



Zambia Elections Information Centre

2016 PRE-ELECTION CITIZENS REPORT

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1.0 Background to ZEIC

The Zambia Elections Information Centre (ZEIC) project is a multi-stakeholder platform that brings together key elections stakeholders to work together on elections observation, monitoring, rapid response and proactive advocacy ahead of the general elections in Zambia. The Project aims at providing timely and relevant information on the election situation across the country through an Information Communication Technology (ICT) based communication platform. It has an executive board made up of representatives from seven (7) Civil Society Organizations working on elections in Zambia. These are:

1. Foundation for Democratic Processes (FODEP)
2. Southern African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (SACCORD)
3. Transparency International Zambia (TIZ)
4. Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA)
5. Young African Leaders Initiative (YALI)
6. Zambia National Women's Lobby (ZNWL)
7. Law Association of Zambia (LAZ)

1.1 Goal of ZEIC

The goal of ZEIC is to facilitate effective information management for a credible, peaceful, free and fair 2016 general elections in Zambia.

1.2 Governance Structures

The ZEIC is a multi-stakeholder platform with the following structures:

a. Council of Elders

The Council of Elders is made up of Zambian Citizens of high-level credibility, non-politically aligned with a public profile that has gravitas and demands public respect and dignity.

b. The Steering Committee

The Steering Committee is made up of representatives from seven Civil Society Organisations all of whom work on elections in Zambia.

c. The Secretariat

The Secretariat is made up of technical staff who manage the day to day affairs of the project.

1.3 Project Context and Background

Elections are a central feature for the stabilization and growth of effective democracy and good governance. Elections present probably the only singular possible platform of popular civic participation in decision-making. Effective democracy requires active citizen engagement and participation in governance processes including elections. One of the dominant issues in the elections since the advent of multiparty democracy in Zambia in 1991 is voter participation and citizen engagement. This has evolved on the backdrop of a decline in citizen participation, weak

collaboration and coordination among civil society organisations, dwindling donor resources and lack of factual information for the citizenry. In fact, Zambia has had sustained low voter turnouts since 1991 (1991, 45%; 1996, 53%; 2001, 58%; 2006, 71%; 2008, 45% 2011, 54%; 2015, 32 %.).

While for the most part, democratic processes are carried out through representation, elections provide a platform whereby each citizen must step forward and contribute to decisions through the ballot. Popular involvement gives democracy its legitimacy and credibility. The credibility of elections is critical to maintaining peace and political stability. When questions of credibility and dissatisfaction arise in an election, the result is political unrest and instability.

It is, therefore, critical that every possible effort is made to avoid speculations of fraud around elections. Of importance is the fact that whether the speculations of fraud during an election are real or just perception, the impact is the same. Response strategies should, therefore, ensure that real fraud, as well as perceived fraud, is controlled and avoided. Credibility in elections must go beyond the actual voting day to include satisfaction in other processes such as voter registration, and voter education and fair legislation.

The Constitution of Zambia provides for voting during elections as a duty for all citizens and the Zambia Electoral Act provides for the conduct of elections by the Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ). It also provides for a special vote for people who are unable to vote at their stations on the voting day such as polling officers and armed forces.

Zambia has been holding democratic elections since 1991 when multi-party democracy was introduced in the country. The most recent elections were in 2015, due to the death of the then Republican president – President Michael Sata. The current elections which are subject of this report are due on 11th August 2016.

The credibility of elections in Zambia has grown over the years with the growth in capacity of the Electoral Commission of Zambia. However, there are lessons that have been learnt over the years and these lessons have been used to address challenges that are identified during elections to ensure free, fair and credible elections. These challenges remain with managing electoral processes to ensure credibility. The assumption is that the credibility of elections will, in turn, ensure the strengthening and increased growth of Zambia’s democracy, prevention of fraud and control of violence. The lessons learnt from previous elections in Zambia include:

1. Need to release information timely to avoid uncertainty generated by unofficial and unverified results through online and social media;
2. Need for a consistent flow of situational information around the whole electoral process, not only the results, which is verified, and analysed to avoid speculations of fraud, eruption of violence in hotspots, and exaggerated reports that cause tension and question credibility of the elections.
3. Availability of real-time information that enables the Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ) and other stakeholders to respond in time, if there is a need to address some

challenges. This is critical to ensure that in situations where there is a need for corrective action or redress, this is done in time to prevent tension, violence or fraud.

1.4 Method of work

Under this project each of the participating civil society organisation was assigned a specific role in line with their comparative advantage in the electoral process. FODEP and SACCORD trained and deployed nine thousand (9000) pre-election day monitors to monitor campaign rallies and other pre-election day activities related to the election campaigns. These monitors will also monitor the Election Day activities. MISA Zambia deployed a hundred and fifty-six (156) media monitors to track media coverage of the elections while TIZ deployed fifty (50) monitors on accountability and transparency in the electoral process. The NGOCC working through the ZNWL deployed two hundred and forty-six (246) monitors to assess gender participation in the electoral process. LAZ provided legal advice and monitored adherence to the electoral laws and regulations.

To this effect, the project established a number of platforms namely;

- i) Citizen platform to capture information from the public
- ii) Media platform to receive information on media coverage and
- iii) Transparency platform to receive information on accountability and use of resources.

These platforms are available on the ZEIC website. The information received from the public is corroborated with reports from trained and deployed monitors from the member organisations. The citizen platform uses data clerks to receive the data from the public on any significant events that relate to elections. The message is sent through a text message using a non-chargeable or toll-free line number 2323, or by using the email, info@zambiavote2016.org and also by tweeting using hashtag: #ZEIC2016. Once the information is received and verified, a report is generated and mapped on a Google generated Zambian map accessible to the public. The broad framework of the data received is clustered in a number of categories namely political activities, political incidences, nature of messages, the cost of rallies, number and approximate cost, action/response, etc. This data is then analysed and a report on the status of the electoral process done.

2.0 Political Overview

2.1 Political players

Zambia will be holding general elections on August 11, 2016. President Edgar Lungu and the governing Patriotic Front (PF) are pitted against their main rival the opposition United Party for National Development (UPND) led by Hakainde Hichilema. There are seven other parties participating in the elections namely; the Forum for Democracy and Development (FDD) led by the lone woman candidate, Edith Nawakwi, People's Alliance for Change (PAC), United Progressive People's Party (UPP), Rainbow Party, Movement for Multi-Party Democracy, Green Party and Democratic Alliance (DA).

Lungu narrowly defeated Hichilema in the January 2015 presidential by-election occasioned by the death of then president Michael Sata. He obtained 48.3% of the 1,671,662 total votes cast, ahead of Hichilema who polled 46.7% and the nine other opposition leaders who shared the remaining 5%.¹

The contest was largely held under the constitutional and legal framework which was used in the 2011 general elections when the opposition PF defeated the MMD which had been in power for over two decades. Only that this time, it was a presidential by-election.

In the 2016 contest, however Zambia will be going to elections under an amended constitution and new legal regime which has introduced changes to electoral rules. Presidential candidates are required to have running mates, Parliamentary and local government candidates are supposed to have Grade 12 educational qualifications or their equivalent and a requirement for the winning candidate to garner a minimum of 50% plus one of the votes among others.²

These developments have realigned the political dynamics on the electoral landscape. Some of the former PF heavyweights have supported the opposition UPND. These include former Vice President Guy Scott and former deputy ministers Miles Sampa, Obvious Mwaliteta, and Mulenga Sata among others. The MMD has also split up with one faction supporting the PF under the leadership of Felix Mutati the former Minister of Commerce and another faction led by Nevers Mumba supporting the UPND. The former president Rupiah Banda has endorsed the candidature of President Lungu. It is however understood that Rupiah Banda is remotely working with the Felix Mutati faction to help the PF.

The introduction of the running mate for presidential elections may affect the voting patterns in the support bases of each of the main rivals. This is considering the regional and ethnic nature of Zambian politics. However, while there may be a degree of change in the number of votes for each party in regions where their running mates hail from, it is unlikely that the overall voting patterns will completely break from the past trends. President Lungu picked Mrs. Inonge Wina from Western Province, a UPND stronghold while Mr. Hichilema picked Mr. Geoffrey Mwamba from Northern Province, a PF stronghold. The full impact of these realignments nonetheless is yet to be seen.

