



good governance



## Chifubu and Luena Parliamentary By-Elections

AVAP, Caritas and SACCORD



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## Abbreviations

ADD	Alliance for Development and Democracy
AVAP	Anti Voter Apathy Project
CSOs	Civil Society Organisations
DC	District Commissioner
ECZ	Electoral Commission of Zambia
GTZ	Germany Technical Cooperation
MMD	Movement for Multiparty Democracy
MP	Member of Parliament
PF	Patriotic Front
SACCORD	Southern Africa Centre for Constructive Resolution of Disputes
ULP	United Liberal Party
UNIP	United National Independence Party
UPND	United Party for National Development
YWA	Young Women in Action
ZNWL	Zambia National Women's Lobby

## **Acknowledgement**

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The three monitoring organisations would also like to pay tribute to all participating political parties for the support and co-operation rendered to the three monitoring organisations in information gathering and sharing.

Thanks are also due to Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ) for accrediting monitors on time.

## 1. Introduction

A recent trend that has been experienced in Zambia is the increase in by-elections at the parliamentary level due to deaths, resignations or expulsions from various political parties.<sup>1</sup> This is so because in 2009, three by-elections were held in three provinces namely, Central (Chitambo constituency), Northern (Kasama Central constituency), and North-Western (Solwezi Central constituency). In 2010, four by-elections have been held thus far. These have been the April 29, 2010 Milanzi by-election in Eastern and Mufumbwe by-election in North-Western Provinces respectively. These by-elections followed the demise of Reuben Chisanga Banda of Milanzi constituency and Misheck Bonshe of Mufumbwe constituency. The other two by-elections are the Luena constituency by-election in Western province and the Chifubu constituency by-election on the Copperbelt province. These by-elections followed the resignation of the Luena sitting independent Member of Parliament (MP) Charles Milupi and the death of Benson Bwalya Mwamba who was the Patriotic Front (PF) MP for Chifubu constituency. This meant that out of nine (9) of Zambia's provinces, six (6) have experienced by-elections. The Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ) set August 5, 2010 for the Luena and Chifubu by-elections in Western and the Copperbelt provinces.

In Chifubu, the participating political parties were the Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD), represented by Frank Ng'ambi, the Patriotic Front (PF), represented by Susan Kawandami, the United National Independence Party (UNIP), represented by Poko Mambwe, and Alliance for Development and Democracy (ADD), represented by Brian Tembo. In Luena the participating political parties were the MMD, represented by Maopu Mwangala, ADD, represented by Charles Milupi, UPND, represented by Muyunda Illilonga, United Liberal Party (ULP), represented by Musole Sikatala, and UNIP, represented by Mutakela Mutakela.

The three monitoring organisations namely, AVAP, Caritas Zambia, and SACCORD joined hands with the help of GTZ to monitor the Chifubu and Luena by-elections.

## 2. Pre-Election Environment

### 2.1 Date of Elections

The elections were held within 90 days from the date when the Speaker of the National Assembly declared the seats vacant. The Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ) was forthcoming in holding the two by-elections on the same date as this was

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<sup>1</sup> At the time that this report was being compiled the country was preparing itself for another by-election in Mpulungu constituency in the Northern province of Zambia following the death of the sitting Member of Parliament (MP) Lameck Chibombamilimo. In addition, the expulsion of Chilanga MP, Ng'andu Magande, from the ruling MMD has also caused another by-election in Chilanga constituency in Lusaka province. Other pending by-elections due to expulsions are the Kafulafuta constituency on the Copperbelt province and the Namwala constituency sit in Southern Province. These have come about due to the expulsion of George Mpombo from the MMD and Major General Robbie Chizyuka from the UPND.

agreed by all stakeholders to be a way of saving costs for country. Therefore, the ECZ set August 5, 2010 as the date for the by-elections.

## **2.2 Adoption of Candidates**

The PF is the only political party that adopted a female candidate to stand on its ticket. This is important as this helps contribute to allowing women to participate in decision-making and political processes at the national level of governance. Therefore, there is need for political parties to be open to adopting female candidates as this is one way that can help attain the benchmarks of the SADC protocol which requires that 50% of people selected to decision making positions be females.

There were media reports that the PF-UPND Pact had difficulties in settling on which party must field a candidate in Luena. The PF argued that they had a stronger candidate whereas the UPND contended that Western province was their stronghold by virtue of having had seats in the province before. The Pact eventually resolved that the UPND field their candidate in Luena and the PF field a candidate in Chifubu.

