



TRANSPARENCY
INTERNATIONAL
ZAMBIA



REPORT ON THE 2021 GENERAL ELECTIONS

Released on 1st October 2021

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS	3
Table of Figures.....	3
List of Tables.....	3
ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS	4
PREFACE BY THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR.....	5
1. OVERVIEW OF THE 2021 GENERAL ELECTIONS.....	6
1.1. Introduction	6
1.2. Presidential Candidates	6
1.3. Electoral Process Legal Framework.....	7
1.4. Electoral Commission of Zambia’s management of the elections.....	8
1.5. Intra-Party Adoptions	8
1.6. Campaign Financing	8
1.7. Application of the Public Order Act	9
1.8. Abuse of State Resources.....	9
1.9. Political Violence.....	9
1.10. Campaigns under COVID-19 Conditions.....	10
1.11. Access to Public Media	11
1.12. Anti-Corruption Strategies in Party Manifestos	11
1.13. Internet Shutdown on Polling Day	11
1.14. Women Participation in the Elections	12
2. TRANSPARENCY INTERNATIONAL ZAMBIA’S INVOLVEMENT IN THE 2021 GENERAL ELECTIONS.....	12
2.1. Development of Training Materials	12
2.2. Election Campaign Monitoring	13
2.3. Evidence-Based Advocacy	15
2.4. Polling Day Monitoring.....	19
2.5. TI-Z Transparency Vote Verification.....	21
3. KEY RECOMMENDATIONS BASED ON TI-Z’S INVOLVEMENT	22
4. ANNEXES	23
Annex 1: Composition of the TI-Z Elections Committee	23
Annex 2: Sample TI-Z Election Materials	24
Annex 3: Pictures	27

Table of Figures

Figure 1 - Comparison of the top two candidates in the last three presidential elections.....	7
Figure 2 - Excerpts of Elections Updates media coverage	16
Figure 3 - Polling day surveys conducted by TI-Z.....	20

List of Tables

Table 1 - 2021 Presidential Candidates and their running mates	7
Table 2 - Distribution of TI-Z’s long term monitors.....	14
Table 3 - Distribution of TI-Z’s short term monitors.....	14
Table 4 - Overview of key issues covered in the Elections Project Updates.....	15

ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ACC	:	Anti-Corruption Commission
COVID-19	:	Corona Virus
DP	:	Democratic Party
ECZ	:	Electoral Commission of Zambia
FDD	:	Forum for Democracy and Development
IBA	:	Independent Broadcasting Authority
ICT	:	Information and Communication Technology
MMD	:	Movement for Multiparty Democracy
NAREP	:	National Restoration Party
NDI	:	National Democratic Institute
PAC	:	People's Alliance for Change
PF	:	Patriotic Front
PNUP	:	Party for National Unity and Progress
POA	:	Public Order Act
PVT	:	Parallel Vote Tabulation
PVV	:	Parallel Vote Verification
Sida	:	Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
TI-Z	:	Transparency International Zambia
UNIP	:	United National Independence Party
UPND	:	United Party for National Development
VPN	:	Virtual Private Network
ZICTA	:	Zambia Information Communication Technology Authority
ZNBC	:	Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation
ZNWL	:	Zambia National Women's Lobby

PREFACE BY THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR



The 2021 General Elections took place on 12th August, and had the highest number of presidential contenders compared to any previous election in Zambia. The high level of interest in individuals wanting to serve at the highest echelon of governance was matched by citizens' own high level of interest in taking part in the elections, with an impressive 70.6 percent of registered voters turning out to cast their votes. Civil society organizations (CSOs) also exhibited high levels of interest in taking part in different aspects of the electoral process, and Transparency International Zambia (TI-Z) was not an exception.

This report, therefore, gives details of TI-Z's involvement in the 2021 General Elections, and makes key recommendations arising from that involvement. The report also makes an effort to provide an overview of the key issues that TI-Z observed through its network of election monitors spread across the breadth and length of Zambia. Our hope is that documenting these issues will contribute not just to the wider discourse around the 2021 elections, but to improvements in future electoral processes that Zambia will undertake.

It goes without saying that this report is a result of the concerted efforts of many different entities, to which TI-Z would now like to express its deepest gratitude: the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida), for the longstanding support to TI-Z's work over the years; the National Democratic Institute (NDI) for the support to our political integrity work; the TI-Z Elections Committee, headed by the Chapter President, for the strategic guidance provided to our elections work; TI-Z staff at the Secretariat for the incredible sacrifices made in keeping the wheels of our election interventions turning; and last but by no means least, our team of election monitors across the country, including TI-Z members, for the dedication and zeal they demonstrated in doing their work, sometimes under very difficult conditions. The success of our elections work, as reported here, was built on the contributions of all these entities and individuals, and TI-Z is eternally grateful for it.

We are convinced that our involvement in the 2021 elections allowed us to make valuable contributions to the electoral process in its entirety, and elevated the issues of good governance and corruption to a position of prominence in this electoral cycle. Our resolve to continue advancing the good governance and anti-corruption agenda remains resolute, and it is our hope that we will be able to count on the support of our partners and stakeholders in future interventions of this nature.

Thank you once more, and enjoy reading the report.

Maurice K. Nyambe
TI-Z Executive Director

1. OVERVIEW OF THE 2021 GENERAL ELECTIONS

1.1. INTRODUCTION

On 12th August 2021, Zambia held its seventh democratic general elections since the reintroduction of multi-party democracy in 1991. The 2021 general elections were highly contested by 16 candidates – the highest number of presidential candidates in Zambia’s history. The elections saw a high voter turnout of around 70 percent, the highest of any general election since 1991, and resulted in a victory for the opposition United Party for National Development (UPND), led by Mr. Hakainde Hichilema. The final tally showed Mr. Hichilema winning the Presidency with 59.02 percent of the votes, followed by former President Edgar Lungu with 38.71 percent. The rest of the candidates collectively garnered a paltry 2 percent of total votes cast. At Parliamentary level, the UPND won 82 seats, followed by the Patriotic Front (PF) with 59 and the Party for National Unity and Progress (PNUP) with one seat. The remaining 13 seats were won by independent candidates.

The political environment before the elections was characterized by restrictions on civic space, mistrust of some civil society organizations by the state, weakened state institutions, media restrictions, a suspected compromised judiciary, high levels of institutionalized corruption, and poor economic performance, which was compounded by the corona virus (COVID-19) pandemic.

Based on its mandate to fight corruption and promote good governance at different levels of society, Transparency International Zambia (TI-Z) was involved in the entire electoral process, from voter registration to the declaration of the winners. In total, TI-Z deployed 240 monitors across the country, of which 147 were long term monitors, 76 were short term monitors, 14 were roving monitors, and 3 were national monitors deployed at the National Results Centre in Lusaka. The long term monitors were deployed in 6 provinces and monitored the entire process, from adoption of candidates, filing in of nominations, campaigns, polling day, announcements of results, and declaration of winners at constituency level. The short term monitors, deployed in 4 provinces, and the roving monitors, covered the polling day monitoring, announcement of results and declaration of winners.

Through its network of monitors, TI-Z collected 1,800 electoral malpractice reports through the long term monitors. TI-Z further conducted three (3) surveys on bill boards and radio advertisement by political parties, and disseminated 12 election updates, which were followed by an estimated 30,000 people on TI-Z’s social media platforms. On Election Day, TI-Z conducted Parallel Vote Verification (PVV) to assess the integrity of the results (Integrity index) as they were being released by the Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ). A total of 2,843 people viewed the final PVV results integrity index report, which was disseminated through TI-Z’s social media platforms (<https://www.tizambia.org.zm/wp-content/uploads/2021/07/Document.pdf>).

1.2. PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES

A total of sixteen candidates successfully filed in their nominations to run for the presidency, a record when it comes to Zambia’s presidential elections. Despite the large number of candidates, the race was widely expected to be between only two, the incumbent President Edgar Lungu of the PF, who had overcome a legal challenge on his eligibility to stand, and Mr. Hakainde Hichilema of the UPND, who was making a record fifth attempt at the presidency.

Table 1 shows the full list of the Presidential candidates, along with their running mates.

