An Investigation of the Electoral Process in Zambia and Its Effects

Chibesa Felix

Information Communication University, Lusaka, Zambia

Abstract: There has been an increased dissatisfaction of the election results in the previous elections in Zambia with most parts of the political parties claiming that the governments which won those elections are not popular. Zambia has further moved from the "first past the post electoral process" to 50+1. Further there has been calls for secession from the western region which has been calling for independence of late hence the need to investigate if the Zambia electro system has had any Effects in Zambia.

The study used the Historical systematic investigation into the legal frame work which established the electoral process in Zambia, a study of election results, articles on elections in Zambia and various 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 time span of review for election results and the electoral system was before 1973 to 2015 elections. 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.

The findings are that Zambia has held 309 plus bye election between the periods of 2007 to 2014 which have costed the country large amounts of money. These bye elections have also included two presidential bye election necessitated by the electoral process of the country. The country is divided into two region as southern region and Northern region in the fight of power and control of the national resources through the ballot paper.

Electoral system: The legal frame work of the suffrage of election winning in Zambia and the electoral interval of elections bordering on tenature of office.

Keywords: Investigation, Electoral Process, Effects in Zambia.

I. INTRODUCTION

This research is an "Investigation of the Electoral Process in Zambia and Its Effects". The research investigated the Legal frame work of the electoral process in Zambia up to 2015 elections and Its Effects. 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 we will deal with three central aspects of the electoral system: The legal frame work of the electoral system in Zambia, the suffrage of election winning in Zambia and the electoral interval of elections bordering on tenature of office..

The study as an important study more in the time when there are ragging debates of regional voting which are thought to have come through our electoral abuse. This research ascertain as to whether this is true. It's also contributes 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.

II. STUDY DESIGN

This study investigated the electoral process in Zambia up to 2015 elections and Its Effects. In this study we used the Historical method s research which took systematic investigation into various s materials related to the electoral system and elections in Zambia in order to establish facts on the electoral system and reach new conclusions as well as correlate

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old facts. It took 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 w attempted to find out what happened in the past and to reveal reasons for why and how things happened.

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 time span for the literature review for election results and the electoral system in Zambia is from 1973 to 2015 elections. 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.

This research method was used because it enables solutions to contemporary problems to be sought in the past. When well used it throws light on present and future trends. Considering the nature f the study the historic study allows for the revaluation of data supporting selected hypotheses, theories and generalizations that are presently held about the past.

III. RESEARCH FINDINGS

a. The Electoral history:

i. Pre-independence:

Elections for five members of the Advisory Council were held for the first time in 1918, at which time suffrage was limited to British subjects over the age of 21 who had lived in the territory for at least six months and owned at least £150 of property. (Michael Gelfand 1961). Elections under the same system were held in 1920 and 1922. In 1924 a Legislative Council with five elected member was created, with the first elections held in 1926.

Prior to the 1929 elections the number of elected members was increased to seven. Subsequent elections were held in 1932, 1935 and 1938. The 1941 elections saw eight members elected, with the new Northern Rhodesian Labour Party winning five seats. However, after its defeat in the 1944 elections, the party was disbanded. Prior to the 1948 elections the number of elected members was increased to ten, with two Africans appointed to the Council. (Michael Gelfand (1961)

In 1953 the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was formed, with all territories electing members to the federal Legislative Assembly. The first federal elections were held in the same year. Northern Rhodesia had eight ordinary seats, and three members representing African interests, two of which were Africans chosen by an electoral college and one European appointed by the governor. Only three Africans qualified to vote. The Federal Party won seven of the eight ordinary seats.

Constitutional reforms saw the number of elected seats in the Northern Rhodesian Legislative Council increase to twelve in 1954, with four African members selected by the Northern Rhodesian African Representative Council. The 1954 elections resulted in a victory for the Federal Party, which won ten seats. The next federal elections in 1958 saw a landslide victory for the United Federal Party (UFP), the successor the Federal Party, which won 46 of the 59 seats.

The promulgation of the "Lennox-Boyd constitution" led to the expansion of the Legislative Council to 22 elected members for the 1959 elections. It provided for 12 "ordinary" seats with mostly Europeans, six "special" seats mainly reserved for Africans, two reserved for Africans and two reserved for Europeans. The UFP retained their majority, winning 13 seats. Further constitutional reforms led to another electoral system being implemented for the 1962 elections, with 15 members elected by an upper roll, 15 elected by a lower roll and 15 by both rolls together. Although the UFP won the most seats, the United National Independence Party (UNIP) and the Northern Rhodesian African National Congress (NRANC) were able to form a coalition government.

