



# TRANSPARENCY WATCH

*A Newsletter from Transparency  
International Zambia*



[WWW.TIZAMBIA.ORG.ZM](http://WWW.TIZAMBIA.ORG.ZM)

**25 years of fighting corruption, memorable achievements,  
and continuous growth.**

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*As we welcome the beginning of the year 2025, we are excited to celebrate with you the 25th anniversary of Transparency International Zambia. In this quarter of a century, it has been our privilege and duty to push forward the fight against corruption, advocating for stronger laws and transparent regulations and empowering communities to hold our leaders accountable.*

*Throughout 2025, we will be celebrating this important anniversary with a series of events and initiatives, evoking the key moments in our quest for “A corruption free Zambia anchored on citizens, businesses and institutions of integrity”. We will be sharing with you in-depth analyses and the latest updates in the anti-corruption space through our newsletter “Transparency Watch” on a monthly basis, the last Thursday of every month. Stay tuned, and don’t hesitate to share with us your feedback and suggestions, we are excited to receive them and integrate them in our work!*

**Maurice Nyambe, Executive Director**

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# JANUARY 2025



## Main Story

**THE KAWAMBWA BY-ELECTION**  
TI-Z ENSURES CLOSE MONITORING,  
HIGHLIGHTING STRENGTHS AND  
MALPRACTICES

## Meet our Staff

**RAYMOND MUTALE**  
HEAD OF PROGRAMMES



- 28/01 ▶ CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM MEETING
- 24-26 JAN ▶ ANALYSIS OF AUDIT GENERAL'S REPORT ON CDF
- 22-23 JAN ▶ ANTI-CORRUPTION ACT REVISION
- DEC. ▶ KAWAMBWA BY-ELECTIONS
- 23/12 ▶ END OF YEAR PRESS BRIEFING
- 13/12 ▶ INVESTIGATIVE ENVIRONMENTAL REPORTING WORKSHOP

MAIN STORY

## THE KAWAMBWA BY-ELECTION

*In this edition, we reflect on the Kawambwa Parliamentary By-Election, where our monitoring efforts uncovered crucial lessons and challenges. These findings, shared during a detailed press briefing we held on the 23rd of December 2024, highlight the path forward in strengthening electoral integrity in Zambia.*



*Picture credit: Global Press Journal*

The Kawambwa Parliamentary By-Election, held in December 2024, was closely monitored by TI-Z as part of its commitment to ensuring fair and corrupt-free elections. The election revealed a mixed picture, with notable strengths and glaring gaps in Zambia's electoral framework. The findings from TI-Z's observations provide an opportunity to reflect, reform, and safeguard the future of Zambia's electoral democracy.

One of the most alarming observations was the prevalence of electoral malpractices. Reports of vote buying and voter inducement were widespread, with cash, food, and transport services provided to sway voters. Monitors at Shinonde Polling Station observed trucks ferrying voters from Nchelenge for voter card replacements, raising serious concerns about the integrity of the electoral process.

TI-Z also received reports of ruling party officials distributing K50 notes and other gifts under the guise of empowerment initiatives. These actions, which violate the Electoral Process Act No. 35 of 2016, highlight a culture of impunity that erodes public trust in elections.

“The offering of money or gifts to voters is an electoral offence, and yet we saw it happening with a level of impunity that undermines public confidence in our democratic processes,” said Mr. Maurice K. Nyambe, TI-Z Executive Director. “This calls for stronger enforcement of existing laws and greater accountability from all stakeholders involved.”

Campaign financing was another critical issue. Despite constitutional provisions under Article 60 (4) that establish the Political Parties Fund and regulate campaign expenditures, the absence of substantive legislation has left campaign financing largely unregulated. TI-Z noted significant disparities, with the ruling party’s financial and material dominance creating an uneven playing field. Campaign billboards, vehicles, and foot soldiers highlighted the financial advantage of the ruling party.

The lack of transparency in campaign financing exacerbates inequalities and undermines electoral fairness. “Regulating campaign financing is not just a constitutional obligation but a necessary step to ensure a level playing field,” noted Mr. Nyambe. “Without this, the influence of money

in politics will continue to overshadow the voices of ordinary citizens.”

Concerns also arose over the independence of the Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ). Even though the Constitution mandates that the ECZ establish independent offices in districts, it continues to rely on town clerks and council secretaries as district electoral officers. This practice raises potential conflict of interest and creates perceptions of bias. TI-Z therefore called for urgent reforms to appoint independent ECZ officials at district level, ensuring that elections are managed impartially.

