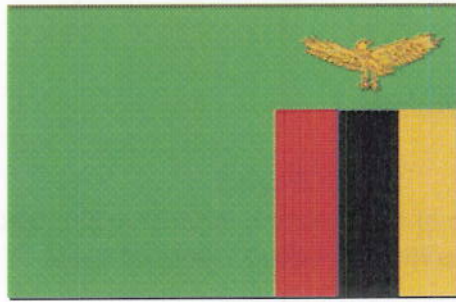


Support to the Zambian Electoral Cycle (2015-2017)



*Empowered lives.
Resilient nations.*

Republic of Zambia

UNDP Zambia

Project Document

**Consolidation of the Electoral Process in Zambia:
Support to the Electoral Cycle 2015-2017
ZMB10/00097023**

Government of Zambia

United Nations Development Programme

Title of Project

Consolidation of the Electoral Process in Zambia:
Support to the 2015-2017 Electoral Cycle

Brief description

This project aims to consolidate the gains of the *Strengthening the Electoral Process in Zambia* and all previous support over the past decade. The outcomes, outputs and activities described herein are the response to and result of detailed discussions with the Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ) and other national stakeholders. The Project's design was guided by the desk review from the UN Electoral Assistance Division of DPA, and informed by key reports such as the SADC EOM report of 2015, the EU Electoral Observation Mission report from the 2011 general elections, the DFID "Programmatic and Management Options for Consideration" as well as the lessons learned and evaluations of the UNDP managed "Strengthening the Electoral Process in Zambia" programme contained in the Terminal Evaluation of the Support to the Electoral Cycle Management Project (2009-2012). It is also the result of detailed discussions with the EU and DFID, the current donors on this initiative, although other country partners have also had the chance to provide comments.

The project will provide targeted support to ECZ, reflecting the progress made in building the capacity of ECZ over the previous support. It will include support towards preparing for the decentralization programme at provincial level including enhancing public confidence in the results tallying process and administration of results. Support to ECZ will include re-defining and strengthening the modality of alternative dispute resolution mechanisms. The project will also provide support to the wider electoral environment and key electoral stakeholders (ia, Media, CSOs and conflict prevention and law enforcement entities) that would further enhance the electoral process and reinforce the credibility of the process to political parties and the electorate.

ACRONYMS

ACC	Anti Corruption Commission
AFIS	Automated Fingerprint Identification System
AU	African Union
BRIDGE	Building Resources in Democracy, Governance and Elections
COMESA	Community of Eastern and Southern Africa
CSO	Civil Society Organization
DNRPC	Department of National Registration, Passports and Citizenships
EC	European Commission
ECZ	Electoral Commission of Zambia
EIMS	Electoral Information Management System
EISA	Electoral Institute for the Sustainability of Democracy in Africa
EMB	Electoral Management Body
EU	European Union
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
ICT	Information & Communication Technology
IDEA	International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance
JTF	Joint Task Force
NDI	National Democratic Institute for International Affairs
MMD	Movement for Multiparty Democracy
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NRC	National Registration Card
PF	Patriotic Front
SC	Steering Committee
SADC	Southern African Development Community
TCDZC	Technical Committee Drafting the Zambian Constitution
ToT	Training of Trainers
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNDPA	United Nations Department of Political Affairs
UPND	United Party for National Development
ZCID	Zambian Centre for Inter-party Dialogue
ZAPD	Zambia Agency for People with Disabilities

I. Situation Analysis

General overview

The Presidential election of 2015 was the 6th – amongst 2 Presidential elections - and most recent elections following the introduction of a multi-party system in 1991. Notwithstanding the short preparation time (the polls were precipitated by the untimely death of President Sata on 28th October 2014), the 2015 poll was deemed free and fair by the SADC EOM. The 2011 general elections were likewise reported as being largely free and fair, including by the EU Election Observation Mission. These elections attested to the consolidation of a mature democracy and to the credibility of the Election Commission of Zambia as an experienced electoral management body.

The Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ), established under Article 76 of the 1996 Constitution, is mandated to organize and manage national elections by the Electoral Act of 1996 and the Electoral Regulations and the Electoral Code of Conduct of 2011. The Commission has since its establishment proved to be an increasingly competent electoral management body, having benefitted from several years of direct hands-on experience, complemented by technical support from the international community. Similarly, this period has seen the State's growing ability to absorb the cost of electoral events. The international community's financial contribution to the 2015 election, for instance, represented 5.6% of total costs. The next stage of electoral support to the ECZ has therefore been designed in light of lessons learned from past electoral events, from ECZ's self-assessment of where it considers it still faces operational challenges, as well as from domestic and international observation teams.

The 2015 Presidential election was organized in a period of 90 days and held during the rainy season. This created a number of logistical and operational challenges and could be one of the reasons that contributed to the low turnout. These challenges provided important insights into the measures that may contribute towards the 2016 Tripartite elections being even freer and fairer and will be factored into the ECZ work plan leading up to polling day.

With the next tripartite elections set for September 2016 (as per current constitutional requirements), the next stage of targeted technical support should at the earliest possible time be initiated to allow project activities in this document to make a tangible contribution to the upcoming election. Of particular concern is the need to reverse declining voter turnout, which reached an all-time low of 32.36%, as well as the decline of women candidates and women being voted into Parliament. ECZ's own survey on voter turnout after the 2011 found that poor turnout was mainly due to (i) eligible voters not seeing the value of voting due to lack of development; (ii) long distances to registration and polling centres (addressed in part by the introduction of additional polling centres) and (iii) inadequate time allocated to voter education. Further reasons included imposed candidates, broken promises by elected candidates, and many elected candidates very rarely visiting their constituencies – particularly in the more rural and remote areas.

In the lead up to the 2016 Tripartite elections ECZ is expected to reopen and update the voters roll which it had not had time to do for the 2015 election, thus using the 2011 register. Although it is meant to do this update on a continuous basis, it is becoming clear that only periodic updates are viable whereby it is foreseen that a given month every year will be set aside as an 'electoral roll update month'. Critical to the voter updating process is the elimination of deceased voters from the roll and the reallocation of polling stations in new constituencies following a delimitation of process. The delimitation of constituencies from July to October 2014 was done in consultation with stakeholders at district level (including members of the public who could express an opinion on the matter through local council offices) and had the objective of realigning electoral boundaries for all new districts created since September 2011, as well as the parent districts.

While the overall 2015 election was considered free, fair and credible, two major areas of concern were identified: i) the record low turnout of 32.36%, suggesting a need for enhanced voter education regarding all stages of the electoral process; ii) the need to release timely results in order to pre-empt the uncertainty generated by unofficial and unverified results through on-line social media and other online platforms.

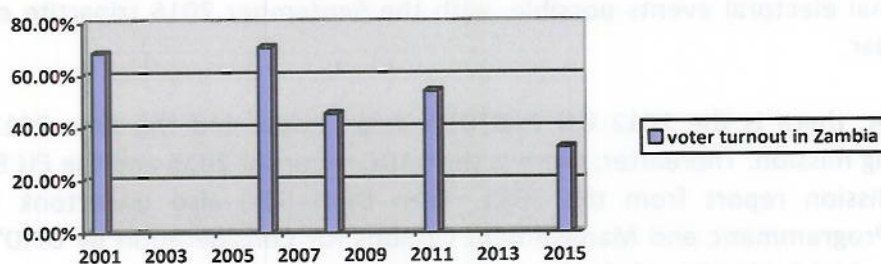


Fig. 1

Lessons from the 2015 presidential election reinforce the importance of the presence of well trained and equipped political party agents within the polling stations and during the vote counting process at the polling station as well as at the tallying centre. The absence of polling agents at some polling stations was a source of concern regarding the authenticity of the results. This aside, the 2015 polls point toward an emerging need for mechanisms to address confidence issues relating to possible human errors during counting or tallying of votes.

