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To: Jim Polhemus
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From: Mike Bratton
Date: February 17, 1995
Subject: **Local Government Election Results**

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Please find attached a copy of the results of the Zambian local government elections of November 1992.

When I requested this data from the Elections Office in Lusaka in June 1993, they stated that they were unable to provide it because the returns from the local government ward level had never been summarized at the district, provincial and national levels. I therefore assigned an UNZA research assistant to gather the raw data from the Elections Office records, and an MSU research assistant to compile the attached district, provincial and national summaries.

I think I am correct in stating that this information has never been presented before, even within Zambia. It adds to the knowledge needed for tracking the changing political environment in Zambia and identifying possible DG support activities.

The following findings and interpretations arise from the summary national figures (see the first table):

* A total of 1191 local government council seats were available in the November 1992 elections. Of these, 9 seats were uncontested by any candidate, 16 races were deferred to a later date, and 131 candidates (11.0 %) were returned unopposed. Northern Province had the highest proportion of unopposed races (20.5%) and Eastern Province the lowest (1.4%). One would have to check other data, but I expect that the proportion of unopposed seats was lower in 1992 than in previous local government elections but higher than in the 1991 general elections. In sum, whereas most voters had a genuine choice among two or more candidates or parties, one in ten voters was disenfranchised because of a lack of political competition at the local level.

* The ruling party, the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) scored an overwhelming victory, garnering 936 of the 1166 (80.3%) seats decided in the election. MMD obtained at

least one seat in every local government district in the country, though in Chadiza, Eastern Province they obtained only one seat. Out of Zambia's 55 local government areas, the ruling party won all the seats in 13 councils and a majority of seats in 48 councils. The United National Independence Party (UNIP) won a working majority in 7 councils, all in Eastern Province with the exception of Luangwa in Lusaka Province. The United Democratic Party (UDP) (since dissolved, November 1993) won significant minority blocs of votes in selected districts, mainly in Northwestern Province. Twenty one independent candidates won single seats in various locations.

* The ruling party won 62.6% of the total valid votes cast. While MMD enjoyed an insurmountable margin over its rivals, it nonetheless received less than its 75.3% share of the vote in the October 1991 general elections. A decline in the popularity of MMD within one year of its election is consistent with findings from focus group and sample survey studies conducted by Michigan State University and the University of Zambia under the monitoring and evaluation component of the Zambia DG Project.

* According to the local government election returns, the number of registered voters in Zambia in November 1992 was 2,673,954. This figure closely confirms the estimate of 2.652 million registered voters calculated from the June 1993 baseline survey (see p.15). It is lower than the 3.2 million figure reported by the Electoral Commission in 1992. The lower figure, in which I have increasing confidence, suggests that about one-third of eligible voters (out of a total of some 4.074 million adult persons) are not registered to vote in Zambia. This situation demands remedy.

* As is well known in general terms, voter turnout in the November 1992 local government elections was extremely low. Now we can present precise figures. Nationally, just 13.9% of registered voters cast a vote. Variation in turnout rates ranged from a low of 10.7 percent in Central Province to a high of 21.2 percent in Eastern Province. At the district level the lowest turnout rate was 3.2% in Ndola Rural and the highest was 36.6% in Chadiza.

* Two trends are evident from the turnout data. First, turnout was lower in urban areas (11.5%) -- defined here as the the three "line of rail" provinces (Central, Copperbelt, Lusaka) - - than in the remaining rural areas (15.7%). This reverses the urban-rural turnout pattern from the general elections, tending to confirm either that urbanites see local government as less salient than national government, or that they are withdrawing from the political process more rapidly than rural dwellers. Second, higher turnout rates are apparently associated with multiparty competition and close races. At least in part, voters stay away from the polls when they think the results are a foregone conclusion that will favor a dominant party.

Other observations and interpretations can be gleaned from these data. I look forward to exchanging views with you in January. With USAID's agreement, I would wish to explore with the Elections Office whether they ever completed the compilation and publication of the local government election results. If so, it would be useful to compare figures with them. If not, I would like to discuss with you whether and how to release this material for public consumption and civic education. One possible approach would be to work through the Elections Office, with the goal of strengthening its capacity to conduct analysis and disseminate

election results in the future.