	Presidential Candidate	Running Mate	Party
1	Mr. Charles Chanda	Mr. Simon Mbulu	United Prosperous and Peaceful Zambia (UPPZ)
2	Ms. Chishala Kateka	Mr. Samuel Kasanka	New Heritage Party
3	Dr. Edgar Lungu	Prof. Nkandu Luo	Patriotic Front (PF)
4	Mr. Enock Tonga	Mr. Bright Chomba	Third Liberation Movement
5	Dr. Fred M'membe	Dr. Cosmas Musumali	Socialist Party (SP)
6	Mr. Hakainde Hichilema	Mrs. Mutale Nalumango	United Party for National Development (UPND)
7	Mr. Harry Kalaba	Ms. Judith Kabemba	Democratic Party (DP)
8	Mr. Highvie Hamududu	Mr. Kasote Singogo	Party of National Unity and Progress (PNUP)
9	Mr. Kasonde Mwenda	Changala Siame	Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF)
10	Mr. Lazarus Chisela	Ms. Rosemary Chivumba	Zambians United for Sustainable Development (ZUFSD)
11	Mr. Andyford Banda	Mr. Gerald Mulao	People's Alliance for Change (PAC)
12	Dr. Nevers Mumba	Mr. Reuben Sambo	Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD)
13	Mr. Richard Silumbe	Mr. Kaela Kamwenshe	Leadership Movement
14	Mr. Sean Tembo	Mr. Henry Muleya	Patriots for Economic Progress (PEP)
15	Mr. Stephen Nyirenda	Ms. Lucy Changwe	National Restoration Party (NAREP)
16	Mr. Trevor Mwamba	Mr. John Harawa	United National Independence Party (UNIP)

Table 1 - 2021 Presidential Candidates and their running mates

On 16th August 2021, the ECZ announced final presidential election results, declaring Mr. Hichilema as duly elected President of the Republic of Zambia, having received a total of 2,852,348 votes, representing 59.02 per cent of the valid votes cast, way beyond the 50 per cent plus one constitutional requirement for one to be elected President. Mr. Hichilema's results represented an 11.39 percentage increment from the votes he obtained in the 2016 polls. The incumbent President Lungu received 1,870,780 votes, representing 38.71 per cent of the valid votes cast, which was an 11.64 percentage drop from the votes he garnered in the 2016 elections. Figure 1 shows the performance of the two rivals over the last three Presidential elections that they have faced each other, highlighting how in five years, Mr. Hichilema overturned a 2.74 percent deficit to Mr. Lungu into a 20.31 percent lead.

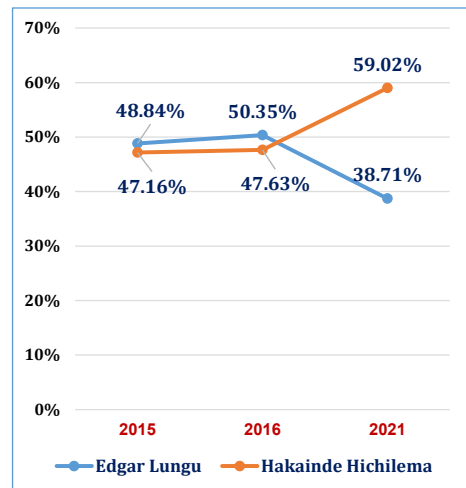


Figure 1 - Comparison of the top two candidates in the last three presidential elections

1.3. ELECTORAL PROCESS LEGAL FRAMEWORK

The legal framework for the 2021 general elections was substantially changed shortly before the polls. Extensive amendments were made to the Electoral Process Act No. 35 of 2016, with the Amended Act No. 2 of 2021 entering into force in May 2021, three months before Election Day. The rushed drafting process and enactment through a fast track National Assembly process resulted in a number of unclear provisions, gaps, and contradictions between the new legislation and the Constitution. For instance, the issue of how to actualize the prison voting



remained unclear in the amended Act, and calls from TI-Z and other civic actors for the ECZ to provide clarity on how that provision was to be implemented in practice were largely ignored. The late introduction of these provisions meant that the legal framework was unfamiliar to many electoral stakeholders, which threatened to undermine the integrity of the electoral process.

1.4. ELECTORAL COMMISSION OF ZAMBIA'S MANAGEMENT OF THE ELECTIONS

While the ECZ generally demonstrated professionalism in how it conducted the elections, there were several key processes over which stakeholders felt that the Commission could have done much better. For instance, the Commission's decision to do away with the 2016 voters' register in preference for a complete new one just months before the polls did not go well, and to this day, the Commission has not provided a convincing reason why that was necessary. The voter registration exercise itself was largely well undertaken, and calls by stakeholders to have it significantly extended saw the ECZ granting a four-day extension. The accreditation of election observers and monitors was another exercise over which the ECZ could have done better as it was characterized by confusion about what the requirements were. TI-Z in particular had trouble getting accreditation for its three national monitors and some other field monitors. It was also observed, by many stakeholders, that the ECZ did not make full use of the administrative measures at its disposal to enforce the Electoral Code of Conduct, especially during the campaign period. Although the Commission did take action to suspend campaign activities in some cases on account of violence or the COVID pandemic, the general consensus among stakeholders was that the Commission did not create an even playing field for all political parties or candidates. For instance, despite the Electoral Code of Conduct clearly giving the ECZ power to ensure that traditional leaders did not exert undue influence on their subjects to support a particular political party or candidate, the Commission failed to enforce this, as several traditional leaders openly expressed their support for the PF and its presidential candidate. This gave rise to speculation that the Commission was being influenced in favour of the PF, and contributed to the sense of injustice that opposition parties in particular were feeling.

1.5. INTRA-PARTY ADOPTIONS

The adoption of parliamentary and local government candidates in the major political parties, most notably the PF and UPND, was marred with corruption and electoral malpractices, with vote buying or other forms of inducement designed to influence party structures at different levels into favoring and ultimately adopting particular candidates reportedly being the order of the day. This was evidenced by the large number of officials that came out in public to complain about these anomalies in their own political parties, and contributed to the high number of independent candidates, many of who opted to take that route in response to what they saw as flawed adoption processes in their parties. TI-Z and other stakeholders raised alarm about this, calling on law enforcement agencies to investigate the reported corruption in the adoption processes of the PF and UPND, but the call fell on deaf ears.

1.6. CAMPAIGN FINANCING

The Electoral Process Act No 35 of 2016 clearly defines the offering of money or gifts to voters as an electoral offence. However, during the entire official campaign period, which ran from 11th May to 11th August, 2021, some senior government and ruling party officials were engaged in the practice of dishing out money and other gifts to the electorate under the guise of empowering citizens or indeed as an accepted practice in our political process.

¹ Electoral Code of Conduct, 3(1)

Further, data collected by TI-Z on campaign financing revealed that for the month of May 2021 only, the PF had at least 208 billboards, the Socialist party had at least 70, the UPND at least 24 and the Democratic Party at least 4 billboards across the city of Lusaka. Based on this quantity survey and pricing information obtained from advertising agencies for various sizes of billboards, it was estimated that the PF spent about K2.9 million on billboard advertisement for the month of May only, followed by the Socialist party which spent about K864,000; the UPND at K648,000; and the Democratic Party about K108,000. Although the PF through their Media Director dismissed TI-Z's findings as misleading, the party did not dispute the actual figures highlighted, arguing instead that the money spent by the PF for their campaign activities was given to the party by well-wishers. The other political parties covered by the study did not officially respond to the findings.

1.7. APPLICATION OF THE PUBLIC ORDER ACT

The Public Order Act (POA) is the legal framework that ostensibly provides a basis for the conduct of free and fair elections, and generally protects freedoms of assembly, movement, expression and association, in line with Zambia's international and regional commitments. Long before the start of the official campaign period, opposition political parties expressed serious reservations about the selective application of the POA by the Zambia Police Service, and these reservations continued throughout the entirety of the electoral process. Both the provisions and fair application of this law were unreasonably disregarded by the Police, with examples of its misuse abounding almost on a daily basis throughout the campaign period. The most visible depiction of this were the restrictions that were placed on the movements of one opposition presidential candidate, who was denied access to some parts of the country such as the Copperbelt and Eastern provinces as the campaigns progressed. This entailed that the playing field for the elections was heavily skewed in favour of the ruling party, and did not consequently create the conditions for the holding of free and fair elections.