The constitution of Zambia provides for voting during elections as a duty of all citizens and the Electoral Act provides for a special vote. The special vote (for those who cannot vote on polling day itself, such as polling officers and the armed forces) has so far not been fully implemented due to the costs involved. In addition, people with special needs such as the visually impaired, have been able to vote only with assistance thus compromising secrecy. The distribution of 'voting jackets' for the visually impaired is therefore needed, as long as there are sufficient numbers of those that can read braille.

Project Rationale

This current programme aims to consolidate the gains made by the 2009-2014 electoral cycle project, and the wider UNDP programmatic support areas such as the design and testing of the EIMS, support to the National Assembly of Zambia, Human Rights and the promotion of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). After the successful implementation of the 2015 Presidential election there is impetus for a new project to (i) build on the capacity developed in the Zambian electoral administration (ii) focus on assisting ECZ implement the remainder of its 2010-2015 Strategic Plan and (iii) support its planning for 2016 to 2020. In its present Strategic Plan, ECZ commits itself to three Strategic Directions: Enhancing the electoral process; strengthening the institutional and organisational capacity of the ECZ; and, institutionalising the independence of the ECZ.

With ECZ's operational capacities strengthened following prior technical assistance and the experience of several major electoral events since its inception in 1996, this new phase of programme support will be more focused and limited in scope. Discussions have taken place between ECZ, domestic CSOs and the international partners currently behind this new initiative so as to hear from its side what it considers are its ongoing challenges for ensuring the most optimal electoral events possible, with the September 2016 tripartite elections firmly on its radar.

Reinforcing that, there is the 2012 UN EAD/DPA desk review and the June 2012 UNDP electoral scoping mission. Thereafter, there is the SADC report of 2015 and the EU Electoral Observation Mission report from the 2011. Then DFID (UK) also undertook its own independent "Programmatic and Management Options for Consideration by DFID" paper. Finally, the Terminal Evaluation of the Support to the Electoral Cycle Management Project (2009-2012) also contains important insights and lessons learned.

Based on consultations with ECZ, as well as the conclusions and recommendations of the documents cited above, the outcome areas, outputs and activities described below have been prioritised for support from the interested international partners to date: the European Union, DFID and UNDP. ECZ's augmented operational capacities in almost all functional areas provide an opportunity in this phase of technical support to direct support to other electoral stakeholders. This includes political parties, CSOs, the media and the police themselves, as well as ECZ's capacity to interact with these entities to make electoral events even more inclusive, informative, safe and based on genuine voter empowerment.

UN involvement in electoral assistance is guided by UN General Assembly Resolution 46/137 of 17 December 1991 and its successor resolutions. The internal Note of Guidance signed between UNDP and the Department of Political Affairs (UNDPA) of the UN Secretariat commends UNDP for providing advisory services and technical assistance to Member States, and acknowledges that UNDP plays the lead UN role at the country level in coordinating donor assistance and the activities of a broader range of international and national actors.

UNDP in partnership with bilateral and multilateral cooperating partners has been providing support to the Zambian electoral process since 1996 and has established a relationship of trust with the ECZ. It is also generally recognised that UNDP has significantly contributed to ECZ's growing capacity and the running of electoral exercises for nearly a decade. The present support seeks to capitalise on this experience and track record and recognises the need to better measure and report on the achievements made.

Current developmental challenges concerning elections in Zambia

Technical assistance received by ECZ since 2009 under the *Strengthening the Electoral Process in Zambia* project (2009-2014) allows the evaluation of successes and ongoing challenges faced by ECZ as it enters the next electoral cycle:

- a) The **overall institutional and operational capacity of ECZ** has been brought up to internationally acceptable standards of electoral organisation as per international observation reports cited above. Domestically, the credibility of ECZ, and therefore the credibility of electoral events *per se* are not called into question. Electoral outcomes are quickly accepted by the population when announced. Similarly, the dispute resolution mechanisms function acceptably well. Nonetheless, the outreach abilities of ECZ need to be heightened so that the work of ECZ can be better understood by the electorate and more needs to be done with the political parties who still harbour a weary attitude towards it. More voter education and public engagement is required to reverse the trend in voter abstention and ECZ is best placed to provide this, possibly teaming up with CSOs to deliver voter education at community level.
- b) A **workable continuous voter registration system** was developed and an increased number of registered voters was observed, particularly with the registration of new voters among the youth (over one million newly registered), thanks to an intense voter education campaign. The lack of ECZ decentralised structures is limiting the outreach and speed of registering new voters. Further options for systematising the updating need to be considered, agreed and implemented. At present, there is no continuous voter registration, nor a budgetary allocation would allow ECZ to do this. Moreover, the legal framework does not at present allow voter registration when there are by-elections, of which there have been more than 30 since September 2011. As a result, the 2015 election was based on the 2011 electoral roll.
- c) The **digitisation of the civil registry and new biometric NRCs** issued to Zambian citizens has not been rolled out. In three Districts the technical platform is in place and can feasibly issue biometric NRCs. However, even in these 3 Districts and nationwide, the official launch of the process has not been triggered by Government. The requisite material and equipment are in country and 55 operators have been trained on the material. The outstanding issues are the tendering of supplies and inputs from the Government budget, and coordination between ECZ and DNRPC.

d) In terms of revising the **electoral legislative framework**, the project led to the adoption of measures to, among others, prevent electoral related violence. In addition, the revised electoral code of conduct, which was also translated in the seven main national languages, provided a framework for law enforcement agencies to investigate cases related to breaches of this code of conduct and prosecute the violators. The application of this revised code of conduct has resulted in numerous court proceedings on the grounds of alleged electoral malpractices in Parliamentary elections. The February 2015 nullification of the Senga Hill Parliamentary election results, through a court ruling due to electoral malpractices committed in September 2011 by the incumbent Member of Parliament is a case in point.

e) Efforts by CSOs and the Zambia National Women's Lobby (ZNWL) to capacitate and encourage women to stand for election, thus increasing **participation of women** as Parliamentary or Presidential candidates, have not yielded the intended results. A reverse trend has been observed in the most recent elections and this must be addressed along with the general decline in voter turnout. The reasons for this situation are several fold including entrenched cultural perceptions of women in society, even from the women themselves. While there is near parity between the genders with regard to voter participation, this has not translated into an increase in the number of women in the frontline of Zambian politics. Only 20 out of 150 parliamentarians are women and only one female candidate out of 17 candidates was put forward for the January 2015 Presidential election. Zambia is thus falling short of the SADC target on gender parity.

f) The **effectiveness of media monitoring** presents a mixed picture. Although there was a positive short-term effect of the efforts made under the support provided to media for more balanced and accurate reporting during the election period itself, some tendencies of heavily biased political reporting have resurfaced. Given the existing links between the media and political parties, there is a need to promote responsible media reporting, particularly in the period leading up to and during elections.

g) On **Civic and voter education**, intensive efforts from 2009-2011 led to partnerships with CSOs that were able to appropriately package their information and intensively implement civic and voter education programmes and reach a wide spectrum of target groups across the country. In addition, youth organisations, such as Operation Young Vote (OYV) methods including drama, public debates and other youth-friendly and innovative approaches, such as dissemination of messages through mobile phone and interactive fora were undertaken, but can only be meaningful if the voter roll is updated to capture the newly eligible voters.