The campaign environment, while largely peaceful, was not without incidents of violence. Clashes between supporters of the United Party for National Development (UPND) and the New Congress Party marred parts of the process. Though these incidents did not deter voter turnout, they left a stain on the by-election. TI-Z urged political players to prioritize peace and discipline, calling for strong enforcement measures to deter violence in future elections.

Another glaring issue was the underrepresentation of women. Despite constitutional provisions promoting gender equity, none of the four participating parties fielded female candidates in Kawambwa. Systemic barriers such as high nomination fees, educational requirements, and inadequate intra-party support for women remain significant challenges. “Zambia must

do more to promote the full participation of women, youth, and persons with disabilities in elections,” said Mr. Nyambe.

Media coverage during the election was also limited, with state and private media failing to provide equitable access to all political parties. The dominance of ruling party-affiliated media platforms restricted voters’ ability to make informed assertions and choices. This highlighted the need for reforms to ensure balanced and comprehensive media representation during elections.

Despite these challenges, there were some positive indicators. The Public Order Act was seemingly enforced fairly by the Zambia Police Service, creating a generally level playing field for all political parties. The peaceful conduct of the campaign period and polling day, albeit the few skirmishes aforementioned, was an encouraging indication of Zambia Police Service's impartiality.

Concluding the briefing, Mr. Nyambe emphasized TI-Z’s commitment to driving electoral reforms. “Our monitoring efforts are not just about

identifying gaps but about advocating for solutions that strengthen Zambia’s democracy. We must act decisively to address these challenges and build an electoral system that reflects the will of the Zambian people.”

TI-Z will continue to use its newly developed web-based campaign financing monitoring tool to track spending and promote transparency and integrity in future elections, including the upcoming by-elections in Petauke and Pambashe. The findings will contribute to a broader Elections Monitoring Report set to be launched in March 2025, alongside the 2024 Corruption Perceptions Index and Zambia Bribe Payers Index reports.

The lessons from Kawambwa highlight the need for vigilance, reform, and collective action. As Zambia prepares for future elections, particularly the 2026 general election, the time to act is undoubtedly now. As a nation, we ought to prioritize building a transparent and accountable electoral process that upholds the values of democracy.



*From left to right: Ms. Tamika Halwiindi (Climate Change and Environmental Sustainability Coordinator), Mr. Maurice Nyambe (Executive Director), Mrs. Priscilla Chansa (Chapter President), and Mr. Raymond Mutale (Head of Programmes) at the end of year briefing.*

**MEET THE STAFF**

**RAYMOND MUTALE**

**Tell us about yourself?**

I am Raymond Mutale, my middle name is Mulenga, which I think is not so well known. Born from a family of eight and I am the second born. Two things shaped my character. Firstly, my father was a soldier who was very stern and I grew up in a military training barrack, which is different from other barracks. It was a very strict and structured upbringing and environment. After that, in my former years, I wanted to become a priest in the Catholic Church. Again, the Catholic institution is very centralist and structured. Because of the environment I was brought up in, generally I am quite reserved and strong principled.

I was born in Kabwe where I attended primary and secondary schooling. I then went to Catholic seminary, however after spending some years, I decided to leave and first thing that came to my mind was how I was going to survive in the secular world. Luckily, my philosophical and theological background allowed me to be a teacher and later on I became a school counsellor. As I was teaching, I started accountancy studies. Somewhere around 2001 I departed from my teaching path, there was an opportunity in an associated Catholic trade school and I was offered the opportunity of being the Principal at St Ambrose Trade School.



*Raymond Mutale at TI-Z's office*

After two years, I joined the civil society/nongovernmental organisation sector. My first role was as a Programmes and Administration Officer for an organisation that was looking into the welfare of vulnerable children. After that, I joined an Agri-business NGO supported by the European Union then – where I worked as an Administrative and Accounts Officer. It was during this time that I realised that accountancy was not my passion and decided to plunge into development work. I decided to study

development studies and strategic monitoring and evaluation. After that, I joined the Paralegal Alliance Network as a National Coordinator offering technical support and trainings for paralegals. During this period, I was also trained as a paralegal.

I joined TI-Z in 2007 to establish and manage the programmatic aspect of the Advocacy Legal Advice Centre (ALAC). I recall then that the policy was to recruit fourth year law students to support ALAC work. My role then was to coordinate with partners, as ALAC was structured around re-engineering Public Service Delivery Transparency and Effectiveness. From there, I coordinated a health governance programme. At the end of the project in 2011, there was a call for proposals from the World Bank whose response and application I coordinated and was given another opportunity to come back to TI-Z. However, there

were a number of structural adjustments at organisation level, so I came back as an Advocacy Specialist in 2012.

