



AN ANALYSIS OF THE ROLE PLAYED BY ELECTORAL STAKEHOLDERS IN THE
ELECTORAL PROCESS: A CASE STUDY OF
BOTSWANA AND ZAMBIA

BY

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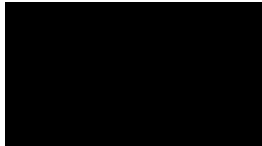
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DECLARATION

I, **Leonard Lenna Sesa**, hereby declare that;

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CERTIFICATION

It is hereby certified that this dissertation entitled, '**An analysis of the role played by electoral stakeholders in the electoral process: A case study of Botswana and Zambia**' is an original work carried out by Leonard Lenna Sesa (Student Number 214573773).



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This work was carried out under my supervision and guidance and is hereby accepted and recommended for Approval for the Award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) in the College of Humanities, School of Social Sciences at the University of KwaZulu- Natal (Howard College Campus).



Prof. Bheki R. Mngomezulu

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Date

DEDICATION

I dedicate this piece of work to my late Father Kgosi Segomotso Sesa (1953- 2017).

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ACDEG	African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance
ACE	Administration and Cost of Elections
ACHPR	African Charter on Human and People's Rights
ANC	African National Congress
APC	All People's Congress Party
AU	African Union
AUEOM	African Union Election Observation Mission
BCP	Botswana Congress Party
BDP	Botswana Democratic Party
BIDPA	Botswana Institute for Development Policy Analysis
BLS	Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland
BMD	Botswana Movement of Democracy
BNF	Botswana National Front
BOCONGO	Botswana Council of Non- Governmental Organization
BOCRA	Botswana Communications Regulatory Authority
BPP	Botswana People's Party
BSA	British South African Company
CCC	Committee for a Clean Campaign
CCMG	Christian Churches Monitoring Group
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination against women
CHRAGG	Commission for Human Rights and Good Governance

COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
CRPD	Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities
CSOs	Civil Society Organizations
DET	District Election Trainers
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
DRW	Disability Rights Watch
ECF-SADC	Southern African Development Community- Electoral Commission Forum
ECZ	Electoral Commission of Zambia
EISA	Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa
EIU	Economist Intelligence Unit
EMBs	Electoral Management Bodies
EMC	Electoral Monitoring Committee
EPA	Electoral Process Act
FDD	Forum for Democracy and Development
FODEP	Foundation for Democratic Process
FPTP	First- Past- The- Post
HP	Heritage Party
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Discrimination
ICERD	International Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination
ICGLR	International Conference of the Great Lakes Region
ICT	Information and Communication Technologies
IDEA	Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance
IEC	Independent Electoral Commission

IFES	International Foundation for Electoral Systems
IOAC	International Observer Accreditation Centre
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
MISA	Media Institute of Southern Africa
MMD	Movement for Multiparty Democracy
MTs	Master Trainers
MP	Member of Parliament
NAREP	National Restoration Party
NDF	National Democratic Party
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
NGP	New Generation Party
NRP	National Revolutionary Party
OAU	Organization of African Unity
OB Van	Outdoor Broadcasting Van
OMR	Optical Mark Reader
OSCE	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
OYEBO	Organization for Youth and Elections in Botswana
PEEMO	Principles for Election Management, Monitoring and Observation
PF	Patriotic Front
POA	Public Order Act
PPADB	Public Procurement and Asset Disposal Board
PVT	Parallel Vote Tabulation
RMS	Results Management System

RP	Reformed Party
SACCORD	Southern African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SADC-PF	Southern African Development Community- Parliamentary Forum
SAPPI	South African Pulp and Paper Industries
SPSS	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
UDA	United Democratic Alliance
UDC	Umbrella for Democratic Change
UDHR	United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UK	United Kingdom
UKZN	University of KwaZulu- Natal
ULP	United Liberal Party
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNIP	United National Independence Party
UNZA-PAS	University of Zambia- department of Political and Administrative Studies
UPND	United Party for National Development
UPP	United Progressive Party
ZAMEC	Zambia Media Council
ZANU-PF	Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front
ZEC	Zimbabwe Electoral Commission
ZNBC	Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation

ZNWL Zambia National Women's Lobby

ZPF Zambian Police Force

ABSTRACT

Elections constitute one of the yardsticks used to determine the extent to which a country's democracy has been consolidated. The involvement of electoral stakeholders is vital because it nurtures collaboration about the credibility of the elections. These stakeholders include civil society organizations, electoral experts, academia, religious organizations, youth, minorities and women, domestic and international observers. They fundamentally assist the electoral and participatory democracy to take root. An analysis of the role of electoral stakeholders in the elections in Zambia and Botswana is reported in this study. The overarching aim of the study was to evaluate the quality of elections in the two selected cases over the years; to ascertain the challenges faced by each of the two countries during the elections; and to determine the possible implications for the future of democracy in these countries.

Underpinned by an indebted two tier theoretical approach, this study used a case study method adopted by Atkinson together with the democratic theory commonly applied in election studies. Furthermore, a mixed method research design was used to understand the perceptions of electoral stakeholders on their involvement in the Botswana and Zambia electoral processes.

The findings of this study show that despite the minimal achievements that have been recorded on the management of the electoral processes, Botswana and Zambia have improved over the years. As a result, they have been labelled as shining democracies in the SADC region. The findings of this study also showed that the stakeholders' perceptions on their involvement in Botswana and Zambia's democracies are driven by both internal and external factors pertaining to their electoral management bodies that have the potential to affect the electoral processes as well as the level of trust in them and other institutions involved in the electoral processes. The study recommends that the legal basis of the Electoral Code of Conduct could be strengthened to widen the electoral commission powers to ensure compliance by all stakeholders.

Keywords: Democracy, elections, electoral process, electoral stakeholders.

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction and Background

1.1 Introduction

This Chapter presents an analytical overview of the current study and specifically focuses on the role of electoral stakeholders in the electoral process in Botswana and Zambia. Electoral stakeholders institutionally determine election results in any given country and embraces democracy. Such institutions include *inter alia* political parties, state security agents, civil society organizations, public and private media, electoral management bodies, academia, as well as voters or the electorate. These institutions play a pivotal role in ensuring that elections are conducted in a manner that appeals to what is commonly known as liberal democracy.

The electoral stakeholders in the Botswana and Zambia are recognized in this study as the key providers of an impartial assessment of the overall quality of electoral participation. It is important to note that Botswana and Zambia are compared in this study because they have the same geographical set-up in the SADC region and deploy military helicopters during the elections to transport ballot papers to and from inaccessible areas. The two countries have a five-year election cycle and they have one body managing elections consisting of the Commission and the secretariat.

This chapter presents the background of this study as well as a summary of the electoral systems of Botswana and Zambia. Also provided are the following sections of this study: problem statement; overall aim and specific objectives; hypotheses; key research question and sub-questions; significance of the study; scope and limitations, and definition of key concepts. The chapter concludes with a summary of the significant findings and a presentation of the structure of the entire thesis to prepare the reader's mindset.

1.2 Background of the Study

Elections have become one of the mechanisms used by democratic countries to consolidate democracy. They also serve as a fundamental feature on the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the broader African political landscape. Since the 1990s elections have become nearly universal as the world embraces the democratic ethos. One important distinctive feature of elections in the SADC region is that they are relatively clean although some to a certain extent are manipulated (Birch, 2011:25). Interestingly, extant literature makes it abundantly clear that democracy is much more than just clean because as the most visible feature of democracy elections link the people to the government of the day and bring about political control by the people who vote leaders into office.

Although not in themselves a guarantee for democracy, elections are usually considered as one of the key pillars of a working democracy (Matlosa, 2004:16). Some of the functions of elections in the democratization process include the legitimization of the political system, succession of governments and leaders in a transparent manner, linking of political institutions with the voters, as well as peaceful settlement of conflicts. Elections, therefore, play a crucial role in the democratization process in the entire world. Africa is no exception in this regard – including the two case studies of Botswana and Zambia.

Noticeably, holding regular elections improves their quality and credibility and legitimizes their outcomes. However, anecdotal records show that the 2008 elections in Zimbabwe suffered from massive fraud and brutal suppression of resistance from opposition political parties, especially the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) in Zimbabwe. Other African countries that have reported cases of electoral fraud include the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Kenya and Mozambique. Electoral fraud has also been reported in countries outside Africa such as the United States of America (USA).

However, the above cases do not in any way justify the abandonment of efforts aimed at developing electoral democracy in the SADC region and in Africa in general. SADC is a very diverse region which includes the richest country in Africa (South Africa) as well as some of the poorest countries

such as Somalia, landlocked countries such as eSwatini¹, and island states such as Madagascar, Mauritius. Furthermore, the SADC region in terms of population has some of the largest countries in Africa such as Nigeria and the DRC. On the other hand, it has some of the smallest countries such as the Seychelles. Interestingly, although the region is socio-economically cosmopolitan it has a common history of being colonized by the western powers except Ethiopia on the Horn of Africa and Liberia in West Africa. Even so, the SADC countries were colonized in different ways and by various politically or putatively imperial countries such as Portugal, France, Britain and Germany. These colonial histories have left important legacies in terms of culture, language and political systems, which complicate initiatives for peace and security in the region (Cawthra, 2010:10). Vestiges of these legacies can be discerned from electoral systems and processes adopted by these countries to date.

In Africa in general nations are increasingly demanding political and economic accountability and reform (Maphephe, 2012:1). However, Africa's experience with electoral democracy is mixed up because although some degree of progress has been made in terms of popular mobilization as well as in terms of autocrats in countries like Rwanda, Tunisia, Egypt pledging for transition and democracy, some important challenges remain such as that some African leaders provide little room for maneuver (Holmquist and Ford, 1992:97-100).

This mix of electoral experiences in Africa has generated considerable debate about transparent, free, fair and credible electoral processes among election communities. It should be noted however that perfectly implemented elections may result in unfair, non-credible or non-accepted electoral processes. However, the political aspects of electoral processes and the role of other electoral stakeholders towards the credibility and acceptance of an electoral event should not be underestimated.

It could be argued that the degree to which elections are perceived or seen as credible and therefore acceptable largely depends not only on the accuracy of the technical aspects of such elections. It also depends on the involvement and the approach of political parties and their candidates, the media, domestic and international observers, civil society, as well as the national and international electoral

¹ For many years, this country has been referred to as Swaziland until recently when King Mswati III reverted to the country's original name before falling under British administration.

dispute resolution process. These are all important electoral stakeholders whose roles were interrogated in this study. The study also argues that electoral administrations should therefore interact from the beginning with all electoral stakeholders in the electoral process. They should also be open and transparent about the planning and organization of elections. This is particularly important in young democracies and countries that are experiencing rapid political transformations and where a democratic political culture is not yet well developed or entrenched.

A quick overview of the situation across Africa shows that in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA), countries like Botswana, Chad, Ghana, Zambia, and even young democracies like South Africa are certainly more democratic than other African countries that obtained independence earlier. Gains in some countries have been offset by losses in others, while a few of them have remained democratically stagnant since their independence, for example, Botswana as shall be seen later. Therefore, to understand recent trends in African elections, it is helpful to examine individual countries along with others that have shared similar experiences and will thus most likely face similar challenges and opportunities in the coming election years (Norman, 2010: 321-326).

Electoral democracy implies the conduct of competitive elections whereby political parties and candidates compete for political power through the ballot box. For this reason, elections management is crucial for the attainment of development of electoral democracy (Norman, 2003; 2005; Bird, 2004; Wallington, 2004). Invariably, it should be noted that the accomplishment of elections management depends on two main circumstances. Firstly, the electoral body should be competent because it is saddled with the responsibility to deliver the elections (Heywood, 2002: 232). Secondly, the electoral stakeholders should not be narrowly defined but should include electoral management body, political parties, the media, security agents, civil society groups, parliament and the government of the day, eligible national voters, domestic and international observers. Therefore, the study will (in subsequent chapters) elucidate the major roles of the electoral stakeholders in the electoral processes.

The choice of electoral systems is said to be the instrument of democracy and is understood to determine how elections are won or lost. The difference in electoral systems also emanates from different historical backgrounds of countries. For example, in this study Botswana and Zambia, are geographically separated by a border post but have almost similar electoral systems and processes. Details of these differences are provided later in this dissertation in chapters four and five.

Practically, each country has discretion in its choice of political representatives and an appropriate electoral system to govern the elections. For example, plurality electoral system simply awards a seat to the individual candidate who receives the most votes in an election; or the system called “first-past-the-post” or “winner-takes-all” systems, plurality systems. However, such discretion is not unlimited and should be consistent with international electoral standards of free, fair, credible and democratic elections.

Many African countries have adopted electoral systems which were applied during their colonial periods. For example, in other African states, a de facto one-party system emerged after smaller parties dissolved voluntarily and their leaders and voters became absorbed into the ruling parties. This was the case in the Gambia, Botswana, Mauritius, Zimbabwe and Senegal. For other historical reasons, the review of a country’s legal framework could usefully reflect on current cultural, political, social or other factors and realities (IDEA, 2006:23).

Scheduled national elections are a significant feature of stable democracies and the need to deepen democracy. The need for regular, free, fair and credible elections in Africa cannot be overstated. As Africa navigates through a phase of consolidating democracy, elections are yet to serve as reliable instruments for enhancing democratic tenets and good governance. Elections in many African states are characterized by controversies and disputes which, in most cases, transform into violent conflicts (Anstee, 1966: 265). For example, the post-election violence in Kenya in 2007 resulted in the loss of many lives (estimated at 1200). Furthermore, Burundi and Gambia are some of the most recent examples where post-election violence resulted in many people losing their lives or being seriously injured and/or displaced.

These electoral conflicts arise at all the electoral cycle stages of the electoral process from political party registration through the registration of voters, the nomination of candidates and the conflict at polling stations. More conflicts occur during the counting and announcement of results. This is often, amongst others, the result of the attitudes and biases – both real and imagined – of Electoral Management Bodies (EMBs) in each country. For example, the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC) has been accused of ensuring that ZANU-PF wins the elections at all costs.

In Sub-Saharan Africa, the Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU) has observed that although elections have become a normal occurrence in emerging democracies, there is still an increasing trend to

establish independent EMBs (Barkan, 1997). This is one of the most important steps in building a tradition of independence and impartiality, as well as building the confidence of the electorate and political parties in the electoral process. Administering democratic elections requires that EMBs be as impartial and independent of government or other influences as possible.

This is a critical area as the election administration machinery makes and implements important decisions that can influence the outcome of an election and determine whether there is peace or conflict in the country after each election. The political circumstances of a country under consideration need also to be considered when assessing the legal framework regulating electoral management bodies (Butler and King, 1966: 66-128). Failure to do so can easily lead to false accusation and counteraccusation by different stakeholders, including the EMBs.

Election management became more complex in the 1980s and 1990s when more and more countries entered the wave of democratization and held multiparty elections (Lekorwe, 2006: 63-64). Moreover, a well-managed election depends on the quality of the election management body (Lekorwe, 2006). The IDEA (2006:5) developed the international elections guidelines to set out the basic components of a legal framework governing democratic elections (Klein, 1995; Harris, 1997; Dundas, 1993:1998). This was meant to bring countries closer to one another in terms of practicing democracy as a governance system.

1.3 Introduction of the Case Studies (Botswana and Zambia).

A: Botswana

1.3.1 A brief history of the Republic of Botswana

Figure 1.1: The flag of the Republic of Botswana



Source: www.worldatlas.com/webimage/flags/countrys/africa/botswana.htm

Figure 1.2: A Map of the Republic of Botswana



Source: One World- Nations Online, Copy right © 1998-2016

The Republic of Botswana is a country of about 582, 000 square kilometers in size, situated at the center of the Southern African Plateau at a mean altitude of 1, 000 meters above sea level, which makes it a land locked country. Formerly known as Bechuanaland Protectorate, the country borders on its southern part with the Republic of South Africa, on its western part with Namibia, up north with Zambia and lastly on the eastern part with Zimbabwe.

Botswana has been described by many as a one-party state under the pretext of liberal democracy. It remains one of the oldest continuously sustained democracies on the African continent. The Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) has been in power since independence in 1966 to date, yet there are other opposition parties in the country which have failed to win any election for decades.

The population of Botswana as of the 2014 census is currently at 2, 052, 556 million (Botswana Statistics Office Report: 2014). Botswana ranks 141st in the World population census. Gaborone is the largest city in Botswana and the country's capital (Botswana Statistics Report, 2014).

Botswana has since independence in September 1966 adopted her own Constitution and Electoral laws like those of the UK. Since independence, the electoral system has evidently been the first-past-the-post (FPTP) electoral system. The system creates single party cabinets which run the government (Molomo, 2005). Elections in Botswana take place every five years at two levels, i.e., the national and local levels.

The National Assembly and Local Councils are elected when general elections are held. The last general elections in 2019 followed those that were held in October 2014. The 2014 elections were the 11th general elections held since Botswana's independence in 1966. Botswana's parliament has 61 seats, 57 of which are elected using a single member district plurality system. This means that there are 57 constituencies in the country, each electing a single member of parliament (MP) for a five-year term; and 4 more seats are reserved for the specially nominated members by parliament. The local council has 490 seats and 113 specially nominated councilors who are nominated by the minister of local government and rural development.

At independence in 1966 the new leaders of Botswana chose liberal democracy as the country's system of government. The basic principles of this system, namely regular competitive elections, multiparty system, universal adult suffrage, freedoms of press, association, speech, and protection of life and property, have all been enshrined in the constitution which has undergone minimal changes since then. Many will also agree that majority of these democratic principles have so far also been realized in practice.

Achievements such as Botswana's noteworthy economic growth, relative political stability, and regular elections often eclipse issues like human rights, which remain on the periphery of most

analyses of Botswana. However, human rights issues present a significant threat to Botswana's positive reputation and therefore Botswana has been regarded as the African Miracle.

Common wisdom on the Botswana Miracle suggests that the country provides a model for others to follow. Others certainly can learn valuable lessons from Botswana in many regards. The country's economic policies are exemplary. The regularity of Botswana's elections since independence in 1966 is commendable. Efforts to foster a sense of national unity, especially by Botswana's first president, Sir Seretse Khama, proved successful in many regards during the post-independence process of nation-building and peacekeeping. Botswana's democracy successes are, to a degree, the result of the hard work of the country's political leadership.

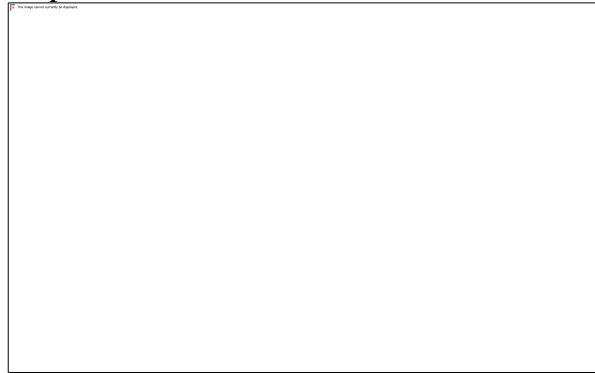
Since Botswana is part of the BLS states (Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland), all the three states are landlocked with each member sharing a border with South Africa and all were under the British rule. Botswana has never postponed or shifted the scheduled elections since its independence as a democracy compared to the other two members. Botswana is housing a regional hub secretariat called the Southern African Development Community (SADC).

The above brief background clearly shows that despite some challenges here and there, Botswana ranks among the few successful democracies on the African continent. Political stability and economic growth are some of the country's characteristic features which have earned the country reputable status beyond the African continent.

B: Zambia

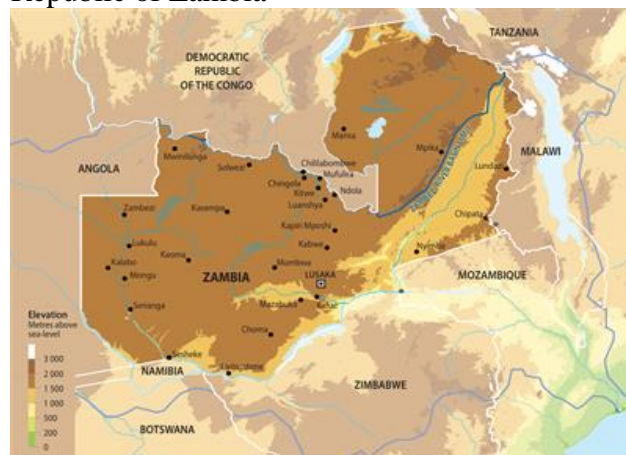
1.3.2 A brief history of the Republic of Zambia

Figure 1.3: The flag of the Republic of Zambia



Source: zambiaflag.facts.co/

Figure 1.4: A map of the Republic of Zambia



Source: The World Fact book 2007: From the Library of Country Studies of the Central Intelligence Agency

Geographically, the Republic of Zambia, like Botswana, is in Southern Africa with Lusaka as the country's Capital city. The population of Zambia by the end of 2013 was 14, 538,640 (Datosmacro.com). Zambia, formerly known as Northern Rhodesia, gained its independence from Great Britain in 1964. Zambia became renowned for its peaceful transition from one party to multi-party democracy from October 1964 to December 1972, when a one-party state constitution was introduced. But this also ended in 1990 (State Report: 01).

As mentioned above, Zambia, like Botswana, is a Southern African country. Colonial rule in Zambia (formerly known as Northern Rhodesia) began with the assumption of formal power by the government of Great Britain in 1911. Elections were held in January of that year and independence was officially granted on 24 October 1964 (EISA, 2006: 1).

In 1911, there were 1,497 whites and 826, 000 Africans in Northern Rhodesia currently known as Zambia. The white settlers demanded a stake in the running of the government, which was vehemently opposed by the British South African Company (BSA), until 1915 when an Advisory Council was established. The purpose of the council was to keep the Administrator in touch with the settlers on an informal basis.

The first election to the Advisory Council was held in 1918 followed by the second one in 1921 under the electoral system which dictated that the candidate who received the highest number of votes cast would be declared the winner. Each voter was entitled to cast once with only one vote under a secret ballot.

The third general elections in Zambia were held on 13 May 1932 in all the six electoral areas and all the candidates elected during the second general elections were re-elected. The fourth general elections were set for 29 July 1935. However, the elections were postponed to 16 September 1935 due to violent strikes by African miners on the Copper belt who demanded better pay and conditions of service.

In 1938, there was the first acknowledgment of the need to recognize the African opinion in the Legislative Council. Lt Col Gore Brown was nominated to represent African interests in the Legislative Council. The fifth general elections were held in 1938, followed by the sixth general elections on 29 August 1941. The number of electoral areas was increased from seven to eight by the establishment of Luanshya constituency after an increase in votes from the past elections.

The federal era stands out prominently for frequent constitutional changes aimed at addressing settlers and Africans' growing political demands. While Europeans vigorously pursued self-rule, Africans demanded nothing short of total independence and inclusive government. The frequent constitutional changes were primarily in response to the Whites' demands for self- rule and African agitation for independence. Thus, elections were held in 1959, 1962 and 1963 under different constitutions.

The January 1964 general elections held on the 20th and 21st were preceded by constitutional changes/amendments which introduced universal adult suffrage. The colonial administration embarked upon transitional mechanism to hand over power to the natives. For the first time, the bill of rights was enshrined in the Constitution, which protected the right of life, freedom from discrimination and freedom of expression and movement.

Finally, the British Government set 24 October 1964 as the Independence Day. At last, the settlers' sway on political power vanished and they remained spectators for the greater part of the post – independence period. Kenneth Kaunda emerged as the leader of Zambia for two decades.

In November 1990 President Kaunda appointed a constitutional review commission under the chairmanship of the respected lawyer and academic, Professor Patrick Mvunga. The commission was tasked to recommend a system of political pluralism that would ensure the separation of the powers of the legislature, the executive and the functions of the various organs of the state and recommend modalities of their operation.

Zambia was born into a difficult situation, to say the least. It was a landlocked country surrounded by minority white regimes in Angola, Mozambique and Southern Rhodesia; it had a troublesome Congo to the north and Apartheid South Africa in the south. After independence in 1964, the first President Kenneth David Buchizya Kaunda swiftly threw his weight behind the Organization of African Unity (OAU) which had been formed in May 1963. It was based on the principles of Pan-Africanism and anti-colonialism. President Kaunda allowed a Liberation Centre to be set up in Lusaka, which was to provide offices to those liberation movements who had received official recognition from the OAU (Anglin, 1979:183).

President Kaunda (born 28 April 1924) also affectionately known as KK served as the first President of Zambia from 1964 to 1991. The third Republic returned to multi-partisan during the October 1991 elections in which Frederick Chiluba emerged victorious. The 2001 elections held on 27 December 2001 helped the Zambians to choose their president, Members of Parliament (MPs) and the local councilors. The 2006 tripartite elections were held on the 28th of September for presidential, national assembly and local government. These were followed by the 20 September 2011 Presidential, national assembly and local government elections (EISA Report, 2011: 05).

The First Republic of Zambia was formed between 1964 and 1972 where the first two multi-party elections of 1964 and 1968 marked the birth of the First Republic. Following his victory in the 1964 elections, Kenneth Kaunda of the United National Independence Party (UNIP), became the first president of the Republic of Zambia (Katotobwe, 1996:16). In retrospect, it is now known that he remained in office until 1991.

Between 1973 and 1990, the one-party system which was established at the end of the First Republic limited competition in the National Assembly elections. Although UNIP had supremacy over parliamentary decisions, real power laid in the hands of the presidency. Kaunda was re-elected in 1973, 1978 and 1988.

The transition to multiparty democracy was the culmination of a few developments both at home and abroad. The transition was largely a result of widespread protests sparked by a deteriorating economy, which the army attempted to silence through a failed coup attempt in 1990. Several people were killed, especially during the 1990-1991 protests. The protests were spearheaded by a coalition of civil society organizations (CSOs), including trade unions, business associations, professional and student bodies, and churches (Katotobwe, 1966).

As part of the transition towards the landmark 1991 elections, on 24th August 1991 the National Assembly approved a new election law (Rakner and Svasand, 2003: 13) that established an electoral commission with the responsibility of conducting the elections (article 76). The members of the commission were to be appointed by the state president and implemented by an election directorate, a body of civil servants in Lusaka.

The presidential and legislative elections held on 31 October 1991 were won by Frederick Chiluba (a devout Christian and a former leader of the labour movement) and his party, the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD). These elections were judged by observers to be largely fair and transparent.

A state of emergency was declared in late 1997 when a small group of army officers falsely claimed to have overthrown the government. Although order was restored, this was perhaps indicative of the fact that some people were becoming disillusioned with the government (EISA, 2006:2).

The Constitution of Zambia adopted in 1996 provides for the election of the President and members of the National Assembly by direct adult universal secret ballot. The President and MPs are elected for five-year terms of office, with the President limited to serving a maximum of two terms of five years. Amongst other things, the Constitution states: ‘Notwithstanding anything to the contrary contained in its Constitution or any other Law, no person who has twice been elected as President shall be eligible for re-election to that office’ (Constitution, 1996, article 35(2)).

The Constitution further states that Presidential elections must be held whenever the National Assembly is dissolved (Constitution, 1996. Article 34), or within 90 days of the President vacating office by resignation, death or ceasing to hold office (Constitution, 1996, article 38). The President is Head of State and government and Commander in Chief of the defense force. Importantly, the president must be Zambian by birth.

In a public rally in Kitwe in 1990 President Fredrick Chiluba gave a speech calling for democracy and pluralistic politics, but also added that “Zambia has seventy-three tribes and if one doesn’t belong to any of these then he or she is not a Zambian” (The Post:1994). Most people interpreted his statement as a veiled political attack on the then President Kenneth Kaunda, born in Zambia to parents who emigrated from Malawi, and who had ruled the country since its independence in 1964. In Zambia the Vice- President and Ministers are appointed by the President from among the members of the National Assembly. The Constitution also lays down qualifications for the presidency and MPs (EISA Assessment Report, 2008:28).

The National Assembly consists of 150 members who are elected from constituencies using the First-Past-The-Post electoral system. Eight members are nominated by the President and a speaker is elected by the National Assembly, but not from the National Assembly. The eight specially elected MPs are nominated from the public by the President under the assumption that he considers it necessary to enhance the representation of special interests, skills and gender in the National Assembly.

1.4 Problem Statement

Recently, SADC communities have seen a welcome revitalization of fair political stability and development as well as academic interest in electoral systems and matters. The elections in countries such as Botswana, Zimbabwe and Zambia took an innovative step forward from 2008 to 2011

regarding democratic consolidation. It is against this background that this study uses Zambia and Botswana as examples to expound the points made above. The study offers a brief on the role of electoral stakeholders in the Botswana elections in 2009 and 2014, and Zambia's 2011 elections, analyzing the democratic elections process and these countries' prospects for consolidating a democratic practice.

An analysis of Botswana and Zambia's electoral processes was done to enable the researcher to make recommendations on how to achieve the electoral stakeholder mandate within the interest of delivering democratic elections. The researcher would also recommend the role of each stakeholder in the electoral process as well as their impact on the credibility and acceptance of elections.

This study was conducted to examine the involvement of electoral stakeholders and the international community in consolidating democracy in the SADC region, and to consider what electoral administrations can do to promote the involvement of all stakeholders in the elections so that the credibility and acceptance of the process could be enhanced.

The study also examined the elements of the election process, the concepts used, methods and approaches used, governance framework, and the role of electoral stakeholders in both countries. Finally, it considered the best practices that should be followed by other countries regarding stakeholders' involvement in the electoral processes as general good.

1.5.1 Aim of the study

The current study sought to comparatively analyze the role of electoral stakeholders in the electoral processes of Botswana and Zambia.

1.5.2 Objectives of the study

Most African countries including Botswana and Zambia have experienced with fair, competitive, credible, and democratic electoral politics than others. However, many of them still encounter democratic deficiencies emanating from the electoral system's inadequacies. It is for this reason that this research sought to contribute to the African democratic experience pertaining to this issue (Salih and Hamdok, 2007:133).

In view of the above, the objectives of the study comprehensively incorporated numerous subset variables. In a nutshell, the specific objectives of the study were:

- To provide an overview of the history of electoral participation in the SADC region (with a specific focus on Botswana and Zambia).
- To establish the relevance of electoral stakeholders in the electoral processes;
- To analyze the factors that determine the level of participation of electoral stakeholders in the electoral processes in general and in the cases of Botswana and Zambia;
- To specifically assess the contribution of electoral stakeholders in the organization of elections in 2009 and 2014 for Botswana and 2011 and 2016 elections for Zambia;
- To identify the challenges that affect electoral stakeholders in the organization of elections in Botswana and Zambia; and
- To make recommendations for the improvement of electoral stakeholders' involvement in Botswana's and Zambia's electoral processes.

1.6 Hypothesis

The electoral stakeholders across the board will not re-adjust if they continue complying without holding their governments accountable if they don't show out their knowledge on their roles in the electoral processes as per the electoral cycle activities.

1.7 Research questions

Drawing directly from the above research objectives, the researcher formulated five distinct research questions that would enable the study to achieve its purpose, objectives and aims. It was anticipated that the answers to these research questions would constitute the findings of the present study. Therefore, the following five questions guided this study:

1. What role do electoral stakeholders play in an election?
2. How do the experiences of Botswana and Zambia respectively compare with the general electoral trend across the world?
3. What factors determine the level of electoral stakeholders' participation in the electoral processes in Botswana and Zambia?
4. How do electoral stakeholders contribute to the organization of elections in Botswana and Zambia?
5. What challenges do electoral stakeholders face in Botswana's and Zambia's electoral processes?

1.8 Significance of the study

Research suggests that elections must be transparent, open, accessible, and inclusive (IDEA, 2006:89). They must be within the legal framework, be peaceful, have sufficient safeguards, respect human rights, and meet the declared international standards. Regular consultation with electoral stakeholders has also been found to inform local electoral management bodies about the betterment of their area performances.

Against the above background, the present study is significant in many ways. Firstly, it compares Botswana and Zambia in terms of democratic consolidation. Secondly, it provides the basis for analysis in terms of testing the assumptions held by IDEA and other sources. Thirdly, this study contributes to the assessment of the legacy bequeathed to African countries by former colonizers such as Britain. Fourthly, it assesses the leadership prowess of African leaders in terms of maintaining peace and stability in their respective countries using the two selected countries as examples. Finally, the study describes how African countries have embraced the democratic ethos and have created space for different stakeholders to play their role in the process of democratic consolidation.

1.9 Scope and limitations of the study

The current study primarily focused on the past two recent elections in Botswana and Zambia. Specifically, the study explored the electoral stakeholders' contributions towards the democracies of these two Southern African countries. It should be noted that other issues pertinent to the success of political elections such as the legitimacy of the government, functioning of the government of the day, as well as economic growth were not within the interest of this study and could be addressed in further research.

The scope of this study was also narrowed by the number of potential respondents who due to the sensitive nature of the issue being discussed could not participate in it. For example, important electoral stakeholders like the Police and Air forces could not be interviewed because protocol demanded that high authorities should be consulted before they could participate.

In Zambia, more caution was exercised while accessing the field and the respondents because the fieldwork for this study coincided with the electoral period and the political campaigns. During this period visits to the local political party offices and prominent members or leaders were kept to a bare

minimum to avoid suspicion. However, despite all these challenges the researcher of the current study managed to interact with several key informants with the requisite skills and knowledge to enrich the findings of this study.

1.10 Definition of selected key concepts

Democracy: Democracy, particularly its liberal version, may be defined as “a system of governance in which rulers are held accountable for their actions in the public realms of citizens, acting indirectly through competition and cooperation of their elected representatives” (Diamond and Plattner, 1999: 83).

Elections: Elections are major institutional pillars of liberal democracy that provide the platform for exercising the core rights associated with democracy, freedom of speech, association, choice and movement; and in this regard, they constitute a vital bridge linking the masses to the political class (Ninsin, 2006).

Electoral process: In simple terms, this concept refers to the process that is followed when preparing for an election – from start to finish. It involves voter registration, candidate registration, electoral campaigns by the candidates, accessibility to various media, voting at the polls (or electronically), vote counting, right up to the announcement of the winner(s) (Matlosa, 2003).

Electoral Stakeholders: The term ‘stakeholder’ refers to individuals and groups who depend on the organization to fulfill their own goals and on who, in turn; the organization depends for legitimacy (Ninsin, 2006). Stakeholders in election, particularly the Electoral Commission or EMB, political parties, civil society organizations, media (private and public), security agents, and potential voters are the giant contributors of any arranged election.

1.11 Plan and Structure of the Thesis

The current study consists of seven chapters which are organized as follows:

Chapter One: Introduction and Orientation

This chapter has provided a comprehensive introduction to the present study and has outlined the foundation on which the study was conducted. It has presented critical background information including the two case studies. This was followed by a statement of the problem, the study’s main

purpose, as well as its aims, research objectives and questions. Based on this introduction, the thesis will now focus on how the study was conducted.

Chapter two: Theoretical Framework and Literature Review

The second chapter outlines the theoretical framework that underpins the findings of this study. A brief introduction is followed by an in-depth discussion of the two-tier theoretical approach adopted for this study and an overview of the research scenario. This is followed by case study theory and Atkinson – Jordan’s conception, the two theories used to guide and inform this study and the democratic theory.

The chapter also presents a detailed and critical review of contemporary literature on the theme of this study and on the selected case studies. The chapter also gives pointers to the answers that are provided to the five research questions in subsequent chapters. The literature review is organized in different sub-topics per case study with the same outline on the concept of an analysis of roles of electoral stakeholders in the electoral processes. Also shared are the historic electoral experiences towards the accomplishment of free and credible elections based on international standards.

Chapter three: Research Design and Methodology

The third chapter presents the research design, methodology and data collection and analysis methods used in this study. The first section outlines the research strategy of this study, as well as its research design, primary research strategies, identification of the target group, the sampling procedure, sample characteristics and size, and the primary data analysis tools and strategies. It also explains the reasons for the selection of the study site and sample, as well as the operationalization of the research instruments in the field. Studies such as this one requiring interaction with different informants are only possible with permission from gate keepers or administrative authorities (Rule and John, 2011: 112).

In Zambia, with high levels of surveillance of citizens by state authorities and low levels of democratic culture due to its historical political transitions, discussing politics and elections is sensitive as compared to Botswana where there is more political tolerance. Therefore, to circumvent these limitations, it was necessary to follow all administrative procedures before conducting the research. A letter of introduction and ethical clearance certificate were requested from the University

of KwaZulu- Natal (UKZN). The chapter concludes with a discussion of the challenges faced throughout the study and the various strategies adopted to overcome them.

Chapters four and Five: Botswana and Zambia’s Political History, Democracy and the roles played by Key Electoral Stakeholders during the 2009/14 and 2011/16 General elections respectively.

The fourth and fifth chapters provide an overview of Botswana and Zambia’s political histories, democratic setup, elections and roles of key electoral stakeholders in each country. Specifically, the chapter also presents the different transitions that the two countries went through, from colonialism to post-independence socialism, peace, tranquility and democratization. It also explains the types of elections held in the two countries, as well as their electoral systems and the type and functions of their electoral management bodies. The two chapters close with a brief highlight of the present challenges faced by the electoral stakeholders in the building of the democratic processes in both countries.

Chapter six: Research findings and analysis

The sixth and penultimate chapter presents the results of this study and predicates them on the theoretical framework discussed in Chapter Two and the literature reviewed in this study. The researcher also draws plausible conclusions emanating from the data collected through questionnaires and face to face interviews conducted with leaders of the key electoral stakeholders. Following a brief introduction, the chapter presents the research findings systematically arranged in accordance with the five research questions.

Chapter Seven: Summary, conclusion, and recommendations of the Study

The seventh and last chapter of this thesis provides the main conclusion of the study, a discussion of its findings, and makes appropriate recommendations. After a brief introduction, the first section reiterates the purpose of the research and its objectives, aims and questions. This is followed by a summary of the study, incorporating a summary of the research process and the findings. Lastly, it reflects on the theoretical and methodological contribution of the study and closes with recommendations for further research, and practical recommendations for the electoral management bodies, political parties, media houses, civil society organizations, eligible voters and legal framework reforms.

1.12 Concluding Remarks

The introductory chapter of this thesis provided the background and rationale of the current study, as well as its purpose, research questions and working assumptions. The topic of the study was introduced, setting out its research questions and core assumptions. Also described was the study's research design, methodology ethical considerations. The following chapter discusses the underlying theoretical framework that guided this study, together with an overview of election studies in Africa, Botswana and Zambia in the southern African region. This is done to give the present study a broader context within which it should be understood.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews journal articles, books, and other literature discussing the role of electoral stakeholders in the SADC region - with specific focus on Botswana and Zambia. The chapter also presents an in-depth discussion of the theoretical Atkinson-Jordan's theory guiding this study. The chapter concludes with a summary.

2.2. Conceptualization of concepts and Theoretical Framework

Modern research practice has emphasized the need for a theoretical framework as a mandatory component of acceptable research studies. In the context of this study a theory was essential because it contributes to the understanding of political situations beyond the people and the phenomenon being studied. The importance of a theoretical framework is also recognized by Camp (2001), who indicates that reviewers for research journals and related publications categorically demand articulated theoretical frameworks in manuscripts under consideration for publication. However, scholars are still uncertain about the definition of a theoretical framework in research. As a result, after a critical evaluation of literature on the relationship between research and theory, Camp (2001:08) concluded that "there is a general lack of agreement on what is meant by theoretical framework".

In view of the above, the current study searched for the most relevant theory that could buttress salient issues pertaining to the involvement of the electoral stakeholders in the Botswana and Zambia electoral system and to the contextualization of electoral challenges within the broader perspective of their causes, drivers, and impact.

Identifying a relevant theory for this study was expectedly challenging because most studies analyze one election in one country based on one theory or combined approaches and few election studies on African democracies are based on the traditional approaches developed in the consolidated democracies (Lindberg & Morrison, 2008; Basedau *et al*, 2011). With the introduction of Afro barometer surveys cross-national analysis have started to emerge (Bratton *et al*, 2012; Pereira, 2008). The question becomes: How have traditional theoretical approaches been applied to Africa? Although with some limitations, the sociological approach, particularly in its version of social

cleavage, has been widely applied to analyze the role of electoral stakeholders during elections in Africa. This has recorded some successes, but it is not the only answer to the question above.

2.2.1. Definition of theory

A theory can be defined as a set of interrelated constructs, definitions, and propositions that present a rational view of phenomena and explain or predict relationships among variables. Scholars have presented different perspectives on the use and purpose of theories in empirical research. According to Ary, Jacobs and Razavieh (1990), a theory serves five distinct purposes in research. First, it helps researchers to summarize new knowledge and findings into succinct statements. Second, a theory helps to order or organize an existing body of knowledge within an area of study; and third, it helps to clarify and ascribe a conclusive meaning to empirical findings that may have previously occurred in isolated settings. Fourth, a theory links old and new research finding and reveal conclusive meaning that is clear and straightforward. Finally, a theory can help researchers to reach a provisional explanation for the relationships between variables or events within a specified context (Ary et al., 1990:64). For instance, a theory of learning can be used by a researcher to explain the relationships between the dependent variable such as efficiency and speed of learning, and independent variables such as attitude, practice, study methods, motivation and reward.

Based on the above understanding of the term ‘theory’, a theoretical framework can be defined as the application of a theory within a study. In its most simplistic form, Camp (2001) defines a theoretical framework as a set of theoretical assumptions that explain the relationships among a set of phenomena. On the other hand, Warmbrod (1986) defines a theoretical framework in a more comprehensive manner as the systematic ordering of ideas about the phenomena being investigated or a systematic account of the relations among a set of variables. For his part, Creswell (1994:97) defines a theoretical framework in a more abstract but practical manner, as the examination of discipline-based literature related to a topic and the identification of an overarching theory that explains the central assumption or proposition.

Indeed, theories enable researchers to logically explain the relationships between variables under consideration. The theories in safety literature can be neatly divided based on the definition or approach of safety culture that is adopted. The theories used in the current study helped to identify the most appropriate data collection process and the most accurate data collection strategies.

Thereafter, the selected theories were used to ascertain that the data for this study practically and theoretically sound to explain the role of electoral stakeholders in Botswana and Zambia.

2.3. Case study theory

Different types of qualitative research have been anchored by Patton (1990:66) in “the kinds of questions a particular researcher will ask”. He identifies ten research traditions that include: ethnography, phenomenology, heuristics, ethnomethodology, symbolic interactionism, ecological psychology, systems theory, chaos theory, orientation inquiry, and hermeneutics. Furthermore, Merriam (1998) identified five types of qualitative research that included: basic or generic qualitative study; ethnography; phenomenology; grounded theory and case study. The above five types of research were different from each other, but they all shared the following essential characteristics of qualitative: the goal of eliciting understanding and meaning; the researcher as a primary instrument of data collection and analysis; the use of fieldwork; an inductive orientation to analysis; and findings that are richly descriptive (Merriam, 1998:11).

The current study took a descriptive research approach in the form of a case study. The case study approach to research is a way of conducting mainly qualitative inquiry, commonly used when it is impossible to control all the variables that are of interest to the researcher. The purpose of a case study in any research is to gain an in-depth understanding of the situation and meaning of the phenomenon being researched. Furthermore, a case study, like the current one, is more interested in the process rather than the outcome of the research, as well as in the context of the research rather than a specific variable. It is also interested in discovery rather than confirmation of a phenomenon. Merriam (1988:08) points out that the case study’s unique strength is its ability to deal with a full variety of evidence, including documents, artefacts, interviews and observations.

The use of a case study approach is determined by factors such as: the nature of the research questions; the amount of control the researcher has over the variables under investigation; the desired end-product; and the identification of a bounded system as the focus of investigation (Merriam, 1988:08). ‘How’ and ‘why’ questions are the most suitable types of questions for a case study because the approach draws attention to what can be specifically learned from the single case (Stake in Denzin & Lincoln, 2002:05). In many educational settings, the lack of control that can be exercised by the researcher means that it is necessary to adopt a holistic approach to the issue that is grounded in the reality of the situation and one that illuminates the meaning of what is occurring.

A case study often builds upon tacit knowledge and provides a thick description of the case under investigation (Merriam, 1988:12). The most essential element of a case study is the identification of the case itself. This allows a 'bounded system' to be identified with certain features occurring within the boundary of the case, and other features outside it (Stake in Denzin & Lincoln, 2002:436).

The end-result of a case study can draw from some or all the following:

1. The nature of the case itself,
2. The historical background of the case,
3. The physical setting in which the case is bounded,
4. The economic, political and legal contexts that impact upon the case,
5. Other cases through which the case can be known (Stake in Denzin & Lincoln, 2002:438-9).

Merriam defines a case study as "an examination of a specific phenomenon, such as a program, an event, a process, an institution, or a social group" (1988:09). However, Stake (in Denzin & Lincoln, 2002:436) argues that a case study is both a process of inquiry about the case and the product of the inquiry.

Yin (1984:23) offers a more technical definition by equating a case study with an empirical enquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clear and in which multiple sources of evidence are used. Babbie and Mouton (2001) define the case study approach as research which studies a few people or cases in detail over time. It focuses on the process, complexity and nature of the case in question which can be a person, a family, a community, a social group, an institution, an organization or event in its natural setting and from the perspective of the insiders. In this research, Botswana general elections for the year 2009-14 and Zambia 2011-16 tripartite elections were used as case studies for an in-depth qualitative analysis of the role of electoral stakeholders on free, fair credible and democratic elections.

2.3.1. Types of Case Studies

When a case study is linked to a discipline or area of specific interest, it can be named to reflect that interest or discipline e.g., an ethnographic case study, a historical case study, a psychological case study, or a sociological case study.

Case studies can also be described by the nature of the final report. A case study that presents a detailed account of the phenomenon under study is a descriptive case study. When the descriptive data are used to develop conceptual categories or to illustrate, support, or challenge theoretical assumptions the study becomes an interpretive case study, whereas evaluative case studies involve description, explanation, and judgment.

As mentioned above, a descriptive case study presents a detailed account of the phenomenon under study. Such case studies are theoretical, but they are useful in presenting information about areas of education where little research has been conducted. Interpretive case studies are used to develop conceptual categories or to illustrate, support, or challenge theoretical assumptions held prior to data gathering. Sometimes such case studies are called analytical case studies because they involve a greater amount of analysis than descriptive case studies. An evaluation case study involves “a thick description’, is grounded, is holistic and life-like, simplifies data to be considered by the readers, but most importantly, weighs up the information to enable a judgment to be made” (Laws & McLeod, 1996:05).

Case studies can also be defined by some combination of the disciplinary orientation and the end-product. Therefore, there can be case studies that are ethnographic evaluation, program description, historical interpretations, sociological studies, and so on. Some case studies are purely descriptive; while others are a combination of description and interpretation or description and evaluation (Merriam, 1988:22-29).

Finally, a case study might be selected for its uniqueness. In the current study Botswana and Zambia were chosen as case studies because of their liberal democratic setup since their independences. Abramson (1992) underscore the value of a unique or a typical case and contend that: ‘since such data are rare, they can help elucidate the upper and lower boundaries of experience. Second, such data can facilitate prediction by documenting infrequent non-obvious, or counter intuitive occurrences that may be missed by standard statistical (or empirical) approaches, hence the researcher applied SPSS program to interpret the research output of the study through questionnaires and interviews. Finally, typical cases are essential for understanding the range or variety of human experience, which is essential for understanding and appreciating the human condition (Abramson, 1992:190).

2.4. Democratic Theory

A working minimal definition of democracy is that it is a polity in which decisions of public policy are subject to popular control and all members are considered equal for the purposes of exercising control. To establish the ideals against which existing elections can be evaluated it is necessary to situate electoral institutions in the context of democratic theory. This section thus develops a stylized account of a policy accountability model of democracy and explores the implications of such a model for understandings of electoral integrity.

In its literal sense of '*demo- kratia*' as popular rule, democracy is an oxymoron. It is not conceivable for 'the people' to 'rule' in any meaningful sense, as this would involve all people making and implementing unanimous decisions on all aspects of their collective existence. The history of democratic theory can in many aspects be a series of efforts to come to terms with the 'impossibility' of liberal democracy by relaxing some of its requirements (Birch, 2011:14).

In the modern world of representative democracy, a popular rule is understood (at least in part) in terms of collective choice on an equal basis over leaders as public goods (Birch, 2011: 14). Collective choice is carried out on an equal basis when the views of each member of the community are equally valid. Leaders are public goods in as much as they make and oversee the implementation of public policy. The periodic election of representatives thus serves as a means of enabling many people to contribute indirectly to the formation of collective decisions over a range of issues governing their common existence.

In a democracy policy choice is social or collective choice in as much as (a) it is a choice over issues that govern the collective, and (b) it is a choice collectively made. The collective choice situation is one in which the aim is to select a single policy option or a combination of options. It is assumed that all individuals can have distinct views on issue (s) under consideration, and that the primary unit of choice is therefore the individual. It is also assumed that all individuals can make known their view on the matter at hand, even if that view is that they are indifferent as between alternatives or that at the time of choice they are unable to make up their mind.

The democratic assumption that all members are considered equal for exercising control over policies can be taken to mean that all people's views must be considered equally valid. The reality is that saying that all people's views are equally valid could be understood as implying several things.

It could, for example be taken to imply that a collective choice is itself valid only if it reflects the views of all, and that failing unanimity, no true collective choice is possible.

The assumption of equality could also be taken to imply that all people's views should be equally valued. This interpretation of the equality principle is more likely to appeal when the choice situation is understood not as a matter of making a collective judgment about the common good but a matter of balancing inherently irreconcilable interests or world views. Equal valuing suggests equal weighting, which in turn entails an aggregative mechanism that involves the counting of individual views.

In a democracy a rule is required has been found to translate individual views into a collective choice, and the majority principle that makes the median voter decisive has been found to satisfy several desirable criteria (Enelow and Hinich, 1984: Chp. 2; May 1952). Another vital principle of decision-making holds that the equal validity of views requires a decision to reflect the views of all decision-makers, such that the result is 'most preferred', rather than 'preferred by most' (Dahl, 1956: Chp. 4).

The following are three principal conditions for democratic outcomes through electoral means: inclusiveness, policy-directed voting, and effective aggregation. Democracy is a system in which, among other things, the entire polity can choose leaders based on the policy packages they represent, and where the choices they make are processed in keeping with democratic principles. The principles of inclusiveness policy- directed voting, effective aggregation will now be considered in turn below, together with the institutional requirements they imply.

2.4.1 Inclusiveness: For a decision to be made democratically, it is generally held that all those who have a view on issues of collective decision making must be able to express those views through the electoral process. There are two distinct elements to this criterion: the inclusion of people as eligible decision- making members of the community, and the availability of electoral options representing a wide range of different policy packages. A base- line definition of democratic inclusion might be that all members of the community who are competent to decide can decide (Hyland, 1995:8-13), and that they have potentially attractive options from which to choose. This implies open electoral condensation as well as a fall franchise.