2.2 The Constitutional and Legal Framework

There is international consensus that a critical starting point for safeguarding electoral integrity and creating public confidence in governmental institutions that relate to elections is establishing a legal framework that warrants public trust in electoral administration, ensures fair competition,

¹See ECZ website on 2015 presidential elections

²See article 47 and 101 of the Constitutional Amendment act 2016

and safeguards a free and informed vote.³ The legal framework should guarantee political impartiality of governmental entities, administrative effectiveness and transparency for the numerous complex, time-sensitive, and large-scale processes required for genuine elections.⁴

There is also international consensus that factors in the broader political environment, which is affected by an array of government institutions and other actors, can at times negate or substantially subvert electoral integrity.⁵ Legal frameworks, therefore, must ensure access to justice mechanisms, equal protection of the law and effective remedies in the election context.⁶ Beyond the letter of the law, visible and forceful steps to ensure political neutrality, proper actions and openness by state institutions are also crucial for establishing public confidence in the credibility of electoral processes.⁷ Assurances of commitment to proper actions by political competitors and by civil society actors, often through voluntary codes of conduct, are also important initial measures for establishing transparency and electoral credibility.⁸

A sound, legal, electoral framework is essential for the effective administration of democratic elections that adhere to national and international rights.⁹ The legal framework includes the rules found in the national laws of the country that regulate how all aspects of the electoral process will unfold, including electoral management, boundary delimitation, campaigning, voter education and registration, voting operations, and counting and dispute resolution.¹⁰

The constitution significantly changed the legal framework of the country along with other legislative reforms in 2016. This was after the adoption of the amended constitution in May 2016. The Electoral Process Act, the Electoral Commission of Zambia Act and Referendum Act were adopted by the outgoing Parliament in 2016.

2.3 International and Regional Commitments

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. These include:

- Port of Spain Affirmation of Commonwealth Values and Principles (2009)
- African Charter on Elections, Democracy and Governance (2007)
- SADC Principles and Guidelines Governing Democratic Elections (2004)
- International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (1996)
- African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (1986)

³ (see www.opengovguide.com/commitments/establish-a-legal-framework-for-impartiality-effectiveness-and-transparency-in-elections/)

⁴ Ibid

⁵ Ibid

⁶ Ibid

⁷ Ibid

⁸ Ibid

⁹ See Carter Centre Report for Kenya, November 2013

¹⁰ Ibid

- Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (1979)
- International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966)
- Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948).

2.4 National Commitments

The Zambian Constitution guarantees fundamental rights and freedoms, including freedom of expression, assembly, association and participation in elections. The key documents providing the legal and regulatory framework for the conduct of the elections are:

- **Constitutional Amendment Act No.2 of 2016**

The Act¹¹ provides for principles of electoral systems and process. It provides for ensuring that;

- a) Citizens are free to exercise their political rights;
- b) Universal adult suffrage is based on the equality of a vote;
- c) There is fair representation of the various interest groups in society;
- d) There is gender equity in the National Assembly or Council.

It further provides that the electoral process and system of administering elections shall ensure—

- a) That elections are free and fair;
- b) That elections are free from violence, intimidation and corruption;
- c) Independence, accountability, efficiency and transparency of the electoral process;
- d) A simple and practical system of voting and tabulating votes; and
- e) Timely resolution of electoral disputes.

The constitutional amendment act also stipulates the requirements to vote. It provides that a citizen who has attained the age of eighteen years is entitled to be registered as a voter and vote in an election by secret ballot.¹²

There are some notable changes in the Amended Constitution that will significantly affect the conduct and management of elections in Zambia. Firstly, and by far one of the most critical provisions was the inclusion of Articles 47 and 101 which deal with Elections to the Office of President. Article 47 provides that elections to the Office of the President shall be conducted directly, under a majoritarian electoral system, where the winning candidate must receive more than fifty percent of the valid votes cast, and in accordance with Article 101. Article 101 provides that the Returning Officer shall declare the presidential candidate who receives more than fifty percent of the valid votes cast during the election as President-elect. In the past, the winning candidate would be declared on the basis of a simple majority.

It further provides that if at the initial ballot a presidential candidate does not receive more than fifty percent of the valid votes cast, a second ballot shall be held within thirty-seven days of the initial ballot, where the only candidates shall be the presidential candidates who obtained the highest and second highest number of valid votes cast in the initial ballot or an equal number of

¹¹See Part V, representation of the people

¹²See Article 46

the valid votes cast in the initial ballot, being the highest votes amongst the presidential candidates that stood for election to the office of President.

Secondly, Presidential candidates will run on a joint ticket with a vice-presidential candidate, unlike the past arrangement where the president appointed the deputy. The amendments require that presidential aspirants select a running mate who will be their vice president and take over in the case of a leader's death. That averts the need for by-elections that were held after the deaths of two sitting Zambian presidents in less than five years.¹³

Thirdly, the Amended Constitution provides that to qualify as President, Member of Parliament, Mayor and Councillor, a person should have obtained, as a minimum academic qualification, a Grade Twelve certificate or its equivalent. Also, a Presidential candidate should be supported by at least one hundred registered voters from each province and a Member of Parliament by at least fifteen persons registered as voters in the constituency in which the candidate is standing for election.¹⁴

Fourthly, the Amended Constitution provides that elections will be held every five years on the second Thursday of August, which falls on August 11 this year. Under the previous Constitution, the President set the election date every five years. This was usually used as an advantage by the incumbent President to decide dates that favoured their own preparedness in the elections.

Fifthly, the Amended Constitution has increased the number of constituency representatives. The Constitution now provides that the National Assembly shall consist of one hundred and fifty-six members directly elected by a simple majority vote under the first-past-the-post system. This has increased the number by six from one hundred and fifty. However, the number of nominated Members of Parliament remains at eight. The constitution has also removed the power of the president to dissolve Parliament by providing that Parliament shall stand dissolved ninety days before the holding of the next general election.

Sixthly, the Amended Constitution provides for the office of mayor and deputy mayor or Council Chairperson and deputy council chairperson for every council. It provides that a mayor and council chairperson shall be elected – directly, in accordance with Article 47 (3) during elections for councillors and (b) for a term of five years and may be re-elected for one further term of five years. This was not the case in the past as Mayors or Council Chairpersons were not directly elected by citizens but by Councillors and had no executive powers.

Other amendments empowered the Electoral Commission of Zambia to enforce the electoral law and electoral code of conduct such as disqualifying candidates who have breached the codes. In the past, the Commission referred these breaches to law enforcement agents.

¹³ See perspectives on Zambia's 2016 elections-a paper prepared by Francis Chigunta.

¹⁴ Ibid

The Amended Constitution has also removed the discriminatory clause on presidential candidates which was passed in 1996 requiring a person's parents to be born in Zambia for them to qualify as a presidential candidate. It entailed that for one to be eligible to stand as President, they needed to have both parents born in Zambia.

The amended constitution also stipulates the complaint mechanism for dissatisfied candidates. It provides that a person may, within seven days of the declaration of the president-elect petition the Constitutional Court to nullify the election of a presidential candidate who took part in the initial ballot on the grounds that the person was not validly elected, or a provision of this Constitution or another law relating to presidential elections was not complied with. The Constitutional Court is mandated to hear an election petition within fourteen days of the filing of the petition. The constitutional court has the power to decide the following after hearing an election petition;¹⁵

- (a) Declare the election of the presidential candidate valid;
- (b) Nullify the election of the presidential candidate; or
- (c) Disqualify the presidential candidate from being a candidate in the second ballot.

A decision of the Constitutional Court is final and the presidential candidate who obtains the majority of the valid votes cast in the second ballot shall be declared President-elect.

- **Electoral Process Act No.35 of 2016**

This Act replaced the Electoral Act of 2006 and provides for the conduct of elections by the Electoral Commission of Zambia. It empowers the Commission to make regulations in matters relating to elections and provides for the registration of voters and the keeping of voters registers. The Act prescribes the procedures for nominations for elections and provides for the role of presiding officers, election officers and conflict management officers. It further prescribes the procedure for voting during an election and provides for the accreditation and roles of observers and monitors. The Act criminalises corrupt practices and other illegal practices related to elections and provides for penalties in connection with an election. The Act further provides for election petitions and the hearing and determination of applications relating to a general election and provision of voter education including prescribing the electoral code of conduct.

- **Constitutional Court Act. No.8 of 2016**

The new legal framework has also provided for a complaint mechanism by establishing a Constitutional Court to deal with matters relating to the electoral process. The court is mandated to determine any petitions to challenge the nomination of a candidate for election as a Republican President. It also determines matters relating to the Republican President, Vice President or the election of a Republican president. The court will hear appeals relating to the election of members of Parliament and Councillors. It will also hear applications to review a decision of the Electoral Commission of Zambia in the delimitation of constituencies or wards.