In 2014, I left and joined the British Council under the ZESTA programme, which was funded by the then UK Department for International Development (DFID), as a Programme and Knowledge Management Officer. In 2015, I left British Council and joined Counterpart International as a Health Governance Specialist under the Fostering Accountability and Transparency (FACT) programme. In 2018, an opportunity arose for me to act as Deputy Chief of Party of Counterpart. Until three months before 2019, I was approached to consider coming back to TI-Z and help reorganise the programmes department of TI-Z secretariat due to the new cooperation agreement with SIDA. I came back initially as a Strategy, Monitoring and Evaluation



*Raymond Mutale at the TI-Z end of year press briefing*

Lead. Within three months, the Programmes Manager resigned and that is how I became Programmes Manager and later on Head of Programmes as per the new TI-Z strategy 2027.

I hold a Master of Arts in Development Studies, a Bachelor of Science in Strategic Monitoring and Evaluation, a Postgraduate diploma in Monitoring and Evaluation, a Zambia Institute of Chartered Accountants Licentiate and National Accounting Technician, a Diploma in Accounting and Finance and a Diploma in Philosophy and Anthropology. I also hold a certificate in Management and a Paralegal certificate.

**When I was 10 years old, I was pretty sure I'd be working in...** Public Administration. Priesthood was never a path I thought I would take when I was young, on the other hand, I never wanted to be a soldier either as it is a very tough career path. It was not until my twelfth grade when I was convicted to consider going to the catholic seminary.

**Name three words that describe you** – Perfectionist, Goal-Oriented, and not-so-longsuffering...I am working on the last one.

**What is the best advice you have been given...** I was told life is complex so you need to identify what you have control over and change that and accept things you have no control over – its advice that has

wisdom in it because we can be overwhelmed trying to change things outside our control – discernment is important in that regard.

**What advice would you give someone interested in joining the fight against corruption?**

I think the fight against corruption is a process, just like the alleviation of poverty; the idea is to reduce corruption to manageable levels. This might be a bit controversial, I do not believe it is practical to achieve zero corruption in a society as by nature human beings are greedy – so the idea is to put in place systems that will reduce and dissuade corruption as the lesser evil option, as it can be frustrating in getting corruption to absolute zero. In short, to be a little bit realistic about human nature and behavior when it comes to tackling corruption.



*Raymond with his son*



**What is a goal you have for yourself that you want to accomplish in the next year?**

Sometimes you may be willing to do certain things, but the body may not have the strength... Right now, I want to start to actualise the seeds planted of self-reliance and sustainability. One of my intentions is to commence farming as a way of enhancing self-reliance as well as to sustain the few gains achieved so far.

I have been working on establishing an NGO working and collaborating with certain close colleagues. This NGO works with and empowers rural communities in having a place in the local development process. Next year we plan to build on what has been done so far and try to link livelihoods into this NGO... I am hopeful that in the next year, these efforts will be successful.

**EVENT UPDATES**

**WHAT WE HAVE BEEN UP TO**



**Anti-Corruption Act revision**

*Lusaka, 22-23 January 2025*

TI-Z joined forces with various national stakeholders to provide input on the revision of the Anti-Corruption Act No. 3 of 2012, in a consultative workshop organised by the ACC.

This meeting followed Cabinet's approval in principle of the Anti-Corruption (Amendment) Bill, 2024.

We welcome this inclusive process that will culminate into an enhanced anti-corruption law.

This will not only address current and emerging issues, but also promote



**2024 End of Year Press Briefing**

*Lusaka, 23 December 2024*

During TI-Z's End-of-Year Press Briefing, Chapter President Mrs. Priscilla Chansa shared reflections on 2024's governance and anti-corruption efforts.

- Zambia's improved 2023 CPI score and the launch of the National Policy on Anti-Corruption.
- Ongoing challenges, including a leadership gap at the Anti-Corruption Commission and limited transparency on constitutional reforms.
- Calls for action on stalled investiga-

the rule of law, integrity, and accountability.

tions, appointing a substantive Auditor General, and addressing high-profile corruption cases.