The result of all this seemed to pay dividends in the 2011 tripartite elections with a slightly increased turnout (53.98% as opposed to 45.53% in 2008 – both major electoral events if not the same category) but the 2015 record low of 32.36% suggests that the earlier

momentum on voter engagement and interest was lost along the way. ECZ's own 2011 survey on voter participation revealed a general disenchantment of the population towards the political class of the country, a feeling of the irrelevance of the elections to the daily lives of people, the rainy season and the occasionally long travel to polling centres. A more vigorous effort on voter outreach and education will be required as soon as possible to reverse this worrying trend for the 2016 tripartite elections.

On **domestic observation**, the last few years of technical support saw the availability of observer materials increase and this facilitated a wider coverage by domestic observers. In addition, the decentralisation of Domestic Observer accreditation allowed for more Observers to be accredited. Domestic observation can be deemed to have been sufficient and credible in supporting the 2011 and 2015 electoral events, especially through the Parallel Vote Tabulation (PVT) method.

h) The **promotion of inter-party dialogue** component in the last programme of support focused on enhancing the skills of political parties. This was in areas of resource mobilization, M & E and leadership. Additionally, inclusive decision-making on key electoral process decisions culminated from the enhanced relationship between ECZ and the political parties. However, there is still a perceived confrontational relationship between the ECZ and political parties that needs to be addressed. This is attributed to party structures that are well-formulated and exist within the internal environment, though remain a preserve of the respective political party. Undoubtedly, such policies which are not openly shared or communicated with the external stakeholders of political parties has a way of causing high levels of mistrust amongst political parties. This in turn dissipates the level-playing field model that ECZ aims to achieve with each political party, as each party engages ECZ simultaneously but with a competitive streak.

II. Past support to the electoral process in Zambia

The institution building of ECZ into a fully functioning entity with increasingly strong abilities for planning and operational roll out of electoral event was supported by several phases of technical and investment assistance:

Support to the 2006 and 2008 Elections

Donors: Canada, the European Union, Finland, Ireland, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, the United States of America, Japan (2008 only) and UNDP.

Financial amount: US\$7.3 million (2006) and US\$7.1 million (2008)

Areas covered by the intervention: The activities under both the 2006 and 2008 support to elections covered the following areas:

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- (i) the development of a Roadmap for the Implementation of the 2006 and then the 2008 elections;
- (ii) establishment of a continuous voter register system;
- (iii) implementation of civic/voter education programmes with the involvement of civil society;
- (iv) engagement of the media in dissemination of electoral information;
- (v) documentation of lessons learnt; and,
- (vi) development of support systems for the coordination of international observers and training of local election monitors.

Assessment: The Trust Fund mechanism in both electoral projects provided a practical example of the harmonization of development cooperation as defined in the Paris and Accra Declarations on Aid Effectiveness: it was based on a national programme, implemented by a national institution, and had a national budget. The pooled funding had clear advantages in terms of improved coordination of activities, targeting resources and expertise, and lessening the burden on implementing partners.

Some organizations (AU, SADC, COMESA, etc.) sent election observation missions, while the European Union sent an Election Observation Mission (EUEOM) to assess the election and support international and domestic observers. The 2011-2015 UNDP Country Programme Action Plan recognises the “*strengthened capacity of the Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ) to manage the 2006 and 2008 elections (pronounced free and fair by domestic and international observers).*”

Support towards the electoral cycle leading to and beyond the 2011 General Elections (programme 2009-2014)

Donors: Canada, the European Union, Finland, Netherlands, United Kingdom, United States of America and UNDP.

Financial amount: US\$23 million (approximate amount, due to exchange rate fluctuations over the period)

Areas covered by the intervention: The project supported three distinct electoral stakeholders: the Electoral Commission of Zambia; the Department of National Registration of the Ministry of Home Affairs; and Non-State actors (within which were the media sector, civil society organisations, for the purpose of civic and voter education, and the Zambian Centre for Interparty Dialogue, for the political parties’ component). The support was designed to strengthen:

- a) the institutional capacity development of ECZ;
- b) the implementation of a continuous voter registration system;
- c) the digitisation of the civil registry and new biometric NRCs issued to Zambian Citizens;
- d) a review of the legislative framework;

- e) the facilitation of the participation of women in electoral processes;
- f) an enhanced effectiveness of media monitoring mechanisms;
- g) an enhanced civic and voter education and domestic observation programmes, and;
- h) inter-party dialogue.

Assessment: The following results emanated from that project support:

- The establishment of the 2011-2015 ECZ Strategic Plan; new job descriptions and organizational structures in place; and a performance management framework implemented.
- A transition was made of the Continuous Voter Registration system from an Optical Mark Reading (OMR) version relied on in 2006 (data-capturing system) to a biometric voter registration system in 2010. This new system prevented anyone from registering twice through the Automatic Fingerprint Information System (AFIS) verification processes as well as transferred and contributed towards the deleting of deceased voters off the Register in a more effective manner. Due to the efficiency of using biometrics, the Commission was able to register 86%¹ of the eligible voters for the 2011 Tripartite Elections (now down to 67% due to lack of voter registration updating since 2011);
- It allowed for an initial phase of an independent media monitoring mechanism to monitor the media during the 2011 elections with Zambian journalists trained in reporting on elections. This was undertaken through technical support from an international media agency;
- Election results were transmitted within 48hrs due to a new results management system. In previous elections it took more than 96 hours before final results were known. This contributed to rapid acceptance of the result and significantly reduced the possibility of post-election violence.

Under this last point, it was an additional 'parallel project' worth US\$598,000 financed by USAID and UNDP "Support to Strengthening the Zambian Election Results Transmission System" that allowed for faster transmission of results. Under this, the Election Information Management system (EIMS) was upgraded and formed an element of the foundation towards the Results Management System Project.

The successful conduct of the September 2011 general elections led the European Union Election Observation Mission to conclude that *"these presidential and parliamentary elections were organised in a transparent and credible manner according to the observations of both the EU EOM and other international and regional election observation missions that were present. Regional principles and international commitments to hold periodic and genuine elections have been mostly respected, but reform of key aspects of the electoral framework is required to fully meet these for future elections."*² The observation mission of the Electoral Institute for the Sustainability of Democracy in Africa (EISA) stated

¹ (2011). ECZ Statistics Registered Voters per Polling District: 5,167,174- Registered Voters; 6,069,753- Eligible Voters.

² European Union Election Observation Mission to Zambia, Final Report on the General Elections, 2011, pg. 3.

that “the process was conducted in a transparent manner, and in a way that allowed the people of Zambia to participate freely and to express their will.”³ The 2011-2015 UNDP Country Programme Action Plan noted the “successful introduction of automated permanent voters roll using biometric features which captured 80% of eligible voters.”

Support to the 2015 Presidential Election

Donors: Ireland, Japan, Sweden, United Kingdom, United States of America and UNDP

Financial amount: US\$3.09 million

Areas covered by the intervention: The support provided by this basket fund project was identified with ECZ to include rapid measures needed to complement the activities it had its own budget for. Voter education and public information; election-day materials, and sensitization of various groups and alternative dispute resolution were the three areas supported.

Assessment: The election generated lower spoilt ballot papers through voter education measures from 1.3% in 2008 to 1.03% in 2015,⁴ voting and counting was conducted according to procedures and it was largely a violence-free election both during the poll and during the post-election period.

The SADC Electoral Observation Mission (SEOM) and domestic observer mission reports to the Presidential Election in January 2015 declared the elections to have been peaceful, transparent, credible, free, and fair, thus reflecting the will of the people of Zambia.⁵ It also made several recommendations for future election events that would make them of an even higher quality, such as:

- A concerted effort to encourage women to participate in the political processes of the nation as candidates;
- Maintenance of an updated voters Roll; and,
- Adequate civic and voter education by the ECZ to encourage the youth and women to participate in elections.