1.8. ABUSE OF STATE RESOURCES

Towards the end of the campaign period, TI-Z expressed concern that the PF's presidential running mate was moving around the country with the Vice President on trips that were said to be for purposes of inspecting government developmental projects. However, the running mate was using the same trips to interact with the electorate and engage in campaigns for her political party, giving an undue advantage to the ruling party. In addition to this, TI-Z observed the misuse of state resources for campaign purposes in Eastern, Lusaka, Copperbelt, Southern and Western provinces in contravention of the Electoral Code of Conduct, further contributing to an uneven playing field, and making a mockery of the ECZ's commitment to deliver free and fair elections. While both the Constitution and the Electoral Code of Conduct prohibit the use of state resources for campaign purposes, no enforcement of this prohibition was attempted by the ECZ. Since this prohibition did not apply to the President and Vice-president, the incumbents had greater latitude to exploit this provision for partisan purposes, giving the ruling party an unfair advantage that potentially skewed the playing field in its favour.

1.9. POLITICAL VIOLENCE

During the campaign period and on Election Day itself, TI-Z noted an unfortunate and increasingly worrying escalation of incidences of electoral violence, largely perpetrated by supporters of both the UPND and PF. The most notable incidents included the violence which occurred in Namwala District of Southern Province, where UPND supporters were reported to have descended on PF supporters with stones and insults;

the clash of UPND and PF supporters during a road show in Mandevu constituency of Lusaka; the disheartening scenes of violence that were witnessed in Mpulungu in Northern province, including the burning of a motor vehicle; and in Lusaka's Kanyama constituency, where political violence resulted in the death of two PF cadres at the hands of suspected UPND cadres. On 1st August 2021, President Lungu used his authority as Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces to order the deployment of the Zambia Army onto the streets of Lusaka to help the Police fight the escalating political violence.

On polling day itself, incidents of political violence were recorded in various constituencies, with one in particular resulting in the murder of a senior provincial official of the PF in North-Western Province by suspected UPND cadres. While the pre-election and polling day violence did not seem to have any impact on the number of people turning out to exercise their right to vote, or indeed on the results of the elections, it did nevertheless leave an indelible and unwanted stain on the electoral process, with the loss of life being the most regrettable aspect of that stain.

1.10. CAMPAIGNS UNDER COVID-19 CONDITIONS

On 14th May 2021, the Fifth Session of the Twelfth National Assembly was dissolved, in line with Article 81(3) of the Constitution of Zambia. The following day, the ECZ launched the start of the official electoral campaign period, with political parties however advised to minimize large crowd gatherings due to the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic.

On 26th May 2021, President Lungu launched his own campaign, during which he directed the Zambia Police Service and Ministry of Health to ensure enforcement of the COVID-19 health regulations and guidelines without fear or favour. On 3rd June 2021, citing a rise in COVID-19 cases, the ECZ suspended campaign rallies again to avoid large crowds. While the suspension of rallies was adhered to, political parties found ways to still gather their supporters in relatively large numbers. For instance, President Lungu embarked on what was termed a mask distribution exercise in markets, which nevertheless attracted huge crowds that followed him, and was clearly a tactic to campaign to these large crowds. The opposition UPND adopted this tactic and Mr. Hichilema embarked on a large crowd campaign initiative of his own, disguised as a mask distribution exercise. In addition to this mask distribution, political parties also initiated road shows, where candidates drove through different communities in open air vehicles and used the opportunity to speak to the large crowds that tended to follow them.

Noting the continued gathering of large crowds through the mask distribution exercises and road shows, the ECZ banned these activities across the country to curb the continued transmission of COVID-19. The PF's response to this was to publicly state that President Lungu would not stop his mask distribution activity, because as Head of State, he had a responsibility to ensure that Marketeers were adhering to the COVID-19 regulations. The UPND took the position that if the President was allowed to continue with the exercise, they would also continue, since COVID-19 affected all, whether in the ruling party or the opposition. This prompted the Police to issue a public statement to the effect that they had no power to stop the President's campaign activities, and warning the UPND against copying what the Head of State was doing.

It was clear, to TI-Z, that the enforcement of COVID-19 regulations as it related to political parties was not done in a way that created a level playing field for all the parties. This weaponisation of the COVID-19 pandemic gave undue advantage to the ruling PF, and did not create the conditions for the holding of free and fair elections.

1.11. ACCESS TO PUBLIC MEDIA

TI-Z observed the worrying tendency by public media houses to not cover all political players in some form of equal measure. Only political players that aligned themselves to the ruling PF had continued to enjoy near unlimited coverage in the public media, while the same could hardly be said with regards to those with an inclination to opposition political parties. The few times when opposition parties were covered in the public media were cases of negative coverage. The entire campaign period was marred by systematic bias in state media, which failed to provide fair and equitable coverage of the campaigns of all parties, potentially limiting the possibility for voters in making informed choices.

1.12. ANTI-CORRUPTION STRATEGIES IN PARTY MANIFESTOS

Prior to the elections, TI-Z analyzed the party manifestos of the PF, the UPND and the Socialist Party, to ascertain what they said about the fight against corruption. It was observed that the three political parties had incorporated anti-corruption strategies into their manifestos, which showed that at a very basic level, there was some level of realization about the importance of tackling the corruption problem in Zambia. The focus of the PF manifesto on corruption was largely about plans to investigate and speedily prosecute cases of abuse of public resources and corruption reflected in the Auditor General's report, as well as the combating of corruption through the Integrity Committees in all public institutions. The UPND on the other hand chose to highlight their plans to strengthen the Anti-Corruption Commission (ACC), establish fast-track anti-corruption courts, facilitate for annual declarations of new wealth, and conduct lifestyle audits; while the Socialist Party highlighted its plans to increase the capacity and independence of oversight institutions, law enforcement agencies and the media, as well as educating the civil service on the criminality of corruption and greed.

TI-Z's general conclusion of the anti-corruption strategies was that, while it was commendable that the three political parties had included the issue of corruption as an important one, the ruling PF had failed to show what it had achieved in fighting corruption in the 10 years that it had been in power, while the two opposition parties had not provided convincing insights on how they would actualize the anti-corruption strategies which they had included in their manifestos.

1.13. INTERNET SHUTDOWN ON POLLING DAY

On election day, from around noon onwards, several Twitter users went to the platform to report that social media and messaging applications, including Facebook, Instagram, and WhatsApp appeared to have been shut down in the country. This came off the back of sentiments a few days earlier by the Permanent Secretary at the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting Services, to the effect that the government would not tolerate abuse of the internet and if any mischief occurred, they would not hesitate to invoke "relevant legal provisions" to forestall any breakdown of law and order. At the time the statement was made, it was roundly condemned by many electoral stakeholders, who saw it as a veiled attempt by the state to interfere with the flow of information on the day of the election. There was, therefore, little doubt amongst the majority of citizens that the shutdown experienced on Election Day was the fulfilment of the threat that the state had issued prior to the elections. To go round the shutdown, citizens made use of Virtual Private Network (VPN) services, which enabled them to continue using social media platforms to share real time information as voting went on.

It should be noted that Chapter One Foundation, a civil society organization, sued the Zambia Information Communication Technology Authority (ZICTA) over the internet shutdown on Election Day, and at the time of reporting, the matter was still active in the Lusaka High Court.

1.14. WOMEN PARTICIPATION IN THE ELECTIONS

The Constitution of Zambia provides that the electoral system should ensure gender equity regarding representation in the National Assembly and local councils. However, no specific measures to achieve this are prescribed in any legislation. According to statistics from the Zambia National Women's Lobby (ZNWL), the 2021 general elections had a total of 740 women contesting at different seats, presidential one (1), presidential running mate five (5), parliamentary 144, mayoral/council chairperson 25 and councilors 565. The political parties that fielded women on at least one of these levels were the FDD, MMD, SP, NAREP, UNIP, PF and UPND. There were also female independent candidates that contested the elections primarily at Parliamentary and local government levels. The SP had the highest number of women adopted, with 66 at Parliamentary level. The next party that adopted most women was the PF, followed by the UPND, UNIP, NAREP and FDD. Nevertheless, election results did not favour the female candidates, with only a few managing to win: one at Presidential running mate level, 20 at parliamentary level (out of 156 constituencies), 15 at mayoral/council chairperson level (out of 116 districts), and 141 at local government level (out of more than 1,500 wards).

