EISA
ELECTION OBSERVER MISSION REPORT
ZAMBIA

PRESIDENTIAL BY-ELECTION
20 JANUARY 2015

EISA Election Observer Mission Report No 50

2016
EISA strives for excellence in the promotion of credible elections, participatory democracy, human rights culture, and the strengthening of governance institutions for the consolidation of democracy in Africa.

EISA Observer Mission Report, No. 50
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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AU  African Union
ADD  Alliance for Democracy and Development
APC  All People’s Congress
CMCs  Conflict Management Committees
CDP  Christian Democratic Party
CSOs  Civil Society Organisations
COMESA  Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
DVECs  District Voter Education Committees
ECZ  Electoral Commission of Zambia
EISA  Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa
EOM  Electoral Observation Mission
EU  European Union
FDA  Forum for Democratic Alternatives
FDD  Forum for Democracy and Development
FODEP  Foundation for Democratic Process
FPTP  first-past-the-post
FRP  Fourth Revolution Party
GRP  Green Party of Zambia
HP  Heritage Party
MMD  Movement for Multi-Party Democracy
NAREP  National Restoration Party
NDF  National Democratic Front
NDP  National Democratic Party
NGP  New Generation Party
NGOs  non-governmental organisations
NMP  National Movement for Progress
NRP  National Revolution Party
NVEC  National Voter Education Committee
PAM  Pre-election Assessment Mission
PEEMMO  Principles for Election Management, Monitoring and Observation
PF  Patriotic Front
PPLC  Political Party Liaison Committee
PVT  parallel vote tabulation
RP  Reform Party
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SADC</td>
<td>Southern African Development Community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SADC-ECF</td>
<td>Electoral Commissions Forum of SADC Countries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SDC</td>
<td>Swiss Development Cooperation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ToT</td>
<td>training of trainers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UPND</td>
<td>United Party for National Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNIP</td>
<td>United National Independence Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UDA</td>
<td>United Democratic Alliance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ULP</td>
<td>United Liberal Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZAF</td>
<td>Zambian Air Force</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZED</td>
<td>Zambians for Empowerment and Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZDF</td>
<td>Zambia Defence Force</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZNBC</td>
<td>Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZNWL</td>
<td>Zambia National Women’s Lobby</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZPS</td>
<td>Zambia Police Service</td>
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</table>
The Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa (EISA) Election Observer Mission (EOM) to the 20 January 2015 presidential by-election in Zambia would not have been possible without the assistance and support of a number of people and institutions. We thank the Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ) for accrediting EISA as one of the international observer groups. The ECZ provided the EOM with valuable information on its arrival in Lusaka and ensured the timely accreditation of the EISA observers. Through its district offices it provided pertinent electoral information to members of the mission who were deployed throughout the country.

EISA is grateful to His Excellency, Honourable Cassam Uteem, former president of Mauritius, who led the EISA EOM. His leadership and knowledge of Zambia and the SADC region, as well as his election experience, added value to the work of the mission. He was assisted by Mr Denis Kadima, EISA Executive Director, who served as the Deputy Mission Leader and to whom we are equally grateful.

EISA expresses its profound gratitude to all those who, directly or indirectly, contributed to the mission’s success. Our appreciation also goes to the political parties, civil society organisations (CSOs) and representatives of the media and the government of Zambia who made themselves available to brief the EISA mission and its leadership.

We also extend our appreciation to other international observer missions with whom the EISA EOM interacted and shared information during its deployment. These include the African Union (AU), Southern African Development Community (SADC), the Commonwealth, the European Union (EU) and the Electoral Commissions Forum of SADC Countries (SADC-ECF).

The EISA EOM is also indebted to the people of Zambia, especially the civil society groups and citizen observation groups with whom the mission interacted, for their openness and willingness to share their experiences. We commend all the stakeholders for contributing to the generally peaceful environment in which the 2015 presidential by-election was conducted.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS
Our gratitude is extended to the Government of Sweden through the Swedish International Development Agency (Sida), whose funding facilitated the deployment of this mission. Our sincere gratitude to members of the mission for their availability and commitment to the success of the mission.

Thanks to the technical team led by Miguel De Brito and Belinda Musanhu for supporting the mission and compiling this report and to the elections and political processes (EPP) programme team at the EISA Head Office, for organising the EISA EOM and ensuring the smooth running of the mission.
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa (EISA) deployed an Election Observer Mission to the 2015 presidential by-election in Zambia. The by-election took place following the death of President Michael Sata on 28 October 2014. In line with the constitutional requirement to conduct a presidential by-election within 90 days of the death of a sitting president, the election was scheduled for 20 January 2015. The EISA mission comprised 14 observers drawn from nine countries and was led by His Excellency Honourable Cassam Uteem, former president of the Republic of Mauritius, with Denis Kadima, EISA Executive Director, as the deputy mission leader.

In its observations the EISA EOM took into account all aspects of the electoral process and assessed key developments that had taken place in Zambia since the 2011 tripartite elections, which were observed by EISA. The EOM observed the final stages of election campaigns and electoral preparations in addition to conducting interviews with key electoral stakeholders with a view to gaining knowledge of the entire electoral process. It is the view of the EISA EOM that the electoral process was largely peaceful, marred, however, by incidents of violence and conflict within and among political parties. The timely and measured response of the Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ) and the Zambia Police Service (ZPS) contributed to maintaining a generally peaceful atmosphere, as did the calls for peace from political leaders and presidential candidates.

The EISA EOM assessed the electoral preparations as timely and efficient, notwithstanding the short period the ECZ had in which to organise the election. The mission noted that election day proceedings were orderly and were carried out in an atmosphere of peace and cooperation among stakeholders. However, not all polling stations were able to open on polling day due to poor weather conditions and the late delivery of polling materials. Voting was extended until the next day in some of the affected areas to allow all registered voters to exercise their right to vote. The mission also noted with concern that the voter turnout (32.36%) was very low.
Due to the weather conditions and delayed voting in some stations, counting and tabulation of votes took longer than expected and this unfortunately led to rising tensions and suspicions among stakeholders. The mission commended political party leaders and candidates for restraining their supporters during this time and for accepting the results when they were finally announced.

The mission made recommendations for improving future electoral processes. Key among these are:

- The president and vice-president should be running mates on a single ticket to avoid costly and potentially disruptive presidential by-elections.
- The president should be elected by an absolute majority to strengthen the legitimacy of the office of the president. This recommendation was originally made in 2011.
- The structure of the election management body should be decentralised so that it exercises greater control over the selection and recruitment of electoral staff at local level.
- Provision should be made for public funding of political parties in order to build the capacity of parties to engage in politics and to provide a mechanism for parties to disclose private funds received for campaigning. This recommendation was originally made in 2008 and the EOM wishes to reiterate it.
- The ECZ should be provided with sufficient resources to update and review the voters’ roll on a continuous basis, as provided in the law. This recommendation was originally made in 2008 and the EOM wishes to reiterate it.
EISA’S APPROACH TO ELECTION OBSERVATION

Since its inception in July 1996 EISA has established itself as a leading institution and an influential player in the field of elections and democracy-related issues on the African continent. It envisions a continent where democratic governance, human rights and citizen participation are upheld in a peaceful environment. The institute’s vision is executed through its striving for excellence in the promotion of credible elections and citizen participation and the strengthening of political institutions for sustainable democracy in Africa.

EISA seeks to realise effective and sustainable governance in Africa by strengthening electoral processes, good governance, human rights and democratic values. In this regard, EISA undertakes applied research, capacity building and technical support to continental and sub-regional bodies in the area of election observation, advocacy and other strategically targeted interventions.

Within this broad context EISA fields election observer missions (EOMs) to assess and document the context and conduct of selected elections on the continent. EISA deploys international observers as a contribution to the transparency and integrity of electoral processes. In its assessment of elections EISA recognises that an election is a technical process with deep political implications, as opposed to an event. It therefore adopts a holistic approach that enables it to cover the main aspects of the electoral process and the context within which the elections were conducted.

As part of its assessment of the context and conduct of the 2015 presidential by-election in Zambia, a Pre-Election Assessment Mission (PAM) was deployed to Zambia from 1 to 5 December 2014. The PAM was mandated to assess the state of readiness of the Electoral Commission of Zambia, political parties, civil society organisations and other stakeholders.

The PAM also undertook an assessment of the pre-election context to ascertain whether conditions were conducive for the conduct of credible elections as well as to determine whether international observer missions would be
welcomed by Zambian election stakeholders. In its report the EISA PAM affirmed that the legal framework for and the context of elections in Zambia were generally conducive to the holding of credible elections.

Following an invitation from the ECZ to observe the election, EISA deployed a 14-member EOM drawn from nine countries. The EOM was guided in its observation of the electoral process by the Zambian legal framework governing the electoral process as well as the principles and obligations set out in the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance, the African Union Declaration of the Principles Governing Democratic Elections in Africa, the Declaration of Principles for International Observation of Elections and its accompanying Code of Conduct and the Principles for Election Management, Monitoring and Observation.

The members of the mission started arriving in Lusaka from 11 January 2015. A two-day pre-deployment briefing was held in Lusaka. During these sessions, observers were briefed by representatives of the ECZ, leaders of parties, the police and CSOs. These briefing sessions also served as a refresher training for the members of the mission on the rationale and methodology of election observation.

On 17 January 2015 EISA observers were deployed in teams of two to cover five provinces of the country. The teams consulted stakeholders in their areas of deployment to receive further information about the context of and preparations for the polls and their perspectives on the elections. On election day EISA observers visited polling stations and constituency totalling centres in their areas of deployment to observe all election day procedures. Observer teams returned to Lusaka on the day after the elections for a debriefing session, during which each team presented its observations, findings, conclusions and recommendations and contributed to the formulation of the mission’s preliminary assessment of the elections. After the elections the mission released a preliminary statement, which was presented at a press conference on 22 January 2015.

2 See annexure 1 for EISA EOM deployment plan.
3 See annexure 4 for EISA preliminary statement.
Observer teams were equipped with computer tablets on which the observer checklists and reporting formats were configured. Using the Open Data Kit software observers were able to capture and transmit their findings and observations in real time. Data collected by observers were analysed on the EISA Popola election data management platform. The use of the tablets also facilitated continuous updates and communication between the observers and the coordination team at headquarters.

The EISA EOM was the fourth in a series of EOMs deployed to Zambia by EISA since the 2006 Zambia general elections. EISA EOMs were also deployed to the 2008 presidential by-election and the 2011 tripartite elections. The EISA EOM to the 2015 presidential by-election, therefore, sought to ascertain the changes and improvements that had taken place within the Zambian electoral context since the previous elections observed.

In its report on the 2011 tripartite elections the EISA EOM made recommendations that included: a review of the legal framework to remove restrictions on candidature such as parental heritage and stringent residency requirements and the legal barrier to independent candidates for president; review of the legal framework to include special provisions on affirmative action for improved representation of women in elective positions; inclusion of a regulatory framework on party and campaign finance and a recommendation that the voter registration process be improved by providing more time for registration and verification and more collaboration between the ECZ and the civil registration agency.
1 Historical and Political Overview

1.1 Historical Background


Zambia’s political history covers three republics: the first republic (1964-1972), which was characterised by UNIP dominance in a multiparty context, the second republic (1973-1990), during which Zambia was an one-party state, ruled by UNIP,1 and the third republic (1991 to date), when multiparty democracy was restored. The 1991 elections marked the official return to multiparty democracy, and it saw the ascendance of the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD), led by Frederick Chiluba.