¹⁵ See the Constitutional Court Act no.8 of 2016

- [Electoral Commission of Zambia Act No.25 of 2016](#)

The Act provides for the membership, functions, operations and financial management of the Electoral Commission of Zambia. The functions of the Commission are to ensure that elections are free and fair and promote conditions conducive to free and fair elections. The Act further provides for the promotion of democratic electoral processes. The Act mandates the Electoral Commission to supervise and control the registration of voters for the purposes of an election including the supervision of the preparation, publication, and maintenance of a national voters' register and local authority voters' register. The Act also gives powers to the commission to adjudicate disputes that may arise from the organisation, administration or execution of elections, which are of an administrative nature. The Commission is further empowered to conduct education and information programmes to promote public awareness of electoral and parliamentary matters. The powers include the provision of information and advice on electoral matters to State organs. Other functions bestowed on the Commission are to conduct and promote research into electoral matters and other matters that relate to its functions including establishing and maintaining liaison and cooperation with political parties and do all such other things as are necessary or incidental to the performance of its electoral functions.

- [The Local Government Elections \(Repeal\) Act, No.20 of 2016](#)

This Act has replaced the Local Government Elections Act of 1991. The Act provides for the conduct of local government elections and establishes the Local Government Electoral Commission and specifies the functions thereof including matters incidental to or connected to local government elections.

- [Referendum \(Amendment\) Act, 2016](#)

This Act provides for the manner in which a referendum shall be held and for matters connected with or incidental to it. It is an amendment to the Referendum Act of 1967. The Act is intended to guide the referendum elections that will take place alongside the general elections on 11th August 2016. The referendum question asks the public on whether they agree to the amendments to the constitution to enhance the Bill of Rights contained in Part III of the Constitution and to repeal and replace Article 79 of the constitution.

- [Public Order Act](#)

Under the Public Order Act (CAP113) of the Laws of Zambia, police must receive a week's notice before any public meetings, marches or demonstrations. The Act provides that every person who intends to assemble or convene a public meeting, procession or demonstration shall give police at least seven days' notice of that person's intention to assemble or convene such a meeting, procession or demonstration. This law is critical to the electoral process because to mobilize and organise during campaigns political parties have to notify police about their intended meetings. It therefore directly impacts on the right of assembly, association or expression in that the enjoyment of these rights is left to the discretionary judgement of the Police.

- **Code of Conduct Regulations**

The Electoral Code of Conduct has been enshrined in the Amended Constitution. The Amended Constitution states that a candidate and a political party shall comply with a prescribed electoral code of conduct. It outlines a set of principles all electoral stakeholders must adhere to, including persons wishing to be elected, political parties, media institutions, monitors, and observers. The Electoral code of conduct was issued by the Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ) and is enabled by the Electoral Process Act (2016).

The Electoral Code of Conduct restricts behaviour that might lead to violence or abridge the right to freedom of campaigning. Such behaviour may include, among others, bans on violent behaviour or inflammatory speech, the carrying or display of arms, making false, defamatory or inflammatory allegations, arranging functions at the same time and place as a rival and impeding campaigning activities of rivals. It enjoins political parties to abstain from using inflammatory language and materials and from defacing, removing or destroying materials issued by other parties or the ECZ. Party members are prohibited from disrupting or obstructing the public events of other parties. All people, including security personnel are prohibited from coercing or intimidating others.

- **Political Parties Act**

Although not yet enacted the Constitution provides for political parties Act. The Amended Constitution requires political parties to subscribe to and observe the code of conduct for political parties, as prescribed. It also provides for the establishment and management of a Political Parties' Fund to provide financial support to political parties with seats in the National Assembly. It will further require political parties to disclose their sources of funds including a provision for the maximum amount of money to be used for campaigns during elections. However, the implications of these changes are yet to be seen as they will be operational after the 2016 elections.

- **Media Regulation**

Access to the media has been enshrined in the Amended Constitution. According to the constitution, a political party and a candidate contesting an election shall have access to the media, especially during election campaigns.

3.0 Electoral Commission of Zambia Preparedness

3.1 Delimitation

For the 2016 elections, the ECZ undertook a delimitation exercise and created six new constituencies. This has increased the number of polling stations from 6, 456 in 2011 to 7,700 while the number of polling streams will now stand at a total of 10, 818 from 9,022 in 2011. So far the Electoral Commission seems logistically prepared for this increment. The delimitation was intended to allow for harmonising the newly created districts as well as the overlapping traditional jurisdictions.

It is also noteworthy that three newly-created districts in the country will not conduct elections for Council Chairpersons because they were established after the 2016 election nominations. The three districts are Kalumbila and Mushindano in North-Western Province and Senga Hill in Mbala District of Northern Province.

3.2 Voter Registration

The voter registration exercise began towards the end of 2015 and ended in the first quarter of 2016. 1,593,840 new voters were registered bringing the total number of registered voters to 6,698,372. The registration exercise was followed by the verification process which was done both electronically and physically. There were complaints by opposition political parties that the issuance of National Registration Cards and subsequently the voter registration was concentrated in the ruling party strongholds, but the figures on the voters' roll do not support this assertion.

The opposition parties had also complained about the alleged registration of foreign voters in the border areas of Zambia. However, the ECZ engaged an independent consultant to audit the voters roll. The voters roll was cleaned up although the opposition FDD and UPND expressed dissatisfaction at the process particularly with regard to foreign voters.

3.3 Voter Education

The ECZ rolled out voter education as provided for in their mandate. This was to ensure that the electorate was well informed about the 2016 elections. While efforts were made to effectively carry out the process, the changes to the constitution and electoral laws at the last minute just before the dissolution of Parliament affected the preparedness of the ECZ to disseminate the new changes and information about all the five elections particularly the referendum. Clearly, while efforts were intensified during the campaign period, indications are that more time would have been spent on voter education about the current elections.

3.4 Recruitment of Electoral Officials

ECZ appears well prepared regarding recruitment and training of polling officials and so far they have recruited and trained the required officials to manage this election. It is important, however that the Commission continues to do this in a transparent manner so as to allay accusations of influence from government officials in recruiting polling staff. The category of Government officials implicated in this are District Commissioners and officials from the Ministry of Local Government.

3.5 Nomination Process

The nomination of candidates for various elective offices proceeded without any major setbacks although the introduction of a law requiring that all candidates needed to have a Grade 12 certificate or its equivalent made the process tedious because these qualifications had to be

verified by the Examinations Council of Zambia and in some instances political parties could not find suitably qualified candidates to field in all the areas.

Another aspect of the nominating process was the declaration of assets. Asset declaration is a person's balance sheet that covers all their assets from their homes, valuables and financial portfolios to liabilities such as debts, mortgages and all sources of income that may either be in the form of directorship, investments or consulting contracts. It may even extend to gifts and sponsorship deals.

Asset declaration is important because it helps prevent abuse of power by the elected officials and increase accountability for public resources. It also helps to build trust in the public institutions that manage the resources of the country on behalf of its citizens as well as reduce corruption. It is a useful process to hold politicians accountable because if he/she is seen to be living beyond their means, asset declaration can be a good point to start with investigations. In the case of Zambia, nine political parties are contesting and among these, some of the key asset declarations during nomination were;

- UPND leader Hakainde Hichilema topped the list with K73.16 million in assets.
- UPND Running Mate Geoffrey Bwalya Mwamba was second with K31.8 million in net assets.
- PF leader Edgar Lungu was third with K23.7million
- PF Running Mate Inonge Wina has net assets amounting to K3 million, with shares in a number of private and listed companies.

The process did not go without controversy as concerns were raised by some citizens and stakeholders, particularly on the two front runners. For instance, President Edgar Lungu's sudden asset increment from K 10.9 million declared in 2015 to K23.7 million in 2016 was questioned. Citizens also felt that not all assets were declared by the presidential candidates. Interestingly, the other seven political parties did not stir up any debate in this regard.

3.6 Ballot Printing and Verification.

The choice of the printer for the 2016 ballot papers was certainly a contested matter. Political stakeholders from the onset failed to agree on who would print the ballot papers. Accusations were made by the main opposition parties that the company which was selected, Al Ghurair Printing and Publishing Company of Dubai would facilitate rigging of the elections in favour of the ruling party. This was because the company was reportedly associated with the controversial re-election of President Yoweri Museveni of Uganda. There were also concerns that the chosen printer's financial proposal was higher than the South African company that had printed the ballots in the previous elections, and yet the bid for that particular printer was turned down. Amidst the controversy, Al Ghurair Printing and Publishing Company was awarded the contract. During the printing process, ECZ sent representatives from all the major stakeholders to witness the process of ballot printing in Dubai. The ballot papers were printed and delivered, then verified and dispatched to various polling stations around the country.