The next elections in 1964 were held under another new system, with 65 seats elected by an African "main roll" and ten seats by a "reserved roll" primarily for Europeans. The result was a victory for UNIP, which won 55 of the 75 seats, allowing Kenneth Kaunda to become Prime Minister, and subsequently President when Zambia became independent on 24 October 1964.

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ii. Post-independence:

General elections in 1968 included the first vote for president, with Kaunda defeating Zambian African National Congress (a renamed NRANC) leader Harry Nkumbula with 82% of the vote. The ten reserved seats in the National Assembly were abolished and the number of elected seats increased to 105, with an additional five members appointed by the President. UNIP won 81 of the elected seats.

In 1973 the country became a one-party state; general elections in the same year saw Kaunda run unopposed for the presidency, with voters voting yes or no to his candidacy (89% voted in favour). The National Assembly now had 125 elected seats, ten presidential appointees and a Speaker elected from outside the chamber. Although UNIP was the only legal party, up to three UNIP candidates could contest each seat. The same system was used for elections in 1978, 1983 and 1988, with Kaunda re-elected each time

Multi-party democracy was restored in 1991, with general elections held in October that year. Kaunda was defeated by Frederick Chiluba of the Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD) in the presidential elections, with Chiluba receiving 76% of the vote. The MMD won 125 of the 150 elected seats in an expanded National Assembly, whilst the number of presidential appointees was reduced to eight. Chiluba was re-elected in the 1996 elections, with the MMD winning 131 seats and UNIP losing all 25 seats it had won in 1991.

In 2001 MMD candidate Levy Mwanawasa won the presidential elections with just 29% of the vote in a field of eleven candidates. The MMD was reduced to 69 seats in the National Assembly, with opposition parties gaining a majority. Mwanawasa was re-elected in 2006 with 43% of the vote, although the MMD again failed to win a majority of seats in the National Assembly. After Mwanawasa's death in 2008, presidential elections were held for a candidate to serve the remainder of his five year term. The elections were won by the MMD's Rupiah Banda.

The 2011 general elections saw the Patriotic Front (PF) candidate Michael Sata elected president with 42% of the vote, whilst the PF became the largest party in the National Assembly, winning 60 seats. After Sata's death in 2014, another presidential by-election was held in 2015 and won by the PF's Edgar Lungu, who received 48% of the vote.

b. Electoral system:

c. 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.

The voting age in Zambia is 18.Since 1991 the President had been elected in a single round of voting by the first-past-the-post system.

c. National Assembly:

Of the 159 members of the National Assembly, 150 are elected by the first-past-the-post system in single-member constituencies, with a further eight appointed by the President and a Speaker elected from outside the National Assembly. National Assembly candidates must be at least 21. Since independence in 1964 only one national referendum has been held in Zambia. A constitutional referendum in 1969 saw 85% of voters approve amendments to the constitution to remove the need for referendums on certain constitutional amendments.

d. Presidential Elections:

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 marjoritarian 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.

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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

e. Zambia Legal frame work for the Electoral system:

The Legal basis for the 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.

The electoral system provides that Parliamentary Elections is held under direct universal adult franchise. (Constitution 1996, Articles63 (2), 77(1). Presidential Elections the Electoral system provided that 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. "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 apolitical party, he becomes an independent:"

As result of the above mentioned law which is part of the Electoral process in Zambia from 2007 to 2011 March 3rd 126 BYE elections were held. 15th February, 2007 to 8th November 2007 the number of BYE election held was 23. 21st February, 2008 to October, 2008 the number of bye elections held 34, between 13th August 2009 to 19th November 2009 the bye election held were 35 while between 29 April 2010 to 25th October, 2010 28 by elections were held. The numbers include the parliamentary and ward election.

(http://www.elections.org.zm/media/2007_to_2011_parliamentary_and_local_government_by-elections_results.pdf) retrieved 16/05/2016.

Other bye elections held are the ones between 2011 to 2014 203 by-elections were held caused by people defecting to another party, death or nullification of the election results by the courts of law.

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.

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Other bye elections held are the ones between 2011 to 2014 as follows:

- 12 September 2014 Kasenengwa, Mkushi North, Solwezi Central, Vubwi And Zambezi West By-Elections
- 21 August 2014 Mangango Parliamentary and Twenty Five Local Government By-Elections

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- 25 February 2014 Katuba Parliamentary and Local Government By Elections
- 22 November 2013 Mansa Central Parliamentary and Local Government By-Elections
- 5 September 2013 Mkaika Parliamentary and Local Government By-Elections
- 25 July 2013 Chipata Central, Kafulafuta, Mkushi North, Solwezi East Parliamentary and Local Government By-Elections
- 20 June 2013 Feira Parliamentary and Local Government By-Elections
- 28 February 2013 Livingstone, Mpongwe Parliamentary and Local Government By-Elections
- 8 November 2012 Mufumbwe Parliamentary and Local Government By-Elections
- 6 July 2012 Chama North, Livingstone, Muchinga Parliamentary and Local Government By-Elections.