The 2015 presidential by-election was the second of its kind within six years, both necessitated by the death of the president in office. The sudden death of president Levy Mwanawasa in France on 19 August 2008 was the first test of Article 38 of the Constitution, which requires that a presidential by-election be held within 90 days of the president’s office being vacated.2

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1 During this period elections were held in 1978, 1983 and 1988.
2 Article 38 [Vacancy in office of President] provides that: ‘If the office of the President becomes vacant by reason of his death or resignation or by reason of his ceasing to hold office by virtue of Article 36, 37, or 88, an election to the office of President shall be held in accordance with Article 34 within ninety days from the date of the office becoming vacant.’
The by-election was held on 30 October 2008 and Rupiah Banda, who was President Mwanawasa’s deputy and acting president, emerged as the winner. The candidature of Rupiah Banda was boosted by the endorsement of a number of opposition parties, namely the National Democratic Forum (NDF) of Benjamin Mwila, who withdrew from the presidential race; the United National Independent Party (UNIP); the All People’s Congress Party (APC); the Reformed Party (RP); Forum for Democracy and Development (FDD); United Liberal Party (ULP); National Democratic Party (NDP); New Generation Party (NGP) and the National Revolutionary Party (NRP). Allegations of vote rigging and public protests preceded the announcement of the final results of the 2008 elections. With 40.63% of the votes, Rupiah Banda was declared the winner. Michael Sata and Hakainde Hichilema won 38.64% and 19.96% of the vote respectively. Though the results were contested by the opposition, many observer missions regarded the elections as acceptable.

The EISA EOM to the 2008 elections concluded that ‘the elections were conducted in a transparent manner and in a way that allowed the people of Zambia to freely express their will.’

Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Candidate</th>
<th>2001 %</th>
<th>2006 %</th>
<th>2008 %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>Levy Mwanawasa (MMD)</td>
<td>28.96</td>
<td>42.98</td>
<td>40.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>Anderson Mazoka</td>
<td>26.76</td>
<td>29.37</td>
<td>38.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>Tembo Christian (FDD)</td>
<td>12.96</td>
<td>25.32</td>
<td>19.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>Michael Sata (PF)</td>
<td>3.35</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>Hakainde Hichilema (UPND)</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.76</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: information compiled from www.elections.org.zm

3 EISA EOM report on the 2008 Elections in Zambia
1.2. THE 2011 TRIPARTITE ELECTIONS
Campaigning for the tripartite elections, held on 20 September 2011, was dominated by the MMD and the PF and, although the campaign was interspersed with incidents of violent conflict, it was largely peaceful. The electoral process was well managed and transparent.

Election day procedures were conducted in peaceful and orderly manner and there was a 53.65% voter turnout. With 42.24% of the valid votes cast, veteran opposition leader, Michael Sata, of the Patriotic Front, was declared the winner of the presidential election. Rupiah Banda of the MMD won 35.63% of the votes cast and Hakainde Hichilema of the UPND 18.28%. All the parties involved accepted the outcome of the presidential race and the president-elect was sworn in on the day the results were announced.

The outcome of the 2011 tripartite elections was a watershed in Zambian political history as it marked the end of the MMD’s dominance of the political space since the return to multiparty democracy. The incumbent’s acceptance of the results was widely commended.

In the parliamentary elections the ECZ released the results of only 148 constituencies due to the untimely deaths of two candidates. The PF won 60 seats, followed by the MMD and UPND with 55 and 28 seats respectively. Three seats were won by independent candidates and one each by the Alliance for Democracy and Development (ADD) and the FDD.
Table 2
Detailed results of the 2011 presidential election

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Candidate</th>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Number of votes</th>
<th>% of votes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Michael Sata</td>
<td>Patriotic Front (PF)</td>
<td>1 170 966</td>
<td>42.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rupiah Banda</td>
<td>Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD)</td>
<td>987 866</td>
<td>35.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hakainde Hichilema</td>
<td>United Party for National Development (UPND)</td>
<td>506 763</td>
<td>18.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Mulipu</td>
<td>Alliance for Democracy and Development (ADD)</td>
<td>26 270</td>
<td>0.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elias Chipimo</td>
<td>National Restoration Party (NRP)</td>
<td>10 672</td>
<td>0.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tilyenji Kaunda</td>
<td>United National Independent Party (UNIP)</td>
<td>9 950</td>
<td>0.36</td>
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<tr>
<td>Edith Nawakwi</td>
<td>Forum for Democracy and Development (FDD)</td>
<td>6 833</td>
<td>0.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngandu Magande</td>
<td>National Movement for Progress (NMP)</td>
<td>6 344</td>
<td>0.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Godfrey Myanda</td>
<td>Heritage Party (HP)</td>
<td>4 730</td>
<td>0.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fredrick Mutesa</td>
<td>Zambians for Empowerment and Development (ZED)</td>
<td>2 268</td>
<td>0.08</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 3
Summary of the presidential election 2011 vote statistics

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Registered voters</td>
<td>5 167 154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ballots cast</td>
<td>2 772 264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage poll</td>
<td>53.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valid ballots</td>
<td>2 732 662</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spoilt ballots</td>
<td>39 602</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage spoilt</td>
<td>1.43</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.3. POLITICAL AND ELECTORAL DEVELOPMENTS AHEAD OF THE 2015 PRESIDENTIAL BY-ELECTION

The 2011 elections ushered in a period of relative political instability in Zambia. This was characterised by infighting within the ruling Patriotic Front and floor crossing by members of other parties in the National Assembly (NA) that changed the composition of the NA. There were allegations that members of Parliament who crossed the floor were financially influenced by the PF in a bid to ensure that it had an overwhelming majority.

According to Article 77 of the Constitution, if a sitting member of the National Assembly is expelled from his or her party or crosses the floor, the seat immediately becomes vacant and a by-election must be held to fill the seat. The conflicts within the PF turned violent in some instances and this spilled over into the 2015 presidential by-election campaign.

President Sata’s leadership style was criticised as high-handed and non-consultative. Furthermore, the government was seen to be witch-hunting old foes, including former President Banda and members of his government. Such criticism was met with threats and heavy-handed responses, such as invoking the controversial Public Order Act, which places a ban on public rallies. In addition, the PF-led government borrowed large amounts of money to finance infrastructural development, which brought more criticism of the government for increasing the country’s debt burden.

On 28 October 2014 President Sata died in a London hospital of an undisclosed illness. In line with article 38 of the Constitution, a presidential by-election was scheduled for 20 January 2015. After much internal bickering in the PF, the Minister of Defence and also Minister of Justice, Edgar Lungu, was chosen as the party’s candidate.

Although the PF managed to remain united in preparation for the election there were clear fissures in the party after public spats between the interim leader, Acting President Guy Scott and Lungu, and two separate conventions were held, which endorsed two different candidates. The infighting

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4 See Article 77 of the 1996 Constitution
contributes to the tensions that characterized the pre-election context. In some circles PF allegedly came to mean ‘Panga Family’ because supporters attacked one another with machetes or pangas. According to critics these events led to previously unknown levels of political violence, which spilled over into the 2015 electoral campaign.

The MMD also faced its share of intra-party disputes over the nomination of a candidate for the by-election. The party split along the lines of support for two candidates, namely, former president Rupiah Banda and Nevers Mumba, who had served as vice-president to President Mwanawasa from 2003 to 2004 and was the party leader before the by-election.

The intra-party dispute was settled by the courts in favour of Mumba. The MMD went into the by-election a shell of its former self, with only a few of its MPs supporting Mumba. The third party in the forefront of the 2015 contest was the UPND, with its leader, Hakainde Hichilema, as its candidate. Hichilema had contested the three previous presidential elections.

As a result of the internal disputes within the two main parties their campaigns started late and the fact that the election took place in January, the peak of the rainy season, created problems in accessing some rural areas and had an impact on campaigning. It also had an impact on the work of the ECZ, national monitors and international observers, who needed to reach rural areas. To address the challenge of inaccessibility the ECZ received support from the Zambian Air Force (ZAF). However, political parties, observers and monitors had limited access to areas that were isolated during the rainy season.

2.1 THE CONSTITUTION

Constitutional reform began in Zambia in 1991 with the adoption of a new Constitution as the country was returning to multiparty democracy. That Constitution was amended in 1996, enshrining multiparty democracy. In line with international benchmarks it provides for the conduct of regular elections with the president elected by direct universal adult suffrage\(^5\) and the establishment of an independent election management body responsible for supervising and organising electoral processes.\(^6\)

Part Three of the Constitution provides, among other things, for the protection of fundamental human rights and freedoms of expression, movement, assembly, association and democratic participation in elections. With regard to presidential elections, Article 34 stipulates that a presidential election must be held when the National Assembly is dissolved. Presidential elections

\(^5\) Article 34(1), 
\(^6\) Article 76(1)
take place every five years. The Constitution also provides for a limit of two terms as president.

The 2015 by-election was necessitated by the application of Article 38 (1), which provides that an election must be held within 90 days should the office of the president become vacant by reason of death or the removal of the president by impeachment on grounds of violating the Constitution or Parliament.

2.2. THE ELECTORAL ACT
The institutional framework for the elections is set out in the Electoral Act No 12 of 2006. The Act also sets out the procedures for delimiting constituencies, qualifications and requirements for candidates, and guidelines on all matters relating to the electoral process. These include:

- Voter registration and education;
- Candidate nomination;
- Registration of parties and candidates and the design of ballots;
- Election campaigns;
- Polling (voting procedures);
- Counting and tabulation of votes;
- Declaration of results; and
- Verification of results and resolution of election-related disputes.

The EOM noted that the Electoral Act does not provide for the regulation of party and campaign financing. This gap in the legal framework will be elaborated on in Section 2.4 of this report.

2.3. THE ELECTORAL SYSTEM
Zambia has used the simple majority first-past-the-post (FPTP) electoral system since independence in 1964. It is one of nine SADC countries to do so.

The president is elected for a five-year term by a single national constituency through secret ballot by direct universal adult suffrage and is limited to two terms. The winning candidate requires a simple majority of votes cast. It is important to mention that since the return to multiparty democracy in Zambia no president has been elected by an absolute majority.
Candidates for the office of president must be Zambian citizens as must both their parents. Presidential candidates must be over 35 years old and must be sponsored by a political party. They are also required to have lived in the country for 20 years. The president-elect must be sworn into office within 24 hours of the declaration of the election results.\(^7\)

The National Assembly has 150 members, also elected by means of a first-past-the-post system. Eight members of the Assembly are nominated by the president and a Speaker is elected by the Assembly from amongst persons who are qualified to be members of the Assembly but are not members.\(^8\)

The mission noted that while the Zambian electoral system is designed to address the country’s challenges it has been criticised for marginalising groups such as women and the youth because of its winner-takes-all nature. Furthermore, the simple majority requirement raises the question of the legitimacy of a president who is not elected by an absolute majority. The EISA EOM also noted that the absence of independent candidates from the presidential election compromises two important democratic principles – inclusivity and equality.

2.4. POLITICAL PARTY AND CAMPAIGN FINANCING

The legal framework for elections in Zambia does not provide for state funding of political parties and campaigns. There is also no provision regulating the spending of parties and candidates either through legislated ceilings on campaign spending or disclosure requirements.

The EISA EOM noted that in the absence of state funding of political parties the playing field was not level for all candidates and parties as they did not have equitable access to resources. Furthermore, parties that had access to state resources were more likely to be better positioned than others. The mission also noted that the absence of a regulatory framework for campaign expenditure created opportunities for undue influence of private funds on the electoral process, thus promoting the commercialisation of the process and of politics.