However, after the verification process, there was some misunderstanding regarding the dispatch of some ballot papers. The ECZ disregarded the rule which provides that stakeholders are supposed to witness the dispatch of elections materials as they sent off the ballot papers at the time not agreed by stakeholders. The ECZ later apologised after political parties complained about the incident.

3.7 Conflict Management

As a way of conflict prevention in the electoral process, the ECZ has been utilising the Conflict Management Committees at national and district levels. These committees have been mediating and resolving some of the conflicts that have arisen during this election period. However, offences of a criminal nature are not being addressed by the committees but instead referred to the relevant law enforcement agents.

3.8 Accreditation

As the election day draws closer, the ECZ has been accrediting both domestic and international election observers. So far, no adverse reports about the accreditation process have been reported. The Zambian government invited regional as well as international observers in the country many of whom have since arrived.

3.9 Stakeholder Engagement

To build confidence among stakeholders, the ECZ has been conducting press briefings and stakeholder meetings to clarify on various issues affecting the conduct of the 2016 elections. These consultations have been held whenever an important issue arose.

Sometimes these consultations have been acrimonious due to the nature of some of the matters on the table such as the ballot printing, registration of foreign voters and nomination fees.

4.0 Political Party Campaigns

4.1 Violence

The political environment has changed drastically when compared to the 2011 general election as well as the 2015 Presidential election. A total of three deaths and countless injuries were reported during the campaign period. The majority of the victims were from UPND¹⁶. As the campaign period is underway, tensions are high between political party sympathisers and cadres which has led to an increase in violence. Reports recorded on a daily basis across ZEIC's various platforms have indicated that the escalating levels of violence may have an impact on the elections in terms of voter turnout. Some of the specific issues emerging are that:

- Violence is being perpetrated by mainly two political parties namely UPND and PF whose cadres seem to have the blessing of their top leadership. Evidence from ZEIC platforms shows that at least two to three cases of violence are recorded on a daily basis between rival political parties in different parts of the country where political campaigns are taking

¹⁶ According to Police Reports

place. Some citizens reported that political party officials give money to their supporters at the grassroots to go and disrupt activities of other political parties using violent means.

- Political cadres are increasingly becoming unruly to the extent that they have no regard for law enforcement agents. Some verified reports illustrated this fact when a police officer was brutally beaten by two cadres from one of the political parties. The disorderly conduct by political cadres has raised questions among the citizens on the ability and capacity of police and law enforcers to protect innocent citizens who get caught up in the political disturbances. Some citizens felt that the Police is powerless because there have been instances where cadres blocked the road or disregarded police checkpoints.

As a result of police failure, some citizens have suggested that perhaps there could be military intervention to compliment the Zambia Police Service for the duration of the election period.


Stakeholders have suggested that the police should not act in favour of the ruling party but protect all Zambians and thereby prove their effectiveness as a police service. Also, lack of updates from the police on what they are doing about the escalating levels of violence has contributed to tension among the political players.

The vulgar language by some political party officials from various parties has been cited as one of the contributing factors to violence.

- Defacing and destruction of rival party campaign materials was prevalent and the main perpetrators were the Patriotic Front. In retaliation, the UPND also damaged PF campaign materials.
- At the centre of this violence were the youth whose participation was influenced by social economic conditions in the country.

The Government and some churches convened a prayer session and a reconciliatory meeting respectively, which nonetheless did not yield many positive results. Peace concerts and political party trainings (though Dag Hammarskjold Institute for Peace and Conflict Studies- Copperbelt University) in conflict management were convened by ECZ in five provinces where the situation was perceived to be volatile. There was also a mediation effort by ECZ to get political parties to sign peace commitments. The main opposition declined to sign these commitments as they felt that they were a window dressing exercise by the ruling party.

ECZ invoked its powers and suspended campaigns in hotspots such as Lusaka (Chawama) and Namwala in Southern Province. Warnings were equally issued accordingly to other areas which had shown a propensity for violent behaviour. These measures mitigated the escalation of violence, but the trend keeps manifesting itself occasionally particularly in the strongholds of either party. These incidences have created anxiety among stakeholders especially the voters. There is concern therefore that the upcoming elections might be marred by apathy due to fear of violence and intimidation. These patterns of violence are expected to occur in the event of a re-run as the stakes will even be higher.



In the pre-election phase the number of incidences per political party was recorded from the beginning of July up to the first week of August. The incidents were clustered into two categories. One category was for peaceful interaction, and the other was for a combination of violence, destruction and damage to property. The results show a high propensity among both major and minor political parties towards violence, destruction and damage to property when compared to peaceful interaction.

4.2 Campaign Financing

Zambia has not been able to track in real terms the amounts expended by political parties during elections due to the closed nature of the campaign framework. It is therefore not possible to benchmark the current party financing against any past expenditure. However, in this election approximations have been made based on the cost of campaign materials and staging of campaign rallies. It is clear that political parties invest huge sums of money on these rallies such that by the end of July over 11 million dollars was spent (*See Figure 1 for breakdown*). The nascent political parties cannot compete effectively in such an environment.



ZAMBIA POLITICAL RALLIES ESTIMATED EXPENDITURE AS AT 1ST WEEK OF JULY, 2016



Est. **11,322,505\$**

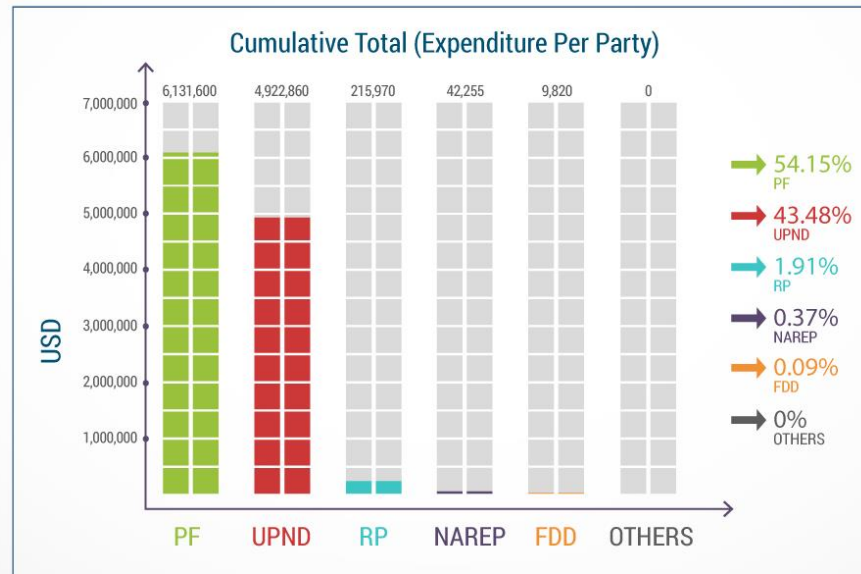
ESTIMATED TOTAL AMOUNT OF MONEY SPENT ON POLITICAL RALLIES

11
POLITICAL PARTIES

- United Party for National Development (UPND)
- Patriotic Front (PF)
- Rainbow Party (RP)
- National Restoration Party (NAREP)
- United Progressive People's (UPP)
- Forum for Democracy and Development (FDD)
- Others

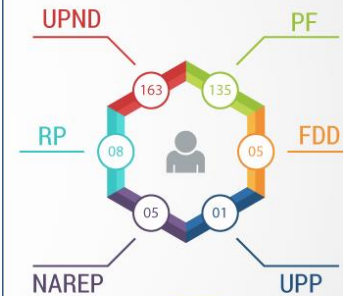


1\$ ≈ 10ZMW



PF HIGHEST SPENDING PARTY WITH EST. 6,131,600\$ ACCOUNTING FOR 54.15% OF THE TOTAL SPENDING

POLITICAL RALLIES



317
TOTAL NO. OF POLITICAL RALLIES

163
UPND ORGANISED THE HIGHEST NO. OF RALLIES

Figure 1: Estimated Expenditure as at 1st Week of July 2016

Some of the indicators for campaign financing were the cost of producing and airing a one-minute advert and the number of times an advert ran a day multiplied by the duration of the campaign period. Other indicators used the cost of mounting one billboard multiplied by the number of cities and provinces where several billboards are mounted. The cost of hiring a bus or ferrying supporters from one place to another as well as the cost of printing T-shirts, Caps, Chitenges foodstuffs and distributing those across the country to thousands of supporters including the cost of hiring a chopper per hour.

This uncontrolled spending during the election has implications for the deepening of democracy. While citizens are supposed to consider the suitability of candidates based on their policies and programmes, money has evidently become a factor in choosing the leaders. The youth are being exposed to a “money culture” which is distorting the essence of a democratic election. The quality of leadership is at stake now and in the future if this practice is left unchecked.

ZEIC tracked the campaign financing process from May 16 to August 10, 2016.