2.4.2 Policy-directed voting: The second and perhaps more contentious- criterion is that the views expressed by citizens are relevant to the issue under consideration. As noted above, the empirical literature on electoral choice has found that voters view their votes in different ways. For example, those going to the polls see voting instrumentally as a means of promoting their interest, that of their group, or that of the community. Others see it is an expression of support for a conception of the collective good. Yet other voters see it as an act of protest (Brennan and Lomasky, 1993). If choices are to be made democratically, this implies that voters have an obligation to perform a specific role in the choice process; they must vote with a view to affecting the public good that is the ultimate outcome of that process. This does not necessarily mean that their vote is directly linked to their position on all policy issues facing the community, but their choice must in some sense be motivated by their desire to contribute to collective decision- making over issues of public policy: it must in some sense be ‘policy- directed’.

2.4.3 Effective aggregation: The term ‘effective aggregation’ is intentionally vague, as the meaning of the word ‘effective’ will be largely determined by the decision employed in each system. Nevertheless, some general remarks can be made as to the prerequisites for effective aggregation under any decision rule. For the criterion of equality to be satisfied, they must all be processed per the same aggregation rule, regardless of the object of vote choice. They must also in theory all be equally weighted by the aggregation rule, in the double sense that (a) they must all be equally valued and (b) that they must all contribute equally to the outcome (Miller, 1993).

Finally, for policy accountability to be possible, the aggregation mechanism must serve the function of ensuring policy correspondence per the decision rule employed.

2.5. Atkinson- Jordan’s Perspective

According to Atkinson- Jordan, the election management, political parties, media and civil society organizations are four electoral stakeholders that help in the organization of elections. Each of these four electoral stakeholders has its own roles that it plays in the electoral process or during elections. Atkinson-Jordan (2008) argued that when all the roles played by the shortlisted electoral stakeholders are merged this will lead to the following:

- Strong legal and constitutional basis for independent and impartial electoral management bodies and administrators shall be maintained by all countries;
- The promotion of public confidence through open and transparent electoral procedures;
- The development of civic education programmes and systems designed to motivate citizens' involvement and electoral participation;
- The development of simple and functional voter registration procedures which will encourage maximum voter participation, and promote the development of accurate and complete voter registries and;
- The development of professional election officials with high integrity, a strong sense of public service and a commitment to democracy.

When these outcomes are achieved, there will be free, fair, credible and peaceful elections. This in the end will help to strengthen the democracy of the country in question. Although the explanation that Atkinson-Jordan (2008) offers on the electoral stakeholders' participation in election is good, it has some shortfalls.

Firstly, the framework neglected the participation of the electorate. The electorate plays important roles in elections by casting their ballots to elect a leader. Their active participation helps to elect a leader that represents the choice of the entire populace. Secondly, the framework failed to comment on the negative consequences that insufficient participation of electoral stakeholders may bring. It only concentrated on the positive participation of the electoral stakeholders leading to free and fair elections.

Atkinson-Jordan's (2008) framework was adopted because it best suits the objectives of the current study and it also came closer in capturing all the elements that enhance participation. It supports participation and involvement of the electoral stakeholders in the electoral process. All the electoral stakeholders in Botswana and Zambia learned more about their code of conduct, for them to know how and when to participate in elections for acceptance of results and not to tarnish one another for gain of popularity.

2.6. The Concept of election participation

Participation, which refers to being involved in an activity or event, is an important element in elections. The various activities in which people participate in elections include voting, political

party rallies and declaration of results. Eulau (2010:16) has observed that the level and type of election have a great impact on the rate of electoral participation. Electoral turnout is greater in national elections than in state or local government elections, and greater in the latter than in local elections.

Eulau (2010) opines that if local elections are held concurrently with local government or national elections, generally a higher voter turnout is achieved than for non-concurrent elections. Technicalities in the electoral law may disenfranchise many potential voters. For example, people who change their legal residence may temporarily lose their vote because of residence requirements for voters in their new electoral district. Relatively low levels of electoral participation are associated with low levels of education, occupational status, and income.

2.6.1. Political participation

Political participation is defined by Brady (1999) as any behaviour intended to influence public decision directly or indirectly- making process thereby securing a political outcome. In Armah-Attah's (2006) view, political participation is a series of activities that significantly influence public policy or government actions, including participation in political discourse, election processes and community action. Political participation, according to Torca and Montero (2004) enables citizens to voice their grievances through numerous channels and to be heard by those in authority. These channels include voting, writing letters to representatives, campaigning for a political party, signing a petition and joining a protest march.

Political participation in a democratic governance of a country can take many forms, ranging from voting for representatives at regular intervals to voting on policies in referenda, forming political groups, and engaging in legal or illegal protest. The individual engaged in such participation likely expects that these actions will have some impact on the content of government policies. However, the effects of political participation might not be limited to outcomes. Political participation might also affect individual life satisfaction and happiness (Weitz-Shapiro & Winters, 2008:57).

2.6.2. Participatory democracy

Participatory democracy is a process emphasizing the broad participation of citizens in the direction and operation of political systems. It is the willing contribution of citizens, individuals or groups and organizations making up what is called 'civil society' to the political and social life of their society.

Etymological roots of democracy imply that the people are in power and thus all democracies are participatory. However, traditional representative democracy tends to limit citizen participation to voting, leaving actual governance to politicians (Clay, 2008:16). Frequently, it is assumed that democracy implies that political power should be distributed to every person that resides in a country.

2.6.3. Democracy and elections

Democracy, particularly its liberal version, may be defined as ‘a system of governance in which rulers are held accountable for their actions in the public realms of citizen, acting indirectly through competition and cooperation of their elected representatives’ (Diamond & Platter, 1999:22). This implies extensive competition for power, high inclusion of citizens and the availability of civil and political liberties. Also, in between elections, citizens can influence public policy through various non- electoral means like interest group associations and social movements, which invariably involve cooperation and competition among citizens (Diamond & Platter, 1999). In a democracy as the Botswana and Zambia practice, a balance is normally found between competing values, and political actors who cooperate to complete.

To be effective and stable, there must be the belief in the legitimacy of democracy, tolerance for opposition parties, and willingness to compromise with political opponents, pragmatism and flexibility. There must also be trust in the political environment especially where other electoral stakeholders are to trust the electoral commission, cooperation among political competitors, moderation in political positions and partisan identifications, civility of political discourse and efficacy and participation based on the principles of political equality (Diamond, Linz & Lipset, 1995:121).

Elections are major institutional pillars of liberal democracy. They provide the platform for exercising the core rights associated with democracy, freedom of speech, association, choice and movement. Elections are also an expression of the right of participation in the political process. For the masses, elections give them the opportunity to make the political leaders accountable for their stewardship during the time of the country. The political class sees the electorate as an opportunity for renewing their mandate to exercise legitimate power. In this sense, elections constitute a vital bridge linking the masses to the political class (Ninsin, 2006).

2.7. Electoral stakeholders' participation in Africa

Literature review is a critical part of any research as it helps the different researchers to know contributions made by other fellow authors regarding the topic of their research. It is the ideas and works of others that can provide the researcher with the framework for their own piece of work; i.e., methodologies and research techniques that have been applied before. A literature review is vital; it shows that the researcher knows the major issues surrounding the topic. This will help with the interpretation of the results, as they can be discussed in the light of what had been done before.

The present researcher also familiarized himself with the different developments in the current debate surrounding the analysis of the role played by the electoral stakeholders in general and in Botswana and Zambia's electoral processes. This process helped the researcher to discover the extent of research already done on the research problem under investigation.

The researcher used reliable, relevant and suitable secondary data sources for the literature review. As such, each selected source fulfils certain criteria, which ensures that they adequately meet the reliability measure required and expected. For any publication to be deemed reliable and admissible for the literature review, it should fulfill the following set of criteria:

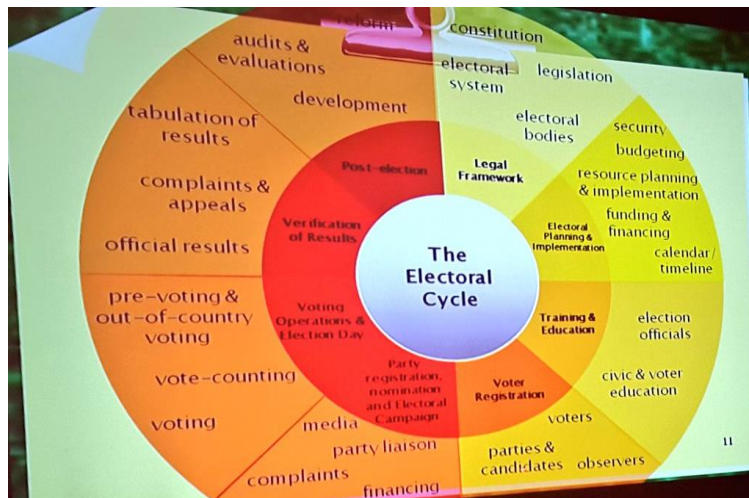
- The source should be published by a reputable mainstream media house in the form of leading national and/or international publications, government agency or by a respectable academic journal.
- The document should be published between 1980 and 2016.
- The specific source should have all the features of a reliable, credible, professional and competently written (academic or otherwise).

This chapter analyses international elections standards and discusses the roles of each electoral stakeholder in the electoral processes. The participation of local electoral management body as the leading institute for the elections was investigated in line with anticipated corporations with other electoral stakeholders identified in the study.

2.7.1 Typologies of electoral stakeholders

It is vital to identify the key electoral stakeholders in the electoral process - their role in the electoral process and their relationship amongst them, as indicated below in the electoral cycle activities.

Figure 2.1: The Electoral Cycle



Source: [HeinrichBöllStiftung @ HBS Nairobi](#) , 2016

Electoral stakeholders encompass all individual and organization entities that conduct or ensure that the elections are done on the one hand and individuals to whom elections are performed on the other. Therefore, electoral stakeholders can be divided into two groups: Primary and Secondary depending on the service they render as per the electoral cycle.

Primary electoral stakeholders are those that are directly affected by the electoral management body's activities, policies, and practices. The following are considered as core/primary stakeholders:

- ❖ Electoral Management Body (EMB);
- ❖ Political parties and candidates;
- ❖ Media (Public and private);
- ❖ Civil society organizations;
- ❖ Government;
- ❖ Security agents;
- ❖ Electoral dispute resolution bodies;
- ❖ Domestic and international observers;
- ❖ Voters and prospective voters; and
- ❖ Donor community and electoral assistance agencies (IDEA Handbook, 2006:04).

Secondary electoral stakeholders of the EMB are those who, although they form part of the environment in which the EMB operates, are more loosely connected with the EMB, such as

suppliers, the public at large and international networks. Without the contributions of electoral stakeholders, the outcome of any election may not be favorable. Moreover, if their contributions do not live up to expectations, they may also not be satisfactory (Osman, 2009).

2.7.2. Concepts of Primary Electoral Stakeholders

2.7.2.1 An independent Electoral Management Body (EMB)

The term “electoral management body” or EMB has been coined as a name to refer to the body or bodies responsible for electoral management, whatever wider institutional framework is in place (IDEA Handbook 2006:05). An independent body is one that is outside of government, whose members’ tenures are governed by appropriate appointment and removal provisions, which ensure that members are appropriately qualified and do not serve at the pleasure of the executive. It also ensures that members can be removed only on objective grounds relating to job performance. Furthermore, the group is sufficiently well funded by parliament to enable it to perform its functions and has control over its own functions (White 2005).

Electoral Management Bodies are institutions that manage elections as an activity or activities. In some countries these bodies are known as National Electoral Commission, Independent Electoral Commission, and Institute of Electoral Management, to mention but a few. These institutions are worthwhile in managing elections. However, to facilitate an independent body, the electoral bodies need to be impartial and should not be affiliated to any political party, including even the ruling party.

EMBs contribute towards any country’s elections in that they: manage elections at all levels of government; ensure that elections are free, fair and credible; declare the results in as short time as possible; promote knowledge of electoral process; register voters and compile voters’ roll; register political parties; liaise with political parties, develop electoral technology, review electoral legislation, engage in electoral research; and promote voter education.

Therefore, the independence of the electoral body is vital to the credibility of any election. The vitality is on the electoral management bodies and conducting elections without being interfered with. The assumption here is that the electoral bodies would prefer to conduct election activities fairly and just- thus should not be interfered with (Norman, 2010:06). Again, a note may come across as most of the management bodies differ from one country to another. This covers a little bit of

electoral management bodies, to acquire a foundation of discussion, and of the study when dealing with other stakeholders of elections, such as the voter, and the need for civic and voter education, to allow participation in the electoral process. The EMB is regarded as a referee in any political playing field as a referee.

EMBs are established as independent institutions to manage the electoral process. They are by design, a dispute resolution mechanism in the democratic dispensation. Their effective performance is regulated by the legal framework they implement. The legal framework is subjected to regular review to keep them relevant with the changing times. The main question is: when they should not engage in such review? EMBs are well informed and knowledgeable about how electoral laws play out in practice and have an interest in ensuring that an adequate legal framework is put in place to facilitate the management of elections.

The success of an EMB in the electoral reforms depends on its ability to manage a myriad of relationships with stakeholders as they have an interest in the outcome of the reforms. Effective management of key stakeholder relationship is crucial to build trust through openness for them to honestly provide input into the legal framework governing elections. In practice, EMBs engage in electoral law reform while recognizing that legal reform by nature can only be carried out within the established legal framework of the country and any reform is the responsibility of the legislature.

The EMBs can only recommend. Due to their hands-on experience in preparing and organizing elections, EMBs serve as a knowledge hub on practicability of the legal framework and become better placed to guide appropriate reforms. They know what works and what does not work, where there are gaps, inconsistencies, overlaps, as well as what challenges need to be addressed in the laws.

In reviewing the legal framework, EMBs may engage external experts for a shorter period. Regional and international experts have the advantage of having extensive experience from other countries within and outside the region and they offer alternatives and solutions. Often EMBs lack capacity in human resources to engage adequately in this area. EMBs' engagement in electoral legal reforms can be viewed as part of an electoral cycle phase. Typically, a reform process is initiated during the post-electoral period with evaluation of various phases of electoral processes. In the early pre-electoral period, a range of activities needs to be performed such as planning, research and presenting recommendations or draft bills to parliament.

Finally, when a new law has been adopted the EMBs need to operationalize the reform, inform and educate stakeholders on the change as well as implement the actual reform. In contemporary Africa, the centrality of elections presupposes the existence of an independent and impartial body to manage the elections at all levels. An independent body would, therefore, be important in levelling the political playing field and ensure that the political actors comply with the law.

2.7.2.2. Political Parties and candidates

A political party is defined as an organized group of people with at least roughly similar political aims, ideology and opinions. It seeks political power and exercises this power to govern by getting its candidates to public office (Pippa, 2004; Alan, 1996; Butler and Leonard, 1991; Austin and Tjernsron, 2003). Political parties tend to be deeply and durably entrenched in specific substructures of the specific society in a sustainable and well-functioning democracy. Political parties have a big stake in elections management. Firstly, political parties play a crucial role of playing an active game in the elections while the electoral stakeholders play a passive role (Lopez-Pintor, 2000:87-167; Morling, 1997:17).

Representative democracy cannot function without alternative parties and candidates to vote for. Political parties are crucial in aggregating interests, presenting political alternatives, candidates, and forming a link between the voters and those elected. It is acknowledged that political parties play an important role in leading the crusade to attain political independence in many countries. We reiterate that political party' aggregate diverse interests in society and develop them into coherent demands and platforms which are then filtered into the political system.

In a more direct way, political parties develop policies and manifestos, which become their blueprints or social contracts. Once elected to power, these become their programme of action. They serve as a platform for political mobilization, recruitment and voter education, and provide the electorate with choices as to who should wield political power (Molomo, 2005: 147).

The role of political parties is the key because without them there will be no election. Secondly, political parties determine the smoothness of elections. Political parties are led by people just as any other institution. Hence, the behavior of the members and or followers of the parties depend to a large extent on the type of leaders and at times leadership style. The functions of political parties include but are not limited to:

- ❖ Aggregating and articulating needs and problems as identified by members and supporters;
 - ❖ Socializing and educating voters and citizens in the functioning of the political and electoral system and the generation of general policies;
 - ❖ Balancing opposing demands and converting them into general policies’
 - ❖ Activating and mobilizing citizens into participating in political decisions and transforming their opinions into viable policy options;
- Channeling public opinion from citizens to government; and
- ❖ Recruiting and training candidates for public office (IDEA Handbook, 2006).

Political Parties are often described as institutionalized mediators between civil society and those who make and implement decisions. By this, they enable the demands of their members and supporters to be represented in parliament and in government. Even though parties fulfill many vital roles and perform several functions in a democratic society, the nomination and presentation of candidates in the electoral campaign is the most visible function to the electorate.

To perform the above-mentioned tasks and functions, political parties and citizens need some rights and obligations guaranteed or ruled by the constitution or law. According to Norman (2010:322), these include:

1. Freedom of organization.
2. Freedom to stand for election.
3. Freedom of speech and assembly.
4. Provision of a fair and peaceful competition.
5. Mechanism of plurality.
6. Inclusion in the electoral process and contacts with the EMB.
7. A level playing field and freedom from discrimination.
8. Media access and fair reporting by government of the day and the opposition parties.
9. Transparent and accountable political finance.

The internal functioning of individual political parties is to some extent determined by forces that are external to political parties, such as the electoral system, political culture, legal regulations, etc. However, internal processes of political parties, such as the personality of leaders and staff, the ideological foundations, party history, and internal political culture are even more influential on the internal functioning (Norman, 2010:325).

If a political party would like the democratic principles of electoral politics to be applied within the party, they may consider practices like internal information and consultation processes, internal (formal and informal) rules and structures for the organization and decision making within the party, and transparency in the party's functioning at all levels. Party members may also take on more formal roles in decision-making like participating in internal elections for leadership positions or in selecting the party's candidate(s) in the upcoming elections. Many parties also work actively to enhance the role of traditionally under- represented groups in their parties.

Political parties are indispensable in bringing voter education to the people as they have the greatest interest in the political contest. They are expected to explain why people should vote, the voting procedures, the secrecy of the ballot, and the general security of elections. It is also in their interests to urge their followers to cast valid ballots. But the ability of political parties to conduct voter education depends on the availability of human and financial resources.

Again, in a country like Botswana, except for the ruling party, political parties do not have adequate resources to carry out the mammoth and daunting task expected of them. Moreover, they are not financed by the state but should fend for themselves. In fact, voter education should be conducted by non-partisan organizations. Political parties are more concerned with implementing programs that attract more votes for them. They may even be selective concentrating on the constituencies that are deemed most likely to be supportive (United Nations, 2005: 1-15).

2.7.2.3. The Media

In general, the word 'media' refers to various means of communication. For example, television, radio, and the newspaper are different types of media. However, it can also be used as a collective noun for the press or news reporting agencies. In other languages, the word "media" is also used as a collective noun but refers to different types of data storage options.

It is truism that the media play an indispensable role in the proper functioning of democracy. Discussion of the media's contribution to elections usually focuses on the "watchdog" role: and by unfettered scrutiny and discussion of the successes and failures of governments the media informs the public of how effectively its representatives have performed and help to hold them to account. Yet the media can also play a more specific part in enabling full public participation in elections, not

only by reporting on the performance of government, but also in a few other ways (ACE Encyclopedia, 2009).

The role of the media in development may be looked at from legal and practical experience perspectives. Drawing from the two roles it can be generally argued that the media is a fundamental institution for disseminating information from one end to the other for, among others, enlightening and informing the community.

The media has immense power within African democracy because it informs not only Africans but also the world about the latest developments. Media coverage shapes how people perceive the world and what they consider to be important. Voters and politicians alike must pay attention to the media. In our political system, the media perform several functions important to the democratic process. The media reports the news; serves as an intermediary between the government and the people; helps determine which issues should be discussed; and keeps people active in society and politics (Norman, 2010:2).

In every country every citizen deserves to live under the Rule of Law, and every country has an obligation to enforce the law fairly and effectively. There is a new global consensus that an independent judiciary, independent media and informed civil society are critical to achieving this overarching societal objective (The Constitution of United Republic of Tanzania, 1977; Act No: 1 of 1985).

Unfortunately, in a dictatorship the media is controlled and only free to express the interest of the ruling class (Kilimwiko, 2002). For example, Zimbabwe has been accused of doing everything possible to control the media. Furthermore, in E-Swatini (Swaziland) the government seems to be intolerant to media houses that negatively report about King Mswati III. National newspapers such as the *Swaziland Observer*, *Times of Swaziland* and its siSwati version called *Tikhatsi Temaswati* have found themselves on the wrong side of the law while performing their normal duties of keeping the nation informed.

It goes without saying that any political administration wishes to have a media system that works towards helping the fulfillment of the policies of the ruling political party. This shows that the media is powerful enough to either inform or mislead the public.

Generally, the media is expected to perform the following functions:

1. To disseminate the information to the public so that the public has full access to the day's intelligence because the public has a right to know. Perhaps the most important role of the media in politics, and elections management in general, is to report the news. It is noted that clear majority of people tend to trust the media to provide them with information. Democracy requires that citizens be kept informed because they must be able to make educated voting choices (Norman, 2010). These days politicians, especially from the opposition political parties, often complain of media bias. They complain that the media's ability to decide which stories to report often reflects its partisanship. Although this is true to some extent, most major newspaper and television news stations report the same stories objectively. Bias is often restricted to the media outlets commentary and opinion pages especially towards election days.
2. To clarify the goals and values of society that the public should strive to achieve for elevating the common good. The media sometimes acts as a public representative by holding government officials accountable on behalf of the people. Many people argue that the media is ill equipped to play this role because the media does not face the same type of accountability that politicians face. Serving as the representative of the public, moreover, could undermine the media's objectivity because the act of representing the people might require reporters to take a position on an issue.
3. To link the leaders of the entire community and the people. The media is the medium through which the people may reach the government. The media plays a common- carrier role by providing a line of communication between the government and the people. This communication goes both ways: and the government learns from the media what the public is thinking (Norman, *ibid*).
4. To bind the people together through the promotion of key cultural values and behavior and behavior patterns; transmission of cultural heritage and mobilization of people for common cause.
5. To act as a forum for exchange of comment and criticisms because democracy is a culture of dialogue. The media also provides a public forum for debates between political leaders. During campaigns, opposing candidates often broadcast advertisements and debate with each other on television stations. Many voters learn a great deal about the candidates and the issues

by watching advertisements and debates. Even during years without elections, the news media allows elected officials to explain their actions via news stories and interviews.

6. To play a big role in socializing people to African society, culture, and politics.
7. To perform the main role of developmental engineering, educational and empowerment, advertising, and ideological propaganda. The media is expected also to foster development through injecting knowledge that will facilitate community engagement in productive activities (EISA, 2008).

2.7.2.4. Civil Society

The elusive nature of this concept is very precisely captured in this quote: “The elements of civil society range from groups based on religion and ethnicity to more fluid voluntary associations organized around ideology, professionalism, social activities or the pursuit of money, status, interest or power,” (Robert & Rosenblum, 2002:42). Civil society in this sense is made up of two components: civil society institutions and civil organizations. The former are those institutions of society whose purpose is to promote democracy, the rule of law, transparency and accountability.

Civil society programmes foster both civic initiatives and government responsiveness and accountability. They help citizens and CSOs around the world to articulate and advocate for reforms, promote citizen participation and good governance, communicate more effectively with national and local governments, and contribute to the sustainability of democratic institutions and practices.

There is a need for EMBs to interact with local civil society organizations that can act as a watchdog and partner in dialogue with national governments. Civil society organizations can play a crucial role not only in monitoring elections but also in monitoring and reporting on election expenditures and the voting and counting process. In emerging democracies, this is even more important and civil society organizations are important accountability actors.

Civil society organizations can also play an important role in domestic oversight and advocacy and can be of help in promoting the political participation of marginalized and minority groups. Therefore, in terms of credibility and transparency, EMBs should be advised to have a dialogue with civil society organizations and to assist in raising voter awareness.

EMBs should consider putting in place the framework that regulates the participation of CSOs in the electoral process, for instance, in domestic election observation and voter education. The degree to which citizens can participate in the political process of a country, together with civil and political liberties, is often taken as a measure of the state of democracy of a country. Being able to easily cast an educated vote on an understandable ballot paper offering a reasonable choice between a series of political candidates and political parties is certainly part of the democratic health of a country.

Civil society organizations are considered the most effective segment during the electoral activities because of their closeness to citizens. This is because they do door to door campaigns, conduct public meetings, distribute leaflets and attend community events. Furthermore, they provide the following benefits to the EMB:

- ✓ They have a better understanding of the culture, language and local conditions,
- ✓ They can sustain presence in the communities, before, during and after an election;
- ✓ They provide coverage of polling sites and comprehensively report of an election;
- ✓ They contribute thoughts on electoral matters that may not necessarily be available to the EMB;
- ✓ They provide a sense of confidence to the public; and
- ✓ After the election, they can verify the integrity and influence of public opinion in their judgment about the freeness and fairness of the election (IDEA Handbook, 2006).

Other important civil society organizations that can have a profound impact on voter education are religious institutions and native leaders, who have a large following in countries like Botswana and Zambia. While religious groups in many parts of the world have played an important role in voter education, in some African countries like Botswana it has been slow to participate. It is crucial that these bodies become involved to make a positive impact on the future of communities and the nation at large.

It is still debatable whether political party organizations should be viewed as part of civil society. Some perceive them as outside the realm of civil society because their aim is to seize political power. However, some define civil society in broader terms to include political parties.

Generally, civil society organizations play a huge role in the electoral processes as they focus on major issues; observe elections to ensure that they meet set standards; provide voter and civic education; and provide mediation and conflict resolution capacity in any given society in the world.

2.7.2.5. Government

Every society needs some people to make and enforce decisions that affect conduct within the group. Government therefore refers to the institution which exercises power in a group. In democratic elections the government plays a very critical role in terms of making things happen.

Governments form part of the three institutions of the state some of which are the judiciary and the parliament. The three, according to Norman (2003), set the so-called checks and balances. This literary assumes that the mandate of the three different institutions is equal. It can, of course, be argued on the one hand that the mandates are equal based on the terms of the law, particularly when the law clearly states that none of the institutions should intervene in the performance of the other (ODIHR, 2003:10-15).

Observing the role of the government on elections is certainly important in terms of eluting the relationships between the three institutions and finding out the gap (lacuna) in their roles. Both institutions are of great concern as far as elections are concerned. The President is important since he or she is made president by the EMB through the announced verified election results. It is elections which set the seat of the president. The vitality of elections touches the parliament because members of parliament are declared members through elections; with few exemptions to the nominated members.

✓ Legislature

EMBs need access to the legislature to ensure that their views are considered in developing electoral legal frameworks and electoral resources allocations, and to obtain feedback on their performance from an important stakeholder. The legislature is the body usually responsible for making laws, including electoral laws, and it may also approve the government budget and scrutinize all public accounts, including those of EMBs. In many countries, the EMB is required by law or convention to submit election annual reports to the legislature. Maintaining a good relationship with the legislature enables an EMB to put forward its budget proposals and reports knowing that they will be dealt with by a body that has some understanding of its activities (Maphephe, 2012: 45).

EMBs may play a particularly important role in the development of the electoral legal framework in emerging democracies. It is advisable for an EMB to liaise with the legislature to sensitize it about electoral reform needs and the importance of amendments to electoral laws being passed long enough before an electoral event to allow the EMB to make appropriate preparations.

✓ **Judicial bodies**

Many components of the judicial system may interact with EMB activities. EMBs may need the cooperation of the police and prosecuting authorities in investigating alleged electoral offences. Election's managers recognize the value of the quality of election service that they need to provide to the voter. The voter's perspective on the elections may be determined by the organization of elections from the time of registration of voters up to the polling date; as well as by the security of the voting place, distance of the polling stations from a voter's home, attitude of election administrations and by the politicians themselves (EISA, 2005:1).

All eligible voters, irrespective of their gender, race, socio-economic status, and political affiliation are constitutionally empowered to participate in the elections. Therefore, the EMB and the government have a responsibility to encourage voter participation and to spearhead voter education (Evrensel, 2010:353). Davids (2008:52) argues that '[n]o matter how proactive an EMB is in maintaining the accuracy of a permanent voters' roll, there will be a tendency for the overall accuracy of the information to degrade over time. This requires constant monitoring through comparison with population and land use data'.

2.7.2.6. Security Agents

Security of Elections is provided by security forces to ensure the safety of the voter, voting material and the polling staff. It also prevents any disorder that may occur. However, voter's trust in elections comes from a combination of mechanisms and procedures that enable them to cast their vote in secret and in an environment free from fear of reprisal.

Security is a high-cost and complex exercise in any election – and more so in higher risk environments or in those environments where locations are dispersed and need to be secured. It is costly in terms of providing security of material and equipment, as well as securing the safety of potential voters. Therefore, those tasked with electoral security need to bear in mind what needs to be secured, i.e., voters, equipment material, and polling staff (Tip, 2006:02).

In broad terms, election security addresses the following:

- ✓ physical security of premises and election (primary and secondary) materials,
- ✓ personal security of voters, candidates, party workers/ officials, electoral officials and general community,
- ✓ security of election information computer systems and software and communication systems, (ACE Knowledge 2006- Voting website security).

Security arrangements need to be considered in all phases of the election: the pre-election, during election and post elections phases. Security arrangements may differ depending on the context. For example, the security arrangements in Iraq for the 30 January 2006 elections would differ vastly from those in Botswana for the October 2014 Parliamentary and local government elections.

The role of security forces (army, police and intelligence) in protecting the security of the electoral process includes the secrecy of the ballot, and the security of the polling station and ballot boxes, and to some extent the safe transportation of ballot boxes.

All accredited security forces play a vital role in an election and need to have the trust and confidence of all electoral stakeholders. The forces support the electoral authority in ensuring that the electoral process runs smoothly and is free from risk of violence or conflict for democracy to be maintained.

2.7.2.7. Electoral dispute resolution bodies

An EMB may have to come across electoral dispute resolution bodies that have powers to deal with issues such as challenges to EMB decisions, disputes between the EMB and other electoral stakeholders, the legality of the content of EMB regulations, or challenges to election results or acceptance of election results by all electoral stakeholders. These may be judicial, quasi- judicial or less formal conciliation bodies. Their decisions can greatly affect the activities and public perceptions of the EMB (Maphephe: 2012:46).

General openness to other electoral stakeholders by the electoral management bodies builds confidence and trust among all. The mechanisms applied in building confidence can assist in maintaining a good relationship. This needs to be done in a manner that does not appear to impinge on the independence of decision making of either the EMB or the dispute resolution body.

It is of critical importance that an EMB should be professional and cooperative in any investigations of electoral disputes by these bodies. It will be difficult to maintain a good relationship if the EMB becomes obstructive of a dispute resolution body's access to relevant electoral materials or sites; if it lobbies to limit the powers of such bodies; and if its presentation of evidence on disputes is not professional (Lopez- Pintor, 2000: 87; Morling, 1997:17).

Politics of today are candidate-rather than party centered (Patterson, 2003:25). In this politics of the moment, strategic advantage and targets of opportunity are paramount. Candidates cannot afford to ignore the slightest ripple of public opinion because their future is firmly rooted in the present. Voters are consumers of the service provided by the election management body. Therefore, if the service is poor the voters' attitude will be negative and their participation in the electoral process will be negatively affected also.

It is therefore crucial for electoral managers to recognize the value of the quality of election service that they need to provide to the voter. All eligible voters, irrespective of gender, race, socio-economic status, and political affiliation are constitutionally empowered to participate, but since the onus is on voters to register to do so the EMB and the government have a responsibility to encourage voter participation and spearhead voter education. Evrensel (2010:353) and Davids (2008:52), argue that "[n]o matter how proactive an EMB is in maintaining the accuracy of a permanent voters' roll, there will be a tendency for the overall accuracy of the information to degrade over time. This requires constant monitoring through comparison with population and land use data". The future health of any community's democratic governance therefore lies in many eligible voters actively participating in the election process.

2.7.2.8. Domestic and international observers

Election observation refers to information gathering or fact-finding by individuals and institutions not participating in an election aimed at reaching an informed judgment about the credibility, legitimacy and acceptability of the electoral process and its outcome (PEMMO, 2003:30).

The holding of transparent, accountable and credible elections is an important cornerstone of the democratic process in any country, and domestic election observers can make a significant contribution in this process. Furthermore, these groups that often represent a broad coalition of civil

society organizations can also work to promote and defend democracy in their respective countries before and after the electoral process itself.

Observation of elections plays an important role in enhancing the democratic electoral process. It is an effective instrument for identifying shortcomings of the electoral process, for deterring fraud and for increasing the confidence of the electorate in the electoral process. The presence of domestic and international election observers in the evolving democracies tends to bring credibility and legitimacy to the election process being observed.

It is for this reason, therefore, that we need to appreciate the value of election observation for the management of election-related conflicts. It was submitted right at the onset that the primary value of election observation lies in the extent to which it facilitates constructive management of related conflicts. This is crucial for elections to bring about either political stability or trigger instability in a country with dire consequences for democratic governance as we have witnessed in several countries across Africa, e.g., Burundi, Kenya, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and many others. This is so because elections everywhere involve political contestation over state power by various political forces (primarily political parties) (EISA, 2006:3).

The presence of domestic and international observers in the evolving democracies tends to bring credibility and legitimacy to the election process being observed and serves to deter overt acts of electoral fraud, especially during the polling process. Election observation is one of the methods by which the transparency of an election can be ensured. It is a tool for promoting democracy, political rights, good governance and a sense of trust in the whole electoral process. Election observers are therefore independent assessors of election processes and outcomes. Their main role is to provide an impartial and independent assessment of an election.

Furthermore, election observers help to deter or expose violence, intimidation, cheating and or manipulation of the vote or the election results. Election observation is so significant that it is incorporated in the electoral regulations. Electoral acts make provision for the local EMB which defines election observers as:

- (a) Individuals representing foreign countries or international organizations and foreign eminent persons who have earlier applied to the national electoral commission to be accepted as observers and have been approved for accreditation by the Commission;
- (b) Individuals representing local organizations and eminent persons from within the host country who have earlier applied to the local Commission to be accepted as observers and have been approved for accreditation by the Commission;
- (c) Individuals representing bodies that exercise functions like those of the Commission and that have been invited by the Commission to observe any election;
- (d) Individuals representing foreign countries or international organizations and foreign eminent persons who have been invited by the Minister responsible for foreign affairs and international cooperation to observe any election and;
- (e) Individuals representing local organizations and eminent persons from within Zimbabwe who have been invited by the Minister to observe any election (Human Rights Bulletin: 2011:1-2).

Election observers are all expected to perform the following roles and functions as stipulated in electoral acts and as incorporated in the invitation from the host country:

- To observe the election process for the period between the calling of the election and the declaration of the result of the poll;
- To observe the conduct of the polling at the election;
- To be present at the counting or collating of votes cast at the election and the verification of polling station returns by presiding officers;
- To bring any irregularity or apparent irregularity in the conduct of the poll or the counting or collating of the votes to the attention of the Commission.

There are short-term and long-term election observers during the elections. Short-term observers monitor the election process on the polling day, while long-term election observers observe wider aspects of the election processes within the electoral activities as per the electoral cycle (pre, during and post activities).

2.7.2.9. The Electorate

Electorates are the most important of all the stakeholders in elections because they determine who will win an election (Mensa, 2009). The thump of a voter stands very high in elections because it can either make or unmake a candidate and determine a victor or a loser. It is wrong to assume that the EMB needs to only deal with these institutions without individual voters and to think that only political parties, civil societies, and government institutions alone should represent the electorate, (Frimpong, 2006).

2.7.3. Secondary Electoral Stakeholders

Secondary stakeholders in the electoral process are those who work with the electoral management bodies and are more loosely connected with it, such as the EMB business suppliers, donor community and electoral agencies.

2.7.3.1. Electoral Management Body Business Suppliers

An EMB relies on many suppliers for products such as election materials, consulting services, vehicles, Air Force Cargo, and security forces. Unless an EMB maintains good working relations with these suppliers, its performance may be adversely affected by, for example, suppliers' not keeping deadlines or supplying substandard products and services. To maintain good relations with its suppliers, an EMB should ensure transparency, professionalism and efficiency in the invitations for expressions of interest to supply goods and services. The EMB should also share information with suppliers and prospective suppliers on the EMB's values, such as strict adherence to integrity, dignity, professionalism and efficiency. It should also pay suppliers within the agreed deadlines; and arrange suppliers' information forums to discuss suppliers' concerns and formulate agreed solutions (United Nations, 2005).

2.7.3.2. Donor Community and Electoral Agencies

Africa is one of the major troop contributors in the numerous efforts to restore peace and order to various conflict areas, particularly those on the African continent. The bulk of African conflicts were either inherited, in the context of the post-colonial crises that bedeviled the continent, or came during the process of adjustment, consequent to the recession of Cold War politics. The conflict -inducing the potential of the simultaneous pursuit of economic reforms, in the form of structural adjustment programs and democratization has also been noted (UN, 2004:95).

With respect to democracy assistance, sometimes also termed political or democracy aid, the donor democracies, multilateral agencies, party foundations, think tanks, and some private organizations provide practical, advisory, technical, and financial support aimed either at fostering a transition to democracy or strengthening democracy and good democracy within the democratizing countries (Burnell, 2000:4-9). The spending on democracy assistance expanded significantly in the 1990s.

The key role of donor agencies in democracy building and electoral assistance around the world makes them an indispensable partner of many EMBs. Donor funding may go direct to the EMB, or pass through an intermediary, such as a government ministry. There may be a direct bilateral electoral assistance agreement with a donor, or multiple donors' assistance may be channeled through arrangements such as a UN Trust Fund as in Indonesia in 2004 and in Liberia at the turn of 2004 or a UN Trust Fund as in Haiti, Tanzania and Yemen. In all cases, an EMB needs to ensure that all donor requirements, including budgets, project implementation reports, and financial reports, and any requests for access to inspect the EMB's activities, are met with maximum efficiency and timeliness.

Donor round-table discussions can be used as a mechanism for an EMB to report its progress in electoral administration and use of donor funding. Donors may require, and certainly appreciate, EMB acknowledging donor assistance in its public relations events, publications and media productions (United Nations Report: 2005:15).

2.7.4. The role of electoral stakeholders: Global, Africa and Regional perspectives

As cited by Oyen (1990:29-39), there are cross-national differences and similarities, but the factors explaining differences are primarily not national but cultural. Those movements have become un-institutionalized institutions parallel to institutionalized politics, and as such, they are characteristic of Protestant Europe (SADCPF, 2001:7-8). It is further argued that it can be assumed that much research, comparative or otherwise, is guided by set of principles of least resistance or invitation by opportunity. All disciplines use spatial logistic of comparison; literature reviews, law and medicine.

In the last decade, the quest for electoral stakeholders and good governance has become an important area of concern in Africa and the world at large. Several countries have moved away from hitherto dictatorial regimes to an adherence to democratic principles (Otlhogile, 1998). In Canada, the participation of electoral stakeholders in the implementation of electoral policies is very common.

For example, in 2007, political parties were actively involved in the implementation of the new policy concerning the registration of political parties. In addition to this, various electoral stakeholders were also involved in the implementation of the new voters' identification policy in Canada. Prior to the implementation of this policy, the general public, political parties, civil society, the media and the Election Management Body were involved in consultations and discussions. The discussion was in a form of interviews which were held with targeted audience at Vancouver, Ottawa, Toronto and Montreal (Centre for Excellence in Communication, 2008).

In Africa, such countries include; Uganda, Mozambique, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Lesotho, Malawi, Tanzania, Somalia etc. Moreover, the premium is placed on the legitimacy of the government of the day (Maru, 2011:04). Electoral stakeholders have become important in determining the adherence of democratic principles.

The electoral process is an essential tool for decision making in any democracy and for institutionalization. Once clear elections are held, they gain respectability and credibility. Therefore, an election is a foundation of a true democracy. It is from such perspective; those elections are a very important aspect of the democratic process, which requires careful planning and handling (Byakagaba, 1998).

Elections, as we have come to know them, may not be new in Africa. Even before colonialism, but after AD, some clans, had to conduct elections basing on who was mostly acceptable in the entire family. They used what is referred to as 'direct democracy' whereby the supporters of each candidate would stand behind that candidate as a sign of support, then counting would be done to determine the winner. The results were instant and open. However, first formal elections in Africa were conducted in Sierra Leone in 1830s.

In addition, growing commitment to democratic elections is also an affirmation of a growing popular commitment to the rule of law (Frempong: 2007:62). Elections in few cases represent real opportunities for the populace to determine who governs but in many cases, they normally reflect more character of the political order and especially the degree of risk incumbents are willing to tolerate (Joseph, 1999:33). Elections in Africa have often been staged managed, won before election day, rigged or corrupted and electoral verdicts 'stolen' which are indicative of the habit of holding

regular elections without democratic culture. Regular elections therefore may not constitute enough grounds for postulating democratic consolidation (Ninsin, 2006).

In Africa, like other new democracies elsewhere in the world, the rules governing elections are yet to be institutionalized; even the most ordinary issues, such as the choice of Election Day and one's position on the ballot paper, which normally should be decided administratively, become highly politicized. The contest for power itself is a winner takes all as Botswana and Zambia practice, marked by tensions, acrimony and a vicious cycle of political distrust (Ninsin, 1995).

Moreover, the culture of one-party state adopted by many African states a few years after attaining independence can be said to have reduced the continuity of more democratic practices. To-date majority of African heads of governments are in power through elections (Analysis on the Commonwealth countries as of 30th December 2009), and about all active members of Commonwealth African heads of states (the Commonwealth Africa composed of 22 countries and all have until the conduct of the study, been in power through elections of the majority) have attained presidency or prime ministerial through democratic elections (Maru, 2011:04).

Elections and democracy have become central features of the Southern African political landscape. In the years, immediately following their independence, many African states in the Southern African region and the rest of the African continent experimented with one party state systems which were largely authoritarian in nature. However, since the beginning of the 1990s, the region has experienced a dramatic shift from one party state system to multi-party democracy in many of these countries.

The evolution of democracy was in part influenced by the global democratic changes that took place towards the end of the 1980s that saw the end of the Cold War and the ultimate collapse of the former Soviet Union block, and the pressures for reforms within those countries. These changes also provided suitable conditions for the independence of Namibia and the introduction of a non-racial multi-party democracy in South Africa, a milestone in the history of the region. Thus, the region embraced democracy as a way of governance.

The region in adopting democracy also embraced this system as the ultimate system of conflict management. The reconciliation process that followed the South African majority rule and which was later adapted by a few countries in the continent bear testimony to democracy as a tool for

conflict management and peaceful co-existence of different political groups. In fact, a stable and civic democratic culture is in liberal representative democracy. Democracy entails amongst others; active participation of the citizenry, rule of law, free and fair elections where the electorate chooses its representatives.

In Africa, the story is not different; most of the electoral policies are implemented in consultation with electoral stakeholders. In Namibia, amendment to the Elections Act (Act 124 of 1992) was made through the involvement of electoral stakeholders in a series of workshops held in 2007. During the workshops, the stakeholders agreed under the amendment Act 124 that announcement of results at the polling stations must be done by the Presiding Officer of the specific polling station to all those who are present which will not be present. Moreover, all those results from different polling stations must be taken to a central place within the constituency where the Presiding Officers, Returning Officers in the presence of the parties' agents will add the different results together to come up with total votes for the constituency and finally the Returning Officer announces the final constituency results (Jahanika, 2009).

However, one critical thing in a democracy is not only the acceptance of results by the contesting parties but the fact that the losing party / candidate should accept the results and continue to work for the development of the country and thus help to build and consolidate democracy. This is particularly important in emerging democracies such as those found in the SADC region because the possibility and cost of a reversal are high.

As articulated by Oyey (1990:1), there is no reason to believe that election research can exist easily and straight forward entry into comparative social research. The fact of the matter is that all the eternal and unsolved problems inherent in sociological research are unfolded when engaging in cross-national studies like Botswana, Ghana and South Africa. These are highly regarded in Africa and across the world as a model of democracy and good governance.

2.7.5. International standards for election management and elections

Round one of French presidential elections in 2002 electrified the world and changed the course of French politics (Gaffney, 2004:12). Like their counterparts in other advanced liberal democratic societies, the 2002 French elections were largely contented using media. Therefore, considering media as one of the electoral stakeholders, it is not surprising that the performance of electoral

stakeholders in some African countries is scrutinized by politicians, journalists and authorities among others. This poses a serious threat and discourages anticipated input from the electoral stakeholders to apply their minds and resources full to achieve competitive elections in general.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights represent the ‘gold standard’ for international law in this sphere. As per these instruments, elections must be held periodically; they must also meet five additional criteria: they must be held (a) by secret ballot, (b) under universal and equal suffrage, (c) in a non- discriminatory manner, (d) allowing direct choice and (e) free expression (Birch, 2011:02).

This approach is attractive in as much as it underpins the activities of those involved in international electoral assistance and observations and it informs media reporting on elections. However, the ‘best practice’ approach is in many contexts of limited value, as international legal instruments are silent on many aspects of electoral conduct.

Elections work to regulate politics in different ways, in different contexts. This may seem a very simple point but in fact it is one often overlooked by much of the literature on electoral integrity, which assumes that malpractice is a matter of defects in the way democracy functions (Birch, 2011:13).

2.7.6. Election legislation and codes of conduct

An election law neither nor should contain all provisions relevant to the election process. The election process will require the involvement of institutions and procedures based on other parts of the national legal system. It is important that the existence of other relevant legislation is included in the review process. Of importance is national legislation governing the media, the registration of political parties, citizenship, national registers, identify documents, campaign finance and criminal provisions related to election law violations. All legal provisions that have an impact on the election process should be identified and assessed (UNDP, 2004:84).

2.7.7. The general role of the key electoral stakeholders in Botswana and Zambia

Electoral stakeholders in election, particularly the local electoral management body, political parties, civil society organizations, media and the public contribute immensely to the success of any presidential, parliamentary and local government elections. Without their contributions, the outcome

of any election may not be favorable. Moreover, if their contributions did not live up to expectation the general outcome of elections may also not be satisfactory (Osman, 2009).

In Botswana, the mood of election gauged by the level of participation by citizens and the political environment of that point in time may define the level of interest and commitment by all electoral players. The level of enthusiasm by electorates and political institutions brings about the element of inquisitiveness in the whole management of electoral process. The credibility of an election therefore becomes an expensive and inevitable undertaking for any country to remain stable and peaceful.

The Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) adopted a culture of elections evaluation to ensure continuous improvement in the electoral process. Efficiency and effectiveness of the electoral process determine the level at which those involved accept the outcome of such an election. After the conclusion of the 2014 General elections, a series of workshops were conducted to review the election processes to determine the effectiveness and efficiency of the mechanisms put in place to manage the process. The IEC conducted introspection exercise in which all the Returning and Presiding Officers reviewed their performance and put out together recommendations thereto for further improvement (Maroba, 2014:07).

The introspection was followed by yet another exercise where the IEC allowed stakeholders to critique its performance and decide on ways to improve what they considered bottle necks in the management of elections and legal provisions within the legal framework. The stakeholders were privileged to benefit from recommendations from local, international observers, diplomatic groups, and civil society's recommendations for further analysis.

In Zambia, the Electoral Commission (ECZ) engaged electoral stakeholders at every stage of the electoral process for the 2011 tripartite elections. This initiative was undertaken to ensure that stakeholders were informed of changes in policies and strategies and provided with up-to-date information in the electoral process (ECZ Handbook, 2012:12). The Commission's engagement with other stakeholders also helped to ensure transparency in the process and reduced misconceptions and tension that arose during the electoral process. Stakeholder engagement was built into the communications strategy of the ECZ which sought to create widespread confidence and popular support for the Commission and build confidence in the understanding of the electoral process and the elections.

This resulted in informed participation in the electoral process, high voter turnout on polling day and peaceful acceptance of election results. Some of the key stakeholders of the Commission included political parties, media houses, civil society organizations, traditional Chiefs, Election observer groups and the international community in Zambia.

The public was also engaged in a series of briefings with the Commission at the provincial level. The Commission commenced a series of engagements with its stakeholders in 2010 when the mobile voter registration, using the digital voter registration kits, was being undertaken for the first time in Zambia. Consultations were also done for the selection of the organization to implement the mobile voter registration. ECZ undertook a series of engagements with stakeholders during the March-May 2011 delimitation of constituencies' process. Press conferences and several meetings were held with key stakeholders to explain the process and receive feedback.

Public forums were also held in each of the nine provinces of Zambia. At each sitting, a presentation was made by the Chairperson or one of the Commissioners on the Commission's preparedness for the 2011 elections. This included an update on the progress made in the continuous Voter Registration, Delimitation of constituencies and progress made on the revised Electoral Code of Conduct. Members of the public could participate by asking the Commission questions on the electoral process. A documentary, 'The Journey of the Vote' was also screened at each public forum (ECZ Handbook, 2012).

The documentary depicts the many difficulties and challenges that the Commission faced in the conduct of elections as it had been mandated to do when it was established. Among people that turned up for the public forums were members of the Cabinet, Members of Parliament, representatives of political parties, civil society and faith-based organizations and the public. Several levels of engagement and consultations were embarked upon by the Commission and stakeholders for the review of the 2006 Electoral Code of Conduct. These included a review workshop held in November 2010 with key stakeholders who included political parties, the media, the church and CSOs.

Following the workshop, the document was finalized and then subsequently translated into the seven Zambian local languages. This was done so that the message could reach as many Zambians as

possible. After printing, the document was launched, and all stakeholders were invited to witness the event. This ensured inclusivity.

The research intends to open an analysis in emphasizing the understanding of the role of electoral stakeholders in the electoral process. An understanding of citizens in understand such important roles and also enlighten them stakeholders what is expected from them in consultation with the electoral cycle activities (pre- electoral period, Electoral period and post-electoral period).

2.7.8. Concluding Remarks

This chapter has discussed various election stakeholders, focusing on the role of each of them. Moreover, various theoretical; approaches were discussed in this chapter. Despite using different assumptions to explain the role of the electoral stakeholders, it has become clear that these theoretical approaches are not mutually exclusive (Schoeman & Puttergrill, 2007; Erdamann, 2007a; Andersen and Heath, 2000; Chandler, 1988; Harrop & Miller, 1987). They are intellectually linked, and some originated from others in the form of a complementary critique. Some assumptions, visibly or not, are present throughout the approaches.

This chapter gave an overview of how far the theoretical frameworks developed in consolidated democracies have been used in electoral studies in Africa and the challenges faced while applying them in the African context. The literature relevant to the study has been discussed to locate the present study within the broader context. The chapter concluded with an overview of electoral studies that have been conducted in Botswana and Zambia. Lastly, the chapter viewed the role of the electoral stakeholders towards the 2014 general elections in Botswana and the 2011 tripartite elections in Zambia.

