

**“AN INVESTIGATION OF THE ELECTORAL PROCESS  
IN ZAMBIA AND ITS EFFECTS- 1995 -2015”**

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## CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

### 1.0 Introduction

Elections are central to the very nature of contemporary democratic rule. They provide the primary means for ensuring that governments remain responsive and accountable to their citizens. Much though depends on the rules used in these elections (Powell, 2000). An election is the process by which citizens select the thousands of men and women they want to run their government--at all levels. In a democracy, government officials are chosen by the people and serve for a specific time called a term of office. Depending on state laws, an official may run for reelection once the term is over. (<http://www.uen.org/themepark/liberty/electoralprocess.shtml> retrieved 15/05/2016 time 11:20 AM)

Election have been held in Zambia since the pre-independence stage through post independence to date using different form electoral processes An electoral process is the method and law for holding an election and explains laws and custom that must be followed by all partakers and must produce free and fair elections. A voting **system** or **electoral system** consists of the set of rules which must be followed for a vote to be considered valid, how votes are counted aggregated to yield a final result and the rules which consist how voting is done in a particular country. It is a method by which voters make a choice between candidates, often in an election or on a policy referendum. (<http://fodep.blogspot.com/p/elections-and-electoral-process.html> retrieved 15/05/16 time 11:25 AM)

**Elections in Zambia** since 1991 takes place within the framework of a multi-party democracy and a presidential system. The **President** and National Assembly are simultaneously elected for five-year terms.

The research investigated the electoral system in Zambia from 1995 to 2015 and its effect. It did not go to the all parts or each component of the electoral system of concern was to look at the frequency of having elections, direct universal adult franchise first-past-post, Presidential

Election which provides for the President to be elected by plurality through universal adult franchise as provided for by the Constitution 1996, Articles 34(1), (8)..

The research provides a platform on which learning on the effects of various components electoral law and there effects can, it further provides a platform for future legal reforms regarding the electoral laws in Zambia. It will further provide an insight as to whether the effects of the electoral system are desirable which may necessities keeping of the current system or needs to be changed.

## **1.2. STATEMENT OF PROBLEM**

All the presidential elections in Zambia have been held under the majoritarian approach since 1964 until the 1995 Constitutional Amendment which provided for the election of the Republican President by a simple majority rather than the absolute majority that was previously provided in the Constitution since 1964. Because of this change, all subsequent victories by Presidential candidates have been on a basis of simple minority votes. It appears Zambia's public opinion has been strongly of the view to change this and adopt the majoritarian approach hence the need to investigate if the simple majority (first past the post) had effects which necessitates the change.

## **1.3. BROAD OBJECTIVE**

- To investigate the electoral process in Zambia between 1995 to 2015 and its effects.

## **1.4. SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES**

- Establish if the electoral process of 1995 to 2015 an impact on the frequency of holding elections and the implications
- Establish if the frequency of holding elections had extra implications in terms of the cost to the nation.
- Determine the effects of the electoral system in Zambia in term of patterns of voting at national level and provincial level for presidential candidates.

## 1.5. RESEARCH QUESTION

What is the legal frame work of the electoral process in Zambia? What are the effects of the Zambian electoral process?

**1.6. JUSTIFICATION.** The research provides a platform on which learning on the effects of various components electoral law and there an effect in the past and further provides a platform for future legal reforms regarding the electoral laws in Zambia. It will further provide an insight as to whether the effects of the electoral system are desirable which may justify the change that Zambia has been making in the electoral law from 2012 upwards or justify reverting back to the previous systems.

To contribute on the currently raging debate on the need for Zambia to have a Parliament that is representative of the votes cast and a President who is elected by the majority of voters to ensure that there is legitimacy in leadership. The study will also enhance the knowledge base already existing on the electoral process in Zambia and the effects. This study is also important in that it's a requirement to be awarded with a Master of Social Work Degree.

## 1.7. Scope of the study

In this study we used the Historical research which is the systematic and objective location, evaluation and synthesis of evidence in order to establish facts and draw conclusions about past events. It involved exploring the meaning and relationship of events, and as its resource using primary historical data in the form of historic artifacts, records and writings. I attempted to find out what happened in the past and to reveal reasons for why and how things happened.

Particular phenomenon were studied such as the frequency of holding voting in Zambia, the results of the votes, the costs of the elections as well as observing trends in the election results to determine the voting patterns. The main data sources were articles, election results per province

and per candidate who stood, the constitution of Zambia and the various laws provided for within the electoral system legal frame work in Zambia.

## 1.8. Operational definition of variables

**Election:** An election is the process by which citizens select the thousands of men and women they want to run their government--at all levels.

**Electoral Process:** An electoral process is the method and law for holding an election and explains laws and custom that must be followed by all partakers and must produce free and fair elections.

A voting **system** or **electoral system** consists of the set of rules which must be followed for a vote to be considered valid, how votes are counted aggregated to yield a final result and the rules which consist how voting is done in a particular country. It is a method by which voters make a choice between candidates, often in an election or on a policy referendum

**Election period:** The constitutional period or intervals between which the election are to hold to elect the new leaders. In Zambia is 5 years.

## Chapter Two: Literature Review

Our review of the electoral processes focuses on legislative and presidential elections in democratic regimes globally and what has been used in Zambia before and after independence. Our primary focus in terms of data analysis focuses between 1995 to 2015. A regime is classified as a democracy if (i) the chief executive is elected, (ii) the legislature is elected, (iii) there is more than one party competing in elections, and (iv) an alternation under identical electoral rules has taken place. A regime is classified as a dictatorship if any of these four conditions do not hold (Przeworski et al., 2000). Countries are coded based on the regime that existed at the end of a given year. The specific classification of regimes is based on data from Cheibub et al. (2010). Note that the ‘alternation rule’ described above can lead some elections to be retroactively recoded as democratic. This was the case, for example, with some elections in Paraguay. The 2008 Paraguayan elections saw the Colorado Party lose power for the first time since the end of Alfredo Stroessner’s dictatorship in 1989. None of the elections in Paraguay since 1989 were considered democratic until 2008, at which point they all became democratic. A consequence of this retroactive recoding is that the democratic elections in the period from 1946 to 2000 are slightly different from that in the original Democratic Election Survey dataset.

Not all elections that occur when a regime is classified as a dictatorship are dictatorial. This apparent anomaly has to do with the fact that a country’s regime type is coded based on its status at the end of a given year. Elections like those in Argentina 1962, Nigeria 1983, Philippines 1965,

An electoral system entails “institutionalized procedures for the choosing of office holders by some or all of the recognized members of an organization” (Rokkan 1970). A voting system or electoral system consists of the set of rules which must be followed for a vote to be considered valid, and how votes are counted and aggregated to yield a final result. It is a method by which voters make a choice between candidates, often in an election or on a policy referendum.



The legitimacy of the electoral process hinges on the electorates' and candidates' perception that the process has been conducted in a way that does not in advance ensure a certain outcome: In a democracy there should be certainty about the process, but uncertainty about the results (Przeworski1991). To ensure legitimacy, the electoral process must be regulated by constitutional rules and special legislation as well as by cultural norms developed to govern the behavior of the actors. A voting system or electoral system consists of the set of rules which must be followed for a vote to be considered valid, and how votes are counted and aggregated to yield a final result. It is a method by which voters make a choice between candidates, often in an election or on a policy referendum .In this paper

## **Legislative elections**

Globally the legislative elections are classified into three main categories – majoritarian, proportional, and mixed – based on their electoral formula.

A majoritarian electoral system is one in which the candidates or parties that receive the most votes win. Although some majoritarian systems require the winning candidate or party to obtain an absolute majority of the votes (absolute majority systems), others require only that the candidate or party win more votes than anyone else order the candidates. AV systems in which voters have to rank all of the candidates are called 'full preferential' systems, whereas AV systems in which voters have to rank only some of the candidates are called 'optional preferential' systems. If a candidate wins an absolute majority of first-preference votes, he is immediately elected. If no candidate wins an absolute majority, then the candidate with the fewest first-preference votes is eliminated, and her votes are reallocated among the remaining candidates based on the designated second preferences. This process continues until one candidate has an absolute majority of the votes cast (full preferential) or an absolute majority of the votes remaining (optional preferential).

A two-round system (TRS) is a majoritarian electoral system that has the potential for two rounds of elections. In a TRS, candidates or parties are elected in the first round if they obtain a specified level of votes, nearly always an absolute majority. If no one obtains this level of votes, then a second round of elections takes place. In a majority-runoff TRS, the top two vote winners go through to the second round, where whoever wins the most votes – necessarily an absolute majority – is elected. ((Clark et al.,2012, 462–463).

In a majority-plurality TRS, all candidates who overcome some preordained threshold go through to the second round, where whoever wins the most votes, whether it is an absolute majority or not, is elected. Although highly unusual, there are some two-round systems in which a candidate can be elected in the first round with less than an absolute majority. For example, the first placed candidate in Mongolian elections between 1996 and 2004 only had to win more than 25% of the vote to avoid a second round. These systems might be referred to as qualified-majority TRSs.

## **Proportional systems**

Proportional electoral systems are quota- or divisor based systems employed in multi-member districts. All proportional systems except the single transferable vote (STV) employ party lists. Party list systems employ either quotas (with allocation of remainders) or divisors to allocate seats. A quota is the number of votes that guarantees a party a seat in a particular district.

## **Mixed systems**

A mixed electoral system is one in which voters elect representatives through two different systems, one majoritarian and one proportional.. Although many mixed systems have more than one electoral tier – a level at which votes are translated into seats – with a majoritarian formula employed in one and a proportional formula employed in another, multiple electoral tiers are not a necessary characteristic of mixed systems. Mixed systems differ in terms of whether they are

independent or dependent. An independent mixed system, often referred to as a mixed parallel system, is one in which the majoritarian and proportional components of the electoral system are implemented independently of one another.

Independent mixed systems come in three types: coexistence, superposition, and fusion (Massicotte and Blais, 1999). A coexistence system is one in which some districts in an electoral tier employ a majoritarian formula, while others employ a proportional formula. A superposition system is one in which the majoritarian and proportional formulas are applied in different electoral tiers. And a fusion system is one in which majoritarian and proportional formulas are used within a single district. A dependent mixed system, often referred to as a mixed member proportional system, is one in which the application of the proportional formula is dependent on the distribution of seats or votes produced by the majoritarian formula.

Dependent mixed systems come in two types: correction and conditional (Massicotte and Blais, 1999). A correction mixed system is one in which the seats distributed by the proportional formula in one set of districts are used to correct the vote-seat distortions created by the majoritarian formula in another. A conditional mixed system is one in which the use of one electoral formula is triggered by a certain outcome of the

## **Presidential elections**

We classify presidential electoral systems into five main categories: plurality, absolute majority, qualified majority, alternative vote, and Electoral College. The candidate with the most votes is elected president in a plurality system. In an absolute majority system, a candidate must win over 50% of the vote to be elected. If no candidate overcomes this threshold in the first round, then a runoff ensues between the top two candidates. Qualified majority systems are similar in that they typically specify some percentage of the vote that a candidate must win in order to be elected in the first round. If two or more candidates overcome this threshold, then the highest vote winner is elected. Qualified majority systems differ in terms of the electoral procedure that is employed

when no candidate surpasses the specified threshold in the first round. For example, some countries employ a runoff between the top two candidates from the first round, while others indirectly elect the president through various procedures.