The issue of political party financing will need to be a central issue even after the 2016 elections. The new Zambian Constitution provides for a Political Parties Act which will among other things lead to the establishment of a Political Parties’ Fund to provide financial support to political parties with seats in the National Assembly. It will equally mandate all political parties to divulge their sources of funds including a provision for the maximum amount of money to be used for campaigns during elections.

While this new legislation is welcome, there is need to regulate private political donations and expenditures effectively. This is to avoid capture of state institutions by interest groups. Full transparency and disclosure of donations, with penalties for non-compliance, will have to be effected. Monitoring and enforcement of regulations are also crucial.

4.3 Campaign Messages

Regarding materials, various political party regalia and campaign materials have been distributed and manifestos shared to the public. Though campaigns were marred by violence campaigns proceeded. A number of issues emerged during the campaigns:

- The Patriotic Front (PF) has promised to create more jobs, build better roads, medical facilities, and Industrial development. The PF has also promised more government involvement in the running of the economy as well as increasing copper production to two million tonnes by the end of 2017. The PF has promoted social democracy.
- Their main rival the United Party for National Development (UPND) has promised to provide free education, create stable and consistent policies to the mining industry and

allow more private sector involvement in the running of the economy. The UPND is, therefore, pushing a liberal agenda.

- Green Party (GP) is premised on the environment although their focus is on exporting Marijuana to raise income for the country by generating biofuel from Marijuana as well as demystify public misconceptions about marijuana.
- The Forum for Democracy and Development (FDD) has promised to increase the capacity of resource-poor small-scale farmers to enable them generate higher incomes from agricultural activities and provide incentives that enable farmers to increase productivity and diversify into agro-processing to add value to their produce. The party also espouses democratic decentralization aimed at securing the full participation of people in the governance of the nation.
- The Rainbow Party promoted a socialist agenda and argued that the current social development and economic model does not address the challenges facing the peasants and the urban poor. The party proposed the need to move away from the current social-economic framework that excluded the majority of the Zambian people.

These manifestoes, however, seem to be written for a high-level audience who would be assumed to already understand the issues discussed in the manifestos. This leaves an information gap for the ordinary citizens at the grassroots level who require a more simplified and coherent presentation of issues so that they can relate. The impact of these manifestoes is uncertain but views from voters' point to the fact that most citizens are concerned more about the violence emerging from the rallies and the use of public resources in some instances. The campaign messages are evidently dominated by violence, hate speech, abuse of Public Resources, ethnic slurs and incitement as well as political chants and slogans. Intimidation by unruly cadres was part of the campaign rally menu. The politicians themselves seemed to have spent a great deal of time slandering and pointing out the faults of their political opponents than explaining their manifesto to the people during the rallies.

4.4 Right to Assemble

The application of the Public Order Act in the pre-election phase was characterised by abuse, biasedness and inconsistencies in its application by the police. Opposition political party campaign meetings were cancelled or denied at the last minute on the explanation that the Head of State would be visiting the same area, that police were understaffed or on the pretext that the security environment was not conducive. The latter scenario precipitated the events that took place on 8th July 2016 when UPND cadres defied the Police's late revocation of their notification and marched on to the campaign venue. The police reportedly fired teargas canisters and live ammunition instantly killing a UPND member Mapenzi Chibulo, aged 22.

4.5 Vote buying and Abuse of Resources

Regarding vote buying and abuse of resources, the main issues that emerged are that:

- GRZ registered vehicles are being used at political rallies which is against the Electoral Code of Conduct.
- It was also observed that political parties invested so much in campaign materials. Concerns were raised on where the source of money for some political parties who have exhibited extravagance has come from. In this election choppers and branded vehicles were being used and leaders of political parties crisscrossed the country at ease.
- The use of public resources to further political party causes has constantly been raised by concerned citizens especially directly in relation to the ruling party.
- Participation of some chiefs in partisan politics compromised the role of the Ministry of Chiefs and Traditional Affairs where these actors are supposed to be neutral as they are custodians of culture and customary traditions.

5.0 Media Coverage of the Elections

One of the most influential aspects in reporting the elections in Zambia has been the impact of ownership of media institutions. In Zambia, there are three major recognisable forms of ownership: Public (or State)-owned, private and community-owned/based media.

For example, with reference to the impact of Media ownership, a MISA Zambia, and Media Liaison Committee pre-election report concludes that pre-election reporting was heavily influenced by the 'ownership' patterns of media outlets¹⁷.

In short, media reports have tended to favour the political preferences of the owners and controllers of the media institutions. This is across the board, whether public, private, community or internet-based media institutions.

5.1 Public Media

These tended to favour the party in office. For example, the MISA Zambia report notes that in the State-owned, or public media, at least 60% of explicitly positive coverage of elections stories was reserved for the governing PF and its officials. The main opposition UPND managed to get

¹⁷Misa Zambia.2016. How has the media covered the 2016 Pre-election period? – A summary report by Misa Zambia and Media Liaison Committee. [O]. Available: www.misazambia.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/10/misa-media-monitoring-report.2016.pdf.

only 47% positive coverage. At the same time, 20% of coverage was negative towards the UPND while only 5.2% was negative reportage on the PF.

The Public media are essentially the Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC), Times of Zambia and the Zambia Daily Mail.

5.2 Private media

Among the private media, there are both print and electronic. The major print media are the daily newspapers, The Post and the Daily Nation. Here too, ownership has had an impact in the manner in which the two daily newspapers covered the elections.

The Post had essentially sided with the opposition UPND while the Daily Nation sided with the ruling PF. Then there are private radio and television stations which have taken their own positions on the Zambia political continuum.

The main issue though was the shut-down of The Post for its apparent failure to meet its tax obligations. The action taken by the tax authorities on The Post raised a number of questions as it happened during the elections campaign period.

However, the privately-owned and controlled media gave a much higher positive coverage to the UPND (almost 39.5%), in elections-related stories compared to the PF which got 29.2% positive coverage. Conversely, the PF had more negative stories (almost 33%) compared to the UPND which scored a near 27% negative score.

Furthermore, what is ironic about these findings is that they almost mirror the findings before the start of the elections campaigns on June 2, 2016. During the campaigns, media institutions are legally compelled to offer balanced coverage of contending parties, but it is clear that this far, the much strengthened Electoral Code of Conduct has largely been ignored by Zambian media institutions.

5.3 Social Media

Social media has become one of the most used spaces for public discourse in Zambia. This legroom has increased the people's ability to converse and share information. For example, according to the Zambia Information Communications Authority (ZICTA), there are 11, 557, 725 Zambians with cell phones. That is about 74% population. Out of these, some 6, 090,412 people can access the internet using their phones. That is 39% among the 14 million Zambians.

Clearly, the presence of new forms of communication has been positively utilised by many Zambians which has accounted for the popularity, for instance, of online publications like Zambian Watchdog, Lusaka Times, Mwebantu, Tunfweko and many more. Thus vigorous debates

on various issues, including these elections have taken place within the spaces provided by social media.

However, there has been a downside to these media: Although some of the information disseminated through these channels may be valid, in some instances much of it has been unverified and thus not credible. Furthermore, some internet publications have taken visibly partisan positions on electoral and other issues. This has led to the drastic polarisation of debates taking place in these spaces.

Women's Participation in the Media

The other important aspect that came to light is the propensity of the media to ignore women or the 51% of the Zambian population. Citing the gender biases of the media, for example, the MISA report demonstrates that 81% of media space was reserved for men leaving only 19% space for women. Worse still, only 5% of coverage was on and about women candidates!

If these figures are correct, then the anti-women patterns in media reportage in Zambia has hardly changed for more than 25 years when it was initially noted that only about 17% of media space was dedicated to women in Zambia and other SADC countries.

Furthermore, the Carter Centre and the National Democratic Institute (NDI) who observed the 1991 general elections noted even then that the media in Zambia tended to ignore Women's Participation in Politics.

More specifically, the Deputy leader of the Operation Z- Vote Ms. Lisbert Palme on October 14, 1991, said the Zambian media "appear to have avoided covering the campaigns of the 12 women candidates...How many journalists here know the names of most of these women candidates? Women are the majority voters in Zambia, and I would hope to see much more attention to the few women candidates that are in the contest."¹⁸

Clearly this has not changed and is evident in this electoral process. Women and the opposition were marginalised by the media in the 1991 elections as they have been marginalised in tomorrow's elections.