## **2.3 Filing of Nominations**

The nomination process was conducted in a peaceful manner in both Luena and Chifubu constituencies. The adopted candidates for the contesting political parties lodged their nomination papers on 8 July, 2010. This was done in line with the Electoral Act 2006 of the Republic of Zambia.

In Chifubu, the nomination exercise took place in a community hall in Ndola. In Luena, the nomination exercise took place at Ushaa Basic School on 8th July 2010. The candidates from all the political parties successfully filed in their nominations according to the Electoral Act 2006. The occasion attracted hundreds of party members of the electorate to witness the nomination of their party candidates.

The nomination process was calm and peacefully organised. Each political party in the respective constituencies were at their own camp chanting their party slogans as well as flashing out their party symbols. It was very colourful as party members were clad in their party chitenge dancing around each of their candidates. The rest of the people mingled freely among the parties without being victimised.

# **3. Campaign Period**

## **3.1. Civic and voter education**

The monitoring organisations devised activities that aimed at increasing civic and voter awareness. In terms of voter sensitisation, SACCORD was given the responsibility to undertake voter sensitisation through radio programmes. Voter sensitisation was conducted on the Copperbelt on Radio Icengelo and in Western Province on Oblate Radio Liseli. A total of two (2) radio programmes, with one being done in Bemba

and the other one in English, were conducted on the Copperbelt and these programmes featured members from AVAP, Caritas Zambia and SACCORD. Similarly, two (2) radio programmes were held in Western province and also featured members from AVAP, Caritas Zambia and SACCORD. All of these programmes were held in English.

Another civic and voter education activity that was conducted was called “Meet Your Candidate.” This activity was conducted by Caritas Zambia on behalf of the consortium namely, AVAP CARITAS and SACCORD. The aim of the programme was to give the electorate the opportunity to meet their candidates and the issues that they represent. The activity was undertaken in Mongu and Ndola. In Mongu, it proved to be a challenge to get the candidates to meet in one venue as they did not turn up on the day of the programme.

The Mongu forum attracted one hundred and seventy three (173) electorates but to the disappointment of the electorate, the candidates never showed up claiming tight schedules. This forum was postponed from 24 July 2010 to 31 July 2010 due to Kufuluhela traditional ceremony and the coming of the Vice President to grace the same occasion that coincided with the forum. Although the political party candidates did not show up, Caritas took advantage of the occasion to encourage the participants not to shun voting as it was the only occasion where they could put a leader of their choice. The youth who attended this forum vowed never to be used to bring violence because some leaders just use them for their own personal gain.

The third activity that was designed to impart civic and voter education was called “Engagement of Stakeholders.” This activity aimed at bringing all the stakeholders in the by-elections to discuss all the important issues around the elections. The activity was conducted by AVAP on behalf of all the organisations namely, Caritas Zambia and SACCORD.

In Chifubu, AVAP held engagement of stakeholders’ forum on 26 July, 2010 at the Mpezeni community hall. All participating political parties namely MMD, PF, ADD and UNIP participated. The CSOs included ZNWL, YWA, Catholic Diocese of Ndola, among others. The ECZ was represented by Ndola City Council. The Zambia police was represented by Ms. Stella Libongani, Officer Commanding in Ndola.

The Officer Commanding discussed the importance of observing law and order during the campaigns. She urged political parties to ensure that they don’t condone political violence.

Chifubu by-elections Returning Officer Mr. Roy Kuseka discussed the role of the local authority in the management of elections and also the importance of observing the Electoral Code of Conduct.

The stakeholders commended the police for allowing political parties to hold rallies without difficulties in terms of soliciting authority. They condemned the public owned media for favouring the ruling MMD in their coverage. The stakeholders to the forum pledged to observe law and order during the campaigns.

In Luena, the Engagement of stakeholders’ forum was held on 26 July, 2010 at the AVAP Mongu Democracy Information Centre. Political parties participating in the by-elections sent representatives namely MMD, ADD, UPND, UNIP and ULP.

SACCORD Luena constituency co-ordinator J.M Wuta called upon the stakeholders to ensure that mechanisms for conflict prevention are put in place. He emphasised on the importance of peacebuilding if democracy is to be sustained.