2. TRANSPARENCY INTERNATIONAL ZAMBIA'S INVOLVEMENT IN THE 2021 GENERAL ELECTIONS

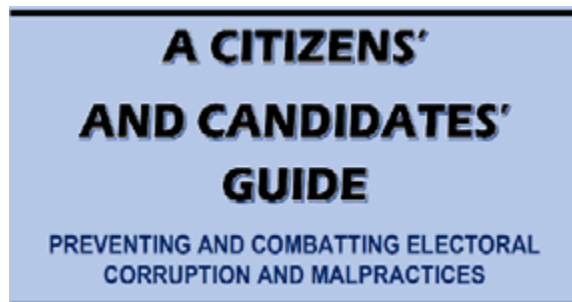
In its continued quest to promote good governance through various interventions that promote integrity, transparency, and accountability, TI-Z implemented a robust electoral strategy aimed at contributing to the promotion of political and electoral integrity through the reduction of electoral corruption and malpractices.

TI-Z believes that holding free and fair elections is a fundamental pillar of democracy as it guarantees protection of voters' choices, which can only be assured by elections that are held in a transparent, accountable manner and with integrity. To actualize the goal of promoting transparency, accountability and integrity in politics and the electoral process in Zambia, TI-Z conducted a range of activities within the context of its 2021 Elections Project, which was officially launched on 16th April 2021.

2.1. DEVELOPMENT OF TRAINING MATERIALS

This activity comprised of development of the Elections Anti-Corruption Training Manual, the TI-Z and ACC Citizens and Candidates' Guide; the Elections ICT-Based Monitoring Systems; the Campaign Monitoring tool; the Collation Center Monitoring Checklist; the Monitor's Guide; and the Nomination Checklist for Presidential Candidates.

2.1.1. CITIZENS AND CANDIDATES GUIDE



The TI-Z and ACC Citizens' and Candidates' Guide was to be used in the identification and prevention of electoral corruption and other malpractices during the electoral process by all citizens and candidates. The main objective of this guide was to provide basic information to the public on electoral corruption and malpractices during an election and enhance their ability in identifying, preventing and reporting these vices to relevant authorities.

2.1.2. TI-Z ELECTIONS ANTI-CORRUPTION TRAINING MANUAL

This was a manual for trainers, citizens, and other stakeholders aimed at preventing and taking action on corruption in the electoral process in Zambia. The contents of the manual ranged from understanding the context of elections to corruption in the electoral process, and monitoring elections. It included specific topics such as common electoral corrupt acts, laws on electoral corruption in Zambia, and benefits of a corruption-free electoral process, among others.



2.1.3. THE MONITORS GUIDE

This provided a summary of the steps which a respective monitor was expected to follow on the polling day. For example, the preparation for the opening of the polling station, voting procedures, counting process, and the delivery of results and elections materials to the collation centre.

2.1.4. ELECTIONS MONITORING SYSTEM MONITORS SECTION



TI-Z developed an automated Information Communication and Technology (ICT) system that monitors used for reporting incidents and polling day results. Other tools that were developed and fed into the system included the Campaign Monitoring Tool, Collation Centre Monitoring Checklist, and Presidential and Parliamentary Nomination Monitoring Checklist.

2.2. ELECTION CAMPAIGN MONITORING

2.2.1. LONG TERM MONITORS

TI-Z recruited both long-term and short-term monitors. The long-term monitors covered six (6) provinces and the short-term primarily covered four (4) provinces. However, there were also short terms monitors in some constituencies that had long-term monitors. Long-term monitors were those that monitored the campaign period for three (3) months to highlight any electoral malpractices occurring during the campaign period. The long-term monitors were recruited in April 2021, a month before the official campaign period got under way.

The long-term monitors covered Lusaka, Southern, Luapula, North-Western, Eastern, and Copperbelt provinces, with TI-Z training 160 long term monitors to cover these six provinces. However, 147 passed the test administered during the pre-deployment training and it was these, comprising 80 males and 67 females, who were consequently deployed into the field.

Table 2 shows the distribution of the long term monitors across the six provinces.

	Province	Number of monitors	Constituencies
1	Copperbelt	26	Bwana Mkubwa, Chifubu, Chililabombwe, Chimwemwe, Chingola, Kabushi, Kalulushi, Kwacha, Luanshya, Ndola central, Mpongwe and Wusakile.
2	Eastern	26	Chipangali, Chipata central, Kapoche, Kasenengwa, Kaumbwe, Luangeni, Lundazi, Malambo, Milanzi, Mkaika, Nyimba, Petauke Central, and Msanzala
3	Luapula	22	Bahati, Bangweulu, Chembe, Chifunabuli, Kawambwa, Mambilima, Mansa Central, Mwansabombwe, Mwense, Nchelenge, and Pambashe
4	Lusaka	26	Chawama, Matero, Katuba, Chilanga, Chisamba, Munali, Mandevu, Chongwe, Kafue, Lusaka Central, Kabwata, and Kanyama.
5	North-western	24	Chavuma, Ikeleng'i, Kabompo, Kasempa, Manyinga, Mufumbwe, Mwinilunga, Solwezi central, Solwezi East, Zambezi east, Zambezi west
6	Southern	26	Mazabuka Central, Pemba, Kazungula, Mapatizya, Bweengwa, Mbabala, Katombola, Moomba, Magoye, Choma Central, Monze, Chikankanta, and Kalomo Central.

Table 2 - Distribution of TI-Z's long term monitors

2.2.2. SHORT TERM MONITORS

After a one-day virtual orientation, a total of 76 short-term monitors were deployed by TI-Z in constituencies not catered for under the long-term monitoring. Short-term monitors were deployed to monitor on the actual polling day and the immediate aftermath, and to highlight any electoral malpractices during the voting period. The short-term monitors were trained and recruited two weeks before polling day. The short-term monitors were deployed primarily in 4 provinces namely Central, Western, Northern, and Muchinga. However, there were short-term monitors that were deployed to provinces that were designated for long-term monitoring as some provinces had more than 13 constituencies that were targeted in each province under the long-term monitoring.

Table 3 shows the deployment of the short term monitors in the four primary provinces.

	Province	Number of monitors	Constituencies
1	Central	17	Bwacha, Chisamba, Chitambo, Itezhi-Tezhi, Kapiri Central, Kapiri Mposhi, Katuba, Keembe, Lufubu, Mku North, Mkushi South, Muchinga, Mumbwa, Mwembe Nangoma, and Serenje
2	Muchinga	11	Chama North, Chama South, Chinsali, Isoka, Kachinb Mafinga, Mfuwe, Mpika Central, Mpika Central, Nako and Shiwangandu.
3	Northern	13	Chiluba, Chimbamilonga, Kaputa, Kasama Cent Lubansenshi, Lukushya, Lunte, Lupososhi, Malone, Mb Mporokoso, Mpulungu, and Senga Hill.
4	Western	19	Kalabo Central, Kaoma Central, Liuwa, Luampa, Lu Lukulu East, Mangango, Mitte, Mongu Central, Mulob Mwandu, Nalikwanda, Nalolo, Nkeyema, Sena Sesehe, Shang'ombo, Sikongo, and Sioma.
	Cross cutting	16	Monitors drawn from 16 constituencies across provinces including Namwala, Siavonga, Chirur Rufunsa, Vubwi, Gwembe, Masaiti, Nkana, Mufu Dundumwezi among others.

Table 3 - Distribution of TI-Z's short term monitors

2.3. EVIDENCE-BASED ADVOCACY

This section presents an overview of the advocacy and research related activities which were undertaken as part of the 2021 Elections Project. TI-Z subscribes to the use of “evidence-based advocacy” through linking research to advocacy and communication strategies. As part of the Elections Project, a number of surveys and research tools were employed in order to effectively monitor the 2021 general elections and provide guidance to key stakeholders on the developments in the political environment. These included the Elections Project Update, campaign expenditure monitoring surveys and elections results monitoring tools.