6.0 Women's Participation

Regarding the new constitution, Article 45.(1) of the new constitution stipulates that Zambia's electoral system for the election of President, Member of Parliament or Councillor must ensure

¹⁸Carter Centre and National Democratic Institute.1991. Pre-election Report, October 31, 1991 Zambian elections, pg 33.

fair representation of the various interest groups in society and that there should be gender equity in the National Assembly or Council. The promising environment did not have any impact on the adoption of women in the 2016 elections. Female candidates are fewer (94) in comparison with the 2011 election where a total of 138 women were adopted. Seven of these women are contesting as independent candidates.

The break down at party level shows that the UPND has adopted more women (28), followed by PF (28) and FDD (18). MMD adopted 8, while Rainbow and UNIP have four candidates each respectively. Only 15 of the 23 women that were in the last Parliament have been adopted as candidates by the PF and UPND.

Factors that constrained Women's Participation included corruption, complicated and costly nominations and compromised intraparty democracy. Party adoption Committees at various levels were reportedly soliciting bribes for aspiring candidates secure their adoption. The requirement for candidates to verify their educational qualifications and get the tax clearance was both cumbersome and costly. The process was not decentralized, and this posed a challenge to candidates from the most rural parts of the country travelling to Lusaka to undertake the process. This became an added cost to women in rural areas who felt discouraged and abandoned the process of filling in nominations despite being qualified. In a number of cases, women who were adopted by some political parties and awarded adoption certificates were dropped on the very last day and replaced with men.

Political parties are urged to implement practical measures to improve Women's Participation.

6.1 Preparing women as voters and as candidates

Several interventions have been undertaken by CSOs to prepare women both as voters and as political candidates. Interventions have targeted key stakeholders critical in supporting women aspirants including the Adoption Committees of political parties, media houses, the women themselves and the community. They have included among others:

1. Capacity building of potential aspirants at provincial and district level. This has included candidate coaching and mentoring
2. Extensive civic and voter education campaigns including adverts encouraging the citizens to vote for women.
3. Engaging the Adoption Committees to jointly reach consensus on how political parties could work strategically to ensure more women were adopted.

4. Engagement of the media to enhance their understanding of what role they could play in supporting women aspirants.
5. Providing technical support to the women by providing them with posters and fliers (only for those identified as vulnerable); buying of airtime for the women on radio,

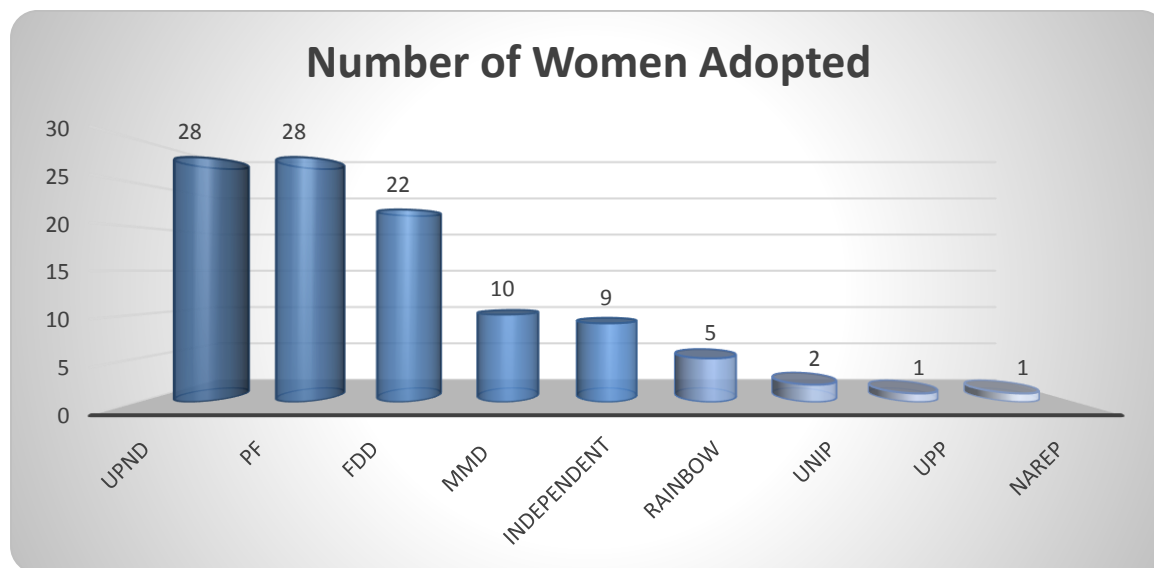
6.2 Number of women registered voters

The current Register of Voters certified on 31st July 2016 has a total of **6,698,372** voters. Women will in the 2016 elections constitute the majority (3,372,935) of voters compared to men (3,325,437).

6.3 Women’s Adoption by Political Parties

According to a report by the ZNWL, information from political parties indicates that fewer women have been adopted to contest in the 2016 elections as compared to 2011, especially at parliamentary level. In 2011, 138 women were adopted. However, only 106 women have been adopted across political parties for the 2016 elections. The Parties with the highest numbers of women adopted are the ruling party Patriotic Front (PF) and the United Party for National Democracy (UPND). This is depicted in figure 1.

Figure 1: Number of Women Adopted As MPs



Source: ECZ Data

6.4 Retention of candidates

The Zambia National Women’s Lobby has reported that some political parties have adopted some of the women that were in the previous Parliament and Councils. At Parliamentary level, 15 out

of the 23 women that were in Parliament have been adopted by the PF and UPND. This represents 65% of the women parliamentarians adopted from the previous parliament. In 2011 only 10% of the women in Parliament were adopted. The PF has adopted 12 former MPs, while UPND has adopted three former MPs. However, at councillor level, with new criteria for applying, very few women that were in the last councils were adopted given their educational qualifications.

6.5 Factors that constrained female candidates from standing

Corruption: Corruption was one of the major challenges faced by women vying to stand as candidates. Party selection committees were soliciting for bribes in to have their candidates secured.

Compromised Intra-party democracy: According to a report by ZNWL, women who won the primaries at ward, constituency and district levels were not adopted to stand at provincial level. Such inconsideration for intra-party democracy led to widespread demonstrations by those affected. In other cases, women who were adopted as candidates by some political parties and awarded certificates of candidature were dropped on the very last day and replaced with men.

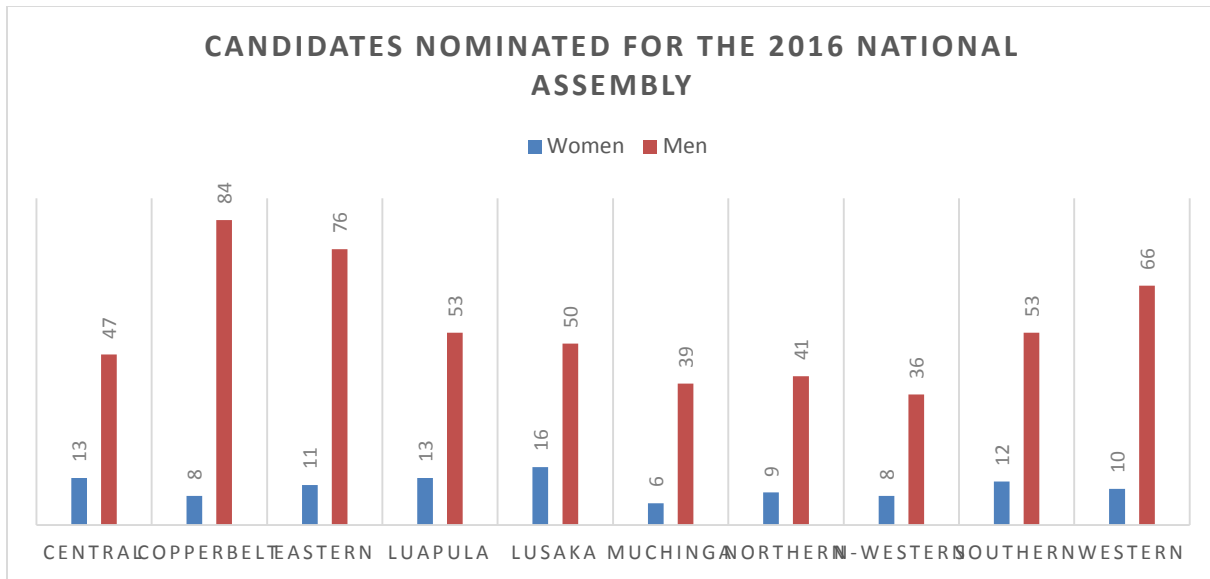
Secrecy around adoption of candidates: In some parties, the adoption of candidates was shrouded in secrecy and was conducted very close to the final days of the deadline for candidate lists such that those who were not successful did not have the time to stand for other platforms - such as independents or by other like-minded parties.