Mr. Mashewana Akatumwa, speaking on behalf of Caritas Mongu, appealed to the electorate in Luena to be extra careful when it comes to voting. Mr. Akatumwa told the stakeholders that political parties ought to do enough in sensitising their members. He also appealed to all the candidates to participate in the “**meet your candidate forum**” so as to market themselves to the electorate. He further added that it was the wish of Caritas Mongu to provide for a neutral platform for the candidates to interact with the potential voters.

AVAP Executive Director Bonnie Tembo advised the electorate in Luena to critically assess all the candidates before deciding for whom to vote. Mr. Tembo commended the BRE for ensuring that the campaigns were conducted peacefully. He urged other traditional authorities in the country to emulate the BRE who maintained the non-partisanship stance. He called upon political parties to observe the Electoral Code of Conduct for the benefit of moving towards free and fair elections.

The stakeholders commended the three CSOs noting that their joint elections monitoring initiative will instil public confidence in the electoral process. They also pledged to maintain law and order stating that they did not want what happened (violence) in Mufumbwe to happen in Luena.

### **3.2. The Campaigns**

The campaigns in the two constituencies were conducted in a fairly peaceful manner as there was not a lot of abusive language that was used. In addition, there were no major reports of physical violence other than one moment when the UPND leader, Hakainde Hichilema, arrived in Limulunga and the son of the MMD candidate was reported to have driven past his campaign team and provoked the UPND. The police were on hand to calm the situation and the peaceful campaigns were given an opportunity to prevail.

Another event that is worth noting in Luena is when the Vice-President, George Kunda, used the Kufuluhela traditional ceremony to denounce other political candidates and market the MMD candidate while other candidates were not given the same platform. The Vice President took advantage of his invitation to the ceremony which was not a political event to discuss politics. Eye witnesses at the Kufuluhela ceremony reported that the spokesperson of the Litunga, an induna, was the interpreter to the Vice President’s speech. As he was interpreting, the induna collapsed and was rushed to the Lewanika General Hospital where it took 40 minutes to regain his consciousness. Some observers noted that the induna collapsed for using words which seemed to be abusive rather than because of ailment.

The only major incident for Chifubu was when the police allowed the vice-president’s convoy to use the same route as the PF convoy. This almost brought confusion as the Vice president’s motorcade was blocked causing security concerns. However, such incidents rarely occur.

### **3.3. Election Violence**

There were no major electoral violence incidents reported during the course of the two by-elections which is prove that Zambia is capable of holding violence free elections. This is a major contrast to what transpired in the previous by-elections such as the Mufumbwe by-election which was marred with major violence. The reason could be that there was no desperation on the part of the ruling party as the seats were previously held by the opposition parties.

## **4. Use of Public Resources**

The major use of public resources was the reported use of public vehicles in the by-elections. The presence of government ministers was also reported which prevented them from doing their work for the country. A number of vehicles had either fake or removed number plates.

## **5. Media Coverage**

The media covered the by-elections extensively. However, there were complaints by some of the opposition political parties that they were not being covered in the private and public media fairly. This was mostly the case when it came to the print media. However, in private community radio stations such as Oblate Radio Liseli in Mongu all the political parties were given media space by the local private community radio stations. The trend continued where ZNBC, Zambia Daily Mail and Times of Zambia covered MMD campaigns more than that of the opposition. The opposition had to find space on private media. PF- UPND pact candidates benefited generously from the post coverage.

## **6. Security of Voters**

At all polling stations in Luena and Chifubu, there was adequate police presence that ensured that the voters had the necessary security. There were no reported incidences of heavy police presence which intimidated voters.

## **7. Public Order Act (POA)**

The POA was administered in a professional manner and this is one of the reasons why there was a lot of peace in the Chifubu and Luena by-elections.

## **8. Electoral Code of Conduct**

There were numerous reports of violations pertaining to the Electoral Code of Conduct (ECC). There were reports of distribution of various materials such as chitenge material and merchandise such as soap by named political parties. A named District Commissioner (DC) in Mongu was alleged to have been in the forefront of issuing cheques to local traditional leaders. Named political parties were alleged to have been ferrying voters on poll day to various polling stations such as Kasheke polling station in Nangula ward. At Nangula Basic polling station in Nangula ward, a named political party was alleged to have been buying voters' cards from voters at a fee of K20, 000. All these examples show the extent to which the electoral code of conduct was violated by the various political parties and there has not been any action that has been taken against these named political parties.