As indicated earlier, the alternative vote is a preferential voting system where voters rank order the presidential candidates. Votes are then repeatedly counted and transferred until one candidate obtains an absolute majority. In an Electoral College system, a set of electors is appointed through various mechanisms to choose the president. The most notable change over time is the shift towards absolute majority systems for electing presidents. While absolute majority systems were employed in just 6% of presidential elections in the 1950s, they were used in 65% of elections in the 2000s. Both the use of plurality and qualified majority systems have declined significantly over time. The Electoral College is currently used only in the United States, after Argentina and Finland abandoned it in the 1980s. And Ireland and Sri Lanka are the only countries to currently employ the alternative vote for electing their presidents.

Zambia's Electoral System uses the 'First Past, The Post' system since independence in 1964 and this means that the country is divided into roughly equal constituencies from which only one representative is chosen to sit in parliament. Candidates contesting elections stand as individuals and not political parties even when supported by a political party.

All the presidential elections in Zambia have been held under the majoritarian approach since 1964. It was only in the 1995 Constitutional Amendment which in spite of being challenged by many Zambians, President Frederick Chiluba's administration forced the amendment that provided for the election of the Republican President by a simple majority rather than the absolute majority that was previously provided in the Constitution since 1964. Because of this change, all subsequent victories by Presidential candidates have been on a basis of minority votes. It appears Zambia's public opinion is strongly of the view to change this and adopt the majoritarian approach (<http://mbitachitala.blogspot.com/2009/08/does-zambias-electoral-system-need.html>)

If a president dies in office, a by-election is held to elect a president to serve the remainder of the five-year term.

Elections in Zambia since 1991 takes place within the framework of a multi-party democracy and a presidential system. The President and National Assembly are simultaneously elected for five-year terms. This was provided for under the legal frame work of the electoral system.

## Zambia Legal frame work for the Electoral system

The Legal basis for the c electoral system up to 2015 has been the Constitution of Zambia 1996. Constitution 1996, Articles 63(2), 77(1).Electoral Act no 12 of 2006, Electoral Commission Act 1996, Referendum Act, Chapter 14 Local Government Act, Chapter 282, Electoral (Code of Conduct) Regulations 2006.

Electoral system Parliamentary Elections: Direct universal adult franchise first-past-post constituency elections Constitution 1996, Articles 63(2), 77(1).Presidential Elections: President is elected by plurality through universal adult franchise. Constitution 1996, Articles 34(1), (8). The table below summarizes various components of the rules and laws which guided election in Zambia between the period 1995-2015

Legal basis for the existence of Electoral Commission of Zambia.	Constitution of Zambia 1996,Electoral Act no 12 of 2006,Electoral Commission Act 1996,Referendum Act, Chapter 14,Local Government Act, Chapter 282 Electoral (Code of Conduct) Regulations 2006
Electoral system	Parliamentary Elections: Direct universal adult franchise. A voting <b>system</b> or <b>electoral system</b> consists of the set of rules which must be followed for a vote to be considered valid, how votes are counted aggregated to yield a final result and the rules which consist how voting is done in a particular country. It is a method by which voters make a

	<p>choice between candidates, often in an election or on a policy referendum.</p> <p>(Constitution 1996, Articles 63(2), 77(1) )</p> <p>Presidential Elections: President is elected by plurality through universal adult franchise (Constitution 1996, Articles 34(1), (8).].</p> <p>The constitution also provided for a Bye election if the incumbent MP or the president dies before there term of office.</p>
Election period	<p>Concurrent parliamentary and presidential elections every 5 years (Constitution 1996, Articles 34(1), 35(1), 88(6)(a), (7). This provides for the term of office for five years fr the president and the MPs</p>
Electoral institutions	<p>The only electoral body in Zambia is the Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ), Director (Constitution 1996, Article 76 (1); Electoral Commission Act 1996, 12(1)).</p>
Functions of electoral institutions	<p>ECZ: To supervise voter registration, to conduct parliamentary and presidential elections, to delimit constituencies, to supervise referenda and to conduct and supervise the local government elections (Constitution 1996, Article 76(1)); Referendum Act, 4 (the act specifies only a Commission but the members are the same as the ECZ); Local Government Act, 3 (the act specifies only a Commission but the members are the same as the ECZ).</p> <p>Director: Acts as executive arm of ECZ; executes management and administration of the ECZ and implements its decisions.( Electoral Commission Act 1996, 12(2).</p>
Independence of	<p>Commissioners are appointed by the President, subject to parliamentary</p>

electoral institutions	ratification and the Director by the ECZ. Commissioners may be removed by the President for insanity or bankruptcy. ( Electoral Commission Act 1996, Article 4(3), 12(1), 4(3). This makes the ECZ not to be independent of the government since is put in place by the president.
Demarcation	The ECZ is responsible for delimitation of the 150 constituencies (Electoral Act 2006, 4.)
Voter registration	The commission is to have continuous registration of voters (Constitution 1996, Article 76(1)). ]. Registration is conducted by officials of the ECZ and supervised by the Directorate. Voters present a green national registration card when registering (Electoral Act 2006, 5(a). then a Voter's card issued.
Voter education	The ECZ is tasked by law with voter and civic education, as are private individuals and organizations providing they are impartial and independent of any political party and that they promote conditions for free and fair elections (Electoral Act 2006, 77-78.)
Nomination of candidates	Parliamentary Elections: Constituency candidates must be over 25, must have their nominations endorsed by nine registered voters in the constituency and must pay election fees (Constitution 1996, Article 66(2).). Presidential Elections: Presidential candidates must be over 35, must have their nominations endorsed by 200 registered voters, must make a

	<p>declaration of assets and liabilities and must pay a fee.( Constitution 1996, 34(5)).</p>
Funding of political parties	<p>Public funding of political parties is not provided for in Zambia. (Kabemba &amp; Eiseman 2004, 15.)</p> <p>There is no legislation regulating the source of funds raised or the ways in which these funds are expended. Karume 2004, 56.</p>
Election campaign	<p>The ECZ is empowered by law to issue a code of conduct governing campaigning that is binding on all electoral participants and is legally enforceable. A code has been promulgated as the Electoral (Conduct Regulations 2006. Electoral Act 2006, 109). For a discussion of the content of the Electoral (Conduct) Regulations see The Code of conduct.</p>
Communication	<p>Electoral (Conduct) Regulations 2006 are binding on the media. Electoral (Conduct) Regulations 2006, 11-12.</p> <p>The media has a moral obligation to give participating candidates and parties equal media coverage</p> <p>Must consistently provide Zambians with information that can help them make informed decisions on the day of voting</p> <p>Must consistently incorporate or integrate gender issues into all election topics</p> <p>Must consistently denounce all forms of electoral malpractices and violence</p>



	Must undertake Civic and Voter Education programmes, Must include programmes that provide outreach activities for persons with disabilities.
Counting	Counting is generally undertaken at the polling station where the votes were cast, but provision is made for the ECZ to order counting at another venue if it is necessary for a free and fair election. Counting begins as soon as possible after the close of polling in the presence of candidates or their agents and observers and monitors.( Electoral Act 2006, 64, 66, 68, 76.)
Announcement of results	The presiding officer publicly declares the provisional results in the polling station to all present and transmits them to the ECZ (Electoral Act 2006, 70(2). The ECZ determines the final results by adding together the results from the polling stations and declares them. Electoral Act 2006, 74. The one who gets majority votes win the election both at presidential, national Assembly and councillorship.
Conflict resolution	Election petitions are heard by the High Court. Petitions must be lodged within 30 days of the disputed results being declared. (Electoral Act 2006, 96-105). .. The ECZ is empowered to resolve conflicts and disputes through conciliation or mediation and to set up conflict management committees to resolve disputes (Electoral Act 2006, 110, 111.)
Election monitoring	Observers and monitors are accredited by the ECN, and issued with a code of conduct.( Electoral Act 2006, 75)

Based on the electoral laws in Zambia between 2011 to 2014 203 bye-elections were held caused by people defecting to another party, death or nullification of the election results by the courts of law.

([http://www.elections.org.zm/media/2007 to 2011 parliamentary and local government by-elections results.pdf](http://www.elections.org.zm/media/2007_to_2011_parliamentary_and_local_government_by-elections_results.pdf)) retrieved 16/05/2016.

The Times of Zambia reported that Mr Kampyongo further disclosed that the Electoral Commission of Zambia organized 183 wards by elections over the same period. From October 2011 until December 2014. (<https://www.lusakatimes.com/2015/03/24/over-k200-million-spent-to-hold-18-by-election-since-2011/> retrieved 11/05/16. 16: 47).

All the above mentioned by elections happened because the electoral law which is part of the electoral process mandated them. Article 67 of the Constitution in Zambia which was functional up to 2015 election allowed for the bye election to be held in case of the resignation or death of the Member of Parliament.

Mr. Kapyongo who was the minister at state house is reported to have mentioned that the by elections between 2011 to 2014, "... revealed that nine by elections were occasioned by nullification of election results by the courts of law and the other nine were as a result of defections."

(<https://www.lusakatimes.com/2015/03/24/over-k200-million-spent-to-hold-18-by-election-since-2011/> retrieved 11/05/16. 16: 47)

Article 38 (1) of the constitution of Zambia up 2015 states that," if the office of the president becomes vacant by reason of his death or resignation or by reason of his ceasing to hold office by virtue of Article 36, 37, or 38 or 88 an election to the office of president shall be held in accordance with article 34 within ninety days from the date of the office becoming vacant"

Its article 38 (1) led to the presidential elections in 2015 after the death of Michael Chilufya Sata. Presidential elections were held in Zambia on 20 January 2015 to elect a president to serve the

remainder of the term of President Michael Sata, following his death on 28 October 2014. **Presidential elections** were held in Zambia on 30 October 2008 following the death of the incumbent President Levy Mwanawasa on 19 August 2008, as the elections had to be called within 90 days of his death as per article 38 (1) of the governing constitution at the time.

## Chapter Three: Research Methods

### Introduction

This chapter focused on the design and methodology which was used to answer the question under study. It describes the study settings, the population, sample size and sampling procedures, methods, tools to be used to collect data and piloting. Data analysis and ethical clearance will also be described in details.

### Study design

The main objective of this study was to investigate the effects of the simple majority electoral process in Zambia from 1995 up to 2015 elections. In this study we used the Historical research which is the systematic and objective location, evaluation and synthesis of evidence in order to establish facts and draw conclusions about past events. It involved exploring the meaning and relationship of events, and as its resource using primary historical data in the form of historic artifacts, records and writings. It attempted to find out what happened in the past and to reveal reasons for why and how things happened.

It took the systematic investigation into various study materials related to the electoral system in Zambia in order to establish facts on the electoral system and reach new conclusions as well as correlate old facts.

The study sources such as the Legal Framework of the electoral system in Zambia, articles on elections in Zambia and election results were analyzed to lead to the generalizations of the conclusions. Some conclusions were arrived at using the comparative methods between regions and places more as it relate to election results.

The statistical data was entered using Microsoft Excel and was interpreted using statically methods to find out the trends and patterns of phenomenon's.

The time span of review for election results and the electoral system was before 1973 to 2015 elections period. However conclusions are drawn from the period 1995 to 2015. It followed the historic facts during the period under review then provided an interpretation of the meaning and assessment of the significance of the events.

## **Rationale for the choice of the study design.**

This research method has been used because:

- It enables solutions to contemporary problems to be sought in the past.
- It throws light on present and future trends.
- It stresses the relative importance and the effects of the interactions that are found within all cultures.
- It allows for the revaluation of data supporting selected hypotheses, theories and generalizations that are presently held about the past.