The next chapter explains in detail the research design, method and the purpose that was used to respond to the research question of the study as outlined earlier. It also discusses the research process including data collection, analysis and interpretation of the data.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHOD AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

Research in the social issues involves systematic data collection and analysis procedures that culminate in verifiable, objective and factual scientific knowledge (Thakur, 1993). Hence, this Chapter presents the methodology and research design of this study. It further provides justification for the selection of the social constructivism theory as the epistemological paradigm guiding this study; as well as the reasons for using the mixed methodology approach to collect the data.

Structurally, the chapter starts by presenting the various methodologies usually used in the social sciences and thereafter makes a strong case for choosing the mixed methods approach for this study as already indicated. It then critically describes the research design as well as the strategies used to select and access the research site and the methods used to collect and analyses data for this study.

Finally, the chapter highlights the problems encountered during the process of collecting and analyzing the data for this study as well as ethical issues involved in doing that. This is done to ensure protect the integrity and quality of this research. The chapter closes with the conclusion section.

3.2. Research Paradigm

Most knowledge in the past came mainly from unverified oral sources (Babbie, 2008). For example, from the past the earth was known to be round, the dark side of the moon is cold, and the Chinese to speak Chinese. This way of gaining knowledge has always been useful for maintaining a stable society. However, Babbie (2008) argues that most of this form of knowledge acquisition is not scientific because it is not based on critical observations and logistical positions. Society most of the times sanctions any form of dissent to popular beliefs in history. According to Babbie (2008), knowledge has been preserved by traditions and authority. These traditions and authority save us the time and energy required for conducting personal inquiry or experiencing a phenomenon ourselves. However, tradition and authority can also be hindrances to the progress of knowledge, especially, for instance, if an expert operates in a domain beyond his or her expertise.

What constitutes truth has been debated for over two millennia now (Sarantakos, 2005). The branch of philosophy that studies the nature of truth is known as ontology and that which studies the question

of whether an objective reality exists or not is known as epistemology. Neuman (2014:92) indicates that “ontology is concerned about the issue of what exists, or the fundamental nature of reality. He identifies two shades of view of the branch of philosophy viz. the realist and the nominalist. According to Neuman (2014:92), the realists “see the world as being out there”. A realist view assumes that the ‘real world’ exists independently of humans and their interpretation of it. Neuman (2014:92) further indicates that the nominalist assumes that humans never directly experience reality ‘out there’, and that our experience with what we call reality is always occurring through a lens or scheme of interpretation and inner subjectivity.

Epistemology and ontology are two important concepts in research. Epistemology refers to a set of beliefs about knowledge, while ontology refers to a set of beliefs about what exists or what is real (Kim, 2001; Risse, 2007, Willig, 2008). Paradigm refers to ‘a set of assumptions about the social world, and about what constitutes proper techniques and topics for inquiring into that world’ (Punch, 2000:154). Each of these concepts is further explicated below for ease of reference.

3.2.1. Ontology

Ontology basically studies the nature of knowledge and the assumptions of whether it is possible to attain objective reality or truth about social life or not. The realists believe that truth is outside human mind just like the law of gravity exists in reality; and that the truth is outside there and can be attained through rigorous observations. By so doing, a theory of social life can be devised deductively by falsifying or accepting the evidence from the data based on observation to identify general patterns of human behavior.

Ontology is all about precise assumptions underpinning the theory of ideas. In other words, it addresses questions like: What will happen to us when we do not drink water? And what is the nature of the accident? These questions are ontological, and they are claims about what can be known about reality. In other words, there is no separation between appearance and reality (Eneanya, 2012).

The whole process can also be done from observing patterns in data and devising theory inductively, then humanity gets closer to reality. The nominalists however believe that it is never possible to get the reality about social life because humans are influenced by cultural and mental factors that make objective reality almost impossible. The truth of the matter is that it can therefore be found in the

subject meaning and interpretation people hold about some phenomena. Thus, knowledge about social life cannot be generalized and can only be specific to a setting, people and location.

3.2.2. Epistemology

Epistemology is about how we know the world around us or what makes a claim about the truth (Neuman, 2014:95). In other words, this refers to the method or technique that is used to discover the truth in the world. According to Neuman (2014: 95), epistemology ‘includes what we need to do to produce knowledge and what scientific knowledge looks like once we produce it’. For instance, the ‘realists produce knowledge by making careful observation of it’.

In other words, the epistemologists are interested in asking questions like, ‘what can we know? How can we know and what are the conditions for acquiring knowledge that exists?’ (Eneanya, 2012:16). Eneanya further observes that the whole claim about epistemology is how a phenomenon can be known with some degree of certainty, to arrive at the conclusion based on the analysis of the phenomenon under consideration.

The epistemological perspective of this study was significant in that it would identify a workable research design that addresses the research objectives, as well as the type of data that is being gathered, the study site, and how the data was interpreted (Gray, 2004). The relevance of research philosophy is that it ensures a high degree of confidence in a researcher for the assumptions about a phenomenon (Eneanya, 2012). Finally, it is introduced after recounting the evolution of scientific methodology in social science.

3.2.3. Methodology

Methodology is the framework associated with a set of paradigmatic assumptions that are used to conduct research (Leedy and Ormrod, 2010). Research methodology is important as it sheds light on how the study was carried out. Research methodology tells the reader how different data sets were collected and analyzed to contribute to knowledge on the topic under discussion. It presents logical steps on how the results and conclusions were arrived at so that anyone who wanted to authenticate the findings could do so with relative ease.

Gray (2004) indicates that the choice of methodology, for example, could influence the attitude of the researcher towards the usage of the theories (deductive and inductive approaches). Gray further states that methodology could also be influenced by the researcher’s assumption that the truth exists

out there and should be discovered. It may also be that the researcher is engrossed with multiple perspectives of a phenomenon.

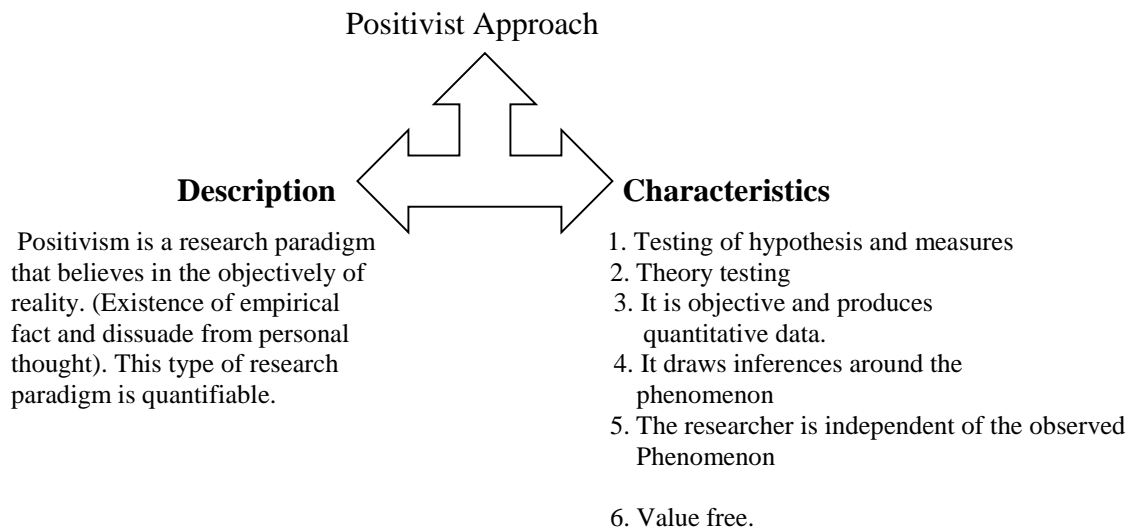
3.3. Theoretical Perspectives of the Research

The relationship between the three perspectives of research discussed above is horizontally directional as one precedes the other. Ontology examines the phenomenon, epistemology talks about what we can know about the phenomenon, and methodology addresses the issue about the knowledge acquired (Eneanya, 2012).

The three perspectives that influenced the conduct of the research greatly, more especially in determining a research methodology are: (a) Positivist, (b) Interpretivist, and (c) Pragmatic (Creswell, 2014:71).

3.3.1. Positivism

Figure 3.1. Positivist Approach



Sources: Tuli, (2011), Yin, (2003) and Eneanya, (2012).

Positivism falls under the realist ontology which believes that the objective world is ‘out there’; that we can get to know the truth about social life through rigorous empirical observation through our human senses (Sarantakos, 2005:3). This paradigm dominated social research until the first half of the 20th century. The first group that challenged positivism was the realist positivists. The realist positivists argue that logic plays an important role in understanding the truth that is obtained through

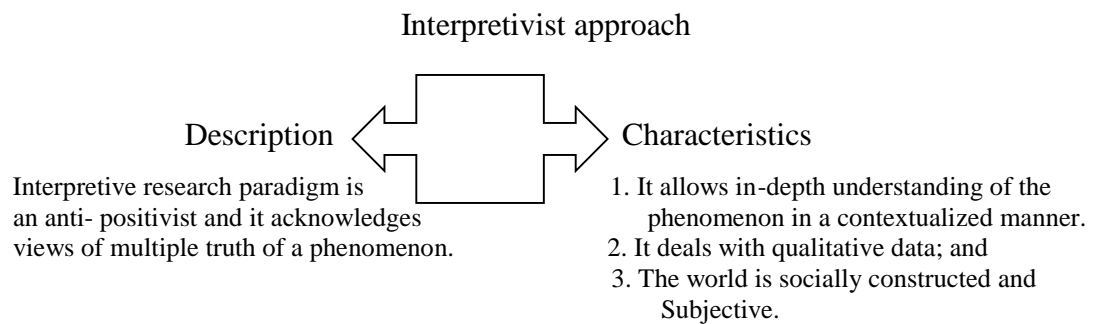
empirical observation. They therefore proposed the logico-empiricism methodology which is still commonly used by social scientists (Sarantakos, 2005:3).

The positivist approach holds the view that social sciences and natural sciences should adopt the same methodology for the study of social reality (Bryman, 2004). In other words, the study of social reality should be scientific, as opposed to philosophical speculation, because reality is situated in five senses (Bryman, 2004:11; Gray, 2004:18).

Another criticism grew outside the positivist school. The new group criticized positivism on its ontological assumptions. The new group known as the constructionists believe that objective reality cannot be attained in the real world because people are influenced by their social cultural beliefs, historical and personal experiences. Thus, peoples’ meaning, and interpretation of social phenomena differ and are influenced by social interaction. Therefore, there can be objective reality ‘out there’ but it is only constructed by the meaning and interpretation people give to such reality (Sarantakos: 2015:29).

3.3.2. Interpretive Perspective

Figure 3.2. Interpretive perspective



Sources: Erlingsson and Brysiewicz (2013); Eneanya, (2012); and Myers (1997).

This group believes that ‘there is neither objective reality nor subjective reality, and that reality is constructed’ (Sarantakos, 2005:29). People give meaning to the social issues around them based on their cultural, historical and personal experiences. For instance, a foot mat may be interpreted as a material for sitting, walking or sleeping or praying depending on the interpretation of the subject given to the object. The presence of an objective reality ‘is not in dispute here, objective reality exists but it is not accessible’ (Sarantakos, 2005:29).

Interpretivist is a contrast to the epistemology of positivists. The interpretivist believes he or she understands that the social world requires a diverse approach to research method (Eneanya, 2012). Eneanya indicates that the social world cannot be understood by the critical application of a scientific model which is applicable to natural sciences. In the scientific model otherwise known as the positivist model, the reality and unbiased knowledge can only be discovered when the researcher does not interact with the phenomenon in question. However, the social science environment is made up of people and institutions which are quite different from the natural science.

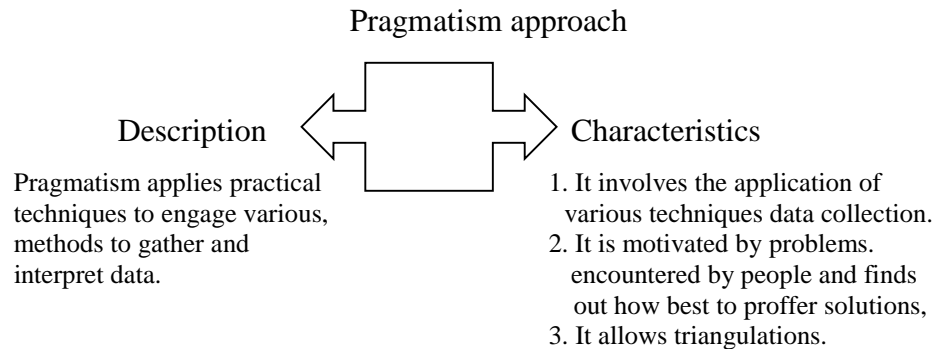
The interpretivist paradigm falls under the nominalist ontology where the research methodology is flexible but highly subjective. This paradigm believes that theories are developed inductively and are not put forward to explain general patterns of human behavior; and that they are specific to the location and setting of the study. Other subgroups of the paradigm are interpretivist, symbolic interactionism and phenomenology.

The interpretivist paradigm is also informed by diverse views which portray multiple truths or reality. Qualitative research at the same time is inductive in nature in the sense that knowledge generated from the ideas of the interpreted phenomenon and observation of a phenomenon builds up continuously. Here the views of the researchers are significant to generate meaning from an observed phenomenon. Diversity here is believed to be caused by the differences in individuals and that there is no single truth to a reality. Ordinarily, the 'world is socially constructed, complex and subject to change as against positivist assumption of the world as fixed and external to people' (Tuli, 2011:103).

In this study, the researcher interpreted the data generated from the fieldwork and that makes this research to be largely inductive in nature.

3.3.3. Pragmatism

Figure 3.3. Pragmatism approach



Source: Creswell (2009).

This is a paradigm that was developed in the late 20th century to accommodate a shade of views that were in between positivism and interpretive paradigm. The paradigm does support the ontology assumptions of both positivism and interpretive paradigms. Furthermore, it argues that the problems of social research should inform the methodology that is adopted for a study (Creswell, 2014).

The pragmatists are interested in ‘what works’ and aim to find a solution to any political phenomenon. However, strong emphasis is placed on the research problem and multiple approaches are, therefore, applied to derive knowledge out of the phenomenon under study (Morgan, 2007).

The pragmatism approach comes with different labels such as multi-method and mixed methodology. It builds on the assumption that reality does exist and can be explored. However, it is pragmatic to recognize that human beings construct the nature of reality due to subject meaning and interpretation of the objective reality because of social interactions. The pragmatism paradigm emphasizes that social research should focus on the stated problems which in turn will determine the methodology that will be appropriate to solve the problem. However, issues of validity arise when two different paradigms with different assumptions are combined in a single study.

The current study adopted the mixed methods approach because of the complex nature of the independent variable construct under investigation. For example, there is sharp disagreement on the operationalization of safety culture among leading scholars. It is only mixed methodology that can be able to capture both the underlying and manifest factors and dimensions of safety culture. Thus, this situation informed the decision to use this approach.

3.4 Research Design: Case Study

Babbie and Mouton (2001:74) define a research design as a plan or blueprint of how a researcher systematically collects and examines the data required to answer the research questions. It is the scheme, outline or plan that is used to generate answers to the research problems that the study hopes to address.

Research design also refers to a detailed plan, strategy or specific direction to be followed in research to generate data necessary to comprehend a phenomenon being studied (Clark & Causer, 1991; Barbie & Mouton, 2001; Maree, 2007; Creswell, 2012). A research design provides how all practicalities should be followed to link the research question to data collection and analysis (Yin, 2012; Yin, 1984; Babbie, 2005) to achieve the research objectives. Research design involves important decisions on the selection of participants, data collection techniques and data analysis (Maree, 2007; Willig, 2008).

Given the complex nature of the phenomenon investigated in the current study and the fact that there is little known about the role played by key electoral stakeholders as a comparative study (Botswana and Zambia), the case study design appeared to be the most appropriate research method to use. Case studies use interviews, observations and questionnaires to gather primary data. The study could have used a survey which is inexpensive and is thought to be more objective because of standardized measurements and can cover a large sample (Fink, 2006). But this approach was deemed expensive and time-consuming.

The case study approach used in this study gathered in-depth information about a poorly understood phenomena such as the role played by electoral stakeholders in the electoral processes in Botswana and Zambia, where there is limited research in the area. By focusing on the contexts, the study analyzed each case to draw generalization from the rich data collected in each context.

One of the weaknesses of a case study approach is its subjectivity because it relies on personal interpretation of data and inferences. Moreover, it has been critiqued for its dependence on a single case which renders it incapable of providing a generalizing conclusion to other contexts. Furthermore, some scholars question the value of the study of single events and point out that it is difficult for researchers to cross-check information. Others express concern about the possibility of selective reporting which results in the dangers of distortion and in the fact that the generalization of

findings from a case study is not always possible (Leedy and Ormrod, 2010). This is because a case study allows the researcher to focus on a unit of analysis or case (Maxixe) and to use different methods, techniques and sources to explore a phenomenon extensively and in-depth through interaction with participants in their site over a period (Leedy & Ormrod, 2013; Maree, 2007).

Furthermore, given the ground-breaking nature of this study in Botswana and Zambia, the explanatory type of case study appeared to be the most appropriate for gathering new insights (Barbie, 2005) and generating explanations about a phenomenon (Willing, 2008). As already indicated, the objective of this study was to analyze the role of electoral stakeholders in the electoral process using the Case study of two SADC states (Botswana and Zambia).

It should be noted that the use of an explanatory case study does not necessarily ignore the use of descriptions. In the current study the exploratory case study gave the possibility of helping to ascertain possible events and behaviour patterns (Aspeling, 2006) that are likely to influence the role played by electoral stakeholders in the two chosen countries from the SADC region.

In a case study, the researcher focuses only on one specific instance, and this allows for a deeper understanding of a phenomenon (Swanborn, 2010; Willig, 2008). The focus on Botswana and Zambia in this study allowed the researcher to gain a deeper understanding of how the key electoral stakeholders in Botswana and Zambia play their role towards the electoral cycle activities to enhance their democracies. This, however, does not necessarily mean that Botswana and Zambia were looked at in complete isolation from the greater African States or SADC countries.

Another advantage of using a case study approach in this study is that it allowed the researcher to use different methods for gathering the data (Thomas, 2011; Creswell, 2014; Willig, 2008). Open-ended oral interviews were combined with a list of questionnaires. As a result, the amount of information gathered was vast and diverse, which allowed for a better understanding of how electoral stakeholders understand their role in the democracy process.

Elections themselves are not an event, but a process or continuous 360 degrees cycle involving pre, during and post- electoral phases in each democratic setup. The advantage of using a case study is that it gives a possibility to follow a phenomenon over time to monitor changes (Swanborn, 2010). More specifically, the case study allows for the tracing of how electoral stakeholders understand or perform their role and what factors they take into consideration in each election.

Finally, the fact that a case study allows for the use of all available data, including both qualitative and quantitative data, was an additional advantage. The fact that only data applicable to selected approaches and concepts were collected also saved considerable amount of time. There are concerns over the lack of quality in research using the case study approach allegedly because case studies do not allow for rigorous analysis of the phenomena, and the fact that they offer little basis for scientific generalization of their results. However, as noted earlier, this study never intended to generalize the findings from the capital cities of the two selected countries being Gaborone and Lusaka to other areas in those countries.

Furthermore, arguments against case studies are that they take too long to be concluded and that they end up with massive and unreadable results (Yin, 2009; Thomas, 2011). To guard against that, this study used triangulation. Triangulations has the advantage of allowing the collection of ‘converging evidence from different sources’ (Yin, 2012: 79 see also Swanborn, 2010) and viewing social phenomenon using different perspectives (Thomas, 2011) and different techniques.

3.5. Research Methodology

The current study adopted both the qualitative and quantitative research approaches in collecting the data sets. This was informed by the fact that both types of data sets were deemed important in trying to address the research problems which the study hoped to address. There are several research designs that the study could have chosen such as observational studies or surveys. The study adopted the two approaches mentioned above under what is referred to as the case study design.

Specific cases were purposively selected so that empirical data could be collected. Qualitative research relies on interpretation or critical social science. It is concerned about issues of the richness, texture, and feeling or raw data because its inductive approach emphasizes developing insights and generalizations out of the data collected.

In contrast, quantitative research focuses on issues of design, measurement, and sampling because its deductive approach emphasizes detailed planning prior to data collection and analysis (Babbie and Mouton, 2001:142). Qualitative research works from natural settings and provides an interpretative understanding of the phenomenon or event. On the other hand, quantitative search works with controlled settings and selected samples. It gives explanations and makes predictions on possible outcomes.

According to Babbie and Mouton (2001:38), qualitative data often provides richer insights than quantitative data because quantitative researchers tend to neglect data that is not readily quantifiable. Furthermore, Babbie and Mouton (2006:309) comment on the qualitative research design as ‘appropriate to the study of attitudes and behaviors best understood within their natural setting as opposed to the somewhat artificial settings of experiments and surveys’ characteristic of quantitative research.

In the current study both quantitative and qualitative approaches adopted a case study design. According to Yin (1993:3), “a case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a phenomenon within its real- life context especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and the context are not clear”. The phenomenon is not isolated from its context because the aim is to find out how the behavior or processes are influenced by the context. Furthermore, a case study is suited to questions that require detailed understanding of a phenomenon because of rich data collected in context. A case study does not imply any form of data collection, which can be quantitative or qualitative (Yin, 1993).

By combining the quantitative and qualitative research designs the researcher used a mixed methods approach. Mixed methodology combines the ontological assumptions of the realist and nominalist by utilizing the two methods in a single study. Johnson, Onwuegbuzie and Turner (2007:123) after exhaustive review of 19 definitions of leading authors in the field offered a definition of mixed methodology. They concluded that:

Mixed methods research refers to the types of research in which a researcher or team of researchers combine elements of qualitative and quantitative viewpoints, (data collection, analysis, inference technique) for the broad purposes of breadth and depth of understanding and collaboration.

According to Creswell (2014: 14), “mixed methods involve combining or integration of qualitative and quantitative research and data in a study”. Johnstone (2004: 264) identifies the three common reasons that have been put forward to justify the mixed method approach to include: triangulation, complementarity and expansion. He posits that “triangulation involves reviewing and analysis of evidence from multiple sources such that a study’s findings are based on the convergence of that information”.

The mixed methodology approach is secondly used to achieve complementarity. According to Johnstone, (2004:264) complementarity means that “overlapping and different faces of a phenomenon may emerge whereas expansion means the mixed methods add scope and breadth to the study”. Similarly, Collins, Onwuegbuzie and Sulton (2006) identified four rationales for using a mixed method research approach to include: ‘participant enrichment, instrument fidelity, and treatment integrity and significance enhancement’.

Johnstone (2004: 264) also points out that mixed methods add “rigors and credibility to a study”. According to Creswell (2014), several typologies of mixed methodology in social research exist. He however categorized mixed methodology into 3 groups namely: Convergent parallel mixed methods; explanatory sequential mixed methods and exploratory sequential mixed methods.

The current study adopted the convergent parallel mixed methods design. According to Creswell (2014:15) a convergent parallel mixed method is a form of mixed methods in which the researcher converges or merges quantitative and qualitative data to provide a comprehensive analysis of the research problem. In the design, the investigator typically collects both forms of data at roughly the same time and then integrates the information in the interpretation of the overall results.

Contradictions or incongruent findings are explained or further probed in the mixed method design. Sekaran and Bougie (2013:104) indicate that mixed method research has been associated with triangulation. According to them triangulation increases the confidence people have in the research finding from different methods.

The several kinds of triangulation are identified in the literature:

- 1 Method triangulation: using multiple methods of data collection and analysis.
- 2 Data triangulations: collecting data from several sources and/or at different time.
- 3 Researcher triangulations: multiple researchers collect and analyze the data.
- 4 Theory triangulations: multiple theories and/perspectives are used to interpret and explain the data.

3.6. Research Methods

Research methods consist of strategies used in the collection, analysis and interpretation of data (Creswell, 2014). The following sub-sections present strategies used in the selection of case studies, access to the field, selection of participants, data collection techniques, data analysis and interpretation.

3.6.1. Study Area: Selection of case studies

As previously indicated the current study focused on the role of electoral stakeholders in Botswana and Zambia – with particular focus on the capital cities of Gaborone and Lusaka as the main research sites. These sites were convenient for the researcher.

As indicated before, Zambia and Botswana are in the Southern part of Africa. Botswana, formerly the British protectorate of Bechuanaland, adopted its new name upon independence in 1966. More than four decades of uninterrupted civilian leadership, progressive social policies, and significant capital investment have created one of the most stable economies in Africa. On the other hand, Zambia the territory of Northern Rhodesia was administered by the [British] South Africa Company from 1891 until it was taken over by the UK in 1923. During the 1920s and 1930s advances in mining spurred development and immigration. The name of Northern Rhodesia was then changed to Zambia upon independence in 1964.

Both Botswana and Zambia have since independence adopted the First-Past-The-Post [F-P-T-P] electoral system and practice multiparty democracy in choosing the state leadership. The current study is confined within the past general elections' experiences of these two SADC countries which are neighbours. More emphasis was on the role of electoral stakeholders' contribution towards free, fair and credible elections. Other issues such as legitimacy of the government, functioning of the government of the day, and economic growth were not covered in this study because they deserved further research.

Botswana is a land-locked country dominated in geographical terms by the Kalahari Desert - a sand-filled basin averaging 1,100 meters above sea level. The country lies between longitudes 20 and 30 degrees east of Greenwich and between the latitudes 18 and 27 degrees approximately south of the Equator. The Capital city of Botswana is Gaborone. Botswana is bordered by Zambia and Zimbabwe in the northeast, Namibia in the north and west, and South Africa in the south and southeast. The distance between the extreme north and the extreme south of Botswana is about 1,110 kilometers. It is 960 kilometers across at its widest. The area of Botswana is approximately 581,730 square kilometers and is about the size of France or Kenya. It is approximately 500 km from the nearest coastline, to the southwest (www.botswanatourism.co.bw).

Zambia on the other hand lies in a central position in southern Africa surrounded by several countries. Just like Botswana, Zambia is a landlocked country between Angola in the west, Namibia, Botswana and Zimbabwe in the south, Mozambique, Malawi and Tanzania in the east, and the Democratic Republic of Congo in the north. Zambia is 752,614 square kilometers (290,586 square miles) size makes it a large country about the size of France, the Netherlands, Belgium and Switzerland combined. This makes Zambia the 39th largest country in the world. The capital city of Zambia is Lusaka, located in the south-central part of the country. Zambia takes its name from the Zambezi River, which rises in the north-west corner of the country and forms its southern boundary. Its neighbors are: Congo DR in the north and north-west, Tanzania in the north east, Malawi in the east, Mozambique in the south east, Zimbabwe in the south, Botswana and Namibia in the south-west and Angola in the West (www.zambiatourism.com/about-Zambia/geography).

Figure 3.4: Southern Africa Map where Botswana and Zambia are located geographically.



Source: (www.customdigitalmaps.com)

The author of the current study is a citizen of Botswana by birth who fluently speaks English language which is the official language Botswana and Zambia. Understanding the language, especially the official one and the culture of the society under research is advantageous as it provides knowledge that takes long to gain (Maundeni, 2000). The knowledge of official languages, cultures and context helped the current researcher to understand and interpret facts, symbols, attitudes, situations and the context, all conforming to the paradigm chosen for this study.

Furthermore, and the familiarity of the researcher with the electoral system emanates from the fact that he had in the past also worked in the (Electoral Commission Forum of SADC- being an umbrella body of all the electoral management bodies in the SADC region. As a result, he established some contacts and important networks with people working in the secretariat offices of the two countries. During data collection for this study the researcher was based in Gaborone and Lusaka which allowed him easy access and regular contact with the participants of this study.

3.6.2. Access to the Field

Previous studies on the role played by electoral stakeholders have shown that access to the field and informants can pose challenges (Pereira, 2008). Qualitative studies like the current one, requiring intensive interaction with respondents for a long period of time, are only possible after permission from relevant authorities or the ‘gatekeepers’ has been sought (Rule & John, 2011) to access the site and build a rapport with different relevant authorities or entities and informants before data collection (see also Creswell, 2014’ Creswell, 2013).

For this study the issue of access to the field was taken seriously due to the following reasons: Firstly, in any country (especially Botswana) the political context is characterized by high levels of heightened surveillance of citizens by state authorities, as well as by low levels of democratic culture and high levels of secrecy (inherited from one- party state regime since its independence -1966). Therefore, political discussions remain sensitive, more especially electoral matters.

In view of the above, to minimize limitations the researcher followed all administrative procedures before entering the field, including requesting for a letter of introduction from University of Kwazulu-Natal (RSA), where the researcher studies, and another from the Botswana Government (Office of the President- Research Unit) all written in English. Both letters explained the purpose of the study, the duration of the researcher’s stay on the site, and the expected outcomes of the research. These letters were also presented to relevant local authorities in Botswana and Zambia. The researcher carried the introductory letters along every day for the duration of the fieldwork and showed them to the respondents.

Secondly, the fact that the fieldwork coincided with electoral time (political parties’ campaign for the 11th of August 2016, tripartite elections) in Zambia forced the researcher to be more cautious in accessing the field and in interacting with the respondents. Conducting fieldwork in an election year

can be disadvantageous given the misunderstanding and suspicions that can be raised by the presence of ‘strangers’ (researchers) during the summit and political events. To minimize these limitations, the researcher relied on the experience and extensive networks that he had already established in Zambia, especially the guidance of the Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ).

3.7. Target Population

The target population for the current study were the key electoral stakeholders of various government agencies, international donor agencies based in those selected countries, voters, electoral management bodies, political parties, media houses (public and private), religious leaders, civil societies, and security agents. This included top management staff, operational management, technical managers, and middle staff, and politicians and individuals. A questionnaire was used as a research instrument to allow the study to be a participatory action research and to involve the stakeholders from various departments in the research.

It is important to note that although the focus of this study was to describe, explore, explain and analyze factors influencing the role of electoral stakeholders in a democratic setup, the unit of analysis was individuals, and not groups or the population of the two countries. This is because attitude and behavior can only be attributed to an individual, and not to a group. As Babbie (2005:104) clearly states “there is no one group ‘mind’ that can have an attitude” or behavior, besides individuals. In this case, Botswana and Zambia were what Yin (2012) called broader level of data collection and individual/voters/citizens are what he called narrower level of data collection.

The type and number of respondents a study involves are two important decisions a researcher must make before embarking on a study (Creswell, 2013). Furthermore, given the fact that the current study was interested in the acquisition of large amounts of data (Maree, 2007) it was therefore not interested in the quality of respondents.

3.8. Data Collection techniques

Primary and secondary sources of data were used in the current study. The primary data were obtained from interviews that were administered by the researcher to the selected key electoral stakeholders and in- depth interviews that were conducted with some key informants. Data such as electoral activities that electoral stakeholders participate in, factors that influence electoral

stakeholders in electoral process, and the challenges hindering the participation of stakeholders in the electoral processes of Botswana and Zambia were collected from the selected respondents.

On the other hand, secondary data were collected from books, journals, reports, newspapers, published articles and information from. The primary and secondary sources of data were triangulated to improve the quality of the data quality by filling in the gaps that may have been left out by the questionnaire. In research, triangulation is highly commendable because it helps validate data that is collected from various sources (Leedy and Ormrod, 2010). Each of these data collection instruments are further discussed below.

These two techniques have been praised within the research community for widening the possibility of explaining and understanding a social phenomenon in its complexity (Swanborn, 2010; Leedy & Ormrod, 2013; Maree, 2007).

3.8.1. Self-Administered Questionnaires

A questionnaire is a set of questions printed or typed in a definite order or form to be given or mailed to respondents who are expected to answer them on their own and return the questionnaire (Leedy and Ormrod, 2010).

The study set out to collect data from two hundred (200) questionnaires which were equally distributed in Botswana and Zambia respectively. As a general rule, sample size of 200-300 respondents out a population of more than one million population or more provide an acceptable margin of error and fall before the point of diminishing returns. Considering the period of data collection from the two countries which was four months spent to each country justified the possibilities of 200 questionnaires.

The sample size was determined but the usual sample size in comparable experiments (50 New Voters: 25 males and 25 females: 50 Youth: 25 males and 25 females: 50 elites: 25 males and 25 females: 50 elders: 25 males and 25 females). They were self-administered by the researcher at the respondents' workplaces to ensure an increased response rate. However, some of the questionnaires were not fully completed by the respondents who claimed ignorance of the issues relating to the role of stakeholders in the electoral process in their countries. The respondents were given one week to complete the questionnaire and telephone calls were made to check their progress. Most of the questionnaires were completed and submitted within a week.

Ethical requirements were addressed by seeking permission to administer questionnaires through a letter from the Research Department in the Office of the President in Botswana. The second letter was written to the respondents to assure them of confidentiality of the information they were going to share. The third letter was an introductory letter from the supervisor of the project were attached to the questionnaires. See Appendices 1, 2 and 3.

Table 3.1 shows the advantages and disadvantages of using a questionnaire as a research instrument (Wilkinson & Birmingham, 2003:39).

Table 3.1: Advantages and disadvantages of using questionnaires.

Advantages	Disadvantages
It is familiar to users and allows them to complete the questionnaire at their own convenience, while allowing some time to think about their answers.	Questionnaires often provide low response (return rates), time-consuming follow-up and data entry
Questionnaires facilitate the collection of vast amounts of data with minimal effort.	Ease of production and distribution can result in the collection of far more data than can be effectively used.
The availability of several participants in one place makes possible economy of time and expense and provides a high proportion of useable responses.	Questionnaires are everywhere, competing for participants' time.
As research instruments, questionnaires can be used time and time again to measure differences between groups of people. They are thus reliable data gathering tools.	Lack of adequate time to complete the instrument may result in the return of superficial data.
The person administering the instrument can establish rapport, explain the purpose of the study and elaborate on the meaning of items that may not be clear.	Lack of personal contact (if the questionnaire is mailed) may mean that response rates suffer, necessitating the expense of follow-up letters, telephone calls and other means of chasing the participant
Well- designed questionnaires can allow relationships between data to be identified. They are particularly useful to showing relationships with data that are easily quantifiable.	

Source: Author's compilation

The data from the questionnaires used in this study were analyzed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) software program to perform simple descriptive statistics calculations. Bless, Smith and Kagee (2006) argue that questionnaires have advantages of being inexpensive and of collecting a lot of data that needs little interpretation.

A questionnaire method is free from the bias usually experienced in interviews. It also gives the respondents adequate time to give well thought out answers; can be administered to a large sample; and can be made more dependable and reliable. A questionnaire also has some demerits such as that it can have low response rate; and can be used only when the respondents are educated and are cooperating. Moreover, it might be difficult to check if the respondents understand the questions in the questionnaire.

3.8.2. Face to Face Interviews

From a general perspective, an interview involves direct personal contact with the participant who is asked to answer questions relating to the research problem. Bless, Smith and Kagee (2006) suggest that to get people to express themselves one needs to use semi-structured interviews. In the current study face-to-face, semi-structured interviews were conducted with the informants to allow them to respond using their own words and examples. This also minimized the fears of surveillance.

The face-to-face interviews were conducted with twenty-eight (28) interviewees with 12 from Botswana and 16 from Zambia. The sample was from both the electoral management bodies from their active stakeholders' database. All of them were key electoral stakeholders in their respective countries. Each interview was preceded by a clear explanation of the aim of the current study, the importance of participation in the study, and the way the data was going to be used. Permission was sought to record the conversation by explaining that the recordings were done mainly to enable the researcher to transcribe with accuracy the information collected.

The researcher conducted interviews from November 2015 to March 2016 in Gaborone-Botswana and from May to July 2016 in Lusaka (Zambia). However, in Zambia some respondents working in the public sector, air force defense, and police were not comfortable with being recorded. The participants were informed about their right not to participate in the study if they so decided. All interview questions were prepared and conducted in English.

An interview is one of the most common methods of collecting non-numerical or textual data because it takes place in one-to-one situation and it is more personalized and private (Maundeni, 2000). An interview allows interviewees to express their opinions, experiences, beliefs and feelings about the role electoral stakeholders in their organisation.

3.8.3. Direct Observation

Personal observation is a tool that provides information about actual behavior. This method refers to gathering data through physical checkups of the activities or processes. According to Leedy and Ormrod (2010), in observing phenomenon quantitative observation studies tend to have a pre-specified focus on certain aspects of behavior. In some instances, the behavior is rated for its intensity, severity or another dimension. Furthermore, the researcher can define the behavior being studied in a precise manner and use the rating scale to evaluate the behavior in terms of specific objectives. This further enriches the results.

3.9. Sampling Procedure

There are two common strategies of selecting a sample in social research. These are the random and non-random sampling strategies. Sekaran and Bougie (2013) indicates that the researcher selects a sample from a population to meet the conditions of repetitiveness and normal distribution of its own reputation parameters. In the current study the researcher used a stratified sampling strategy to select the sample from the population. The criterion for stratifying the population was based on the location of the respondents.

Sekaran and Bougie (2013:244) advises on the process of selecting samples:

1. Define the population
2. Determine the sample frame
3. Determine the sampling design
4. Determine the appropriate sample size
5. Executive the sampling process

The non-random purposive sampling strategy was used to select the sample for the qualitative study. According to Sekaran and Bougie (2013:252) purposive sampling “is confined to specific types of people who can provide the desired information, either because they are the only ones who have it, or they conform to some criteria set by the researcher”. The criteria for choosing the respondents

included the years of experience in the organization and the ability or competence to discuss the role of their organization in the electoral process of their country.

Purposive sampling was applied to choose key electoral stakeholders in Botswana and Zambia. These were the electoral management bodies, private and public media, security agents, civil society organizations, electorates, and political parties. The political parties which have consistently participated in Botswana and Zambia's elections over the years were considered. Alternatively, the top three well performed political parties in the last past general elections were also considered.

The public media was purposively selected by the researcher in the current study due to its wider coverage throughout the country and predominant involvement in the two countries' elections over years. To fairly represent the entire electorate or public in both countries a specific quota of 100 respondents was assigned per country. In both countries the electorates were selected using purposive sampling.

Furthermore, the researcher adopted non-probability sampling. Purposive sampling involves selecting certain units based on specific purpose. Bless, Smith and Kagee (2006) assert that the method is based on the judgment of the researcher regarding the characteristics of a representative sample. The sample is chosen on what the researcher considers a typical unit which best fits the criteria of the study. As such, the choice of respondents in each country was based on their general knowledge of the role played by the electoral stakeholders.

Purposive sampling was selected in the study because it is a form of representative sampling in which the researcher deliberately requested for respondents against some traits such as experience, knowledge and position held in a cross-section of the targeted population in the study, who are relevant by experience and expert knowledge of the study (Bryman, 2004).

3.10. Data capturing

Mixed method research is known for generating a large volume of data that can pose a challenge when captured. In this study individual interviews were audio-recorded because audio-recording has the advantage of conversing with the interviewee without breaks and silences that are likely to be caused by note-taking. It allows one to be more attentive to what is being said and to seek immediate clarification of unclear and incomplete information (Mauki, 2014).

Special attention and care were exercised in the audio- recording process, particularly during the face-to-face interviews, to avoid disturbing or distracting respondents while roving the recorder. This made participants to feel in a natural setting and without fear of having their voices misused (Kelly, 2006). Following the Tharenou, Donohue & Cooper (2007) recommendations, the audio recorder batteries were checked before the start of each interview.

During conversations, without disturbing the recording process and the concentration of interviewees, the voice recording machine was regularly checked to ensure that it is recorded properly. All the data recorded from interviews were transcribed verbatim (Tharenou, Donohue & Cooper, 2007). For easy referencing and to ensure anonymity each interview was coded in substitution of the real identity of the respondent.

During interviews a systematic observation of the non-verbal communication, actions, behavior, body language, and gestures of the interviewees (Allan, 1991) were recorded. Memory distortion, and confusion in interpretation or disagreements in interpretations of certain events of phenomena were also recorded (Fielding, 2008). Field notes were important to describe facts, sites and events observed that were likely to provide further details and meaning about the role of electoral stakeholders in Botswana and Zambia. Names and contacts of participants were also recorded in field notes for possible follow up.

3.11. Sample size

The choice of sample size is as important as is the choice of sampling scheme because it also determines the extent to which the researcher can make statistical and/ or analytic generalizations. Unfortunately, as has been the case with sampling schemes, discussion of sample considerations has tended to be dichotomized, with small samples being associated with qualitative research and large samples being linked to quantitative studies (Onwuegbuzie & Collins, 2007).

The sample size in this study refers to the total number of participants selected from different individuals. The sample size for interviews consisted of twenty- eight interviewees with twelve from Botswana and sixteen from Zambia, all representing their organizations under electoral stakeholders' category. Details of the sample size are shown in the tables below.

Table 3.2: A list of Botswana interviewees' organizations

Country	Organization	Date of interview
Botswana	Office of the President	08/12/2015
Botswana	Independent Electoral Commission (IEC)	15/12/2015
Botswana	Botswana Democratic Party (BDP)	01/02/2016
Botswana	Electoral Commission of SADC (ECF-SADC)	02/02/2016
Botswana	University of Botswana	03/02/2016
Botswana	Botswana Congress Party (BCP)	05/02/2016
Botswana	Emang Basadi Organization (Women Organization)	08/02/2016
Botswana	Friedrich Ebert Stiftung	11/02/2016
Botswana	Organization for Youth and Elections in Botswana (OYEBO)	16/02/2016
Botswana	Umbrella for Democratic Change	16/02/2016
Botswana	Civil and Registration Department	26/02/2016
Botswana	Botswana Police Service	02/03/2016

Source: Compiled by Author, 2017

Table 3.3: A list of Zambia interviewees' organizations

Zambia	Disability Rights Watch (DRW)	03/03/2016
Zambia	Operation Young Vote	04/03/2016
Zambia	Southern African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (SACCORD)	04/03/2016
Zambia	Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ)	07/03/2016
Zambia	Foundation for Democratic Process (FODEP)	09/03/2016
Zambia	Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA Zambia)	09/03/2016
Zambia	University of Zambia	10/03/2016

Zambia	United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)	11/03/2016
Zambia	Zambia National Women's Lobby	11/03/2016
Zambia	United Party for National Development (UPND)	16/03/2016
Zambia	Zambia Congress of Trade Unions	17/03/2016
Zambia	Patriotic Front (PF)	13/04/2016
Zambia	Forum for Democracy and Development (FDD)	14/04/2016
Zambia	Evangelical Fellowship in Zambia	19/04/2016
Zambia	Department of National Registration, Passport and Citizenship	19/04/2016
Zambia	Zambia Police Service	26/04/2016

Source: Compiled by Author, 2017

The researcher managed to interview a total number of twenty-eight organizations with twelve from Botswana and sixteen from Zambia.

3.12. Data reduction and analysis

In mixed method studies data generated from interviews and observations need to be described and summarized (Lacey & Luff, 2001) into clusters, patterns, categories or themes (Maudeni, 2000) to allow for easy interpretation and drawing of conclusions. It should be noted that data analysis and interpretation can be done concurrently with data collection (Punch, 2006; Maudeni, 2000; Babbie, 2005).

In the current study data analysis started immediately from the time the fieldwork research began after the first contacts with respondents. As the research progressed more ideas were developed. By the time fieldwork was conducted there was already a clear indication of emerging themes, and how data was going to be analyzed, interpreted and presented in this thesis.

At the end of the fieldwork, the first step towards data reduction was revisiting the audio-records and field notes and checking them against the transcriptions. Possible errors or omissions were fixed. This also helped the researcher to re-familiarize himself with the content before the actual analysis.

Meanwhile, insofar as the theoretical approaches are concerned, secondary research questions and main themes of the study were developed.

3.13. Encounters during research

The first challenge that was faced by the current researcher was that of high levels of refusals, particularly by the public-sector respondents. The most common justification for refusal was that “I can’t help in that area of electoral matters without a go ahead from my superiors” ‘I can’t talk to you, who are you to ask me about my organization’s role towards the electoral activities? I don’t want to be involved in this confusion”.

The participants considered politics, especially elections, as a sensitive issue that they did not want to talk about, particularly with somebody whom they do not know. Some felt so uncomfortable that from the time the researcher introduced himself as a student of political science doing research on the role of electoral stakeholders in Botswana and Zambia, they were skeptical and wanted all the relevant documents that enabled the researcher to conduct the research in their countries (Office of the President- Research Unit).

Another challenge was the refusals to be tape-recorded. Respondents who were more critical of the approach taken by some political parties +initially refused to have interviews recorded. This was a clear indication of the fear of local authorities, which could result in sanctions. A further challenge was associated with the time-consuming, bulky and dispersed nature of the information. Qualitative studies are known for taking a long time in collecting, reducing and analyzing the bulky data collected (Mouton, 2011; Maree, 2007; Mauki, 2014).

Lastly, during research another challenge that the researcher can face is the problematic access to some relevant documents, as some may have disappeared (Clark & Causer, 1991). This also happened during this study, particularly when the researcher was in Zambia in the preliminary contacts with the Zambian Police Force (ZPF) officials.

3.14. Ethical considerations

Am mixed method inquiry involves collecting data from people and about people (Creswell, 2009). This means during the close interaction between the researcher and participants’ ethical issues are likely to arise which can compromise the validity, reliability, quality and trustworthiness of the

research if not dealt with carefully (Merriam, 2009; Rule & John, 2011; Punch, 2000). Therefore, the current study was also designed and conducted in adherence to ethical core principles.

In the current study the first ethical principle was to obtain informed consent from the informants. “Consent is about people agreeing to take part in the study” (Thomas, 2011:69). Before engaging the participants of this study, the purpose and relevance of the study was explained to them, as well as the way in which the collected data was going to be used. It was also highlighted to them that their participation in the study was voluntary and that there was no expected harm from their participation as per the University of KwaZulu- Natal ethical clearance letter states.

The second ethical principle was the freedom given to the informants to withdraw from the study at any stage if they so wished without being reprimanded. Those who accepted to participate in the study were free to withdraw at any phase of the research. Thirdly, participants were protected from any harm. Taking into consideration that the topic studied is purely political and politics remain a sensitive issue in Botswana and Zambia, particularly the sensitivity of asking people about the role of their organizations towards their democracy, it became crucial for the researcher to observe confidentiality to make sure that participants were protected from any psychological, emotional or any kind of harm (Creswell, 2009). For example, at the beginning of each interview each participant was encouraged to be free not to respond to questions that they did not feel comfortable to answer.

Considering the recent political changing dynamics in the two countries of study, care was taken to avoid asking questions that would kindle expressions of anger, frustration, or recall debilitating memories of suffering, pain and emotions.

The fourth observed principle included the right to privacy, anonymity and confidentiality. All data collected was treated with integrity and confidentiality and were used for academic qualification purposes only. This was emphasized before each interview, to make sure that the respondents did not feel that their privacy was being invaded. The participants were free to choose where and when to be interviewed. Participants’ contributions were kept anonymous during analysis and report writing. All contact details of respondents were kept safely for possible follow-up.

It was important that this researcher developed trust with participants throughout the research because this enabled the respondents to disclose relevant information in answering research

questions. This was particularly relevant in Botswana and Zambia, where people are still reluctant to discuss politics openly particularly with a ‘strange for fear of victimization’.

To establish trust with the respondents, preliminary visits to the field were undertaken before fieldwork began. During the fieldwork period, a considerable amount of time was spent in the field with the participants to allow for the capturing of information that may have been missed during the initial interviews.

3.15. Concluding Remarks

This chapter has explained the methodology employed in the study to respond to the research questions, starting with the explanation of the epistemology paradigm, the research approach and design and the research methods. It has enumerated the techniques and methods used in data collection, capturing and analysis. Furthermore, it has explained that the choice of the research strategy as applied in this study was determined by the nature of data gathering.

This chapter has also stated that the interviews and questionnaires were used in the current study as a way of collecting data. The chapter has further discussed the selection criteria adopted when deciding who was going to participate in the study. The chapter has also highlighted the problems encountered during the research and closes with a description of the ethical aspects taken into consideration to ensure integrity and quality of the research.

The following two chapters (four and five) give an overview of the political history of Botswana and Zambia. The chapters look at different transitions that the two countries went through, from colonization to the current democratic era. This is done with the view to provide the historical context within which the present situation should be understood and interpreted.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE CASE STUDY OF BOTSWANA

4.1. Introduction

This chapter examines Botswana's election practices, standards, the roles of each stakeholder in the 2014 General Elections and the entire elections management activities of Botswana. The Chapter also provides perspectives on regional integration as well as on the role of electoral stakeholders, and on the importance of electoral stakeholders in re-engineering election related management. The main thrust of the case study is to provide dimensions and perspectives on the sources and dynamics of free, fair and credible democratic elections, which are acknowledged by the world as best electoral practice and embraced by regional organizations.

4.2. Botswana's political background

Figure 4.1: Map of Botswana showing administrative districts



Source: Department of Surveys and Mapping, Gaborone: Botswana

Botswana is exceptional as the only Sub-Saharan African country to have maintained an uninterrupted record of liberal democracy and political stability as well as economic prosperity since independence in 1966. The first democratic elections were held in 1965, and similar free and fair

polls have been repeated every five years with no postponement to-date. The country has been hailed as exceptional and termed the ‘African Miracle’. It has also been dubbed Africa’s success story.

Botswana’s political life since independence has been dominated by the ruling Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) to-date, although its support has declined from the initial 80.4 percent of voters in the immediate pre-independence election in 1965 to a lower percentage in the 2014 general elections viz. 1965=80.4%, 1969=78.8%, 1974=76.6%, 1979=75%, 1984=68%, 1989=64%, 1994=54.5%, 1999=54.3%, 2004=50.6%, 2009=52.3% and 2014=46.7%. Over time, various opposition coalitions have emerged to challenge the BDP, but it has never failed to win at least less more than two-thirds of the parliamentary seats.

Botswana is, in traditional terms, a ‘representative democracy’. As a result, the practice of public involvement in the democratization processes over the years seems to have been based on a ‘weak interpretation’ of participation. According to De Beer (2000), a weak interpretation of participation equates public participation to simply involving people through co-option, placation, consultation and information, while not necessarily empowering them to participate in their own development meaningfully.

Notwithstanding this contention, Botswana’s performance in governance and democracy is considered better than that of most countries in Africa. The country is politically and socially stable, with a predictable institutional, policy and legal environment. By all the government indicators, Botswana has done exceptionally well on issues of political stability, government effectiveness, the rule of law and conduct of corruption. Since 2007, however, Botswana’s standing on some principles of good governance has been declining or remaining stagnant. For example, studies conducted by the World Bank Institute, World Economic Forum and International Budget Partnership reveal that some of Botswana’s governance indicators are somewhat declining.

Specifically, the Open Budget Index indicates that Botswana’s performance in budget transparency dropped from 66% in 2007 to 51% 2010 (BIDPA, 2010). The country’s weakening on this Index implies that citizens’ strategic participation in decisions that affect their quality of life in Botswana is not fully open and dialogic. In addition, the Botswana Local Government Barometer agrees that “most community members have little knowledge and ability to comprehend technical budgeting

issues” (BOCONGO, 2008:11) and, as such, feel marginalized in the budgeting process. In time, this might impact negatively on the capacity of Botswana to sustain good governance and democratic principles.