## **9. Training of Monitors**

SACCORD was charged with the responsibility to train election monitors in Chifubu and Luena constituencies. A total of sixty eight (68) monitors for Chifubu and fifty three (53) monitors for Luena were trained by SACCORD. SACCORD did the training on behalf of all the organisations namely, Caritas Zambia and AVAP.

## **10. Deployment of Monitors**

The three monitoring organisations deployed a total of one hundred and twenty two (122) election monitors for the two constituencies. These monitors monitored the by-elections. In Luena, the terrain proved to be a challenge as the monitoring organisations had to organise Land Rovers that could manoeuvre the terrain to deploy the monitors. The deployment was jointly undertaken by the monitoring organisations in some of the places in Luena.

## **11. Preparedness of ECZ**

The Electoral Commission of Zambia is constitutionally charged with the responsibility to administer elections in Zambia. In general, the ECZ showed a great deal of readiness for the by-elections. However, in certain parts of Luena constituency such as Kasheke polling station in Nangula ward, the ECZ was reported to have used one big truck to ferry their electoral officers. This truck was slow as the driver was not a local and he did not know the terrain which resulted in him crushing the side mirrors. The Presiding Officer was worried when the SACCORD roving team arrived at the polling station at 15:10hrs that the truck that was used to ferry them to the polling station will delay the arrival of the results at the collation centre. The ECZ would have done well to use the local drivers who know and understand the terrain of Western

province. On the other hand, the ECZ extensively used a helicopter to deploy elections staff in remote parts of Luena. The helicopter was also useful in bringing back the results and election materials.

The performance of the ECZ can be summed up as both positive and negative as the observations below highlight during the by-elections:

## **POSITIVE OBSERVATIONS**

- ECZ distributed election materials to all polling stations on time.
- Electoral officers arrived at the polling stations in good time.
- Polling stations opened at the rightful time at 06.00 hrs.
- At least all the polling stations had one or more political party agents to observe the proceedings.
- Polling stations closed at the rightful time at 18.00hrs and vote counting in all polling stations monitored commenced immediately after closing the stations.
- No campaigns or political party posters were seen near polling stations.

### **Other positive aspects**

- The Litunga voted at the Limulunga West polling station in a traditional style with the maoma drums vibrating at the Kuta.
- In Luena, the Barotse Royal Establishment (BRE) took a lead in making sure that political parties campaigned peacefully.

## **NEGATIVE OBSERVATIONS**

- An MMD youth stormed the polling station at Limulunga East, castigating the Electoral Officers of not doing their jobs properly after claiming to have seen a woman walking on the road outside the wall fence clad in UPND chitenge material.
- Some party agents complained about presiding officers not doing their work correctly when assisting those who did not know how to read, when in the actual sense it was the party agents who did not understand the electoral act properly.
- A good number of people especially in remote areas did not know how to vote.
- The positioning of the polling booth brought problems in some polling stations as people would not know exactly how the booth should be placed.
- Some political parties did not like the idea of Caritas monitoring the by-elections, at Limulunga West and some MMD cadres were heard saying “these Caritas people have come to trouble us”.

- Voter register had a problem where some people would have voter cards but not appearing in the register and hence not allowed to vote.
- At some polling stations some security officers would sometimes leave the station and leave the queues not attended to.

## **12. Polling Day Events**

### **12.1. Heavy Police Presence**

There was not unnecessary police presence in the various polling stations around Luena constituency and also Chifubu. At most polling stations, there was one (1) paramilitary stationed at a polling station and they helped maintain the peace and tranquillity which allowed the poll day to be peaceful.

### **12.2. Opening of Polling Stations**

All the polling stations in both Chifubu and Luena were opened on time and voting progressed well until the close of the polls.

### **12.3. Voter Turn Out**

The turnout in Luena was about 50% compared to Chifubu where it is reported that there was voter apathy with voter turnout of about 42%.

### **12.4. Result Management**

The ECZ managed the election results very well. The Chifubu results were communicated to the nation in good time. In Luena, there were eight (8) polling stations that required one to have a helicopter in order to get there. Examples of these polling stations included Salondo and Mabili among others. Nonetheless, the results managed to come and the totals were tallied to the satisfaction of political party candidates.

### **12.5. Monitors and Party Agents**

All the monitors from the three monitoring organisations were placed at almost all the polling stations in the two constituencies. Political parties were also given their right to have party agents at polling stations. In Luena, the only political party that did not have a lot of party agents was the ULP. This was the case in places such as the Nangula ward where there was hardly any ULP party agents.