## **Limitations of the Study**

**While the research achieved its objective the following limitations applied to the research**

- ✓ Difficult of obtaining dependable data on some data sets
- ✓ In adequacy in evidence in some cases, and gaps in primary sources.
- ✓ The interpretation of some events may be subjective in interpretations of the significance of the event
- ✓ Difficult of evaluation in terms of authenticity and validity

## **Ethical considerations**

International Review Boards (IRBs) and Ethics Committee stress the importance of conducting ethical research when dealing with humans. Human subjects should be protected and individuals. This research was conducted within the ethical guidelines of research as well as the social work profession ethics.

## **Dissemination of findings**

The research findings of this study is being disseminated as this final research paper findings being submitted to the School of Social Sciences at Information Communication University and also publishing of the paper in a journal will be sought.

## Chapter Four: Data presentation and analysis

“Article 67 (1) When a vacancy occurs in the seat of the member of the National Assembly as a result of the death or resignation of the member or by virtue of Article 71, a by-election shall be held within ninety days after the occurrence of the vacancy”.

“Article 71 c in the case of an elected member of parliament becomes a member of a political party other than the party of which he was an authorized candidate when he was elected to the national Assembly or, if having been an independent candidate, he joins a political party, he becomes an independent:”

As a result of the above mentioned law which is part of the Electoral process in Zambia from 2007 to 2014 various BYE elections were held. As indicated below in the graph

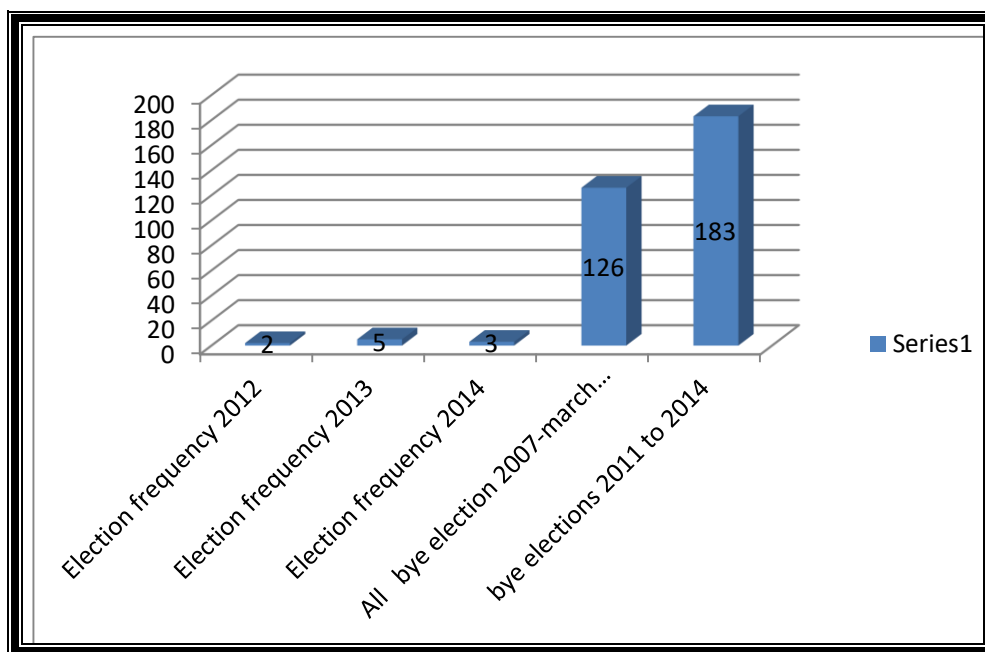


Figure 1 Bye elections Held Bye elections held are the ones between 2007 to 2014.

## **Cost of the Bye Elections**

The 2008 Presidential BYE election costed Zambia ZMK 46bn in preparation for the Election according to the Economist. (<http://www.zambian-economist.com/2008/09/presidential-bye-election-and-zambias.html> retrieved 1.12.2016, 01.02pm. ) More is said to have been spent on bye elections since its estimated according to Electoral Commission of Zambia. The Electoral of Zambia disclosed that K6.2 million on three of the many by-elections held in 2013.

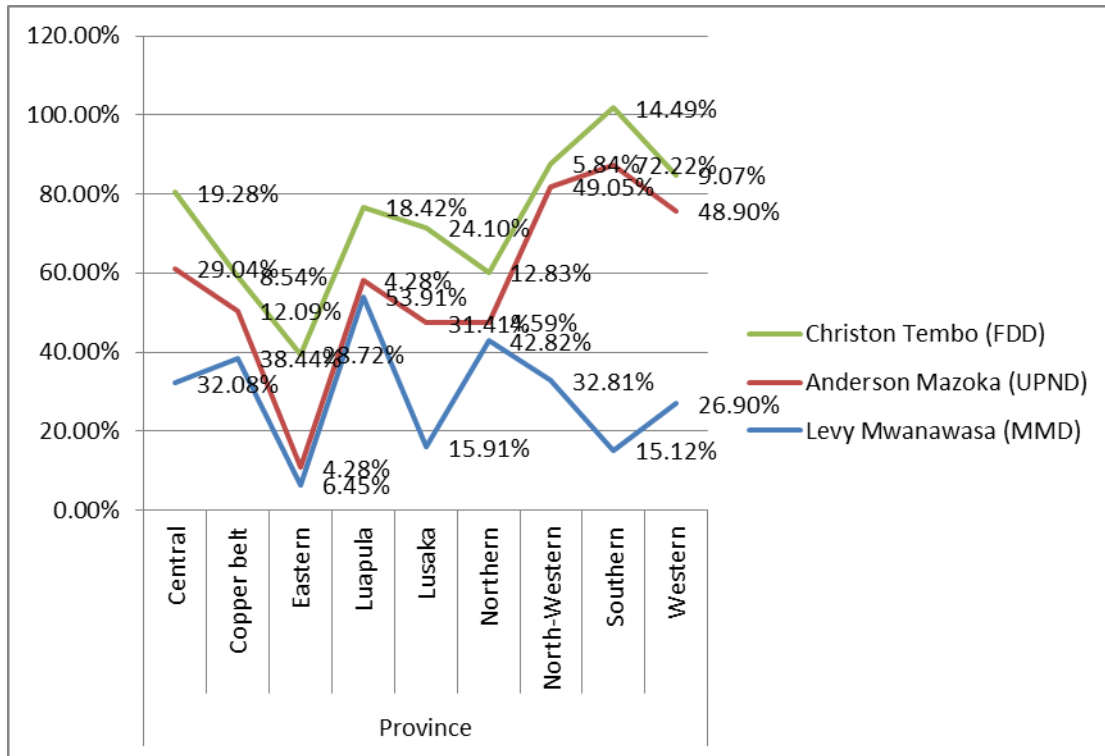
If each of the three bye elections costed the same between 2011 to 2014 then Zambia lost 378.2 billion kwacha I bye election.

## **Presidential Election Results per Province for Each Candidate**

From 1996 to 2015 parliamentary and presidential elections have been held every 5 years according the constitution of the time (Constitution 1996, Articles 34(1), 35(1), 88(6) (a), (7). This provided for the term of office for five years for the president and the MPs Constitution 1996, Articles 63 (2), 77(1).

Presidential Elections: President is elected by plurality through universal adult franchise (Constitution 1996, Articles 34(1), (8).]. The constitution also provided for a Bye election if the incumbent MP or the president dies before there term of office. Under the above law various presidential elections have been held as presented below. With the view of analyzing the election patens between the presidential candidates and various regions analysis of election results were analyzed from the 2001 to 2015 presidential election results





**Figure 2 2001 PRESIDENTIAL RESULTS PER PROVINCE**

If a comparison is done between the best three contenders across regions of the perceived origins of the contender pattern of voting is being seen. Mazoka Anderson coming from Southern Province he had 72.22% of the votes from Southern Province. Levy Mwanawasa seen to be coming from Central Province 15.12% of southern Province, Christone Tembo an Easterner received 4.49% of Southern in that region, comparison with Eastern where Christon Tembo was perceived as coming from he got 28.72%, while Levy Mwanawasa got 16.45% and Mazaka coming from the South received 4.28%.