³ EISA Election Observer Mission Zambia – Presidential, Parliamentary and Local Government Elections, 20 September 2011, pg. 33.

⁴ ECZ Statistics

⁵ (2015). Southern African Development Community. <http://www.sadc.int/news-events/news/zambian-elections-declared-peaceful-transparent-credible-fre/>

III. Project Strategy

The project will support ECZ to engage more effectively with other electoral stakeholders in the country, such as the Inter-Party Liaison Committees, the National Conflict Management Committees and the National Voter Education Committee and their decentralised structures), the media, political parties and the Department of National Registration, Passport and Citizenship. Ultimately, the desired project outcome will be to ensure further consolidation of democratic governance in Zambia in line with the revised national electoral legal framework and Zambia's international electoral commitments.

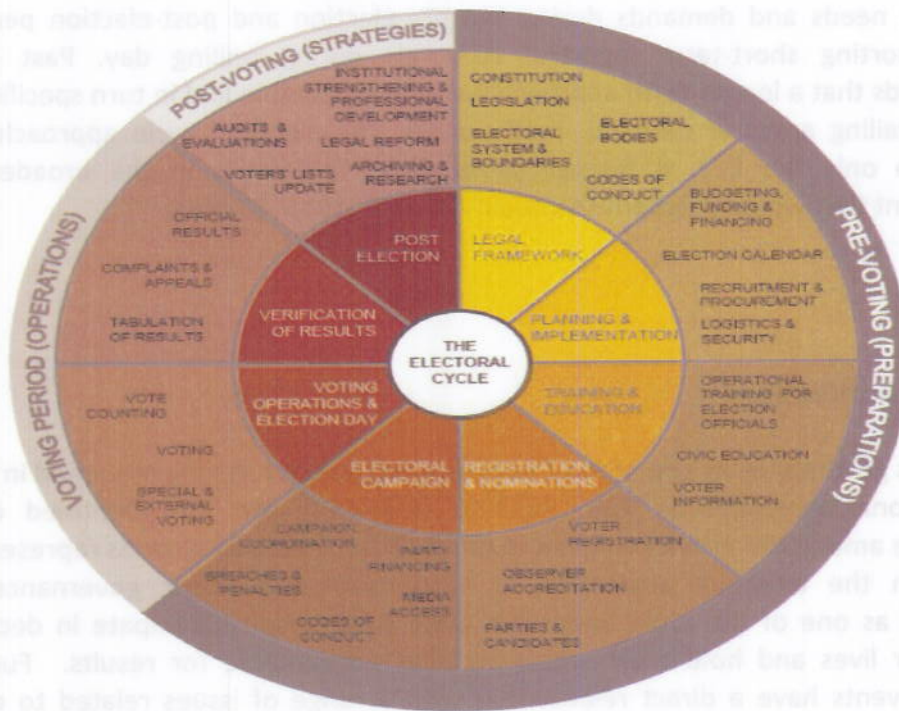


Figure 2

Support will also be channelled to stakeholders that play a key role in the build up to elections, on polling days and on the days that immediately follow polling day, with a focus on the police, the media and CSOs. With the police, measures will be taken to ensure that its actions and behaviour on polling day are conducive to a peaceful and safe environment for those who wish to go the polls and to institute early-warning mechanisms for conflict prevention and management of disputes during the electoral process, the security of people and materials, and safeguard the freedom of assembly. For the media, the emphasis will be on responsible reporting on and around election days so that unnecessary strife and tension due to inaccurate or inflammatory journalism does not discredit the process. The media is also expected to provide complementarity to the ECZ in releasing accurate data on the electoral process.

The project will follow UNDP's electoral cycle approach model (Figure 2 above) thereby addressing needs and demands during the pre-election and post-election period rather than supporting short-term logistical demands during polling day. Past experience recommends that a longer-term approach is more sustainable and in turn specifically hones in on prevailing areas of demand. Furthermore, the electoral cycle approach precludes support to only the ECZ. It further extrapolates the issues in the broader electoral environment that would augment the quality of elections in Zambia.

IV. Project Justification

Zambia has governance as one of the thematic areas that it has mainstreamed in its Revised Sixth National Development Plan 2011-16 (R-SNDP⁶) and has identified democratic governance among the priority reforms in the R-SNDP. Electoral systems represent a crucial element in the effective promotion of sustainable democratic governance and are recognized as one of the most important ways citizens can participate in decisions that affect their lives and hold their representatives accountable for results. Furthermore, electoral events have a direct relationship with a range of issues related to democratic governance, such as:

- Political participation and representation;
- Access to human rights such as freedom of expression and assembly;
- An open public policy dialogue;
- Active civil society; and
- Strengthening the rule of law.

⁶ Ministry of Finance. (2014). Revised Sixth National Development Plan (R-SNDP). (p.7). Lusaka, Zambia

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In addition, Zambia's regional and global commitments strengthen and supplement the above national priorities, most notably:

- The 2004 SADC Principles and Guidelines Governing Democratic Elections
- The 2007 African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance
- The 2008 SADC [Protocol on Gender and Development](#) requiring that "States Parties shall endeavour that, by 2015, at least fifty percent of decision-making positions in the public and private sectors are held by women including the use of affirmative action measures"
- The African Peer Review Mechanism
- The UN Convention Against Corruption, ratified by Zambia in 2007 and translated into its 2009 National Anti-Corruption Policy
- Regional and global human rights commitments ratified by Zambia, including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights; the 1997 SADC Declaration on Gender and Development.

Zambia has been undergoing a constitution-making process. In as much as the elections will be held under the current 1996 Constitution, the unfolding process is likely to run in parallel to the preparation of the 2016 elections. Furthermore, the work of ECZ may be affected with the likelihood of the endorsement of constitutional amendment bills through Parliament.

It is therefore expected that the project will need to maintain a flexible approach in order to support ECZ in any changes in the legal framework that may arise.

The provisions below in Part VI and Part VIII of the Final Draft Constitution are foreseen to most likely have an impact on the electoral system:

- a. 74(1): "Elections to the office of President shall be conducted directly, under a majoritarian electoral system where the winning candidate must receive more than fifty percent of the valid votes cast,...."
- b. 74(2): "Elections to the National Assembly shall be conducted under a mixed-member representation electoral system, consisting of first-past-the-post system and party list system...."
- c. 87(4)a: "the establishment and management of a Political Parties' fund to provide financial support to political parties with seats in the National Assembly"
- d. 127(2): a) "The National Assembly shall consist of one hundred and fifty constituency-based members directly elected on the basis of a simple majority vote under first-past-the-post system; b) one hundred members from a party list submitted to the Electoral Commission by each political party contesting the elections..."

However, for the purposes of this project document suffice to say that this process will likely have ramifications for ECZ and the project which, depending on their nature and timing, may require amendments via the Project Board.

V. Key Outputs of the Programme

All the activities that will be implemented were planned on a consultative basis with national stakeholders. Most notably, the Zambian Government's *Revised-Sixth National Development Plan (2011-2015)* and previous reports of domestic and international observation missions (and in particular the EU and EISA reports) were taken into consideration.