- Urgent reforms needed in political party financing, procurement, and democratic freedoms. [Find out more](#)



### Kawambwa By-Elections

In December 2024, Kawambwa held critical by-elections, with high voter turnout showcasing the electorates' commitment to democracy. TI-Z closely monitored the process, ensuring fairness and transparency throughout.

Stay tuned for updates on the Pambashe and Petauke By-Elections which we will closely be monitoring as well. [Find out more](#)

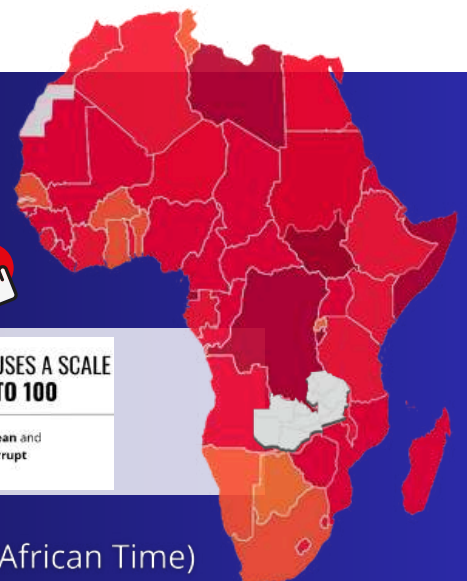
### Advancing Investigative Environmental Reporting

Lusaka, 13 December 2024

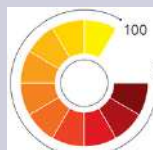
TI-Z held a capacity-building session for journalists under the Climate Governance Integrity Project (CGIP). Facilitated by experts, the training enhanced skills in uncovering environmental governance and corruption issues, with participants pitching impactful story ideas.

## LAUNCH OF THE 2024 CORRUPTION PERCEPTIONS INDEX

[CLICK HERE](#)



Theme:  
"Corruption and the Climate Crisis"



THE CPI USES A SCALE FROM 0 TO 100

100 is very clean and 0 is highly corrupt

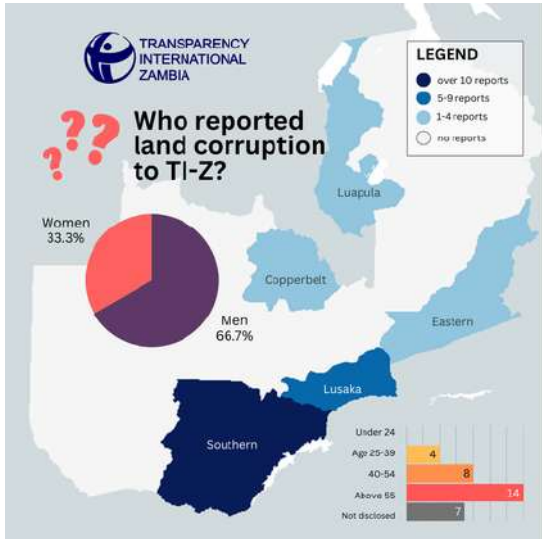


11 February 2025



8 AM CAT (Central African Time)

# OUR CAMPAIGNS LAND AND CORRUPTION IN ZAMBIA



Did you know that most of the corruption cases reported to TI-Z in 2024 concerned land?


- TI-Z is carrying out a social media campaign tackling illegal land allocations, lack of transparency, and exploitation in land governance.
- We're raising public awareness, engaging policymakers, and supporting victims of land corruption.
- Our focus remains on stronger legislation, digitized land records, and accountability. Together, we can ensure fair access to land for all Zambians!

# OUR PUBLICATIONS



**Corruption and Political Party Financing in Zambia:** The financing of political parties is a critical element of democratic systems as it ensures parties can effectively participate in elections, mobilize voters, and articulate their policy agendas. However, the process of financing political parties and the utilization of such funds is potentially marred with corrupt allegations especially in situations of undisclosed sources. Notably, not all political party members know the sources and how much their political parties receive and utilize, entailing the depth of weak intra party governance systems. At the same time, there are strong concerns

over the power that funders derive from financing political parties, and the ways in which they influence elections... [read more here](#)



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For Immediate Release  
Date: Tuesday 14<sup>th</sup> January 2025

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**TI-Z Press Briefing on Kawambwa by-election and upcoming events**  
Delivered by Mr. Maurice K. Nyambe, TI-Z Executive Director

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Good morning ladies and gentlemen, and happy new year to you all.