2.3.1. ELECTIONS PROJECT UPDATE

The elections project update was a consolidated live streaming platform used for media sharing and hosted every Tuesday at 10:00hrs on the TI-Z Facebook page. As part of the elections project communication strategy, this platform sought to eliminate distortions in information sharing with the media and general public. During the period May to August 2021, a total of 12 elections project updates were given.

The Elections project update was more than just a live streaming platform. Before each episode was broadcasted, media analysis was conducted in order to identify the key developments in the electoral process during the preceding week. Thereafter, the identified issues were subjected to an internal process of review in order to reduce them to three (3) main issues.

Once the 3 main issues were identified, the drafting of the main statement was initiated. This was followed by the development of shorter extract statements and the recording of the video and audio statements to be used for media sharing. Each of the 3 issues in the statement was supported by evidence on the ground, media articles or citations of different laws in order to guarantee credibility.

Table 4 presents an overview of the key issues which were discussed as part of the 2021 Elections Project Updates.

Update No.	Dates	Key Issues
1	4 th May 2021	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Corruption in the intra-party adoption process 2. Call to change narrative on abuse of State Resources 3. Warning against the practice of giving money to the electorates
2	11 th May 2021	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Selective application of the Public Order Act 2. Uneven access to public media 3. Anti-corruption strategies in party manifestos (PF and UPND)
3	17 th May 2021	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Poor adoption process in political parties (effect of corruption) 2. The rise of independent candidate following poor adopts 3. Anti-corruption strategies in party manifestos (Socialist)
4	25 th May 2021	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Reflections on Presidential Nominations 2. Nominations of Parliamentary and Local Government Candidates 3. COVID-19 and campaigning without public rallies
5	1 st June 2021	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Escalation towards banning public rallies 2. Constitutional right to petition nominations 3. Implications of Electoral Process (Amendment) Act 32 of 2021



6	7 th June 2021	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. TI-Z engagement with the Electoral Commission of Zambia 2. Suspension of Public rallies by ECZ 3. Abuse of public resources during campaigns (Nkandu Luo)
7	15 th June 2021	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Increasing electoral violence 2. Campaigning through inspection of development projects 3. Preliminary findings on Billboard Advertising in Lusaka
<i>Break due to period of national mourning for Dr. Kenneth Kaunda, First President of Zambia</i>		
8	13 th July 2021	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. ECZ's action against electoral malpractices (Kambwili saga) 2. Printing of Ballot papers in Dubai (limited consultation) 3. Use of Public resources for campaigning (Fire truck case)
9	20 th July 2021	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Rationale for Monitoring Campaign spending on billboards 2. Methodology of the analysis 3. Findings, Lusaka and Countrywide
10	27 th July 2021	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Rationale for Incidence analysis 2. Methodology of the survey 3. Results of the survey
<i>Original 11th Elections Project Update focusing on Radio and Television Advertisement changed for tactical reasons</i>		
11 (Revised)	3 rd August 2021	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Accreditation exercise 2. Role of election monitors and observers 3. Limited voter and civic education and awareness
12	10 th August 2021	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Importance of securitizing political party manifestos 2. Importance of citizens exercising their right to vote 3. Importance of political parties respecting the electoral process

Table 4 - Overview of key issues covered in the Elections Project Updates

The media statements derived from the Elections Project Updates were widely covered by print media as well as radio and television stations across the country. For example, the 7th and 9th Elections Project Updates, which presented findings on billboard expenditure, were covered by HOT FM, Lusaka Times, The Mast, News Diggers, Smart Eagles, Chikuni Community Radio, Radio Phoenix, Open Zambia, Spring24 TV, Cloud FM Zambia and many others. The wide coverage of the story resulted in the PF issuing statements to refute the report.

Figure 2 shows excerpts of the Elections Project Updates media coverage.

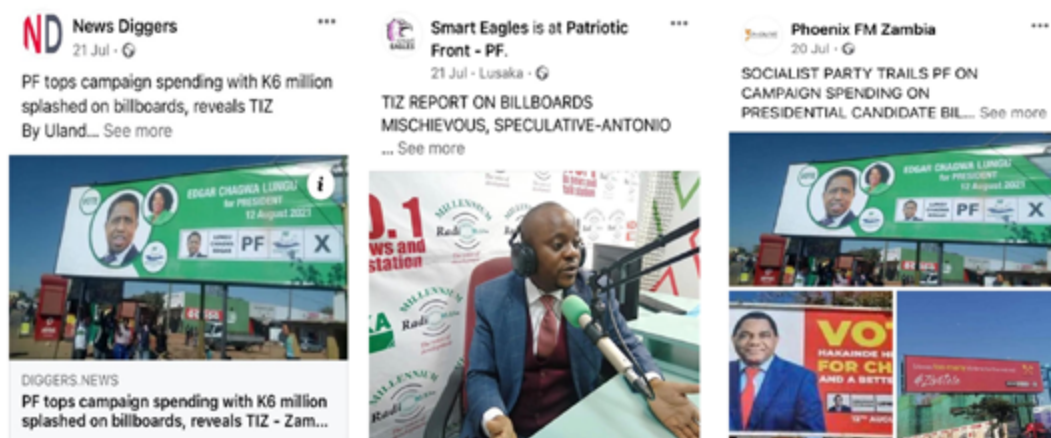


Figure 2 - Excerpts of Elections Updates media coverage

2.3.2. STUDIES ON CAMPAIGN MONITORING.

2.3.2.1. BILLBOARD EXPENDITURE SURVEYS

The monitoring of Campaign Spending was part of TI-Z's long-term monitoring of the 2021 general electoral process. This aspect of the monitoring was meant to give Zambians an estimate of how much political parties were spending on trying to convince the electorate to vote for them, and to ultimately inform ongoing advocacy work on the pertinent issue of political party financing in Zambia.

Two (2) surveys were conducted on billboard expenditure during the campaign period, May to August 2021. The pilot survey was conducted in May 2021 focusing only on Lusaka, and a follow up nation-wide survey was conducted in June 2021. For the pilot survey, it was found that for the month of May 2021, the PF had at least 208 billboards, the Socialist party had at least 70, the UPND had at least 24 and the Democratic Party had at least 4 billboards across the city of Lusaka. Based on this quantity survey and pricing information obtained from advertising agencies for various sizes of billboards, it was estimated that the PF spent at least K2.9 million on billboard advertisement

for the month of May, followed by the Socialist party which spent at least K864,000. The UPND spent a minimum of K648,000 while the Democratic Party spent a minimum of K108,000. All these expenditures were only for the month of May and focused only on Lusaka.

From the nation-wide survey conducted in June 2021, it was observed that PF billboards had increased from at least 209 in May to at least 322 in June, Socialist Party Billboards increased from a minimum of 70 to 84 while UPND billboards had increased from a minimum of 24 to 73. A more detailed analysis of the increase in presidential candidate billboards revealed that the PF, Socialist Party and UPND had predominantly installed smaller sized billboards during the month of June. In terms of expenditure on Lusaka presidential billboards, the PF spent a minimum of K4.488 million in June, compared to K723,000 for the UPND and K1.195 million for the Socialist Party. The Democratic Party increased its minimum expenditure from K108,000 in May to K135,000 in June. It was also found that during the month of June, the six political parties spent a minimum of K10.366 million on presidential candidate billboards across the country, out of which the PF spent a minimum of K6.05 million and was followed by the Socialist party at K2.26 million and the UPND at K1.31 million.

The full report of billboard expenditure was published on the TI-Z website and can be downloaded via this link: <https://www.tizambia.org.zm/wp-content/uploads/2021/07/Billboard-Costing-Report.pdf>.