The following documents were additionally used as reference points for the formulation of this project:

- the *Country Programme Action Plan 2011-2015*;
- the Executive Board-approved *Country Programme Document for Zambia (2011-2015)*;
- the *Governance Programme 2011-2015*, and;
- The *Programme for the Promotion and Protection of Women and Children's rights in Zambia* with the Ministry of Gender and Child Development.
- The ECZ Strategic Plan – 2011-2015
- Terminal Evaluation of Support to the Electoral Cycle 2009-2014 Project
- Post-election reviews including the Post-2015 Voter Education Review

The following outputs aim to address the strategic areas that are recommended as capacity development priorities for the project (See Table 1). The activity results will be organised within five outcomes:

Table 1: Project outcomes and output results

Outcomes	Output Results
<p>1. Enhanced institutional and functional efficiency of the ECZ to conduct quality and cost effective elections</p> <p><i>Risks and assumptions</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - ECZ might never be provided the required budget for decentralising to the Provincial level; - EIMS modules have to be implemented and tested and agreed in a timely manner - Insufficient engagement with political parties, CSOs and media in key election preparatory phases 	<p>1.1 Detailed Provincial SOPs established and support for IT and administration requirements</p> <p>1.2 Electoral information management strengthened</p> <p>1.3 Increased effectiveness of voter education campaign to ensure broader democratic awareness and political inclusion which will translate in higher percentages of the electorate voting</p> <p>1.4 Integrity of voters register strengthened</p> <p>1.5 ECZ capacity to communicate strengthened</p> <p>1.6 A Special Voting System is defined and implemented</p> <p>1.7 Strategic Plan for ECZ 2016-2020 developed</p>

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<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Potential complications on ECZ's operating processes due to certain articles in the constitutional if adopted 	
<p>2. Integrity of outcome of elections</p> <p><i>Risks and assumptions</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Partnership with ZAPD not in place on time; 	<p>2.1 Reviewing of electoral regulation regarding counting and recounting votes</p> <p>2.2 Increased transparency of vote counting, tallying and transmission of results</p> <p>2.3 Framework for Domestic Observation established by civil society</p>
<p>3. Political party management and planning capacities and women leadership in political parties enhanced</p> <p><i>Risks and assumptions</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Political Parties resist efforts for change management within their own houses 	<p>3.1 Managerial Capacity of political parties Strengthened (including enhancing confidence in the electoral process)</p> <p>3.2 Promoting the profile and role of women inside political parties</p> <p>3.3 Capacity of political parties party agents strengthened</p>
<p>4. Institutional effectiveness of Early Warning, incident mapping, and Alternative Dispute Resolution mechanisms</p> <p><i>Risks and assumptions</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - No follow through from the law enforcement or judicial instances of the country on abuses - ECZ not given sufficient means or mandate to liaise with judicial instances and resolve conflicts 	<p>4.1 The system for Electoral Dispute Resolution is significantly improved</p> <p>4.2 Prevention and mitigation of election-related conflict is improved</p> <p>4.3 Types and frequency of electoral conflicts tabulated</p>
<p>5. Enhancing Media's credibility in the electoral process</p> <p><i>Risks and assumptions</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Political manipulation and pressure on the media 	<p>5.1 The accurate and responsible reporting in national and community media in the electoral process is improved</p> <p>5.2 In-depth and proactive analysis of the electoral process covered by the Media</p> <p>5.3 Increased public knowledge of electoral regulatory environment, including media regulatory environment</p>

1. Enhanced institutional and functional efficiency of the ECZ to conduct quality and cost effective elections

1.1 Support ECZ's decentralisation process

This area of support prepares for the implementation of the Restructuring and Decentralization Plan that was developed under the last electoral cycle Project 2009-2014. The ECZ's restructuring exercise was aimed at decentralizing the Commission to provincial and district level. The ECZ had been able to implement the new organizational structure in part and will continue to implement this in a phased approach. However, funding from the Government for decentralization has not been forthcoming, hence the Commission has taken gradual steps to partially implement its newly adopted structure, fully enforce performance management frameworks and the induction manuals.

A decision was arrived at by ECZ in 2013 during the review of the First Draft of the Restructuring Implementation Report that the Commission would decentralize to the provincial level and in turn have a cluster approach of districts in instances where districts are close to each other. For instance Chongwe District would manage Rufunsa, Luangwa and Chongwe. The clustering of districts or to have a hybrid approach was impelled by the minimal workload at the district level hence reducing operational costs.

The project will see preparatory work achieved for the decentralisation of ECZ towards the establishment of Provincial Offices. It will support ECZ in establishing the Standard Operating Procedures (SOPs), a training curriculum of staff and provide plans for IT connectivity. Although this decentralisation is contained in the current 2010-2015 ECZ Strategy and is also a recommendation made from certain international partners – (including UNEAD, UNDP, EU and DFID) further discussions with ECZ have brought to light potential budgetary difficulties in ECZ establishing and running such offices on a permanent basis. However, the strategic advantages in terms of ECZ outreach, in terms of voter education outreach and in terms of facilitating the updating of the electoral roll, it remains important to move forward with all preparatory work so that when budgetary issues are dealt with, or a financially less onerous option is adopted, then the decentralisation will proceed swiftly.

Action 1.1.1: SOPs for provincial offices developed and support for IT and administration arrangements

Since its establishment, the Commission has remained with one office at Headquarters and during elections, the ECZ recruits temporary staff to run the elections. This staff mainly includes teachers and district council employees, therefore posing a challenge as regards accountability measures wherein reporting lines are co-mingled. The project will make recommendations in the SOPs to try and clarify vetting processes for the Provincial offices (that already exist at the central level) and lines of reporting including supporting adequate administration arrangements.

When the Commission begins to implement its decentralization plan, it is expected that the project will provide, or will have provided – depending on the start of the decentralisation push - technical advisory services to develop Standard Operating Procedures for the provincial offices in relation to its operations with the Commission Headquarters, other provincial offices and stakeholders at large. Some funds have also been set aside to support the procurement and installation of IT networks for the Provincial offices if and when decentralisation becomes a reality.

Action 1.1.2: Establishing a curriculum for the Training and a framework for the Certification of Provincial Electoral Officers

An important element of decentralizing to the provinces in readiness for the either the 2016 Tripartite Elections or subsequent elections (if the timing does not fit the 2016 elections) are the mandates that the ECZ need to fulfil such as voter registration, voter education and, most critical, is the timely and accurate transmission of results from polling station directly to the National Results Centre. In order to support this structural change of quicker result transmission, it is imperative that the project invests adequate training capacities to meet the short-time frame (exacerbated by having a Presidential Election in January, 2015) given by the demands of voter registration and voter education. There will be a need to provide quality-driven and consistent services to the people of Zambia.

Furthermore, the curriculum for the training will be put together by a short-term technical advisor and officers from the ECZ Headquarters and will also aim for clarity in the SOPs to run the provincial offices. The design of the curriculum will ensure rigorous testing of Provincial Electoral Officers and their certification process. It will also ensure that staff are clear on their responsibilities, lines of communication and lines of reporting.

Action 1.1.3: Development of Provincial Electoral Office Workplans

It is expected that, in time, the Provincial Offices will be responsible to support voter registration operations for each province by collecting and analysing registration data, issuing voter's cards and uploading the registration data to a server which would in turn be transmitted to the Headquarters. Furthermore, provision of voter education in the Province would eventually be led by the Provincial Office through appropriate strategies and dissemination of information, but not before 2016. During by-elections and a General Election, the Office would ensure that each polling station has accurately transmitted the results data to the National Results Centre and Headquarters as well as provide back-up support for any challenges.

It is anticipated that for the Provincial Offices to execute their mandates, the Commission will be assisted through technical support as a basis from the SOPs to develop their annual and multi-annual Provincial Workplans.

1.2 Electoral Information Management System Strengthened

Through past support and current interventions by the USAID and UNDP, various phases have been implemented to upgrade the Electoral Information Management System to address the demands of the stakeholders, especially the political parties that are the main stakeholder. Some of the benefits of the upgrade have been a) Voters can be transferred to new polling stations, hence eliminating disenfranchisement of individuals as a result of moving to new locations; b) the system in 2011 was used to transmit electronic results allowing for the Presidential Announcement of results within 48 hours c) candidate nominations for the parliamentary seats were undertaken using the EIMS and quickened the verification process of a candidate's supporters based on the need to be a registered voter to be a supporter as provided for in the legal framework.