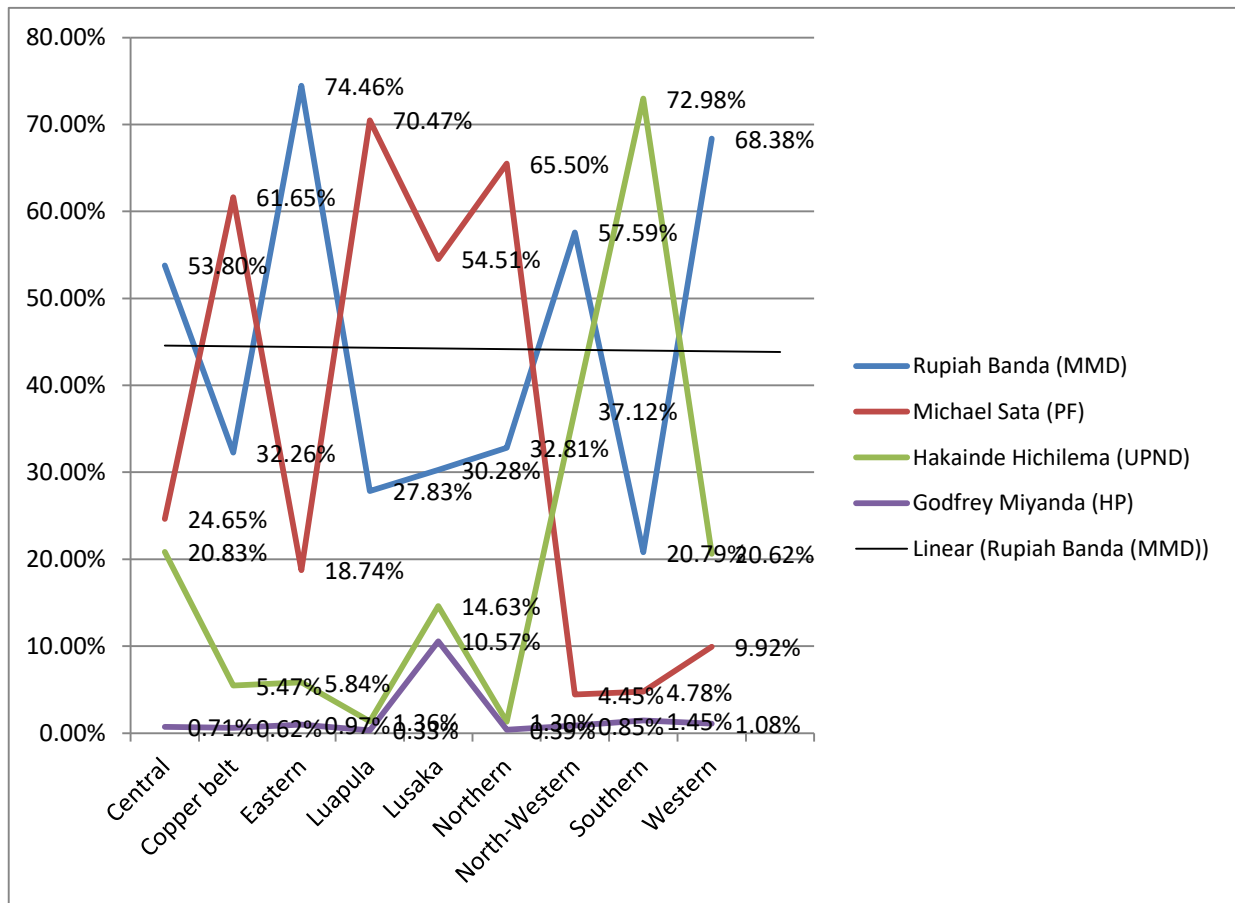
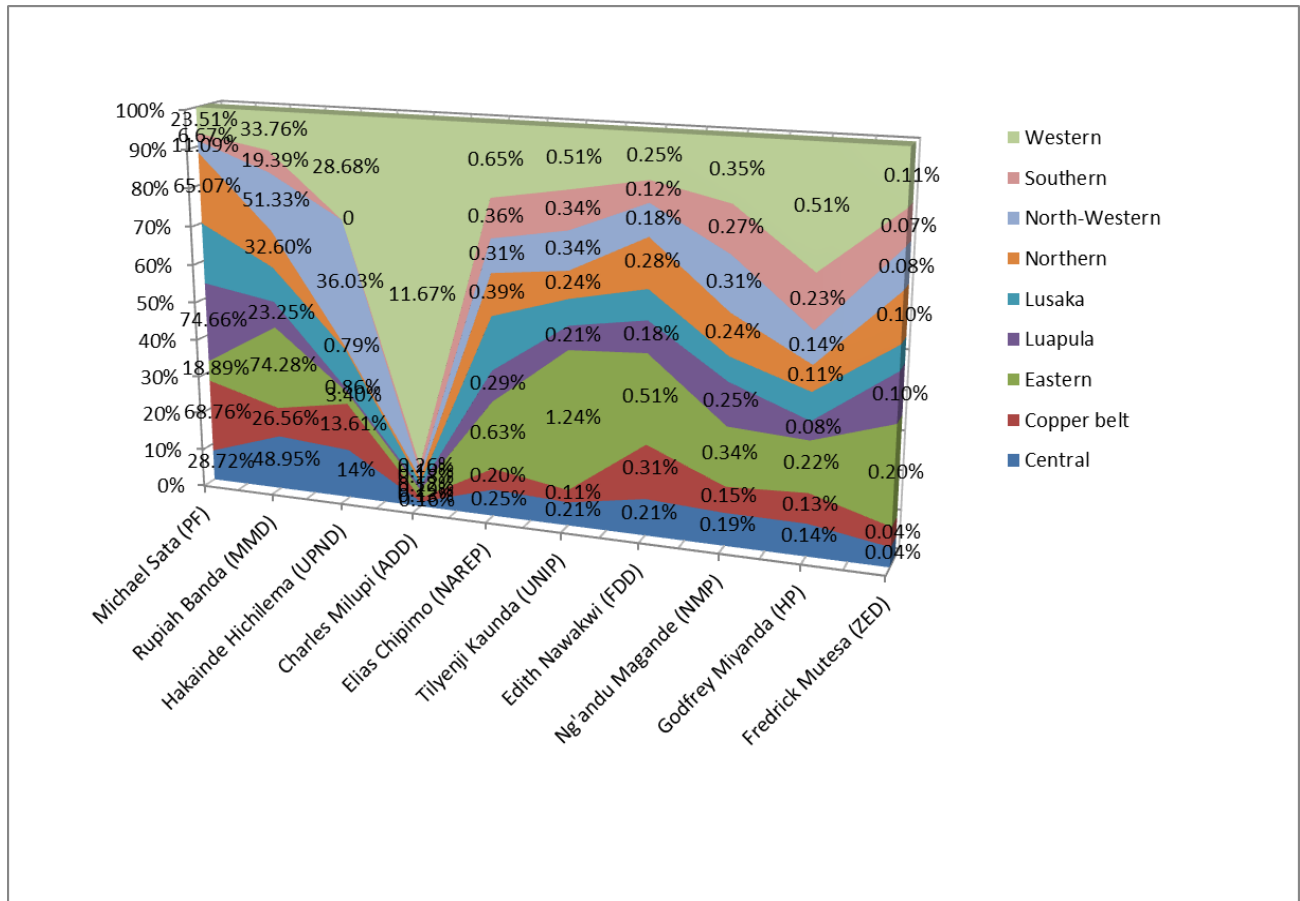


Figure 3 2008 results per province presidential results

In 2008 HH received 72.98% of Southern province votes; Rupiah Banda had 20.79%, while Sata Michael had 4.78%. Luapula gave Micheal Sata 70.47%, Banda from the Eastern received 27.83% and HH received 1.36%. Northen gave Sata 65.50% of votes from the region, Banda received 32.81% and HH received 1.30%. Eastern Province gave Rupia Banda 74.46% Sata received 18.74% and Hakainde Hichilema 5.84%.. The vote parten seem to show that the candidates votes were being given according to what an individual was being perceived as coming from



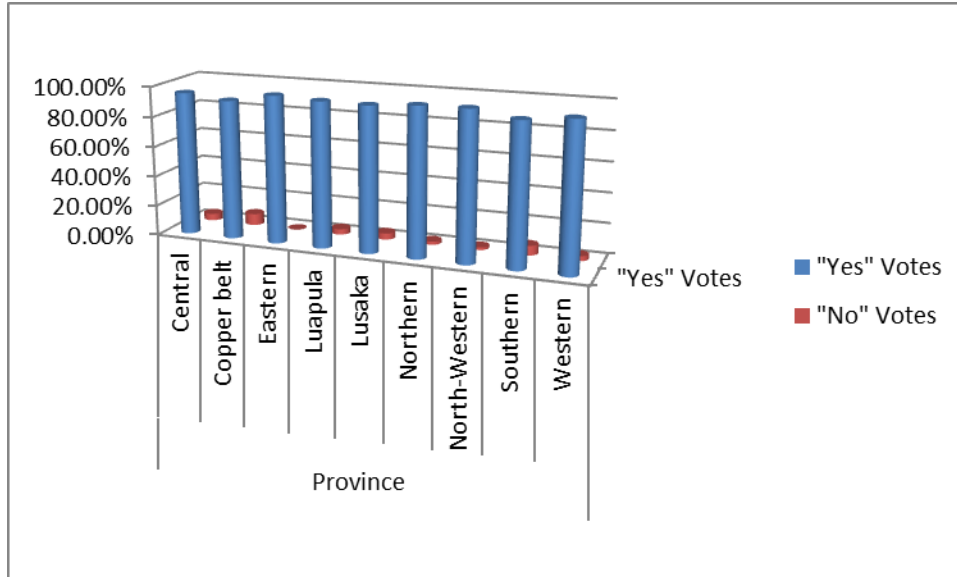
2011 HH coming from southern he got 72.31% of the total vote cast in southern province, Rupiah Banda got 19.39% while Micheal Chilufya Sata received 6.67% of Sothern province votes. In Northern Province were Michael Chilufya Sata was coming from he received 65.07%, Rupiah Banda a tribal cousin received 32.60% while HH received 0.79% of total vote casts in the region. Eastern were Ruphia Banda was coming from in 2011 he received 74.28%, HH from the southern region 3.40% and Michael Chilufya Sata 18.89% of the total votes cast in the region. S Luapula in the same year 2011 gave Michael Chilufya Sata 74.66%, Rupiah Banda 23.25% and Hakainde Hichilema 0.86%.



**Figure 4 2015 Electoral Map**

The 2015 elections also map reveals a more deep sense of election pattern which is traceable from about 2006 election to 2015. In the 2015 elections. The yellow part shows were there were more votes for the UPND candidate seen as Southerner and the sky blue shows were there were more votes for the PF. The light blue look to be swing votes for both parties. Further analysis shows that the voting paten was following the ethnicity lines and friendliness depending on which candidate comes from which region. The candidates where being given the votes according to where they come and the ethnicity which is friendly to the ethnicity which is close to the candidates ethnicity.

## Comparative of the Result Done Under Majoritarian per province



**Figure 5 1983 PRESIDENTIAL RESULTS**

The election results even if they have their own dimension of just one man standing but the man was not coming from all the regions to have the same support everywhere. The 1991 election results also do not show a bigger difference of how the election results look like across provinces for the winning president. There are no sharp differences across regions in voting patterns like we have seen in the elections on top after the Simple Majority was introduced.