4.2.1 The electoral system

Botswana is a *de facto* one-party state, that notwithstanding the façade of multiparty democracy, only one party has won all the elections since independence elections in 1965. This view is shared by Huntington, who contends that Botswana’s democracy is still brittle as it has not passed the test of alternative political power, in which the ruling party loses elections and becomes an opposition party. Horowitz states that, ‘Botswana’s opposition is inscriptively limited with inscriptive minorities that cannot become majorities, and so the country’s elections are safe.

Opposition parties have been blamed for helping to sustain the one-party dominance. The dominance of the ruling party is also ascribed to the unrepresentative nature of the First-Past-The-Post electoral system or majoritarian system that obscures the strength of the opposition parties (Selolwane, 2002:6). The First-Past-The-Post is an electoral system in which the candidate who receives the most votes in an election is elected to office. There is no need to get most votes (50 %+). The candidate who obtains a higher number of votes than other candidates in each constituency is declared the winner.

To this end, the electorate only elects the Members of Parliament who in turn elect the President. This is contrary to the presidential systems which are observed in countries such as Kenya where the electorate vote for both the Member of Parliament and the President. The electoral process is governed by the Constitution of Botswana (1966) and the Electoral Act (1968). The Supreme Law of Botswana includes the Bill of Rights which, among other things, protects individuals from discrimination based on their race, tribe, and place of origin, political opinions, colour, creed or gender.

Botswana practices a single-member constituency system based on the-winner-takes-all principle. Most Batswana political leaders, especially those in the ruling BDP, have argued in favour of the First-Past-The-Post system, saying it is simple to implement and ensures a close connection between voters and their representatives, thus promoting geographical accountability. They further argue that

the system has served the country well, ensuring stability through clear majorities. The BDP argues that the Proportional Representation (PR) systems have several weaknesses and have not succeeded in improving the representation of women and youth in countries in the region. But others, mainly opposition parties, civil society and academics, argue against First-Past-The-Post, saying it distorts the true picture of each party's popular support (IDEA, 2010, 26).

The current electoral system also does not promote the representation of women and young people, mainly because political parties rarely nominate women candidates and, when they do, they are assigned unwinnable seats. Botswana has, since 1980, after the death of the first democratically elected President Sir Seretse Khama, experienced leadership succession in a smooth, violence-free manner. Furthermore, a constitutional amendment in 1998 made provision for the automatic succession of the Vice President upon the retirement of the President. Section 34(1) of the constitution of Botswana has since facilitated a succession plan which allows for the automatic succession of the Vice-President to the presidency (Marata, 2013:85).

However, the argument against the current arrangement is that while it helps in dealing with intra-party stability, it takes away from the electorate, and even Parliament, the right to choose the President. Hence, there is a call by many that the Constitution should be revised to provide for direct election of the President. Findings of the 2005 Afro Barometer cited in Sebudubudu (2005) indicate that 57% of the respondent's preferred election of a successor over automatic succession, while 41% felt that automatic succession should be retained.

Nonetheless, scholars like Molomo (2000) have questioned the current non-direct election of the President and have made recommendations for reforms in the election of the President. Molomo has gone further to prescribe the exact reform in this regard which he refers to as the 'Two rounds system of the plurality-majority system'. He states thus, 'in such a system, a candidate who secures an overall majority during the first round of elections is declared a winner. However, if no candidate emerges as a clear winner, the contest enters a 2nd round. Then a 'run-off' contest is entered one or two weeks later to produce a candidate with an overall majority' (Molomo, 2000:106). These are some of the current debates in Botswana on election matters.

4.3. Legal and Political context: Botswana's General elections- October 2014

4.3.1. The Legal and Constitutional Framework

It is generally recognized that to ensure democratic conditions and elections that support the true concepts of democracy it is essential that the legal framework and electoral system meet and comply with accepted international standards. A free, fair, credible and legitimate election is one of the hallmarks of a true democracy. It is worth briefly considering the international standards that govern democratic elections in general and against which the 2014 Botswana elections can be benchmarked.

According to Kadima (2009:5) it follows that the assessment of the quality of an electoral process is a complex process, for several reasons. These reasons include the logistical and financial challenge of monitoring an electoral process from its very early stages up to the final post-election stages. Alemika (2007:2) states that the concept of electoral quality is often used interchangeably with electoral integrity. Both concepts refer to the degree of the freeness and fairness of elections. There are several factors that impact on the quality and integrity of elections. Among these are (a) legal framework; (b) electoral system; (c) technical efficiency of electoral management authority; (d) relative autonomy of the electoral agency from interference by other organs of government and the ruling party; and (e) degree to which electoral processes, decisions, participation and outcomes are insulated from manipulation, corruption, and violence. The quality of elections around the world is assessed according to free and fair criteria. Mpabanga and Rakner (2007:7) declare that elections must comply with international standards to qualify as free and fair. Given the conventional practice discussed in this chapter, Botswana cannot be excluded from it.

(a). Free Elections

Tlakula (2011:3) argues that for an election to be free, citizens must have the right and opportunity to choose. There must be freedom of assembly, association, movement, and speech for candidates, parties, voters, media, observers and others. The political environment should be free of intimidation, and there should not be any impediments to standing for election by both political parties and independent candidates. Therefore, freedom is an essential precondition to meaningful elections.

(b). Fair elections

According to Tlakula (2011:3), for an election to be fair, it must have honest voting and counting, and should be administered without fraud or manipulation by impartial election authorities. Political

parties and individuals must have reasonable opportunities to stand for election, and there must be prompt and just resolution of election-related disputes and grievances, before and after the election-day.

Fairness also requires a 'level playing field'. Misuse of public resources for campaign purposes and incumbency should be avoided, and all parties and candidates must have an adequate chance of communicating with the voters, including reasonably equitable access to the media. Furthermore, for elections to be fair official announcements of results should be expedited and electoral complaints should be treated with impartiality.

In the same vein, Elklit and Svensson (1997) question what makes elections free and fair. For them, the translation of theoretical concepts such as free and fair into practical factors has proven difficult (Elklit and Svensson, 1999). In addition, Elklit and Svensson (1999) declare that the pre-election period is especially important: it is at this stage that observers must assess whether the election law and the constitution guarantee the freedom of the voters and verify that relevant resources are not too unequally distributed among competing parties and candidates. They argue that: Whereas freedom is a necessary though not sufficient condition for an election's acceptability, the combination of freedom and the fair application of electoral rules is both necessary and sufficient for such acceptability.

For an election to be free and fair, however, the main competitors should have had at least some access to campaign resources and the media, even if that access was not fully equal. In determining the acceptability of a given election, observers should focus on the degree of conformance to the country's election law and related regulations, considering not just election-day events but also the periods before and after the balloting.

Table 4.1 below summarizes the nature of the electorate as well as the exercise of the right to vote. It also defines the characteristics required of the voters, parties and candidates; and the electoral campaign itself.

Table 4.1. Free and Fair election patterns

Freeness: Nature of the electorate	Fairness: Securing a level playing field
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) All adults are qualified voters; b) Each voter has only one vote; c) Each voter has an equal opportunity to participate in the elections; d) When casting their votes, the electorate should be free to choose among the alternatives (parties' candidates) without threat or coercion and without being compensated for choosing an alternative; e) Each vote is counted only once and for the person/party chosen by the voter; f) Only ballots cast by the voters are included in counting. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) The criteria for registering parties and nominating candidates; b) Each party or candidate should have an equal opportunity to present to the voters their arguments, both arguing for their own case as well as to formulate a critique against the incumbent government; c) None of the contenders should have greater access to resources that are supposed to be neutrally and evenly distributed, should be politically neutral.

Source: Adapted by the author from Mpabanga and Rakner (2007:8)

All the key international standards governing democratic elections are based on the 1949 Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Any of the standards espoused by international organizations such as the United Nations, the Commonwealth, the African Union, the European Union, and regional organizations such as SADC also provide a valuable checklist against which the legal framework and electoral system can be measured (IDEA, 2010:22).

In the African context, the 2007 African Charter on Democracy, Elections, and Governance and the 2002 SADC Principles and Guidelines Governing Democratic Elections provide an authoritative framework for credible electoral conduct. Another document from which key principles and norms for guiding democratic elections can be derived is the 1990 Copenhagen Document, which underscores the commitment of all member states of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) to credible elections. Based on the key global and regional instruments it is possible to establish a practical checklist of fundamental principles that are central to a democratic tradition and can be summed up in the following key values:

- Universal
- Regular
- Equal
- Fair
- Secret
- Independence
- Free
- Transparent
- Accountable (IDEA, 2010).

While these principles are often reflected among the formal electoral rights of citizens, they are not enough. Respective national authorities must demonstrate a commensurate level of political will to make elections genuinely democratic and meaningful. In using the above checklist at a high level, it is fair to say that Botswana's electoral regime passes most tests. However, there are some anomalies, which need to be addressed to achieve total compliance.

In view of the above, it is important to state that the country's current electoral framework is based largely on the legislation passed down from the British administration prior to independence. Its foundations were laid in the British Act of May 1968, which has since been amended some 30 times. Considering the considerable changes in the British system, on which Botswana based its current electoral system and practice, it would be logical for Botswana's system to show signs of evolution and adaption to local realities (IDEA, 2010).

As mentioned earlier, the legal framework for elections in Botswana consists of the 1966 Constitution, the Electoral Act of 1968 (Chapter 02:09), and the Local Government (District Councils) Act. The Constitution of Botswana (as amended) recognizes that the sovereignty belongs to the people (ss 3-19) and guarantees political rights and fundamental freedoms that are essential to the conduct of elections such as the freedoms of association, assembly, movement and expression.

It also provides for the conduct of periodic elections at regular intervals by universal adult suffrage; the establishment of an independent electoral body; and the holding of elections in an efficient, proper, free and fair manner. The Constitution provides for the election of the President (Section 32), the qualifications for election as President (Section 33), the tenure of the office of President (Section 34), the vacancy in office of the President (Section 35) and the condition for the President-elect's oath taking (Section 37). The qualifications for elections to the National Assembly are provided in Section 61. It provides for the establishment of an independent election management body, its mandate, structure and powers in Section 65A and Section 66 of the constitution (AU Botswana Election Report, 2014:08).

In addition to the Constitution, the Electoral Act (as amended) constitutes the principal law for elections in Botswana. It provides for the registration of voters, the nomination of candidates, polling procedures, processes for dispute resolution, and a clear description of election related offences. The Act provides a framework that guarantees the integrity of the electoral process. The Local Government (District Councils) Act also provides for the elections of the District Councils, including the establishment of District Councils by order of the President and the required qualifications for candidates to stand for elections to a Council (Section 15).

In addition to the national frameworks, Botswana has signed and/or ratified several international and regional instruments related to the conduct of democratic elections. The relevant international commitments include the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), the International Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (ICERD), and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW).

At the regional level, Botswana is party to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights (ACHPR) and the Constitutive Act of the African Union. It has ratified the Protocol to the ACHPR on the establishment of an African Court. Botswana is also committed to the OAU/ AU Declaration on the Principles Governing Democratic Elections in Africa and the SADC Principles and Guidelines Governing Democratic Elections (AU Botswana elections report: 2014). Finally, the legal and constitutional framework of Botswana provides a basis for the conduct of credible elections in line with international, regional and sub-regional standards.

4.3.2. The Political Context

The 2014 Botswana general elections conducted for both parliamentary and local government were the 11th held since independence in 1966. In 2009, the Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) secured 45 of the 57 contested National Assembly seats, with the Botswana National Front (BNF) winning six seats, the Botswana Congress Party (BCP)/Botswana Alliance Movement pact five seats and an independent candidate winning a seat for the first time in Botswana's parliamentary history.

These elections were significant in that they were the first to be conducted since the launch of the coalition Umbrella for Democratic Change (UDC) in 2012. They were also marked by a significant increase in the number of registered independent candidates, with a total number of 254 for local government and 29 for parliamentary elections. The UDC was formed because of prevailing political dynamics after the 2009 general elections i.e., factionalism within the ruling Botswana Democratic Party (BDP), which led to some defections (e.g., the formation of the Botswana Democratic Movement [BMD] in 2010), and ruptures within the opposition itself. Defectors accused the party President, Lt. General Seretse Khama Ian Khama of dictatorship within the party while Lt. Gen. Khama, in turn, accused the defectors of indiscipline, and claimed that they sought to destabilize the party.

In fact, signs of disruption to the BDP's political culture started showing during the Mogae presidency (1998-2008). The BDP's political culture that promoted adherence to party rules and mutual accommodation between party factions sometimes got disrupted. This came in many ways, such as through what may be termed constitutional fundamentalism, insistence that constitutional provisions should be strictly followed even when they worsen political instability. Disruptions also

came through new entrants wanting to introduce radical changes in the running of the party and government, and through other means (Maundeni & Letshwao, 2012:07).

In 2001 the BDP factions entered another compromise when Vice President Lt. Gen. Khama was successfully persuaded by the elders not to challenge Ponatshego Kedikilwe for the party chairmanship. Lt. Gen Khama reluctantly agreed to withdraw his candidature due to a covert deal whose terms were that Kedikilwe would retire from the chairmanship in 2003 so that Lt. Gen Khama could become chairman without an election. When the BDP's 2003 elective congress scheduled for Gantsi Township approached, Kedikilwe betrayed the terms of the previous covert deal and announced his readiness to defend his position.

BDP elders such as Daniel Kwelagobe and Satar Dada tried to Mr Kedikilwe out of the race, but he remained insistent. This lost him the support of the party President, party activists, the party elders and supporters. For the first time, the President of Botswana openly supported and campaigned for a candidate (Vice President Ian Khama) for party position. This was unprecedented and marked the entry of new and disruptive politics that did not follow BDP party rules.

The above circumstance gave birth to constitutional fundamentalism, and the insistence that the BDP party rules should be followed no matter the circumstances, was born in the party. Thus, in 2003, BDP central committee elections were held in accordance with the party constitution, but amid divisions. Kedikilwe inadvertently blamed his loss on the betrayal by the faction he led and on the partisan campaigns by President Mogae, and not on the fact that he went against Lt. Gen. Khama for the party chairmanship. This incident showed that he had lost support of most of the militants, most of delegates, elders and the party President (Maundeni and Lotshwao, 2012).

The Trend of diverting from the established political culture of the BDP continued with President Ian Khama. During his presidency (2008), the BDP executives failed to strike a compromise before the 2009 congress held in Kanye. President Ian Khama insisted that women should take up most of the positions in the party central committee and went ahead and campaigned for them. This was meant to prevent the rival faction from winning positions in the party. This factional approach to politics worsened factional rivalry within his party, resulting in the split that followed in 2010. The divided activists embarked on the 2009 campaign trail for party positions and turned on each other.

Except for the party Presidency, all other central committee positions were contested for by the two factional executives. Worse for the BDP, the rival Kwelagobe/Kedikilwe faction emerged victorious in the central committee positions. This means that all the women candidates supported by the President failed to win a single seat. The stage was now set for the entrenchment of constitutional fundamentalism in pursuit of fractional interests.

Party leader Ian Khama devised strategies to neutralize the victory of the Kedikilwe/Kwelagobe faction. He immediately used his constitutional appointing powers in the party constitution to unilaterally nominate additional members from the Merafhe/Nkate faction, including the faction's leaders, Mompoti Merafhe and Jacob Nkate who had not stood for the congress elections. President Khama's appointments triggered anger from the Kedikilwe/Kwelagobe faction which felt that its hard-fought victory was being undermined and neutralized. Its newly prominent member, Gomolemo Motswaledi who had just been elected party secretary general publicly questioned Ian Khama's powers to unilaterally nominate additional members into the central committee. This led to President Khama suspending Motswaledi for 60 days and recalling his parliamentary candidacy for the Gaborone Central constituency.

The late Motswaledi challenged his suspension, recall in the High Court and lost on grounds that Ian Khama as sitting state President had constitutional immunity from prosecution (Motswaledi vs BDP case 2009), thus his decisions taken even within the party could not be challenged. Motswaledi went further and appealed against this decision to the High Court of Appeal which upheld the High Court ruling. After the general elections, disciplinary structures consisting of President Khama's activists, gave Motswaledi a hearing after which he was further suspended from the party for five years.

The BDP faced the choice of either reverting to its old political culture of mutual compromise of developing and following party rules, or, to continue the new trend of factional rivalry and unbalanced Presidential appointments. It was clear that initially, the party leader with military background chose to confront the members of the rival faction whose reaction to the long suspension imposed on its central figure Secretary General Motswaledi was measured at first, with some of its activists decamping to the Merafhe/Nkate faction and others resigning their positions from the party central committee.

However, more confrontation followed when things took a dramatic turn with the leading members of the rival faction calling for a factional conference, inviting only activists of that faction across the country. Factional delegates congregated just outside the City of Gaborone and decided to form a new party. The Botswana Movement for Democracy (BMD) was formed in mid-2010, with eight parliamentary deputies, scores of councilors and many more parliamentary deputies poised to quit the BDP. The BMD immediately became the main opposition in parliament through the floor crossing process.

The first BDP split initially sent shock waves throughout the Botswana politics. In the last quarter of 2010, constitutional fundamentalism characterized by Presidential factional appointments came to an end when President Khama had to make peace with leaders of the rival faction who had remained within the BDP. The political culture of mutual accommodation between the factions partially returned to the BDP and constitutional fundamentalism was watered down. As a result, defections from the party slowed down. Instead, three parliamentary deputies (two from BMD and one from BNF) defected to the BDP (Maundeni and Lotshwao, 2012).

The BMD drew its members from disgruntled members of the BDP and other opposition parties. The formation of the new party however was not sustained as its senior members soon began to return to the BDP. In 2012, the BMD's Vice President re-joined his former party-BDP. This appeared to have weakened the BMD as a formidable opponent of the BDP. After the formation of the BMD, opposition parties held talks on the creation of a joint opposition platform to counter the BDP. The main opposition party, the BNF, split in 1998, leading to the formation of the BCP. Efforts to foster opposition cooperation prior to the 2004 and 2009 elections foundered in the face of mutual distrust (Poteete, 2014:01). The Umbrella for Democratic Change (UDC), a coalition of the following parties was formed: the Botswana National Front (BNF), Botswana Movement for Democracy (BMD), Botswana People's Party (BPP) and recently the Youth Movement.

The formation of the UDC was an attempt to challenge the BDP at the 2014 elections. However, the failure to include the BCP, then the strongest opposition grouping in Botswana, was viewed as detrimental to attempts to mount a serious challenge to the BDP. The BDP has governed Botswana since independence in 1966. The other two political parties that contested the parliamentary elections

along with the BDP were the BCP and the UDC. The manifestoes of political parties focused on several social and economic issues (Commonwealth Report, 2014:02).

Key issues which dominated the pre-election environment included allegations of the abuse of incumbency in that state resources were used for campaign and bias by state media in favour of the ruling party. Other issues were the lack of state political party funding and the lack of transparency and accountability in campaign financing. Additionally, questions were raised regarding the adequacy of the IEC's financial resources. The low level of women contesting as candidates was an issue of concern to many stakeholders. The elections were also conducted against the background of economic slowdown. Ahead of the elections, Botswana's economic growth had slowed down considerably, in the second quarter of 2014; the country recorded 1.6% growth.

4.4. Key Electoral stakeholders during the Botswana 2014 General elections

The accomplishment of elections management depends on two players. Firstly, it depends on the competence of the Electoral Management Body. Secondly, it depends on the ability of electoral stakeholders to articulate rules and regulations that govern elections and to realize the fact that one among the political parties must emerge a winner of the entire election. The current study sought to discuss the mandate of electoral stakeholders' in-order to assess the clarity and relevance of each key stakeholder's role. It also investigated the inherent weaknesses of the electoral stakeholders in its structures, such as lack of institutional capacity, lack of political will, and lack of operational autonomy in the context of Botswana in general. However, the focus of the discussion was on the 2014 general and post elections in Botswana.

It is against the above background that the current study reviewed the Botswana's electoral stakeholders to provide an impartial assessment of the overall quality of the electoral stakeholders, to determine whether they indeed meet any elections standards; to measure whether an inclusive electoral process for all Botswana were moderately involved; and to demonstrate whether the participation was full accepted by both domestic, regional and international electoral stakeholders.

4.4.1. The Independent electoral commission

Wall et al. (2006:5) aver that the complexity and specialist skills necessary for electoral management require that an institution or institutions should be responsible for electoral activities. Such bodies come in a variety of shapes and sizes, with a wide range of matching titles which include Election Commission, Department of Elections, Electoral Council, Election Unit, or Electoral Board. Furthermore, Wall et al. (2006) maintain that the term Election Management Body (EMB) has been coined as a name to refer to the body or bodies responsible for election management, whatever wider institutional framework is in place.

An EMB is an organization or body which has the sole purpose of, and is legally responsible for, managing some or all of the elements that are essential for the conduct of elections and of direct democracy instruments such as referendums, citizens' initiatives and recall votes that are part of the legal framework.

Wall et al. (2006:7-8) further suggests three models of election management bodies, which are outlined as follows: The Independent Model of electoral management exists in countries where elections are organized and administrated by an institutionally independent EMB which manages its own budget and has 11 members coming from the executive branch of government. Under the Independent Model an EMB is not accountable to a government ministry or department. According to Wall et al (2006:7-8), the EMB may be accountable to the legislature, the judiciary, or the head of state.

In some countries, two bodies are established for the management of elections, both of which are independent of the executive and can be considered as independent EMBs. One of these bodies is responsible for policy decisions relating to the electoral process, and the other is responsible for conducting and implementing the electoral process. Provisions may exist which insulate the implementation EMB from interference by the policy EMB in staffing and operational matters. Examples of this double-independent framework under the Independent Model include Jamaica, Romania, Suriname and Vanuatu (Wall et al. 2006:7-8).

In Botswana the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) was established by section 65A of the Constitution of Botswana in 1997 following a referendum conducted earlier in the same year. Previously, the Botswana elections were conducted by the Permanent Secretary to the President (1965 -1984) and the Supervisor of Elections (1984 – 1997).

The mandate of the Commission was to:

- I. Conduct and supervise the National Assembly and Local Government Elections, as well as the referenda,
- II. Give instructions and directions to the Secretary of the Commission regarding the exercise of his functions under the electoral law prescribed by an Act of Parliament,
- III. Ensure that elections are conducted efficiently, properly, freely and fairly, and
- IV. Perform any other function as may be prescribed by an Act of Parliament.

To be able to perform the above functions accordingly, the Commission implements the statutes which guide the conduct of elections in Botswana which include the Electoral or legal framework and the Constitution of Botswana, the Electoral Act, the Local Government Act, and the Referendum Act. In addition, the Commission also conducts:

- I. Public awareness for the citizens of the country,
- II. Civic education or information, alongside, and
- III. Voter education to create sensitization on issues of democracy, governance and elections.

This goes a long way in sensitizing the citizenry to get them actively involved in the democratic processes of their country through making informed decisions (ECF-SADC report, 2014).

About its composition, the IEC is a seven-member part-time body consisting of a chairperson who is a judge of the High Court, a Deputy Chairperson who is a legal practitioner, and five members chosen from a list recommended by the All-party Conference. The Commissioners are appointed by the Judicial Service Commission, while the Secretary of the IEC is appointed by the President as provided in Section 65a (1) (4), 66(2) of the Constitution, although the Secretary is answerable to the IEC.

The IEC is served by the Secretary who is appointed by the President. The requirements of becoming Secretary of the IEC are like those of the Commission members except that the Secretary is required to be a citizen of Botswana. His tenure is constitutionally guaranteed until the age of 65 years.

However, the Secretary may be removed for incompetence (which may result from various causes such as infirmity, etc.) or for misbehavior. Constitutionally, the President will initiate a process for his removal by appointing a tribunal consisting of a judge and at least two members who hold or have held a high judicial office. According to the Constitution, removal can only be with a recommendation from the tribunal. The design of the IEC as an electoral management body appears to have been intended for an independent institution that can operate outside anybody's influence. Once appointed the tenure of both the Commission members and the Secretary is constitutionally protected (Phirinyane, 2013:48).

As stated above, the independence of the EMB is important to the integrity of the electoral process. In Botswana there is ongoing debate among electoral stakeholders over whether the IEC is sufficiently autonomous. Doubts about the commission's autonomy are bolstered by the fact that the Constitution provides for the IEC Secretary to be appointed by the Head of State and not by the IEC, and the fact that the IEC does not have the power to hire and fire its staff and relies on seconded civil servants to perform its work. What seems to further limit the IEC's independence is the current practice whereby it receives funds and accounts in the same way as any other government department.

In 2008, the IEC, through its Chairperson, Judge John Mosojane, expressed serious unease at what it termed continued interference by the executive with the operations of the Commission. Despite these challenges, it is clear from the interviews with electoral stakeholders that there is growing public confidence in the IEC and its capacity to deliver credible elections. The researcher therefore envisages that the ongoing reform process, coupled with the recommendations in this study and others in the past, will go a long way to enhance the image of the IEC as an independent and robust authority capable of delivering credible elections.

The researcher of the current study fully supports the initiative to enact an IEC law because this will provide for, among other things, increased administrative and financial autonomy for the Commission. An independent IEC will need a more robust structure to enable it to assume responsibility for most of the functions and activities, which have hitherto been carried out by other government departments, among them the treasury, transport, public works and public administration. This will mean that the IEC will require more funding to undertake these activities.

Other concerns relating to the independence of the IEC have been noted. Somolekae and Lekorwe (2000) observe that the IEC is placed under the Ministry of Presidential Affairs and Public Administration, which taints its independence. They also note that the President alone appoints the Secretary of the IEC, thereby leaving room for manipulation of the system by the incumbent government. The 2014 General Elections were conducted by a new Commission whose members were appointed on 29th August by the Judicial Service Commission.

The IEC is chaired by Justice Abednego B. Tafa, with the Deputy Chairman (Mr. John Carr-Hartley), three women of the seven members (Ms. Shaboyo Motsamai, Ms. Martha Sayed and Ms. Agnes Sethogile) and other two male members (Dr. Molefe Phirinyane and Mr. Alpheus Matlhaku), were sworn in by President Lt. Gen. Seretse Khama Ian Khama on Tuesday, 2nd September 2014 (Botswana daily news, 2014).

Although the Commission was newly appointed before elections; it could conduct the 2014 general elections effectively with the support of the Commission Secretary and staff. The Secretary of the IEC who remains in office, constitute the institutional memory of the Commission that prepares the record for the new Commission and takes care of the hand over and take over arrangements between the former Commission and the new one. It was noted that the commission's transition was well managed, and it did not negatively impact the conduct of the 2014 General Elections.

4.4.2. The Parliament of Botswana

Botswana has a parliamentary system which manifests a predominant party system in which one party dominates both the executive and legislature. In theory, a prime minister should head a parliamentary system but a President heads Botswana's parliamentary system, and this creates a lack of balance. The independence constitution defines the head of state as Prime Minister, but this was amended after independence to become President but without an accompanying Presidential system where the president is directly elected. In Botswana, the President is indirectly elected by being the presidential candidate of the majority party in parliament after the general elections. Although the President is not directly elected, he wields extensive executive powers which come directly from the constitution and not from parliament (Molomo, 2005:37).

Theories of majoritarian electoral systems, which in the case of Botswana are manifested by the First-Past-The-Post electoral system, emphasize government accountability and effectiveness. This

system produces single party cabinet who take the credit for all the good work and blame for government failure. However, critics of this system argue that it makes the losers feel disempowered and alienated from the political system. The argument here is that a win by a simple majority affords the winner an opportunity to impose their will on the population.

According to Norris (1999:220), “in majoritarian democracies, winners who supported the governing party consistently expressed far higher satisfaction with democracy than losers”. This is to say that the majoritarian system inspires confidence and trust in the supporters of the dominant party and despair in the supporters of losing parties.

Botswana’s Parliament is charged with the responsibility of legislation and oversight. It currently consists of 65 Members of Parliament viz. the State President, 57 Elected Members, four Specially Elected Members, and the Speaker of the National Assembly. The election of the two specially elected Members of Parliament followed amendment of Section 58 of the Constitution, which increased the number of specially elected members from four to six with effect from 27th October 2016. The local government has 490 seats and 113 for specially nominated councilors. Members of the National Assembly and Local Councils are elected for five-year term.

Botswana’s head of state is the President, who exercises national executive powers. However, the President is not directly elected. The nominated presidential candidate of the party that wins most seats (50 per cent plus 1) in Parliament becomes the President. The President is elected for a five-year mandate and can serve a maximum of two terms in office. He issues out the Writ of any election in the country.

Leading to the 2014 general elections, it was reported that Botswana held the first-ever Presidential debate for all the contesting candidates. The Presidential debate was organized by the private radio stations and partners. This event accorded an opportunity and chance from the invited guests and the media. The President-elect was inaugurated at a ceremony held on 28th October 2014 at Parliament Grounds, in Gaborone, where he submitted four nominees to Parliament for election the same day. A total of 57 newly elected MPs plus the 4 specially elected members of parliament took oath on the 30th October 2014.

4.4.3. The political parties in Botswana

Political parties are the heart of democracy without which it (democracy) cannot exist or at least work. Political parties are essential for any democracy (Sadie, 2007: 202). Schattschneider (in Sadie, 2007:202) indicates that “[p]olitical parties created democracy and modern democracy is unthinkable save in terms of parties”. Sadie (2007:202-203) argues that the condition of the parties talks more about the nature of any regime. In other words, it could be said that the country’s democratic system works well and vice versa if political parties operate in a free and competitive political environment.

Austin and Tjernström (2003) submit that ‘[p]arties tend to be deeply and durably entrenched in specific substructures of the specific society in a sustainable and well-functioning democracy.’ The right of individuals to participate in public affairs, including the establishment of and free association with political parties and participations in campaign activities, is protected by international principles and fundamental electoral rights.

Political parties form an integral part of a functional democracy. They aggregate and convey political interests and serve as the link between citizens, parliament and government (IDEA, 2007). Randall (1988) in IDEA (2007:42) identifies the main functions of political parties as to:

- (a) Endow regimes with legitimacy by providing ideologies, leadership or opportunities for political participation or a combination of the three;
- (b) Act as a medium for political recruitment, thus creating opportunities for upward social mobility;
- (c) Provide opportunities for the formation of coalitions of powerful political interests to sustain government (interest aggregation);
- (d) Have major influence on politics because of devising programmes, supervise policy or mobilize people to undertake self-help activities;
- (e) Maintain political stability in societies able to absorb increasing levels of political participation by new social forces generated by modernization.

Botswana has four political parties represented in parliament (NB Name them). Even though there are many political parties in the country, the constitutionally guaranteed freedoms of expression, assembly and association are observed. Hence, the process of registering a political party in

Botswana is simple and free. Political party registration is regulated by the Societies Act which stipulates the requirements of registration and the conditions under which a society can be registered or deregistered. Registration mainly requires that the registering society should have a constitution that governs its existence and behaviour.

Political parties in Botswana advocate for various ideologies. For example, the BDP is a centre right party, the BCP centre left, the BNF leftist, while the relatively new BMD appears to be centre left. While political parties are formed based on beliefs, interests and ideology, several political parties have been formed because of party splits, the BCP and the BMD being examples in this regard. Thus, the political ideologies of such parties may not be significantly different from those of the parent parties they defected from. The desire for economic growth, national unity, and sustainable development is a common factor among the political parties (Mooketsane, 2013:31).

It should be noted that in Botswana neither the constitution nor electoral law mentions political parties. Instead, political parties are only required to register as societies in terms of the Societies Act (1987), which itself does not define a political party. Application for registration must be made with the Registrar of Societies within 28 days of establishment or of the adoption of the constitution or of rules, regulations or by-laws (Societies Act 1987, 6(1). Before processing an application, the Registrar may request additional information it deemed necessary for the consideration of the application (Societies Act 1987, 6(3). If the application is successful the party is issued with a certificate of registration (Societies Act 1987, 6(4). Registration may be refused if the registrar believes (Societies Act 1987, 6(2):

- The purpose of the party is unlawful or detrimental to the peace, welfare and order of society;
- The party fails to supply information requested by the Registrar within 90 days of the request being made;
 - The constitution, or rules, regulations or by-laws of the party do not satisfactorily provide for membership determination and termination or for the management of its finances and property;
 - The office bearers are not able to manage the party, or its property and finances, or perform their duties;

- The constitution, or rules, regulations or by-laws of the party are inconsistent with written law;
- The party does not exist; and
- The party's name resembles that of another in a way that might deceive the public or is illegal.

During the 2014 General Elections, three political parties and independent candidates contested the elections. The three political parties are the BDP, BCP and the UDC. The legal framework for elections in Botswana also provides for independent candidates as well as for candidates sponsored by political parties.

The nomination of parliamentary and local government candidates was conducted in line with Section 35 of the Electoral Act. The 10th National Assembly was officially dissolved on 29 August 2014. 43. Nomination of candidates for the office of the President took place on 20 September 2014, as per the communique of the Judicial Service Commission dated 03 September 2014. According to Section 35 of the Electoral Act; 'Every candidate shall be nominated by a proposer, seconder and seven other persons as supporters, whose names shall be on the election roll for the constituency for which the candidates seek election'. Section 61 of the Constitution requires that for person to be eligible to stand as a candidate to the parliamentary elections, him /her:

- Should be a citizen of Botswana;
- Should be 18 years of age or over;
- Is qualified for registration as a voter for the election of the member of the National Assembly and is so registered;
- Can speak, and unless incapacitated by blindness or other physical cause, to read English well enough to take an active part in the proceedings of the Assembly.

At the end of the nomination process, each of the three political parties/umbrella parties nominated a presidential candidate. Presidential Candidates were:

- President Lt Gen. Seretse Khama Ian Khama (BDP), the Incumbent,
- Mr. Dumelang Saleshando (BCP),
- Mr. Duma Boko (UDC).

On 25 September 2014, BCP fielded 54 candidates, BDP 57 candidates, and UDC 52 candidates for the National Assembly elections. Additionally, 29 independent candidates registered for the National Assembly elections. In accordance with Section 15 of the Local Government (District Council) Act, Chap. 40:01, a person qualifies to be elected as a member of a council if:

- He/she is registered as a voter for elections of the elected members of the National Assembly and enrolled in a voter roll prepared and certified in terms of the Elections Act, for the area or any part of the area in respect of which a council has been established; and is entitled to vote in any election of member of the council;
- He/she has attained the age of 18 years; and
- He is a citizen of Botswana.

Through its consultation with stakeholders, the researcher notes that the nomination process was conducted in accordance with procedural requirements and to the satisfaction of political parties.

4.4.4. The media

The media plays an essential role in the conduct of democratic elections. Not only do media outlets provide candidates with a platform to voice their political opinions but they also provide information to voters and can serve as a watchdog for government actions.

A free, fair and credible election does not only imply that citizens can vote in proper conditions but also that relevant information on political parties, candidates and the election process itself is provided so that voters can make informed decisions. Media freedom is very important in democratic elections and regulation of the political use of the media should be reasonably exercised given the close relationship between media and elections. Media is considered the best mechanism for message dissemination and is the focal point, especially regarding election campaigns. While regulation of the media is well founded, some legal measures applied to the media may seem overly restrictive or unnecessary impeding the activities of the media.

The access of political parties and candidates to the media may be regulated through regulatory bodies, statutes covering the media or public information, and not necessarily in the electoral law. Such statutes may only contain general provisions on media access under implementation by an administrative body, such as a specialized media committee or organization with an obligation to act

with independence, impartiality, transparency and consistency; Botswana Regulatory Authority (BOCRA). It is important to regulate broadcasting time in the media coverage of election campaigns and the dissemination of polls and surveys in certain periods. However, the regulations and conditions that create obstacles and penalize free speech not only deny fundamental rights and the ability of political parties and candidates to communicate directly with voters.

The concept of free and fair elections is not just about how votes are cast. It is also about the availability of adequate information about parties, their candidates and the entire election process. Information enables voters to make informed decisions when casting their vote (Fombad, 2002). It is here that the media's role is important in terms of providing information. But this seems a far-off expectation, given that media freedom as well as citizens' access to information in Botswana is not expressly guaranteed in the Constitution. It is merely to be inferred from the general freedom of expression provisions (section 12).

The government of Botswana remains non-committed to media freedoms or to the introduction of the freedom of information legislation. Government's non-committal approach to a freedom of information bill has continued in the year 2012, as government has at all costs discredited a bill meant to ensure freedom of information – it has declined discussing and passing it into a law (The Botswana Gazette, 2012). It does not come as a surprise that in the recent past, government has been awarded the “Golden Lock Award” which denotes how secretive the government is (Kaboyakgosi and Marata, 2012) and fuels criticism that the government has excessive control over media and the flow of information in general.

The constitution of Botswana provides and protects freedom of speech and expression, which underpin extensive legal protections for media outlets. These freedoms are generally respected by the government in practice. However, the constitution contains several provisions concerning national security, public order, and public morality that media claim could be used to limit press freedom. This has resulted in Botswana's media not being rated as ‘fully free’ by international agencies. Access to public information remains a major issue for journalists since the Freedom of Information Act is yet to be passed (Commonwealth report, 2014).

The media in Botswana is regulated by the Media Practitioners Act (2008) and the Botswana Communications Regulatory Authority Act (BOCRA) (2012). Since the enactment of these media laws, however, the media landscape has had limitations imposed on full media freedoms. The Media Practitioners Act which was enacted in 2008 requires journalists to obtain the consent of a government- appointed media council (also established the same year). The council also has the power to impose fines and jail time on journalists if it determines that they have violated the existing standards or has failed to register. The enactment of this media law caused some controversy, as Botswana already has an independent, self-regulating press council. The government-appointed council excludes media practitioners and publishers in its decision-making structures.

In Botswana, the media has done a disservice to the large sections of society through various actions and omissions. News reporting has tended to concentrate on negative campaigns and has often ignored the pertinent issues which underlie the elections. The media coverage of elections in the country has always been mild, thereby contributing to voter alienation and voter apathy. The government-owned media should be required by law to give a fair coverage and equitable access to all competing political parties (Mfundisi, 2005:173).

As enshrined in the Guidelines on Media Coverage of Elections in the SADC region, the role of the media during elections is crucial. The Media must ensure that voters make informed choices. The coverage of candidates, parties and electoral processes should be in pursuit of this central role. The Guidelines further specifies that:

State-operated media, and more specifically public service broadcasters, have a particular role to play in ensuring fair, balanced and equitable coverage and allocation of free airtime for party political broadcast. In this regard, they should work closely with independent electoral bodies, media regulatory bodies, media councils as well as media Ombudsmen in developing formulas for fair and equitable allocation of airtime.

The constitution and Election Act do not establish any election specific obligations for the state-owned media to have programming that provides equal access to all parties to present their manifestos to the public. In addition, there no requirement for equal airtime to be granted to Presidential candidates by the public broadcaster. However, Botswana enjoys a relatively free and

diverse media landscape and freedom of expression that is enshrined in the country's constitution. The country has 11 private newspapers, one state owned paper, and a handful of radio stations two of which are owned by the state and have more than 90% coverage of the country between them. In addition, there are two Television channels of which one is owned by the state while the other one is privately owned. Botswana also exhibits very vibrant social media which together with mainstream media combined to provide a lot of coverage and commentary in the run up to the 2014 elections.

In the election process, the state-owned media, radio and TV as well as some private radio stations, provided coverage of the process and the parties and independent candidates in competition. It was however acknowledged by many interlocutors and stakeholders that the state TV coverage of campaigns and political events were imbalanced in favour of the ruling party and the incumbent to the disadvantage of other parties and independent candidates (AU Election Report, 2014:17).

During the 2014 General elections in Botswana, the media complained of unfair treatment by the EMB. Some of the journalists were reported to have been trailed while others were cautioned by the state police for publishing articles that were perceived to be anti- government. Moreover, others had their information and equipment confiscated. The stakeholders emphasized that, the Constitution of Botswana guarantees the freedom of expression and they expected the government of Botswana to uphold this right.

The public media was accused of being biased in terms of news coverage towards the ruling party. Although the private media tried to balance its news coverage, it faced some logistical challenges that inhibited / limited their scope. Stakeholders therefore demanded that the IEC should engage media houses to facilitate equitable access and coverage for all political parties and candidates.

The Stakeholders highlighted the need to enforce the Electoral Code of Conduct for broadcasters or media houses. They indicated that, although it is issued by the National Broadcasting Board (NBB) as per section 10 (1) (b) of the Broadcasting Act [Chapter 72:04], to exercise control over and to supervise broadcasting activities including relaying of radio and television programmes, media houses need to be impartial.

The Stakeholders highly commended the IEC, Political Parties and other Organizations (Youth and Women) for effectively utilizing electronic and print media to reach out to the electorates of Botswana on the various electoral processes, voter education messages and publicizing party manifestos.

4.4.5. The civil society

A vibrant civil society is a vital player in checking the excesses of the state through advocacy and lobbying. Kenya has enjoyed an energized civil society. Particularly from the early 1990s, civil society organizations (CSOs) have since continued to play an invaluable role in sustaining a growing democratic culture. CSOs, including faith-based organizations (FBOs), contributed immensely to the promotion of voter registration. They also participated in the election observation process. The visibility of civil society in an electoral observation process is critical for ensuring compliance and respect for the rule of law and for deterring irregularities. A consistent and effective domestic observation programme is one of the key components of measuring electoral performance and enhancing of frameworks, as well as of monitoring use of public resources for private benefit, assessing media coverage; checking electoral violence and observing party behaviour and voter attitudes (Scorecard Partnership/Community Aid International, 2008).

Civil society monitoring is very important because it can serve the following purposes in a democracy:

- ✓ To assess the electoral process: By assessing the relative freeness and fairness of elections accordingly to widely accepted criteria, international organizations or local monitor groups have been able to declare the legitimacy of the elections and their results or lack thereof;
- ✓ To increase respect for and confidence in human rights: the right to political participation and choice is a fundamental human right. The acknowledgement of political rights entrenches the right to freedom of association, of expression, and of gathering;
- ✓ To enhance the electoral process: Monitoring the electoral process helps to enhance public confidence in the electoral process and to promote learning from accumulated experience. The monitors' assessment of the process can lead to electoral law reform, increase in electoral budgets, and cross-country exchanges, all of which may bring about the improvement of future electoral processes;

- ✓ To build confidence in democracy: Voter education, voter registration and civic education strengthen the citizens' understanding of democracy. Monitoring voter education helps historically disadvantaged groups in any society to improve their understanding of the electoral process and assists them in challenging the conventional way of doing things in their society. It also assists in breaking cultural shackles which have traditionally excluded the marginalized from their rightful participation; and;
- ✓ To contribute to peaceful conflict resolution. Monitoring of elections has been a powerful tool in resolving conflict peacefully between parties. South Africa's historic election in 1994 is a case in point. International monitoring of those elections helped reduce violence between the historically enfranchised white community and the disenfranchised black community (Civil Society election monitor's field manual, 1998:10).

Civil society in Botswana is weaker than the state and is largely more concerned about upholding the interests of its members than worrying about its relationship with the state (Keorapetse, 2013:06). Civil society in Botswana should be commended for its effort in providing voter education. Botswana over the years had declined on the Human and Freedom index, which is an internationally recognized instrument due to political intimidation and dominance. Civil society felt that it was about time that steps were taken to correct the situation. It was observed that there was a decline in public confidence on/in oversight institutions and state security organs. Society perceived that state machinery was being used to intimidate other political opponents or any citizen with dissenting views.

Although the IEC has the legal responsibility for and authority over voter education, civil society organizations can play a significant role too. There is an increasing need for policy dialogue between the government, the IEC and civil society on the issue of voter education. The mobilization of civil society organizations in election year is crucial for voter education activities. These organizations have the capacity, skills, resources and engagement and participation of civil society. Civil society organizations include, campaign networks, teacher organizations, student representatives' bodies, religious organizations, political parties, youth organizations, women's organizations, trade unions, professional bodies, and social movements. All these bodies are closer to the grassroots, and hence can transmit effective information to the population scattered across the whole country (Mfundisi, 2005:169-170).

It is important to emphasize that a strong and vibrant civil society engaged in a diverse range of public activities is essential for a healthy democracy and allows Botswana's society to articulate their concerns at all levels of government. Civil society organizations can ensure public accountability by government and its agencies to the population. In addition, they can increase voter awareness in elections as well as keep political parties focused on the socio-economic and political concerns of citizens.

Civil society Organizations were pleased with the large number of independent candidates, participating in the 2014 elections. Civil society also commended the IEC for archiving a 73% of the targeted 1,120,000 of the 1,400,000 eligible voters. Out of a total of 824,073, the females were in most of the registered voters at 455,869. Most organizations have started training and sensitizing women on the importance of voting and participating in the electoral process.

While the Civil society attempts to resist the encroachment of the state on what is private, its various organizations also seek to influence the state in the exercise of public policy and the allocation of valued resources.

4.4.6. Participation of women, youth, and minority groups

The Beijing Platform for Action states that “without the active participation of women and the incorporation of women's perspectives in all levels of decision-making, the goals of equality, development and peace cannot be achieved” (Lowe-Morna, 1996:167). One of the weaknesses of Botswana's democracy has been the under-representation of women at virtually all levels of decision-making, both in the political sphere and even in the government bureaucracy. For many years, this situation was not even questioned in the country, particularly because according to Setswana tradition, “women cannot or should not lead.” This situation was increasingly questioned following several local and international developments. These developments were as follows:

(a) The Formation of Emang Basadi

Following the amendment of the Citizenship Act in 1982, a group of Batswana women met to decide on how to challenge this Act which denied Batswana women married to foreign men the right under the law to pass citizenship on to their children. The women felt that the Act denied them their

democratic rights. They formed an organization called Emang Basadi that has since become a leading organization in terms of advocating for women's rights.

(b) The Unity Dow Case

Emang Basadi tried since its formation in 1986 to lobby government to amend the Citizenship Act and to enact a gender-neutral piece of legislation. When these efforts did not seem to bear fruit, a Motswana woman, Unity Dow, (married to an American citizen) took government to court on grounds that the Citizenship Act denied her enjoyment of human rights and that such discrimination violated the country's constitution. Dow won the case, but the state appealed and still lost.

(c) The Beijing Conference

The Beijing Conference, just like the others before it (e.g., the Nairobi Conference of 1985), and other regional initiatives such as the SADC Declaration on Gender and Development have also played a major role of bringing into focus the issues of gender, equality and development in the agendas of many governments. The Government of Botswana is a signatory to both the Beijing Declaration and the SADC Declaration on Gender and Development. These international initiatives have also helped local women's organizations, namely Emang Basadi and its collaborating partners that needed a boost in questioning Botswana's democracy and its effectiveness particularly in promoting participation by all, and ensuring equality (Molomo and Somolekae, 2010:117-118).

The government of Botswana instituted a National Policy on Women and Development (1996) to facilitate the promotion of gender equality aimed at empowering women in all spheres of social, economic and political life of the country. The adoption of this policy marked a major milestone in recognizing the important role of men and women in decision-making (Republic of Botswana, 2003).

The promotion of gender equality is one of the guiding principles of the AU as enshrined in its Constitutive Act (Art.4). The ACDEG also recognizes the centrality of the promotion gender equality in public and private institutions (Art. 2&3) as well as the political participation of minorities, persons with disability and vulnerable social groups in electoral processes (Art.8). In this regard, the AUEOM considered the legal framework for the 2014 General Elections to ascertain whether the political rights of these important sectors of the population are guaranteed (African Union Botswana election, 2014:16).

In Botswana women represent 56 percent of the total electorate. While the voters' rolls clearly show that women constitute most of the voters in Botswana, this is not reflected in the political parties' nomination for candidates for both the Office of the President and National Assembly. There was no female among the three presidential candidates. Notably, no quota policy is provided in the Electoral Law. The last National Assembly included only 4 female MPs (2 directly elected and 2 specially elected) out of 61 MPs. Following the 2014 election results, the Botswana parliament once again has only 4 female MPs (3 directly elected and 1 specially elected) out of 61 MPs.

Therefore, attempts to increase the political participation of women in the 2014 elections were mounted by civil society and political parties. For example, the UDC and the BCP included 30 percent representation in their constitution, while the BDP established the 'Bulela Ditswe' system (internal BDP system), which aimed to afford women the opportunity of standing at primary elections without hindrance. An inter-party caucus for women in politics was established to facilitate the participation of women in politics and party leadership structures. In addition, women in media association were established to conduct and build gender and media capacity (Commonwealth election report, 2014:07).

However, there remains considerable room for improvement. Notwithstanding the high visibility of women at various campaign rallies and as polling officials at polling stations, it was suggested that women were limited to supportive roles, rather than actively standing as candidates. The challenge to increasing women's political participation has been attributed to several factors, including prevailing patriarchal cultural norms; and the women's relative lack of access to resources. It is noteworthy that Botswana is yet to sign the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development.

Some of the challenges that contributed to the low participation of women in politics was the issue of culture where women's role was seen to be the one for caring for the family and not engaging in politics. No deliberate measures were put in place by the three (BDP, UDC and BCP) political parties to ensure women actively participated in politics. Lastly, no target voter education and voter registration were conducted for women. Although faced with the challenges' women came out in large number to be registered as voters.

The concept of youth has varied in meaning across societies and cultures over time. Chronological age is the most common and primary criteria. Botswana's National Youth Policy for instance defines youth as those aged 12 to 29 (Ntsabane, 2005: 207). The youth in the developing world have rapidly come to make up most of the population and yet can still feel politically disempowered and economically abandoned by the civic society. The youth's situation in contemporary Botswana is a picture of good and bad news. The positive side is that Botswana has done exceptionally well in the past two decades to provide services in the form of schools and facilities (Ntsabane, 2005).

There has been interest in the subject of youth participation in politics in general, and in elections, for some time. Voter apathy among the young deserves thorough investigation. The concern about the youth's low electoral participation is recognized as a problem area for the country's political system. These include the Independent Electoral Commission, political parties and the Botswana Youth Council; newspaper editorials and political commentators have also expressed concern. It is not unique to Botswana, South Africa, Japan, the United States of America and other mature democracies are faced with this problem.

Of the 824,073 registered voters, 387,870 were youth. This meant that youth participation in the electoral process rose significantly compared to the 2009 elections. Research has shown that Youth in Botswana have lack of interest in elections. This has led to the notion of voter apathy among young people. The majority felt that IEC has not exploited the available ICT products that would stimulate their participation in elections online registration and voting, information verification and many others. Social media was utilized to an extent to engage young people, but it has not been able to verify the scope of its impact on the 2014 General elections.

According to the 2011 census, the youth comprise 60 percent of the total population of Botswana. The Youth cited non-visibility of the IEC, lack of continuous voter education and sensitization after national elections. They also highlighted failure to stimulate momentum and trust among the youths and the public propels voter apathy. Most youth organizations have not included civic education in their work plans; this has negatively affected their participation. However, the trend is improving, and some organizations have deliberately developed youth-political education programmes, have promoted youth advocacy work and research, participated in development of youth policies and capacity building (ECF-SADC election report, 2014:17).