## 12.6. Counting and Collation of Results

The counting process was done at polling districts to the satisfaction of the parties that were participating in both the Chifubu and Luena by-elections. There was a bit of anxiety in Luena as the results from inaccessible polling stations arrived late. However, the counting process was done in a peaceful manner.

One note of concern was a lapse on the part of the ECZ to allow cadres and representatives of a named political party to start celebrating inside the collation centre in Chifubu. The celebrations started even before the totalling and declaration of the final result was done. This can cause anarchy and confusion in cases where an error and miscalculation is made and their preferred candidate does not turn out to be the final winner.

## 12.7 Results

### Chifubu Constituency

#### Polling Station by Polling Station Results

Polling station	Total rejected ballots	Total ballots cast	MMD	PF	UNIP	ADD
Fibusa	07	318	121	175	11	04
Kadansa	05	300	126	158	04	07
Nanga	00	270	80	167	17	06
Chisekesi	00	219	69	148	00	02
Alick Nkhata	03	266	83	160	14	06
Mukobeko	04	369	118	242	07	02
Kalinda	05	413	139	262	01	06
Kanyanje	08	451	234	155	11	43
Twatasha	01	253	69	142	02	39
Ngwenya	04	294	88	157	00	45
Mulyata	02	153	92	54	01	04
Kamanda	07	427	199	201	08	12
Mishika	02	304	136	151	01	14
Intulo	06	457	218	221	03	09
Nyanji	00	368	173	174	01	16
Chikanga	05	303	109	166	04	19
Chiparamba	10	270	101	139	04	16

<b>Polling station</b>	<b>Total rejected ballots</b>	<b>Total ballots cast</b>	<b>MMD</b>	<b>PF</b>	<b>UNIP</b>	<b>ADD</b>
Twende	00	273	63	202	02	06
Jumbe	04	279	80	184	06	05
Kasompe	03	268	81	178	01	05
Kaniki	22	786	468	249	07	40
Matongo	06	276	85	175	10	04
Nakatindi	00	271	108	147	05	11
Kashitu	00	256	99	141	11	05
Undi	04	378	111	234	23	06
Kapili	02	210	63	140	02	02
Mwambashi	02	293	81	204	02	03
Lumumba	07	369	124	227	08	3
Buyantanshi	01	193	64	124	03	01
Temweni	01	333	107	208	09	06
Lealui	00	304	101	194	05	04
Mango	04	395	142	239	05	05
Muleya	01	220	72	144	02	01
Kakumbi	03	128	52	133	10	05
Chisamba	01	128	34	88	04	01
Misundu	01	93	49	35	00	08
Buntungwa	01	777	239	523	09	05
Kalela	04	288	82	196	02	04
Overspill	05	263	79	143	04	32
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>141</b>	<b>12,216</b>	<b>4,539</b>	<b>6,976</b>	<b>221</b>	<b>412</b>

### Chifubu Parliamentary by-Election Final Results and Winner

<b>Candidate</b>	<b>Party</b>	<b>Results</b>
Kawandami Susan	PF	6, 976
Ng' ambi Frank	MDD	4, 539
Banda Brian	ADD	412
Mambwe Poko	UNIP	221

**Luena Constituency****Polling Station by Polling Station Results**

<b>Polling station</b>	<b>UPND</b>	<b>MMD</b>	<b>ADD</b>	<b>ULP</b>	<b>UNIP</b>
Limulunga East	137	101	368	09	05
Yuka	41	69	54	00	00
Limulunga West	146	154	383	04	06
Nanoko	41	28	143	17	00
Salondo	23	21	85	02	00
Makuku	58	36	120	04	01
Lyaluo	17	12	38	00	00
Mabili	13	09	94	00	02
Nangili	30	51	174	01	00
Sikongo	53	85	52	04	01
Namakena	31	29	31	02	02
Nakalomo	26	57	158	01	08
Nata	03	23	58	01	00
Ikwichi	37	77	198	02	15
Namboma	60	94	114	03	00
Nalinanga	48	57	56	02	03
Ikabako	25	49	102	02	03
Nang'ondi	30	105	49	02	01
ILundu	27	27	81	04	08
Mweeke	10	27	71	00	12
Miulwe	71	145	74	05	03
Ndiki	13	64	43	02	02
Nangula	43	98	35	00	00
Ituku	08	147	39	00	07
Kaongeta	22	54	66	02	01
Kasheke	43	112	43	02	06
Situya	30	34	41	00	00