\(^7\) Articles 34-35, Constitution 1996.
\(^8\) Article 69, Constitution 1996.
2.5. **THE ELECTORAL CODE OF CONDUCT**

Section 109 of the Electoral Act empowers the ECZ to issue statutory instruments to promote free, fair and orderly elections. In line with this provision, in 2011 the ECZ issued Statutory Instrument No 52 of 2011, which outlines an Electoral Code of Conduct to guide the conduct of candidates, political parties, conflict management committees (CMCs), the media, election monitors and observers during elections. The code guarantees the rights and freedoms of both the electorate and the candidates. It forbids bribery, corruption, intimidation and violence. All registered political parties that fielded a candidate for the election were required to subscribe to the Code of Conduct.

In addition, it details a list of electoral offences related largely to the election campaign, including the disruption of political rallies and defacing of campaign posters and materials. The code also forbids the election-related abuse of government facilities and resources for campaign purposes. In the past, the main weakness of the code was the lack of a clear complaints mechanism. The EISA EoM noted with satisfaction that this issue has been addressed by the inclusion of provisions for lodging complaints as well as through the establishment of CMCs.

The code grants the ECZ powers to refer and report violations of the code to law enforcement agencies such as the Anti-Corruption Commission and the police for investigation and prosecution. In addition, CMCs were established under the authority of the ECZ to address election-related conflict at different levels. The role of the CMCs will be elaborated on in Section 2.7.1. of this report. Although the code was in operation during the 2015 presidential by-election, the chairperson of the ECZ noted that the Commission did not have adequate enforcement powers and could not deal with election conflict as effectively as it ought to.

2.6. **THE ELECTORAL COMMISSION OF ZAMBIA**

Article 76(1) of the Constitution establishes the Electoral Commission of Zambia as the body responsible for electoral management functions. The powers and responsibilities of the Commission are further enumerated in the Electoral Commission Act 24 of 1996. The duties of the Commission include, amongst others:
a) Supervising the registration of voters.
b) Conducting presidential and parliamentary elections.
c) Reviewing constituency boundaries.
d) Vote counting.
e) Announcement of ward and constituency results.

Other duties provided for by subsidiary legislation are:

- To conduct and supervise the local government elections (Local Government Elections Act 282);
- To conduct voter education (Electoral Act No 12 of 2006);
- To conduct referenda (Referendum Act CAP 14);
- To formulate and review electoral general regulations (Electoral Act);
- To resolve election disputes through establishment of conflict management committees (Electoral Act 2006); and
- To perform any other statutory function for which the National Assembly may call upon it.

The Electoral Commission Act provides for the composition of the ECZ, its term of office, the establishment of a secretariat for the Commission; and matters incidental to the electoral process. The Commission is comprised of five members, including a chairperson who is a judge. The Commissioners are appointed by the president subject to ratification by the National Assembly. At the time of the January 2015 by-election there were only four members on the Commission because one commissioner had died in December 2014.

In line with Section 12 of the Electoral Commission Act, the Commission appoints a director. The directorate is tasked with the management and administration of the ECZ and implementation of its decisions. Section 13(1) of the Act provides for funding of the Commission by parliamentary appropriations and donations.

In its consultation with stakeholders the EISA EOM gathered that there were concerns that the Commission’s neutrality could be compromised because it is appointed by the president, who is an interested party in the elections. Specifically for the 2015 presidential by-election, the key concern was that the judiciary and the Zambia Defence Force (ZDF) played key roles
in the elections, yet the Minister of Defence and Justice was a candidate and it was feared that he might manipulate the process through his office. In its assessment of the by-election, however, the EOM noted that the ECZ conducted it in a transparent and professional manner without indicators of government influence in its operations.

2.7. ELECTION DISPUTE RESOLUTION AND STAKEHOLDER CONSULTATIONS

Article 41 of the Constitution provides for the settlement of disputes arising from presidential elections by the full bench of the Supreme Court. Articles 93-105 of the Electoral Act provide for qualified voters, candidates and the attorney general to present election petitions before the High Court. Sections 110-111 of the Electoral Act empower the ECZ to address complaints and petitions brought before it in a manner determined by the Commission. It also empowers the Commission to establish CMCs to address election related disputes at certain levels.

Petitions arising from presidential elections must be filed with the Supreme Court within 14 days after a candidate is sworn in as president. The law does not, however, set a time limit within which the Supreme Court must reach its decision. The mission noted that the short timeframe of 24 hours provided for the swearing in of the president-elect after the declaration of the results could compromise the dispute resolution process given that the declared winner will already be in office while the petition process is taking place.

2.7.1. Conflict management committees

In line with section 111 of the Electoral Act the ECZ established CMCs at national and district levels as mechanisms for addressing complaints brought before it. The committees were composed of representatives of registered political parties, CSOs, selected government institutions such as the Anti-Corruption Commission and the Drug Enforcement Commission, the Zambia Police Service (ZPS) and the ECZ secretariat.

The CMCs were mandated to manage and resolve electoral conflicts by ensuring that the media, polling agents, political parties, monitors, observers, candidates and election officials adhere to the Electoral Code of Conduct. Although not legally binding, decisions of CMCs were made by majority vote within 24 hours and were not made public.
In playing this role, the CMCs have powers to:

- Mediate electoral conflicts;
- Advise conflicting parties in an election conflict;
- Report the matter to the police for further action where a crime, for example, assault, is committed during the election; and
- Recommend the revocation of accreditation of any monitor

However, the CMCs are informal conflict mediation mechanisms that have their limitations, in that they:

- Have no judicial powers;
- Have no powers to disqualify the candidature of any person participating in the elections; and
- Cannot fine or imprison an offender.

The mission was informed that the CMCs played a key role in resolving conflicts during the January 2015 electoral process, serving as an alternative dispute resolution mechanism that dealt with conflicts that were not addressed through formal channels such as the police or the courts. Through their mediatory approach, political tensions were addressed in the run-up to the election.

### 2.7.2. Political party liaison committees

As part of the alternative dispute resolution mechanism the Commission established political party liaison committees (PPLCs) at national and district levels. At national level the committees comprised the secretaries general of the contesting parties, whilst at district level the parties were represented by the party district chairpersons. The EISA EoM noted this as a commendable platform to improve the level of cooperation between political parties.

### 2.8. Further Notes on the Constitutional and Electoral Framework in Zambia

The 2015 by-election was the fourth national election to be conducted in Zambia within nine years. All the elections were monitored and observed by international and citizen groups that made recommendations to contribute to the improvement of future electoral processes. In its assessment of the legal and institutional framework for the conduct of elections in Zambia, the EISA EOM noted that whilst the Constitution provides a satisfactory basis for the
conduct of regular elections, there remain some shortcomings that could compromise the integrity of democratic elections. The EISA EOM noted the following gaps in the legal and institutional framework:

- There is currently no legal provision for independent candidates in presidential elections. The absence of such a provision impinges on the principle of equal opportunity to vote and to be voted for, as provided in Article 2.1.6 of the SADC Principles and Guidelines Governing Democratic Elections.
- The provision in article 34 (3) of the Constitution requiring aspirant presidents to have been domiciled in the country for 20 years could also be considered a restrictive provision which may bar Zambians in the diaspora from participating effectively in political life.
- The provision in Article 34(9) of the Constitution that the winner of the presidential election be sworn in within 24 hours leaves no room for complaints and appeals to be addressed adequately before the winner takes office. This could compromise the appeal process.
- The requirement that the president can be elected by a simple majority. President Mwanawasa won the 2001 elections with less than 30% of the vote and since the return to multiparty politics no president has been elected with 50% of the votes cast. The fact that the president can be elected without an absolute majority poses a challenge to acceptance of the winner and the legitimacy of the incoming government.
- The legal framework does not include provisions regulating political party and campaign financing. The EISA EOM noted that the unregulated flow of money could compromise the principles of equity and fairness in the electoral process and in the long run could contribute to the illicit flow of funds. In their recommendations EISA observer missions in 2006, 2008 and 2011 called for the provision of state funding of parties and electoral campaigns; mandatory disclosure of sources of funding and ceilings on spending. The continued absence of such provisions, which would improve the transparency of the process and reduce corruption in the post–election period, remains a source of concern.
- Whilst there is an elaborate code of conduct for electoral stakeholders,

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9 See EISA Election Observation reports and statements on Zambia Available at: https://eisa.org.za/index.php/zambia-election-observation-reports-and-statements/
there is no provision in the law for enforcement of the code. In 2006 the ECZ lamented the fact that it did not have the power to sanction stakeholders who had violated the code and the 2008 EISA EOM report called for improvements in the enforceability of the code, whilst the 2011 EISA EOM report recommended that the ECZ should be given powers to enforce all electoral stakeholders to comply.10

- The constitutional provision that mandates that presidential by-elections be held within 90 days of the vacation of the office of the president has, in the past six years, necessitated the conduct of two presidential by-elections. The EOM noted that the cost of such elections may not be sustainable in the long run. An amendment of the legal framework should therefore be considered.

Successive elections have been followed by demands for a new constitution and, in fact, Zambia has attempted without success to amend its Constitution. A draft amendment has been before Parliament since 2003.11 During the 2011 electoral campaign President Sata promised to promulgate a new constitution within 90 days of taking office. This promise is yet to be fulfilled.

The issues proposed for reform in the draft amendment include the regulation of political party and campaign financing. There have also been growing demands for the use of an absolute majority system for the presidential election and mixed-member proportional representation for National Assembly elections. Other proposed reforms pertain to the introduction of a fixed date for elections, the method of appointing the chairperson and members of the ECZ, the powers of the ECZ and a transition period between the declaration of results and the swearing-in of the president-elect.

Civil society groups such as the Foundation for Democratic Process and other NGOs have led the advocacy for electoral reform. One of their initiatives was the production of a document that was signed by presidential candidates prior to the 2015 by-election, committing the winner to pass the amended Constitution by 2016. In its preliminary statement on the 2015 presidential by-election the EISA EOM also urged Parliament to prioritise the pending Constitution Amendment Bill ahead of the 2016 tripartite elections.12

10 Ibid.
12 See Annexure 4 for preliminary statement.
Guy Scott was sworn in as Acting President of Zambia on 29 October 2014, following the death of President Sata. In line with Article 38(1) of the Constitution, the by-election was due to be held on or before 26 January 2015. On 18 November 2014 Acting President Scott declared 20 January 2015, between 06:00 and 18:00, as the date of the by-election.

### Table 4

#### Election timetable

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Dates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nomination</td>
<td>17-23 December 2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campaign period</td>
<td>19 November 2014-19 January 2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voters’ card replacement</td>
<td>28 December 2014-3 January 2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accreditation for international observers</td>
<td>15 December 2014-18 January 2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accreditation for local monitors</td>
<td>15 December 2014-16 January 2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poll date</td>
<td>20 January 2015</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Electoral Commission of Zambia website. Available at: www.elections.org.zm

Although a date for the announcement of results was not on the official calendar it was projected that they would be announced by the evening of 22 January 2015 and the inauguration was set for 23 January 2015.
3.1. VOTER REGISTRATION


To qualify to vote a person must be:

- A Zambian citizen;
- At least 18 years old;
- In possession of both a national registration card and a voter card; and
- Have his/her details included in the voter register.

Article 4(2) of the Electoral Act mandates the ECZ to update the voter register on a continuous basis. However, since the 2011 general elections the Commission has been unable to implement the continuous update due to the high number of by-elections held in that period. Furthermore, the Commission did not receive funds from Treasury for this purpose.

The EISA EOM was informed that the ECZ last conducted an update of the voter register in 2012 in selected areas, with a particular emphasis on increasing the number of new registrants, updating the information of those already registered and clearing the database of anomalies, including the names of deceased persons.

Following the announcement the ECZ issued a timetable for the election. Due to lack of funds and the short timeframe for the election a targeted voter registration process could not take place. Instead, the ECZ set aside 28 December 2014 to 3 January 2015 as the period to replace lost voters' cards. The replacement exercise was undertaken countrywide on those dates.