The current support with USAID and UNDP has been able to further strengthen the system by having an integrated system that has the ability to provide real-time and regular updates of the voting patterns during polling day, including disaggregated data by gender; report any incidents for immediate response; report any logistical/material challenges to run the election; report opening and closing times and, most importantly, to tally the results including uploading of the requisite appended forms for transmission to Headquarters. The system is able to deliver the results within 24 hours and has been tested in three parliamentary by-elections.

Action 1.2.1 Finalisation of software development

The design of the system is malleable due to the ECZ in-built capacities on software development that exist in the IT Department, supported by the previous project. Therefore, as stakeholder engagement is undertaken by the Commission through support from the USAID/UNDP supported project, it is expected that stakeholders would either request for additional requirements or omissions to the system. The ECZ will be supported to finalize this software development through an independent audit of the system to inform any amendments in the design of the Electoral Information Management System. It will also be supported in undertaking a stakeholder engagement on the design of the system to ensure that any anxieties are addressed and to help iron out any issues with the system that had been overlooked. A testing of the system based on trial and error will also be conducted prior to the formal adoption and roll-out of the system.

In conducting the above activities, any anticipated amendments to the legal provisions of the electoral process will need to be taken into account in the design and specifications for elements of, for instance, a Mixed-Member Parliament and 50%+1.

Action 1.2.2 Development and implementation of change management strategy

The implementation of electronic systems also simultaneously requires significant changes in the prevailing status quo "of doing business." The Commission will be supported to review its workflow processes, such as using a paper-based system during the transmission

of results versus announcing results based on electronic data. The feasibility of announcing electoral results via its internet site will be looked at in the review so as to avoid media outlets making their own assessment of electoral results as happened in 2015.

There will be a need to provide technical assistance towards possible amendments to the existing legal provisions to be able to allow for the announcement of results using the digital data. Without this element, the 24 hours demand of announcing results will be unreachable and efforts of developing such a viable EIMS will be futile.

Action 1.2.3 Testing of system security arrangements

Going forward, aside from the general testing of the software and the perfecting of it through stakeholder consultations, it will be a priority to support the security of the system. This could be done in a mock tripartite election which will inform requirements for additional hardware and software for the purpose of securing the system from any intrusion as well as its ability to handle results and additional data mentioned above. The storage capacity required should cover approximately 7,710 polling stations noting that 6 additional constituencies have been proposed after the delimitation exercise that took place in 2014.

Therefore, support in this area will include limited purchase of software and hardware to secure the system as well as technical support in securing the electoral information management system.

Action 1.2.4 Development of training manuals and training of trainers certification

For the upgraded system to run efficiently, it will need to be supported by well-trained staff that are able to operate the system with its newly developed design and capacities and would also be able to trouble shoot the system where necessary as technical support staff. Any training would have to take into account the new warehouse management system which is part of the EIMS being implemented by ECZ. In addition, technical expertise will be provided on a 'mentoring' model to transfer skills to permanent staff members.

The project will support the development of the necessary training manuals and in turn implement a Training of Master Trainers programme and cascade the training (Training of Trainers – TOT) to the various levels. The Commission will be supported to develop a thorough testing guide during the training such that the highest qualifiers are certified to run the EIMS professionally and effectively.

1.3 Increased effectiveness of Voter Education Campaign to ensure broader democratic awareness and political inclusion

Voter education is a key element of disseminating information to all eligible voters and is a key function of ECZ. On-going efforts in this area of activity are essential if the worrisome trend of decreasing voter turnout is to be addressed. ECZ was supported during the 2015 Presidential Election with the printing of voter education materials that had been

developed during the electoral cycle 2009-2014 project. The streamlining and reduction of the time to release results during the 2011 Elections to within 48 hours was as a result of support that had been provided towards the development of a New Voting, Counting and Procedures Guide.

Furthermore, the Voter Education Strategy developed back in November 2011 was informed by the Voter Education Needs Assessment published in July 2011. This strategy resulted in developing materials that were deemed more user-friendly to communicate including a reference manual, a facilitator's guide, a 15-topic Flip Chart and a series of 8 posters. The posters were translated into the 7 main local languages. The changes to the Voter Education Materials addressed the gaps identified in International and Domestic Observer Mission Reports during the 2006 and subsequent 2008 Elections. It transpires that voting errors in the 2011 Elections reduced to 1.43% compared to 1.8%⁷ in the 2006 General Elections.

The Commission's information on the success of these voter education tools remains limited to the garnering of data of the interventions implemented by the 1,422 Voter Education Facilitators (VEFs), 103 District Voter Education Committees (DVECs) and the single National Voter Education Committee (NVEC). There is currently an inability to determine the effectiveness of the voter education campaign through these different structures by the ECZ until only after an election takes place during post-election reviews. Of particular interest will be maintaining the current gender parity on voting.

Action 1.3.1. Development of an M & E Framework for voter education

In light of the above, it is therefore anticipated that the accountability and monitoring measures need to be developed through technical and advisory support from the project. Moreover, the project would need to build internal capacities in the Commission to assess a quality-based voter education campaign and possible elements of providing corrective and sustainable measures throughout the voter education drive.

The reporting and management arrangements will be developed including workflow processes required to ensure that the intended targets of voter education are reached. Limited funds would be set aside for an eventual Call for Proposal on Voter Education which would be used as pilots to test the M&E Framework.

Action 1.3.2 Reviewing voter education strategy and materials

Since the last review on voter education strategy and materials in 2010-2011, it is important to renew the exercise to take stock of changes in the country since that period, changes in available technology (such as social media) and to place an emphasis on new first time youth voters (especially female) and the eligible voting population that is expected to participate in the referendum.

⁷ (2014). International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA). Voter Turnout Data for Zambia. <http://www.idea.int/vt/countryview.cfm?id=247>

Consequently, the project will provide key technical advisory support on the review and building in the results of that review into an upgraded voter education strategy – that places particular emphasis on youth and women - which will include consultations with stakeholders including the DVECs and NVEC (which include civil society. Depending on the timing of this activity, the ensuing strategy will either be in place for the 2016 tripartite elections or for the longer term electoral cycle as part of ECZ’s forthcoming strategic plan.

Action 1.3.3 Training of trainers

This training will follow the same model as the training for the polling staff for the EIMS. It is expected that a set of Master Trainers from ECZ will be trained by the technical advisory support provided by the project and in turn the Master Trainers will cascade the training to the provincial - and further to the district level – through a Training of Trainers approach. This model of training will allow for every individual disseminating voter education to be trained in a standardized manner utilizing the same voter education strategy and materials.

1.4 Integrity of Voter Register Strengthened

One of the fundamental improvements during this phase will be to eliminate the number of deceased voters on the Voters Register. The 2011 Voters Register estimated approximately 250,000 deceased voters on the roll which has an impact on the increasing cost of running an election. This figure will only be revised after the planned September 2015 voter registration update, when ECZ will be working with local authorities to clean up the central database of eligible voters. The current register of 5,167,154 includes deceased voters, therefore resulting in an extra cost of printing ballot papers for a constituent of the Voters Register that are in fact deceased, planning inputs towards voter education according to the total number of registered voters as well as distributing streams using the same approach. Each stream requires polling staff and the various non-security materials such as lanterns, etc. Addressing the integrity of the voter register will not only reinforce the credibility of the entire electoral process but would also increase ECZ’s efficiency and accuracy of turn-out data.