## National Presidential Results per candidate

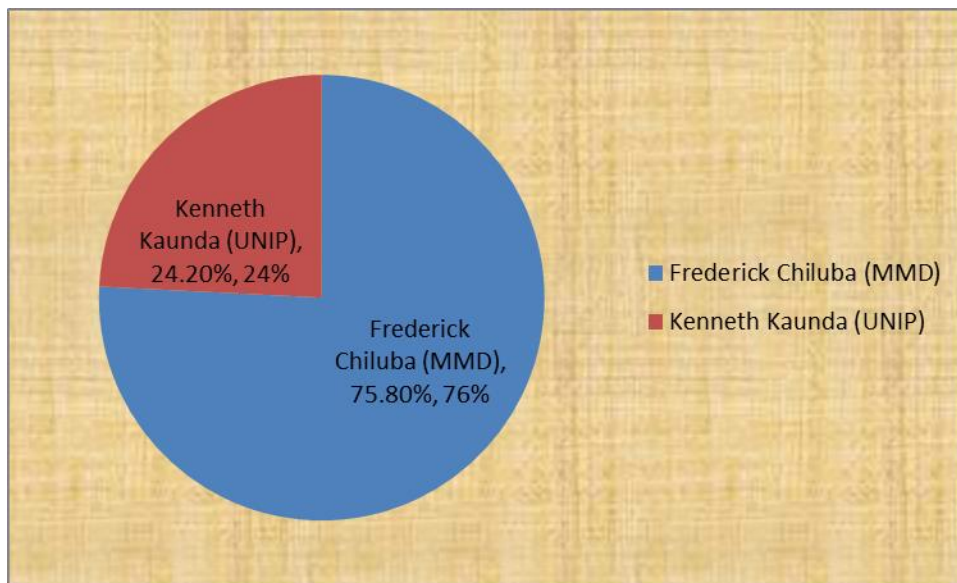


Figure 6 Election Results 1991 presidential

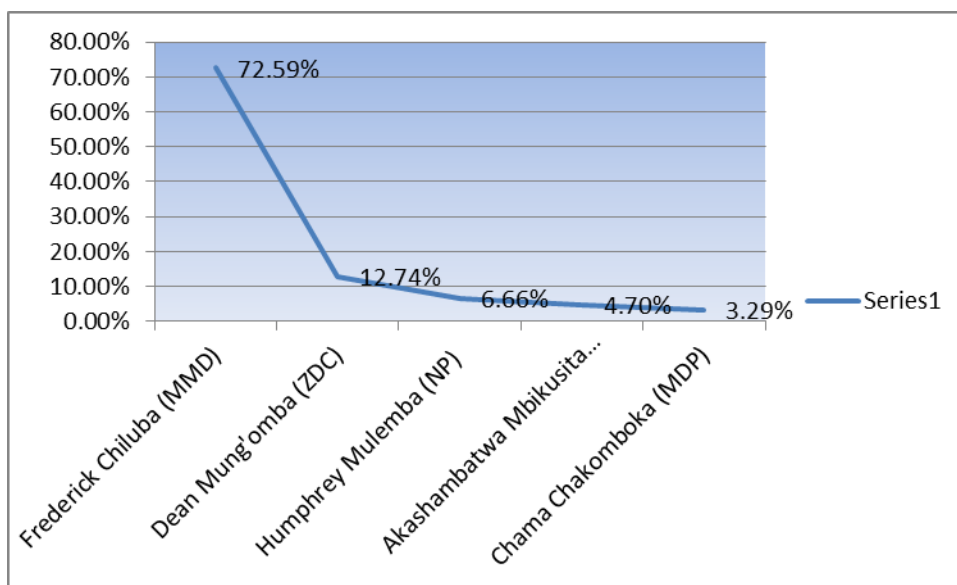


Figure 7 1996 presidential results

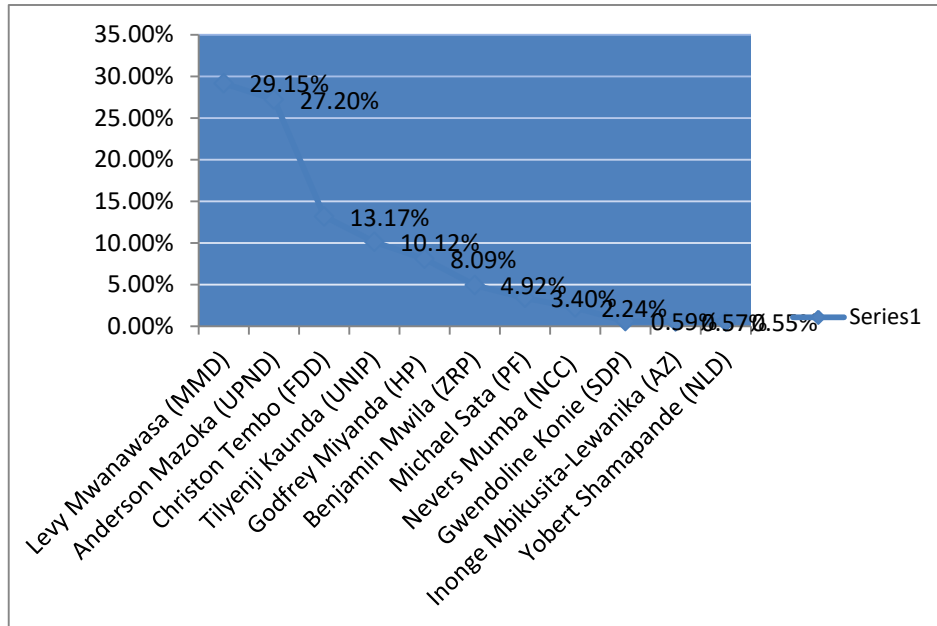


Figure 8 2001 Election Presidential results

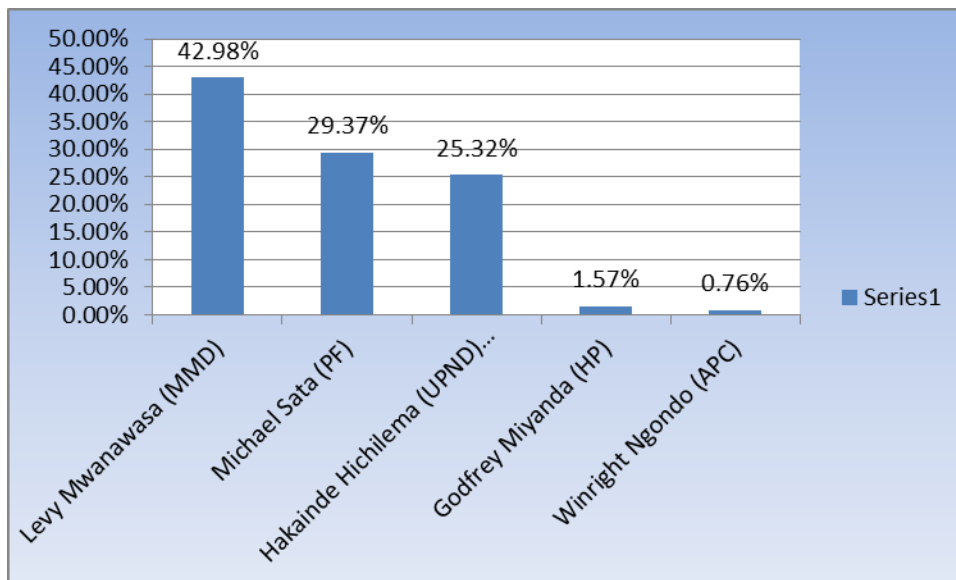


Figure 9 2006 PRESIDENTIAL RESULTS

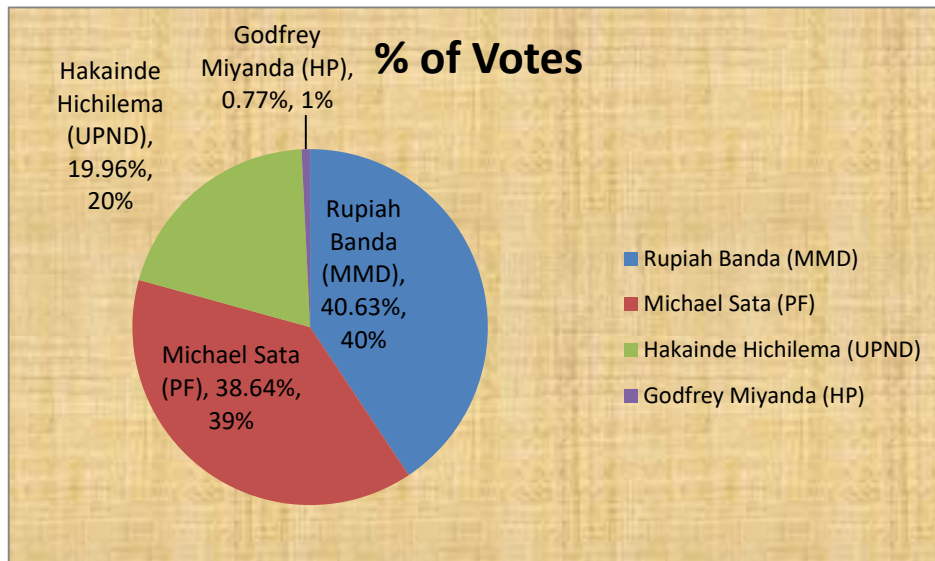


Figure 10.2008 Election Results

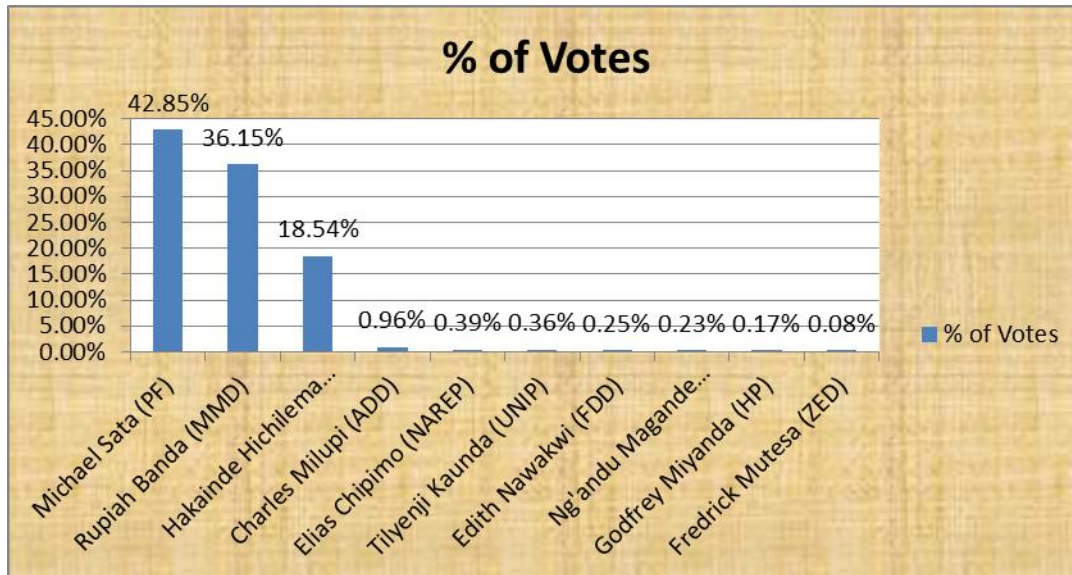


Figure 11. Presidential Election 2011 results



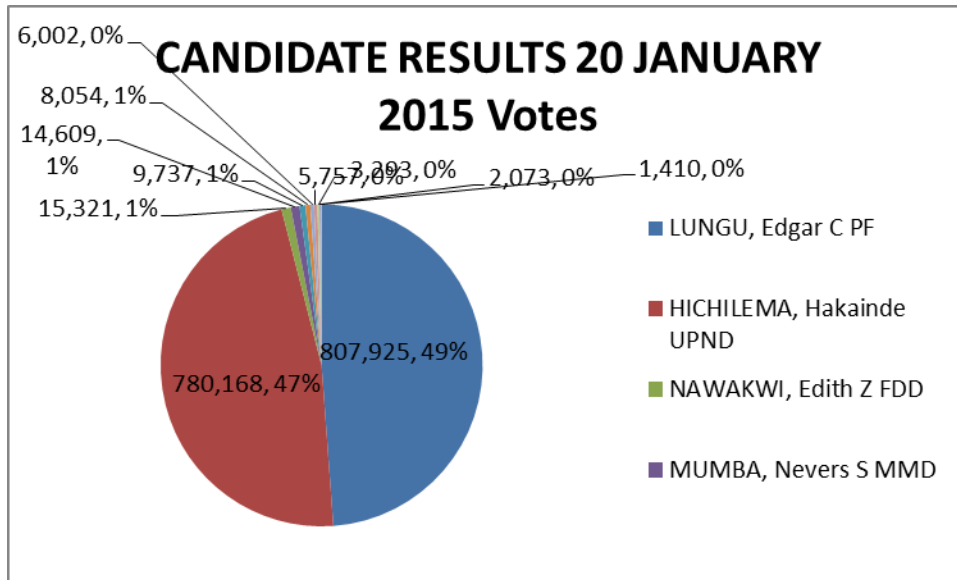


Figure 12 2015 PRESIDENTIAL RESULTS

It can be noted from the above results presented:

- ✓ The elections held in 1991 had a wide margin between the winner and the second best. FTJ Chiluba received 76% of the total votes while KK the second best received 24%. This was under the majoritarian vote.
- ✓ In 1996 the constitution was changed to the Simple majority the winner FTJ Chiluba received 72.59% of the votes while the second Deam Mungomba received 12.27%.
- ✓ 2001 the winning president had 29.15 % of the total vote cast, the second had 27.20%.
- ✓ In 2008 the winning president had 40.63% and the second had 38.64%
- ✓ In 2011 the winning president had 42.85% and the one that followed had 36.15%.
- ✓ In 2015 The ruling Patriotic Front candidate Edgar Lungu won by a narrow majority of just 27,757 votes (1.66%) against Hakainde Hichilema of the United Party for National Development.

It's evident that during the majoritarian the gap between the winning president and the second run-up used to be of big margins. For example General elections in 1968 held under majoritarian Kaunda defeated Zambian African National Congress (a renamed NRANC) leader Harry Nkumbula with 82% of the vote, giving Harry Nkumbula 18% of the votes. The elections held in 1991 had a wide margin between the winner and the second best. FTJ Chiluba received 76% of the total votes while KK the second best received 24%.

However as the Simple majority has been progressing the margin had been reducing. Two factors seem to be at play, the increase in the number of the candidates standing for presidency resulting into split votes. The second is the voting patens change more going into the ethnicity voting and the winning presidents not having the majority mandate to rule the country.

## Chapter Five: Conclusion, Recommendation & Future Research Question

Zambia has one of the most comprehensive electoral legal Framework. The election administration is undoubtedly full of openness and virtual transparency of the entire electoral process. Elections in Zambia are all inclusive. Any Zambian who has attained the age of eighteen may vote in any election as long as such person has registered to vote.