Youth organizations indicate that the issue of principal concern was the rigidity of society and the electoral system which translated into youths being side-lined from political participation and politics in general. The youths expressed mistrust for the politicians and over time tend to feel that once politicians are elected to office, they abandoned the electorates (youth). So, by not voting, the youths express their frustration. Generally, the Youth in Botswana are faced with challenges of unemployment and under-employment, poverty and lack of representation in key decision-making bodies among them. These are some of the issues that youth organizations were engaging the various political parties on to encourage youth participation in the electoral process.

The Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) has established democracy youth clubs in schools to educate the youth on issues of democracy and elections, as well as curbing voter apathy. The debate clubs called ‘IEC Democracy Youth Clubs’ are run by student members however their upkeep and maintenance in terms of access to information remains the sole responsibility of the Commission. The clubs are well coordinated with a vision and long-term goals of assisting the youth to actively participate in the governance of their country. Therefore, the vision intends to contribute to Botswana’s political and democratic development process the rough empowerment of the youth with information, skills and knowledge for their effective participation.

Figure 4.2: Democracy Youth Club debate competitions in progress.



Source: IEC- Botswana Report, 2014.

The other important civil society organizations that can have a profound impact on voter education are the religious institutions which have a large following in Botswana. Religious groups have played a large part in voter education in different countries of the World, for example in the United States of America, the United Kingdom, South Africa and Zimbabwe. However, in Botswana, there has been slow participation of religious groups in voter education although the government has not discouraged these spiritual bodies from participation in non-partisan voter education amongst their denominations. It is critical for these bodies to participate in elections to impact positively on the future of communities and the nation at large (Mfundisi, 2005:173).

4.4.7. The Security of elections in Botswana

The Elections Act holds the Commission responsible for providing security to the elections and guaranteeing the people's exercise at their political rights through the entire stages of the electoral process. The Commission understood this authorization to be demanding the full protection of citizens, staff as well as centres and fields of electoral operations to guarantee the success of the elections as a constitutional means to govern the country. At the early preparation stages for the elections, the Commission contacted the Botswana Police to take the necessary measures for the deployment of security personnel to take necessary measures for the security and protection of the elections. Currently there is collaboration between the IEC and the Botswana Police.

4.4.8. Domestic and international observers

The legal framework for elections in Botswana is also informed by regional instruments governing elections such as the SADC Principles for Electoral Management, Monitoring and Observation, and the SADC Principles and Guidelines for Democratic Elections, to which Botswana is a signatory. Others include the 2002 AU Declaration on Principles Guiding Democratic, compliance with these and other international and regional principles for democratic elections, it is surprising that it has neither signed nor ratified the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance. If Botswana, widely considered a leading African democracy, were to do so, it might help to strengthen the continent's commitment to democracy, governance and credible elections and might also encourage other countries to emulate it (IDEA, 2010:29).

The involvement of the election observers remains crucial in a democracy to measure the commitment of the Commission and its stakeholders in upholding the principles of democracy. It also reflects the Commission's commitment in maintaining credibility and transparency throughout the process. The 2014 General Elections attracted interest from both domestic and international observers and media. Altogether, there were Four Hundred and Sixty-Nine (469) domestic Observers and Four Hundred and Ninety-Four (494) domestic Media personnel, while there were Two Hundred and Twenty-Six (226) International Observers and Thirty-two (32) International Media personnel. A total of fifty-six (56) diplomats from the local diplomatic missions also observed the elections (IEC-Botswana Report: 2014).

These were accredited by the Commission and each Mission deployed its personnel across the country as they deemed appropriate. Prior to the deployment, the Commission briefed each mission on the state of preparedness for the election and issued relevant packages.

Figure 4.3: Election Observers in the field



Source: IEC- Botswana Report, 2014.

Each of the observer missions was expected to submit to the Commission a copy of their field report on the conduct of the elections with recommendations for the IEC for future considerations.

4.5. Issues relating to the 2014 general elections in Botswana

As pointed out by Dr. B. Bam (2009), ‘each election that the IEC had to deliver them has its own character and dictates the contextual realities’. The following headings will highlight briefly how some of the issues related to elections were approached in both selected countries.

4.5.1. Preparedness of the Independence Electoral Commission of Botswana: 2014 General Elections

According to the IEC, the procurement of election materials was completed and distributed across the whole country as scheduled without major operational logistical challenges. It was observed that the IEC- Botswana mentioned that some 16000-polling staff were recruited and trained between September and October 2014, and each of the 2600 polling stations was provided with two police officers and there was no serious logistical and operation challenge experienced on the Election Day. Overall, the general administration of the election was handled in a professional manner.

4.5.2. Civic/ voter education

One of the goals of the IEC is to ensure that voters have knowledge and skills on the electoral process. To this end, IEC – Botswana prides of having worked alone or with other stakeholders to conduct public awareness for the citizens of the country as well as voter education to create sensitization on issues of democracy, governance and elections.

Public awareness was provided by the IEC at regional and national level to sensitize the electorate on democracy and electoral matters to enhance participation and cultivate democratic values. The IEC segmented stakeholder groups to provide targeted information in the form of Women, Youth, People with Disabilities, the Faith Sector, Political parties, Media, and the non- literate as some of the critical stakeholder groups (IEC- Botswana, 07: 2014).

During the 2014 electioneering period, the IEC conducted various community outreach workshops/ events that sought to sensitize the citizens about the electoral issues pertaining to the elections. In addition to the community outreach events, IEC utilized its online platforms such as the website and Facebook to disseminate electoral related information to the citizens. Notably, IEC disseminate information using Facebook on voting requirements. Further, the commission was also able to utilize

its Facebook page to explain to first time voters the entire voting process i.e. from the time a voter enters the polling station to the time a voter leaves the polling station.

The IEC conducted an intensive voter education and information campaign in preparation for the 2014 general elections. There was considerable media coverage, including advertisements and jingles played on radio and television and editorials and cartoons in newspapers, both locally and abroad. Political parties, in both English and Setswana, encouraging people to register and vote, held a series of discussions and public rallies (IDEA and British High Commission, 2010).

The 2014 voter education and information were a tremendous improvement on that used in the past. The IEC's use of an outside broadcast (OB) Van to conduct audio-visual shows in 2014 added a new dimension to its campaign, attracting more people to attend voter education and information meetings throughout the country. Apart from the OB van the IEC distributed posters and brochures covering a broad spectrum of themes about democracy and elections (IDEA and British High Commission, 2010).

Apart from the voter education and information campaigns, the IEC also worked with other stakeholders to undertake civic education. These included school visits, kgotla meetings, stakeholder workshops and road shows. A few non-governmental organizations, including Emang Basadi and the Botswana Council of Non-Governmental Organizations (BOCONGO) and several faith-based organizations undertook civic and voter education programmes working closely with the IEC.

4.5.3. Voter Registration

Botswana uses a periodic Voters roll which stays in force for a period of five (5) years. The roll is compiled and updated continuously and used to run the general elections and any subsequent by-elections if the National Assembly, Local Government, and any Referendum that may become necessary. In preparation for the 2014 General elections, the Commission conducted voter registration exercises, locally and externally, as follows:

1. General voter registration from 4th to 27th October 2013
2. First supplementary voter registration from 21st February to 2nd March 2014 and
3. Second supplementary voter registration from 1st to 18th May 2014 (IEC-Botswana, 2014).

To facilitate such registration exercises, the Secretary to the Commission appointed Principal Registration Officers and Registration Officers in accordance with Section 4 of the Electoral Act. Botswana diplomatic staff was also engaged to conduct registration at the external polling stations. All Registration Officers and their Supervisors were trained on registration procedures as prescribed by the electoral law.

According to the figures from Statistics Botswana, the eligible voting population stood at One Million Three Hundred and Fifty-Four Thousand and Twenty-Three (1 334 023) and the Commission set itself a target of 80% of the total eligible voters. The IEC validly registered a total of Eight Hundred and Twenty-Five Thousand Five Hundred and Eighty-Two (825 582) voters (824 434 local and 1 148 External) over three registration exercises which translates into 62% of the eligible population and 77% of the target the Commission had set itself (IEC- Botswana, 2014).

4.5.4. Preparation of Polls

At the end of every registration period, the voter registration record cards (Form A), were delivered for data capturing into the database at the IEC Head Office. The process involved the transcription of the data on the forms by the Optical Mark Reader (OMR) Scanners. The voters' rolls were published for public inspection for forty-two (42) and twenty-one (21) days in the case of the general roll and supplementary rolls respectively, during which period objections could be raised against the inclusion of any voter's names in the rolls of a polling district or constituency.

After the elapse of an inspection period for any of the three rolls, the rolls were certified. Registration transfers were affected on the rolls until Parliament was dissolved. Issuing of duplicated registration cards was also done until a day before polling day, in terms of Section 29 of the Electoral Act (IEC- Botswana, 2014). The three rolls for constituency were amalgamated into an election roll on 21st September 2014. This process takes place immediately after the Writs of Election had been issued by the President of the Country.

4.5.5. Election Officials

The most serious deficiency in the electoral preparations related to the recruitment and training of temporary electoral officers. The IEC, like other election management bodies (EMBs), follows a pattern of seasonal surge and contraction of its staff, in accordance with the needs of the electoral

calendar. At key periods in the electoral process, i.e., during voter registration, polling and counting, it recruits several categories of temporary personnel in addition to its headquarters secretariat staff and the permanent field staff.

In preparation for the registration of voters, and in terms of Section 4 of the Electoral Act, a total of Five Hundred and Forty-Seven (547) Returning Officers and Two Thousand One Hundred and Forty-Six (2 146) Assistant Returning Officers were recruited and appointed for the Fifty-seven (57) constituencies and four hundred and ninety (490) polling districts. A total of Five Thousand Two Hundred and Twelve (5 212) Presiding Officers and Ten Thousand Four Hundred and Twenty-Four (10 424) Polling Officers were also recruited and appointed for the Two Thousand Six Hundred and Six (2 606) polling station locally (IEC- Botswana, 2014).

In addition to the Electoral Act, Returning Officers were each issued with a pocket size simplified summary of the Sections relevant to their role, ‘Guide to Returning Officers in the Conduct of Elections’. These guides provided quick and simplified reference to the Electoral Law, which they could easily carry around.

4.5.6. Ballot Paper Printing Services and distribution of election materials

The printing of ballot papers was a key challenge for the IEC. The high number of registered voters and the increasing number of independent candidates meant that more different ballot papers than ever before had to be printed. The problems were exacerbated by the fact that the first-past-the-post electoral system requires each constituency and council election to have a separate ballot paper.

In collaboration with the Department of Printing and Publishing Services and through the Public Procurement and Asset Disposal Board (PPADB), the IEC procured the services of SAPPI Southern Africa Limited, a South African based company, to design and produce base stock to the specifications by the Commission.

Election materials were packaged and collected by the Returning Officers ahead of polling day. The materials were later handed over to the Presiding Officers for use at their assigned polling stations.

4.5.7. Dissolution of Parliament

His Excellency the President of the Republic of Botswana dissolved Parliament on the 29th August 2014, creating fifty-seven (57) Parliamentary vacancies throughout the country and issued the Writs of Election for the fifty-seven (57) constituencies on the 10th September 2014 in accordance with

Section 34 of the Electoral Act. He ordered that the nominations be received by the Returning Officers on the 25th September 2014 at the constituency headquarters of each constituency. He further directed that any poll that may become necessary be conducted on the 24th October 2014.

In accordance with the Local Government Act, members of the different Councils remained in office until the last day before polling day. Despite that in accordance with Section 154 of the Electoral Act, the Minister of Local Government and Rural Development, issued Election Instruments for the Four Hundred and Ninety (490) polling districts, also directing that nominations and polling be conducted on the 25th September 2014 and 24th October 2014 respectively.

4.5.8. Nominations

(a). Presidential

The Chief Justice, as the Returning Officer for Presidential Elections, received nominations from presidential aspirants on 20th September 2014, being the first Saturday after the elapse of twenty (20) days from dissolution of parliament. The nominations were received from 10:00 hours to 13:00 hours and from 14:30 hours to 17:00 hours at the high Court in Gaborone, Botswana.

At the close of nominations, leaders of three political parties stood validly nominated for the office of President:

1. Mr. Dumelang Saleshando - Botswana Congress Party
2. Lt. General. Seretse Khama Ian Khama - Botswana Democratic Party
3. Mr. Duma Gideon Boko - Umbrella for Democratic Change

The presidential candidates also presented their symbols and voting colours to the Returning Officer.

(b). Parliamentary and Local Government Nominations

The nominations for Parliamentary and Local Government elections were received on 25th September 2014, in terms of section 35 of the Electoral Act, for all the fifty-seven (57) constituencies and Four Hundred and Ninety (490) polling districts.

Table 4.2: The Parliamentary nominations results were as follows:

PARTY	NUMBER OF SEATS CONTESTED
Botswana Congress Party	54
Botswana Democratic Party	57

Umbrella for Democratic Change	52
Independent Candidates	29
Total	192

Source: IEC- Botswana, 2014.

Table 4.3: The results of Local Government nominations were as follows:

PARTY	NUMBER OF SEATS CONTESTED
Botswana Congress Party	429
Botswana Democratic Party	490
MELS Movement of Botswana	1
Umbrella for Democratic Change	432
Independent Candidates	254
Total	1606

Source: IEC- Botswana, 2014.

4.5.9. Electoral campaigns

The legislation on political campaign funding is set out under section 80 to 89 of the Electoral Act. There is no specific provision for state funding of the political parties, however candidates can receive monies in form of gifts, donations, loans, deposits or advance from private and corporate entities which must be disclosed whether paid or promised. Candidates can spend up to a maximum of P50, 000.00 as their electoral expenses. After the elections, the candidates must give an account of all the donations and the monies expected in respect of the conduct or management of election. In addition to the provisions stipulated in the election act as mentioned above, the political parties were guided by the IEC Code of Conduct of 2009. The Code of Conduct provides acceptable standards that political parties must operate within during the campaign period.

The political campaigns in Botswana officially ended on the 18th October 2014. The political parties could campaign in all the 57 constituencies with familiarizing the electorate with the candidates being the main agenda. Additionally, all the Presidential candidates participated in several radio station debates where array of issues from economic to political were discussed. The debates took place on the government owned (Radio Botswana) and private radio stations.

4.5.10. Polling

As directed in the Writ of Elections and the Election Instruments, general polling day was on the 24th October 2014. Diaspora voting took place on the 18th October 2014 at the thirty-seven (37) external polling stations in accordance with Section 32 of the Electoral Act. Unlike in Botswana, the polling hours were restricted to the official business times in each country for external voting (IEC-Botswana, 2014).

The Commission received the diaspora ballot papers on 21st October 2014 and distributed them to the constituencies' Returning Officers in time for their inclusion in those from the local poll. In accordance with Section 61 of the Electoral Act, the Secretary to the Commission fixed the 18th October 2014 for advance poll by polling and police officers and anybody else who was eligible. The Secretary established fifty-seven (57) polling stations, one in each constituency, where the poll was conducted, between 08:00 and 18:00 hours. The advance poll included the election of members of the National Assembly and those of the Councils. The Local Government ballot papers were later distributed to the polling districts' Returning Officers for inclusion in the counting process.

On the 24th October 2014, most of the Two Thousand Six Hundred and Six (2 606) polling stations opened at 06:30 and closed at 19:00 hours as prescribed by the Electoral Act, except a few owing to some administrative lapses. It was observed that most polling stations opened on time. There were queues outside most of the polling stations, which were managed in orderly manner by the polling officials assisted by police officers. It was also observed that it was generally calm and orderly atmosphere around the polling stations prior to and during the opening process with no logistical or operational challenges at the opening (African Union Report, 2014).

In accordance with Section 49 of the Electoral Act, polling agents appointed by the candidates were granted access to polling stations by Presiding Officers. Lastly, to ensure the Secrecy of the ballot of the visually impaired voters, the IEC again used the voting template so that voters could vote on their own, but this time with instructions in Braille.

4.5.11. Post-election development

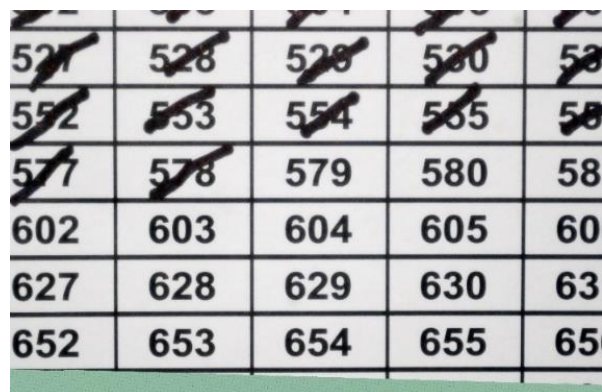
This section reviews election developments after the polls were closed, including counting and results, tabulation, dispute resolution and expenditure.

4.5.12. Counting and results

After the close of poll and the Presiding Officers had completed the ballot paper accounts, the ballot boxes were taken to the fifty-seven (57) constituencies and four hundred and ninety (490) polling district counting centres. Upon arrival of ballot boxes at the counting centres the Returning Officers verified the ballot paper accounts before counting commenced in accordance with Section 71 of the Electoral Act.

A new initiative which involved the combination of sorting ballot papers according to candidates and counting was implemented at all the counting centres. As each ballot paper was allocated to the candidate voted for, a Tallying Officer marked a corresponding tally on the tally sheet provided for that candidate (IEC-Botswana Report, 2014).

Figure 4.4: A portion of the tally sheet used to record votes accrued by a candidate. The tallies start from 1 and each sheet accommodates 1 000 votes.



527	528	529	530	531
552	553	554	555	556
577	578	579	580	581
602	603	604	605	606
627	628	629	630	631
652	653	654	655	656

Source: IEC- Botswana Report, 2014.

The use of tally sheets was intended to cut the time taken before the results were released. The milestone was achieved in most counting centres. Altogether, Six Hundred and Ninety Eight Thousand Four Hundred and Nine (698 409) voters cast their votes, out of the Eight Hundred and Twenty-Five Thousand Five Hundred and Eighty-Two (825 582) who had registered for the 2014 General Elections. However, against the eligible voting population, the turnout stands at 52%. The

number of rejected ballots stood at Eight Thousand One Hundred and Sixty-Seven (8 167), representing 1.17% of the turnout.

Table 4.4: The results of the three political parties and twenty-nine independent candidates who contested the National Assembly

PARTY	SEATS WON	VOTES RECEIVED
Botswana Congress Party	3	140 998
Botswana Democratic Party	37	320 647
Umbrella for Democratic Change	17	207 113
Independent Candidates	0	21 484
TOTAL	57	690 242

Source: IEC- Botswana Report, 2014.

Table 4.5: Results for the Local Government representing four political parties and 254 independent candidates contested.

PARTY	SEATS WON	VOTES RECEIVED
Botswana Congress Party	57	148 201
Botswana Democratic Party	310	312 550
Umbrella for Democratic Change	116	184 852
MELS Movement of Botswana	0	39
Independent Candidates	4	36 004
Total	487	681 487

Source: IEC- Botswana Report, 2014.

The total number of rejected ballot papers was Eight Thousand One Hundred and Sixty-Seven (8 167) and this represented 1.17% of the votes cast. The reasons of rejection were mainly unmarked ballot papers, writings, multiple marks on more than one candidate, and mutilated ballot papers.

At the end of counting, three polling districts, namely: Goodhope in the Goodhope-Mabule Constituency, Moshupa West in the Moshupa-Manyana Constituency and Ngware in the Letlhakeng-Lephephe Constituency had the votes of their leading candidates tied. Accordingly, fresh elections must be held.

4.6. Election's expenditure

The electoral cycle saw the introduction of budgeting for elections through the development budget. The budget was broken into two projects being the National Voter Registration project and the 2014 General Elections project. This new arrangement proved to be effective for planning and monitoring purposes.

Table 4.6: Recurrent expenditure during the 11th Electoral cycle (2014 General elections)

YEAR	<u>Year One</u> <u>2010/2011</u>	<u>Year Two</u> <u>2011/2012</u>	<u>Year</u> <u>Three</u> <u>2012/2013</u>	<u>Year Four</u> <u>2013/2014</u>	<u>Year Five</u> <u>2014/2015</u>	TOTAL (P)
	Actual Expenditure	Actual Expenditure	Actual Expenditure	Actual Expenditure	Actual Expenditure	
Personal Emoluments	14,535,482	14,779,034	16,729,743	18,756,293	15,626,529	80,427,081
Travelling and Transport (Internal)	8,425,121	3,077,425	5,089,192	3,570,768	4,091,214	24,253,720
Travelling and Transport (External)	539,746	698,395	559,048	1,171,893	894,227	3,863,309
General Expenses and supplies	2,667,571	3,343,146	4,369,034	4,301,738	3,421,608	18,103,097
Departmental Services	2,310	722,017	5,453,579	7,702,636	5,190,219	19,070,761
Training	496,444	369,668	1,106,691	593,353	218,811	2,784,967
Council, Conference and Exhibition	1,617,143	2,225,211	4,548,600	3,762,213	1,264,184	13,417,351
Special Expenditure	963,106	1,487,417	1,031,015	206,101	1,116,147	4,803,786
TOTAL	29,246,923	26,702,313	38,886,902	40,064,995	31,822,939	166,724,072

Source: IEC-Botswana Election Report for 2014 General Elections.

The above table portrays the entire expenditure of the electoral activities from the commencement of the cycle to date of the report preparation. These activities which led to the 2014 General Elections included public awareness, demarcation, and the establishment of polling stations, voter registration and polling.

Table 4.7: Development expenditure as of 18th November 2014.

NATIONAL VOTER REGISTRATION	AMOUNT (P).
General and First Supplementary Voter Registration	44,234,974.27
Second Supplementary Voter Registration	27,139,527.83
Total Actual Expenditure for Voter Registration	71,374,502.10
2014 GENERAL ELECTIONS	
Total Actual Expenditure for General Elections (as of 30 th November 2014)	40,818,549.00
Grand Total Expenditure	112,193,051.10

Source: IEC-Botswana Election Report for 2014 General Elections

4.7. Concluding Remarks

This Chapter has discussed the events that happened during Botswana’s 2014 General Elections, considering the political atmosphere at the time and the elections results. It dealt with the role of the Electoral Management Body and other electoral stakeholders. Botswana’s 2014 General election makes the audit process to be a more relevant exercise to the study to compare and analyses whether the standards and procedures discussed in Chapter two were fully implemented in the elections.

The 2014 elections, being Botswana’s 11th General Elections since 1965 came following several activities which have a direct impact on the process and these include the Housing and Population Census of 2011, the Delimitation exercise of 2012 and the Establishment of polling districts and polling stations. These exercises informed the determination of the final electoral districts in which Botswana voted to establish a National Government and various Local Councils. The Commission had intensified its interaction with the various electoral stakeholders to foster effective collaboration. To wrap up the 2014 General Elections, the Commission conducted evaluation workshops for the Election Officials and Stakeholders to evaluate the elections and consider election Observer Missions reports to come up with recommendations to map the way forward for the 2019 General Elections.

Now that the case study of Botswana has been discussed, the next chapter will focus on Zambia. It will give an overview of the political history of Zambia and discuss the role played by the electoral stakeholders during the 2011 tripartite general elections.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE CASE STUDY OF ZAMBIA

5.1 Introduction

This Chapter discusses Zambia's 2011 Tripartite General Elections – including the electoral framework, elections management and the electoral stakeholders' participation towards the electoral cycle activities. The electoral process is an essential tool for decision making in a democracy and for institutionalization. Once clear elections are held, they gain respectability and credibility. Therefore, an election is a foundation of a true democracy. It is from such a perspective that Byakagaba (2008) indicated that elections are a very important aspect of the democratic process, which requires careful planning and handling as expected by citizens for fairness and credibility.

5.2. Historical background of Zambia's 2011 general elections

Zambia, officially the Republic of Zambia is a Presidential representative democratic republic. It is a landlocked Southern African country bordering the Democratic Republic of the Congo to the North, Tanzania on the north-east, Malawi on the east, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Botswana, and Namibia to the south, and Angola on the west. Formerly Northern Rhodesia, the country is named after the Zambezi River.

Figure 5.1: Zambezi River



Source: <https://www.victoriafalls-guide.net/zambezi-river.html>

Zambia is one of the least developed countries in Africa with approximately 63.7% of the population living below the international poverty line. After 50 years of authoritarian leadership with a state-controlled economy, the country has gone through a political and economic transformation process, which started in 1991 when, for the first time, a democratically elected government took office.

During the period of review there were no significant changes in both democratic consolidation and economic transformation.

Political stability decreased slightly because some general elections (December 2001) were not entirely fair. President Mwanawasa won only 29% of the vote cast, which means that he only received the support of 19.5% registered voters. In addition to these merger results, his party failed to win majority of seats in parliament negatively affecting the president’s legitimacy and the government’s efficiency. Furthermore, a power struggle with the incumbent President divided the ruling party (The Zambia National Women’s Lobby, 2006: 39-40).

Zambia is a unitary state. Citizens have equal rights under the constitution. The state has a differentiated administrative structure throughout the country, making it possible to extract and allocate state resources on a broad basis. The elections that were held in Zambia on 20 September 2011 for Presidential office, parliamentary seats in 150 constituencies and local government were the fifth general elections in Zambia following the reintroduction of a multiparty system in 1991.

The results of these successive six Presidential elections are shown in the table below. The table provides results as a percentage of the overall votes cast for Zambia’s four largest political parties only.

Table 5.1: Zambia Presidential Elections Results-----1991 to 2011

Year	UNIP	MMD	UPND	PF	Remarks
1991	24.2%	75.8%	-	-	
1996	-	69%	-	-	UNIP boycotted the 1996 election when Kaunda was disqualified from contesting by a constitutional amendment; the remaining opposition parties did not garner a significant percentage of the vote.
2001	9.9%	28.7%	26.8%	3.4%	
2006	-	43%	25.3%	29.4%	
2008	-	40.1%	19.7%	38.1%	By-elections
2011	-	35.6%	18.3%	42.2%	

Source: Compiled by Author

Zambia, formerly Northern Rhodesia, gained independence from Great Britain in 1964. Three periods have defined the history of modern Zambia. From 1964 to 1972, the First Republic laid the groundwork for the first set of multiparty elections. The Second Republic, which lasted from 1973 to 1990, institutionalized a one-party system. The Third Republic saw the re-introduction of multiparty elections in Zambia.

5.2.1: 1964–1972: The First Republic

The first two multiparty elections of 1964 and 1968 marked the birth of the First Republic. Following his victory in the 1964 elections, Kenneth Kaunda of the United National Independence Party (UNIP), became the first President of the Republic of Zambia.¹ UNIP was born out of the split of the Northern Rhodesian African National Congress (ANC) in 1958. After the split, UNIP and the ANC formed the first government of the country in 1962. Although the Constitution of Zambia provided for a pluralist political system, UNIP retained dominance throughout the First Republic. Kaunda and his party secured a victory in both the presidential and parliamentary elections in 1968. The introduction of a single-party system in 1973 entrenched UNIP domination of the political landscape in Zambia (Erdmann and Simutanyi, 2003:71).

5.2.2: 1973–1990: The Second Republic

The one-party system established at the end of the First Republic limited competition in the National Assembly elections. Although UNIP had supremacy over parliamentary decisions, real power lay in the hands of the presidency. Kaunda was re-elected in 1973, 1978, 1983 and 1988.

5.2.3: Elections under one-party state regime

Under the one-party state system, candidates for election to the Office of President and to the National Assembly had to be UNIP members. The person elected by the party's general conference, attended by party delegates from provinces was to be adopted as the sole candidate for election as republican president. A recommendation by the constitutional review commission for primary elections to be held and for up to three candidates to be allowed to contest for the Presidency (which was also incorporated into the Constitution of Zambia Bill, no 28 of 1973) was rejected by the party.

Efforts to challenge President Kaunda for the party at the 1978 general conference by the former leader of the ANC, Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula, former Vice-President and former leader of the proscribed United Progressive Party (UPP), Simon Mwansa Kapwepwe, and businessman Robert Chilwe were thwarted by an amendment to the party constitution. The amendment required candidates to have been party members for at least five years and to raise two hundred supporters from each province to back their nomination. Kapwepwe was disqualified by the five-year membership requirement. Nkumbula and Chilwe failed to raise two hundred supporters from each province (www.eisa.org.za).

All registered voters could vote in the presidential and parliamentary elections. At the primary stage of parliamentary elections, however, only party officials were eligible to vote. For presidential elections, only one candidate, Kaunda, was nominated and voters were required to vote 'yes' or 'no', for approval or disapproval, respectively. He was declared winner after receiving 51% of the valid votes cast. Primary elections were introduced for the National Assembly elections.

The top three candidates to go through the primary elections were eligible to stand for election in a constituency. The primaries enhanced the role of grassroots party organs in the choice of candidates as the latter were generally local people. Article 75 of the republican constitution allowed the party central committee to vet (or veto) candidates who had won the primaries if they were found undesirable. In 1978 30 candidates, including six serving members of parliament (MPs), were vetoed. This system tended to arouse ill-feelings among vetoed victors and their supporters. At times, the party appeared to use it to facilitate the success of favoured candidates and to punish 'black sheep'.

The election campaigns were controlled by the party. For presidential elections, the machineries and resources of the party and government were mobilized to campaign for 'yes' votes for the presidential candidate. Campaigning for 'no' votes was not tolerated. Senior party officials guided the campaign for the National Assembly elections. They would introduce the candidates at public rallies and invite them to canvass for votes. Candidates were expected to follow the party line and not to criticize its policies. Campaigns, therefore, tended to focus on personalities rather than issues. As a result, the National Assembly elections were heavily contested.

‘Autonomous’ ad hoc electoral commissions were responsible for the supervision and conducting of elections, as well as for the delimitation of constituencies. They also had the power to make regulations. The President appointed three commissioners; High Court judges were conventionally appointed chairs and the elections office (in the office of the prime minister) was headed by the director of elections. The director of elections was responsible for executive functions pertaining to elections. The electoral commissions of the Second Republic were not autonomous as the constitutionally prescribed monopoly over political power exercised by UNIP did not allow for it. The Kaunda government reintroduced multiparty elections following (i) public dissatisfaction with progressive economic decline and military coup attempts in 1988 and 1990; and (ii) local and international calls for political liberalization. Subsequently, Article 4 of the Constitution of the Second Republic was repealed to accede to the demands of the opposition.

5.2.4: Return to multiparty state

The transition to multiparty democracy was the culmination of many developments, both at home and abroad. The transition was largely a result of widespread protests sparked by a deteriorating economy, which the army attempted to silence through a failed coup attempt in 1990. Many people were killed, especially during the 1990–1991 protests.

The protests were spearheaded by a coalition of civil society organizations (CSOs), including trade unions, business associations, professional and student bodies, and churches. Internal protests were aided by global events at the time. An important external factor was the dramatic collapse of communism in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, which led the new ‘winds of Perestroika and Glasnost’ sweeping across Africa. In the wake of these pressing factors, Kenneth Kaunda accepted the need for reform (Salih and Hamdok, 2007:09).

He promised a referendum on multiparty democracy. The popular demand was that he amends the 1973 Constitution by deleting the article which declared Zambia a one-party state. In November 1990, President Kaunda appointed a constitutional review commission under the chairmanship of the respected lawyer and academic, Professor Patrick Mvunga. The commission was to enquire, determine and recommend a system of political pluralism that would ensure the separation of the powers of the legislature, the executive and the judiciary (to enhance the role of these organs) and to

consider the composition and functions of the various organs of the state and to recommend modalities of their operation.

Shortly thereafter, Kaunda reached a compromise agreement with the nascent opposition and a constitutional amendment was passed, expunging Article 4 from the constitution and thus paving the way for the formation of political parties. In the meantime, the Mvunga Commission held public hearings in most of the country's major centres. Some of the petitioners who appeared before that commission submitted that the constitution should be debated and adopted by a constituent assembly or a national conference to affirm its legitimacy.

In its report, the Mvunga Commission concluded that 'there was no need for a Constituent Assembly since there was in place a legitimate and lawfully constituted National Assembly'. The commission therefore recommended that the constitution should be adopted and enacted by parliament. The Kaunda administration did not accept most of the commission's recommendations. As for the emerging opposition forces – particularly the newly formed Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) and the labour movement – they did not accept the draft constitution appended to the commission's report. To his credit, Kaunda was prepared to accept a compromising constitutional text agreed to at an inter-party dialogue between the ruling UNIP and the MMD. The document agreed to at the inter-party talks was eventually enacted into law as the Constitution of Zambia Act, which came into force on 30 August 1991.

5.2.5: 1991 constitution establishes an electoral commission

Part of the transition towards the landmark 1991 elections was that on 24 August 1991 the National Assembly approved a new election Law¹⁰ that established an electoral commission with the responsibility of conducting the elections (Article 76). The members were to be appointed by the State President and implemented by an election directorate, a body of civil servants in Lusaka (Salih and Hamdok, 2007).

For the most part, the electoral commission relied on electoral regulations derived from previous practice in Zambia. Due to the perceived bias towards UNIP, the electoral commission was heavily criticized by the opposition, as well as by the local and international election observers. The alleged lack of independence and impartiality stemmed partly from commission members' insecure tenure

as the president could remove them. Criticism was also raised against the chairman of the electoral commission for being biased in favour of UNIP.

The perception that the commission was biased was understandable because of the deep mistrust the nascent opposition party, the MMD bore towards the Kaunda government as Zambia made the uncharted transition from autocratic one-party rule to a multiparty dispensation. The 1991 elections marked Zambia's official return to multipartyism. Frederick Chiluba of the MMD, a coalition of civic organizations, emerged as the winning candidate with 75.8% of the popular votes. No less than 14 Domestic and international observers judged the elections to be largely fair and transparent. Thereafter, Zambia was plagued by rising levels of unemployment and poverty. Ultimately, the implementation of structural adjustment programmes did not lead to the much-awaited improvement in living standards of ordinary Zambians.

The MMD retained power with the re-election of the incumbent President Chiluba in the 1996 elections, although there were socio-economic challenges, concerns over internal democracy within the ruling party and controversy over a constitutional amendment that excluded Chiluba's closest rival, former President Kaunda, from contesting the presidential election. A state of emergency was declared in late 1997 after a small group of army officers falsely claimed to have overthrown the government.

Kaunda was briefly detained on accusations of having had prior knowledge of the coup attempt. There was a sharp decrease of political freedom between 1996 and 2001. In June and July of 1996, a shady group called the 'Black Mamba' was blamed by the government for a spate of bomb blasts in Zambia that killed one person and seriously injured another. Eight UNIP officials, including its Vice-president, Senior Chief Inyambo Yeta, were arrested about the bombings in June and charged with treason and murder. The trial provided little evidence to suggest that these UNIP members were involved in any violent conspiracy against the state. It appeared that they were detained solely because of their political affiliation. They were acquitted of all charges by the High Court in November (www.hrw.org).

Judicial independence came under attack from government supporters in 1996, especially after the Supreme Court struck down provisions of the Public Order Act (POA), finding that requiring permits

for meetings was in contravention of the Zambian peoples' constitutional rights. One focus of these attacks was the championing of exclusivist ethnic politics, with the judiciary characterized as being mainly from the Eastern Province of Malawi.

Leaders of opposition parties and civic groups also had their nationality status challenged by government officials.¹⁶ Internal squabbles erupted within the MMD over Frederick Chiluba's attempt to run for a third term. The disagreement over Chiluba's bid led to the expulsion and resignation of many senior members of the MMD. The nomination of Levy Mwanawasa as the MMD presidential candidate resulted in a split. Michael Sata, then secretary general of the MMD, left the party to establish the Patriotic Front (PF) (www.countrywatch.com).

ECZ registered only 56% of eligible voters in preparation of the 2001 tripartite general elections. Anderson Mazoka of the United Party for National Development (UPND) and Levy Mwanawasa of the ruling MMD were the two major contestants in the presidential race. The National Assembly and local government elections were a fierce contest between the ruling party and the UPND. Among other controversies, for instance, were the tabulation of results at district level and the transmission of the results to the national results centre. Eighteen Discrepancies were picked up between results announced at constituency level and those announced by the ECZ at the national results centre.

There was no record of invalid ballots on some results sheets. Furthermore, the accuracy of the results was challenged given the small margin between the two leading presidential candidates. Ninety-six hours after the polls, the ECZ announced the official results amidst protests in Lusaka. Levy Mwanawasa, the winner of the presidential election, obtained 28.69% of valid votes, while his main challenger, Anderson Mazoka, received 26.76%.¹⁹ Following the loss of its parliamentary majority ten years after its rise to power, the MMD could regain control in parliament with the eight presidential appointees, by-election victories and dubious alliances. PF candidate Michael Sata received a lowly 3.4% of the vote.

5.2.6: The 2006 tripartite elections

Tripartite elections took place on 28 September 2006. Three out of 11 registered political parties contested the presidential election. The three main contesting parties were the ruling MMD, the PF and the United Democratic Alliance (UDA), a coalition between the UPND, the Forum for

Democracy and Development (FDD) and UNIP). The leader of the UPND, Anderson Mazoka, died in a Johannesburg hospital on 24 May 2006. The UPND was beset by internal power struggles after the loss of its leader. Following the selection of businessman Hakainde Hichilema as new leader of the UPND, the UDA subsequently nominated Hichilema as its candidate for the presidential election. With 42.98% of the valid votes, Levy Mwanawasa of the MMD secured his re-election for a second and final term as the President of Zambia (Mulikita, 2017: 295).

The MMD won 50% of the seats in the National Assembly. Michael Sata of the PF and Hakainde Hichilema of the UPND scored 29.37% and 25.32% of the popular vote respectively. A total of 709 candidates from 13 political parties contested the National Assembly elections. A total of 4 095 registered candidates stood in the local government elections. Women made up 15% of the National Assembly election candidates, whereas less than 10% of the candidates running for local government elections were women. In the National Assembly elected in 2006, only 14.6% of members were women.

5.2.7: The 2008 presidential by-election

Two years after his re-election in 2006, incumbent President Levy Mwanawasa passed away in France on 19 August 2008 after a stroke. As a result, an unprecedented presidential by-election was held in Zambia on 30 October 2008. Rupiah Banda, then Acting President of the MMD, emerged as the presidential candidate of the ruling party following his nomination by the party's National Executive Committee. Four candidates, namely Rupiah Banda of the MMD, Michael Sata of the PF, Hakainde Hichilema of the UPND and Godfrey Miyanda of the Heritage Party (HP) contested the presidential by-election.

The candidature of Rupiah Banda was boosted by the endorsement of several opposition parties: The National Democratic Forum (NDF) (of Benjamin Mwila, who withdrew from the presidential race), UNIP, the All-People's Congress Party (APC), the Reformed Party (RP), the Forum for Democracy and Development (FDD), the United Liberal Party (ULP), the National Democratic Party (NDP), the New Generation Party (NGP) and the National Revolutionary Party (NRP). Allegations of vote rigging and an outbreak of rioting preceded the announcement of the results. With 40.63% of the votes, Rupiah Banda was declared the winner of the election. Michael Sata and Hakainde Hichilema obtained 38.64% and 19.96% of the popular votes respectively (Mulikita, 2017: 295-6).

5.2.8: The 2011 tripartite elections

On 23 September 2011, the commission announced the results of the 2011 tripartite election. In the presidential race, the results given were: 1 170 966 (42%) votes to the leader of the opposition party, Michael Sata of the PF, and 987 866 (36.1%) to the incumbent, Rupiah Banda of the MMD. Sata was announced the winner with seven constituencies outstanding. The UPND performed well in Southern Province, as expected in view of Hakainde Hichilema being a member of the Tonga-speaking people who are in the majority in the province. Hakainde garnered 506 763 votes, accounting for 18% of the total number of votes cast. In the parliamentary results of 148 contested seats, the PF won 60 (40.1%), with the MMD a close second with 55 (37.2%), leaving the UPND trailing with 28 (19%). Of the remaining five seats, three were taken by independents, and one apiece went to the FDD and the Alliance for Democracy and Development (Mulikita, 2017:296).

Holding five elections within the last 10 years has led to fatigue among the electorate and has stretched the resources and capacity of the Electoral Commission of Zambia and government ministries. It has also resulted in heightened political contentions in what have been near- continual election environments. Although some of these elections, particularly those in 1996 and 2001, had significant irregularities, Zambia stands out in Africa as having held elections that have been largely peaceful and extremely competitive- especially since 2001- twice resulting in the defeat of long-standing incumbent parties, and political turnover in 1991 and 2011 (The Carter Centre: 2016).

5.3: The Political Context

The elections held on 20 September 2011 for presidential office as well as parliamentary seats in 150 constituencies and local government were the fifth general elections in Zambia following the reintroduction of a multiparty system in 1991. The incumbent party Movement for Multi- Party Democracy (MMD) has dominated politics in Zambia since the 1990s. These elections were competitive with 10 candidates contesting for presidential office and a total of 768 candidates competing for 150 parliamentary seats in the National Assembly.

Parliamentary elections in two constituencies were postponed following the deaths of candidates. In respect of the presidential election the leading candidates included the incumbent President, Rupiah Banda of the MMD, and Michael Sata of the Patriotic Front (PF). Another significant challenge to the incumbent came from Hakainde Hichilema of the United Party for National Development

(UPND). Michael Sata had contested presidential elections in 2001, 2006 and 2008 and Hakainde Hichilema in 2006 and 2008 (European Union Election observation mission report, 2011:06).

A total of 20 parties' candidates contested seats in parliamentary constituencies. Whilst the MMD represented the single largest party in the outgoing parliamentary there had been gradual erosion and a loss of its parliamentary majority as opposition parties increased their seats in by-elections in the period since the 2006 parliamentary elections. In October 2010, the PF and UPND forged a coalition alliance to contest these elections, but this dissolved in the run-up to the campaign due to disagreement between the two parties.

5.3.1: Key political actors

The incumbent party in government, the MMD, had won all presidential elections and had held most seats in the National Assembly for the past 20 years. This party is ideologically committed to liberal economic policies and human development. Whilst the dominant party in Zambian politics for two decades it suffered a series of setbacks following internal disputes and defections of a few of its prominent members ahead of the 2011 general elections. MMD's heartlands are the Eastern, Northwestern and Central provinces. President Mwanawasa appointed Rupiah Banda as his Vice-president following his re-election in 2006. On the death of President Mwanawasa halfway through his presidential term, Rupiah Banda was elected President in a midterm election (European Union Election observation mission report, 2011:07).

Since 2006 the largest opposition party, the PF, has managed to increase its number of seats in parliament significantly. It was formed by its presidential candidate, Michael Sata, as a breakaway party of MMD ahead of the 2001 elections. The PF's strongholds are Lusaka and Copperbelt as well as urban constituencies in Northern and Luapula provinces. It has strong support within the Bemba speaking parts of the population. In 2006 and 2008 presidential elections Michael Sata was runner-up to the MMD candidates. According to its constitution PF is a socialist party.

The final significant political party that competed in the elections is UPND which is a liberal party founded in 1998, again as is the case of the PF, as a splinter group from MMD. It performed very strongly in the 2001 elections, but its popularity has dropped since this highpoint. In 2006, Hakainde Hichilema was a presidential candidate of the United Democratic Alliance (UDA), an alliance of

opposition political parties formed by UPND (European Union Election observation mission report, 2011:07).

5.3.2: Legal issues

A comprehensive legal framework, without ambiguities or omissions, is essential to the administration of democratic elections and to ensuring that a country upholds its international obligations. Much of the legal framework governing Zambia's 2011 elections was new and untested including the amendments of the constitution.

5.3.3: Legal framework

The legal framework governing the presidential and parliamentary elections in Zambia provides an adequate basis for the holding of genuine elections in accordance with international and regional commitments and obligations adopted by Zambia. The constitution and the courts are open to protect the fundamental rights and freedoms of assembly, association, conscience, expression and movement. Other fundamental rights related to genuine and periodic elections are protected including the right to be elected to public office by secret ballot and the right to vote according to the principles of equality and universal suffrage (European Union Election observation mission report, 2011:08)

The constitution and legal frameworks are important, as they provide the context and legal environment within which elections are conducted (EISA, 2004:07). They are expected to serve as 'the basis for the conduct and delivery of free, fair, credible and legitimate elections (EISA, 2004:07). Rakner and Svasand (2005:88) contend that the legal framework for an election should ensure that the playing field is level between those competing for votes. However, this is quite challenging, as the challenge is essentially to negotiate electoral rules that all parties can accept and respect.

In most of the SADC countries including Zambia, the constitutional and legislative provisions relating to elections were very limited until the early 2000s. Where they existed, they did not contain adequate detail about the management of elections. Furthermore, in former one-party systems, constitutional and legislative provisions had to be adjusted in line with the demands of multi-party politics (EISA, 2004:07). To enhance democratic pluralism, the design of the electoral process must

reflect best practice principles which are accepted by all the relevant stakeholders engaged in the elections (Nupen, 2002:03).

5.3.4: International and regional commitments and national legal framework

Zambia has signed or agreed to a wide range of regional and international commitments and instruments relating to human rights and the conduct of elections. These include:

- Port of Spain Affirmation of Commonwealth Values and Principles (2009)
- SADC Principles and Guidelines Governing Democratic Elections (2004)
- International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination (1996)
- African Charter on Human and People's Rights (1986)
- Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination Against Women (1979)
- International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966); and
- Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948).

The Zambian Constitution guarantees fundamental human rights and freedoms, including freedom of expression, assembly, association and participation in elections. (Commonwealth report, 2011). The key documents providing the legal and regulatory framework for the conduct of the elections are:

- The Electoral (Code of Conduct) Regulations (2011)
- The Electoral Act (2006)
- The Electoral (General) Regulations (2006)
- The Electoral Commission Act (1996)
- The Local Government Elections Act (1991)

These international and regional instruments are not directly enforceable in the courts of Zambia unless incorporated into national law by statute of the National Assembly.

5.3.5: Election legislation

Presidential and parliamentary elections were governed by the same laws which applied for the 2006 and 2008 elections that include the Constitution of Zambia as amended in 1996, the Electoral Commission Act 1996, the Electoral Act 2006, the Electoral (General) Regulations 2006 (with minor

2011 amendments), and the Electoral (Presidential Election) Regulations 1991. The Electoral Code of Conduct which contains important rules relating to the campaign and dispute resolution process was reissued in 2011, with amendments including the introduction of new electoral offences. Many criminal offences applicable to the campaign are contained in the Penal Code Act.

5.3.6: The electoral system

Electoral systems determine how votes are converted into legislative seats. The nature of representation and the method by which seats are allocated are to a large extent influenced by the choice of an electoral system (EISA, 2004:08). As noted in the introductory chapter, electoral systems are the ‘cogs which keep the wheels of democracy properly functioning (Farrell, 1998:02).

It was further noted that there is the temptation to exploit an electoral system to one’s immediate benefit. For example, some SADC governments use a system of specially appointed seats, which permits the ruling party to appoint between four and thirty members of parliament (MPs) to occupy special seats in the legislature (EISA, 2004:09). This gives the ruling parties an undue political advantage relative to the opposition parties and has sparked off discontent, political tensions and conflicts in some SADC countries even in Zambia.

The 1996 constitution establishes that Zambia is a unitary, indivisible, multiparty and democratic sovereign state. All powers reside in the people who shall exercise their sovereignty through the democratic institutions of the state in accordance with the law. Executive power rests with the President who is elected for a maximum of two consecutive five-year terms as the head of state, head of government, and commander-in-chief of the armed forces. Legislative powers are vested in the National Assembly. Both the President and parliamentary members are elected using a First-Past-The-Post electoral system. The president is elected in a single national constituency. The National Assembly is composed of single member seats in 150 constituencies across the country and the president also has the powers to appoint a further eight members. The President appoints the Vice-president, Ministers, Deputy Ministers and Provincial Ministers from members of the National Assembly (European Union report, 2011:9).

The recommended standard is that an electoral system should ensure ‘a transparent and legitimate election process and outcome’ (EISA, 2004:09). It should promote the inclusiveness and the political participation of key actors. Lindberg (2004:66) argues that “it is self-evident that full participation

of parties makes elections of a higher democratic quality than if some, or all, parties boycott them.” The biggest threat that elections can pose to democracy is when opposition parties boycott the elections.

5.4 Key electoral stakeholders in Zambia’s 2011 general elections

The aim of this study was to identify the resources, strengths and election opportunities in bringing about peace and tranquility through active participation of electoral stakeholders of the Republic of Zambia. While the rest of the study objectives have been mentioned in Chapters 3 and 4, Chapter 5 focuses more on the 2011 Zambia’s general elections as an example of how elections resources and opportunities can be deployed to improve the quality of elections in the SADC community.

5.4.1 Election administration

Article 12(1) of the Electoral Commission Act empowers the commission to appoint the director of the ECZ. Article 12(2) states that:

The Director shall be the Chief Executive of the Commission and shall be responsible for the:

- (a) Management of the Commission and
- (b) Implementation of the decisions of the Commission.

Article 12(3) of the act states: “The Director shall be assisted by such staff as the Commission may appoint, by statutory instrument, on such terms and conditions as the Commission may determine.” Staff members are not civil servants; but are employees of the ECZ who are hired by the commission. They all serve on fixed-term contracts, which may be renewed or not renewed by the commission.

Funding remains one of the major challenges of the commission. The ECZ is expected to do more and more, whilst having to manage perennial resource constraints. Government has the responsibility of funding the commission by making resources available through the treasury. In this regard, the government has tried to bring stakeholders on board to help finance some of the activities of the ECZ. In 2009 the commission received a four-year fund (2009–2012) of USD 22.9 from the United Nations (UN), together with its stakeholder, the department of national registration, passport and citizenship (DNRPC) to:

- Improve capacity of the ECZ;
- Improve implementation of continuous voter registration;

- Digitalize of the voter register; • Review the legislative framework;
- Facilitate participation of women in the electoral process;
- Enhance effective media monitoring mechanisms;
- Enhance civic, voter education, and domestic observation programmes; and
- Enhance the capacity of inter-party dialogue.

Funding the Commission should be scaled up if the activities outlined in the electoral phase or cycle is to be realized. By law, the Commission is an autonomous body and as such, it is supposed to operate as an independent body, free from interference of the central government. The Commission has, in the past made positive reforms which have enhanced their electoral integrity in the eyes of the voting public. These reforms include improved training for poll workers on a merit basis; election result management, including posting election hardcopy results for each polling station at each polling station; accelerated preliminary election result management; and real-time website posting of election results.

The Commission has also held stakeholder meetings in the election cycle. However, the Commission remains fragile as its chairperson and its commissioners' appointments remain in the hands of an 'imperial' President, who at the time of an election is most likely one of the presidential candidates, and in a scenario where his/her party has the majority MPs in the National Assembly. Most stakeholders who participated in this study contended that this compromises the operations of the commission as an independent body.