The Times of Zambia reported that by the times of Zambia 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

f. High cost to the Nation Resulting from bye Elections:

"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".

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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.

g. Voting Pattern:

Regional Voting from the study of the historical results from 2001 to 2015 can be seen clearly. For example in 201 when a 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

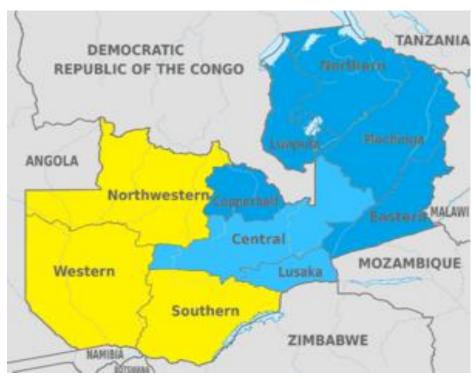
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2011 HH coming from southern he got 72.31% of the total vote cast in southern province, Rupiah Banda got 19.39% while Micheal Chilufya Sata received 6.67% of Sothern province votes. In Northern Province were Michael Chilufya Sata was coming from he 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 Hakainde Hichilema 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 Banda74.46% Sata received 18.74% and Hakainde Hichilema 5.84%. (http://africanelections.tripod.com/zm_detail.html#2011_Presidential_Election. 12/05/2016).

The 2015 elections also map reveals a more deep sense of election pattern which is traceable from about 2006 election to 2015. The yellow part shows were there were more votes for the UPND and the sky blue shows were there were more votes for the PF. The light blue look to be swing votes for both parties

Electoral Map for 2015 Elections



h. Having Presidents with No National support:

The election have been held under the simple majorly vote to win the election for the president and here are the results: 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 states 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

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i. 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 h observed in his speech to (https://www.lusakatimes.com/2015/01/28/flawed-electoral-system-must-confined-garbage-heap-historyparliament. chikwanda)

Such a perception of the electrical system from a high ranking government official who has been in government for a long time speaks a lot of thing on the nature of the system. As Mr. Chikwanda observed, the first past the post system 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.

IV. CONCLUSION

Zambia Electoral system provided hat Parliamentary Elections are held under direct universal adult franchise. (Constitution1996, Articles 63(2), 77(1). For presidential Elections the Electoral system provided that President is elected by plurality through universal adult franchise (Constitution 1996, Articles 34(1), (8).].

The mentioned electoral system of the first past the post has resulted in regional voting in Zambia. The reason is that in Zambia the political system is designed to channel benefits to certain people and leave out others – 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. This phenomenon is the root cause of electoral corruption among politicians because they need to increase the number of voters by buying votes.

As Mbita Chita states, "Generally, the current Electoral system favours 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, Luapula and half of Northern Province. The UPND: support was in Southern Province and two constituencies in North Western Province."

Tensions between regions have also been increased because of the closeness of the election results between the winning presidents from one region to the second runup to the winning president. 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

Zambia has lost millions of dollars through bye election which could have been used to reduce the high poverty level in the country which are high due to poor electoral system or law. "Article 71 c and Article 38 (1) of the constitution of Zambia allowed for the bye election if there is a vacancy in the office of the MP or the President which resulted in Zambia losing billions of money. 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. 193 million kwacha spent over the budget budgeted for, for bye election. Indeed Zambia is not poor but mismanaged.

Zambia has been led from 2001 by presidents who did not have the mandate of the majority Zambian. 2001 the winning president had 29.15 % of the total vote cast, In 2008 the winning president had 40.63, in 2011 the winning president had 42.85%, in 2015The 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. This narrow winning in a county where there is regionalism in voting increases tension between regions.

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VI. RECOMMENDATION

Zambia should adopt Proportional representation. The country has been advised to adopt a form of Proportional Representation electoral method for the following reasons:

- 1. 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.
- 2. 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.
- 3. 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.
- 4. The Proportional Representational system will strengthen political parties as organizations and enhance their role in the Zambia political process
- 5. Presidential Elections (50 + 1) to be embraced in its totality for this will help with acceptance of the president who wins elections.
- 6. Change all electoral laws and constitutions parts which have a negative effect on the electoral process of Zambia.