Stakeholders consulted by the EISA EOM complained that too little time was allowed for the replacement exercise and that due to responsibilities in homes and on farms fewer women than men were able to replace their cards. The Commission made it clear through a public notice that the operation to replace cards should not be regarded as a new registration exercise. Although this was understandable in the context of a snap election, as well as other
financial considerations, the EISA EOM noted that the decision excluded some potential voters, especially young people who had reached voting age after the update exercise in 2012.

The final register, which was certified on 30 November 2014 recorded a total of 5,166,088 voters, of which 49.8% were women.

Table 5
Summary of voter registration statistics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Registered voters</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CENTRAL</td>
<td>483,790</td>
<td>246,921</td>
<td>236,869</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COPPERBELT</td>
<td>845,439</td>
<td>456,979</td>
<td>388,460</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EASTERN</td>
<td>600,098</td>
<td>277,824</td>
<td>322,274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LUAPULA</td>
<td>408,791</td>
<td>196,415</td>
<td>212,376</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LUSAKA</td>
<td>796,687</td>
<td>433,284</td>
<td>363,403</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUCHINGA</td>
<td>269,139</td>
<td>130,439</td>
<td>138,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NORTHERN</td>
<td>434,478</td>
<td>211,667</td>
<td>222,811</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NORTH WESTERN</td>
<td>315,588</td>
<td>155,446</td>
<td>160,142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOUTHERN</td>
<td>617,461</td>
<td>295,656</td>
<td>321,805</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WESTERN</td>
<td>394,617</td>
<td>171,119</td>
<td>223,498</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>5,166,088</td>
<td>2,575,750</td>
<td>2,590,338</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Electoral Commission of Zambia website. Available at: www.elections.org.zm/

3.2. CANDIDATE NOMINATION PROCESS
Acting President Guy Scott, who is of Scottish and English descent, was ineligible to contest the presidential by-election on the basis of Article 34(2) of the Zambian Constitution, which requires both parents of a presidential candidate to be Zambians by birth or descent. This made the nomination process highly competitive and contributed to the factionalisation of the ruling PF ahead of the elections.

The mission considered some of the qualifications required to be restrictive. Among these are the requirement to be sponsored by a party and the
residency and parental heritage requirements which undermine the universal right to stand for public office and are also in breach of Zambia’s international obligations.  

As stated above, the PF was forced to turn to the Supreme Court for a ruling on which of two candidates should represent the party. The court ruled that the Minister of Defence and Justice, Edgar Lungu, should be the party’s candidate.

The MMD’s decision to select former president Rupiah Banda as its candidate was challenged in two separate cases. On 18 December the Supreme Court upheld the candidature of Nevers Mumba.

However, the court ruling did not end the intra-party conflict. Leading members of the parties began to endorse members of other parties and the party that suffered the most was the MMD, where former president Banda not only endorsed the PF candidate, he also campaigned for him.

The widow of President Mwanawasa, who was a member of the MMD, endorsed and campaigned for the UPND candidate, Hakainde Hichilema. Mumba fired the MMD’s national secretary for insubordination and gross indiscipline. Less senior members of the parties also defected and pledged allegiance to candidates from other parties, leading to similar dismissals.

The ECZ opened the window for registration of nominations from 17-23 December 2014. Of 19 aspirants, 11 were nominated. In line with Article 21 of the Electoral Act, presidential candidates were required to deliver the following documentation to the returning officer (the acting chief justice) in order to register their candidature:

- Candidate’s nomination forms;
- The prescribed election fee. For the 2015 by-election the nomination fee was K10 000 000;

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13 Zambia has signed or agreed to a wide range of regional and international commitments and instruments relating to human rights and the conduct of elections including: the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), the African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights (1986) and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966).
• The prescribed statutory declaration of the candidate’s assets and liabilities; and
• An oath or affirmation, of the candidate’s Zambian citizenship and of that candidate’s parents being Zambian citizens by birth or descent.

Based on the submissions, the acting chief justice decided on the eligibility of the applicants.

Though the EISA EoM did not directly observe the nomination process, the mission discussed it with stakeholders throughout the country and noted that it was conducted in accordance with procedural requirements to the satisfaction of most stakeholders.

Table 6
Candidates for the 20 January 2015 presidential by-election

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Gender</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1  Eric M Chandra</td>
<td>Fourth Revolution (4R)</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2  Elias CM Chipimo</td>
<td>National Restoration Party (NAREP)</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3  Hakainde Hichilema</td>
<td>United Party for National Development (UPND)</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4  Tilyenji C Kaunda</td>
<td>United Independence Party (UNIP)</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5  Edgar C Lungu</td>
<td>Patriotic Front (PF)</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6  Godfrey K Miyanda</td>
<td>Heritage Party</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7  Nevers S Mumba</td>
<td>Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD)</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8  Edith Z Namakwi</td>
<td>Forum for Democracy and Development (FDD)</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9  Daniel M Pule</td>
<td>Christian Democratic Party (CDP)</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Pete C Sinkamba</td>
<td>Green Party of Zambia (Greens)</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Ludwig S Sondashi</td>
<td>Forum for Democratic Alternatives (FDA)</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Electoral Commission of Zambia website. Available at: www.elections.org.zm/
3.3. VOTER EDUCATION

Section 77 of the Electoral Act No 12 of 2006 mandates the ECZ to provide voter education. The Commission established the National Voter Education Committee (NVEC), consisting of representatives of CSOs and public institutions. The Commission also conducted the training of national voter education trainers, who served as lead trainers to train the district voter education committees from 4-7 December 2014.

Following this training the committees trained voters in their respective districts down to ward level. There was one voter education facilitator per ward and one publicity coordinator per district. Voter education initiatives were focused on raising public awareness of political rights, knowledge of voting procedures and the importance of participating in the electoral process.

There were, however, a number of challenges with the voter education initiatives. Stakeholders consulted by the EISA EoM noted that the mode of delivery was mainly through print and electronic media in a country with an adult literacy rate of 61.4%.\(^\text{14}\) Although the Commission indicated that voter education initiatives were undertaken at ward level, some stakeholders were critical of the process because it was only visible at district level.

The EISA team deployed in Kasama noted that stakeholders complained that not enough time was given to voter education and also that the material provided was either insufficient or provided in the wrong language. In other instances voter education meetings were allegedly hijacked by political party cadres and became political rallies.

To complement the Commission’s efforts, Section 78 of the Electoral Act provides for other entities to conduct voter education on condition that the initiatives are impartial and promote conditions conducive to free and fair elections. The mission noted that civil society organisations implemented civic education programmes, mainly through community radio stations. Although these initiatives were limited due to insufficient resources, the efforts were commendable.

\(^{14}\) [www.uis.unesco.org/DataCentre/Pages/country-profile.aspx?code=ZMB&regioncode=40540]
3.4. ELECTION CAMPAIGNS

Election campaigns in Zambia are governed by two main laws: the Public Order Act (1955) and the Electoral Code of Conduct Regulations of 2011.

The campaign for the by-election began on 19 November 2014 and ended at 18:00 on 19 January 2015. Campaigning was done through the media – print, electronic and social, through public rallies and door-to-door canvassing. The mission noted that there were reports of political intolerance exhibited in the use of abusive language, which could be characterised as hate speech, during the campaign.\(^{15}\) Incidents of violent intra- and inter-party conflict were also reported. Fatalities were recorded in violence among supporters of the PF and the UPND in Mongu on 7 January 2015.\(^{16}\) Some of the perpetrators were arrested, while others appeared before the conflict management structures of the ECZ such as the CMCs and PPLCs.

The Zambian Police Service and the ECZ made an effort to mitigate the violence and defuse the tensions through the CMCs. Candidates also issued directives to their supporters to refrain from resorting to violence. On 9 January 2015 the ECZ issued a press release\(^{17}\) in which it stated that the Commission would suspend the campaign if the violence continued. As a result of these interventions, violence was significantly reduced. There were, however, a few isolated incidents recorded up to the last days of the campaign.

The mission noted and commended the decision by the police to suspend the application of the Public Order Act, which required political parties to receive authorisation from the police before holding public meetings and activities. The suspension gave all parties an unfettered opportunity to campaign.

3.4.1. Use of public resources

Section 21(K) of the Electoral Code grants the president and vice-president an exclusive privilege to use public resources during the campaign. No other

\(^{15}\) See Lusaka Times. Available at: www.lusakatimes.com/2015/01/04/zambian-voice-condemns-political-violence/


government officials or Cabinet members were allowed such privileges. Any use of public resources by other officials during the campaign therefore represented the abuse of state resources. The EISA EOM noted this as a welcome provision as it limited the unfair advantage some candidates might have over others. However, the mission noted that it was difficult to curtail the use of state resources by government officials because the National Assembly had not been dissolved and the Cabinet was fully in place.

Stakeholders consulted by the mission indicated that, on the whole, the abuse of state resources for the campaign was lower than it had been in previous elections.

The EISA observer team in Kasama in the Northern Province was informed, however, that during the acting president’s campaign visit to the city on 17 January 2015 state-owned vehicles were used to ferry PF cadres to the rally and during the campaign the number plates of government vehicles were removed and the cars used for campaign purposes.

3.5. THE MEDIA
Zambia’s media landscape is quite diverse and vibrant, with 10 television stations and more than 70 radio stations. The public broadcaster, the Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC), has two television stations and three radio stations. The ZNBC is the only media outfit with national coverage, the coverage of private media outfits is spread over different parts of the country.

Articles 11 and 20 of the Constitution provide for freedom of expression, including freedom to hold opinions and of communication, including sending and receiving information without interference. Section 27(2) of the Electoral Act provides for the campaigns and manifestos of all parties and candidates to be covered and reported by all state-owned media in a balanced manner. The 2011 Code of Conduct also stipulates obligations for balanced media coverage of party campaigns, specifically, the allocation of equal airtime to all parties.

Article 14 of the code provides that the ZNBC should allocate airtime equally to all parties and candidates for their political broadcasts. It also prohibits
parties and candidates from purchasing more than 30 minutes of air time per week in any given language on public television or radio.

Stakeholders consulted by the EISA EOM noted the media’s lack of neutrality in its coverage of the elections. During its period of deployment the mission also noted biased and partisan coverage. The state-owned media gave more prominence to the ruling party in their reporting, whilst the private media gave more prominence to opposition candidates. Whilst the media environment in Zambia is diverse and relatively free for media operators, there has been a worrying trend of biased reporting by both the state and private media. The 2006 and 2008 EISA EOM reports recommended that a non-partisan media council should be established to oversee and sanction media conduct where necessary.  

In addition to the allotted slots, candidates could buy airtime for campaign advertisements and this was clearly to the advantage of those who were well funded. There was, however, alleged bias in terms of the amount and form of coverage in the news bulletins and updates. On 16 December 2014 the UPND petitioned the High Court to intervene in the ZNBC’s alleged decision not to cover its political rallies in the run-up to the election. On 19 December the FDD formally complained to the director general of the ZNBC about what it believed was the unfair and unbalanced manner in which the corporation covered its activities.

Although for the most part the media were able to operate without undue restriction, stakeholders shared with the EISA mission some instances of intimidation of the media during the campaign, including physical attacks on journalists. In another incident the ZNBC was stormed by government officials because of its coverage of in-fighting within the PF. The EISA EOM noted these incidents with regret and urged the police to increase their efforts to protect journalists in the course of their work.

19 See Daily Mail. Available at: www.daily-mail.co.zm/?p=14511
The EOM also noted that social media and online newspapers and blogs were an important part of the campaign. These new media sources pose a challenge because they are much more difficult to regulate. It was also observed that these sources seemed to provide sensational reporting rather than factual or professional reporting.