On an annual basis, the ECZ issues reports that outline its major accomplishments and shortcomings. These reports are open to scrutiny by the public, political parties, CSOs, media bodies, academics and the National Assembly. The Commission is required to submit its reports to the Ministry of Justice. Commissioners and the Director of the Commission are obligated to give submissions to the parliamentary committee on legal affairs, governance, human rights and gender matters. At these hearings, the ECZ has been very candid in pointing out legal, constitutional and resource constraints that impede the body from more efficiently managing electoral processes in the country (<http://www.parliament.gov.zm>).

5.4.2 Structure and composition of the election administration

In accordance with Article 76 (1) and (2) of the Constitution of Zambia and the Electoral Commission Act of 1996 the Electoral Commission of Zambia is established as an autonomous body with the mandate to organize and conduct presidential, National Assembly and local elections as well as referenda. To this end, it is responsible for the supervision and maintenance of the voter register, reviewing the boundaries of the electoral constituencies and polling districts, voter education and undertaking all technical preparations for holding elections. It is composed of a chairperson and four commissioners who are directly appointed by the President, subject to parliamentary vetting and approval (The Constitution of Zambia, 2005).

The Commission appoints a director, three Deputy Directors and a Commission Secretary to manage the directorate of the Electoral Commission and its role is to support the Commissioners in their work and implement their policies and decisions. The Electoral Commission has powers to make regulations pertinent to the electoral process.

Designed as a centralized body, the Electoral Commission does not have a permanent presence either at provincial or district level. For organizing elections, provincial local government officers and town clerks or district council secretaries are temporarily appointed as provincial electoral officers and district electoral officers responsible for the coordination and preparation of elections in each province and district.

The Electoral Commission appointed 150 returning officers and 300 assistant returning officers to oversee candidate nominations for the parliamentary election as well as aggregation and results processes. These officials are also responsible for announcing the results of the parliamentary and presidential elections in their respective constituency. A total of 6,456 polling -districts/ stations divided into 9,022 polling streams were established for election-day and some 54,050 presiding officers and polling assistants were recruited and trained to deliver the elections at this level (European Union Election observation mission report, 2011:09).

The most significant features of the two initiatives by the Electoral Commission of Zambia were their success in mobilizing hundreds of mainly young Zambians. Each project identified and trained many Zambians who committed themselves to supporting their fellow citizens on voting day through a diverse range of activities: informing the public on voting procedure; observing the voting process

itself as well as the count; mediating in disputes inside or outside polling stations; and registering and notifying authorities about irregularities to avoid further complications. As a result, the initiatives contributed greatly to the smooth running of the election especially in terms of civic education and local empowerment (Electoral Commission of Zambia 2011:16).

Notwithstanding the functional autonomy that has been vested in the ECZ, the independence and impartiality of the election management body attracted much attention and criticism during the first elections. As stated above (see chapter two), the independence of an electoral commission provides an essential foundation for the management of elections. It was noted that members of the ECZ lacked security of tenure, as the President had powers to sack them, and therefore, the independence of the ECZ, which was necessary to create a feeling of trust among the opposition parties was lacking.

5.4.3 The administration of the elections

For elections to be credible it is of vital importance that all electoral arrangements are managed by a body which enjoys legitimacy among the public (Murphy, 1994:25-26). In most SADC countries election management bodies (EMBs) exist in the form of independent electoral commissions (IECs) and a range of other models like Zambia Electoral Commission. These electoral commissions play a crucial role in the preparations for and conduct of elections (SADC-PF, 2001b:10). The independence of an electoral commission is essential in order 'to ensure that in the exercise of its functions it shall not be subject to the direction of any other person or authority, especially the incumbent or ruling party. However, electoral commissions in the SADC region, among other things, suffer from 'limited independence, unclear mandates and inadequate resources. EMBs are often accused of being in favour of the ruling party that has appointed them (SADC-PF, 2001:10).

To help overcome these constraints it is required that the appointment and dismissal procedure of EMB commissioners should be clearly spelt out and that the process is undertaken in a manner that is impartial, accountable and transparent. The election management body should be accountable to a country's National Assembly or Parliament rather than a Ministry (EISA, 2004:12). The body should be independent, impartial and free from pressure from any political party, particularly the ruling party (Nupen, 2002:02).

To further boost the independence and impartiality of the electoral commission, it should have its own budget directly voted for the Parliament and not allocated by a ministry or a government department. Lastly and closely related to the above, the EMB must have enough funds to enable it to deliver a credible and legitimate election (EISA, 2004:11), free from inadequate logistics and insufficient resources.

The Electoral Commission acted with impartiality by organizing the elections in a transparent and professional manner in accordance with its mandate. It demonstrated competence in planning for key stages of the electoral process and this was reflected in its delivery and organizational preparations (European Union Election observation mission report, 2011:11). A well-designed electoral calendar ensured that the logistics and technical deployment of materials to district centres was carried out in advance of election-day without major incident. Although there were some glitches in the delivery of material on election-day, nationwide the process went well. The lack of permanent and decentralized structures at provincial or district level did however limit the Electoral Commission's capacity to directly manage events. Reliance on seconded administrative structures both fueled mistrusts, questioning the Electoral Commission's independence, as well as reduced its ability to control all aspects of the process (European Union Election observation mission report, 2011:11).

With a background of disputes relating to the independence of the Electoral Commission and appointments for the Electoral Commissioners there was already an element of mistrust in the electoral process on the part of key stakeholders prior to these elections. This continued throughout their organization. Claims from opposition parties of bias in the electoral administration and allegations in the media at times questioning the integrity of the whole electoral process all created a climate of suspicion.

To reduce the above problems the Electoral Commission introduced key confidence building measures such as stakeholder meetings and an open media and public relations policy that promoted a more inclusive environment for the administration of elections. These measures, however, did not reach all parts of the country and there was a lack of confidence amongst stakeholders in remote areas which were not fully included by these initiatives. The Electoral Commission also failed to adequately deal with speculation in newspapers regarding allegations of impropriety in the tendering process for ballot papers related to past elections that further promoted mistrust.

Selection committees headed by the district electoral officers for the recruitment of polling staff, the general instructions and the detailed criteria for their recruitment as well as tailored training solutions also enhanced the electoral process. The merit-based recruitment process was impartial and throughout the country the Electoral Commission's supervisory and polling staff acted professionally. They acted with transparency and prepared for and conducted the elections in a competent manner. Furthermore, by decentralizing the accreditation process for domestic monitors, party agents and media, improved arrangements were put in place for enhanced access for stakeholders, despite some inconsistencies in respect to implementation at district level that led to different interpretations of the procedures.

In preparation for the 2011 general elections the ECZ decided to conduct an update of the voter register, which had previously been done in 2005. The intention was to capture new registrants, persons who had lost their Voter Card and persons who had since changed residence. In addition, the ECZ undertook the cleaning of the list to identify persons who had died as well as erroneous and double entries.

The updated registration used a digital kit to capture thumbprints and photos. The kit also enabled cross-checking with the old register. The exercise was conducted in two phases, with mobile registration units deployed from 21 June to 18 September 2010 and then from 19 September to 30 November 2010. Based on existing data, the ECZ had set itself a target number of 2.5 million new registrants, but it did not meet this target. Thus, a third phase was undertaken between 10 and 31 March 2011. Following this there was a public verification exercise between 30 May and 12 June 2011, during which time registered persons could confirm their details.

The voter register was certified by the ECZ on 31 July 2011 and contained 5, 167,174 voters, 50.14% of whom were women and 49.86% were men. Some 1.2 million of the totals were new registrants and approximately 54% of the total number of registered voters in Zambia was aged between 18 and 35 (The Commonwealth mission group report, 2011).

5.5 The democratic role of political parties in Zambia

The government is charged with the primary responsibility of maintaining national unity, peace and security through various institutions for the betterment of the nation. In this regard, the government has an overall responsibility of promoting and protecting the free will of the electorate as a basis for maintaining national unity, peace and security. Therefore, government officials should carry out the electioneering process professionally. To set an example to their opposition parties, these officials should refrain from inflaming voters' emotions and inciting them. The government, through arms such as the police, judiciary, and electoral commission should ensure that elections are conducted in a fair way that upholds democracy (Joinet, 2008:36).

The formation and registration of political parties in Zambia is governed by the Societies Act (Cap.119 of the Laws of Zambia). The Act provides that within 28 days of its formation or adoption, a society- in this case a political party- should make an application to the Registrar of Societies for registration. Upon registration the Registrar shall issue to such a political party a certificate that will be prima facie evidence of registration.

The registration is largely a routine matter, and so far, there has never been a case of a political party that has been denied registration since 1991. The main problem has over the years been commonly recognized in the country and was also acknowledged by the participants during FGDs. At one such meeting, it was observed that it was very easy to form a political party in Zambia but a problem running one as it is too costly. It was said that great pressure was always put on the party President to provide resources to finance all party structures at all levels or else it would go under the following day. For a political party to survive and for people to remain loyal to the party leader, he or she must therefore have money (FODEP and UNZA-PAS, 2011:30-31).

Closely related to the above is the common practice that SADC countries provide public funding to political parties contesting elections. The significance of public funding of parties lies in the fact that it helps to level the playing field among the political contestants. It has been argued that public financing creates a rough equality between parties in terms of resources for canvassing votes. However, in some SADC countries public funding is not provided to political parties, and in most cases, parties keep their sources of private funding secret and this leads to suspicion and tensions. The upper limits on political expenditure are either non-existent or are overlooked by political

parties. The consequence is that the rich parties spend lavishly to win votes, and this undermines the integrity of the electoral process.

The major mechanism which regulates the interaction between the ECZ, and political parties is the political liaison committee. The committee at national level consists of the Director of the ECZ, the heads of departments of the ECZ, as well as one representative of each political party registered with the registrar of societies and the ECZ public relations officer who serves as secretary. The committee's operations are governed by the following terms of reference (ToRs):

- (a) To be a forum for consultation and co-operation between the Commission and registered political parties on all electoral matters;
- (b) To promote harmony, trust and confidence among electoral stakeholders in the electoral process;
- (c) To enhance members' understanding of the role of the Electoral Commission and the political parties in the process; and
- (d) To share knowledge, skills and strategies of participating in the electoral process and acknowledgement of dissenting viewpoints.

The committee provides a forum for regular exchange of views or information between the ECZ and political parties. By so doing, the Commission has enabled political parties to build their confidence in the ECZ as an honest broker in Zambia's electoral process. The chairperson of the ECZ revealed that meetings of the committee are enthusiastically attended by political parties. This implies that the motivation behind political parties' enthusiasm for meetings of the liaison committee is the sitting allowance that the ECZ pays political party representatives.

5.5.1 The Ruling Party

As a ruling party its supremacy over everything is projected in the party Constitution Articles 3 and 5, which states that: 'the party is supreme and a guiding political force in the land and ensures that all public institutions both state owned enterprises and popular mass and similar organizations are led by members of the party'. In recognizing the party's supremacy, it is imperative for the ruling party to practice the following:

- Support the government in maintaining national unity, peace and security;

- Believe and practice democratic, free and fair elections and internal democracy;
- Refrain from being lawless by taking the law into their hands;
- Respect the rule of law and support anticorruption crusade both in words and deeds and avoid engaging in any illegally, violence and corrupt activities but become champions of peace, good governance and democracy so that the democratic credential of the government and the President are not brought to public ridicule and contempt;
- Educate its membership and leadership about the provisions of the electoral laws and regulations as well as fundamental principles of a credible, free and fair elections as key for good governance, peace and prosperity;
- Retrain from undermining the principles of separation of power;
- Exercise mutual tolerance and respect to void a rousing ill- feeling of their political competitors; and
- Lead by example in all sectors of life (Chipenzi, 2011:04).

5.5.2 Opposition parties

Political parties are lifeblood and soul of any functioning multiparty democracy. It is often said that opposition political parties are a government in waiting and need also to lead exemplary conduct befitting a democratic and responsible government. Any attempt to destroy and suppress the existence of political parties' casts doubt on the genuineness and commitment of the government to democracy. It is with this background that the new government is expected to:

- Ensure that opposition parties also believe in democratic, free, fair and credible elections and practice internal democracy;
- Promote peace, security and unity in the electoral process;
- Respect the provisions of public order Act, Electoral Act and Electoral code of conduct and support the effective enforcement of these laws and regulations; and
- Provide constructive criticisms and remain committed to principles of non-violence by using respectful language, desist from engaging in corruption and illegality.

5.6 The media

The media can be defined as a channel through which messages are passed to an audience. The intention of passing this message is always to inform, persuade, or provoke response among others

(Willey, 1998:15). In addition, the power of the media has been recognized, perhaps leading to areas of study such as media literacy and censoring, as well as commercialization. In a democratic electioneering process, rivaling politicians must enjoy their freedom of media campaign exposure as they try to lure voters. Failure to exercise this freedom would make ideologies unheard (Rutherford, 1994: 102-104). Having noted the importance of exposure, politicians or government officials must appreciate and respect the media as they perform this function indiscriminately.

To gain more satisfaction with the election process the government/politicians and the media must have rules that govern them as well as measures that should be put in place to counter any attempts that bar their respective freedoms. These rules must be applied to both the government and the media and should be respected and adhered to. That should be monitored by the judicial system.

It should be noted that the judiciary should be independent and free from influence of either the media or the government. It is the duty of the judiciary to ensure that there are no loopholes in the rules and that they protect the citizens and the media from unfair trial or elections results. These rules should clearly spell out the repercussions of spreading hate speech or incorrect information through the state-owned media or commercial media. This will help keep at bay any election malfunction and violence. This situation will help the media practitioners and journalist to objectively report the elections without prejudice.

Voters should not be forced to vote for or support an agenda because by so doing they would make the elections fail to be transparent and the voters feel cheated. This feeling of being cheated often results in election violence which is a sign of dissatisfaction that may lead to the breakage of the party. All in all, these actions deter growth and realization of democracy. The voters therefore appreciate transparency and prefer to be informed by the media through non-partisan context.

The media can also act as a gatekeeper that holds both the government and politicians accountable to fulfill their promises to the public. Elections tend to be events that citizens look forward to most of the time. Some look forward to the elections as an opportunity for change of government (Leo, 1984: 93).

The above findings suggest that the local media made a positive contribution to the successful conduct of the 2011 general elections by displaying more maturity than during the 2008 elections.

Representatives from most local media signed a code of conduct brokered by ZEC. Adherence to the code of conduct was monitored by the Electoral Monitoring Committee (EMC) which was also charged with dealing with complaints. In the pre-campaigning period, the local media were instrumental in raising awareness among the public about the distribution of ballot cards to correct irregularities of the 2008 elections. The media sector also concurred on the need for peace, stability and increased vigilance among the public against threats from any rebel group. In general, it appears that the media reported fairly on parties and issues, although there were exceptions here and there (European Union Election observation mission report, 2011:12).

The media has played a pivotal role in the management of elections in Zambia since independence. Articles 11 and 20 of the Zambian Constitution guarantee the freedom of expression, including the freedom to hold opinions, communication and receive ideas and information without interference. The Electoral Act 27(2) establishes that all candidates and parties have the right to have their campaigns and manifestos reported on by all the public media in a balanced manner. The key regulations for media coverage of elections are outlined in the code of conduct of 2011 (regulations 13, 14 and 15) which has an extensive list of obligations for media regarding their coverage of the campaign.

In Zambia, the media, especially state-owned media, is creating a highly polarized environment which has led to selective campaign coverage of the parties and their campaigns in some of the mass media monitored by the European Union Election Observer Mission. This means that a specific obligation is placed on the public radio and television channels of the Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC) to allocate time to all political parties for political party broadcasts. However, this has not been adhered to as the ruling party has been dominating state-owned media. During the 2011 general elections, the ZNBC's coverage of opposition political parties was unbalanced and resulted in the PF boycotting election-related programming produced by publicly owned media.

In Zambia, several media personnel have been accused by both opposition and ruling party cadres of biased reporting, especially in the run-up to the 2011 general tripartite elections. Evidence shows that public media tend to favour the party in government. Commercial radio and television have had wider and more balanced coverage of the candidates and the political parties, with key commercial broadcasters demonstrating a more equitable balance between key candidates and their political

parties. Muvi TV allotted 34% of their airtime to the PF, 20% to the MMD, 16% to the UPND, 9% to the National Restoration Party (NAREP), and divided the remaining coverage between the smaller political parties. As a result, the ECZ has engaged the media through the Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA) and the security agencies with regards the protection of journalists covering political events in the electoral process (European Union Election observation mission report, 2011:14).

The Commission has also worked with the accreditation of the media to cover ballot paper printing, transportation of ballot papers to polling stations and coverage of tabulation of results, among others. It should be mentioned that the commission has fewer mechanisms of monitoring the media as it is also faced with other logistical issues. However, by engaging with media bodies such as MISA, there are norms of election reporting standards which are adhered to (i.e., media houses refraining from partisanship in their operations).

Until the early 1990s, Zambia's media was completely state-owned. However, in 1994, the Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (Licensing) Regulations opened the media sector to several new owners and operators, including commercial, community and religious stations. As a result, the media landscape is now quite diverse, with considerable choice for viewers and listeners.

5.6.1 Radio

Radio is the main source of information for Zambians. There are over 40 radio stations in Zambia. The state-owned Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC) operates three radio stations: Radio 1 which broadcasts a mix of news, cultural and call-in programmes in seven vernacular languages; Radio 2 which produces similar programmes in English; and Radio 4 which is an English language entertainment station.

Zambia's commercial stations include the popular Radio Phoenix, which began in 1994. It has a wide reach and a reputation for a high standard of programmes. There are also numerous community radio stations.

5.6.2 Television

ZNBC is the largest player in television. It operates its main channel, established in 1987, as well as a second, self-funded, channel that began in 2010. The private channel, MUVI TV, which started in

2004, has the largest audience reach after ZNBC. Programmes are produced in English and vernacular languages.

Despite the opening of the media sector over the last two decades, and the success of some commercial and community stations, ZNBC is dominant because of its nationwide reach and its large share of the market.

5.6.3 Print Media and Internet

Zambia has three national daily newspapers - the Zambia Daily Mail and the Times of Zambia which are government-owned, and The Post which is privately-owned. Together the newspapers have a circulation of around 60,000, with The Post having by far the largest share. These newspapers also have online versions. The state-owned newspapers are pro-government, whereas The Post, an opposition paper, aligned itself exclusively with the PF in this election. There are also various news websites including the *Zambian Watchdog* and *Lusaka Times*.

The three national daily newspapers were all biased in their selection of election news, and took strong editorial stances in favour of either the MMD or PF. The Times of Zambia and *Zambian Daily Mail* devoted more of its news coverage to the MMD, whereas The Post ensured most of its coverage and all its support went to the PF. In all three newspapers, the line between news reporting and editorial comment was extremely blurred, with entrenched editorial bias appearing in news reports as well as on the comment pages.

5.6.4 Media Self-Regulation

At present, there is no functional and effective self-regulatory mechanism for the media in Zambia. Media organizations have attempted to address this issue by establishing a framework for self-regulation with the creation of the Zambia Media Council (ZAMEC). However, this self-regulatory body is not yet operational (MISA-Zambia, 2011).

5.6.5 Laws and Regulations

There are several laws and regulations that apply to the media. Included on the list are the following:

- The Electoral (Code of Conduct) Regulations (2011);
- The Electoral Act (2006);

- The Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (Amendment) Act (2002);
- The Independent Broadcasting Authority Act (2002);
- The Constitution (1996, as amended); and
- The Defamation Act (1964, as amended)

5.7 The Electoral (Code of Conduct) Regulations, 2011 in relation to the media

The electoral regulations are the main provisions governing media coverage during elections: Regulation 13 requires that the media should provide fair, accurate and balanced reporting of campaigns and press conferences for all registered political parties and candidates during the campaign period. It also obliges the media to report election news in an accurate manner and to making abusive editorial comments, inciting violence or advocating hatred based on race, ethnicity, tribe, gender, and sex, political or religious conviction. The media is also required to identify any editorial comments and separate them from the reporting of news. There is also an obligation for broadcasters to refrain from broadcasting their political opinions and, in cases where they do so, they should be clearly signposted.

Regulation 14 requires public TV and radio to allocate airtime equally to all political parties and candidates for their political broadcasts. In addition, parties and candidates are prohibited from buying more than 30 minutes in any one language per week on public TV and radio.

Regulation 15 forbids speculation on election results, requiring the media to broadcast confirmed election results as they are announced by presiding officers. It also obliges TV and radio stations to maintain a library of their broadcasting in relation to the election and establishes a complaints process under which any complaint about media coverage should be sent in writing to the ECZ.

5.8 Media Freedom

Freedom of expression about the media was, for the most part, respected during the campaign period. However, the media environment was extremely polarized, with important media outlets providing their viewers with biased and selective coverage. Coupled with some press reports that were potentially inflammatory, as well as bitter rhetoric from some parties and candidates, this divisive media environment heightened tension and mistrust throughout the election. Such partisan and, at times, provocative and irresponsible reporting led to suspicions about the electoral process, thereby

appearing to undermine the integrity of the ECZ. The Commonwealth Observer Group also received a few reports of the intimidation of some journalists at both MMD and PF rallies (MISA-Zambia, 2011).

5.8.1 Broadcast Media

ZNBC did not serve the electorate in its duty as a public broadcaster. The bias of ZNBC towards the ruling party was a concern raised by almost all electoral stakeholders met by the Commonwealth Observer Group. ZNBC failed to provide fair and equitable coverage in key programmes, including news bulletins. Its television and three radio stations were dominated by the MMD at the expense of the main opposition parties. No free party-political broadcasts were provided for. The political debate programmes, sponsored by the Electoral Commission, provided time for candidates on state and private broadcasters. The PF, however, boycotted this election programming on ZNBC.

5.8.2 Media and the ECZ

Many of the Code of Conduct regulations concerning the media, particularly in relation to balanced coverage, were not adhered to. Some election stakeholders expressed concern that the ECZ did not act in response to media-related Code of Conduct violations.

Meanwhile the ECZ has stressed that the media is a vehicle which can be used to afford the electorate information necessary to make informed choices about who to elect to positions of authority. Furthermore, based on existing legislation, the Commission emphasized the role of the media in the election process as:

- Playing a watchdog role;
- Vehicle for voter education; and
- Instrument for peace building (https://www.elections.org.zm/media_role.php).

5.9 The civil society

Civil Society organizations are a link between the public and the state. CSOs are well placed to engage in national peace-building activities in the electoral process and to help legitimize the outcome of the process through election monitoring. CSOs have a critical responsibility of protecting free expression of the will of the electorate through the ballot paper.

Under the new government it is expected that:

- CSOs and NGOs should practice internal democracy and believe in democratic elections;
- Maintain balance between the state and public and demonstrate exemplary democratic conduct;
- Practice high levels of impartiality, professionalism, competence, transparency, accountability and integrity in their operations to build confidence in the electoral process;
- Continue to provide sufficient, accurate, timely and non-partisan information on the electoral process and procedures to help the masses make informed choices and actions;
- Promote and protect the rule of law and abide by various national and electoral regulations;
- Balance the advocacy of human rights with responsibilities to promoting peace and national progress; and
- Work closely with ECZ and its structures and monitor the operations of the Commission.

Civil society organizations played an important role in providing increased transparency during election-day as well as during counting and aggregation processes. The coalition of eight civil society and faith-based organizations that worked within the umbrella group, the Civil Society Election Coalition 2011, deployed over 9,000 monitors to all the 6,456 polling stations to observe the polling and results management process. This was despite some internal challenges experienced by the groups that were part of this consortium.

After some initial controversy surrounding the plans of these groups to conduct parallel vote tabulation, compromise was reached to accommodate such an exercise. This further enhanced transparency measures in the results process and its results were in line with the official results supporting their integrity. Civil society also contributed to delivering voter and civic education prior to the elections to increase public understanding of the electoral process as well as voter turnout. Constant calls by non-state actors, including the churches for peaceful elections were also important voices in the maintenance of a climate conducive to guaranteeing respect for key freedoms (Byanyima, 2000:21-22).

5.10 Participation of women, youth, minorities and people with special needs voting in the general elections

The Constitution of Zambia provides for gender equality in the electoral system in the National Assembly and local councils. However, there are no specific measures prescribed in the Zambian

legislation for gender equality in the electoral system. Although Zambia has signed key international and regional instruments for equality between women and men, women remain under-represented in public life. The national legal framework does not provide for affirmative action for the representation of women. Although women constitute half of the voting population, they account for less than 15 per cent of those participating in the legislative and decision-making processes (The Constitution of Zambia, 2005).

Barriers within the political parties, lack of access to resources and opportunities, and an absence of positive measures to encourage the participation of women in public life were reflected in the low percentage of women candidates in these elections. For example, there was one female candidate in the presidential election. A total of 111 (14%) of the 768 candidates standing for the 150 parliamentary seats were women. Only eight out of 20 parties contesting parliamentary elections nominated female candidates: UPND 22, MMD and PF nominated 20 each, ZED 10, ADD and United National Independence Party (UNIP) six, FDD, four and NAREP two respectively. A total of 21 female candidates stood as independent candidates while only 17 women won parliamentary seats constituting 11.5% of the 148 seats that were contested on election-day, well below regional and international targets (European Union Election observation mission report, 2011:17).

The Zambia National Women's Lobby (ZNWL) and the NGO Coordinating Council trained female candidates on campaign techniques and resource mobilization. They also printed campaign materials for selected female candidates from different parties, as not even the major parties were willing to materially support the campaigns of all their female candidates. Even though the electoral system does not provide quotas or reserved seats for women, these civil society organizations lobbied major parties to nominate women as 40% of their candidates, who pledged to do so. However, parties fell far short of this pledge, citing fears that they would not attract enough support from a traditionally patriarchal electorate.

The number of women standing as candidates for the presidential and National Assembly elections was extremely low. Out of the ten Presidential candidates only one was a woman and out of the 769 candidates for the National Assembly a disappointing 111 were women. Women make up more than 50% of the population and registered electorate but the level of women's representation as candidates is discouraging, well below the targets set by both SADC and the Commonwealth.

5.11 Participation of Minorities, Youth and Special Needs Voting

The constitution of Zambia provides general guarantees of equal rights and freedoms and prohibits discrimination on grounds of race or religion. There are no legal obstacles to participation of any specific minority group as either candidates or voters. The constitution obliges the Electoral Commission to ensure access to voting for all eligible persons based on nondiscrimination including voters with disabilities. There were some provisions for assisted voting and 6,500 tactile ballot templates for the presidential election for the visually impaired were distributed to polling stations.

However, special voting provisions provided for in law to allow housebound and the hospitalized to vote was not implemented largely due to disagreements amongst stakeholders on the procedures to be adopted. Polling stations were also mostly located in schools and were not always adequate to accommodate the physically disabled. The Zambia Federation of Disability Organizations played an important role in enhancing access for persons with disabilities to all stages of the electoral process and the legal proceedings it pursued sets an important precedent for the future (European Union Election observation mission report, 2011:15).

In cooperation with the Zambia Agency for Persons with Disabilities, ECZ conducted a targeted voter education programme in all provinces, implemented by facilitators recruited from among persons with disabilities, and produced educational material in braille and for the hearing impaired. Zambia Federation of Disabilities Organization and Disabilities Rights Watch observed elections as part of the FODEP domestic observer grouping and commended ECZ for its effort to increase accessibility, which included relocating most polling stations to the ground floor, which led to a higher participation of persons with disabilities compared to previous elections. EU observers assessed 72 per cent of polling stations seen as being accessible to persons with disabilities.

Zambia has ratified the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD) and enacted in 2010 the Persons with Disabilities Act, ensuring the right of the disabled to vote and to be elected. The Commission for Human Rights and Good Governance (CHRAGG), which actively followed the electoral process, received complaints from people with disabilities about the lack of voter education, especially for the deaf people. This was also a concern during the registration process as there were no sign language interpreters at registration centres.

5.12 Youth Representation

There were 1.2 million new youth voters registered which represents 23% of the overall voting population. 54% of registered voters were between the ages of 18 and 35. These figures suggest that the youth voters would have a considerable influence on the outcome of this election.

Despite what appeared to be the mobilization of the youth to be involved in the electoral process, the overall voters' turnout remained quite low (around 50%). Some of the key youth stakeholders indicated that some of the reasons for the low involvement by the youth as electoral candidates or voters were because the youth felt marginalized and had lost confidence in the electoral system. They claimed that the youth also perceived a “recycled political landscape” of persons who have been affiliated with politics for decades. In addition, it was reported that the youth believed that there were currently limited opportunities for young people to be a part of the national development of the country as there exists few opportunities for youth representation on key decision-making bodies in government.

Several youth stakeholders stated that some of the key issues that they would like to see addressed were youth unemployment and greater transparency in the electoral process and a reduction in the perceived corruption by government officials (Commonwealth observer report, 2011:11).

5.13 The security of elections in Zambia

To safeguard the freedom of speech and assembly, and to ensure a credible electoral process, it is important that elections are conducted in a peaceful atmosphere. In this regard, the security forces play a vital role in protecting the integrity of the entire electoral process (EISA, 2004:20). According to the Committee for a Clean Campaign (CCC) (1996:31), security forces ‘have an important role to ensure that elections are peaceful, free and fair.’ This duty can be performed effectively only in circumstances where the security forces prove themselves to be at least relatively neutral and unbiased (De Vos, 1994:145).

Law enforcement agencies are recognized as important institutions for upholding democratic governance as they are custodians of public safety and security during election periods. Prior to the tripartite elections, the Commission through the financial and technical support of UNDP conducted comprehensive training sessions for the Zambia Police in effectively policing elections. The trainings

were held in provincial centres. The sessions targeted the provincial and district police commands who were in turn expected to train officers in their jurisdiction. This was an innovative approach aimed at reaching Police Officers at grassroots to facilitate the transfer of knowledge on policing elections to a wider police audience without the use of formal training sessions.

The electoral process is one that should start from the time the victorious party or candidate at any level assumes power. This is due to the nature of the process, the number of stakeholders involved and other intricacies, which, if overlooked, would compromise the credibility of the EMB. The role of security wings cannot be over-emphasized as they are the enforcers of Public Order Act during elections. The Zambia Police Service (ZPS) is one of the most important partners or key stakeholders as the ECZ has no enforcement mechanism to sanction violators of the electoral code of conduct.

The ZPS has established an election programme to re-train police personnel on rules of engagement. The ZPS has also involved political parties, the ECZ, the media, the church and civil society representatives in electoral conflict prevention. Its course includes public order management and the electoral code of conduct. Some training was done, in collaboration with the European Union (EU), on police response in critical situations. In addition, the ZPS is in the process of establishing an early warning centre as a central point for receiving all electoral-related incident reports or complaints from the public on security issues relating to the conducting of polls countrywide.

The securing and transportation of ballot boxes is managed by officers of the ECZ. The duty of the ZPS is to simply provide physical protection to ECZ personnel as they move ballot boxes from polling stations to the national command centre in Lusaka. However, the ZPS is not without flaws. It has been noted in past elections that the capacity of the ZPS to maintain public order remains open to question. Moreover, uncertainty surrounding the validity of some arrests of opposition supporters calls into question the ZPS' impartiality in performing its duties. This can be evidenced by the Bangweulu parliamentary by-election campaigns which were marred by violence resulting in the PF's secretary general allegedly opening fire on a member of the opposition party, the UPND (Nyirenda, 2015:16).

Police were generally prepared to quickly respond to incidences such as the one mentioned above. Voting was disrupted at specific polling stations in Lusaka. Enhanced capacity of the police assesses situations and determines appropriate action. This has positively contributed to limited use of force

in crowd management. Regarding electoral security, 15, 000 police officers were trained in policing elections and human rights, and a joint ECZ and Zambia Police Incident Monitoring system was developed and fully functional during the elections period.

5.14 Domestic and international election observers

Civil society organizations played an active role throughout the electoral process in Zambia. Notably, the Christian Churches Monitoring Group (CCMG), an alliance of faith-based organizations, issued pre-election statement towards elections day, in which it noted concerns about electoral violence, the inability of candidates to freely and fairly campaign, a lack of impartiality from police, imbalanced coverage by state media as issues with the potential to undermine the integrity of the elections. The CCMG then called on the government, the ECZ and political parties to immediately take action to address these issues (Police). The CCMG conducted the largest independent parallel vote tabulation (PVT) for the presidential elections, with a representative random sample of 1,404 polling streams located at 1,001 polling stations. The results of the PVT were consistent with the official results, as announced by the ECZ.

Several regional and international observation missions were deployed, including the African Union (AU), the Commonwealth Observer Group (COG), the Southern African Development Community (SADC), the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), international Conference of the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR), the Electoral Institute for the Sustainability of Democracy in Africa (EISA) and the Carter Centre (CC). All international observation missions issued their post-election statements before they left Zambia for their respective bases.

The Commission conducted accreditation for both local and international observers to monitor and observe the conduct of the 2011 tripartite elections. Each of these stakeholders is discussed below⁷

5.14.1 International Election Observers

The Commission established an International Observer Accreditation Centre (IOAC) at Golden Bridge Hotel in Lusaka. The function of the IOAC was to accredit all international observers from local diplomatic missions and international observer missions to observe the conduct of the tripartite elections. Upon being accredited each observer was provided with an information pack and issued with two accreditation cards, one for accessing polling stations while the other one for the National Results Centre.

5.14.2 Local Monitors

The accreditation of local monitors was decentralized to the districts. Monitors were accredited successfully and there was improvement due to the decentralization of the function. Accreditation of local monitors was done at two levels namely: field to cover the polling stations and the Totalling Centre.

5.15 Issues relating to the 2011 general elections in Zambia

The major function of a boundary delimitation commission is to draw the boundaries of constituencies in a fair manner applying a stipulated method (SAD-PF, 2001:12). Although some countries appoint special commissions to manage the delimitation of constituencies, in most countries the EMB handles the exercise. Worth noting is the fact that the delimitation process is a technical exercise that can be exploited for political aims (EISA, 2004:14). The manipulation of constituency delimitation (so-called ‘gerrymandering’) is common with the single member First-past-the-post electoral system.

In avoid manipulation, the recommended norm is that an independent and impartial body that is representative of society should handle the delimitation process (EISA, 2004:15). Preferably, the exercise should be left to the technical expertise of the Boundary Delimitation Commission, free from political interference. Also, the practice of ‘gerrymandering’ should be prohibited and none of the political stakeholders should alter the recommendations of the Boundary Delimitation Commission (SADC-PF, 2001:13).

5.16 Preparedness of the Electoral Commission of Zambia: 2011 General elections

The ECZ undertook a thorough and inclusive recruitment process for its 55,000 ad hoc polling station staff. It advertised for the positions and suitable applicants were then trained and tested on their suitability. Appointments were made based on the tests. This approach is welcomed and contributed to the high caliber of staff working in the polling stations on the day of the election.

The ECZ may adopt regulations pertinent to the electoral process and has a duty to enforce the Electoral Process Act (EPA). As per the Electoral Code of Conduct, the commission should ensure that legally convened campaign events are not disrupted; that state resources are not used for campaign purposes; and that the police act impartially. However, the Act provides the ECZ with limited, administrative means of enforcement. The commission may reprimand a stakeholder for any

conduct in violation of the code, report breaches of the code to the police or other agency, revoke accreditations for access to electoral institutions and impose administrative measures on a person, candidate or party for persistent breaches of the Code (Electoral Commission of Zambia, 2011).

The ECZ does not have decentralized structures and is reliant on local government officials in the preparations and conduct of elections. District electoral officers appoint returning officers in each constituency, on behalf of the ECZ, and supervise the recruitment of polling staff. The ECZ prepared for the elections in a largely professional manner and generally demonstrated competence in conducting key electoral operations. The electoral calendar was respected. Late adoption of the electoral legal framework caused the ECZ to rely in part on its past practice when constitutional referendum made a heavier burden of logistics, counting, tabulation and voter education, and led to some weaknesses in the implementation of each of these tasks. Problems with the results management system (RMS) contributed to the slow tabulation and announcement of results.

The ECZ was in regular contact with media houses and police concerning the respective duties of these institutions in the electoral process. However, the ECZ did not make full use of the administrative measures at its disposal to enforce the Electoral Code of Conduct, as for example in the provision of equal public airtime to contesting parties. Following the late adoption of the EPA, the ECZ had the authority to reprimand a stakeholder for any conduct in violation of the code, as well as to report breaches of the code to the police or other relevant agency, revoke accreditations related to election-day, and to impose unspecified administrative measures on a person, candidate or party for persistent breach of the code.

However, the ECZ did not allow international nor domestic observers to access several important activities, such as verification of results at national level, attendance of a series of stakeholder and mediation meetings, and witnessing of the arrival of ballot papers. It did not even provide copies of all draft regulations and an electronic list of voters per polling station, and thus missed opportunities to enhance the transparency of, and trust in, the process. The ECZ was unclear about the timeframe and detail of the publication of results on the ECZ's website, which would have further contributed to a more transparent process.

5.16.1 Delimitation of Constituencies

The major function of a boundary delimitation commission is to draw the boundaries of constituencies in a fair manner applying a stipulated method. Although some SADC countries appoint special commissions to manage the delimitation of constituencies, in most countries the EMB handles the exercise. Worth noting is the fact that the delimitation process is a technical exercise that can be exploited for political aims. The manipulation of constituency delimitation (so-called ‘gerrymandering’) is common with the single member (first-past-the-post---FPTP) electoral system. To avoid manipulation, the recommended norm is that an independent and impartial body that is representative of society should handle the delimitation process.

Preferably, the exercise should be left to the technical expertise of the Boundary Delimitation Commission, free from political interference (SADC-PF, 2001:13). Also, the practice of ‘gerrymandering’ should be prohibited and none of the political stakeholders should alter the recommendations of the Boundary Delimitation Commission. As per Article 58 of the constitution, the responsibility for determining and reviewing constituency boundaries for parliamentary seats rests with the ECZ. In conducting boundary delimitation, the Commission must seek to achieve approximate equality of constituency population, while considering history, diversity, population density, means of communication and geographical features.

The number of constituencies is equal to the number of seats of elected members in the National Assembly, as established by the constitution. Therefore, any boundary delimitation review requiring a change in the number of constituencies requires constitutional amendment. Following the 2010 census and prior to the 2011 general elections, the ECZ conducted a consultative delimitation review process nationwide.

5.16.2 Civic/ Voter education

The ECZ is mandated to conduct civic education and for this election it deployed teams of civic educators to conduct programmes across the country. However, they were withdrawn after being accused of campaigning for the ruling party. Such a reaction to civic educators was regrettable as they were responsible for a critical activity.

Pursuant to its mandate the Electoral Commission is responsible for providing voter education and in line with this it established the National Voter Education Committee that included civil society organizations and public institutions, as well as 74 District Voter Education Committees. A total of 1,422 voter education facilitators were trained to deliver these programmes in every ward. Specially tailored, and at times highly innovative, voter education programmes for each phase of the electoral process were delivered to increase the public's awareness of their rights, knowledge of voting procedures, and to encourage them to vote. This included producing material in the seven main local languages, door-to-door campaigns, and local drama groups targeting different social groups such as women and new voters, and highly visible radio and television campaigns.

Training materials such as Voter Education Reference Manual and Facilitator's Guide were developed. The Commission also developed and printed a 15-topic Flip Chart and a series of 8 posters for voter education. The posters were all translated into the seven (7) main local languages to reach all Zambians. The changes to the voter education materials addressed the gaps identified in international and domestic observer mission reports during the 2006 and subsequent 2008 general elections.

The ECZ is responsible for arranging delivery of voter education. In line with its mandate, the Commission established voter education committees at the national and district levels, comprising CSOs, faith-based organizations and state agencies. Voter education programmes were delivered using various methods to increase the public's awareness of the significance of voting and the right to participation. The ECZ received support from the UNDP-managed electoral assistance programme to conduct voter education activities involving persons with disabilities. The commission also undertook voter and referendum education through the print, broadcast and social media. Even though voter education activities were usually assessed by EU observers as being of good quality, their impact was sometimes limited due to difficulties in reaching remote rural areas and the end of all activities almost two weeks before the election (www.elections.org.za).

5.16.3 Voter registration

Central to the organization of free and fair elections is a well-compiled register of voters (SADC-PF, 2001:12). The registration exercise must be designed to prevent electoral abuse and fraud and should enable all eligible voters to be included in the voters' register. In the SADC region the responsibilities of compiling a voters' roll and undertaking voter registration is generally assigned to the EMB. However, in many SADC countries the transparency and legitimacy of the voter registration process have been very contentious (EISA, 20014:15). The problems often associated with the registration exercise include: the cumbersome voter registration requirements and procedures; and missing names of registered voters on the voters' rolls.

Electoral stakeholders illustrated that there was an agreement between all the electoral stakeholders which were due to participate before the 2011 general elections. The agreement initiated by the electoral stakeholders specified that voter registration would be revised, amended and corrected as necessary. It was a matter of urgency to complete the process as many electoral activities were already in place but disorganized. Zambia's long history of one-party rule impacted negatively on the voter registration process with the introduction of democratic pluralism. The country was under one-party rule for about 17 years. Therefore, due to the absence of an effective voter registration exercise throughout the long period of single-party rule, there were concerns during the first multi-party elections in 1991 about the non-implementation of full voter registration (Baylies and Szeftel, 1992:92). There were also misgivings about the adequacy of procedures for dealing with lost registration cards.

To sum up, as indicated in the above analysis the Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ) had made strenuous efforts over the years to address the voter registration problems experienced during each of the elections under study. As a result, despite the slight hitches encountered during the 2006 general elections, the registration process was considered an improvement on the previous exercises, and this was largely due to the appointment of the South African company which used modern technology.

The current voter register was established in 2005 using optical mark recognition technology. Prior to the 2011 elections, the ECZ conducted an update of the 2005 voter register, during which a biometric voter registration system based on thumbprint capture a facial portrait was adopted, which

remains the system currently in use. A voter registration audit was conducted by a team of international experts, recruited by the ECZ from the United Nations Single Electoral Rooster, in parallel with the inspection and certification of the register.

The Christian Monitoring Group (CMG) observed the voter registration process but its request to conduct an independent audit, with technical assistance from NDI was denied. The ECZ's public disclosure of the audit's findings and steps taken to implement some of its recommendations were efforts to improve the integrity of the voter register and to promote confidence. Although the audit was only completed shortly before Election Day it detected anomalies, and that could be expected in a voter register not linked to a system of permanent and continuous civil registration.

5.16.4 The Right to Vote

There are not openly discriminatory or unreasonable criteria to register as a voter. To vote, a person must be a Zambian citizen, at least 18 years old and must be in possession of both a national registration card and a voter card, and have their details included in the voter register. This classification of disqualified persons includes people of unsound mind, as well as those detained under the Criminal Procedure Code or any other law in force in Zambia, and those under a sentence of death or imprisonment or have been convicted of corrupt or illegal practices under the Electoral Act within the past five years. It also includes people found guilty of such practices on an electoral petition within five years. These disqualifications are broadly in line with international standards. The major exception to this is the exclusion of persons held in custody who have not been convicted of an offence.

5.16.5 Voter Registration Procedures

In advance of these elections the Electoral Commission conducted an update of the 2005 voter register with an emphasis on increasing the number of new registrants, updating the information of those already registered, and cleansing the database of any anomalies including entries of deceased persons. To these ends, a new mobile system of voter registration was introduced that employed digital registration kits with a capability of capturing thumbprints for biometric and facial portrait data storage. The mobile voter registration update was conducted in three phases from June 2010 until March 2011 (183 days in total).

The final register was certified on 31 July 2011 and has 5,167,174 registrants (50.1 per cent women and 49.9 per cent men), or 85 per cent, of the eligible population. The number of first-time voters is significant, up to 24.5 per cent of all registered voters. Most registered voters (53.8 per cent) are between 18 and 35 years old. Overall, the mobile voter registration exercise was well prepared and managed, although there were some early delays regarding the issuance of national identity cards and a lack of timely public information available on the registration process itself.

Although there appears to be broad confidence in the integrity of the voter register, there remains some anomalies. There are estimated to be details of approximately 250,000 deceased persons on the register that have been carried over from the 2005 database which the new register has been built upon. Clerical mistakes in data recording and entries, such as name spellings and minor errors, have also been identified. To militate against these, the Electoral Commission issued clear and concise instructions on how to handle the above matters to ensure that voters who produced the required documents could vote.

Responses to all these issues were appropriate and in line with best practice and in ensuring the adequacy of the security measures put in place to ensure the integrity of the voter register. Due to technical errors during the data processing, the details of approximately 9,000 (0.17 per cent) voters were missing from the provisional voter register and these voters were unable to vote. According to the Electoral Commission, most of this data (99 per cent) has now been retrieved.

5.16.6 Preparation of Polls

The Commission provided adequate road transport to all the districts. Hired and Commission vehicles were provided for voter registration, as well as for inspection of the provisional register of voters, nominations and for poll day activities respectively with an average of four vehicles per constituency. Air and water transport was also provided to districts with areas that could only be accessed by air or water. The inspection of the provisional register of voters took place for 14 days from 30th May to 12th June 2011. All the 6,456 registration centres were open during this period for the electorate to inspect their voter details. During inspection, all the registration services were offered except for new registrations.

The inspection was further enhanced with an SMS-based solution where a voter would send a SMS to the number 2011 and the ECZ server would immediately reply with the voter details. This proved very popular with the electorate though it was implemented in the last week of the inspection process. The turnout for the exercise was about 33%. Voter education campaigns were conducted in line with the schedule of activities for voter registration. The activities included scheduled meetings with the electorate, drama performances and distribution of poster and fliers. At the end of the inspection period, all the registration kits and updated information were collected and delivered to head office for further consolidation. This process ended in time for the certificate of the register of voters by the Director of Elections on 31st July 2011 (www.elections.org.zm).

5.16.7 Election officials

The ECZ undertook a thorough and inclusive recruitment process for its 55,000 ad hoc polling station staff. It advertised for the positions and trained and tested suitable applicants on their suitability. Appointments were made based on the tests. This approach contributed to the high caliber of staff working in the polling stations on the day of the election.

Such a process also helped to prevent or reduce, allegations of nepotism or politically motivated appointments, and to ensuring a higher level of confidence in the electoral administration. The Commission in collaboration with UNDP Project identified 25 Master Trainers (MTs) who were trained under the BRIDGE programme. The MTs were a composition of both Commission staff and external officers that had vast experience in election work identified from the districts.

The Commission recruited District Election Trainers (DETs) to enhance the training of poll staff in all the provincial centres. A total of 560 DETs countrywide were recruited, trained and tested by the Commission in June 2011. The Commission trained Returning Officers (Ros), Assistant Returning (AROs) and Technical Support Assistants from the districts in Lusaka in the month of August in preparation for the nomination day and the poll day.

Training of the Presiding Officers and Polling Assistants took place from the 5th to 6th September 2011. The training was conducted by District Trainers under the supervision of Returning Officers in the Constituencies. Deployment of poll staff and materials to polling stations country wide was done in two days from 18th to 19th September 2011, starting with remote places. Officers were

instructed to spend the night of 19th September 2011 at polling stations to facilitate for the early opening of stations on 20th September 2011, the day of the poll.

5.16.8 Ballot paper printing services and distribution of election materials

Ballot papers and ballot boxes are commonly used in the SADC region for the voting process. The production and security of voting materials are handled by the EVM of the individual countries. However, there are some exceptional cases whereby election materials are printed abroad. The procurement, delivery and forms of election material may engender conflict if not well handled by the EMB (EISA, 2004:25). About the types of election material, some SADC member states still use opaque wooden ballot boxes, which undermines the transparency of the electoral process. The recommended standard is that instead of the opaque wooden boxes, transparent ballot boxes should be used. The distribution of the necessary election materials to all voting stations should be done on time and in adequate quantities to avoid shortages; and finally, precaution should be taken to prevent multiple voting (EISA, 2004:25).

Zambia's ballot papers were printed in South Africa by Universal Printing Group (UPG) and the printing process was witnessed by Commission staff., political party representatives, Faith Based Organizations (FBOs), private and public electronic and print media and independent observers from autonomous institutions such as the Drug Enforcement Commission (DEC), Anti-Corruption Commission (ACC) and Zambia Police Service.

Distribution on non-security election materials to the districts commenced in April 2011 and the exercise was completed on 8th September 2011. This included the distribution of ballot boxes, lids, trays, polling booths, forms and other election materials. As for the security election materials, the distribution of ballot papers and other security materials to the districts was done from 15th to 17th September 2011, beginning with Northern, Northwestern and Luapula Provinces and ending with Lusaka province. All districts received the ballot papers and other security materials as scheduled; and these were distributed to the polling stations in time for the poll.

5.17 Nominations

The Commission prescribed 7th to 12th August 2011 as dates for Presidential nominations while 12th August 2011 was put aside for the National Assembly and Local Government election nominations.

For the first time, the Commission introduced an innovation of electronically identifying candidate supporters for presidential nominations on the register of voters using computers. The Commission also provided registration kits to capture information for the nomination of parliamentary candidates.

5.17.1 Presidential Candidates

Ten Presidential candidates were nominated consisting of one female.

Table: 5.2 Presidential candidates for Zambia's tripartite elections for 2011

Number	NAMES	PARTY
1	Sata Michael C.	PF
2	Banda Rupiah B.	MMD
3	Hichilema Hakainde	UPND
4	Milupi Charles L.	ADD
5	Chipimo Elias C.	NAREP
6	Kaunda Tilyenji C.	UNIP
7	Nawakwi Edith Z.	FDD
8	Magande Ng'andu P.	NMP
9	Miyanda Godfrey K.	Heritage
10	Mutesa Fredrick	ZED

Source: www.elections.org.zm

5.17.2 National Assembly and local government nominations

Nominations for the National Assembly elections were held in all the 150 constituencies and 768 aspiring candidates successfully filled in their nominations out of which 113 were female. In the Local Government elections, 4,746 lodged in nominations contesting in the 1,422 council wards out of which 440 were females (ECZ Report, 2012:25).

Table 5.3: Candidates for the National Assembly for Zambia Tripartite elections for 2011

PROVINCE	NO. OF CANDIDATES
Central	64
Copperbelt	103
Eastern	106
Luapula	57
Lusaka	81
Northern	93
North-Western	55
Southern	118
Western	91
National Total	768

Source: www.elections.org.zm

Table 5.4: Candidates for Local Government for Zambia Tripartite elections for 2011

PROVINCE	NO. OF CANDIDATES
Central	426
Copperbelt	798
Eastern	595
Luapula	338
Lusaka	313
Northern	647
North- Western	419

Southern	650
Western	560
National Total	4746

Source: www.elections.org.zm

5.18 Electoral campaigns

Competing parties and candidates in the SADC region during the campaign period are accustomed to contravening the electoral code of conduct and to being engaged in illegal practices. The election campaign in most SADC countries is often characterized by violence, intimidation, murder and the destruction of property (SADC-PF, 2001:13). According to De Vos (1994:120), an election campaign should be conducted in an atmosphere that guarantees a reasonable level of freedom of expression and association to all the participants.