A landmark achievement of establishing an Integrated National Registration Information System (INRIS) was borne out of previous support. The aim of this biometric-centred system is to secure the National Registration Card (NRC) and allow citizens to access various public and private social services through authentic identification. The system software and hardware was developed including a birth and death module that records all births in the country as well as documents deaths at the point of disposing remains in the main medical facilities or when certified as such by the competent medical entity.

Action 1.4.1 Implementation and testing of the previously designed interoperability protocols between ECZ Voter Registration system and DNRPC (INRIS)

The previous basket project achieved the design of the interoperability protocols between ECZ VRC and INRIS inside the DNRPC. With the legislative requirement of an eligible voter to register as a voter using the NRC as a core document, it is expected that the project will provide for technical expertise to convert the design into a fully-fledged interface between ECZ and the DNRPC for easier verification of individual's information. Additionally, technical support will be availed to implement working arrangements/protocols of drawing upon the data of deceased individuals.

Action 1.4.2 Launch of voter registration campaign

In line with the ECZ's mandate to conduct voter registration, the ECZ will - in collaboration with the DNRPC - undertake a nationwide voter sensitization campaign. The project will concretely support the design of publicity materials that contain targeted messaging according to demographics. This will be done through short-term technical expertise to support the process. By undertaking this activity it is hoped that as many of the newly eligible electors will be put on the electoral register which is itself a key step to ensuring maximum electoral participation.

1.5 ECZ capacity to communicate strengthened

During phases 4 and 5 of the Figure 2 of the electoral cycle, an important step as ECZ builds up its operational work for the 2016 Tripartite elections is its ability to communicate on the work it is doing and to ensure that there is clarity on the process. In this way there should be reduced confusion, tension and suspicions on polling day.

Technical support towards development and implementation of a Communication Strategy was undertaken during previous support. Implementation of Political Party Liaison Committee at District level was also instituted to better disseminate information to the various levels of the political parties. This had moderate success as the political parties remain largely sceptical of ECZ's independence due to the manner in which ECZ Commissioners are appointed and more will need to be done here. Engagement with persons with disabilities was implemented and produced a voting template for the blind based on the statistics⁸ collected during the Voter Registration Exercise. However, it has become evident that the information shared during these fora is not binding and has resulted in ECZ facing resistance from some politicians. A case in point was during the September, 2014 parliamentary by-elections where ECZ had pre-informed the political parties of testing the electronic results management transmission system but were contradicted by the political parties.

The ECZ⁹ website was simultaneously upgraded and now demonstrates current and up-to-date information including the 2011 Final Voters Register. Website enhancement was noted

⁸ (2011, March). 5,380 Blind people captured on Voters Register. 519 Blind people literate in Braille.

⁹ <http://www.elections.org.zm>

to be part of increasing public access to data and accurate information sharing on electoral issues. This notwithstanding, the results for the 2015 Presidential Election were not released in real-time on the website and the project's interventions will address the following:

Action 1.5.1 Revision of ECZ's Communication Strategy

Technical support towards reviewing and revising the Communication Strategy based on current demands and the prevailing environment will be supported by the project. Expected changes will include guidelines that place the ECZ Public Relations Unit as an analysis unit and "initiator" of communication rather than what has been perceived as a more passive entity, continuously facing criticism as it has constantly been in the past.

Furthermore, such an element is anticipated to also allow for a real-time website and proactively engage stakeholders throughout the electoral cycle. The Commission will additionally be supported to develop processes and SOPs between the Information & Technology Department and PR Unit for clear synchronization and delineation of communication of the new electronic results.

Action 1.5.2 Development of framework for targeting special groups

"Special groups" refer to persons with disabilities. There will be a need to support special groups with specific technical expertise on issues affecting special groups as well as publicity information for special groups. Therefore, in consultation with the Associations of Persons with Disability the project will ensure that stakeholder forums are conducted to develop a framework that is consultative and to act as a convenor between ZAPD and ECZ so that specially designed voter registration and voter education is well co-ordinated. The ZAPD will be supported to develop internal capacities in order for data on persons with disabilities to be communicated to the Commission for better planning of processes by the ECZ. This in turn is expected to result in an inclusive electoral process.

1.6 A Special Voting System is defined

The Electoral Act provides for special categories of voters such as members of the security forces assigned to areas outside of their residence and voting location on polling day, political party agents, domestic observers, persons with special needs/disabilities, illiterate voters to exercise their voting rights. For this purpose, it will be essential to assist the ECZ to establish Special Voting provisions especially that the ECZ were supported by the previous electoral cycle project to undertake a Special Vote Study Tour to South Africa in November, 2012. In terms of lessons learned of that tour, South Africa's very comprehensive special voting arrangements are admirable but terribly costly, prompting ECZ to only contemplate the special vote coverage to domestic observer, electoral officers and the police.

Action 1.6.1 Assessment of the existing Special Voting provisions

This will entail reviewing legal, procedural, operational and financial matters relating to existing Special Voting provisions in consultation with stakeholders with the aim to: (1) identify the required improvements and ensuing actions in overall framework regulating

Special Voting provisions; (2) propose a set of viable recommendations and a suitable strategy to ensure the due enfranchisement of each of the various categories of voters (those in hospitals, on duty on election day, those in prison, etc.) falling under this exceptional voting modality. This activity should also be done in a consultative manner with other relevant stakeholders such as the police and CSOs. If deemed necessary after the review and the stakeholder consultations a set of recommendations to reform existing legal frameworks and provision could be undertaken by the project for ECZ's consideration.

1.7 Technical assistance for drafting a new strategic plan for ECZ after the Tripartite elections

The current ECZ Strategic Plan only runs to the end of this year and it will be important to rapidly establish a new one covering 2016-2020. Defining the new Strategic Plan is clearly a task for ECZ itself, but the project will support ECZ in thinking through the key elements that should be included based on the lessons learned of previous electoral exercises. This plan may also be affected by the Constitutional Referendum and the articles therein that may affect the functioning and work of ECZ and the Strategic Plan will need to be mindful of that.

Action 1.7.1 Conduct Lessons Learned workshops and possible analysis of the modified Constitution

The project will support the facilitation of a series of lessons learned workshops to be held before and after the 2016 Tripartite elections. This will look at the past strategic plan and examine what worked and what didn't. It will also focus on the 2015 Presidential election and the 2016 Tripartite elections to see what ECZ could have done differently in terms of activities, approach and timing. These lessons learned will feed into a draft Strategic Plan that will be shared with relevant stakeholders for additional inputs. The formal approval process will be the business of ECZ itself.

Action 1.7.2 Extensive roadmap developed to inform the implementation of the new legal provisions

If required, ECZ will be supported to develop a roadmap and requirements including structural and governance arrangements in order to implement the new electoral provisions of the new Constitution (assuming the referendum takes place and the modified Constitution voted through. The support will take the form of technical assistance, comparative experiences and massive consultations for buy-in. These would be reflected in the new Strategic Plan.

Action 1.7.3 Review current risk and issues monitoring system as well as the monitoring capacities and integrate them in the new strategic plan

The project will undertake an assessment of ECZ's risk and issues monitoring system. Additionally, the management arrangements of the risk management will be reviewed and consultations with ECZ management undertaken to devise a quality risk management mechanism. This mechanism will address the various elements of the prevailing electoral

environment and ECZ's responsiveness to the environment. This assessment will be a key input to the new strategic plan.

2. Improved integrity of outcome of elections

One of the elements that creates a conducive electoral environment is the ability to have ECZ systematically engage and involve stakeholders - such as civil society and political parties - to further build the confidence of the public in the electoral system.