In a positive development, for the first time presidential candidates participated in televised debates, which added a new dimension to the campaign and reached large segments of the electorate via television and the radio. The EISA EOM commended the organisers of the debate for their role in providing an open and free platform for all candidates to further enlighten the electorate on their programmes.

3.6. PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN

Women participated in the election at different levels and were well represented at the top levels of the ECZ. The chairperson and the director of elections, among others, were both women. The mission noted that 59% of personnel in polling stations visited on election day were women. The EISA EOM also noted that 42% of citizen observers and party agents at the polling stations visited were women.

However, the mission noted that overall participation of women in political life still requires some work. Only one of the 11 presidential candidates was a woman and few women attended the rallies attended by EISA observers. This mirrors the gender situation in Zambian politics, where only 12.66% of the members of the current Parliament are women. There were only six female Cabinet ministers out of a total of 22 and women are generally poorly represented in the leadership structures of political parties.22

The EISA EOM noted that the level of representation of women in Zambian political life falls short of the 50% benchmark set in the SADC Protocol on Gender and the equal representation of women at all levels as set in the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People’s Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa. The mission also noted that only 49.8% of the 5 166 088 registered voters were women.

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22 See Daily Nation. Available at:
http://zambiadailynation.com/2016/04/24/low-female-representation-worries-ngocc/
The mission drew the attention of the Zambian authorities to their commitments and obligations in terms of Articles 12 and 13 of the SADC Protocol on Gender, which mandates SADC member states to take measures to achieve 50% representation of women in decision-making positions in the public and private sectors and to ensure equal opportunities for men and women to participate in politics.

**3.7. SECURITY**

The ZPS is mandated to provide security during all phases of the electoral process, including campaign rallies, transportation of election materials (before and after election day) and security on election day.

As stated above, for the duration of the by-election the police suspended application of the provisions of the Public Order Act which required parties intending to hold rallies to apply for permission. In the past it had been alleged that the police used the Public Order Act as the basis for preventing opposition parties and candidates from holding rallies. For the 2015 by-election parties were required only to ‘inform’ the police of their intention to hold rallies and the police were expected to provide security at the rallies.

The suspension of the Public Order Act worked well during the 2015 election. The police in Kasama, however, informed the EISA team that they had faced challenges because some parties had not provided adequate notice. In some cases the notice was only received on the day of the rally. This made it difficult to provide effective security.

Stakeholders did not agree on whether the police had acted strongly enough against perpetrators of election violence. Some believed they had been over cautious in order to avoid post-election retribution or vindictive actions from the winner of the keenly contested election.

The mission was satisfied with the police’s approach of avoiding criminalising all cases and their resort to mediation, as this contributed to defusing tensions. The EISA EOM welcomed the decision by the police to suspend enforcement of the Public Order Act during the campaign period as a positive step that allowed the vibrant and unimpeded campaigning that is a crucial element of democratic elections.
On election day police officers were present at all the polling stations visited by EISA observers. However, in some cases there were insufficient security personnel – according to the police brief, two security officials should have been present at each polling stream.

### 3.8. PREPAREDNESS OF THE ECZ

Within the 90 days the ECZ was given to prepare for the elections it established 6 456 polling stations, which were divided into 9 022 streams to serve 150 constituencies. Due to time constraints and the suddenness of the snap election the most recent data on delimitation was yet to be processed. The ECZ therefore used the same electoral boundaries as were used during the 2011 tripartite elections.

The Commission also recruited and trained 40 000 election personnel. Returning officers were trained in the week of 15-19 December 2014 while field officers were recruited in December 2014 and their training was conducted from 7-9 January 2015. Returning officers were recruited from government departments at district and local levels as the ECZ did not have a decentralised structure outside Lusaka. The returning officers recruited polling staff on behalf of the ECZ.

Although the lists of recruited staff were displayed for public scrutiny, which led to the removal of some names, the EISA EoM noted that the arrangements reduced the ECZ’s control over selection and recruitment. Some stakeholders raised concerns about this and demanded that the ECZ be more involved in the process.

Rain posed considerable challenges to the logistics and operational aspects of the election, rendering some areas of the country inaccessible by road and requiring the Zambian Air Force to assist with the transportation of election materials ahead of election day and the transportation of results after election day.

Stakeholders consulted by the EISA EOM raised concerns about the fact that the PF candidate was the Minister of Defence, who was technically in charge of the ZAF, and therefore the possible influence of the PF on the ZAF during the elections. The ECZ, however, assured voters that all election materials
would be accompanied by commission officials, who would ensure that they would not be tampered with.

Ballot papers were printed in Johannesburg by a private company, Renform CC, which had done so since 2011. The ECZ received clearance from the Zambia Public Procurement Authority to contract the firm directly and representatives of all the contesting candidates were permitted to witness the printing process.

However, on 31 December 2014, whilst the ballot papers were being printed, the UPND vice-president (political) alleged that the ECZ was likely to undersupply ballot papers to UPND strongholds with a view to disenfranchising some voters and that a special chemical composition would be used on some of the papers sent to UPND strongholds which would make votes for the party’s candidate fade and disappear.²³

The ECZ immediately issued a press statement rebutting the accusations²⁴ and party representatives who observed the printing of the ballot papers expressed their satisfaction with the process.²⁵ The ballot papers arrived in Lusaka and were verified by party representatives on 9 January 2015. On 11 January UPND supporters seized two trucks travelling from South Africa with materials for the ECZ, alleging that the trucks were carrying ballots pre-marked in favour of the PF candidate. When the trucks were opened it was found that all they contained was folding tables, folding chairs and 210 000 batteries for lamps.²⁶

In 2006 a proposed results management system had been abandoned after it failed to operate efficiently and delayed the announcement of results. Although successive systems have been tested since then, a substantive system has not been chosen. Although a new system was tested before the

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²³ See *Lusaka Times*. Available at: www.lusakatimes.com/2015/01/01/political-parties-civil-society-monitoring-printing-dismiss-upnds-ballot-paper-rigging-claims/
2015 elections results management remained an unresolved area and the source of conflict and suspicion among stakeholders during the 2015 process.

Stakeholders consulted by the mission complained that they had had insufficient time to scrutinise the newly introduced electronic system. Their reservations notwithstanding, it was acknowledged that the new system had the potential to speed up the transmission and tabulation of results and respond to the need to modernise the electoral process. The results management process will be assessed further in the fifth chapter of this report.

In its assessment of the pre-election phase the EISA EOM commended the ECZ for its efforts to maintain transparency and allay the fears and tensions of political parties and other stakeholders. Specifically, the mission noted with satisfaction the ECZ’s efforts to open electoral events such as ballot paper production and electoral staff recruitment to scrutiny by political parties and monitors and by making the accreditation of international observers and local monitors accessible. The mission also found the operational arrangements of the ECZ satisfactory within the limits faced by the ECZ.
In line with Section 57 of the Electoral Act, polling stations were required to be open for 12 hours. This meant that in instances where a polling station opened late it was required either to operate continuously for 12 hours from the time it opened or, if it opened too late, to close at 18:00 and reopen at 06:00 the next morning with polling continuing until the required 12 hours were completed. Due to the delays experienced in different parts of the country on 20 January, voting was only completed on the morning of 24 January 2015.

On election day six teams of EISA observers visited 70 polling stations to observe all election day procedures from the opening of the poll to the counting of ballots and announcement of results at the polling stations. The EISA EoM noted that election day procedures were undertaken in a peaceful and orderly manner.

4.1. OPENING PROCEDURES
The ECZ put in place a plan to deliver all materials to the polling stations by the evening before election day. As a result of poor weather conditions, however, ZAF helicopters could not deliver materials to all the designated polling stations in good time for the opening of the poll. Therefore, at 51 polling stations voting had not started by 13:00 and at some it only began on 23 January.

At the stations observed by members of the EISA mission the stipulated opening procedures were properly followed by the staff. The ballot boxes
were shown to be empty before being appropriately sealed and party agents and other independent observers were present at the opening.

Only three of the 70 polling stations visited by EISA observers did not open on time, mainly because of the late arrival of material and poor preparations by election officials, but by 06:45 the situation had been normalised at all three stations. All observed polling stations closed on time, at or around 18:00. The mission did, however, note reports from other parts of the country where polling did not commence until midday or had to be postponed until the following day as materials arrived too late.

4.2. POLLING STAFF, PARTY AGENTS AND SECURITY FORCES

Each constituency was supervised by a returning officer and two deputies, while each polling station was staffed by a presiding officer and three polling clerks. Where there was more than one stream at a polling station a presiding officer was in charge of the entire polling station and each stream had a deputy presiding officer and three polling clerks.

Polling staff were expected to be at the polling stations by 18:00 on the eve of election day and spend the night there, to ensure the stations opened early. Polling staff were at their duty posts before the official opening time at all the stations visited by EISA observers. EISA teams observed that more than 50% of the polling station staff were female.

The EISA EoM noted with satisfaction the professional conduct of election personnel and their familiarity with the stipulated procedures, indicating the level of training provided ahead of the elections.

4.3 INDEPENDENT OBSERVERS AND PARTY AGENTS

Independent, non-partisan election observation plays a key role in promoting public confidence and the transparency of an electoral process. Citizen observation in particular is an indicator of citizen participation in elections beyond their role as voters. Non-partisan citizen observation gives citizens the opportunity to verify the genuineness of an election.

The EISA EOM noted with satisfaction that the legal framework for elections in Zambia formally recognises the role of independent observers. Section 75
of the Electoral Act provides that the ECZ may accredit applicants wishing to observe or monitor an election.

The EISA mission noted that the transparency of the electoral process was enhanced by the presence of a large number of independent observers, including both Zambian citizens and international observers representing a variety of organisations and governments. The mission noted the presence of citizen observers at all the polling stations visited. It was, however, noted that only 42% of party agents and 48% of citizen monitors were female. Other international observer groups present included the AU, SADC, the Commonwealth, the EU, the Common Market of Southern and Eastern Africa and SADC-ECF.

4.4. SECURITY PERSONNEL
The EISA EOM also noted the presence of police officers at all polling stations and their presence was judged to be professional and unobtrusive, though in some cases there were fewer than the two stipulated in the briefing given to observers.

4.5 VOTER TURNOUT
Final figures released by the ECZ showed voter turnout to be 32.36%, significantly lower than the 53.65% recorded in the 2011 elections. The lower turnout could be attributed to a number of factors including the poor weather conditions, as well as possible election fatigue given that this was the fourth national election in nine years. The EISA EOM noted with concern the declining trend of voter turnout.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Election</th>
<th>Voter turnout</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2006 Tripartite elections</td>
<td>70.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008 Presidential by-election</td>
<td>45.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011 Tripartite elections</td>
<td>53.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2015 Presidential by-election</td>
<td>32.36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.6 VOTING PROCEDURES

The EISA teams observed voting procedures at 70 polling stations, of which 62% were in urban areas and 38% in rural areas.

The layout of most of the polling stations visited was conducive to an easy flow of voters and ensured the secrecy of the ballot. One-third of the stations visited were, however, not accessible by voters with disabilities and up to 5% were too small and inappropriate for the rainy season, thus offering very poor working conditions for polling staff, party agents, monitors and observers.

The voting process, as observed by the EISA EOM, was conducted smoothly and efficiently, with each voter taking an average of three minutes to complete the full process. There were a few instances of voters being turned away because they did not have the required ID and, in some cases, they were turned away because their names were not on the voters’ roll.

At the beginning of the voting day some women with nail polish were forced to remove it before voting as the polling officials would not apply indelible ink to the right thumb if there was polish on the nail. However the ECZ issued a press statement instructing polling officials to apply the ink to the cuticle of the right thumb. Apart from these few incidents, there were no other challenges observed.