Holding a similar view, Lindberg (2004:69) maintains that the level of peacefulness during the campaign is an indicator of the legitimacy of the electoral contest as peaceful means of allocating political power. He argues that the presence of politically motivated violence is an indication of the limited quality of the elections. To overcome these shortcomings, which are common with the campaign period, the recommended norm is that parties and candidates should scrupulously adhere to the electoral code of conduct that guides their behaviour during the election campaign process. Furthermore, a culture of peace and tolerance should be exhibited by all electoral stakeholders throughout the campaign period (EISA, 2004:20).

The Electoral Commission set the campaign period from 29 July to 18 September 2011 at which time a 48-hour campaign moratorium came into force. During that moratorium period, campaigning, election rallies and the publication of campaign advertisements or statements were prohibited, but opinion polls and any election news stories, including ones critical of candidates, could still be published. The extent of the ban was only set out in a press release and was not clarified in advance in any legal instrument; and this led to a lack of clarity as to its full scope and provisions.

The Code of Conduct sets out broad freedoms to campaign, and outlaws violent or inflammatory language or conduct, and false statements about opponents during the campaign. Arms and weapons are forbidden at rallies; and public meetings must comply with the Public Order Act. Previously rallies required police permits to proceed but this was amended in 1996 after a Supreme Court judgment to require notice rather than permission (Commonwealth observer report, 2011).

5.19 Overview of the Election Campaign

Candidates and political parties enjoyed the rights of freedom of assembly, expression and movement during the campaign period, with candidates and parties at liberty to move around the country without any major restrictions on their activities. The election campaign environment was highly competitive with the candidates of the two major parties, MMD and PF, and a lesser extent UPND, travelling to the provinces to attend organised rallies. The parties also conducted large scale door-to-door canvassing of voters and lobbied traditional leaders such as chiefs to increase votes.

Rallies were peaceful with a festival-like atmosphere and a large range of party paraphernalia including clothing and food were handed out as an inducement for people to attend. Whilst the campaign environment was generally calm, some inflammatory and negative campaigning, and at times some vitriolic rhetoric and personalized insults, have been observed at a few MMD and PF rallies. There have also been many sporadic, localized and small-scale clashes between supporters of political parties in Lusaka and Namwala in the Southern province (European Union election observation mission report, 2011).

The police's response to these incidents was professional and balanced. Criminal investigations into statements allegedly inciting violence at rallies of the General Secretary of PF and the provincial Chairperson of the MMD each proceeded to the stage of seeking a cautioned statement, but no charges were issued before the elections. Overall, the campaign environment was not adversely affected by such incidents or clashes. This generally calm environment was in sharp contrast to the tension on Election Day whereby immediately following the elections the supporters of opposition parties clashed with security agencies and disrupted the process in some parts of the country.

5.19.1 Campaign Finance and Use of State Resources

There were no provisions regulating campaign finance. The resources available to political parties and candidates varied considerably and there was a complete lack of transparency and accountability in the sourcing and spending of funds. Furthermore, in respect to state resources, Section 27 of the Electoral Act obliged state authorities and the public media to give equal treatment to all candidates. The Code of Conduct also banned the use of public property or revenues for campaigning.

The above prohibitions did not apply to the President and Vice-president. Section 16 (2) of the Finance (Control and Management) Act prohibited the spending of public money for purposes not sanctioned by law, and ensuring compliance is the responsibility of the Auditor General, a constitutional office. In the past officials who diverted funds to political campaigns were convicted of abuse of office, but that offence was repealed by the Anti-Corruption Act 2010. In the absence of appropriate provisions, and a lack of mechanisms to ensure that rules in place such as those in the Code of Conduct were enforced, there was no transparency in campaign funding or use of state which made the playing field uneven.

Advantages of incumbency were widely exploited by the MMD. The President also frequently attended ceremonial openings or inaugurations of large-scale public works, roads or hospitals that were widely reported in the mass media and blurred the boundaries between official functions of the presidential office and campaigning. The use of state resources for campaign purposes was at times overt, particularly in the use of public television, radio and newspapers. Use of government vehicles by the MMD to deliver campaign material was widely reported from the field. The lack of clearly defined parameters between private and public resources further dissolved boundaries between legitimate use of state resources used in an official capacity and use of them to campaign. In addition, civil servants including provincial permanent secretaries and district commissioners, were at times active in the election campaign for the MMD. Finally, the publicly funded relief maize programme was also frequently observed being used by the MMD in support of its campaign.

5.20 Polling

Another vital phase in the electoral cycle is the polling day or election-day, which is when the electorate cast its ballots. Although the credibility of any election is unlikely to be decided exclusively on the polling day, the actual process of voting is nevertheless significant. The following

aspects are important to consider on the day of the elections: the polling stations; secrecy of the ballot; ballot papers, ballot boxes; other election material; and finally, the counting of votes.

Polling stations cannot be left as they are considered to determine the efficacy of the voting process. According to Steytler (1994:187) these issues are especially important in the rural areas, where more polling stations mean closer proximity for voters. In most SADC countries there is a marked disparity between infrastructure and services in urban and rural areas. Polling stations in urban areas are generally more accessible and better serviced than those in rural areas. To enhance accessibility and efficiency, and to minimize waiting time, it is required that the number and location of polling stations should reflect the population density and settlements patterns.

To ensure that voting takes place in a neutral environment, public places such as schools, tents and mobile vehicles are given preference as polling stations. Illiterate persons, aged people and persons with disabilities are assisted when voting by persons of their choice (SADC-PF, 2001:06). Finally, as a norm, proper training about the voting process should be given to party agents, and other persons working at the polling stations. Their role and functions at the polling stations should be clearly spelt out (EISA, 2004:24).

The last aspect under the polling day is the secrecy of the ballot which is the main prerequisite for free and fair, as well as credible and legitimate elections is the secrecy of the ballot. Steytler (1994:200) contends that ‘the secrecy of the vote is regarded...as one of the best methods of ensuring that the vote indeed remains a free expression of choice.’ He further points out that ‘if voters are convinced that the choice, they make remains a secret, then the fear of reprisals following the outcome of the election can be overcome to some degree’ (Ibid.).

However, there have been instances in SADC countries where the secrecy of the ballot has been seriously compromised by the decision to compel voters to queue behind their party candidates or village headmen. To ensure the secrecy of the ballot it is required that the assistance rendered to the disabled, illiterate and aged voters should not compromise their right to vote secretly. The layout of the voting station should be such that no one is able to see how voters mark their ballot papers. Necessary measures should be taken to ensure that it is impossible to trace the names of individual voters from cast ballots and to ensure that voters only vote once (EISA, 2004:25).

The Zambia Electoral Act No. 26 of 2006 gives power to the Commission to determine voting hours in an election. The Commission had therefore prescribed 06:00 hours and 18:00 hours as opening and closing times of the poll for the 20th September 2011 tripartite elections.

Material required for polling was transported prior to election-day to district level without major incidents reported. The local delivery of the materials down to polling station level was generally efficient allowing for the timely opening of the poll nationwide. There were some isolated incidents of polling materials arriving late, but most of polling stations were either opened on time or within an hour of the scheduled time. The materials and polling staff arrived several hours later in some polling stations in Kanyama, Matero and Munali constituencies in Lusaka.

Polling in these polling stations started later and was extended until the evening according to agreed procedures. There were other minor incidents of delay that were attended to by the Electoral Commission. The most extreme case was in Lukulu West constituency where supporters of political parties disrupted the transfer of polling material. Consequently, elections were conducted a day later.

Nationwide, voting proceeded throughout the day in a calm and orderly manner with some reports of disruptions in Lusaka and a few other areas of the country. Polling procedures in 94 per cent of polling stations observed by European Union observers were assessed as good or very good. In some of these polling stations procedures were not followed strictly or some materials, mainly seals and official stamps, were missing, but this did not adversely affect the overall integrity of the polling. There were also some minor problems regarding the voter register with people not being able to vote because their names were not included. Most of these anomalies were resolved with presiding officers following the instructions issued by the Electoral Commission on how to deal with these cases in advance of the election.

On election-day, sporadic incidents of violence erupted in small pockets of the country. These were all largely related to the increase in suspicions of the electoral process of PF supporters and rumours of electoral fraud. In Kanyama, Matero and Munali constituencies in Lusaka, rioting broke out as voters protested about delays in the opening of polling stations. The Police fired tear gas and warning shots to disperse the rioters. These kinds of incidents continued in the days immediately following

the elections and there was unrest in Ndola and Solwezi (European Union election observation mission report, 2011).

Generally, most polling stations in the country opened on time with exceptions in Lusaka and Kabwe where some stations opened late due to insufficient election materials such as ballot boxes, ballot box lids, ballot box seals, election forms and official marks, among others. The 2011 Presidential, Parliamentary and Local Government elections recorded a voter turnout of 53.65% of the registered voters. The Presidential election was held in all the 150 constituencies while Parliamentary elections were held in 148 out of the 150 constituencies' country wide.

Parliamentary elections were not held in Nokonde and Magoye constituencies due to the demise of National Movement for Progress (NMP) candidate for Magoye, Mr. Willie Malambo and Patronic Front (PF) candidate for Nakonde, Mr. John Siame. Furthermore, Local Government elections did not take place in 35 wards due to deaths, omissions or transportation of candidates' photographs on the ballot papers (ECZ Annual Report, 2011:06).

5.21 Counting and results

The counting of votes is a thorny issue in the electoral process that is very susceptible to accusations of election rigging (SADC-PF, 2001:17). Steytler (1994) emphasizes the importance of accuracy in the counting of votes. Several SADC countries, to boost the credibility and transparency of the count, are establishing results centres to provide a national record of the results. However, a potential source of suspicion and fraud in the transportation of ballot boxes between the voting and counting centres (EISA, 2004:26) has been observed. Steytler (1994:203) argues that the transfer of ballot boxes makes them vulnerable to tampering and other forms of fraud.

Missing ballot boxes and other ballot boxes being sneaked in are some of the common problems associated with the transportation process. To prevent these problems, it is required that the EMB should have full responsibility for the management of the counting process which must be conducted in the polling station just after the close of voting. The voting station should be provided with adequate lighting, communication systems and security if it is to function properly. Election officials, party agents, observers and any other authorized persons who can be present during the counting exercise should be acquainted with the counting procedures. Furthermore, the results should

immediately be announced and posted at the counting station when the counting process is over (EISA, 2004:26).

Closing was assessed as fair to good in most polling stations. Counting of ballots commenced at all polling stations in clear sight of party agents and election monitors immediately following closing of the poll. It was conducted in a transparent manner, albeit slowly, in the spirit, if not according to the exact rules laid out by procedures in the polling stations. Counting went on across the country throughout most of the night. Aggregation of results was undertaken immediately following the counting and arrival of polling data at constituency level aggregation centres.

Delays in aggregation were mainly attributable to 1) the late opening and closing of polling; stations 2) the difficult infrastructure for the transportation of results from polling stations to the aggregation centres; 3) overly complex paperwork for counting that often led to staff confusion and misunderstanding of procedures; and 4) very low tolerance thresholds in the systems software that meant there were several incidents of rejection of data entry set.

Consequently, verification was longer than anticipated and complex. However, despite this the Electoral Commission staff still managed to guarantee a transparent process that assisted in maintaining confidence in it in many parts of the country. In other areas of the country heightened suspicions led to incidents of obstruction and an increasingly aggressive environment involving PF supporters acting in a threatening and menacing manner towards Electoral Commission staff during these final stages of the process (European Union election observation report, 2011).

The Chairperson of the Electoral Commission announced the certified results of the presidential election at 00:30 hours on 23 September 2011. Based on the results obtained from 143 of the 150 constituencies Michael Sata of the PF was declared winner with a total of 1,150,045, or 43 per cent of valid votes. The incumbent President Rupiah Banda of the Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD) received 961,796 votes (36.1 per cent) and Hakainde Hichilema of the UPND 489,944, or 18.5 per cent of valid votes cast. Based on the results announced by the returning officer (Chief Justice) for the presidential election, Michael Sata was declared the President-elect. All political parties accepted the results of the presidential election and there was a general acceptance across society that the elections were credible and transparent. A swearing in ceremony was held on 23

September 2011 in accordance with the law and the new President assumed office (www.elections.org.zm).

Compared to the 2006 elections, voter turnout was significantly lower. It reduced from 70.77% in 2006 to 53.98 per cent in 2011. Central and Western provinces had the lowest turnout with 47.24% and 48.21% respectively. The highest turnout was in the Copperbelt, 59.67%, followed by Southern at 58.37% and Northern Province at 57.73%. The turnout in Lusaka province was 52.26%, slightly lower than the national average. A total of 56,678 ballots were invalidated, representing 2.03% of ballots cast. This level of invalid votes is in line with regional and international trends. However, it is an increase compared with the 2006 elections (1.75%) and 2008 (1.32%) presidential midterm election.

5.22 Political Overview of the Election Results

On 28 September 2011 the Electoral Commission published final presidential election results based on all 150 constituencies. Michael Sata of the PF received 1,170,966, or 41.98% of valid votes. Rupiah Banda of the MMD was second and received 987,866, or 35.42% and Hakainde Hichilema of the UPND 506,763, or 18.17% of valid votes cast. The remaining seven candidates received a combined total of 4.43% of valid votes.

Results of the parliamentary election were released in conjunction with the presidential results. From the 148 parliamentary seats contested on election-day (elections in two constituencies were postponed due to the death of candidates) the PF won 60 seats, MMD 55 seats and UPND 28 seats. Three independent candidates won seats and the other two seats were each won by ADD and FDD respectively. The President also appointed another eight members of parliament as permitted under constitutional provisions. In respect to parliamentary seats the PF managed to maintain its popularity with voters in urban centres and Bemba speaking areas and it retained seats in the Copperbelt (www.elections.org.zm).

It also increased the number of parliamentary seats in the rural areas or its traditional strongholds (Northern, Luapula and Lusaka provinces) by winning 12 additional seats. This party also won seats in MMD heartlands: three seats in the Central, two in Western and one in Eastern province. Voting patterns also changed in the former traditional MMD stronghold of Western province, where MMD

lost seats were won by the opposition, mainly UPND. The UPND maintained its core regional support in the South and won all but one seat in Southern province.

5.22.1 Post-election developments

The final period in the electoral process is the post-election phase. As the name indicates, it is the period after the polling day. The focus during this stage of the electoral process is on the announcement of the results; the acceptance of the results; and the post-election disputes.

5.22.2 Announcement of results

The EMB is responsible for the official announcement of election results in most SADC countries. Problems associated with the declaration of results are slow tabulation, and poor infrastructure resulting in significant delays in the announcement of results. Therefore, suspicion and the consequent reduction in the degree of acceptance of election results are common in most SADC member states. To reduce uncertainty and minimize potential conflict or fraud, the recommended norm is that the electoral legislation should introduce a specific time frame in which the results must be announced. Similarly, the legislation should clearly state who has the power to announce the results. Also, there should be public announcement of the results from the result centres (EISA, 2004:27).

The National Result Centre was setup at Mulungushi International Conference Centre for information dissemination to the public. Constituency results for all the three elections were electronically transmitted to the National Results Centre at the same conference centre in Lusaka from the constituency collation centres (www.elections.org.zm).

5.22.3 Acceptance of results

In some SADC member states, election results have been challenged because of dissatisfaction with the ‘winner-takes-all’ electoral system, which leads to a feeling of exclusion from the process, and lack of transparency and accountability in the electoral process (EISA, 2004:28). According to Lindberg (2005:43), democratic-minded elites are expected to accept defeat graciously in ‘normal’ free and fair elections. He adds that ‘whether the losers accept the results indicates the extent to which political elites view elections as legitimate’ (Lindberg, 2006:43). De Vos, et al. (1994:24)

further note that the value of an election depends on the acceptance by all parties of the outcome, and, most importantly, the acceptance of defeat by the losing party or candidate.

It is recommended that there should be acceptance of and respect for election results by political parties and candidates, especially when elections are free and fair (SADC, 2005:5). Similarly, there should be provision for the ‘challenge of the flawed electoral process. The Commission coordinated conflict management activities in all districts for which it developed and produced conflict management manuals for the training and usage by the National Conflict Management Committee and the seventy-four (74) District Conflict Management Committees (www.elections.org.zm).

5.22.4 Post- Election disputes

Post-election disputes surface when parties that have been defeated in elections refuse to accept the results. Mechanisms should be put into place to effectively manage these disputes, especially because they can easily lead to their overt or covert social conflict (EISA, 2004:29). The recommended norm is that conflict management structures should be set up to all recourse to the appropriate jurisdiction to facilitate the settlement of disputes in the post-election period. There should be clear provisions for petitions against election results and any other matters to the management of the elections (EISA, 2004:29). Due to the unprecedented high number of election petitions, the Commission decided to engage private lawyers to defend the Commission in some petitions especially considering that the Judiciary had insisted on the timely conclusion of all the petitions within the statutory one hundred and eighty (180) days from the date of declaration of the results (www.elections.org.zm).

5.23 The election aftermath

This section takes a step beyond the generally referred to ‘post-election period’ of the electoral process and examines the more stringent criteria for ‘successful’ elections. As pointed out before, in terms of ‘successful’ elections, the focus is on the outcome and aftermath of the election rather than merely on the integrity of the electoral process. This section addresses the impact of the electoral system on the results, as they have propensity to provoke political tensions and conflicts in some SADC countries. Attention is also paid to the legitimacy of new governments over a period, taking into consideration the nature of the electoral systems that brought the governing parties to power.

5.23.1 The impact of the electoral system on the outcome results

The choice of an electoral system is often influenced by the following factors: representativeness; accountability; inclusivity; and a stable and efficient government (International Parliamentary Union, quoted by Dingake, 2006:22). According to Reynolds and Reilly (quoted by Matlosa, 1999:61) the institutionalization of democratic governance is determined by the types of electoral systems. The type of electoral system that a state adopts is one of the crucial determinants of the promotion or hindrance of democratic governance and stability (Matlosa, 1999:61-62). The legitimacy of an electoral system depends to a large extent on the process that leads to its adoption.

Unfortunately, the electoral systems that have been adopted by most SADC states are neither products of public debate nor broadly based political consensus (Matlosa, 2003:53). Consequently, most of the countries in the SADC region which were ruled by Britain have adopted the First-past-the post electoral system (Dingake, 2006:43). Others, for example South Africa and Namibia because of their unique historical and social circumstances, have adopted the Proportional Representation electoral system (Dingake, 2006:19). Yet other states- for example, Lesotho and Seychelles- operate a mixture of First-past-the post and Proportional Representation systems (Matlosa, 2003:54). Both electoral systems differ substantially in terms of their attributes as well as their impact on election results and the consequent political stability which is indispensable for the sustainability of democracy (Matlosa, 2003:62).

It is widely believed that the Proportional Representation system enhances stability and broad representation in government more than is the case with the First-past-the post (EISA, 2003:32). With the Proportional Representation system, a party's share of national vote is translated into a corresponding proportion of parliamentary seats without distortion (Dingake, 2006:50). Every party that takes part in an election obtains a share of the available seats proportional to its percentage of the popular vote and the views of the people are properly represented in the structures of government (Molomo, 2010:55). Despite its advantage MPs within the countries operating the Proportional Representation system represent no geographic region and their election is partly credited to their rank order on their party's list. Consequently, they lack the incentive to be accountable to the interests of the inhabitants of a region. Instead, they are accountable to their party's leaders who decide their rank on the party's list. In effect, it is the party and not a specific candidate that is accountable to the electorate (Molomo, 2010:55).

This inadequacy has become the subject of political debate in countries like South Africa and Namibia (Barkan, 1997:21), which are operating the Proportional Representation system. To remedy the situation, the South African Parliament has been assigning MPs to specific regions. However, despite its noble intentions, this measure has proved to be ineffective (Molomo, 2010:55). It should be noted that Proportional Representation was chosen as the basis for the first multi-party elections in both countries because of its potential to ensure the participation of minority parties in the elections and the acceptance of the electoral outcome. However, opposition to the continued utilization of the Proportional Representation system has been mounting ever since the conducting of the first elections.

Despite this opposition, the leaders of the ruling parties in both South Africa and Namibia are in favour of the system since it enhances their authority over backbenchers (Barkan, 1997:21-22). The major advantage of the First-past-the post system, for its part, is that it promotes accountability of MPs to the electorate (EISA, 2003:32). Notwithstanding its positive aspects, the system is fraught with numerous shortcomings which can impede the sustainability of democracy. Countries within the region that operate the First-past-the post system (for example, Botswana and Zambia) have been characterized by the dominance of one party. The situation is applicable to South Africa and Namibia, although as mentioned above, they are operating the Proportional Representation system and the dominance by one party over time is often connected with misuse of state resources and authoritarian tendencies. The First-past-the post also partly responsible for the weakness, ineffectiveness and fragmentation of opposition parties in countries practicing this system, which reinforces the dominant party syndrome (Matlosa, 2003:59).

A major weakness of the First-past-the post system is that a party voted for by less than 50% of the voters can ascend to power, and this can undermine the credibility and legitimacy of the resultant government. This was the case with the 2004 Malawian presidential election in which the ruling party, the United Democratic Front (UDF), won with just 36 per cent of the valid votes (Dulani, 2004:14). The First-past-the post system has been associated with the distortion of electoral outcomes and the exclusion or marginalization of parties with significant electoral support by refusing them representation in parliament proportionate to their support.

This system can undermine the deepening of democratic governance because of its inherent ‘winner-takes-all’ tendency (Dingake, 2006:44). As mentioned above, election results have been challenged within the SADC region because of dissatisfaction with the ‘winner-takes-all’ electoral system which leads to a feeling of exclusion from the electoral process. For example, the results of the 2001 Zambian elections were rejected by all 10 opposition parties (Kabemba, 2002:22). This demands a critical review of the relevance and legitimacy of the electoral systems currently operational in the region particularly in the countries under study, since the institutionalization of democratic governance is to a large extent influenced by the types of electoral systems.

5.24 Elections expenditure

Financial statements

For the year ended 31 December 2011

Statement of comprehensive income

	NOTES	2011 K'000	2010 K'000
Income			
GRZ grants	2	574,780,112	150,810,491
Donor Funds	3	19,851,547	36,697,431
Other Income	4	<u>2,002,945</u>	<u>314,947</u>
		<u>596,634,604</u>	<u>187,822,869</u>
Expenditure			
Personal emoluments	5	71,961,278	32,810,491
Operating expenses	6	<u>363,706,702</u>	<u>146,717,081</u>
		<u>435,706,702</u>	<u>179,575,932</u>
Deficit/Surplus		<u>160,966,624</u>	<u>8,246,937</u>

Election budgets were developed in consultation with the districts and funds transmitted accordingly. Transmission of election funds to all the districts was done through the councils’ respective election bank accounts held at either Finance or ZANACO banks (ECZ Report, 2012:27).

ELECTORAL COMMISSION OF ZAMBIA

FINANCIAL STATEMENTS

For the year ended 31 December 2011

STATEMENT OF FINANCIAL POSITION

	NOTES	2011	2010
		K'000	K'000
<u>NON- CURRENT ASSETS</u>			
Property, Plant and Equipment	8	<u>83,944,166</u>	<u>71,727,170</u>
<u>CURRENT ASSETS</u>			
Inventories	9	21,295,030	9,400,095
Receivables	10	52,604,225	32,054,377
Bank and cash	11	<u>147,299,554</u>	<u>11,195,848</u>
Total Current Assets		<u>221,198, 809</u>	<u>52,650,320</u>
TOTAL		<u>305,142,975</u>	<u>124,377,490</u>
ACCUMULATED FUNDS AND			
LIABILITIES			
ACCUMULATED FUNDS	12	277,086,462	116,264,594
CURRENT LIABILITIES			
Payroll creditors	13	24,127,876	4,937,526
Operations creditors	14	3,928,637	3,175,370
Total Current Liabilities		<u>28,056,513</u>	<u>8,112,896</u>
TOTAL ACCUMULATED FUND		<u>305,142,975</u>	<u>124,377,490</u>

Source, (ECZ Report, 2012:28).

The financial statements were approved by the Commission on the 25th September 2013 and signed on its behalf by the Chairperson of the Commission Justice Ireen C. Mambilima and the Director of the Commission Ms. Priscilla Isaac. All the districts received the funds for various activities as itemized in the budgets. The districts were provided with copies of the budgets and guidelines on

how to administer the funds and adhere to budgets. After the elections, the unused funds in the districts were remitted back to ECZ (Zambia Electoral Commission annual report, 2011:14).

6. Concluding Remarks

The chapter has critically discussed the evolving events that took place during the 2011 Zambian Tripartite Elections. It was mentioned in the preceding discussion that the count at polling stations was highly transparent, with local observers and party agents playing their role too. As mentioned above, during the vote count officials worked hard in a transparent manner, although in some cases they were slightly less sure of the procedures for the count. Some tensions emerged during the tabulation process amidst unsubstantiated claims of irregularities and delays, but in the end the ECZ delivered a transparent and reasonably timely result which was accepted by all stakeholders as reflecting the will of the voters. These are some of the details that were presented in this chapter. The next chapter will discuss the data analysis and interpretation of the findings.

CHAPTER SIX
RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DATA ANALYSIS
CHAPTER
DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

6.0 Introduction

(Chapters 4 and 5 above provided the background of Botswana and Zambia which were used as case studies in this study. The chapters also described specific elections that not so long ago took place in the two countries with a view to capture and compare the sequence of events and developments that took place during those elections. This provided enough information to examine the extent to which the electoral stakeholders in the two countries are involved in the election processes.

The present chapter presents and analyses the data in line with the overarching aim and specific objectives of this study which in a nutshell assess the role the electoral stakeholders in the Botswana and Zambia democracies. The two countries are considered as lower-middle-income countries (World Bank, 2011). Botswana and Zambia have a similar history of one-party rule. According to Schurink, Fouche and De Vos (2011:397), data analysis is the process of bringing order, structure and meaning to the mass of collected data.

6.1 General Description of the Participants

Specifically, this chapter presents information on background characteristics of respondents that participated in the study from Botswana and Zambia. The information covers the gender, age distribution, level of education and religion of the respondents. The findings show that, overall, out of a total of 168 respondents, 60.7 percent were males and 39.3% were females. The 31-40 years age group had the highest percentage of respondents at 41.1%, and the lowest percentage (9.5%) was recorded in the age group 50 years or older. In terms of level of education majority (71.3%) of the respondents had attained tertiary level. And 1.1% of the respondents had no education. In terms of religious affiliation, majority of the respondents (93.7%) were Christians. See Table 6.1.

Table 6.1.1: Background Characteristics of Respondents

Background Characteristics		Total		Zambia		Botswana	
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Gender	Total	168	100	96	57.1	72	42.9
	Male	102	60.7	72	70.6	30	29.4
	Female	66	39.3	24	36.4	42	63.6
Age	Total	168	100	95	56.5	73	43.5
	20-30 Years	44	26.2	27	61.4	17	38.6
	31-40 Years	69	41.1	36	52.2	33	47.8
	41-50 Years	39	23.2	22	56.4	17	43.6
	50 years and above	16	9.5	10	62.5	6	37.5
Level of education	Total	174	100	99	56.9	75	43.1
	No formal education	2	1.1	2	100.0	0	0.0
	Primary	4	2.3	4	100.0	0	0.0
	Middle school	7	4.0	7	100.0	0	0.0
	O'level	24	13.8	24	100.0	0	0.0
	Vocational training	11	6.3	11	100.0	0	0.0
	Tertiary	124	71.3	50	40.3	74	59.7
	Other	2	1.1	1	50.0	1	50.0
Religion	Total	175	100	100	57.1	75	42.9
	Christian	164	93.7	92	56.1	72	43.9
	Muslim	3	1.7	3	100.0	0	0.0
	Traditional	4	2.3	2	50.0	2	50.0
	Buddhist	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Other	4	2.3	3	75.0	1	25.0

Source: Compiled by Author, 2018

Table 6.1.2 shows the respondents' participation in the electoral process. Of the total 167 respondents, the majority (43.1%) stated that individual assessment in the level of participation towards the electoral process was average. Of these, Zambia and Botswana recorded 45.8% and 54.2%, respectively. In rating the participation of the community in the last general election, majority (37.9%) stated that it was very good. Of these, Zambia and Botswana recorded 42.2% and 57.8% respectively. On the other hand, 49.1% of the participants stated that political campaigns influence one's decision to vote for a candidate. Of these, Zambia and Botswana recorded 45.7% and 54.3% respectively. Majority of the respondents (62.2%) stated that there was vote buying in the last general elections. Of these, Zambia and Botswana recorded 57.8% and 42.2% respectively.

Table 6.1.2: Respondents' participation in the electoral Process

Participation in the Electoral Process		Total		Zambia		Botswana	
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Individual assessment in the level of participation towards the electoral	Total	167	100	92	55.1	75	44.9
	Very high	14	8.4	14	100.0	0	0.0
	High	46	27.5	22	47.8	24	52.2
	Average	72	43.1	33	45.8	39	54.2
	Low	24	14.4	18	75.0	6	25.0
	Very low	11	6.6	5	45.5	6	54.5
Rate the participation of your community in the last general election	Total	169	100	94	55.6	75	44.4
	Very good	64	37.9	27	42.2	37	57.8
	Good	46	27.2	27	58.7	19	41.3
	Average	43	25.4	30	69.8	13	30.2
	Bad	7	4.1	7	100.0	0	0.0
	Very bad	9	5.3	3	33.3	6	66.7
Total		165	100	95	57.6	70	42.4

Political campaigns influence your decision to vote for a candidate	Yes	81	49.1	37	45.7	44	54.3
	No	84	50.9	58	69.0	26	31.0
Was there any vote buying in the last general elections	Total	164	100	94	57.3	70	42.7
	Yes	102	62.2	59	57.8	43	42.2
	No	62	37.8	35	56.5	27	43.5

Source: Compiled by Author, 2018

Table 6.1.3 below shows the distribution of electoral activities the respondents from both Botswana and Zambia were mostly involved in. Majority of the respondents (62.5%) were involved in voting during the 2009/2011 general elections. Of these, Zambia and Botswana accounted for 50.3% and 49.7% respectively. These were followed by those that participated in political party campaigns or rallies during the 2009/2011 general election at 12.5%. Zambian respondents were in the majority compared to the Botswana respondents among those that participated in political party campaigns or rallies during the 2009/2011 general election. The least of the respondents were those that participated in political party debates during the 2009/2011 general election at 4.7%. The findings further show that only Zambian respondents had participated in political party debates during the 2009/2011 general election.

Table 6.1.3: Respondents' Electoral Activities they were Involved in most

Electoral Activities						
Involved in	Zambia		Botswana		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Voting during the 2009/2011 general election	73	50.3	72	49.7	145	62.5
Political parties' campaigns or rallies during the 2009/2011 general election	22	75.9	7	24.1	29	12.5
Inspection of voters roll during the 2009/2011 general election	8	61.5	5	38.5	13	5.6
Political parties' debates during the 2009/2011 general election	11	100.0	0	0.0	11	4.7
Declaring of election results during the 2009/2011 general election	8	57.1	6	42.9	14	6.0
Other during the 2009/2011 general election	7	35.0	13	65.0	20	8.6
Total	129	55.6	103	44.4	232	100.0

Source: Compiled by Author, 2018

6.2: Factors that encouraged Participation in the last General Election

This section presents findings on the factors that encouraged the participants of this study to participate in the last election. The findings show that majority of the respondents (27.7%) were encouraged to participate in the last election due to the trust they had developed in the electoral activities that took place in the build up towards the elections. Of these, Botswana and Zambian respondents accounted for 42.9% and 57.1% respectively. These were followed by those that stated that they participated due to better publicity and easy accessibility to the polling station at 24.8% and

22.3% respectively. Botswana respondents accounted for 52% and Zambian 48% and for the later it was at 51.1 percent and 48.9 percent, respectively. See Table 6.e.

Table 6.2.1: Factors which encouraged the electorate to have participated in the last elections

Factor(s) which encouraged you to participate in the last election						
	Zambia		Botswana		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Trust in that activity towards the electoral system encouraged me to participate	32	57.1	24	42.9	56	27.7
Well organized security encouraged me to participate in last election activity	14	100.0	0	0.0	14	6.9
Better publicity coverage encouraged me to participate in last election	24	48.0	26	52.0	50	24.8
Easy accessibility encouraged me to participate in last election activity	22	48.9	23	51.1	45	22.3
Others encouraged me to participate in last election activity	20	54.1	17	45.9	37	18.3
Total	112	55.4	90	44.6	202	100.0

Source: Compiled by Author, 2018

Table 6.2.2 shows that the participants of this study least participated in political party campaigns, inspection of voters' rolls and political party debates during the 2009/2011 general election. More Botswana respondents least participated in political party campaigns or rallies during the 2009/2011 at 51.4% compared to the Zambian respondents at 48.6%. A similar pattern is observed for the later electoral activities' participants were not involved in.

Table 6.2.2: Distribution of electoral activities that participants were not involved in

Electoral Activities						
Not Involved in	Zambia		Botswana		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Voting during the last general elections	14	51.9	13	48.1	27	6.0
Political parties' campaigns or rallies during the 2009/2011	52	48.6	55	51.4	107	23.7
Inspection of voters roll during the 2009/2011 general election	48	48.0	52	52.0	100	22.2
Political parties' debates during the 2009/2011 general election	44	44.0	56	56.0	100	22.2
Declaring of election results during the 2009/2011 general	45	46.9	51	53.1	96	21.3
Other during the 2009/2011 general elections	14	66.7	7	33.3	21	4.7
Total	217	48.1	234	51.9	451	100

Source: Compiled by Author, 2018

Table 6.2.3 shows the distribution of factors that prevented the respondents from participating in the electoral process. Majority of the respondents (58.6%) stated that other factors prevented them from participating in the electoral process. Zambia recorded the highest at 71.4% and Botswana at 28.6% of respondents that did not participate in the electoral process due to poor security management.

Table 6.2.3: Distribution of factors that prevented the respondents from participating in the electoral process.

Factors that prevented you most from participating in the electoral Process						
	Zambia		Botswana		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Lack of trust in that activity towards the electoral system	14	63.6	8	36.4	22	13.6
Poor security management prevented me from participating in the electoral	15	71.4	6	28.6	21	13.0
Low publicity coverage prevented me from participating in the electoral act	7	87.5	1	12.5	8	4.9
Financial constraints prevented me from participating in the electoral act	10	62.5	6	37.5	16	9.9
Others prevented me from participating in the electoral activity	33	34.7	62	65.3	95	58.6
Total	79	48.8	83	51.2	162	100

Source: Compiled by Author, 2018

Table 6.2.4 shows the electoral stakeholder performance in the last general election. The EMB and media houses were said to have performed well in the last general election at 25.4% and 20.6% respectively. Botswana recorded more respondents who stated that the media houses had performed well at 53.1 compared to Zambia at 46.9%. Zambia recorded more respondents that stated that the EMB had performed well at 59.5% compared to Botswana at 40.5%.

Table 6.2.4: Electoral Stakeholder performance in the last General Election

Electoral Stakeholder performance in the last General Election						
	Zambia		Botswana		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Electoral management board performed well in the last general election	47	59.5	32	40.5	79	25.4
Political parties performed well in the last general election	18	35.3	33	64.7	51	16.4
Media performed well in the last general election	30	46.9	34	53.1	64	20.6
Electorates performed well in the last general election	23	47.9	25	52.1	48	15.4
Civil society organization performed well in the last general election	19	57.6	14	42.4	33	10.6
Local/international observers performed well in the last general election	21	58.3	15	41.7	36	11.6
Total	158	50.8	153	49.2	311	100

Source: Compiled by Author, 2018

Table 6.2.5 shows the performance of the key electoral stakeholders in Botswana and Zambia. It is interesting to note that in Botswana the well performed political parties were the least performed in Zambia. Even though there is no political party funding in Botswana. On the other hand, the least performed stakeholder in Botswana (civil society) was the highest well performed stakeholder in Zambia because there were some financial assistances from donors in Zambia that equipped civil society organizations and ensured that they add value to the democratic process of Zambia.

Table 6.2.5: Performance of the electoral stakeholders

Electoral Stakeholder's performance in the last General Election						
	Zambia		Botswana		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Electoral management board didn't perform well in the last general election	23	54.8	19	45.2	42	19.4
Political parties didn't perform well in the last general election	33	82.5	7	17.5	40	18.4
Media didn't perform well in the last general election	34	65.4	18	34.6	52	24.0
Electorates didn't perform well in the last general election	17	100.0	0	0.0	17	7.8
Civil society organization didn't perform well in the last general election	19	44.2	24	55.8	43	19.8
Local/international observers didn't perform well in the last general election	11	47.8	12	52.2	23	10.6
Total	137	63.1	80	36.9	217	100

Source: Compiled by Author, 2018

Table 6.2.6 shows the electoral misconduct in the last general election. Majority of the respondents (54.3%) reported unbalanced media coverage followed by violence at 38.7%. The earlier was reported more in Zambia at 54.5% and Botswana recorded 45.5%. A similar pattern was observed for Zambia at 83.3% and Botswana at 16.7%. Some respondents reported that reported that there was rigging although the reports were unsubstantiated. Moreover, many youths were given jobs.

Furthermore, violence was reported even though it was attributed to the police and unruly party cadres by majority of the respondents.

Table 6.2.6: Electoral misconduct in the last general Election

Electoral misconduct in the last general Election						
Was there any	Zambia		Botswana		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Violence	60	83.3	12	16.7	72	38.7
rigging of election results	13	100.0	0	0.0	13	7.0
unbalanced media coverage	55	54.5	46	45.5	101	54.3
Total	128	68.8	58	31.2	186	100

Source: Compiled by Author, 2018

The findings in Table 6.2.7 show that most of the respondents recommended that there should be great coordination, transparency and better collaboration among stakeholders. This implied that the stakeholders should be transparent, supportive (by providing necessary material and new technologies). For instance, the media should provide adequate coverage and efficiently disseminate information especially in the rural areas. They also recommended that honesty must be exercised in their operations because that enhanced security and adherence to the electoral code of conduct. The other prominent recommendation was for stakeholders to sensitize the electorates on the importance of voting.

Table 6.2.7: Recommendations to improve the role played by stakeholders in the past election.

Recommendations	Frequency	Percent
Both public and state media should have balanced coverage for all the parties	23	13.1
Elections must be peaceful	1	0.6
Electoral management should improve on the distribution and receiving electoral materials	2	1.1
Eradicate voter trafficking, to deal with discrepancies	6	3.4
Great coordination, transparent and better collaboration	42	24.0
Have election for a few days so that everyone can participate	6	3.4

Involve young people in more intellectual leadership meetings	1	0.6
Leveling the playing field	1	0.6
More rigorous debate on state media	6	3.4
No idea	12	6.9
Online registration and voting	7	4.0
Review the public order act to conform to modern acceptable standards	1	0.6
Sensitization to the electorates to know the importance of voting	9	5.1
Stakeholders should be non-partisan	2	1.1
Stop favoring the ruling party, IEC must be fully independent	6	3.4
Stop vote buying, just put-up party manifestos and educate people on voting	5	2.9
There should be transparency from the electoral management board	2	1.1
They should introduce electronic voting and counting systems	6	3.4
They should stop corruption	1	0.6
To sensitize people on the importance of taking part in voting	3	1.7
To urge political parties their followers to avoid violence	6	3.4
To use their legal mandate to do their work	1	0.6
Voter registration should be done even in rural areas	1	0.6
Voting materials to be delivered timely across all polling stations in the count	1	0.6
Voting to take place at the same time everywhere	1	0.6
Non- Response	23	13.1
Total	175	100

Source: Compiled by Author, 2018

Table 6.2.8 shows the recommendations to encourage voter education by electoral stakeholders. Voter education is among other strategies suggested by the stakeholders to encourage the electorates in the electoral process. Majority (18.9%) of the respondents stated that the stakeholders should be brought on board to participate in voter education. This was followed by those that stated that there should be sensitization on the importance of voting and how people should vote at 15.4% and participants further stated that voter education should start earlier and not towards elections (13.1%).

Table 6.2.8: Recommendations to encourage voter education by electoral stakeholders.

Recommendations	Frequency	Percent
Stakeholders to be on board to participate in voter education	33	18.9
IEC should include social media to educate voters	6	3.4
More vigorous debate on state media	6	3.4
Need to focus more on people in rural areas	2	1.1
No idea	3	1.7
Sensitize people on the importance of voting and how they should vote	27	15.4
Sensitization should be continuous by the media and other stakeholders	5	2.9
Stating their agenda if voted into office	1	0.6
The current system is fine through media and campaigns	6	3.4
The president has too many powers	1	0.6
Improve the electoral system so that all political parties can accept	1	0.6
They must be fair and not favour government	6	3.4
They should increase the number of ballot boxes	6	3.4
They shouldn't be partisan	1	0.6
Voter education should be introduced in schools	2	1.1
Voter education should start earlier and not towards elections	23	13.1
Voter education to be done early to ensure county wide coverage	2	1.1
Voter educators must make sure that they campaign against violence	4	2.3
Voters must be taught why they should vote	6	3.4
Voters should analyze candidates not voting because of bribery	2	1.1
Non- response	32	18.3
Total	175	100

Source: Compiled by Author, 2018

6.3 Presentation and Data Analysis for face-to-face Interviews and Data Coding

Though studies have been conducted on the role played by electoral stakeholders in Africa and not so many studies examined the same role played by the electoral stakeholders with over reliance on desk review approach (secondary data), no study has been conducted to the best of the researcher's knowledge using primary data within the context of Botswana and Zambia. Based on that, this study was carried out using the qualitative approach. The application of qualitative research using interviews was carried out to provide answers to the following research questions:

6. What role do electoral stakeholders play in an election?
7. How do the experiences of Botswana and Zambia respectively compare with the general electoral trend across the world?
8. What factors determine the level of electoral stakeholders' participation in the electoral processes in Botswana and Zambia?
9. How do electoral stakeholders contribute to the organization of elections in Botswana and Zambia?
10. What challenges do electoral stakeholders face in Botswana's and Zambia's electoral processes?

In a nutshell this chapter highlights that the analysis conducted was consistent with the methodology discussed in the previous chapter and how the analysis ties back to the research questions. Furthermore, the chapter includes the process used to analyze transcripts from the interviews conducted to uncover themes. The researcher constantly compared the interview transcripts to distill the data further and derive themes. Also included in the chapter are tables and graphics used to complement the data analysis.

6.3.1 DATA ANALYSIS

The researcher applied thematic analysis using the deductive approach to analyze interview transcripts in batches, each batch was analyzed for themes. Four motivating factor themes emerged from the data analysis namely:

1. General Description of participants in Zambia and Botswana
2. Experiences of Botswana and Zambia in the electoral trend
3. Factors that determine the level of stakeholders' participation in the electoral process.
4. Contribution of the electoral stakeholders in the electoral process.

6.3.2 Thematic Correspondence

The identified themes are then further broken down into sub themes, the table below shows how each theme correspond to each research question as well as the identified subheadings.

RESEARCH QUESTION (S)	THEME	SUB THEME
What role do electoral stakeholders play in an election?	general description of participants in Zambia and Botswana	participants organizational name and departments
How do the experiences of Botswana and Zambia respectively compare with the general electoral trend across the world?	experiences of Botswana and Zambia with the electoral trend	violence and intimidation participant rating of institution participation in the last general election
What role do electoral stakeholders play in an election? What factors determine the level of electoral stakeholders' participation in the electoral processes in Botswana and Zambia? What challenges do electoral stakeholders face in Botswana's and Zambia's electoral processes?	factors that determine the level of stakeholder participation in the electoral process	roles of institutions in the electoral process challenges faced by institutions in the previous general election timing of elections
How do electoral stakeholders contribute to the organization of elections in Botswana and Zambia?	contribution of electoral stakeholders in the electoral process	involvement of electoral stakeholders in the electoral process

Compiled by Author, 2021

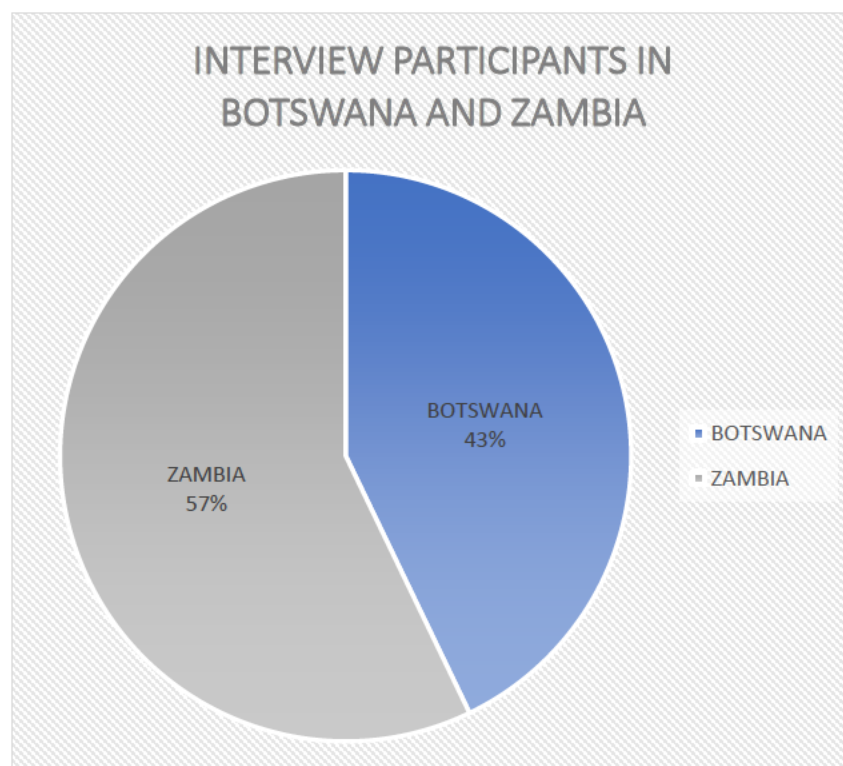
6.4 Data Analysis Results

The results from analysing the interview transcripts are displayed below under each theme.

6.4.1: General Description of the Participants in Botswana and Zambia

In total, all the proposed twenty-eight interviews took part in the interviews with 12 (43%) from Botswana and 16 (57%) from Zambia, with all being active key stakeholders of their respective countries. All the proposed interviewees had agreed to participate in the interviews. The graph below summarizes the participants numbers in Botswana and Zambia while Table 4.1 shows the participants organizations and departments.

Figure 6.1: Reflection of Participants who took part during the Study in Botswana and Zambia



Compiled by Author: 2021

Table 6.4 Participant Organizations’ Name and Departments

COUNTRY	NAME OF ORGANIZATION	DEPARTMENTAL DESCRIPTION
BOTSWANA	Office of the President (OP)	Governance
	Independent Electoral Commission (IEC)	Electoral Management
	Botswana Democratic Party (BDP)	Ruling party
	Electoral Commission of SADC (ECF-SADC)	Regional Body on electoral management
	University of Botswana (UB)	Academia
	Botswana Congress Party (BCP)	Opposition party
	Emang Basadi Organization (Women Organization)	Women’s Organization
	Friedrich Ebert Stiftung 9FES-Botswana)	Donor Support Organization
	Organization for Youth and Elections in Botswana (OYEBO)	Youth Organization
	Umbrella for Democratic Change (UDC)	United opposition parties
	Civil and Registration Department (OMANG)	National Identity department
	Botswana Police Service (BPS)	Security
ZAMBIA	Disability Rights Watch (DRW)	Organisation for physically challenged citizens
	Operation Young Vote (OYV)	Youth Organization
	Southern African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (SACCORD)	Conflict management organization
	Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ)	Electoral management body
	Zambia Defence Force (ZDF)	Security and election material transportation
	Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA Zambia)	Regional media organization
	University of Zambia	Academia

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)	Donor support organization
Zambia National Women's Lobby	Women's organization
United Party for National Development (UPND)	Ruling party
Zambia Congress of Trade Unions	Trade Union
Patriotic Front (PF)	Opposition party
Forum for Democracy and Development (FDD)	Advocacy organization
Evangelical Fellowship in Zambia	Faith based organization
Department of national registration, passport, and citizenship	Registration of National Identity and Passport organization.
Zambia Police Service (ZPS)	Security of election material

Compiled by Author: 2019

6.5 Factors that Determine the Level of Stakeholder Participation in the Electoral Process

6.5.1. Roles of Institutions in the Electoral Process

This section presents results from qualitative interviews conducted to analyze the role played by electoral stakeholders in Botswana and Zambia. Data from the transcripts was entered into Table 6.5.1 and Table 6.5.2

Table 6.5.1 Roles of institutions in the electoral Process in Botswana

Name of Organization	ROLES
Office of the President (OP)	Botswana the Office of the president was opined not to be involved in the running of the general elections but was involved in providing technical support to the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC-Botswana).
Independent Electoral Commission (IEC)	It is the main body that takes care of electoral processes, it runs elections be it general elections, local government elections, bye-elections and referenda. It conducts the demarcation and delimitation of constituencies alongside various persons selected to assist in the delimitation exercise.