<b>Polling station</b>	<b>UPND</b>	<b>MMD</b>	<b>ADD</b>	<b>ULP</b>	<b>UNIP</b>
Sibawa	30	97	49	02	00
Ushaa	101	65	165	02	02
Isambai	26	45	57	02	01
Sisiye	16	12	51	02	00
Kate	51	54	61	02	03
Maunga	52	55	22	02	00
Likutwe	92	25	85	05	00
Sitoya	41	100	39	02	01
Iloke	58	62	78	11	05
Simaa	11	141	109	01	00
Lukute	50	52	39	02	11
ndanda	66	107	45	04	04
Lyumbo	88	160	32	03	01
Malala	38	57	36	05	00
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>1,806</b>	<b>2,800</b>	<b>3,688</b>	<b>116</b>	<b>115</b>

### **Luena Parliamentary by-Election Final Results and Winner**

<b>Candidate</b>	<b>Party</b>	<b>Results</b>
Milupi Charles	ADD	3, 688
Maopu Mwangala	MMD	2, 800
Illilonga Muyunda	UPND	1, 806
Musole Sikatala	ULP	116
Mutakela Mutakela	UNIP	115

## **13. Post Election Events**

### **13.1. Political Party Victory Rallies**

The winning political parties were peaceful in the manner in which they celebrated their victory. These parties are the ADD in Luena and the PF in Chifubu. Both political

parties chanted their partisan slogans and celebrated the victories at their respective camps.

### **13.2. CSO Press Briefing and Position**

The three monitoring organisations organised a press conference where they shared with the nation on just what happened in the Chifubu and Luena constituencies. The press conference was held on Friday August 13, 2010 at the Caritas Zambia headquarters in Lusaka and the statement was read by the SACCORD Finance and Administration Manager, Theresa Chewe. A major issue that was highlighted was the continued violation of the Electoral Code of Conduct (ECC) especially as it relates to giving out of material to would-be-voters by a named political party among others. Another issue was the idea of political parties celebrating their victories inside the collation centre even before the official results were announced.

## **14. Recommendations**

The three monitoring organisations make the following recommendations:

- The ECZ must not allow any political party to start celebrating their victory inside the collation centre before the final totalling of results and official declaration as this could cause anarchy and confusion in cases where an error and miscalculation is made and their preferred candidate does not turn out to be the final winner.
- The ECZ should deploy more than one security officer at the polling stations especially those polling stations that contain more than one stream.
- There is need to consider having two monitors per polling station so that one can be stationed inside the polling station and the other one outside the polling station to monitor any major incidents of ferrying of voters among others.
- There is need to have a lot of civic education on the electoral process both to the monitors and the electorate as soon as possible prior to a by-election, but also in readiness for next year's general election.
- There is need to increase the monitor's allowances for constituencies in rural areas because this helps motivate the monitors in executing their duties diligently.
- There is also need to ensure that the consortium continues to receive support from partners such as GTZ so that the monitoring of by-elections is enhanced in preparation for the 2011 tripartite elections.

## 15. Conclusion

The Chifubu and Luena by-elections showcased the potential of the three monitoring organisations to continue and be able to monitor elections so that they are free and fair. The police also showed their capacity to administer the POA in a professional manner which helped in the maintenance of peace and security. The Chifubu and Luena by-elections have shown that continued monitoring efforts help restore confidence in the electorate as there are people who are monitoring what is transpiring. An example of such confidence can be exemplified by some of the political candidates who praised the three monitoring organisations for their efforts. The overall assessment of the three organisations was that the by-elections were peaceful and for the most part reflected the wishes of the people.

## 16. Lessons Learned: Collective Action Towards 2011

For the fourth time in a row the Good Governance Programme has supported the monitoring of a by-election by civil society organisations. The aim of this support has been to strengthening democratic processes and institutions in the conduct of elections that highest possible standards are meet, that elections are conducted peacefully and have credible results. The support also aims towards the reinforcement of the engagement of civil society in the electoral process and finally, contributes to increase the credibility and perceived impartiality of their work. The CSOs provide an impartial assessment of the electoral process and where relevant, recommendations for ways to improve the process in the future are made.