4.7 CLOSING AND COUNTING PROCESSES

The EISA teams observed closing and counting procedures at seven polling stations. All of these closed at or soon after 18:00 and counting began soon afterwards. At polling stations with more than one stream, the results from each stream were combined to obtain the polling station result.

The EISA EOM noted that some counting procedures, such as reconciliation of ballots and verification of the number of ballots in the boxes against the number of used ballots, were conducted inconsistently. There were also instances where polling station officials failed to announce the results. Party agents were, however, generally satisfied with the overall process and its outcome.

After combining the results, the presiding officer completed two results sheets, one to be displayed outside the polling station and one to be submitted to the constituency totalling centre.
5.1. TRANSMISSION AND TABULATION OF RESULTS

The ECZ established a totalling centre in each constituency where the polling station results were added up to obtain the constituency total for each candidate and also the constituency total of rejected ballots. A national results centre was set up at the Mulungishi International Conference Centre in Lusaka.

The constituency totalling centres were operated by constituency returning officers and open to scrutiny by accredited representatives of political parties as well as citizen monitors, international observers and the media. The returning officer for the constituency was required to complete a constituency results sheet. If satisfied with the process, party representatives, monitors and observers were required to sign the results sheet. Failure of party representatives or observers to sign the results sheets did not invalidate the results.

After completing the results sheet the returning officer displayed it outside the totalling centre and sent the results to ECZ headquarters in Lusaka, as well as to the national results centre. The results from polling stations were physically transported to the constituency totalling centres where they were collated and the results captured on a publicly displayed chart and transmitted electronically using the results management kit or by fax.

Although the ECZ had piloted the electronic transmission of results from
polling stations during by-elections conducted since 2011, it was decided that electronic transmission would take place only from the constituency totalling centres during the 2015 election. Ahead of the election the ECZ explained the results management system to representatives of all parties contesting the election.

In response to suspicions that the electronic results transmission could be tampered with, the ECZ issued a press statement citing the presence of party representatives at the polling stations and constituency totalling centres as well as the parallel vote tabulation (PVT)\textsuperscript{27} conducted by a coalition of NGOs as additional validation measures for the results.

5.2. ANNOUNCEMENT OF RESULTS
Zambia’s legal framework does not stipulate a timeframe for announcing results. However, Article 34(9) of the Constitution provides that the president-elect be sworn in within 24 hours of the results being declared, leaving little or no time for any challenges to be dealt with before the president assumes office.

The chairperson of the ECZ, Justice Irene Mambilima, began announcing results from the national results centre on 21 January 2015. The announcements were transmitted live on television. As they began the nation was also informed that voting was still going on in some stations and had not even started in others.

The EISA EOM noted that international best practice is that no results should be announced while voters are still casting their ballots as this may affect their choices. For that reason the UPND candidate, Hakainde Hichilema, demanded that announcement of results should stop. After announcing the results from 13 constituencies the ECZ suspended the announcement, however, tabulation and verification of the results received at that point continued in anticipation of the resumption of the announcement.

\textsuperscript{27} Parallel vote tabulations (PVTs) or quick count is often referred to as sample-based election observation methodology that involves the collection of official results at polling station level and independent computation of these results for comparison with the official election results.
During the period of suspension speculation about the status of the results grew, with some stakeholders alleging that the ECZ was falsifying the result. To add to the speculation some organisations that had conducted sample-based parallel vote tabulation maintained they already knew the results and claimed victory for different candidates.

On 22 January results from a further 80 constituencies were announced, with the ZNBC showing the table of results for each constituency. At that point only 2,000 voters had not yet started voting.

The announcements continued until 23 January and it emerged that the ZNBC had been announcing the wrong results or mixing up results. The public broadcaster was required by the ECZ to stop airing results. This situation further contributed to the tension, as some online commentators speculated that the ZNBC was part of the rigging machinery.

The ECZ resumed announcing results and these were transmitted live on TV from the national results centre. On the same day, acceding to heavy pressure from political parties, the Commission invited representatives of all parties to be present at the final verification of the results before announcement, thus regaining the confidence of the majority of the electoral stakeholders.

The announcement of the results took longer than it had in previous elections because of the delays caused by poor weather and other logistical issues. On 24 January, with nine constituency results still to be announced, the UPND candidate, Hakainde Hichilema, convened a press briefing at which he claimed that the election had been rigged through manipulation of the count.

He cited amongst other issues ‘biased and selective release of results’ on ZNBC and on the ECZ website and the failure of the ZAF to give clearance to helicopters carrying UPND party agents to fly to the areas where voting started late and claimed that individuals within the ECZ were working to steal the election from him. The UPND asked the Commission not to announce the results as the party insisted that there had been some miscalculations and that some votes had been stolen.28

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28 See http://zambianeye.com/archives/28282 accessed 22/02/15
The ECZ dismissed the claims, insisting that political parties had been involved in the electoral process since the beginning of the process, and continued to announce the results. The final results were announced late on the evening of 24 January.

Table 8  
Results of the 2015 presidential by-election

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Candidate</th>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Votes received</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Edgar C Lungu</td>
<td>Patriotic Front (PF)</td>
<td>807 925</td>
<td>48.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hakainde Hichilema</td>
<td>United Party for National Development (UPND)</td>
<td>780 168</td>
<td>46.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edith Z Namakwi</td>
<td>Forum for Democracy and Development (FDD)</td>
<td>15 321</td>
<td>0.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nevers S Mumba</td>
<td>Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD)</td>
<td>14 609</td>
<td>0.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tilenji C Kaunda, I</td>
<td>United National Independence Party (UNIP)</td>
<td>9 737</td>
<td>0.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eric M Chanda</td>
<td>4th Revolution Party (4R)</td>
<td>8 054</td>
<td>0.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elias CM Chipimo</td>
<td>National Restoration Party (NAREP)</td>
<td>6 002</td>
<td>0.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Godfrey K Myanda</td>
<td>HERITAGE</td>
<td>5 757</td>
<td>0.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daniel M Pule</td>
<td>Christian Democratic Party (CDP)</td>
<td>3 293</td>
<td>0.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ludwig S Sondashi</td>
<td>Forum for Democratic Alternatives (FDA)</td>
<td>2 073</td>
<td>0.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter C Sinkamba</td>
<td>Green Party Of Zambia (Greens)</td>
<td>1410</td>
<td>0.08</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Electoral Commission of Zambia website. Available at: www.elections.org.zm/

Table 9  
Summary of the 2015 presidential by-election vote statistics

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total registered voters</td>
<td>5 166 084</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total votes cast</td>
<td>1 671 662</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total valid votes</td>
<td>1 654 349</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total rejected votes</td>
<td>17 313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voter turnout</td>
<td>32.36%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Electoral Commission of Zambia website. Available at: www.elections.org.zm/
ECZ chairperson Irene Mambilima officially pronounced the PF candidate the winner. The Acting Chief Justice, Lombe Chibesakunda, declared Edgar C Lungu to have been duly elected as Zambia’s sixth republican president.

Mr Lungu was inaugurated the next day at Heroes Stadium in Lusaka.
6.1 CONCLUSIONS

Based on its observations and consultations with Zambian electoral stakeholders the EISA EOM concluded that the electoral process was largely peaceful, but it deplored incidents of conflict and violence in the run-up to the election. The response of the ECZ and the Zambia Police Service to these incidents was sufficient, timely and measured enough to manage the situation and maintain a generally peaceful atmosphere.

The EISA EOM noted that the ECZ conducted the election in a professional and efficient manner, despite the limited timeframe of 90 days provided in the law for preparing the election. The ECZ was able to recruit the necessary personnel, and procure and distribute all the election materials on time to most polling stations. The mission also noted that the instances where this was not possible were due to circumstances beyond the control of ECZ, namely the weather conditions typical of the rainy season.

The environment on polling day was peaceful and orderly, allowing the people of Zambia to exercise freely their democratic right to choose their leader. The mission noted with satisfaction the ECZ’s decision to extend the voting period for those polling stations affected by the late delivery of materials due to adverse weather conditions in order to allow those voters to cast their ballots.
In its assessment of the context and conduct of the 20 January 2015 presidential by-election, the EISA Observer Mission concluded that the process conformed to Zambia’s laws and was in line with international, continental and sub-regional standards for credible elections.

6.2 RECOMMENDATIONS
Zambia was at the forefront of the democratic wave in Africa, as one of the first countries on the continent to embrace multiparty democracy and elections. However, the Zambian constitutional and electoral framework should be brought in line with current international best practice for a more mature democracy through a constitutional and electoral reform process.

While the EISA EOM made several recommendations for improving the conduct of elections in Zambia, it also noted with concern that these recommendations mirrored those made by EISA EOMs after the 2006, 2008 and 2011 elections. Most of the previous recommendations have not been implemented, which suggests that there needs to be more commitment on the part of Zambia’s electoral stakeholders to improving future political processes:

On constitutional and legal reforms, the EISA EOM made the following recommendations:

- In view of the cost implications of conducting presidential by-elections, a review of the electoral system should be considered to introduce the joint election of the president and vice-president as running mates on a single ticket and a provision for the vice-president to complete the presidential tenure in the event that the office of the president becomes vacant.
- To strengthen the legitimacy of the office of the president, a review of the electoral system should be considered to introduce the election of the president by absolute majority.
- To allow for the full resolution of electoral complaints and appeals before the inauguration of the new government, there is a need to extend the period between the announcement of results and the swearing-in of the president-elect.
- In view of the role of the Supreme Court in the adjudication of
On electoral reforms, the EISA EOM recommends:

- To further strengthen the ECZ in its role, a decentralised election management structure should be considered to give the Commission stronger oversight over key processes in the electoral cycle such as the selection and recruitment of electoral staff at constituency level.
- To provide increased opportunities for women to ascend to elected leadership positions, the legal framework should be reviewed to include provision for affirmative action.
- To regulate the undue influence of money in politics, the legal framework should be revised to include provisions on equitable public funding of electoral campaigns and political parties. Furthermore, the legal framework should also include provisions for the regulation of party and campaign expenses.
- Enshrine in the law the regulations for the equitable allocation of airtime in the public broadcaster for political party and candidate campaign propaganda.

The EISA EOM further recommends that:

- To further address the issue of minimal representation of women in politics in Zambia political parties should make provision in party constitutions for affirmative action. Parties should also encourage more women to be represented within their leadership structures.
- The ECZ should put in place a mechanism for continuous voter registration to avoid disenfranchisement of eligible citizens who may have attained the voting age between elections and for citizens who may have relocated.
- To improve the participation of persons with disability in the voting process, there is a need for the ECZ and the national authorities to put in place mechanisms to make the polling stations more accessible to this group of voters.
• To address the inconsistencies noted in the application of closing and counting procedures, the ECZ should strengthen the training of polling station officials in these areas.
## ANNEXURE 1

### EISA EOM Deployment Plan for the Zambian Presidential By-Election

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Team No</th>
<th>Names</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>City</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Team 1</td>
<td>Mission Leader</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>LUSAKA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Miguel de Brito</td>
<td>M</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Team 2</td>
<td>Belinda Musahnu</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>LUSAKA 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Denis Kadima</td>
<td>M</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Team 3</td>
<td>Katti Miettunen</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>LIVINGSTONE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ilona Tip</td>
<td>F</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Team 4</td>
<td>Valma Susan Hendricks</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>CHIPATA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mohamed Roble</td>
<td>M</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Team 5</td>
<td>Baidessou Soukolgue</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>NDOLA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Thusoana Ntlama</td>
<td>F</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Team 6</td>
<td>Badibanga Mukenyi</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>KASAMA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nicole Beardsworth</td>
<td>F</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mission Coordinator</td>
<td>M</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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The Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa (EISA) announces the deployment of its Election Observation Mission (EOM) to the Presidential By-Election in the Republic of Zambia. The EISA EOM which is led by His Excellency, Honourable Cassam Uteem, former President of Mauritius arrived in Lusaka on 14 January 2015. EISA observers will be deployed to five provinces to observe the final phase of the campaigns, the final preparations of the Electoral Commission of Zambia and other electoral stakeholders for the elections. On election day, observers will visit polling stations to follow all election day procedures. The EOM will issue a statement on its preliminary assessment of the election in Lusaka on 22 January 2015.