However despite its strength the electoral process and laws have had gap which has led to the following:

### 1. Increased by-Election resulting into high cost to the Nation.

*“Article 67 (1) When a vacancy occurs in the seat of the member of the National Assembly as a result of the death or resignation of the member or by virtue of Article 71, a by-election shall be held within ninety days after the occurrence of the vacancy”.*

*“Article 71 c in the case of an elected member of parliament becomes a member of a political party other than the party of which he was an authorized candidate when he was elected to the national Assembly or, if having been an independent candidate, he joins a political party, he becomes an independent:”*

As result of the above mentioned law which is part of the Electoral process in Zambia from 2007 to 2014 309 bye elections were held

Between 2011 to December 2014 over K200 million was spent to hold 18 by election .This cost is even lower to the official electoral Commission figure as papers on 18 May 2013 reported “that The Electoral Commission of Zambia has provided new figures for the cost of bye elections. “ECZ Director Priscilla Isaacs says Lukulu West and Kapiri constituency bye elections cost a whopping K 11 billion (or around K6bn each). Feira will cost whopping K8 billion”(https://www.facebook.com/zambian.economist/posts/626997220663566)

This leads to budget deficits as the government has been trying to follow the constitution on electoral process. For example more than K211 million was spent on Parliamentary and local Government by elections from October 2011 to December 2014. This was against the total of K18 million that was budgeted for, during the same period from 2011 to 2014

## **Regional Voting as resulted Because of the Simple majority Presidential Vote.**

Such a pattern of voting can be traced from 2001 if a comparison is done between the best three contenders. Mazoka Anderson Mazoka coming from Southern Province he had 72.22% of the votes from Southern Province. Levy Mwanawasa seen to be coming from Central Province 15.12% of southern Province, Christone Tembo an Easterner received 4.49% of Southern

2011 HH coming from southern he got 72.31% of the total vote cast in southern province, Rupiah Banda got 19.39% while Micheal Chilufya Sata received 6.67% of Sothern province votes. In Northern Province were Michael Chilufya Sata was coming from he received 65.07%, Rupiah Banda a tribal cousin received 32.60% while HH received 0.79% of total vote casts in the region. Eastern were Ruphia Banda was coming from in 2011 he received 74.28%, HH from the southern region 3.40% and Michael Chilufya Sata 18.89% of the total votes cast in the region. Luapula in the same year 2011 gave Michael Chilufya Sata 74.66%, Rupiah Banda 23.25% and Hakainde Hichilema 0.86%.

In 2008 HH received 72.98% of Southern province votes; Rupiah Banda had 20.79%, while Sata Michael had 4.78%. Luapula gave 70.47%, Banda from the Eastern received 27.83% and HH received 1.36%. Northen gave Sata 65.50% of votes from the region, Banda received 32.81% and HH received 1.30%. Eastern Province gave Rupia Banda 74.46% Sata received 18.74% and Hakainde Hichilema 5.84%.

I think when the political system is designed to channel benefits to certain people and leave out others – as in much of Zambia – an election is not just a civic exercise, it's a high-stakes venture that is almost like stepping into a time travel machine, as the benefits you get can instantly propel you years ahead of the national average. That's what politics of Zambia look like pay back for those that voted for you and coincidentally this is aligned to tribal lining. This has been taken advantage of by politicians who have wanted to get the Majority votes from their regions. This is because they know with just little more support from their region they will go through.

As Mbita Chita states," Generally, simple majority vote electoral system favors parties whose support is concentrated ethnically (geographically) and tends to discriminate against parties with support spread across the constituencies. In the 2008 Elections for instance, support for MMD was greatest in all rural areas other than in Southern, Luapula and half of Northern Province. The PF support was on the copper belt, Lusaka Urban, Kabwe Urban, Luapula and half of Northern Province. The UPND: support was in Southern Province and two constituencies in North Western Province.

We do not conclusively say that our electoral process is solely responsible for the regional voting we see in Zambia but that it has contributed to it in away. Hence there is need to investigate other factors which have contributed to that if we are going to address such issues in totality.

## **Having Presidents with No National support.**

It's evident that during the majoritarian the gap between the winning president and the second run-up used to be of big margins. For example General elections in 1968 held under majoritarian Kaunda defeated Zambian African National Congress (a renamed NRANC) leader Harry Nkumbula with 82% of the vote, giving Harry Nkumbula 18% of the votes. The elections held in 1991 had a wide margin between the winner and the second best. FTJ Chiluba received 76% of the total votes while KK the second best received 24%.

However as the Simple majority has been progressing the margin had been reducing. Two factors seem to be at play, the increase in the number of the candidates standing for presidency resulting into split votes. The second is the voting patterns change more going into the ethnicity voting and the winning presidents not having the majority mandate to rule the country.

2001 the winning president had 29.15 % of the total vote cast, the second had 27.20%. In 2008 the winning president had 40.63% and the second had 38.64% in 2011 the winning president had 42.85% and the one that followed had 36.15%. The ruling Patriotic Front candidate Edgar Lungu won by a narrow majority of just 27,757 votes (1.66%) against Hakainde Hichilema of the United Party for National Development

*Article 34 (8) of the constitution at the time stated that, " the returning officer shall declare the candidate who gets the highest number of votes cast to have been duly elected as president "*

The closeness between the winner and the second usually causes tension not only among the candidates but also their support. Mostly it has led to dissatisfaction of the election results as others say we cannot have a president who is not given a majority mandate to rule the country.

## **Electoral Corruption.**

"The current electoral system of first past the post or winner takes it all has been riddled with electoral corruption and must be confined to the garbage heap of history", Finance Minister Alexander Chikwanda observed in his speech to parliament. Such a perception of the electoral system from a high ranking government official who has been in government for a long time speaks a lot of things on the nature of the system.

As Mr. Chikwanda observed, the first past the post system based on the Simple majority win often tempts candidates to look for financial and material resources to shower their voters and

supports. This is the reason why the 9 by-elections were nullified from 2011 to 2014 December due to corruption during elections.

## **Recommendation:**

After an investigation in the electoral process in Zambia and its Effects we have the following recommendations to me for the system to be improved:

1. Zambia should adopt Proportional representation. The country has been advised to adopt a form of Proportional Representation electoral method for the following reasons:
  - i. Political parties will gain representation in Parliament in proportion to their share of votes cast. In real terms, there will be one entity Zambia. Voters will cast votes for parties who in turn will allocate from their lists designated representative per constituency won. On account of this, costly bye-elections will also be done with as parties will simply replace candidates from their lists whenever a vacancy occurred.
  - ii. More parties are likely to gain representation as this electoral method will stimulate voters to take part in elections which will lead to higher voter turnouts. In the 2006 presidential elections, the Heritage Party should have been awarded at least 2 seats and that of APC at least one seat. For argument sake, this could have enabled Gen. Godfrey Miyanda and Mr. Winwright Ngndo to be Members of Parliament and usefully participates in our country's governance rather than be relegated to history.
  - iii. Bye-elections shall be avoided in both Parliamentary and Presidential elections since

there will be only one election and the President will have a running mate in his/her party. Zambia should consider keeping the running mate clause in the new constitution.

iv. The Proportional Representational system will strengthen political parties as organizations and enhance their role in the Zambia political process

2. Presidential Elections (50 + 1) to be embraced in its totality for this will help with acceptance of the president who wins elections.
3. Change all electoral laws and constitutions parts which have a negative effect on the electoral process of Zambia. For example having too many political parties which end up in the splitting of the elections results.

We do not conclusively say that our electoral process is solely responsible for the regional voting we see in Zambia but that it has contributed to it in away. Hence there is need to investigate other factors which have contributed to that if we are going to address such issues in totality.

### **Future research Questions:**

An investigation into the electoral process in Zambia has reviewed a few things following the historic process. However even more questions have been left an answered while others have risen up. Below are a few of the questions which come immediately on the open:

1. The government of Zambia and institutions of research need to find out a part from the electoral process factors which other factors have contributed to regional voting in Zambia?



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## Annex

### Election Results Data Sets

#### Presidential Election National Statistics

##### October 1991 Presidential Election

Registered Voters 2,931,909  
Total Votes (Voter Turnout) Not Available (approx. 45%)

Candidate (Party)	% of Votes
Frederick Chiluba (MMD)	75.8%
Kenneth Kaunda (UNIP)	24.2%

##### 18 November 1996 Presidential Election\*

Registered Voters 2,267,382  
Total Votes (Voter Turnout) 1,325,053 (58.4%)  
Invalid/Blank Votes 66,248  
Total Valid Votes 1,285,805

Candidate (Party)	Number of Votes	% of Votes
Frederick Chiluba (MMD)	913,770	72.59%
Dean Mung'omba (ZDC)	160,439	12.74%
Humphrey Mulemba (NP)	83,875	6.66%
Akashambatwa Mbikusita Lewanika (AZ)	59,250	4.70%
Chama Chakomboka (MDP)	41,471	3.29%

\*The main opposition United National Independence Party (UNIP) boycotted the election.

##### 27 December 2001 Presidential Election

Registered Voters 2,604,761  
Total Votes (Voter Turnout) 1,766,356 (67.8%)  
Invalid/Blank Votes 28,408  
Total Valid Votes 1,737,948

Candidate (Party)	Number of Votes	% of Votes
Levy Mwanawasa (MMD)	506,694	29.15%
Anderson Mazoka (UPND)	472,697	27.20%
Christon Tembo (FDD)	228,861	13.17%

Tilyenji Kaunda (UNIP)	175,898	10.12%
Godfrey Miyanda (HP)	140,678	8.09%
Benjamin Mwila (ZRP)	85,472	4.92%
Michael Sata (PF)	59,172	3.40%
Nevers Mumba (NCC)	38,860	2.24%
Gwendoline Konie (SDP)	10,253	0.59%
Inonge Mbikusita-Lewanika (AZ)	9,882	0.57%
Yobert Shamapande (NLD)	9,481	0.55%

### 28 September 2006 Presidential Election

Registered Voters 3,941,229

Voters

Total Votes 2,789,114 (70.8%)

(Voter

Turnout)

Invalid/Blank Votes 48,936

Votes

Total Valid Votes 2,740,178

Votes

Candidate (Party) [Coalition]	Number of Votes	% of Votes
Levy Mwanawasa (MMD)	1,177,846	42.98%
Michael Sata (PF)	804,748	29.37%
Hakainde Hichilema (UPND) [UDA]	693,772	25.32%
Godfrey Miyanda (HP)	42,891	1.57%
Winright Ngondo (APC)	20,921	0.76%

### 30 October 2008 Presidential Election

Registered Voters 3,944,135

Total Votes (Voter Turnout) 1,791,806 (45.4%)

Invalid/Blank Votes 23,596

Total Valid Votes 1,768,210

Candidate (Party)	Number of Votes	% of Votes
Rupiah Banda (MMD)	718,359	40.63%
Michael Sata (PF)	683,150	38.64%
Hakainde Hichilema (UPND)	353,018	19.96%
Godfrey Miyanda (HP)	13,683	0.77%

### 20 September 2011 Presidential Election

Registered Voters 5,167,154

Voters

Total Votes 2,789,340

(Voter Turnout) (54.0%)