The ECZ continuously faces frequent misunderstandings from political parties on every phase of the electoral process. This includes the printing of ballot papers which requires a political party representative and the Commission openly providing political parties with a schedule of the material deployment plan. Recently, for the 2015 Presidential Election, ECZ allowed for the two main contenders (PF and UPND) political parties to jointly verify the results with them, which seems to have dampened any mistrust between the two political parties. It is therefore anticipated that this component will restore the severe levels of mistrust and suspicion amongst the political parties and will be an input towards creating an even sturdier electoral system.

Action 2.1.1 Reviewing of electoral regulation regarding counting, recounting votes and transmission of results

With an expected introduction of an electronic results management system that will transmit results from the polling station to the National Results Centre, the project will support the ECZ through technical assistance in reviewing the electoral regulation regarding the counting and recounting of votes. Currently, the recounting of votes can take place at the polling station; however, once this stage is passed, a recount can only be undertaken through filing a petition through the Courts of Law.

It will be essential to further review the electoral regulation in line with the legal provisions on electoral petitions so as to avoid having conflicting provisions in both documents that may be impossible to implement.

Action 2.1.2 Development of an error early warning system and audit trail of polling station activities

With polling staff working for almost 48 hours at one single point in time, human error due to fatigue is likely. It is expected that the project will make available technical assistance to document the workflow processes in a polling station and propose ways in which to flag any errors at any point in time during polling day (between opening and closing times). The technical assistance will also develop an implementation plan in consultation with the ECZ to eventually be used by themselves.

Action 2.1.3 Review of legal framework

The expected output of reviewing the electoral regulation regarding counting/recounting of votes and documenting workflow processes in a polling station will result in a review of

both the Electoral Act and, in turn, the Electoral Code of Conduct. This exercise may well coincide with the Constitutional referendum which could take place on the same day as the Tripartite elections and have ramifications on the organisation of elections as analysed above. The legal provisions will also need to reflect any introductions of a count and a recount of the poll. It will be essential that the review protects the integrity and independence of the Commission and does not open the Commission to further scrutiny by the stakeholders.

2.2 Framework for Domestic Observation established

The development of a new Voting, Counting and Procedures Guide towards the 2011 Elections as described above assisted 9,000 Domestic Observers to be trained through parallel bilateral support of the National Democratic Institute (NDI). DFID is also looking at supporting the national capacity for domestic observation outside this particular basket fund initiative. To complement this support to domestic observation, this project will support domestic observers in enhancing their planning capacities of an electoral process and develop skills in resource mobilization for a sustainable domestic observation system. Any new operating framework will be introduced after stakeholder consultations which will be facilitated by this project.

Action 2.2.1 Partnership framework for domestic observation developed

This partnership framework, established with support through technical advisory services, will mean that a modus operandi is developed that meets the expectations of the domestic observer group. Furthermore, the framework to be developed will take into consideration, funding arrangements and partnership and management arrangements that comply with regulations and follow provisions of the law. These former loose arrangements of consortiums of civil society organizations change shape during each election, despite covering mainly the same NGOs and promoting competitive stakes between the groups.

3. Political party management and planning capacities and women leadership in political parties enhanced

The support towards strengthening inter-party dialogue in the previous electoral cycle project culminated to a larger extent to inclusive decision-making on electoral processes and increased dialogue with ECZ. Steps were taken to implement inter-party liaison committees at the provincial level which has been instrumental in disseminating strategic information at the community levels of the parties, away from the party headquarters.

It is evident that political parties in Zambia continue to go through stages of metamorphosis and each political party is born out of a previous one or a situation where one group is disgruntled and decides to part ways and form another entity.

These behavioural patterns demonstrate a need to move political parties towards entities led by a vision and principles rather than parties that are individualized, causing them to disintegrate when the head of the party is no longer there. Furthermore, past evidence has shown that political parties appear to plan for elections in a very short-time frame such that the campaign is focused on campaign rallies, posters and give-aways (i.e. wrap arounds for women). For this purpose, the project will work towards strengthening their internal management and organisational aspects and their ability to plan for elections.

3.1 Managerial capacity of political parties strengthened (including enhancing confidence in the electoral process)

Political parties in their nature are dynamic with a divergent view of ideologies and at most times critical decisions arrived upon by a select few without systematic institutionalized structural arrangements. Such loose arrangements cause uncertainty and insecurity for members of the political parties due to the fact that a member's existence in the party is at the behest of the leader of the political party. The project anticipates to build capacities of the political parties as more regulated and sustainable entities with decent levels of organisational competence. This need has been identified by international observation missions and by UNEAD but will be difficult to implement as it will mean changing and challenging cultural attitudes and long established work processes inside these parties.

Action 3.1.1 Development of tool kit

The political parties will be supported by the project to undergo self-introspection of their work methods and processes. This will take the form of technical expertise that will facilitate consultations and assess their priority needs. Past experiences and a future outlook of political parties and their operations will be considered as an integral part of planning operations for the political parties. It will be important for political parties to perceive themselves as organizations "branding" the same product but with competing interests.

It is expected that a validation of the tool kit with the political parties will also take place. Moreover, the kit anticipates to cut across the requirements of political parties with key principles of gender, anti-corruption, youth and persons with disabilities coming to the fore.

Action 3.1.2 Training of party officials

The project will support the training of each political party's secretariat using the tool kits developed. The training will follow a Master Trainers Training approach and will be facilitated through the project's technical assistance. The project will also ensure to undertake quality control of the training through participant questionnaire feedback.

Activity 3.2 will need to recognize the common framework that five (5) political parties agreed upon on 1 June, 2015 to work together in championing the gender agenda in their

different political structures in view of constitutions, manifestos and internal rules and regulations.

3.2 Promoting the profile and role of women inside political parties

As has been brought up in the earlier sections of this document, the leadership role of women in Zambia's political processes is of concern. There are few women candidates at any level of tripartite electoral processes, with the result that there are few women parliamentarians. One of the root causes of this phenomenon is the lack of profile and leadership that women enjoy inside their own political parties. This project will attempt to address this issue with full support of political party senior management as it will be counterproductive to work with women outside the framework of their parties.

3.2.1 Communication training to women party members

A key tool in the potential advancement of women in Zambian politics is their ability to communicate, either within their respective parties or when out campaigning. Women often have the added disadvantage of not having the same exposure to higher education as their male counterparts and so the ability to be heard and respected inside the male-dominated political parties, or indeed in terms of public speaking, is all the more challenging for them.

The project will work with all political parties and through transparent and equally applied criteria, at least 20 female representatives from all the political parties will be afforded the opportunity of upgrading their communication skills through the provision of national and international expertise delivered following a tailor-made programme.

3.2.2 Supporting the role of women in establishing political party programmes

Linked to communication is the ability to think through political party manifestos. All party members align themselves behind the priorities set by the party's leadership. However, it would reinforce the profile and status of women inside political parties if more of them were able to apply strategic thinking to help the respective parties formulate the manifestos more proactively. This would likely raise the respect the parties would have for the female contingent inside their parties as well as the confidence in having them compete for parliamentary seats. The project will take the same female candidates for the communication training in 3.2.1 and provide training in the formulation of political programmes and techniques for drafting policy papers.

3.2.3 Working with the leadership of political parties on a gender based workplan using the UN "he" for "she" principle

The success of promoting the visibility and status of women inside political parties – as a gateway to seeing women play greater leadership roles in Parliament and Government – is largely dependent on the ability to receive backing from political party leadership. To this end, the project will establish a set of recommendations, to be adopted by the parties, as a multi-annual workplan that will set firm and realistic targets for the appointment of women in key administrative roles inside the parties and in terms of supporting women for political