6.7 The status of women aspirants that filed nominations

The filing of nominations by candidates as declared by the Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ) was between 29th May and 3rd June 2016. Out of nine Running Mate nominees, only one female Presidential candidate stands for the Forum for Development and Democracy. There are three women running mates under the PF, DA and UPP political parties.

It is noted that although the ECZ data reflects figures less than 106, the ZNWL confirmed that there are, in fact, 109 women nominated but whose names were mistaken to be men's. Figure 2 highlights the 2016 gender disaggregation of Parliamentary Candidates.

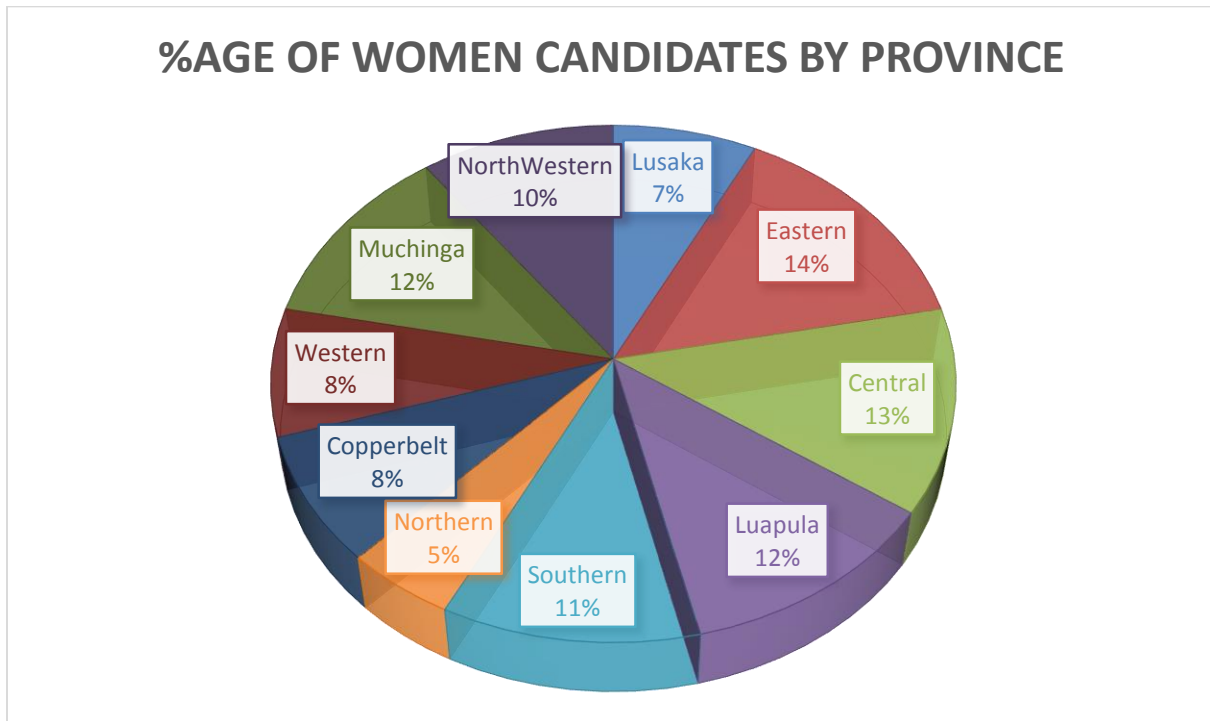
Figure 2: 2016 Parliamentary Candidates



Source: ECZ Data

With regard to the percentage of women MPs, Lusaka has the largest number of women MPs contesting followed by Luapula and Central Province as illustrated in Figure 3.

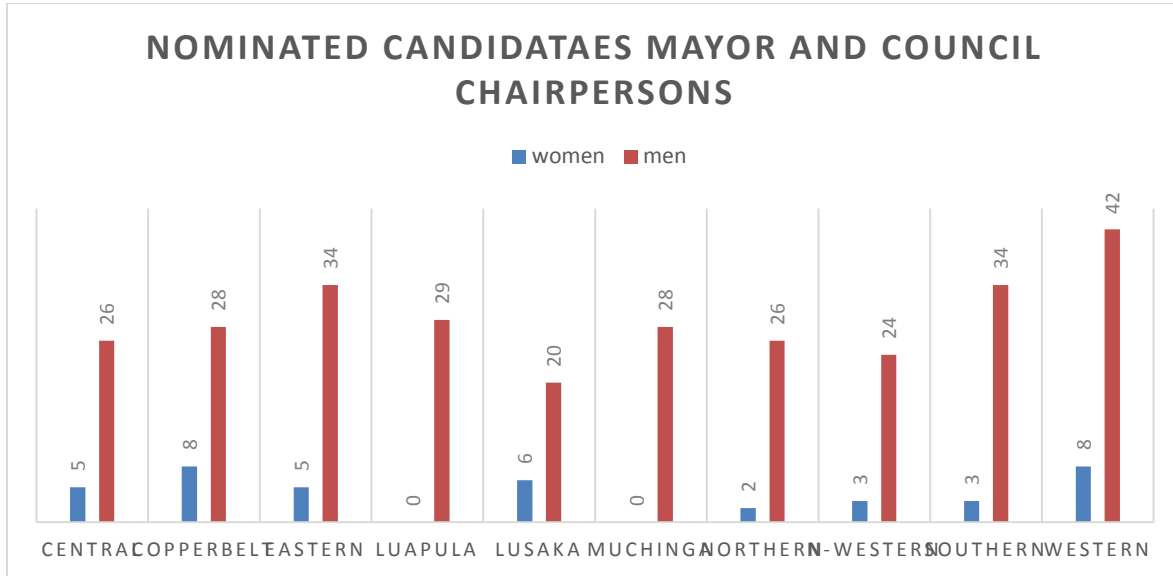
Figure 3: Percentage of Women Candidates



Source: ECZ Data

With regard to women Mayors and Council Chairpersons that validly filed in nominations to stand in 2016 elections, the total number of candidates stands at 331 of which only 40 (9%) are female (Figure 4).

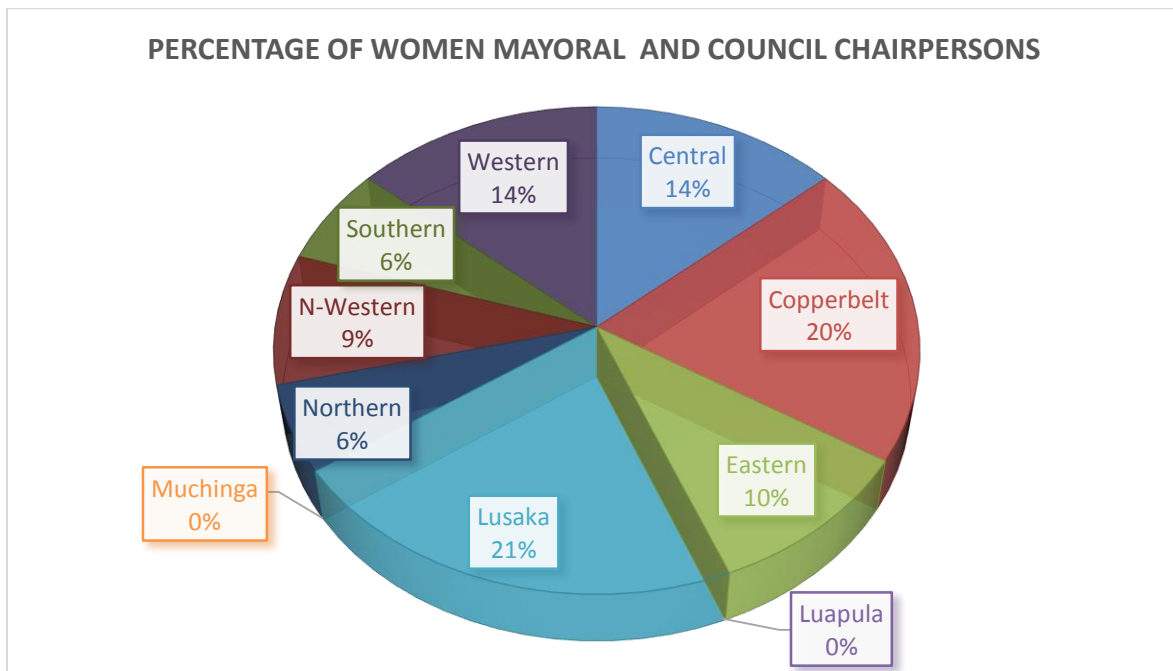
Figure 4: Nominated Candidates: Mayor and Council Chairpersons



Source ECZ

The Copperbelt Province has the largest percentage of women followed by Central and Eastern Province respectively.