Arrival Statement

The Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa (EISA) has deployed an election observation mission to the presidential by-election scheduled to take place on 20 January 2015 in the Republic of Zambia. The deployment of this EISA EOM will be the fourth in a series of EISA EOMs in Zambia since the 2006 tripartite elections.

EISA notes that the by-elections take place in line with the provisions of article 38 of the Zambian Constitution, which grants Zambians the rights to choose another president after the sudden death of President Michael Sata on 28 October 2014. The Institute views the by-election as another crucial step in the democratic consolidation process in Zambia.

The Mission is composed of 14 short term observers drawn from civil society organisations and electoral commissions across the African continent. It is led by His Excellency, Honourable Cassam Uteem, former president of the
Republic of Mauritius, with EISA’s Executive Director, Mr Denis Kadima as the Deputy Mission Leader.

EISA observers will be deployed to five of Zambia’s ten provinces to consult with electoral stakeholders and observe the final phases of the pre-election period. Observers will be equipped with computer tablets for the collection and transmission of their findings in real time.

The Mission’s impartial and independent assessment of the elections will be guided by principles and standards set out in the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance; the African Union Declaration on the Principles Governing Democratic Elections in Africa; the Declaration of Principles on International Election Observation and the Principles for Election Management, Monitoring and Observation (PEMMO) as well as the Zambian legal framework governing the elections.

The EISA EOM secretariat is located at the Taj Pamodzi Hotel in Lusaka and can be contacted through Mr. Naphtaly Sekamogeng: +260 97 889 1092 Email: naphtaly@eisa.org.za

_Lusaka 15 January 2015_
### ANNEXURE 3

**Observer Briefing and Orientation Programme**

**EISA ELECTION OBSERVER MISSION**
**TO THE 2015 ZAMBIA PRESIDENTIAL BY-ELECTIONS**

**PRE-DEPLOYMENT AND STAKEHOLDER BRIEFING PROGRAMME**

**DAY ONE – 15 January 2015**

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<tr>
<td>09:00 – 9:20</td>
<td>Welcome and Introduction</td>
<td>Denis Kadima</td>
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<tr>
<td>09:20 – 10:00</td>
<td>Mission Background, Tore &amp; Code of conduct (signing observer pledge)</td>
<td>Miguel Brito</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:00 – 11:00</td>
<td>Political and Historical Context of the 2015 Elections – Presentation and discussion</td>
<td>Boniface Cheembe – SACCORD</td>
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<td>11:00 – 11:30</td>
<td>Group Photo &amp; Tea/ Coffee Break</td>
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<td>11:30 – 12:30</td>
<td>The constitutional and legal framework for the elections in Zambia - Presentation and discussion</td>
<td>Lawyers Association of Zambia</td>
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<td>12:30 – 13:15</td>
<td>Understanding the concept, rationale and methodology of election observation</td>
<td>Ilona Tip</td>
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<td>- Observation vs monitoring</td>
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<td>- Rationale of observation</td>
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<td>- Electoral cycle</td>
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<td>- Types, role and responsibilities of international observers</td>
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<td>14:15- 15:00</td>
<td>International and regional benchmarks for elections: International benchmarks:</td>
<td>Miguel Brito</td>
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<td>- PEMMO &amp; AU instruments</td>
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<td>- Assessing free and fair elections on the basis of these benchmarks</td>
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<td>15:00 – 16:15</td>
<td>The State of Preparedness and Readiness of ECZ for the 2015 election</td>
<td>Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ)</td>
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<td>16:15-17:00</td>
<td>Working tea break and observer accreditation at ECZ</td>
<td>Yvette Ondinga to coordinate transportation and logistics</td>
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<td>17:00</td>
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**DAY TWO – 16 January 2015**

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<td>Perspectives from Civil Society Organisations</td>
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<td>Citizen observation – Foundation for Democratic Process (FODEP)</td>
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<td>Gender issues – Zambia National Women’s Lobby (ZNWL)</td>
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<td>Role of media – Media Institute for Southern Africa (MISA)</td>
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<td>Youth participation and representation – Operation Young Vote</td>
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<td>Role of security agencies in the elections</td>
<td>Zambia Police Force</td>
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<td>Tea/Coffee break</td>
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<td>11:30-13:00</td>
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<td>Use of tablets</td>
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<td>13:00-14:00</td>
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<td>14:00-15:00</td>
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<td>Naphtaly Sekamogeng &amp; Funanani Nemaheni</td>
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<td>15:00-16:00</td>
<td>Deployment Briefing &amp; distribution of deployment supplies</td>
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<td>Naphtaly Sekamogeng &amp; Yvette Ondinga</td>
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<tr>
<td>16:00-17:00</td>
<td>Accreditation of outstanding observers</td>
<td>Yvette to coordinate transport and logistics</td>
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<td>17:00</td>
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Conclusion: ‘In its assessment of the context and conduct of the 20 January 2015 election, the EISA Observer Mission has come to the conclusion that the process was so far generally peaceful and in conformity with the laws of Zambia and international, continental and sub-regional standards for credible elections. EISA will continue to observe the process until the tabulation and announcement of results is concluded, before making a final assessment of the process.’

1. INTRODUCTION

The Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa (EISA) deployed an Election Observation Mission to the 20 January 2015 presidential by-election in Zambia. The Mission is comprised of 14 observers drawn from nine countries, and is led by His Excellency Cassam Uteem, former President of the Republic of Mauritius, with Denis Kadima, EISA’s Executive Director, as the Deputy Mission Leader.

The EISA Mission began arriving in the country on 11 January after conducting a pre-election assessment mission in December 2014. EISA observers were provided with briefings by election stakeholders prior to deployment to five provinces (Copperbelt, Eastern, Northern, Southern and Lusaka) on 17 January 2015. The Mission met with the leadership of parties contesting in the election, as well as the Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ), the National Police, and civil society organisations. In their areas of deployment, observers witnessed election rallies and final preparations for elections by election stakeholders including the delivery and receipt of polling station materials. The observers also interacted with electoral stakeholders including
political parties, civil society, the ECZ, the police and the media at local level. EISA observer teams were equipped with computer tablets that enabled them to capture and transmit data in real time.

EISA observers will begin to depart from Lusaka on 23 January 2015. An EISA team will remain in Lusaka to follow the final stages of the tabulation and announcement of results.

EISA’s assessment of the electoral process was based on the principles and standards set out in the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance, the African Union Declaration of the Principles Governing Democratic Elections in Africa, the International Principles for International Observation of Elections, and its respective Code of Conduct, the Principles for Election Management, Monitoring and Observation (PEMMO), as well as the Zambian legal framework governing the electoral process.

This statement presents EISA’s preliminary findings, recommendations and conclusions on the 2015 electoral process in Zambia. It is being issued while the tallying of results at constituency tallying centres and tabulation at the national results centre are still ongoing, and therefore reflects only the Mission’s observations up to the conclusion of the counting process at polling station level. A final report covering the entire process will be issued by EISA within a few weeks.

2. PRELIMINARY FINDINGS

2.1 Political Environment
The sudden death of President Michael Chilufya Sata on 28 October 2014 triggered the 20 January 2015 presidential by-election, which took place within the context of strong electoral competition among the eleven presidential contestants.

The pre-election environment was impacted on by conflicts within some political parties. Intra-party factionalism and competition for the party nomination led to sometimes-violent conflict and court cases. Incidents of election-related violence also emerged between supporters of different candidates. Particularly serious and deplorable was the use of weapons such as machetes during inter-party confrontations. The Mission noted with
satisfaction the statements made by several presidential candidates to deter their supporters from electoral violence as well as the strong stance taken and statements made by the ECZ to speak against the violence, which in the final days of the campaign worked to deter further escalation. The Mission notes also that the 2015 election was the fourth presidential election in the past eight years, and was conducted less than two years before the next scheduled elections, which places a great financial and human burden on the country and may lead to voter fatigue. The high number of parliamentary and local authority by-elections since 2011 has compounded this problem.

2.2 Constitutional and Legal Framework
The 2015 presidential by-election took place within the constitutionally mandated period of 90 days after the death of President Michael Sata, and the EISA Mission finds that the constitutional and legal framework governing this election, namely the Constitution of Zambia, the Electoral Act, the Electoral Commission Act, and the Electoral Code of Conduct meet the international, continental and sub-regional benchmarks for democratic and credible elections.

Zambia was at the forefront of the democratic wave in Africa, having been one of the first countries on the Continent to embrace multi-party democracy and elections. However, the Zambian constitutional and electoral framework should be brought in line with current international best practices for a more mature democracy through a comprehensive and consensual reform process. Some of the shortcomings identified are:

- The lack of a combined election for President and Vice-President or a provision that allows the Vice President to take over the Presidency until the end of the term, makes presidential by-elections unavoidable when the Office of Presidency becomes vacant, placing a heavy financial and political burden on the country.
- The electoral system requires only a simple majority for someone to be elected President, which means the president is not necessarily elected by a substantial majority the vote. For instance, since the return to multi-party politics, no President has been elected with more than 50% of the votes cast.
There is currently no legal provision for independent candidates in presidential elections. The absence of such a provision in the law impinges on the principle of equal opportunity to vote and to be voted for as provided in the SADC Guidelines and Principles.

The provision of the Constitution that requires aspirants to the position of President to have been domiciled in the country for 20 years could be considered as a restrictive provision that may bar Zambians in the Diaspora from legitimately and fully participating in their country’s political life.

The provision of the Constitution which provides for the person elected as president to be sworn-in within 24 hours also presents a challenge as it does not leave enough time for complaints and appeals to be adequately addressed before the person elected takes office.

The Chief Justice is simultaneously the Returning Officer for the presidential election and presiding judge of the Court that has to hear and decide on cases regarding the outcome of the presidential election.

The Mission notes that the failure of successive constitutional reform initiatives has not allowed the country to address these shortcomings. Civil society groups produced a document that was signed by most presidential candidates prior to the 2015 presidential by-election, committing the winner of the elections to pass the amended Constitution by 2016.

### 2.3. ELECTORAL MANAGEMENT

The Mission notes that the Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ) had less than 3 months to conduct a poll that normally takes a number of years to organise. Furthermore, the Commission had just completed a data-gathering exercise for the new delimitation of constituencies, in addition to conducting a number of by-elections, which had consumed significant resources. To complicate matters further, this election took place in the middle of the rainy season, placing additional logistical burdens on the ECZ. The above circumstances notwithstanding, the ECZ was able to deliver this election professionally and efficiently. This included recruiting and training thousands of personnel, and procuring and distributing the election materials to the majority of polling stations on time.
The Mission however noted that as the ECZ does not have a decentralised structure outside of Lusaka; it recruited election staff from government departments at district and local level as returning officers. These same officials also selected polling staff on behalf of the ECZ. Although the lists of recruited staff were displayed for public scrutiny and some were challenged and names removed, this arrangement reduced the control that the ECZ must have over selection and recruitment of electoral staff, and was contested by some stakeholders.

The mission also noted the ECZ’s commitment to a transparent electoral process through opening electoral events such as ballot paper production to scrutiny by political parties and monitors and by making the accreditation of international observers and local monitors accessible. However, stakeholders complained that they had insufficient time to scrutinise the newly introduced electronic results management system. Their reservations notwithstanding, stakeholders acknowledged that the new system may speed up transmission and tabulation of results and respond to the need of modernising the electoral process.