Where contentious elections present fears of vote tampering and other irregularities, voter education through CSOs and the presence of election monitors before and on election day serves to prevent mischief and signal to the public and also to political parties greater confidence that the vote was free and fair. The key to achieving this outcome is monitors who are accepted by all sides as neutral. The independence of the consortium of AVAP, CARITAS and SACCORD has been acknowledged by the public, ECZ, political parties and independent observers from cooperating partners.

In Chifubu constituency, the three CSO's have collaborated well to achieve the aims as set out in the MoU signed by them for cooperation and division of resources. The collaboration worked through district structures on the ground. Through this, there has been a transfer of knowledge from the national level to the grassroots. The collective action of the three organisations has produced comparatively large numbers of monitors who will be useful for the 2011 general elections. Hence, it can be said that the collaborative action draws on the optimisation of each organisation's comparative advantage in the form of structures, networks and track record. The valuable connection with the grassroots is an attribute that helps to increase the longer-term benefits of monitoring. However, there is a clear recommendation for AVAP and SACCORD to strengthen their presence at district level and/ or to make use of the diocesan structures that are engaged in promoting governance. Such networking

would in fact maximise civil society presence in areas such as community mobilisation and voter education.

Inadequate communication between national offices and the sub-national offices was cited as one major challenge that arose during implementation of the activities in the constituencies. Planning for future by-election monitoring requires the inclusion of sub-national structure as much as possible.

Organised and documented knowledge of experiences and malpractices taking place during the course of by-elections has been made available through the CSO's for public consideration and use. Press briefings and communication with the media provided quite comprehensive information to the public and in addition made the engagement of the organisations very visible. An example for the promotion of knowledge is that of the Mufumbwe by-election petition where the CSO report is being used as documented evidence for a case presently under scrutiny. It is recommended to distribute the by-election reports to a wider public and include them in the websites of the organisations.

The three CSO's have been able to use the limited funds provided by the Good Governance Programme astutely and through effective management and efficient coordination are now more flexible to meet the unique challenges presented by each election. Due to time constraints, arising from the financial modalities, the workshop to train monitors could only be conducted as one-day session. The training included information on the electoral laws of Zambia, the electoral code of conduct and the role of the monitor during an election. However, it was observed that a lot more creativity needs to be added in the design and conduct of the workshop. Consideration must be given for the use of visual aids and more engaging training methodologies (games, group work, role plays, etc.). Furthermore, the relevance of the information for the preparedness of the monitors needs to address their needs, capacity and function in a more specific manner. For example, given the short time for the workshop it was not really adequate to explain the rules for election campaigns as the campaigns were almost over. The workshop could have included updates about the three organisation's activities regarding the electoral process, for example, the submissions of civil society organisations on the review of the electoral code of conduct or engagement with parliament on the review of the electoral act. The use of information available on the ECZ website could also be recommended and incorporated into the workshop with a view to cultivate a force of well informed and enlightened monitors.

The three civil society organisations have contributed to develop the dialogue between political parties and other stakeholders, such as ECZ, Police and the Human Rights commission. The holding of the stakeholder forums that are organised during the campaign period offers a chance to discuss electoral violence as well as fostering respect among all players involved.

From the observations made in the monitoring of recent by-elections, it is clear that there is an urgent need to conduct countrywide and continuous voter education in order to curb the high levels of voter illiteracy and voter apathy. Through the funding provided by the UNDP elections project, AVAP and SACCORD are currently running voter education programs in 16 districts across the country. Serious consideration however, must be given towards standardising voter education messages and methodologies.

ECZ has extended invitations to CSOs to provide input in the review of the electoral code of conduct. It is increasingly evident that the work of the consortium is becoming more visible and commendable.

Summarising the impact of the election monitoring, it can be concluded that it has been a good preparation for civil society organisations for the upcoming presidential, parliamentary and local government elections in 2011. It is important for CSO's to maintain presence at future by-elections. What is needed is support from cooperating partners to further strengthen by-election monitoring and through such initiatives prepare for the 2011 elections.

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- German Technical Cooperation -

GTZ Lusaka Office  
Plot No. 6469 Kariba Road, Kalundu  
Private Bag RW 37X  
Lusaka, Zambia

T +260 21 1 291 918-20  
E [dedo.geinitz@gtz.de](mailto:dedo.geinitz@gtz.de)  
I [www.gtz.de](http://www.gtz.de)

Authors:  
Boniface Cheembe

Responsibility:  
Dedo Geinitz

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