VII. 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. Why was the Western province having lowest turnout to voting during the UNIP rule? In 1973 the turnout was 22%, 1978 the turnout was 44% and in 1983 the turnout was 46% for voting.
- 2. Southern province was having the highest no vote to Kenneth Kaunda in 1973 they disapproved KK by giving him a no vote by 37.80% of the total votes cast, in 1978 they gave KK a no vote of 48.83% of the total vote cast. The lowest no vote to KK was in 1983 which was 6.40% of the total vote cast there were just second to copper belt. What was causing such increase in no vote to KK during that time? Could the issues behind the high no vote be related to the regional voting we see now? What also led to reduction of No votes to KK in the election of 1983?
- 3. Apart from the electoral process factors which other factors have contributed to regional voting in Zambia?

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APPENDIX - A

Presidential election results from 1973 to 2011.

		20) SEPTEM	BER 2011	PRESIDEN	TIAL ELE	CCTION			
Candidate (Party)	Province Central	Copper belt	Eastern	Luapula	Lusaka	Northern	North- Western	Southern	Western	National Total
	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%)	1,170,966 (42.85%)
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%)	987,866 (36.15%)
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%)	506,763 (18.54%)
	(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%)	26,270 (0.96%)
, ,	547 (0.25%)	1,008 (0.20%)	1987 (0.63%)	596 (0.29%)	2,002 (0.50%)	1,458 (0.39%)	528 (0.31%)	1,338 (0.36%)	1,208 (0.65%)	10,672 (0.39%)
Kaunda (UNIP)		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%)	9,950 (0.36%)
` /	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%)	6,833 (0.25%)
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%)	6,344 (0.23%)
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%)	4,730 (0.17%)
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%)	2,268 (0.08%)
Total Valid Votes	222,483	496,670	314,393	203,361	399,350	372,621	169,468	368,913	185,403	2,732,662
Invalid/Blank Votes	5,200	7,881	10,775	4,484	4,319	8,122	4,291	6,762	4,844	56,678
Total Votes Registered	227,683	504,551	325,168	207,845	403,669	380,743	173,759	375,675	190,247	2,789,340
Voters Voter Turnout	482,013	845,569 59.7%	644,725 50.4%	408,937 50.8%	772,458 52.3%	659,534 57.7%	315,670 55.0%	643,588 58.4%	394,660 48.2%	5,167,154 54.0%

30 OCTOBER	2008 PRE	ESIDENTI	AL ELEC	CTION								
Candidate	Province	Province										
	Central	Copper belt	Eastern	Luapula	Lusaka	Northern	North- Western	Southern	Western	National Total		
	82,178 (53.80%)	105,225 (32.26%)	148,197 (74.46%)	- 2	90,057 (30.28%)	67,237 (32.81%)	59,370 (57.59%)	51,550 (20.79%)	81,993 (68.38%)	718,359 (40.63%)		
	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%)	683,150 (38.64%)		
Hichilema	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%)	353,018 (19.96%)		
	7	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%)	13,683 (0.77%)		
Total Valid Votes	152,735	326,180	199,042	116,947	297,376	204,942	103,097	247,985	119,906	1,768,210		

Invalid/Blank Votes	2,544	4,016	3,464	1,393	3,472	2,572	1,527	2,863	1,745	23,596
Total Votes	155,279	330,196	202,506	118,340	300,848	207,514	104,624	250,848	121,651	1,791,806
Registered Voters	382,349	625,848	499,984	312,857	592,868	465,172	244,815	503,801	316,441	3,944,135
Voter Turnout	40.6%	52.8%	40.5%	37.8%	50.7%	44.6%	42.7%	49.8%	38.4%	45.4%

27 DECEMBER	R 2001 PR	ESIDENT	TIAL ELE	CTION						
Candidata	Province	_	_	_	_	_	_	_	_	National
Candidate (Party)	Central	Copper belt	Eastern	Luapula	Lusaka	Northern	North- Western	Southern	Western	National Total
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%)	506,694 (29.15%)
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%)	472,697 (27.20%)
Christon Tembo (FDD)		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%)	228,861 (13.17%)
Tilyenji Kaunda (UNIP)		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%)	175,898 (10.12%)
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%)	140,678 (8.09%)
3	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%)	85,472 (4.92%)
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%)	59,172 (3.40%)
Nevers Mumba (NCC)		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%)	38,860 (2.24%)
Gwendoline Konie (SDP)	716 (0.53%)	829 (0.25%)	2,750 (1.26%)	666 (0.50%)	913 (0.36%)	1,351 (0.70%)	730 (0.64%)	1,375 (0.58%)	923 (0.72%)	10,253 (0.59%)
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%)	9,882 (0.57%)
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%)	9,481 (0.55%)
Total Valid Votes	134,413	325,346	218,213	132,633	252,813	193,530	113,793	238,507	128,700	1,737,948
Invalid/Blank Votes	3,497	3,690	3,412	1,348	5,705	3,739	1,967	4,341	709	28,408
Total Votes	137,910	329,036	221,625	133,981	258,518	197,269	115,760	242,848	129,409	1,766,356
Registered Voters	205,616	453,240	337,533	202,258	399,247	296,811	163,663	339,765	206,628	2,604,761
Voter Turnout	67.1%	72.6%	65.7%	66.2%	64.8%	66.5%	70.7%	71.5%	62.6%	67.8%