Thank you for joining us for this first press briefing of the new year. In our address today, we will be giving our comprehensive reflection on the recently-held Kawambwa parliamentary by-election, which took place last month and which we had the opportunity to officially monitor. We will also look forward to the forthcoming by-elections in Petauke and Pambashe constituencies, as well as sharing some reflections of some upcoming key events in the context of our work.

Ladies and Gentlemen, TI-Z sent a team on the ground to monitor the Kawambwa parliamentary by-election as part of the wider cohort of election monitors from different entities. In the wake of the election results being announced, we gave an initial reaction congratulating the winners, but stated that we would give a more comprehensive position in due course. We are now happy to share this comprehensive position, and we will be highlighting six main reflections in that respect:

1. **Electoral Malpractices** As part of our comprehensive monitoring of the by-election, we received information on the happenings at various electoral events such as campaign rallies that were taking place across the entire constituency. Consequently, TI-Z became aware of reports of electoral malpractices such as vote buying and the use of government programmes to induce voters. There were

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For more details, get in touch with the TI-Z Communications Officer: Ms. Zangi Patsika Dinko on [communications@tizambia.org.zm](mailto:communications@tizambia.org.zm)

**TI-Z Press Briefing on Kawambwa By-Election and Upcoming Events**, Delivered by Mr. Maurice K. Nyambe, TI-Z Executive Director: Good morning, ladies and gentlemen, and happy new year to you all. Thank you for joining us for this first press briefing of the new year. In our address today, we will be giving our comprehensive reflection on the recently-held Kawambwa parliamentary by-election, which took place last month and which we had the opportunity to officially monitor. We will also look forward to the forthcoming by-elections in Petauke and Pambashe constituencies, as well as sharing some reflections of some upcoming key events in the context of our work... [read more here](#)



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For Immediate Release  
Date: Monday 23<sup>rd</sup> December 2024

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**TI-Z End of Year Statement for 2024**  
Delivered by Mrs Priscilla C. Chansa, TI-Z Chapter President

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Good morning ladies and gentlemen.

Thank you for joining us for this press briefing as we reflect on Zambia's governance and anti-corruption landscape over the past year. The journey through 2024 has been a mix of progress, setbacks, and ongoing challenges that highlight the complexities of fostering accountability and good governance in our nation. As we reflect on 2024 today, we will highlight what we see as areas where progress has been scored, while also highlighting the critical areas that require **immediate, and long-term** intervention.

This year began on a hopeful note, with Zambia's improved performance in the Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI) from 33 to 37, an achievement that raised expectations of a strengthened fight against corruption. This improvement, announced in January 2024, seemed to signal a renewed vigor in addressing corruption at all levels. However, the euphoria of this milestone quickly waned as systemic challenges persisted, threatening to undermine the progress in combating public sector corruption measured by the CPI.

Amid this landscape, the launch of the National Policy on Anti-Corruption in May 2024 provided a beacon of possibility. The policy sets out Zambia's ambitious objectives to tackle corruption comprehensively, but its promise remains tied to the effectiveness of its implementation. Without tangible actions and robust monitoring mechanisms, even the best-intentioned policies risk becoming mere rhetoric. The challenge therefore remains that there is need for comprehensive implementation of the National Policy on Anti-

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For more details, get in touch with the TI-Z Communications Officer: Ms. Zangi Patsika Dinko on [communications@tizambia.org.zm](mailto:communications@tizambia.org.zm)

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For Immediate Release  
Date: 19<sup>th</sup> December 2024

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TI-Z CAUTIONS STAKEHOLDERS AHEAD OF TOMMORROW'S  
KAWAMBWA PARLIAMENTARY BY ELECTION

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Transparency International Zambia (TI-Z) is monitoring the electoral campaign activities in the Kawambwa Parliamentary By-elections ahead of the poll day scheduled for 20<sup>th</sup> December 2024. As part of this comprehensive monitoring of the campaign, polling day and post-election activities, TI-Z has been receiving information on the happenings at various electoral events such as campaign rallies across the entire constituency, and has therefore become aware of reports of electoral malpractices such as vote buying and the use of government programmes to induce voters.




