Botswana Democratic Party (BDP)	Political organization-ruling party-general public administration
Electoral Commission of SADC (ECF-SADC)	The Electoral Commissions Forum of SADC-improves the management of elections in SADC by ensuring that electoral management bodies have capacity to fulfil their duties.
University of Botswana (UB)	The department bolsters democracy, holds panel discussions etc.
Botswana Congress Party (BCP)	The organization is an opposition political party which holds the ruling party accountable. Provides alternative policies and programs to advance the country. Conducts workshops aimed at political education for the electorates.
Emang Basadi Organization (Women Organization)	Trains women candidates, educates voters, dispatches domestic observers, sensitizes on the laws about women and empowers women.
Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES-Botswana)	The FES collaborates and work closely with the government, trade unions and political parties to promote a deliberative democracy, active citizen engagement and social justice.
Organization for Youth and Elections in Botswana (OYEBO)	Youth organization sensitizing youth on the importance of voting, contesting for elections and participation of women with disabilities in politics.
Umbrella for Democratic Change (UDC)	Keeps the ruling party accountable and keeps it in check.
Civil and Registration Department (OMANG)	Links the ID system with the IEC.
Botswana Police Service (BPS)	Maintenance of order and security, prevents crime of all sorts

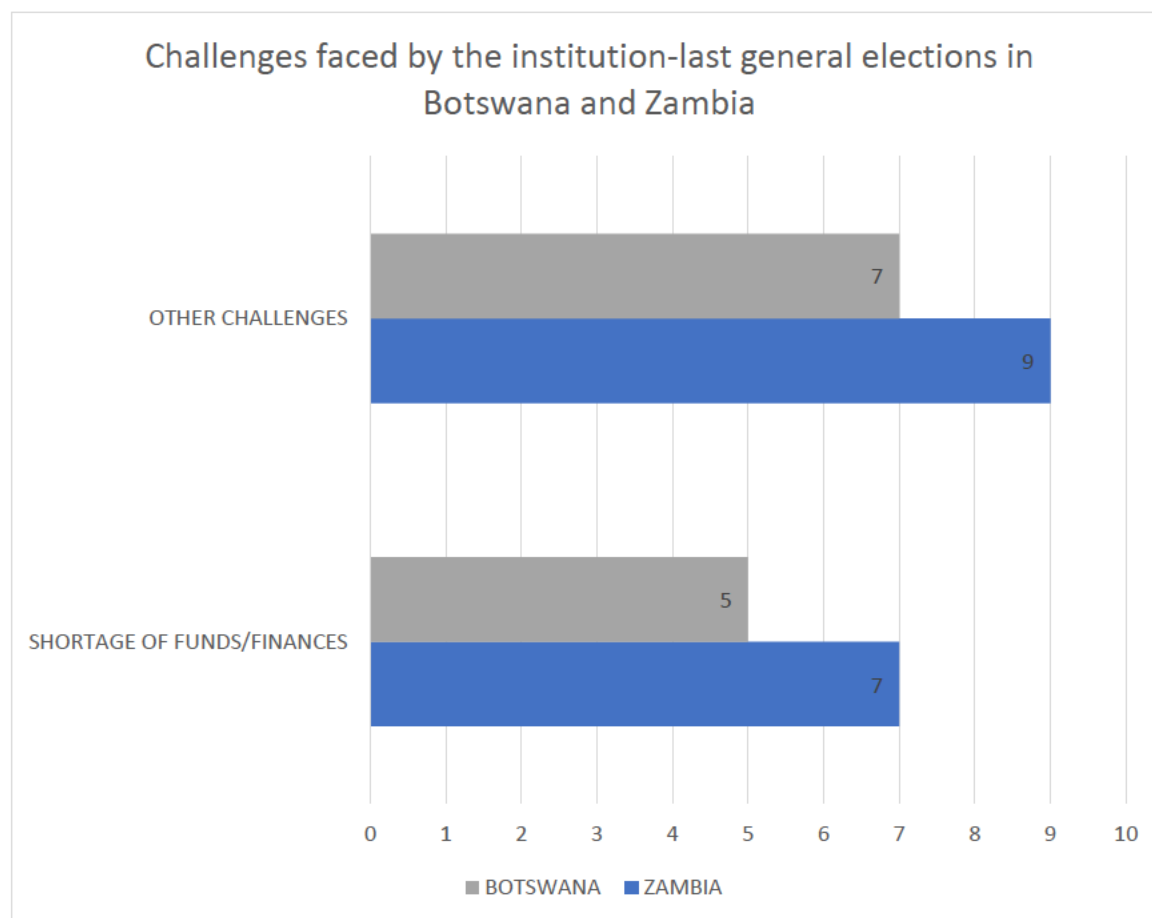
Compiled by Author: 2019

Table 6.5.2 Roles of institutions in the electoral Process in ZAMBIA

Name of Organization	ROLE
Disability Rights Watch (DRW)	Concerned with issues of disability and ensuring the rights of the disabled are upheld consistent with Section 11 of the constitution.
Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ)	facilitates and conducts elections, it carries out the civic and voter registration of voters.
Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA Zambia)	Advocates for media freedom and freedom of expression
University of Zambia	It carries out the civic and voter registration of voters
United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)	No role
Zambia National Women's Lobby	Support women and girls to take leadership positions through capacity building, policy advocacy and lobbying
United Party for National Development (UPND)	Main opposition political party seeking power from Patriotic Front
Patriotic Front (PF)	The ruling party, participates in general elections seeking mandate from the populace to govern them through a social contract
Forum for Democracy and Development (FDD)	Advocacy, political representation and providing sound alternative policies and programs
Evangelical Fellowship in Zambia	Influences the Zambian electoral process through mediation, peace building, conflict resolution and monitoring
Zambia Police Service (ZPS)	Provides security to polling staff, safeguards and protects the electoral material, maintains of law and order, and secures human rights.

Compiled by Author: 2021

6.6 Challenges Faced by Institutions



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The graph above summarizes the findings of the challenges institutions faced in the last general election, respective to their countries.

6.6.1: Challenges experienced In Botswana

- IEC opined to face many challenges, especially shortage of funds and human resources
- Voter apathy in the general population, but more among the youth
- Lack of capacity and manpower, manpower could be sourced from outside.
- Shortage of financial resources to run the election process, suggested political party funding.
- Voter fatigue, voters seem to develop cold feet towards general elections participation, register but do not vote.
- IEC addressed some challenges-working with electoral stakeholders.
- Voters are not so much familiar with the electoral process.

- NGOS such as Emang Basadi highlighted lack of funds use for campaigning for women as a major challenge, especially for women candidates in rural areas.
- SADC oversight body indicated that their recommendations are never implemented which is a draw back.

'Obviously like I said above, issues of what we agree or recommend not necessarily being strictly implemented is a huge drawback. Other than that, there were not many observers, and this was a limiting factor.'

- Patriarchy and societal perspectives on women participation in elections

'Problems of patriarchy and societal perspectives of those women are not fit for leadership positions. There is a donor drought as such there are financial constraints.' **SM-EB**

- Unfair government media coverage reported by opposition parties in the 2014 elections, with the ruling party receiving more coverage and used state resources to campaign.

'The state media has access to the rural and remote areas over and above the private media. As such, we were disenfranchised in that regard. Our staff was disappointed of course but remained upbeat.' **BCP-DS**

- The recommendation to this challenge was that public media must be equally used by all competitors to ensure fairness
- One recommendation was that the IEC Act need to be amended
- Voter trafficking

'Firstly, there is a challenge of members defecting to opposition parties, sometimes high-ranking ones for that matter. I would say other challenges are penetrating opposition strongholds for consecutive elections that is not easy.' **BN-SG-BDP**

-BPS- Faced with shortage of manpower

6.6.2: Challenges experienced in Zambia

- Resource constraints during elections led to failure to achieve goals set-Disability Rights Watch (DRW)
- Shortage of funds-IEC
- Lack of finances

'There was a problem of finances and they were lacking to perform such activities. There was mistrust amongst political parties. There was a serious lack of political maturity amongst political parties. For instance, the Patriotic Front (PF) would support condemnation to each other by the organization.' **AJC-Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia**

-Hostility from other stakeholders-FODEP

'Well of course some may deem us to be noisemakers and at times there is some hostility or should I say no regard for us.'

-Capacity building and dissemination of information about elections-MISA

-MISA indicated lack of funds as an impediment

'There was shortage of funds as there are over eight areas, we cover' **ACK-MISA**

-University of Zambia-Indicated shortage of funds as an impediment to their effective participation. They also indicated that there was the general perception of mistrust by the population on their role during elections.

'First and foremost, there was the challenge of finances. We were constrained financially. Second there was perception of mistrust by certain quarters of the population. As such, we could not access some areas. The political parties displayed a lack of maturity at times and due to this, there was a dearth of sincerity.' **NM-UNIZA**

-Low participation of women lobbying for leadership positions, only 14%- JKC-Zambia National Women's Lobby.

- Government Institutions reported to muzzle opposition from fair contest.

We experienced a problem of a regime hell bent on holding on to power by hook or crook and which does not believe there is life after its exit from power. As such state institutions are frequently used to suppress and muzzle us, in an endeavor to deter us from dislodging their inept selves from office.

GP-Forum for Democracy and Development

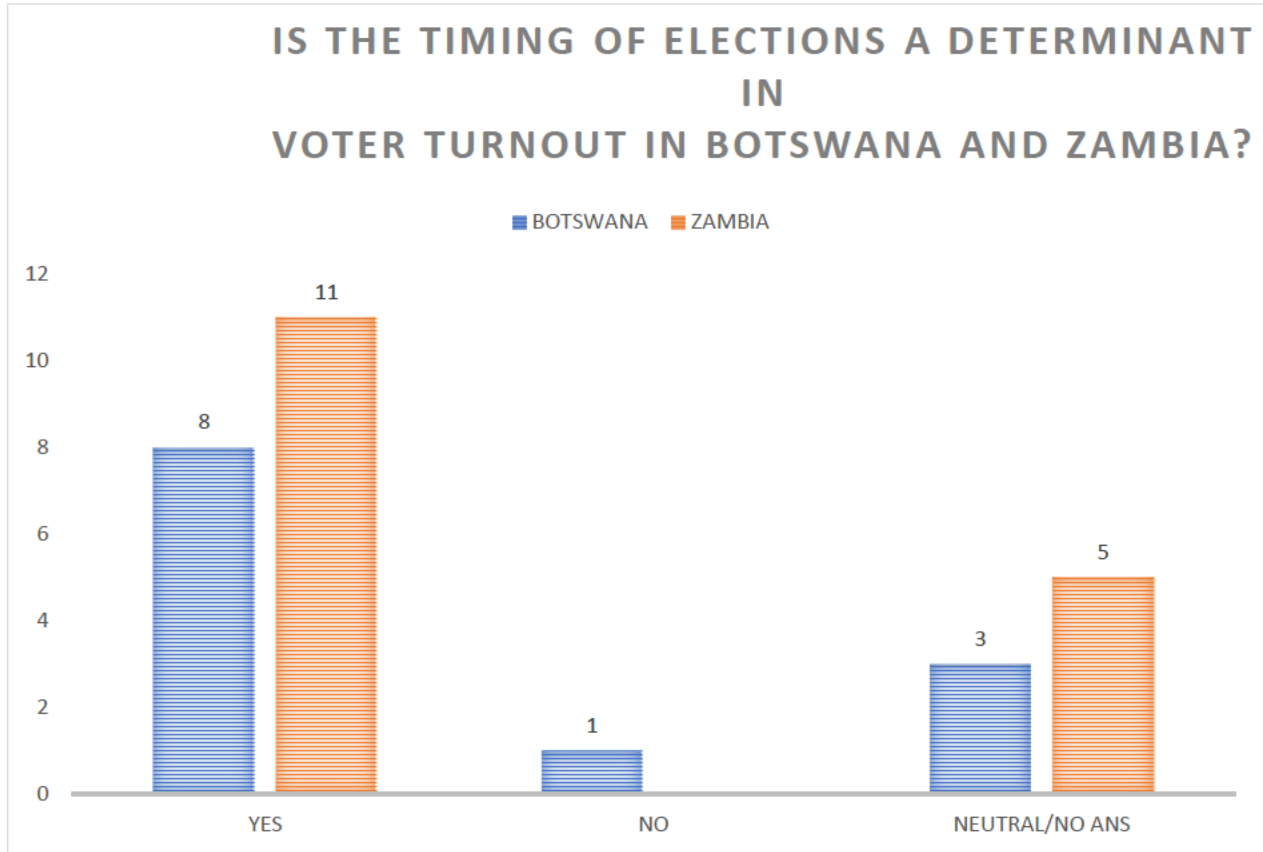
-Shortage of funds and the 2011 legal framework were a constraint- MISA

- The Zambian Police Service indicate misunderstandings between political opponents as the greatest challenge.

'There is a problem of misunderstanding among political actors. There are accusations (allegations) of favoritism by political parties and mistrust by political parties and alignment to the ruling party.' **SMT-Zambian Police Service**

Overall, most of the participants indicated lack of finances as a challenge to their effective role in participating during the elections.

Figure 6.2: Timing of Election Dates



Compiled by Author: 2021

6.7: The Reflection of the Timing of Election Dates in Botswana and Zambia

6.7.1: Timing of Elections in Botswana

The general view was that the timing of the election has a considerable bearing on the voter turnout. The view was that the time for the election is often during the month of October which is the beginning of a rainy season and people are preparing to plough, which may affect turning out for elections. However, most participants still considered October as the best month for holding general elections in Botswana.

'Yes, without any doubt there is a positive relationship between the two. You know why I say so, it's simply because there are 12 months in year with different seasonal activities. I think to provide further lucidity to this, Botswana as an agricultural set up has other agricultural activities, so if elections are going to be held during the farming season than quite it follows that the turn-up will be low'. AK-OP

'I believe October is fine much as most people in rural areas go out to (ploughing fields) masimo to plough at least a substantial number of them do actually come to vote, especially that they are elders.' BN-SG-BDP

6.7.2: The Timing of Election Date in Zambia

All study participants indicated that August was the suitable month for conducting elections in Zambia, since it's the dry season. The main opposition also agreed with elections to be held in August but also indicated October as a possible month to be considered.

6.8: Contribution of Electoral Stakeholders Involvement

6.8.1: Institution Involvement in the Electoral Process

COUNTRY	NAME OF ORGANIZATION	INVOLVED?
BOTSWANA	Office of the President (OP)	Not involved
	Independent Electoral Commission (IEC)	Not involved
	Botswana Democratic Party (BDP)	Involved- the actual pursuit of electoral office at parliamentary and local government level
	Electoral Commission of SADC (ECF-SADC)	Involved- evaluating election audits,

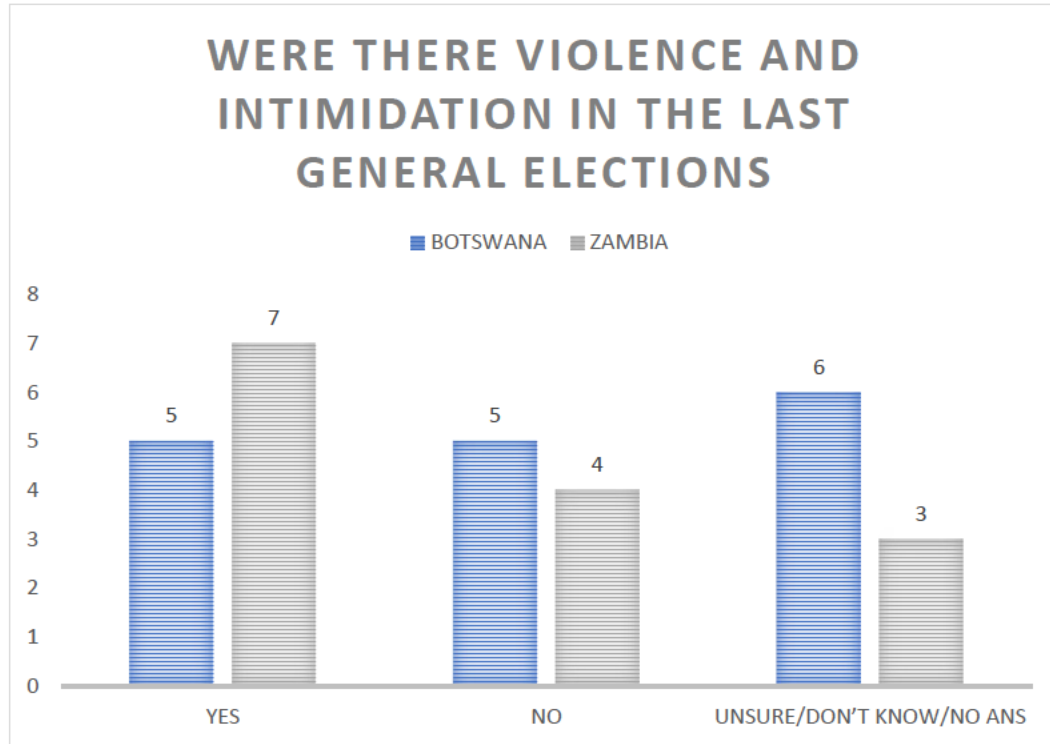
		attachments and staff exclusive programs.
	Botswana Congress Party (BCP)	Not Involved
	Emang Basadi Organization (Women Organization)	Involved- demarcation process electoral management bodies' evaluation process.
	Friedrich Ebert Stiftung 9FES-Botswana)	Not involved
	Organization for Youth and Elections in Botswana (OYEBO)	No answer
	Umbrella for Democratic Change (UDC)	Not involved
	Civil and Registration Department (OMANG)	Involved-IEC evaluation
	Botswana Police Service (BPS)	No comment
	Disability Rights Watch (DRW)	Involved-drawing up of the code of conduct
	Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ)	Involved in the formulation of laws at all levels in the electoral cycle
	Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA Zambia)	Involved in the voter education aspect of the elections

ZAMBIA	University of Zambia	Not involved
	United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)	Review of the electoral act.
	Zambia National Women's Lobby	Gender policy
	United Party for National Development (UPND)	
	Patriotic Front (PF)	Met the ECZ from time to time for matters regarding the elections
	Forum for Democracy and Development (FDD)	Nomination of candidates
	Evangelical Fellowship in Zambia	mediation and conflict resolution
	Zambia Police Service (ZPS)	Involved by the electoral commission as per the expectations by all electoral stakeholders.

Compiled by Author: 2021

6.9: Experiences gained in Botswana and Zambia during the Electoral Process

Figure 6.3: Emerged Themes to Indicate any Violence and Intimidation During Elections in Botswana and Zambia



Compiled by Author: 2021

6.9.1: Violence and Intimidation during Botswana and Zambia Elections

(a) In Botswana

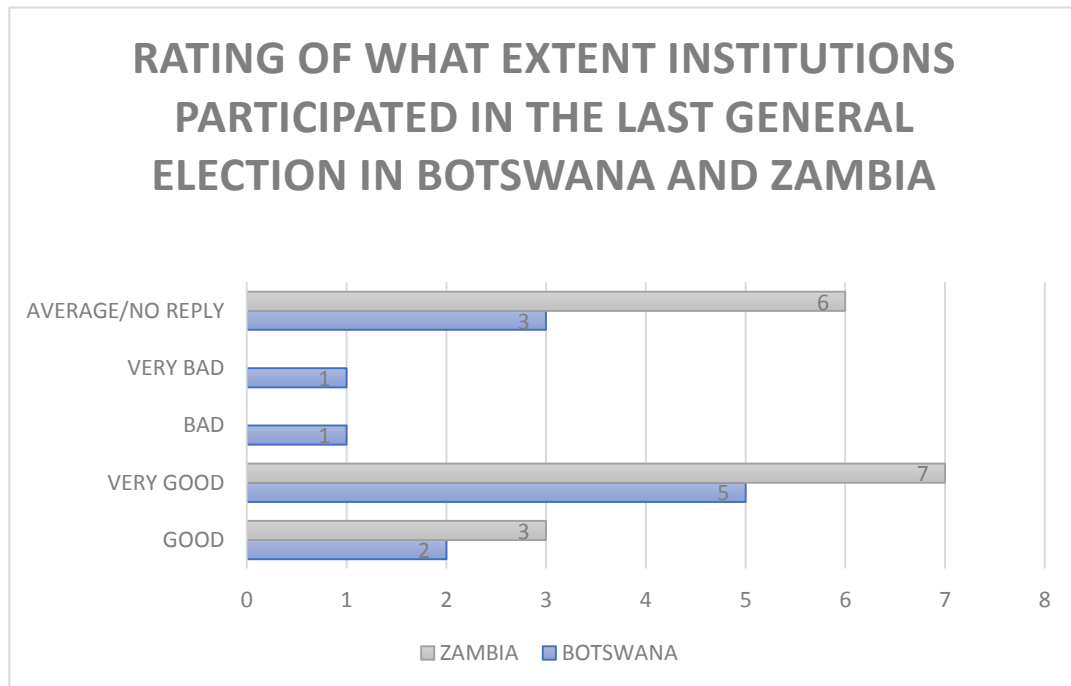
- There were isolated cases of minor violent activities reported during the 2019 general elections. There were 17 cases of pocketed violence
- The violence was mainly the exchange of unpleasant words by political parties' supporters

'Allow me to shed light on the violence. It was basically exchange of unpleasant words by political parties' supporters. You know a back and forth amongst the followers of the political parties. However, the police swiftly reined in on them and as such, the situation was calmed, and normalcy ensued afterwards.' **IEC-GS**

(b) In Zambia

Violence existed in different parts of the country.

Figure 6.4: The Extent in which Institutions participated in the General Elections: Botswana and Zambia.



Compiled by Author: 2021

6.10: Factors that Encouraged/ Discouraged Institutions Performance during Botswana and Zambia Elections

The graph summarizes how different participants rated their institution in the last general election. In addition to rating, participants had also highlighted various factors that encouraged/discouraged institutions to perform effectively in the last general election.

6.10.1: Botswana’s Institutional Performance Factors

In Botswana such factors are:

- Polling staff were enthusiastic which motivated the IEC to perform well
- Few women standing for political position

‘Us being a civil society organization seeking to improve the situation of few women in Political power positions.’ SM-EB

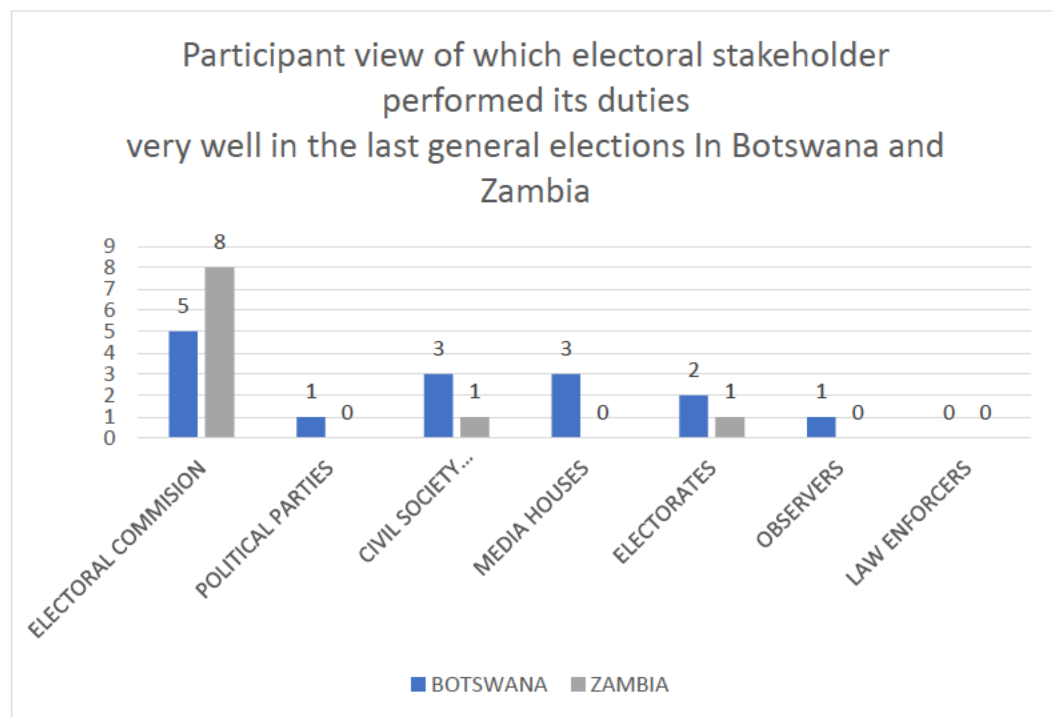
6.10.2: Zambia’s Institutional Performance Factors

In Zambia such Factors are:

Most of the organizations were encouraged to effectively participate during the elections due to their civic responsibility. Consequently, they dispatched their mandate commensurate with their commitment as enshrined in the objectives of their institutions.

- Lack of ensuring that the rights of the disabled are upheld and protected - Disability Rights Watch (DRW)
- The need to ensure that every eligible Zambian should vote-IEC
- The need to monitor elections- FODEP
- The police working conditions were not favourable due to tensions among political parties- ‘Allegations of mistrust by political parties that we are in favour the ruling party and solely Pushing its agenda.’ SMT-Zambian Police Service

Figure 6.5: Ratings on Participant’s Views on Stakeholders Performance in the General Elections in Botswana and Zambia



Compiled by Author: 2021

In overall participants from both Botswana and Zambia were of the view that the electoral Commission performed its duties very well in the last general elections.

6.12: Recommendations suggested to assist Stakeholders for future Reference

Botswana participants recommended that more voter education is needed, and electorates should be encouraged to vote on the day of elections. Political parties should improve their manifestos and make them easy to understand. Government funding, introduction of EVM, capacity building, mobile polling stations and ramps while Zambia participants most of the recommendations were centered around issues of political tolerance, managing violence and conflicts during the elections period, and impartiality by law enforcement agencies and the IEC.

Generally, the chapter contains the results of the analysis, connects the analysis back to the research questions, and demonstrates consistency of the analysis with selected methodology. Twenty-eight participants were interviewed for this study. Themes were structured from interview data, the themes sought to understand general description of participants in Botswana and Zambia, experiences of Botswana and Zambia in the electoral trend, factors that determine the level of stakeholder participation in the electoral process, and contribution of electoral stakeholders in the electoral process. The five themes derived from the data answers the research questions from this study. Chapter V includes the summary for the critical analysis and discussion on the five themes.

6.13 Concluding Remarks

This chapter has interpreted and analyzed the empirical data from both interviewees and respondents' views on the role played by electoral stakeholders in the electoral processes of Botswana and Zambia. Data from both interviews and questionnaires were analyzed to understand factors that affected the quality of the electoral processes during the Botswana's 2014 general election and Zambia's 2011 tripartite elections. Such information was presented in the form of Tables. This was done to ensure ease of reference.

Having presented an analysis of the findings in this chapter, the next chapter will conclude the study and make recommendations based on the findings. These recommendations will include specific recommendations which speak directly to the findings as presented above, and general recommendations to be considered for future research on this topic.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1. Introduction

This chapter concludes this report by revisiting the objectives of this study as well as the research questions that were presented in Chapter 1. In addition, the limitations of the study are outlined and recommendations for future research made.

This study has discussed the role of electoral stakeholders in the management of electoral processes in Botswana and Zambia. The importance of election stakeholders and EMBs and their role in electoral democracy have been underscored through extant literature. Maphunye (2014) indicates that, “election stakeholders play a critical role to ensure transparent, free and fair elections.

This study sought to answer the following question: “What is the role of electoral stakeholders comparatively in Botswana and Zambia during the 2011 and 2014 elections? The Findings of this study have revealed that external and internal factors related to election management may shape the perceptions of election stakeholders. Taking into consideration the specificity of this study that is informed by both qualitative and quantitative results, the following is the summary of the findings that reflect the roles played by key of electoral stakeholders in Botswana and Zambia.

This study used the mixed methods approach in which qualitative and quantitative methods were used in the same study. The Pragmatism philosophical assumption was also used to underpin the findings of this study. The literature review also showed that a great deal of writing had been done in the field of election management but was not focused on the role of electoral stakeholders such as media, observers, EMBs, political parties, civil society and organizations. Furthermore, it did not focus on the role of stakeholders in enhancing electoral democracy in Africa, particularly in Botswana and Zambia. The case study and Atkinson-Jordan conception theories were applied by the researcher to explain factors affecting the management of Botswana and Zambia electoral processes and the electoral stakeholders’ perceptions of the elections.

7.2. Botswana's future elections

As a multiparty, constitutional democracy Botswana has traditionally been used to benchmark for good values and principles on several fronts, with emphasis on support for sustainable development, the consolidation of democratic institutions, and adherence to a constitution with a code of fundamental human rights enforced by the courts.

In this context, the conduct of the 2014 general elections exemplified Botswana's commitment to democratic values and principles. The elections were competitive and met key democratic benchmarks, which include the provision for freedom of association, expression, assembly and movement, as well equal and universal suffrage. Voters were free to express their will, and the voting polls were generally managed well.

7.2.1. Recommendations for Botswana

- 1. IEC Independence:** Stakeholders conceded that currently the IEC in Botswana. Conducts credible elections and exercises some independence and fairness. Despite this, there were fears that unless such independence is clearly stipulated in the constitution of Botswana, it is possible for the government in future to thwart the independence of the IEC. Thus, this study recommends that the Constitution of the Republic of Botswana must express the independence of the IEC.
- 2. Issuance of writ of election:** The stakeholders recommended that the date of election should be pre-determined and entrenched in the constitution of the Republic of Botswana. This is to avert a scenario in which the country's President, who is also President of a political party has exclusive knowledge of the date of the elections and may share it with his party to prepare ahead of other political competitors. Currently, the President of the ruling party in Botswana is the only one who decides on the date of elections. This was said to give an advantage to the ruling party.
- 3. Civic and Voter education:** The stakeholders indicated that there was need for a robust public awareness and efficient information dissemination and that the IEC should have a comprehensive programme to teach people, especially the youth on how elections are conducted. This should be monitored for impact and effectiveness of communication

because the previous election did not feature adequate public awareness. Budgetary issues should also be addressed by advancing more money because elections are expensive and should never be compromised.

- 4. The delimitation and demarcation exercise:** The stakeholders strongly argued that the demarcation and delimitation exercise should be vested fully with the IEC and not with the Delimitation Commission. This would expedite the process and give it more confidence from stakeholders. The stakeholders also felt that an IEC with full responsibility for this process would not have excuses for delays emanating from the process.
- 5. The electoral system:** The stakeholders felt that Botswana should review the Electoral Act to include Proportional Representation or a hybrid of Proportional Representation and the current First-Past-the-Post Electoral system. Through the adoption of this, the system would have a fairer reflection of the popular vote in the distribution of numbers of parliamentarians in the legislature.
- 6. Election of the President:** The stakeholders strongly recommended that there should be direct election of the President of the Republic of Botswana. The justification was that this would usher in a popularly and democratically elected President. Currently, the President of Botswana is not directly elected but wields extensive powers that do not necessarily consolidate Botswana's democracy.
- 7. Registration:** The stakeholders recommended that continuous registration should be continued as it gives an opportunity for more people to register to vote.
- 8. Resources for elections:** The stakeholders lamented that previously the IEC was reported not to have enough funds to engage in civic and voter education through media. They also found it problematic that at times officers ran out of motor vehicle fuel during the elections. They then recommended that the IEC should be given adequate finance and personnel to run the elections and to perform other important functions.

9. Polling stations: The stakeholders were generally satisfied with the existing polling stations, but they recommended that where necessary, the IEC should increase polling stations with special arrangements for the disabled and the elderly who are 65 years old and above. This will help in that these voters with special needs would be helped more promptly and without having to queue for long. In addition, it is recommended that disabled people who cannot walk should be provided with mobile polling stations.

10. Use of electric gadgets in registration and elections: The stakeholders recommended that Botswana should adopt electronic voter registration and electronic voting. There is compelling evidence of the success of this in the case of Namibia. They argued that Botswana should consider the use of technology in the next general election; and that the introduction of such should be done only following widespread education of stakeholders on these and extensive research on the gadgets' reliability.

7.3. Zambia's future elections

Enhancement of several aspects of the electoral process, including a review of the legal framework, is required for the full realization of fundamental rights of individuals and groups, as provided for by international and regional principles for democratic elections. In this regard, the following recommendations are offered by this study for consideration and action from the Government of the Republic of Zambia, the Electoral Commission of Zambia, political parties, civil society and the international community. Priority recommendations are as follows and should be considered as early as possible to address in a timely manner the shortcomings identified in the 2011 electoral process:

7.3.1. Recommendations for Zambia

1. Legal framework: The basis of the Electoral Code of Conduct should be strengthened. Few of the provisions in this code could be established in statutory law to reflect their gravity. The Electoral Commission should also be given wider powers necessary to ensure compliance by all stakeholders with all aspects of this code.

2. Electoral System: The Electoral Commission requires adequate resources to conduct a review of constituency boundaries under the provisions of Article 77 of the constitution to ensure that the boundary demarcations reflect population patterns and their weighting in parliamentary representation.

3. Electoral Administration: The problem of lack of trust in the Electoral Commission by stakeholders should be addressed by revising the appointments process for key positions, such as the appointment of ECZ commissioners, in the Electoral Commission based on best practice principles for public appointments. The ECZ should increase consultations and communications with stakeholders throughout the electoral cycle to enhance stakeholder involvement and confidence. More regular meetings with political parties and civil society organizations should be held. Clear and updated information should be published and disseminated in a timely fashion to all stakeholders, including the media. Decisions and regulations produced by the ECZ should be clearly explained to stakeholders.

4. Management of election funds

With regards to the management of election funds, this study recommends that government should:

- ✓ Send district budgets before remittance of funds.
- ✓ Harmonize guidelines on retirement of funds between ECZ's Finance and Audit departments.
- ✓ Adequately budget for district finance officers.

5. Voter Registration

The ECZ should ensure that political parties and civil organizations have access to the final voter register well in advance of the elections, as has historically been the case in Zambia. The final polling station list should also be made public well in advance, to allow for timely allocation of material and polling staff as well as voter orientation. All institutions mandated with managing population data, such as the Ministry of Home Affairs, Ministry of Local Government, National Pension Scheme Authority (NAPSA), and Central Statistics Office could more effectively collaborate with the ECZ.

6. Participation of women

Legal requirements, such as mandatory quotas for the political parties to apply affirmative action should be considered. Also, to be considered are gender policies within parties, in terms of integrating women into structures and selecting them as party candidates.

7. Media

Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation should be transformed into a public service broadcaster enjoying full editorial independence from government. Protection of tenure of the board of directors and senior management should be guaranteed. They should be appointed in a transparent manner with the involvement of media professionals and civil society organizations. News and content management staff should also be appointed in a manner protected from political interference and should be subject to public interest rules.

The ECZ should enhance public media and more actively address complaints related to campaign coverage. A specialized ECZ branch should be established during elections tasked with the responsibility of implementing and expediting the procedure of hearing complaints as well as media coverage of the elections. This body should be empowered to order the right to reply, correct or retract the election results

8. Persons with disabilities

The ECZ should continue its efforts to improve the accessibility of the electoral process to persons with disabilities. The ECZ should ensure that the use of tactile ballot folders is widely advertised in future, and that polling staff are fully trained in the use of the folders.

9. Logistics

Political parties, facilitated by the ECZ, should mutually agree to publish in advance a schedule of major campaign events, to avoid conflicts and to facilitate appropriate allocation of police to the election campaign events. Election campaign finance accounting mechanisms should be operationalized to provide clear monitoring and transparency in both campaign funding and expenses. Ceilings on expenditure for parties and candidates should be introduced.

The practice of recording the voter card's number on the counterfoil of the ballot papers should cease in order to enhance secrecy of the vote. Positioning of ballot booths should be more sensitive to protecting the secrecy of the vote.

To increase transparency the ECZ should publish individual polling station results for all elections in a timely manner. Scanned polling station results forms should also be published, to further build voter confidence. Continued support from all electoral stakeholders should ensure active participation of civil society and other nomination and ascertain that the campaign and post-election petitions about results are received. A time limit for dealing with these disputes should ensure that such matters are dealt with in a more expeditious manner.

10. Results Management

This study recommends that government should endeavor to:

- ✓ Provide more user-friendly software to avoid system malfunctioning during capture and transmission of the results.
- ✓ Carry out more voter education on electronic results management to enhance stakeholder confidence in the system.
- ✓ Retain IT Officers- Field, to enhance their capacity in operating the kits.
- ✓ Increase the number of days for electronic result management training.
- ✓ Provide more satellite phones to areas with no connectivity and officers thoroughly briefed on how to operate them.
- ✓ Orient field officers on how to operate satellite phones.

7.4. Concluding Remarks

The involvement of electoral stakeholders in the electoral process is crucial because it contributes to the enhancement and establishment of participatory democracy in Africa and in Botswana and Zambia in particular. Despite the participation of electoral stakeholders in the 2011 elections (Zambia) and 2014 elections (Botswana), some contenders and their supporters interfered in the electoral management processes. In this study, the role of the electoral stakeholders was analyzed from the pre-election phase, through the election phase and into the post-election phase.

In addition, the findings of this study revealed that the role played by the electoral stakeholders on the management of electoral processes was influenced by mixed levels of trust and satisfaction regarding some election aspects and institutions involved in election management. It should also be influenced by internal and external factors that affected the performance of the EMBs in meeting expectations of citizens and in particular domestic observers and election experts insofar as the integrity, credibility, professionalism and impartiality of managing the 2011/2014 Zambia Botswana electoral processes respectively were concerned.

The findings of this study do not necessarily suggest that the management of elections in Botswana and Zambia are perfect; but they suggest that there is room for improving the management of electoral processes in Africa, particularly Botswana and Zambia which were used as case studies.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: LETTER OF CONSENT



23 September 2015

RE: LETTER OF INTRODUCTION FOR MR. LL SESA -214573773

The subject above refers.

I hereby confirm that the afore-mentioned student successfully defended his PhD proposal which has since been approved by the University's School higher Degrees Committee (HDC). Mr Sesa has duly been given Ethical Clearance Approval to conduct his empirical data. I am writing this letter in my capacity as Senior Lecturer in the International and Public Affairs cluster where Mr Sesa is registered and also as his PhD thesis supervisor.

The purpose of this letter is to introduce Mr Sesa to you and your institution so that he could be assisted with his empirical data collection. Your assistance and cooperation in this regard would be much appreciated. While the candidate has a grip on the issues the success of his project will need your input for it to be enriched. It is for this reason, therefore, that I ask for your assistance.

Should you have any question regarding this letter, please do not hesitate to contact me directly using any of the contact details provided below.

Yours sincerely,

A black rectangular box redacting the signature of Dr. Bheki R. Mngomezulu.

Dr Bheki R. Mngomezulu

Senior Lecturer & Academic Leader, IPA Cluster

UKZN School of Social Science (Howard College), MTB ZG 145

Mazisi Kunene Avenue

Durban, 4001

Tel. +27(0)31 260 3848 Email: mngomezulub@ukzn.ac.za

B: ETHICAL CLEARANCE LETTER



4 September 2015

Mr Leonard Ienna Sesa 214573773
School of Social Sciences
Howard College Campus

Dear Mr Sesa

Protocol reference number: HSS/1042/015D

Project title: A comparative analysis of the role played by electoral stakeholders in the electoral process: Botswana and Zambia

Full Approval – Expedited Application

In response to your application received on 28 July 2015, the Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee has considered the abovementioned application and the protocol have been granted **FULL APPROVAL**.

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment/modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number.

PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

The ethical clearance certificate is only valid for a period of 3 years from the date of issue. Thereafter Recertification must be applied for on an annual basis.

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours faithfully,

.....
Prof U.....
University Dean of Research
On behalf of Dr Shenuka Singh (Chair)

/pm

Cc Supervisor: Professor Dr Dheki R Mngomezulu
Cc Academic Leader Research: Professor Prof Sabine Marschall
Cc School Administrator: Ms Nancy Mudau

Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

Dr Shenuka Singh (Chair)

Westville Campus, Govan Mbeki Building

Postal Address: Private Bag X54001, Durban 4000

Telephone: +27 (0) 31 260 3567/8350/4657 Facsimile: +27 (0) 31 260 4609 Email: ximbep@ukzn.ac.za / seymanm@ukzn.ac.za / mohuop@ukzn.ac.za

Website: www.ukzn.ac.za



Founding Campuses: Edgewood Howard College Medical School Pietermaritzburg Westville

APPENDIX C: RESEARCH PERMIT

TELEGRAMS: PULA
TELEPHONE: 3950800
TELEX: 2655 BD



OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
PRIVATE BAG 001
GABORONE

Ref: OP 5/59/8 XVII (17)

14th October, 2015

Leonard Lenna Sesa
P.O. Box 201526
Gaborone

Dear Sir,

RE: APPLICATION FOR RESEARCH PERMIT

Reference is made to above subject matter.

You are herewith granted permission for research permit to conduct a study titled: ***"A comparative analysis of the role played by Electoral stakeholders in the electoral process: Botswana and Zambia."***

The permit is valid for 3 months from October to December 2015.

1. Copies of any report/papers written as a result of the study are directly deposited with the Office of the President.
2. The permit does not give authority to enter any premises, private establishment or protected area. Permission for such entry should be negotiated with those concerned.
3. You conduct the project according to the particulars furnished in the approved application taking into account the above conditions.
4. Failure to comply with any of the above stipulated conditions will result in the immediate cancellation of the permit.

Thank you.

Yours faithfully,



For/PERMANENT SECRETARY TO THE PRESIDENT

Copied to: Director, Botswana National Library Services
Director, National Archives and Records Services

APPENDIX D: GATE KEEPER LETTERS (1-4)

LETTER 1

Electoral Commissions Forum of SADC Countries

Plot 50362, Block C, Unit 3, Fairground Office Park
Private Bag 00284
Gaborone, Botswana
Tel: **(+267) 3180012** Fax: **(+267) 3180016**
www.ecfsadc.org



Ref: ECF-SADC
16th June 2014

UKZN
Howard College
Durban

Dear Sir/Madam,

**REQUEST TO CONDUCT RESEARCH: PhD Candidate -Mr. Leonard Lenna Sesa
(Student number 214573773)**

Your letter dated 15 June 2014 refers.

I am aware that Mr. Sesa has embarked on a research topic, 'An analysis of the role played by electoral stakeholders in the electoral process: A case study of Botswana and Zambia'. The topic is relevant to the SADC region as it is the first of its kind and by its nature will benefit but the entire SADC region as it will address a common electoral issue and related challenges and stakeholders will learn lessons from the outcome of the study. As a stakeholder in the regional electoral matters, the Electoral Commissions Forum of SADC countries, supports the intended topic and has keen interest in its outcome.

Given the above, an assurance is hereby made that all relevant material and documentation shall be availed on request to support the undertaking of the study in question.

We believe that this is in order.

Yours faithfully

Hilda Mmodisane
Programme Manager

Electoral Commissions Forum of SADC countries - Secretariat

Cc: Executive Committee Chairperson- C/o National Electoral Commission of Tanzania

.....
Forum Presidency: Adv P.Tlakula - President (RSA), Rev. Apollinaire Malumalu Muhlongu (DRC)

EXCO: Chairperson: Justice Damian Z. Lubuva (Tanzania)- **Vice Chairperson:** Justice Maxon R. Mbendera, SC (Malawi), Justice A. Tafa (Botswana), Justice Mahapela Lehohla (Lesotho), Abdul Carimo Nordine Sau (Mozambique), Adv Notemba Tjipueja (Namibia), Justice Irene Mambilima (Zambia).

LETTER 2:



Republic of Botswana

Telephone 3612400
Telegrams DITLHOPHO
Fax 390581
3905205
3190889

**Independent Electoral
Commission**

Plot 63726, Fairground Office Park
(Between Twin Towers and Grant Thornton Offices)
Private Bag 00284
Gaborone



16th June 2014

Independent Electoral Commission of Botswana
Private Bag 00284
Gaborone Botswana

Leonard Lenna Sesa (student number 214573773)
PhD Candidate
UKZN
Howard College
Durban

Dear Sir/Madam,

REQUEST FOR ASSISTANCE WITH YOUR PhD PROPOSED RESEARCH TOPIC

Your e-mail regarding the above subject matter refers.

Please receive a formal response from one of your identified contact persons regarding your intended research topic. I am very pleased to note that you have selected a very special topic in view of the processes and conditions under which democracy operates with focus on Southern Africa.

I have pleasure in confirming and assuring you that in your research you will receive an unwavering support and assistance to enable you fulfil the requirement of your studies.

I am looking forward working with you.

Yours faithfully

Osupile Maroba (Mr)
Telephone: (267) 3612400, mobile: 72426011
Principal Public Relations Officer, IEC – Botswana
For/Secretary, IEC

LETTER 3:



OFFICE OF THE ELECTORAL COMMISSION

Communications should be addressed to the Director
Telephone: + 260 21 1-250081, + 260 21 1-253155-7
+ 260 21 1-257928, + 260 21 1-256524
+ 260 21 1-257931, + 260 21 1-257932
Telefax: + 260 21 1-253884/257274
Email elections@electcom.org.zm
Website: elections.org.zm

ELECTIONS HOUSE
HAILE SELASSIE AVENUE
P O BOX 50274
LUSAKA

30th June, 2014

Mr. Leonard Lenna Sesa
University of Kwazulu natal
Howard Campus
Durban
SOUTH AFRICA

RE: ASSISTANCE TO YOURSELF

I acknowledge receipt of your letter dated 26th June, 2014 requesting for assistance from the Electoral Commission of Zambia in terms of materials for your doctoral studies on electoral stakeholder engagement.

I have since dispatched, by courier, some materials to yourself on the subject matter. I will provide more information as and when you need the same.

I wish you well in this important study and I will appreciate a copy of your doctoral thesis when you complete.



Eric Kamwi
Commission Secretary
ELECTORAL COMMISSION OF ZAMBIA

LETTER 4:

14 Park Road • Richmond 2092
P O Box 740 • Auckland Park 2006
South Africa



Telephone +27 11 381 60 00
Fax +27 11 482 61 63
E mail eisa@eisa.org.za
Web www.eisa.org.za

17th June 2014

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

Dear Sir/Madam

Re: MR Leonard SESA

We confirm that Mr Sesa, a registered PH.D student has permission to use the Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy (EISA) library and publications for purposes of research towards his Ph.D. where he is registered with the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Howard Campus. Mr Sesa's topic "An analysis of the role played by electoral stakeholders in the electoral process: A case study of Botswana and Zambia" has relevance to developments in the SADC region in regard to participatory democracy.

Sincerely



Ilona Tip
Operations Director

Patron: Sir Ketumile Masire (Botswana)
Board of Directors: Mr Leshale Thoahlane, (Chairperson) (Lesotho), Mr Yusuf Aboobaker (Mauritius),
Ms Otília Aquino (Mozambique), Mr Denis Kadima (Executive Director), Dr Muzong Kodi (DRC),
Professor Tom Lodge (United Kingdom), Dr Nandini Patel (Malawi), Dr Christiana Thorpe (Sierra Leone), Ms Ilona Tip (South Africa)

APPENDIX E: INTERVIEWS AND QUESTIONNAIRES

UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU NATAL

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

HOWARD COLLEGE

Interview questions for individual electorate

The main aim of this research is to analyse the role played by electoral stakeholders in Botswana and Zambia electoral process. This questionnaire is designed to elicit information regarding the above-mentioned research theme. Information shared will solely be used for this research. You are also assured of full confidentiality, privacy and anonymity of all the information shared by yourself. You should therefore feel comfortable to share with me the accurate information to ensure the success of this work.

Section A: Personal Information on the electorate

1. **Gender:** Male [] Female []
2. **Age:** 20- 30 [] 31-40 [] 41-50 [] 50 and above []

3. **Level of Education:**
- (a) No formal education at all []
 - (b) Primary education []
 - (c) Middle School []
 - (d) O' level []
 - (e) Vocational training []
 - (f) Tertiary education []
 - (a) Other [],

Please specify

4. **Profession:**

5. **Religion:**
- (a) Christian []
 - (b) Muslim []
 - (c) Traditional []
 - (d) Buddhist []

(e) Other [] Specify

6. Citizenship and Tribe:

7. How many times have you participated during the general elections in Botswana/ Zambia?

Year	Reason/Comment

Section B: Participation in the Electoral process

8. Which electoral activity did you involve yourself most in the 2009/2011 election?

Activity	Tick	Reason
Voting		
Political parties' campaigns/ rallies		
Inspection of voters' roll		
Political parties' debate		
Declaring of election results		
Other, Specify		

9. What factor(s) encouraged you to participate in that last election activity?

- (a) Trust in that activity towards the electoral system []
- (b) Well organized security []
- (c) Better publicity coverage []

- (d) Easy accessibility
- (e) Other

Specify

10. Contrary to No. 8 above, which electoral activity did you not participate in the last election?

Activity	Tick	Reason
Voting		
Political parties' campaigns/ rallies		
Inspection of voters' roll		
Political parties' debate		
Declaring of election results		
Other, Specify		

11. What factor(s) prevented you most from participating in that electoral activity?

- (a) Lack of trust in that activity towards the electoral system
- (b) Poor security management
- (c) Low publicity coverage
- (a) Financial constraints
- (b) Other

Specify

1. Individual assessment in the level of participation towards the electoral system activities.

- (a) Very High (b) High (c) Average (d) Low (e) Very Low

2. In your own opinion which electoral stakeholder performed well in the last general election?

Stakeholder	Tick	Role	Reason
Electoral Management Body			
Political Parties			
Media			
Electorates			
Civil Society Organizations			
Local/International Observers			

3. Contrary to No 13, which electoral stakeholder did not perform well in the last general election?

Stakeholder	Tick	Role	Reason
Electoral Management Body			
Political Parties			
Media			
Electorates			
Civil Society Organizations			
Local/International Observers			

4. How would you rate the participation of your community in past last generation elections?

- (a) Very Good []
- (b) Good []
- (c) Average []
- (d) Bad []
- (e) Very Bad []

5. Did the campaigns by political parties influence your decision to vote for a candidate?

Yes []

NO []

6. Was there a lot of votes buying, distribution of food stuffs, T- shirts, etc. in the last general elections?

Yes []

NO []

7. What recommendations would you make to improve on the role played by electoral stakeholders in the past general elections?

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

8. The questions below concern election misconduct in the last general election in your Country. Choose the right answers and support with reasons for that.

Question	Yes	No	Reason
Was there any violence?			
Was there rigging of election results?			
Was there unbalanced of media coverage?			

9. In your own view what do you recommend encouraging voter education by electoral stakeholders in the subsequent election to come?

.....

.....

.....

.....

**UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU NATAL
FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
HOWARD COLLEGE**

Interview guide for Heads/ Chairpersons/ CEOs of Electoral Management Bodies, Political Parties, Civil Society Organizations, Media Houses and Regional Observer Bodies.

Date of interview:

Place of interview:

Interviewer name:

Interviewer gender:

Organization/ Institution:

Country of origin:

Position/ title:

Introduction

The main aim of this research is to analyse the role played by electoral stakeholders in Botswana and Zambia electoral process. This questionnaire is designed to elicit information regarding the above-mentioned research theme. Information shared will solely be used for this research. You are also assured of full confidentiality, privacy and anonymity of all the information shared by yourself. You should therefore feel comfortable to share with me the accurate information to ensure the success of this work.

- 1. Roles of your institution/ organization in the electoral process of your country.**
 - What are the roles/ functions of your institution towards your country's electoral process?
 - Which of these roles does your institution perform adequately and why?
 - What are some of the challenges your institution faces when performing these roles?

- 2. Challenges that faced your institution/ organization in the last general elections?**

- What are some of the challenges that your institution faced in its participation in the last general elections?
- What effects do these challenges have on your institution and its staff in the last elections?
- What do you think can be the remedy for these problems?

3. Timing for election dates

- Is the timing of elections (i.e., the date when the election is held), a determinant in voter turnout?
- Which month of the year do you think is suitable for holding an election in your country and why?

4. Your institution involvement in the implementation of policies in the electoral process of your country.

- What are some of the policies and activities of your country's process that your institution was involved in its implementation, planning or actively involved?
- What factors encourage your institution to have actively participated in that activity?

5. Violence and intimidation during the electoral phases

- Was there violence during any stages of the electoral phase in the last general elections in your country?
- If there was violence, what sort of impact did this have on the voter turnout?
- What do you think are the major reasons for violence during the election in your country?
- What measures would you recommend addressing the problem of violence during elections?

6. Factors that encouraged or discouraged your institutions from participating very well in the last general elections.

- Rating from Very good, good, average, bad, very bad, to what extent did your institution participate in the last general election.
- Which factors motivated your institution to participate that much in the last elections?

7. In your view which electoral stakeholder (Electoral Commission, Political parties, Civil Society Organization, Media Houses, Electorates and Observers) performed its duties very well in the last general elections and why? Which stakeholder did not perform its duties well in the last general elections and why?

8. What recommendation(s) can you suggest assisting electoral stakeholders in general to participate very well in the next elections?