2.3.2.2. ELECTORAL INCIDENCE ANALYSIS



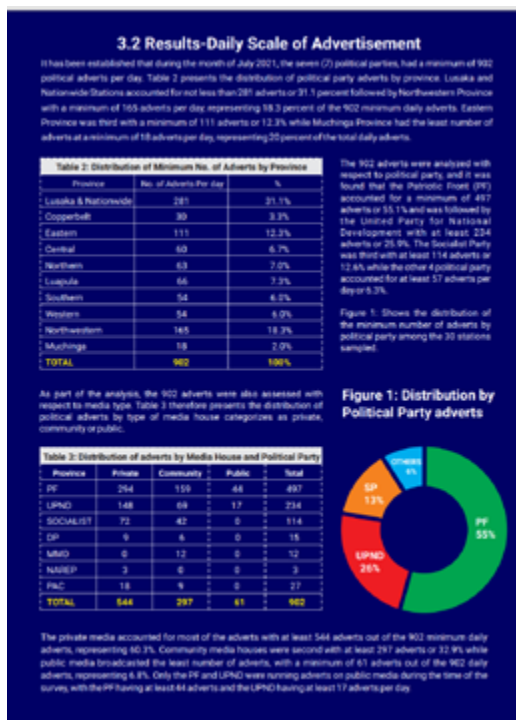
As part of our long-term monitoring of the electoral process, TI-Z also monitored the nomination process and campaign period across the country through the deployment of long-term monitors. This was aimed at generating credible and reliable information to inform the overall assessment of the credibility of the 2021 elections. This information also provided a basis upon which key stakeholders, such as voters, non-governmental actors, political parties and government entities, could evaluate the credibility of the elections. During the months of May and June, TI-Z monitored a total of 85 electoral events across the country. Out of these 85 events, the Copperbelt and North Western Provinces accounted for the majority of events with 34 and 19 events respectively. These were followed by Luapula province with 12 events. Eastern Province recorded the least number of events during the period under review.

Out of these 85 events monitored in May and June 2021, 44 electoral incidences were recorded, which included cases of electoral malpractices, violence, bribery, and the use of abusive language. This represented a 51.8% incidence rate across the 6 provinces. Out of the number of events monitored by province, Lusaka had the highest incidence rate at 75% of the events followed by Luapula Province with 58.3% and Copperbelt province with 55.9%. Our analysis of the 44 incidences revealed that most incidences were linked to the PF and the United Party for National Development. Out of the 44 incidences the PF and UPND accounted for 34 cases, with 21 cases or 47.7% being linked to the PF, 8 cases or 18.2% being linked to the UPND and 5 cases being linked to both the PF and UPND.

A classification of the 44 incidences using an incidence matrix revealed that bribery accounted for 18 cases or 40.9%. These were followed by 16 incidences of abusive language, out of which, 3 had elements of violence. Cases of violence accounted for 9 incidences. Since bribery and electoral violence accounted for most of the incidences, further analysis was conducted. The analysis revealed that out of the 9 cases of violence, 7 cases were linked to the PF and UPND. One case was linked the PF and Democratic Party and the other case was unclassified. The cases of bribery were also analyzed in order to identify the perpetrators and the breakdown of the cases was later shared with relevant law enforcement agencies.

The full report was published via the TI-Z website and Facebook page on 27th July 2021 and is available on the TI-Z website via this link: <https://tizambia.org.zm/wp-content/uploads/2021/07/Electoral-Incidence-Report.pdf>.

2.3.2.2. ELECTORAL INCIDENCE ANALYSIS



During the month of July, TI-Z conducted the final campaign spending monitoring survey, which focused on television and radio adverts. The July Radio and Television Advertisement Survey collected primary data on the number of political party adverts broadcasted by radio and television stations in all the 10 provinces of Zambia. Since radio and television frequencies cannot be restricted to districts, the analysis offered no breakdown at district level. Seven political parties were targeted for the data collection; and these were the PF, UPND, SP, DP, NAREP, MMD and PAC. These parties were selected to maintain consistency with previous campaign financing studies. Information on the cost of advert placement was then collected from different media houses for estimation of campaign expenditure. A total of 30 media houses were sampled for the study. The sample included 16 private media houses, including 3 television stations and 13 radio stations. It also included 10 community radio stations and 3 public media houses, including 2 television stations and 1 radio station.

It was established that during the month of July 2021, the seven (7) political parties, had a minimum of 902 political adverts per day. The private media accounted for most of the adverts, with at least 544 adverts out of the 902 minimum daily adverts, representing 60.3%. Community media houses were second with at least 297 adverts or 32.9% while public media broadcasted the least number of adverts, with a minimum of 61 adverts out of the 902 daily adverts, representing 6.8%. Only the PF and UPND were running adverts on public media during the time of the survey, with the PF having at least 44 adverts and the UPND having at least 17 adverts per day. The 902 adverts were also analyzed with respect to political party, and it was found that the PF accounted for a minimum of 497 adverts or 55.1% and was followed by the UPND with at least 234 adverts or 25.9%. The Socialist Party was third with at least 114 adverts or 12.6% while the other 4 parties accounted for at least 57 adverts per day or 6.3%.

The full report was also published via the TI-Z website and is available via: <https://tizambia.org.zm/wp-content/uploads/2021/09/Advert-Spending-Monitoring-Report.pdf>.

2.4. POLLING DAY MONITORING

2.4.1. MONITORING METHODOLOGY

TI-Z had employed a unique methodology where each monitor, monitored one polling station from 06.00hrs until the time for counting of votes ended. Immediately the polling station closed, the respective monitors transitioned to constituency totaling centers. The monitors were required to collect the E19 Forms which had results indicated there, thereafter the monitors submitted the same to the TI-Z Command Centre through the TI-Z ICT system. The TI-Z Command Centre then conducted the Parallel Vote Validation (Integrity Index), which was used to verify the ECZ posted results.

2.4.2. ELECTIONS DAY EVENTS AND EXPERIENCES

The polling day saw a large voter turnout, especially among the young people and women, with queues forming as early as 23.00hrs on the eve of Election Day. There was a heightened vigilance to protect the vote, huge deployment of monitors through different civil society organizations and the general citizenry. There was an internet shutdown by the Government such that most of the sites were not accessible, especially WhatsApp and Facebook, which were used for easy communication across the country.

Below are summaries of the Election Day experiences from a selection of TI-Z monitors.

“Campaign period, the ruling party was at liberty to do campaigns as they wished i.e. distribution of masks to the electorates during the banned physical campaign by ECZ on perceived inspections of developmental projects whereas the opposition was restricted. Police service provision was selective and biased towards the ruling party. On Polling Day, the citizenry turned out in large numbers to vote, especially the youths. Regarding Results Processing and Management, generally, result processing and Management was satisfactory though there were some delays in announcing results mainly due to results verification and ECZ gadget failure i.e. printer.

“In my experience, Chisamba was amazing, starting from my 10 days of monitoring right into the polling day. People were friendly, peaceful, and kind. Polling day was good, Police conducted themselves well, the voters knew exactly what they wanted, especially the young ones who were a lot compared to the elderly. I arrived at the polling station at 05 am and the school was already full, and I could hear them saying they lined up by 03 am. Some had blankets with them, amazing. The voting was peaceful, with no dubious behavior. The totaling center was good too, the returning Office did his job well, immediately results came in, he made sure they were read out without wasting time, everything was done in our presence, not behind a table”.

“There is need to train POs and ROs by ECZ well and should work as ECZ officials and not as Government Workers Secondly, security officers in Chongwe worked professionally from campaign time up to Polling day and after. They were impartial. That's what we need for our democracy to be meaningful”.

The ECZ faced challenges including not being trusted by voters, ink running out, stamps breaking down, biometric machines failing and causing delays for the differently-abled people to cast their votes. Further, some experiences included incidences of malpractice reported by our monitors, incidences of violence in some constituencies, death(s) in some constituencies, intimidation and threats from the ruling party, an alarming number of rejected votes in some constituencies, and a limited number of booths in some polling stations.