18 NOVEMBER	1996 PR	ESIDENT	IAL ELE	CTION*						
Candidate	Province	_	_	_	_	_	_	_		National
(Party)	Central	Copper belt	Eastern	Luapula	Lusaka	Northern	North- Western	Southern	Western	Total
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%)	913,770 (72.59%)
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%)	160,439 (12.74%)
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%)	83,875 (6.66%)
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%)	59,250 (4.70%)
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%)	41,471 (3.29%)
Total Valid Votes	100,776	271,664	109,142	107,022	163,575	149,600	89,912	166,191	100,923	1,258,805
Invalid/Blank Votes	5,117	14,612	6,806	3,867	10,452	5,976	3,600	9,225	6,593	66,248
Total Votes	105,893	286,276	115,948	110,889	174,027	155,576	93,512	175,416	107,516	1,325,053
Registered Voters	186,917	401,273	314,390	170,685	296,919	240,280	139,020	302,810	215,088	2,267,382
Voter Turnout	56.7%	71.3%	36.9%	65.0%	58.6%	64.7%	67.3%	57.9%	50.0%	58.4%
*The main opposi	ition Unite	d National	Independe	ence Party	(UNIP) bo	oycotted th	e election.			

27 OCTOBER	R 1983 PR	ESIDENT	IAL ELEC	CTION (K	Lenneth Ka	unda re-ele	cted unopp	osed)		
	Province									- National Total
Results	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%)	1,453,029 (95.38%)
"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%)	70,355 (4.62%)
Total Valid Votes	131,195	356,946	188,175	101,340	223,910	162,639	85,349	180,057	93,773	1,523,384
Invalid/Blank Votes	2,896	9,978	3,685	1,967	6,234	2,565	1,306	4,217	1,831	34,679
Total Votes	134,091	366,924	191,860	103,307	230,144	165,204	86,655	184,274	95,604	1,558,063
Registered Voters	214,260	508,257	272,823	163,721	320,787	265,647	133,903	293,907	204,305	2,377,610
Voter Turnout	62.6%	72.2%	70.3%	63.1%	71.8%	62.2%	64.7%	62.7%	46.8%	65.5%

12 DECEMBI	12 DECEMBER 1978 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION (Kenneth Kaunda re-elected unopposed)											
	Province									National Total		
Results	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%)	1,026,127 (80.74%)		
"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%)	244,719 (19.26%)		
Total Valid Votes	105426	282,900	172,530	103,083	153,661	150,681	84,818	136,843	80,904	1,270,846		
Invalid/Blank Votes	3,351	12,623	3,829	3,086	7,693	3,342	2,361	5,393	3,085	44,763		
Total Votes	108,777	295,523	176,359	106,169	161,354	154,023	87,179	142,236	83,989	1,315,609		
Registered Voters	164,295	411,980	251,744	150,656	222,062	224,506	120,282	237,728	188,628	1,971,881		
Voter Turnout	66.2%	71.7%	70.1%	70.5%	72.7%	68.6%	72.5%	59.8%	44.5%	66.7%		

5 DECEMBE	R 1973 PR	ESIDENT	TIAL ELE	CTION (F	Kenneth Ka	unda re-ele	cted unop	posed)		
	Province									National Total
Results	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%)	581,245 (88.83%)
"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%)	73,115 (11.17%)
Total Valid Votes	41,325	142,857	115,608	77,856	59,950	81,537	40,345	54,471	40,411	654,360
Invalid/Blank Votes	2,136	8,351	4,266	2,812	3,262	2,647	3,403	4,735	2,714	34,326
Total Votes	43,461	151,208	119,874	80,668	63,212	84,184	43,748	59,206	43,125	688,686
Registered Voters	135,033	323,700	245,697	149,588	158,432	219,394	1,15,778	202,722	195,763	1,746,107
Voter Turnout	32.2%	46.7%	48.8%	53.9%	39.9%	38.4%	37.8%	29.2%	22.0%	39.4%