Figure 5: Percentage of Women Mayoral and Council Chairpersons



Source: ECZ Data

As with the list of MPs nominated, discrepancies have been identified in the actual numbers of women standing as Councillors. According to the ZNWL, the actual number should be 415 women. Copperbelt and Lusaka Provinces have the largest percentage of female Councillors followed by Western Province (Table 1).

Table 1: Women and Men Councillors that Vaidly filed nominations

No.	Province	Number of women	Number of men	%
1	Lusaka Province	50	334	15%
2	Eastern Province	32	491	6%
3	Central Province	37	383	10%
4	Luapula Province	34	359	9%
5	Southern Province	32	450	7%
6	Northern Province	25	408	6%
7	Copperbelt Province	86	588	15%
8	Western Province	60	458	13%
9	Muchinga Province	22	336	6%
10	North Western Province	34	348	10%
	Total	412	4,155	10%

Source: ECZ Data (Note: These figures need to be verified)

6.8 Constraints to filling in nominations

Several constraints were experienced during the nomination process. These have been documented by the ZNWL to include:

- **Cumbersome and costly procedures set by ECZ for filling in nominations:** With the new Constitution, new nomination procedures have been introduced, e.g. the requirement that candidates verify their educational qualifications and get the tax clearance. This was exacerbated by the fact that the process was not decentralised, and candidates had to incur the extra cost of travelling to Lusaka to undertake the process.
- **Educational Qualifications:** A number of women failed to meet the educational qualification as required by the amended constitution of Zambia.
- **High Nomination fees:** The nomination fees were increased in 2016 by more than 1,300% percent at both Parliamentary and Councillor level. Some women failed to raise this money and there were few political parties that paid for their candidates.
- **Confusions in some Political parties:** The alliances formed between political parties were not adequately explained to the grassroots and this left both men and women confused as aspirants did not know on which party they should then stand on. In addition, some women were asked not to file their nominations so as to allow the other party (with a candidate perceived as being stronger) to file in their nominations.

6.9 Citizens perception on the nomination process

According to the ZEIC Weekly Report (6th June 2016 – 11th June 201), Citizens who were engaged through the various platforms set up by ZEIC for active interaction, highlighted a number of factors that could have led to the reduction in the number of women participating in this year's election. Among others, these were;

1. The political environment in Zambia is less than ideal due to brutal character assassination as opposed to issue based politics.
2. There are constant sexist remarks targeted at women in politics
3. Violence associated with political parties makes women vulnerable and desist from participating for fear of being harmed.
4. There is no political will within most political parties to empower women and let them take the lead¹⁹

6.10 Women in the campaigning process

Women, without exception, have gone out to campaign countrywide.

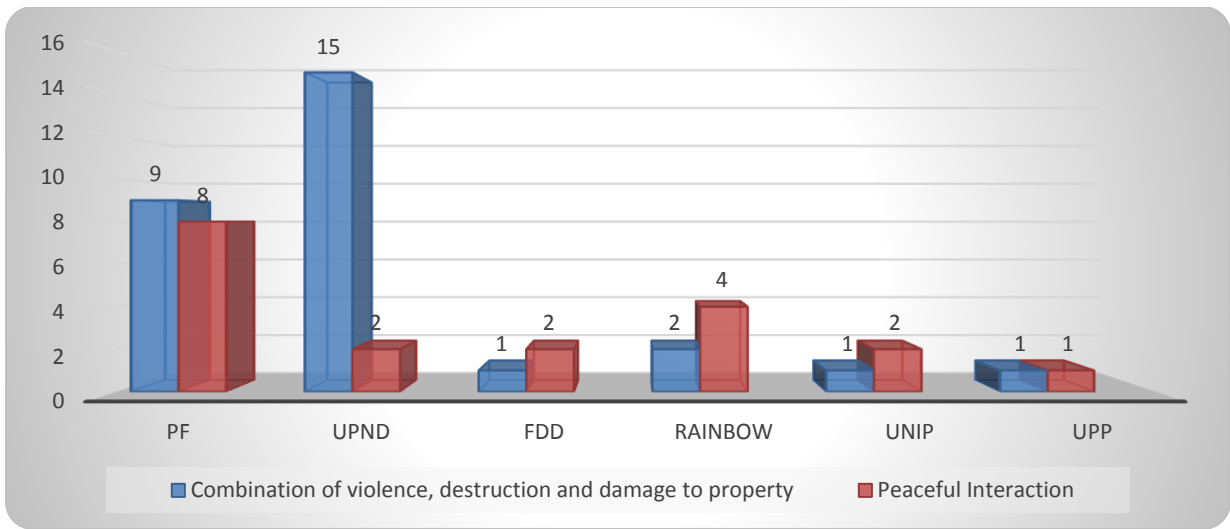
6.11 Issues that have affected women as they have campaigned

There are several issues that will affect this campaign. Some of the issues will affect both the men and the women, while others will affect the women more. These include the following:

- Suspension period on election campaigns: The ECZ on 9th July 2016 imposed a ten days' suspension period on election campaigns that ended on the 18th of July, 2016. The campaigns were suspended in Namwala and Lusaka districts which are known for escalating violence during such periods of time.
- Political incidences at presidential rallies and elsewhere: Violence, and particularly the fear of violence has been one of the issues raised in past elections as affecting women. The 2016 election campaign period has been marred by incidents of violence not just at political rallies but also in areas across different towns. Violence against women has taken different forms including being beaten or stripped naked when in party regalia. A critical shortcoming is that reporting on violence is not disaggregated by sex.
- Inadequate financial support from their parties: Women have not received financial support from their respective parties a noted constraint being women having to make a contribution to the production of campaign materials like posters.

Figure 6 depicts political incidents per political party at Presidential Rallies. This data was captured in the month of July 2016.

¹⁹ ZEIC Weekly report I - 6th June 2016 – 11th June 201



Source: ZEIC Website

7.0 Youth and Elections

The youths in Zambia form the bulk of registered voters. They are also the majority in political parties. They organise and mobilise political parties. During 2016 elections they are playing a critical role as they could determine the outcome of the elections. Over 1.5 million new voters have registered and most of them are young people. If the political parties tapped into the positive aspects of the youth potential, they would contribute to free and fair elections.

While the youths in Zambia play an important and positive role in the elections, they have been associated with electoral violence and intolerance of divergent views. The youths are used as party thugs, party workers (drivers, security minders, etc.). They constitute the youth wings that party henchmen use for initiating political violence and sometimes criminal activities for token sums. During the election campaign period, there was abundant evidence that indicated that youths were deeply involved in massive destruction of billboards and posters as well as violence that characterised the elections. It was clear that youths participated actively in the interparty fights that marred the elections and created anxiety among the voters. Their role is contributing to jolting people's confidence in the democratic processes.

Youths' involvement in violent activities contributes to an increasing culture of political corruption. This could erode people's confidence in the electoral system and the rule of law. Apart from these, the youths themselves are being destroyed in a number of ways. First, many are wounded and even killed in some of these violent acts. Secondly, the future of our youth is negatively affected as they build a culture of destruction. Instead of being engaged in productive ventures that would prepare them for future leadership and productive adult lives they are rather engaged in destructive, violent activities that destroy them. Third, violence erodes credibility in the rule of law and impacts negatively in democratic activities.


8.0 Disability and Elections

In 2016, People living with disabilities (PwDs) have been allowed to use braille to vote in the elections. The ECZ has since printed ballots in braille. There are efforts aimed at promoting participation of PwDs as voters by Civil Society Organisations such as Foundation for Democratic Process and Disability watch.

9.0 Conclusion

Voter registration in the 2016 election has increased by 1,593,840 new voters. Six new constituencies and 10, 818 polling stations have been added. The elections are being conducted within the framework of an amended constitution and legal framework.

The 2016 pre- election period has by and large been marred by incidences of violence which has created political tension across the country. The violence has been protracted as it began way



before the campaign period. Key stakeholders such as the Electoral Commission of Zambia and Zambia Police could have done more to manage the situation.

There remains a lot of animosity between the major political parties despite signing peace accords and commitments through prayers. The signing of peace instruments has largely been cosmetic.

There are points of concern which still require attention such as public media coverage, conduct of the Zambia Police, the Zambia Air Force and the conduct of Civil Servants. Political parties should continue to engage with the electoral commission to deal with any outstanding matters before the poll day.

Despite the above observations, ZEIC is confident that the various stakeholders will rise to the occasion and take their responsibilities seriously to ensure that Zambia delivers a transparent and credible election which will reflect the will of the Zambian people and bestow legitimacy on the leaders who will emerge from the process.



Zambia Elections Information Centre

**2016 Pre-Election
CITIZENS REPORT**

August 2016

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