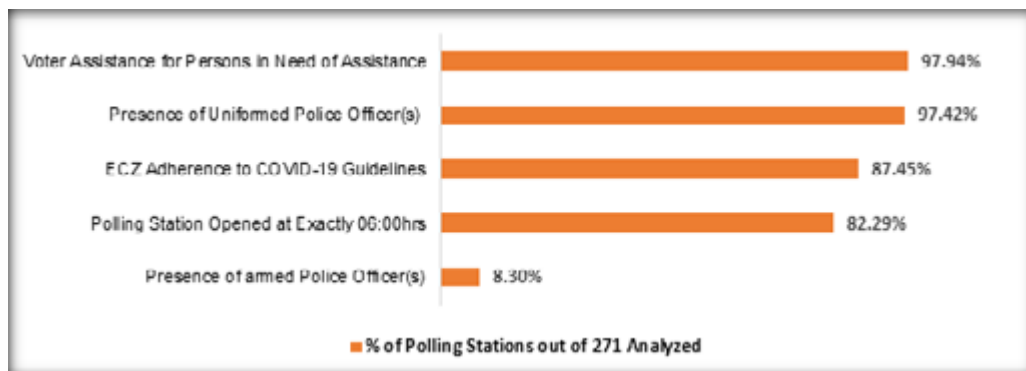


Figure 3 - Polling day surveys conducted by TI-Z

TI-Z conducted two surveys aimed at collecting information from monitors with regard to the process during the day of voting. A total of 271 monitors answered the first survey, which was conducted immediately after the opening of polling stations across the country. It was discovered, through this survey that the majority of the sampled polling stations (82.29%) opened at exactly 06.00hrs. Despite the clear regulation to have unarmed police presence in the polling stations, it was observed that in 8.30% of the sampled polling stations, police officers were armed while police presence was found to be in 97.42% of the sampled polling stations. The first survey also revealed that 87.45% of the sampled polling stations were in adherence to COVID-19 regulations while 97.94% provided assistance for voters who were in need of assistance.

The second survey was conducted immediately after the totaling of results at the polling stations. Although, only 98 monitors answered this survey, it was observed that 64.29% of the sampled polling stations closed on time. Furthermore, 95.92% of the sampled polling stations completed the record of proceedings during the counting of votes and 97.69% completed the provided copies of the completed ballot accounts.

The two surveys were conducted in real-time and thus the results were progressively shared with the general public using the TI-Z Facebook page. This was aimed at providing insights to the voters and other key stakeholders on developments as they were taking place on polling day.

2.5. TI-Z TRANSPARENCY VOTE VERIFICATION

The Electoral Process (Amendment) Act no 32 of 2021 made it illegal for any entity other than the ECZ to announce and declare election results. In our analysis of the Amendment Act (see: <https://tizambia.org.zm/wp-content/uploads/2021/07/Document.pdf>) we noted that “the provision with regards the announcing and declaration of results by other entities such as civil society organizations and the media was a direct attack on Parallel Vote

KABWE CENTRAL CONSTITUENCY CENTRAL PROVINCE		INTEGRITY INDEX = 98.96 %	
	CANDIDATE	PARTY	ECZ RESULT % DIFFERENCE WITH TI-Z PVT
1	HICHILEMA HakaInde S	UPND	23463 +1%
2	LUNGU Edgar C	PF	20924 +1%
3	KALABA Harry	DP	162 +3%
4	MMEMBE Fred	SP	91 +2%
5	HAMUDUDU Highvie H	PNUP	65 0%
6	MUMBA Nevers S	MMD	61 0%
7	BANDA Andyford M	PAC	54 0%
8	KATEKA Chishala B	NHP	47 +2%
9	NYIRENDA Stephen	NAREP	37 0%
10	CHANDA Charles	UPPZ	19 +5%
11	CHISELA Lazarus	ZUSD	17 0%
12	MWAMBA Musonda TS	UNIP	14 0%
13	MWENDA Kasonde C	EFF	11 0%
14	TONGA Enoch R	BRD LM	8 0%
15	SILUMBE Richard	LM	6 0%
16	TEMBO Sean E	PEP	3 0%

MEANING

- No difference between our PVT and ECZ's results
- A difference of 1% to 5% between our PVT and ECZ's results
- A difference of 5% or more between our PVT and ECZ's results

Tabulation (PVT). In response to this limitation, TI-Z developed a new approach to parallel vote tabulation and termed it “Parallel Vote Verification”. Instead of sharing actual results collected by monitors across the country, the results collected by TI-Z were compared to ECZ results and then a measure of integrity was computed. The integrity index was computed as 100 minus the sum of absolute differences, divided by the TI-Z Results, and then multiplied by 100. The Integrity Index therefore provided a value of 100 whenever there was a perfect match between TI-Z and ECZ results and the index value reduced, below 100 and towards Zero whenever there was a mismatch.

Through this analysis, TI-Z was able to note that the ECZ was highly credible in the results they were releasing during the 2021 general elections. Out of the 155 presidential results analyzed at constituency level, only 5 results had computational errors. These were for Kabwe Central, Chipata Central, Solwezi East, Mazabuka Central and Nkana constituencies. A full list of the analyzed results is available

on the TI-Z elections website and can be accessed using this link: <https://elections.tizambia.org.zm/wp-content/uploads/2021/08/Complete-List-of-155-edited.pdf>.

3. KEY RECOMMENDATIONS BASED ON TI-Z'S INVOLVEMENT

Enhancement of several aspects of the electoral process, including a review of the legal framework, is required for the full realization of fundamental rights of individuals and groups, as provided for in international and regional principles for democratic elections. In this regard, the following recommendations are offered for consideration and action to the Government of the Republic of Zambia, the Electoral Commission of Zambia, political parties, civil society and the international community.

1. The Government should review the Public Order Act to remove overly restrictive limitations of freedom of assembly, and to limit the possibility of arbitrary restrictions during election campaigns, clearly defining the grounds for the Police to impose conditions and to restrict assemblies.
2. There is need to review the Electoral Process Act no. 35 of 2016, and the Amended Act No 2 of 2021 to remove unclear, ambiguous and conflicting provisions in order to ensure consistency and increase legal certainty.
3. The Electoral Process Act should further be strengthened to make it more effective in addressing issues of political violence during elections. The violence witnessed during the 2021 electoral process was deeply regrettable and placed an indelible stain on the entire process. In the same vein, we urge the UPND government to fully implement all the 33 recommendations of the Commission of Inquiry on Voting Patterns and Electoral Violence that was set up in 2016.
4. The appointment of ECZ commissioners should be revised in order to increase confidence among all stakeholders in the independence of the ECZ. This calls for the enactment of a law that will ensure that the Commissioners are not appointed by the President as this compromises integrity of the Commission.
5. The ECZ should increase consultations and communications with stakeholders throughout any electoral cycle, to enhance stakeholder involvement and confidence. More regular meetings with political parties and civil society organizations should be held. Clear and updated information should be published and disseminated in a timely fashion to all stakeholders, including the media. Decisions and regulations produced by the ECZ should be clearly explained to stakeholders.
6. Civil society organizations and other stakeholders should ensure extensive and continuous civic education throughout the electoral cycle to ensure all citizens are informed on their rights as voters, electoral systems and role of elected institutions and main aspects of governance. Voter education campaigns should continue until Election Day, and include clear instructions on how to mark a ballot. The high number of rejected ballots in the 2021 elections shows why this recommendation is important.
7. The ECZ should ensure that the provisions of the law regarding voter registration are followed to the letter for continuous voter registration. Further, the competencies and procedures for conflict management committees (CMCs) should be defined in detail and ensure that they do not overlap with those of the Police and the courts of law.
8. The Government should enact legislation on political party and campaign financing to provide clear monitoring and transparency in both campaign funding and expenses. Ceilings on expenditure for parties and candidates should be introduced. This will help to create a level playing field in any election.
9. There is need to review the role of the Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC) and the Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA) in ensuring that political parties have equal access to media during campaign periods and beyond. Protection of tenure of the employees and senior management should also be guaranteed, through their appointment in an independent manner, with the involvement of media professionals and civil society organizations.
10. Related to the above, the ECZ should exercise enhanced oversight over the public media, and more actively address complaints related to campaign coverage. A specialized unit could be established within the ECZ during elections, with specific responsibilities to implement an expedited procedure for hearing complaints related to media coverage of the election campaign.