The Electoral Process Act No 35 of 2016 clearly defines the offering of money or gifts to voters as an electoral offence. TI-Z is therefore gravely concerned about these malpractices that have been going on in Kawambwa. We have received reports that senior party officials of the ruling party have been engaging in the practice of dishing out ZMW50 and other gifts to the electorate under the guise of empowering citizens through government programmes. TI-Z would like to caution that giving money to the electorate during the campaign period is not only a malpractice but also an assault on the integrity of our electoral process. As TI-Z, we wish to emphasize that there is nothing normal about electoral corruption and that these practices are wrong regardless of which party is in government. As citizens, we should strongly condemn any attempt to normalize the

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For more details, get in touch with the TI-Z Communications Officer, Ms. Zeph Vainira Shikole at [zshikole@tinzambia.org.zm](mailto:zshikole@tinzambia.org.zm)

## TI-Z Cautions Stakeholders Ahead of Tomorrow's Kawambwa Parliamentary By Election:

Transparency International Zambia (TI-Z) is monitoring the electoral campaign activities in the Kawambwa Parliamentary By-elections ahead of the poll day scheduled for 20<sup>th</sup> December 2024. As part of this comprehensive monitoring of the campaign, polling day and post-election activities, TI-Z has been receiving information on the happenings at various electoral events such as campaign rallies across the entire constituency, and has therefore, become aware of reports of electoral malpractices such as vote buying and the use of government programmes to induce voters... [read more here](#)

Tuesday 17<sup>th</sup> December, 2024

JOINT CSO STATEMENT ON THE STATE  
OF THE NATION  
(For Immediate Release)

On behalf of the citizens of Zambia, we, the undersigned civil society organizations, whose mandate is to foster transparency, advocate for good governance, and protect the rights of citizens, respectfully draw your attention to several pressing issues that have beset the nation and that require immediate intervention. In issuing this joint statement, we aim to ensure accountability, promote social justice, and contribute to policy development, particularly in the areas of human rights, democracy, and sustainable development.

Ladies and gentlemen, as our nation strives for equitable socio-economic development, we face numerous challenges that have continued to impede our progress as a country. An accountable and transparent leadership, as well as strategic reforms in key areas, are essential to restore public confidence and ensure sustainable national growth that will benefit every single one of us as citizens of Zambia.

Below, we outline our concerns and recommendations for the government to consider.

**1. Governance Environment**

The focus here will be Corruption prevention and asset recovery, and Legislation on Political Party and Campaign financing.

**i. Corruption Prevention and Asset Recovery**

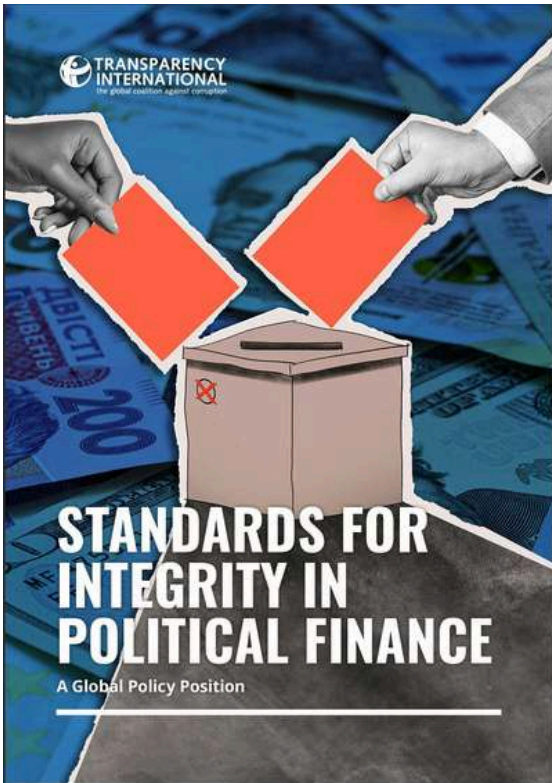
Zambia currently faces significant challenges in corruption prevention and asset recovery. We commend the Government for enacting laws aimed at enhancing accountability, such as the Public Procurement Act and the initiative to push for laws regarding Lifestyle Audit and Asset recovery. These initiatives reflect a commitment to combat corruption and facilitate the recovery of stolen assets.

Nevertheless, while the Government's commitment to zero tolerance for corruption is commendable, it requires stronger constitutional provisions that will support zero

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## Joint CSO Statement on the State of the Nation:

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**Standards For Integrity In Political Finance:** Money is essential for political participation. Political parties and candidates require financial and other resources to organise themselves, formulate their ideas, and communicate them to the public. However, unchecked or opaque funding can allow affluent vested interests to exert undue, disproportionate, or even criminal influence on politics and policymaking. A lack of transparency and controls can lead to the capture of laws and resources by a powerful few, undermining the quality of government and eroding public trust in institutions. For that reason, we put forward these Standards for Integrity in Political Finance as a blueprint for reform.... [read more here](#)



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