Invalid/Blank Votes 56,678

Votes

Total Valid Votes 2,732,662

Votes

Candidate (Party)	Number of	% of
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	Votes	Votes
Michael Sata (PF)	1,170,966	42.85%
Rupiah Banda (MMD)	987,866	36.15%
Hakainde Hichilema (UPND)	506,763	18.54%
Charles Milupi (ADD)	26,270	0.96%
Elias Chipimo (NAREP)	10,672	0.39%
Tilyenji Kaunda (UNIP)	9,950	0.36%
Edith Nawakwi (FDD)	6,833	0.25%
Ng'andu Magande (NMP)	6,344	0.23%
Godfrey Miyanda (HP)	4,730	0.17%
Fredrick Mutesa (ZED)	2,268	0.08%

## Historical Election Results per Province

20 SEPTEMBER 2011 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION										
Candidate (Party)	Province									National Total
	Central	Copper belt	Eastern	Luapula	Lusaka	Northern	North-Western	Southern	Western	
Michael Sata (PF)	63,890 (28.72%)	341,505 (68.76%)	59,391 (18.89%)	151,822 (74.66%)	224,925 (56.32%)	242,455 (65.07%)	18,790 (11.09%)	24,609 (6.67%)	43,579 (23.51%)	<b>1,170,966</b> <b>(42.85%)</b>
Rupiah Banda (MMD)	108,912 (48.95%)	131,897 (26.56%)	233,528 (74.28%)	47,289 (23.25%)	123,653 (30.96%)	121,482 (32.60%)	86,994 (51.33%)	71,519 (19.39%)	62,592 (33.76%)	<b>987,866</b> <b>(36.15%)</b>
Hakainde Hichilema (UPND)	47,037 (21.14%)	17,948 (3.61%)	10,704 (3.40%)	1,758 (0.86%)	45,397 (11.37%)	2,935 (0.79%)	61,054 (36.03%)	266,754 (72.31%)	53,176 (28.68%)	<b>506,763</b> <b>(18.54%)</b>
Charles Milupi (ADD)	352 (0.16%)	658 (0.13%)	914 (0.29%)	248 (0.12%)	533 (0.13%)	654 (0.18%)	316 (0.19%)	955 (0.26%)	21,640 (11.67%)	<b>26,270</b> <b>(0.96%)</b>
Elias Chipimo (NAREP)	547 (0.25%)	1,008 (0.20%)	1,987 (0.63%)	596 (0.29%)	2,002 (0.50%)	1,458 (0.39%)	528 (0.31%)	1,338 (0.36%)	1,208 (0.65%)	<b>10,672</b> <b>(0.39%)</b>
Tilyenji Kaunda (UNIP)	464 (0.21%)	570 (0.11%)	3,885 (1.24%)	417 (0.21%)	921 (0.23%)	910 (0.24%)	584 (0.34%)	1,245 (0.34%)	954 (0.51%)	<b>9,950</b> <b>(0.36%)</b>
Edith Nawakwi (FDD)	469 (0.21%)	1,538 (0.31%)	1,589 (0.51%)	356 (0.18%)	660 (0.17%)	1,031 (0.28%)	301 (0.18%)	432 (0.12%)	457 (0.25%)	<b>6,833</b> <b>(0.25%)</b>
Ng'andu Magande (NMP)	414 (0.19%)	738 (0.15%)	1,070 (0.34%)	512 (0.25%)	566 (0.14%)	886 (0.24%)	527 (0.31%)	988 (0.27%)	643 (0.35%)	<b>6,344</b> <b>(0.23%)</b>
Godfrey Miyanda (HP)	313 (0.14%)	632 (0.13%)	700 (0.22%)	167 (0.08%)	479 (0.12%)	420 (0.11%)	241 (0.14%)	833 (0.23%)	945 (0.51%)	<b>4,730</b> <b>(0.17%)</b>
Fredrick Mutesa (ZED)	85 (0.04%)	176 (0.04%)	625 (0.20%)	196 (0.10%)	214 (0.05%)	390 (0.10%)	133 (0.08%)	240 (0.07%)	209 (0.11%)	<b>2,268</b> <b>(0.08%)</b>
<b>Total Valid Votes</b>	<b>222,483</b>	<b>496,670</b>	<b>314,393</b>	<b>203,361</b>	<b>399,350</b>	<b>372,621</b>	<b>169,468</b>	<b>368,913</b>	<b>185,403</b>	<b>2,732,662</b>
<b>Invalid/Blank Votes</b>	<b>5,200</b>	<b>7,881</b>	<b>10,775</b>	<b>4,484</b>	<b>4,319</b>	<b>8,122</b>	<b>4,291</b>	<b>6,762</b>	<b>4,844</b>	<b>56,678</b>
<b>Total Votes</b>	<b>227,683</b>	<b>504,551</b>	<b>325,168</b>	<b>207,845</b>	<b>403,669</b>	<b>380,743</b>	<b>173,759</b>	<b>375,675</b>	<b>190,247</b>	<b>2,789,340</b>
<b>Registered Voters</b>	<b>482,013</b>	<b>845,569</b>	<b>644,725</b>	<b>408,937</b>	<b>772,458</b>	<b>659,534</b>	<b>315,670</b>	<b>643,588</b>	<b>394,660</b>	<b>5,167,154</b>

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<b>Voter Turnout</b>	<b>47.2%</b>	<b>59.7%</b>	<b>50.4%</b>	<b>50.8%</b>	<b>52.3%</b>	<b>57.7%</b>	<b>55.0%</b>	<b>58.4%</b>	<b>48.2%</b>	<b>54.0%</b>
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<b>30 OCTOBER 2008 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION</b>										
<b>Candidate (Party)</b>	<b>Province</b>									<b>National Total</b>
	<b>Central</b>	<b>Copper belt</b>	<b>Eastern</b>	<b>Luapula</b>	<b>Lusaka</b>	<b>Northern</b>	<b>North-Western</b>	<b>Southern</b>	<b>Western</b>	
Rupiah Banda (MMD)	82,178 (53.80%)	105,225 (32.26%)	148,197 (74.46%)	32,552 (27.83%)	90,057 (30.28%)	67,237 (32.81%)	59,370 (57.59%)	51,550 (20.79%)	81,993 (68.38%)	<b>718,359</b> <b>(40.63%)</b>
Michael Sata (PF)	37,656 (24.65%)	201,087 (61.65%)	37,295 (18.74%)	82,418 (70.47%)	162,107 (54.51%)	134,244 (65.50%)	4,586 (4.45%)	11,866 (4.78%)	11,891 (9.92%)	<b>683,150</b> <b>(38.64%)</b>
Hakainde Hichilema (UPND)	31,821 (20.83%)	17,846 (5.47%)	11,624 (5.84%)	1,588 (1.36%)	43,515 (14.63%)	2,660 (1.30%)	38,265 (37.12%)	180,976 (72.98%)	24,723 (20.62%)	<b>353,018</b> <b>(19.96%)</b>
Godfrey Miyanda (HP)	1,080 (0.71%)	2,022 (0.62%)	1,926 (0.97%)	389 (0.33%)	1,697 (0.57%)	801 (0.39%)	876 (0.85%)	3,593 (1.45%)	1,299 (1.08%)	<b>13,683</b> <b>(0.77%)</b>
<b>Total Valid Votes</b>	<b>152,735</b>	<b>326,180</b>	<b>199,042</b>	<b>116,947</b>	<b>297,376</b>	<b>204,942</b>	<b>103,097</b>	<b>247,985</b>	<b>119,906</b>	<b>1,768,210</b>
<b>Invalid/Blank Votes</b>	<b>2,544</b>	<b>4,016</b>	<b>3,464</b>	<b>1,393</b>	<b>3,472</b>	<b>2,572</b>	<b>1,527</b>	<b>2,863</b>	<b>1,745</b>	<b>23,596</b>
<b>Total Votes</b>	<b>155,279</b>	<b>330,196</b>	<b>202,506</b>	<b>118,340</b>	<b>300,848</b>	<b>207,514</b>	<b>104,624</b>	<b>250,848</b>	<b>121,651</b>	<b>1,791,806</b>
<b>Registered Voters</b>	<b>382,349</b>	<b>625,848</b>	<b>499,984</b>	<b>312,857</b>	<b>592,868</b>	<b>465,172</b>	<b>244,815</b>	<b>503,801</b>	<b>316,441</b>	<b>3,944,135</b>
<b>Voter Turnout</b>	<b>40.6%</b>	<b>52.8%</b>	<b>40.5%</b>	<b>37.8%</b>	<b>50.7%</b>	<b>44.6%</b>	<b>42.7%</b>	<b>49.8%</b>	<b>38.4%</b>	<b>45.4%</b>

<b>27 DECEMBER 2001 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION</b>										
<b>Candidate (Party)</b>	<b>Province</b>									<b>National Total</b>
	<b>Central</b>	<b>Copper belt</b>	<b>Eastern</b>	<b>Luapula</b>	<b>Lusaka</b>	<b>Northern</b>	<b>North-Western</b>	<b>Southern</b>	<b>Western</b>	
Levy Mwanawasa (MMD)	43,117 (32.08%)	125,064 (38.44%)	35,889 (16.45%)	71,509 (53.91%)	40,225 (15.91%)	82,867 (42.82%)	37,336 (32.81%)	36,068 (15.12%)	34,619 (26.90%)	<b>506,694</b> <b>(29.15%)</b>
Anderson Mazoka (UPND)	39,039 (29.04%)	39,329 (12.09%)	9,341 (4.28%)	5,674 (4.28%)	79,419 (31.41%)	8,888 (4.59%)	55,816 (49.05%)	172,253 (72.22%)	62,938 (48.90%)	<b>472,697</b> <b>(27.20%)</b>
Christon Tembo (FDD)	12,472 (9.28%)	27,791 (8.54%)	62,662 (28.72%)	11,162 (8.42%)	60,929 (24.10%)	24,823 (12.83%)	6,650 (5.84%)	10,703 (4.49%)	11,669 (9.07%)	<b>228,861</b> <b>(13.17%)</b>
Tilyenji Kaunda (UNIP)	12,029 (8.95%)	14,101 (4.33%)	79,340 (36.36%)	10,486 (7.91%)	16,768 (6.63%)	25,954 (13.41%)	4,482 (3.94%)	4,588 (1.92%)	8,150 (6.33%)	<b>175,898</b> <b>(10.12%)</b>
Godfrey Miyanda (HP)	15,406 (11.46%)	63,645 (19.56%)	14,885 (6.82%)	3,133 (2.36%)	22,032 (8.71%)	8,399 (4.34%)	5,077 (4.46%)	5,284 (2.22%)	2,817 (2.19%)	<b>140,678</b> <b>(8.09%)</b>
Benjamin Mwila (ZRP)	6,004 (4.47%)	19,749 (6.07%)	6,257 (2.87%)	20,998 (15.83%)	7,092 (2.81%)	18,424 (9.52%)	1,642 (1.44%)	2,784 (1.17%)	2,522 (1.96%)	<b>85,472</b> <b>(4.92%)</b>
Michael Sata (PF)	1,930 (1.44%)	23,619 (7.26%)	1,623 (0.74%)	4,832 (3.64%)	9,484 (3.75%)	15,781 (8.15%)	275 (0.24%)	790 (0.33%)	838 (0.65%)	<b>59,172</b> <b>(3.40%)</b>
Nevers Mumba (NCC)	2,276 (1.69%)	8,747 (2.69%)	2,144 (0.98%)	3,020 (2.28%)	13,765 (5.44%)	4,423 (2.29%)	743 (0.65%)	2,227 (0.93%)	1,515 (1.18%)	<b>38,860</b> <b>(2.24%)</b>
Gwendoline Konie	716	829	2,750	666	913	1,351	730	1,375	923	<b>10,253</b>