Annex 1: Composition of the TI-Z Elections Committee

- | | |
|----------------------------|---|
| 1. Mr. Sampa Kalungu | Chapter President and Committee Chairperson |
| 2. Dr. Annie Chewe | Chapter Vice President |
| 3. Mr. Chivunda Kaumba | Board Member |
| 4. Mr. Adam Daka | Member |
| 5. Mr. Rueben Lifuka | Member |
| 6. Ms. Janet Mundando | Member |
| 7. Mr. Lackson Lungu | Member |
| 8. Mr. Maurice Nyambe | Executive Director |
| 9. Mr. Raymond Mutale | Programmes Manager |
| 10. Mr. Daniel Mutale | Finance and Administration Manager |
| 11. Mr. Chimuka Nachibinga | Democratic Governance Lead |
| 12. Mr. Bright Chizonde | Advocacy, Policy and Research Specialist |
| 13. Mr. Hamulilo Handia | IT Officer |

Annex 2: Sample TI-Z Election Materials

ANNEX 2.1 TI-Z COLLATION CENTER MONITOR'S CHECKLIST 2021



Province:		District:	
Constituency:			
Constituency Collation center ID:		Total number of polling stations:	
Monitors Personal Details			
Monitor's name:		Gender:	
NRC number:		Monitor's phone number:	
No.	Question	Answer	
1.	Were there any incidences of corruption reported or you witnessed at the collation centre? If so please list each incident and give a brief description below	Yes	No
2.	Did all polling stations bring in the results as soon as the counting was finished?	Yes	No
3.	Did the returning officer capture all polling station results accurately as declared by individual polling stations?	Yes	No
4.	Were there any disparities between polling station results and constituency collation center results?	Yes	No
5.	Were there any disputes with regards to the accuracy of the results captured by the constituency collation centers?	Yes	No
6.	Did the returning officer announce the polling station ID number and name for each polling station being totaled?	Yes	No
7.	Did the returning officer announce whether they accepted or overruled the presiding officer's decision on disputed ballots?	Yes	No
8.	Was the declaration of results form completed?	Yes	No
9.	Was the result declared to the public beginning with the candidate with the lowest votes?	Yes	No
10	Were all the results displayed transparently during the collation?	Yes	No
11	Were the results transmitted accordingly, to the national collation center after verification?	Yes	No
12	Were there any disagreements you witnessed at the collation centre? Please describe these below.	Yes	No

ANNEX 2.2 NOMINATION MONITORING CHECKLIST

Monitor's Name:		Phone:	
Province:		District:	
Constituency:		Ward:	
Date of Monitoring:		Location:	
<i>Tick "Yes or No" in the appropriate box</i>			
1	Did ECZ check the status of the candidates on whether they were convicted by courts of law for any case in the last 3 years?	Yes	No
2	Did ECZ check on whether the candidates were removed from public office because of gross misconduct in the last 5 years?	Yes	No
3	Did the party consider the National constitution requirement below in adopting the following?	Yes	No
	1. Presidential candidate		
	a. A citizen by birth or decent	Yes	No
	b. Has been ordinarily resident in Zambia	Yes	No
	c. Is at least 35 years old		
	d. Is a registered voter		
	e. Has obtained, as a minimum academic qualification, a grade 12 certificate or its equivalent		
	f. He is fluent in the official language	Yes	No

	g. Has paid that person's taxes or has made arrangements satisfactory with the appropriate tax authority for the payment of the taxes		
	h. Declares that persons assets and liabilities, as prescribed		
	i. Pays the prescribed election fees on, or before, the date fixed for the delivery of nomination papers		
	j. Supported by at least 100 registered voters from each province.	Yes	No
	2. Member of Parliament candidate		
	a. Is a citizen	Yes	No
	b. Is at least 21 years old	Yes	No
	c. Is a registered voter	Yes	No
	d. Has obtained, as a minimum academic qualification, a grade 12 certificate or its equivalent	Yes	No
	e. Declares that persons assets and liabilities, as prescribed	Yes	No
	f. Pays the prescribed election fees on, or before, the date fixed for the delivery of nomination papers	Yes	No
	g. Supported by at least 15 registered voters,	Yes	No
	3. Councilor		
	a. Is not a member of parliament	Yes	No
	b. Is not less than 19 years of age	Yes	No
	c. Is a citizen or holder of a resident permit, resident in the district	Yes	No
	d. Has obtained, as a minimum academic qualification, a grade 12 certificate or its equivalent	Yes	No
	e. Has a certificate of clearance showing the payment of council taxes, where applicable.	Yes	No
	4. Mayor		
	a. Is not a member of parliament		
	b. Is not less than 19 years of age		
	c. Is a citizen or holder of a resident permit, resident in the district		
	d. Has obtained, as a minimum academic qualification, a grade 12 certificate or its equivalent		
	e. Has a certificate of clearance showing the payment of council taxes, where applicable.		
5	Was there any suspected mal practice in the filing in of nomination (if yes give details at the end of the form)	Yes	No
COMMENTS			
Name of Monitor		Signature	Telephone Number

ANNEX 2.3 POLLING DAY MONITOR'S GUIDE

Polling day monitor's Guide

Key issues to look out for:
Throughout the whole process, check if there are any incidents of **corruption, bribery, violence, intimidation or harassment during voting and counting process.**

1. Preparation for opening the polling station

- Check that you are at the polling station 15 minutes before the start of voting.
- Check if the polling station is open to the public.
- Check if the polling station is open to the public.
- Check if the polling station is open to the public.
- Check if the polling station is open to the public.

2. Voting procedures

- Ensure that the voters' identity is proven before the Presiding Officer starts the voting process.
- Ensure that the voters' identity is proven before the Presiding Officer starts the voting process.
- Ensure that the voters' identity is proven before the Presiding Officer starts the voting process.

3. Counting process

Observe if any unauthorized people are present during the counting process. All of the people who are present in the polling station should be allowed to observe the counting process.

- Unauthorized people
- Unauthorized people
- Unauthorized people
- Unauthorized people
- Unauthorized people

3.3 Step One

Before the counting process starts, the following steps should be taken:

- Check that the polling station is open to the public.
- Check that the polling station is open to the public.
- Check that the polling station is open to the public.

3.4 Step Two

The steps of preparing the ballot paper are as follows:

- The steps of preparing the ballot paper are as follows.
- The steps of preparing the ballot paper are as follows.
- The steps of preparing the ballot paper are as follows.

3.5 Step Three

After the following are packed in the ballot box:

- After the following are packed in the ballot box.
- After the following are packed in the ballot box.
- After the following are packed in the ballot box.

4. Delivery of results and election materials to the Collation Centre

Proper precautionary measures when transporting election materials: Check if the Presiding Officer is accompanied by the uniformed staff and polling agents (optional).

Do's

- Do not be afraid to report if you see any irregularities during the monitoring process.
- Do not be afraid to report if you see any irregularities during the monitoring process.
- Do not be afraid to report if you see any irregularities during the monitoring process.

Don't's

- Do not be afraid to report if you see any irregularities during the monitoring process.
- Do not be afraid to report if you see any irregularities during the monitoring process.
- Do not be afraid to report if you see any irregularities during the monitoring process.

FOR MORE INFORMATION
 Contact: Transparency International Zambia
 Plot 128, Mwambula Road, Jesmondine
 www.tinzambia.org.zm
 Email: info@tinzambia.org.zm
 Or call: +260 211 298 649

Annex 3: Pictures



TI-Z Elections Committee Member, Mr. Chivunda Kaumba, conducting a session during the training of monitors in North-Western Province



A TI-Z Monitor in Southern Province waiting the start of counting at a Constituency Totalling Centre



TI-Z Elections Committee Member, Mr. Chivunda Kaumba, conducting a session during the training of monitors in North-Western Province



Monitors at the Constituency Totaling Centre in Livingstone



TI-Z engagement meeting with the Electoral Commission of Zambia prior to the elections



Accreditation of local Monitors and Observers at the Lusaka Civic Centre



Long queues of voters in Chawama



TI-Z Chapter President, Mr. Sampa Kalungu during training of Monitors in Southern Province



TI-Z Executive Director, Mr. Maurice Nyambe, at the National Results Centre



**TRANSPARENCY
INTERNATIONAL
ZAMBIA**

FOR MORE INFORMATION:

Transparency International Zambia

Phone: +260 211 293 649

Mobile: +260 211 293 649

Plot number 128 Mwambula Road, Lusaka, Zambia

Email: info@tizambia.org.zm

EDITORIAL:

Maurice K. Nyambe

Raymond Mutale

COMPILED BY:

Chimuka Nachibinga

Bright Chizonde

Hamulilo Handia

DESIGN & LAYOUT:

Elatum Digi Branding