muisyo, V 2016, 'Gabon: Civil society rolls out app to counter election rigging', *Africanews* 0608 2016, <<http://www.africanews.com/2016/08/06/gabon-civil-society-rolls-out-app-to-counter-election-rigging/>>.
- Namusoke, E 2016, 'Observing Uganda's 2016 Presidential Election', *Institute of Commonwealth Studies*, <<https://commonwealth-opinion.blogs.sas.ac.uk/2016/observing-ugandas-2016-presidential-election/>>.
- Willis, J, Lynch, G & Cheeseman, N 2017, 'A valid electoral exercise: Uganda's 1980 election and the rise of international election observation', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol 59, no 1, pp. 211-238.