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(SDP)	(0.53%)	(0.25%)	(1.26%)	(0.50%)	(0.36%)	(0.70%)	(0.64%)	(0.58%)	(0.72%)	<b>(0.59%)</b>
Inonge Mbikusita-Lewanika (AZ)	676 (0.50%)	1,046 (0.32%)	1,669 (0.76%)	407 (0.31%)	1,242 (0.49%)	939 (0.49%)	508 (0.45%)	1,440 (0.60%)	1,955 (1.52%)	<b>9,882 (0.57%)</b>
Yobert Shamapande (NLD)	748 (0.56%)	1,426 (0.44%)	1,653 (0.76%)	746 (0.56%)	944 (0.37%)	1,681 (0.87%)	534 (0.47%)	995 (0.42%)	754 (0.59%)	<b>9,481 (0.55%)</b>
<b>Total Valid Votes</b>	<b>134,413</b>	<b>325,346</b>	<b>218,213</b>	<b>132,633</b>	<b>252,813</b>	<b>193,530</b>	<b>113,793</b>	<b>238,507</b>	<b>128,700</b>	<b>1,737,948</b>
<b>Invalid/Blank Votes</b>	<b>3,497</b>	<b>3,690</b>	<b>3,412</b>	<b>1,348</b>	<b>5,705</b>	<b>3,739</b>	<b>1,967</b>	<b>4,341</b>	<b>709</b>	<b>28,408</b>
<b>Total Votes</b>	<b>137,910</b>	<b>329,036</b>	<b>221,625</b>	<b>133,981</b>	<b>258,518</b>	<b>197,269</b>	<b>115,760</b>	<b>242,848</b>	<b>129,409</b>	<b>1,766,356</b>
<b>Registered Voters</b>	<b>205,616</b>	<b>453,240</b>	<b>337,533</b>	<b>202,258</b>	<b>399,247</b>	<b>296,811</b>	<b>163,663</b>	<b>339,765</b>	<b>206,628</b>	<b>2,604,761</b>
<b>Voter Turnout</b>	<b>67.1%</b>	<b>72.6%</b>	<b>65.7%</b>	<b>66.2%</b>	<b>64.8%</b>	<b>66.5%</b>	<b>70.7%</b>	<b>71.5%</b>	<b>62.6%</b>	<b>67.8%</b>

## 18 NOVEMBER 1996 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION\*

Candidate (Party)	Province									National Total
	Central	Copper belt	Eastern	Luapula	Lusaka	Northern	North-Western	Southern	Western	
Frederick Chiluba (MMD)	73,718 (73.15%)	234,580 (86.35%)	69,897 (64.04%)	91,414 (85.42%)	121,734 (74.42%)	120,392 (80.48%)	46,933 (52.20%)	111,560 (67.13%)	43,542 (43.14%)	<b>913,770 (72.59%)</b>
Dean Mung'omba (ZDC)	14,370 (14.26%)	20,900 (7.69%)	21,364 (19.57%)	6,397 (5.98%)	27,915 (17.07%)	17,840 (11.93%)	5,685 (6.32%)	30,466 (18.33%)	15,502 (15.36%)	<b>160,439 (12.74%)</b>
Humphrey Mulemba (NP)	5,212 (5.17%)	8,947 (3.29%)	7,477 (6.85%)	1,786 (1.67%)	6,047 (3.70%)	3,686 (2.46%)	33,883 (37.68%)	8,638 (5.20%)	8,199 (8.12%)	<b>83,875 (6.66%)</b>
Akashambatwa Mbikusita Lewanika (AZ)	2,185 (2.17%)	2,636 (0.97%)	3,788 (3.47%)	5,272 (4.93%)	4,612 (2.82%)	1,851 (1.24%)	1,362 (1.51%)	7,780 (4.68%)	29,764 (29.49%)	<b>59,250 (4.70%)</b>
Chama Chakomboka (MDP)	5,291 (5.25%)	4,601 (1.69%)	6,616 (6.06%)	2,153 (2.01%)	3,267 (2.00%)	5,831 (3.90%)	2,049 (2.28%)	7,747 (4.66%)	3,916 (3.88%)	<b>41,471 (3.29%)</b>
<b>Total Valid Votes</b>	<b>100,776</b>	<b>271,664</b>	<b>109,142</b>	<b>107,022</b>	<b>163,575</b>	<b>149,600</b>	<b>89,912</b>	<b>166,191</b>	<b>100,923</b>	<b>1,258,805</b>
<b>Invalid/Blank Votes</b>	<b>5,117</b>	<b>14,612</b>	<b>6,806</b>	<b>3,867</b>	<b>10,452</b>	<b>5,976</b>	<b>3,600</b>	<b>9,225</b>	<b>6,593</b>	<b>66,248</b>
<b>Total Votes</b>	<b>105,893</b>	<b>286,276</b>	<b>115,948</b>	<b>110,889</b>	<b>174,027</b>	<b>155,576</b>	<b>93,512</b>	<b>175,416</b>	<b>107,516</b>	<b>1,325,053</b>
<b>Registered Voters</b>	<b>186,917</b>	<b>401,273</b>	<b>314,390</b>	<b>170,685</b>	<b>296,919</b>	<b>240,280</b>	<b>139,020</b>	<b>302,810</b>	<b>215,088</b>	<b>2,267,382</b>
<b>Voter Turnout</b>	<b>56.7%</b>	<b>71.3%</b>	<b>36.9%</b>	<b>65.0%</b>	<b>58.6%</b>	<b>64.7%</b>	<b>67.3%</b>	<b>57.9%</b>	<b>50.0%</b>	<b>58.4%</b>

\*The main opposition United National Independence Party (UNIP) boycotted the election.

## 27 OCTOBER 1983 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION (Kenneth Kaunda re-elected unopposed)

Results	Province									National Total
	Central	Copper belt	Eastern	Luapula	Lusaka	Northern	North-Western	Southern	Western	
"Yes" Votes	125,140 (95.38%)	329,509 (92.31%)	184,001 (97.78%)	97,586 (96.30%)	214,499 (95.80%)	159,177 (97.87%)	83,845 (98.24%)	168,539 (93.60%)	90,733 (96.76%)	<b>1,453,029 (95.38%)</b>

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"No" Votes	6,055 (4.62%)	27,437 (7.69%)	4,174 (2.22%)	3,754 (3.70%)	9,411 (4.20%)	3,462 (2.13%)	1,504 (1.76%)	11,518 (6.40%)	3,040 (3.24%)	<b>70,355</b> <b>(4.62%)</b>
<b>Total Valid Votes</b>	<b>131,195</b>	<b>356,946</b>	<b>188,175</b>	<b>101,340</b>	<b>223,910</b>	<b>162,639</b>	<b>85,349</b>	<b>180,057</b>	<b>93,773</b>	<b>1,523,384</b>
Invalid/Blank Votes	2,896	9,978	3,685	1,967	6,234	2,565	1,306	4,217	1,831	34,679
<b>Total Votes</b>	<b>134,091</b>	<b>366,924</b>	<b>191,860</b>	<b>103,307</b>	<b>230,144</b>	<b>165,204</b>	<b>86,655</b>	<b>184,274</b>	<b>95,604</b>	<b>1,558,063</b>
Registered Voters	214,260	508,257	272,823	163,721	320,787	265,647	133,903	293,907	204,305	2,377,610
<b>Voter Turnout</b>	<b>62.6%</b>	<b>72.2%</b>	<b>70.3%</b>	<b>63.1%</b>	<b>71.8%</b>	<b>62.2%</b>	<b>64.7%</b>	<b>62.7%</b>	<b>46.8%</b>	<b>65.5%</b>

## 12 DECEMBER 1978 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION (Kenneth Kaunda re-elected unopposed)

Results	Province									National Total
	Central	Copper belt	Eastern	Luapula	Lusaka	Northern	North-Western	Southern	Western	
"Yes" Votes	88,432 (83.88%)	227,279 (80.34%)	166,324 (96.40%)	84,516 (81.99%)	131,557 (85.62%)	111,765 (74.17%)	81,391 (95.96%)	70,025 (51.17%)	64,838 (80.14%)	<b>1,026,127</b> <b>(80.74%)</b>
"No" Votes	16,994 (16.12%)	55,621 (19.66%)	6,206 (3.60%)	18,567 (18.01%)	22,104 (14.38%)	38,916 (25.83%)	3,427 (4.04%)	66,818 (48.83%)	16,066 (19.86%)	<b>244,719</b> <b>(19.26%)</b>
<b>Total Valid Votes</b>	<b>105,426</b>	<b>282,900</b>	<b>172,530</b>	<b>103,083</b>	<b>153,661</b>	<b>150,681</b>	<b>84,818</b>	<b>136,843</b>	<b>80,904</b>	<b>1,270,846</b>
Invalid/Blank Votes	3,351	12,623	3,829	3,086	7,693	3,342	2,361	5,393	3,085	44,763
<b>Total Votes</b>	<b>108,777</b>	<b>295,523</b>	<b>176,359</b>	<b>106,169</b>	<b>161,354</b>	<b>154,023</b>	<b>87,179</b>	<b>142,236</b>	<b>83,989</b>	<b>1,315,609</b>
Registered Voters	164,295	411,980	251,744	150,656	222,062	224,506	120,282	237,728	188,628	1,971,881
<b>Voter Turnout</b>	<b>66.2%</b>	<b>71.7%</b>	<b>70.1%</b>	<b>70.5%</b>	<b>72.7%</b>	<b>68.6%</b>	<b>72.5%</b>	<b>59.8%</b>	<b>44.5%</b>	<b>66.7%</b>

## 5 DECEMBER 1973 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION (Kenneth Kaunda re-elected unopposed)

Results	Province									National Total
	Central	Copper belt	Eastern	Luapula	Lusaka	Northern	North-Western	Southern	Western	
"Yes" Votes	37,393 (90.49%)	126,626 (88.64%)	113,063 (97.80%)	76,840 (98.70%)	53,552 (89.33%)	69,384 (85.10%)	39,224 (97.22%)	33,882 (62.20%)	31,281 (77.41%)	<b>581,245</b> <b>(88.83%)</b>
"No" Votes	3,932 (9.51%)	16,231 (11.36%)	2,545 (2.20%)	1,016 (1.30%)	6,398 (10.67%)	12,153 (14.90%)	1,121 (2.78%)	20,589 (37.80%)	9,130 (22.59%)	<b>73,115</b> <b>(11.17%)</b>
<b>Total Valid Votes</b>	<b>41,325</b>	<b>142,857</b>	<b>115,608</b>	<b>77,856</b>	<b>59,950</b>	<b>81,537</b>	<b>40,345</b>	<b>54,471</b>	<b>40,411</b>	<b>654,360</b>
Invalid/Blank Votes	2,136	8,351	4,266	2,812	3,262	2,647	3,403	4,735	2,714	34,326
<b>Total Votes</b>	<b>43,461</b>	<b>151,208</b>	<b>119,874</b>	<b>80,668</b>	<b>63,212</b>	<b>84,184</b>	<b>43,748</b>	<b>59,206</b>	<b>43,125</b>	<b>688,686</b>
Registered Voters	135,033	323,700	245,697	149,588	158,432	219,394	1,15,778	202,722	195,763	1,746,107
<b>Voter Turnout</b>	<b>32.2%</b>	<b>46.7%</b>	<b>48.8%</b>	<b>53.9%</b>	<b>39.9%</b>	<b>38.4%</b>	<b>37.8%</b>	<b>29.2%</b>	<b>22.0%</b>	<b>39.4%</b>