The Mission noted with satisfaction that the ECZ conducted the election largely in accordance with the legal framework of Zambia, and in line with international standards.

2.4. VOTER REGISTRATION

The Mission noted that voter registration was not conducted prior to the election. This meant that citizens who came of voting age since the last voters’ roll update in 2012 did not get the opportunity to register as no continuous voter registration, as required by law, has been conducted since then. Whilst this may be understood in the context of recurrent by-elections, that prevented the roll from being updated, lack of financial resources, and the short period of time before the election, it means that a significant number of young citizens were not able to exercise their democratic right to vote on 20 January. This limitation was extended to all voters who have changed their area of residence since 2012. The ECZ however allowed all voters who had lost their voter’s card to have them replaced in the period from 28 December 2014 to 3 January 2015 although some stakeholders complained that the time was too short.
2.5. **Campaign Finance**

The legal framework in Zambia has no provisions for state funding of duly nominated electoral candidates for any elections. This presents the challenge for candidates who are not adequately funded. Additionally, the lack of legislation which regulates the use of private funds during electoral campaigns, either placing limits on campaign spending and/or requiring parties and candidates to disclose their sources of funding, also creates opportunities for undue influence of private funds on the campaign as well as on the elected officials that would have benefitted from it.

2.6. **ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN**

The electoral campaign for the election began on 19 November 2014 and ended on 19 January 2015 at 1800hrs, and provided adequate time for candidates to expose their manifestos to the electorate. However, some candidates were forced to start their campaigns late due to internal party disputes over candidate selection.

The Mission noted that the electoral campaign was marred by instances of political intolerance exhibited in the use of abusive language which could be characterised as hate speech. Incidents of violence were also recorded within political parties and between the different political parties. Two of these incidents were fatal. Some of the perpetrators of electoral violence from different parties were arrested and taken before the relevant legal mechanism whilst others were taken before the conflict management structures of the ECZ.

The Mission notes the efforts made by the Zambian Police Service and Electoral Commission of Zambia to defuse the tension by using the Conflict management Committees to resolve political party violence. The Commission went as far as to threaten to suspend the campaign if the violence continued. Although incidents were still being recorded up to the last days of the campaign, they were significantly reduced as a result of these interventions. The Mission also noted and commends the decision by the Police to suspend application of the Public Order Act, which requires political parties to receive authorisation from the Police before holding public meetings and activities, in order to give all parties unfettered opportunity to campaign.
2.7. THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA
The Mission noted that the media environment in Zambia is diverse and vibrant and that the media can operate without undue restriction, although there was clear bias and partisanship on the part of the most media outlets in their coverage and reporting. Two parties officially lodged complaints against perceived bias by the Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC) to the corporation.

The ZNBC allocated 30 minutes a week on both TV and Radio to each candidate for the broadcast of their campaign activities, and this was largely respected. In addition to the allotted slots, candidates were free to buy airtime for campaign adverts, and this clearly advantaged those candidates that were well funded.

Media stakeholders shared with the EISA Mission some instances of media intimidation during the campaign, including a physical attack on a journalist. For the first time presidential candidates participated in televised debates which added a new dimension to the electoral campaign and reached large segments of the voting public via the television and the radio.

2.8. PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN
Women participated in the election in high numbers, but at different levels. The Mission observed that women were well represented in election management, as the Chairperson of the ECZ and the Director of Elections, among others, are both women. The Mission noted also the high numbers of women amongst the polling station staff, party agents and at the totalling centres.

However, there was only one woman amongst the eleven candidates and attendance of women at the rallies observed was not high. This mirrors the gender situation in Zambia, where only 12.66% of MPs are women. There are only six female cabinet ministers out of a total of 22, and women are generally poorly represented in the leadership structures of political parties. The Mission also noted that the number of female registered voters was lower than that of men, although there are more women than men in the adult population. During the operation mounted by the ECZ for the replacement of voters’ cards, fewer women than men replaced their cards. Additionally the
violence during the campaign could have deterred women from participating in the process.

2.9. THE POLICE
The Mission noted that there is lack of consensus amongst stakeholders on whether the police acted strongly enough against perpetrators of election violence. However, the Mission is satisfied that the police’s approach of avoiding criminalisation of all cases and seeking mediation acted to defuse tensions and reduce alarm amongst the population. As indicated above, the Mission finds that the decision by the police to suspend enforcement of the Public Order Act during the campaign period was a positive step to allow vibrant and unimpeded campaigning.

The Mission also commends the decision to deploy unarmed police officers to provide security during the voting process.

2.10. CIVIL SOCIETY
The mission noted that civil society organisations participated in the electoral process through voter education and election monitoring. Although these efforts were limited by the fact that there was insufficient time to marshal funding for all the desired activities, the Mission noted the contribution of civil society to improving the transparency of the election through the deployment of thousands of election monitors, including the conduct of parallel vote tabulation.

The Mission noted with satisfaction that Zambian electoral legislation allows Zambian citizens a very active role on Election Day through election monitoring, which represents a more vigorous form of participation than regular election observation.

2.11. POLLING DAY OBSERVATION
EISA observer teams observed Election Day procedures, including opening, voting, closing and counting, in a total of 70 polling stations in the five provinces where they were deployed, namely Copperbelt, Eastern, Northern, Southern and Lusaka. This is a summary of their observations and relates only to those polling stations observed by the EISA Observer Mission:
The atmosphere in and around all observed polling stations was peaceful and orderly. Security personnel were present at all stations, but were professional and discreet. Party agents were able to monitor all phases of the process on Election Day. Our teams found at least 2 and sometimes as many as 6 parties represented at the observed polling stations.

All the polling stations had all the necessary materials for the Election Day operations to proceed normally. However, we were informed by the ECZ that due to the bad state of some roads, 51 polling stations opened too late or didn’t open at all, as they were waiting for materials coming by helicopter. The Mission commends the ECZ’s decision to extend the voting period for those polling stations in order allow those voters to exercise the right to cast their ballot.

Only 3 of the 70 observed polling stations did not open on time, but by 06h45 the situation had been normalised in all three stations. All observed polling stations closed on time, at or around 18h00.

In all polling stations, the ballot boxes were properly sealed and remained so throughout the day until the start of the counting process.

**Opening Procedure**
The EISA teams observed opening procedures in seven polling stations. All procedures were properly followed, and all ballot boxes were properly sealed before voting began.

All EISA observers assessed the opening process to be good or very good, although some polling officials, at times, seemed unsure about some procedures.

**Voting Process**
The EISA teams observed voting procedures in 70 polling stations, of which 62% were in urban areas and 38% in rural areas.

The layout of most of the visited polling stations was adequate for an easy flow of voters and to ensure secrecy of the ballot, but one-third were not accessible to voters with disabilities, and up to 5% were too small and
inappropriate for the rainy season, offering very poor working conditions for polling staff, party agents, monitors and observers. More than half of polling station staff was female. However, only 43% of party agents and citizen monitors were female.

The voting process as observed by EISA was conducted smoothly and efficiently with the average time for a voter to complete the full voting process under 3 minutes. There were a few instances of voters being turned away for not having the required ID, or not finding their names on the voters’ roll. EISA observers assessed the voting process and the competence of polling station staff to be good or very good.

**Closing and counting process**
The EISA teams observed closing and counting procedures in seven polling stations.

Some closing and counting procedures, such as reconciliation of ballots and verification of the number of ballots in the boxes against number of used ballots, were conducted inconsistently or without public announcement by polling station officials in some polling stations. Party agents were, however, generally satisfied with the overall process and its outcome.

EISA observers assessed the closing and counting process and the competence of polling station staff to be good or very good in most observed polling stations, but noted that some polling officials, at times, seemed unsure about some procedures.

3. **CONCLUSION**
In its assessment of the context and conduct of the 20 January 2015 election, the EISA Observer Mission has come to the conclusion that the process was so far generally peaceful, in conformity with the laws of Zambia and in line with international, continental and sub-regional standards for credible elections. EISA will continue to observe the process until the tabulation and announcement of results is concluded, before making a final assessment of the process.
4. RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the findings presented above, the EISA Election Observer Mission presents the following recommendations:

1. Within the framework of constitutional reforms:
   a. Introduce the joint election of the President and Vice-President as running mates on a single ticket to avoid costly and disruptive presidential by-elections
   b. Introduce the election of the President by absolute majority to strengthen the legitimacy of the Office
   c. Expand the period between the announcement of results and the presidential inauguration to allow for the full and final resolution of electoral complaints and appeals before the inauguration
   d. Allow independent candidates to run for President
   e. Review and revise the residency requirement clause to ease restrictions on who can be a presidential candidate
   f. Separate the functions of Returning Officer of the presidential election from those of Chief Justice

2. Within the context of electoral reforms:
   a. Decentralise the structure of the election management body so that it exercises greater control over the selection and recruitment of electoral staff at local level, particularly polling station officials and returning officers
   b. Introduce legislation to provide for equitable public funding of electoral campaigns and to regulate private donations to electoral campaigns
   c. Enshrine in the electoral law the regulations for the equitable allocation of airtime in the public broadcaster for political party and candidate campaign propaganda

3. Ensure resumption of continuous voter registration in order to avoid disenfranchisement of eligible citizens
4. Increase opportunities for women to ascend to leadership positions within political parties through quotas or other mechanisms
5. Improve the accessibility of polling stations to people with disabilities
6. As much as logistically and financially possible, ensure that all polling
stations meet basic requirements of size and quality to allow for appropriate working conditions and an easy flow of voters.

7. Improve training of polling station officials, especially around closing and counting procedures.
EISA has since its inception in July 1996 established itself as a leading institution and influential player dealing with elections and democracy related issues on the African continent. It envisions an African continent where democratic governance, human rights and citizen participation are upheld in a peaceful environment. The Institute’s vision is executed by striving for excellence in the promotion of credible elections, citizen participation, and the strengthening of political institutions for sustainable democracy in Africa.

Having supported and/or observed over 70 electoral processes in Africa, EISA has extensive experience in formulating, structuring and implementing democratic and electoral initiatives. It has built an internationally recognised centre for policy, research and information and provides this service to electoral management bodies, political parties and civil society organisations in a variety of areas, such as voter and civic education and electoral assistance and observation. Besides its expanded geographical scope, the Institute has, for the past several years, been increasingly working in new in-between election areas along the electoral and parliamentary cycle, including constitution and law making processes, legislative strengthening, conflict management and transformation, political party development, the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) and local governance and decentralisation.

EISA provides assistance to inter-governmental institutions, like the African Union, and the Pan-African Parliament, to reinforce their capacity in the elections and democracy field. The Institute has just signed an MOU with the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS); the East African Community (EAC); and the Common Market for East and Southern Africa (COMESA). Within the framework of these recently signed memoranda, the Institute will also provide similar assistance respectively to these

Reports on these missions can also be found on our website.

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EOR 34  EISA Technical Observer Team Report, Namibia Presidential and National Assembly Elections 27 and 28 November 2009
EOR 36  EISA Election Observer Mission Report South Africa, National And Provincial Elections 22 April 2009
EOR 41 EISA Technical Assessment Team Report Uganda, The Ugandan Presidential and Parliamentary Elections of 18 February 2011
EOR 47 EISA Technical Assessment Team Report Mozambique Municipal Elections 20 November 2013
EOR 48 Relatório da Equipa Técnica de Avaliação do Eisa Eleições Autárquicas Moçambicanas de 20 De Novembro De 2013
EOR 49 EISA Election Observer Mission Report, Mozambique: Presidential, Legislative and Provincial Assembly Elections 15 October 2014