**Zambia: Local Government Election Results
November 1992**

N A T I O N A L

Province	No. of Seats	Unopp. Seats	Defer. Seats	Uncont. Seats	MMD	Distrib. Seats			Votes for Win.party No.	%	Total Votes Cast	No. Reg. Voters	Voter % Turnout
						UNIP	UDP	Ind.					
Central	110	12	-	2	90	17	-	1	17,648	53.8	30,045	280,361	10.7
Copperbelt	185	8	1	2	170	4	5	3	45,381	68.4	66,380	583,496	11.4
Eastern	140	2	7	-	24	109	-	-	46,733	60.8	76,825	363,200	21.2
Luapula	100	14	-	-	98	1	1	-	18,183	72.3	25,133	190,640	13.2
Lusaka	71	3	1	-	53	16	-	1	24,103	67.7	35,578	285,768	12.4
Northern	170	39	3	2	167	10	-	8	23,785	66.7	35,660	268,937	13.3
Northwestern	115	17	-	-	90	1	23	1	13,686	55.7	24,559	197,008	12.5
Southern	145	17	2	2	132	7	-	2	37,451	72.3	51,833	311,164	16.7
Western	135	19	2	1	112	8	7	5	22,103	86.4	25,576	192,880	13.3
TOTAL	1191	131	16	9	936	173	36	21	249,073	67.0	371,589	2,673,954	13.9
									MMD only 232,432	62.6			

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CENTRAL PROVINCE

District	No. of Seats	Unopp. Seats	Defer. Seats	Uncont. Seats	Distrib. Seats				Votes for Win.party		Total Votes	No. Reg. Voters	Voter % Turnout
					MMD	UNIP	UDP	Ind.	No.	%			
Kabwe Rural	25	3	-	-	21	4	-	-	4,222	50.0	8,446	81,032	10.4
Kabwe Municipal	25	-	-	-	22	3	-	-	6,895	67.4	10,218	70,941	14.4
Mukushi	20	3	-	-	15	4	-	1	1,495	56.0	3,671	42,212	6.3
Mumbwa Central	20	1	-	-	20	-	-	-	3,745	58.8	6,373	57,975	11.0
Serenge	20	5	-	2	12	6	-	-	1,291	55.2	2,337	28,701	8.1
TOTAL	110	12	-	2	90	17	-	1	17,648	53.8	30,045	280,861	10.7

C O P P E R B E L T P R O V I N C E

District	No. of Seats	Unopp. Seats	Defer. Seats	Uncont. Seats	Distrib. Seats				Votes for Win.party		Total Votes Cast	No. Reg. Voters	Voter % Turnout
					HMD	UNIP	UDP	Ind.	No.	%			
Chilabombwe	20	2	1	-	17	-	2	-	2,487	62.7	3,969	23,275	17.0
Chingola	25	1	-	-	24	-	1	-	8,185	73.7	11,099	71,998	15.4
Kalulushi	20	-	-	-	20	-	-	-	3,432	62.0	5,539	29,219	19.0
Kitwe City	25	1	-	-	25	-	-	-	5,159	58.5	8,825	122,865	7.2
Luanshya Munic.	25	-	-	-	25	-	-	-	7,621	81.8	9,311	57,440	15.2
Mufulira	25	-	-	1	20	1	1	2	6,971	70.8	9,853	66,507	14.8
Ndola Rural	20	4	-	-	16	2	1	-	1,395	55.8	2,500	77,638	3.2
Ndola City	25	-	-	1	23	1	-	1	10,131	66.3	15,284	134,554	11.4
TOTAL	185	8	1	2	170	4	5	3	45,381	68.4	66,380	583,496	11.4

E A S T E R N P R O V I N C E

District	No. of Seats	Unopp. Seats	Defer. Seats	Uncont. Seats	Distrib. seats				Votes for Win. party		Total Votes	No. Reg. Voters	Voter % Turnout
					MMD	UNIP	UDP	Ind.	No.	%			
Chadiza	20	1	1	-	1	18	-	-	5,204	56.2	9,261	25,281	36.6
Chama	20	1	6	-	3	11	-	-	1,872	66.7	2,805	12,694	22.1
Chipata	25	-	-	-	6	19	-	-	11,238	58.7	19,146	114,066	16.8
Katete	25	-	-	-	7	18	-	-	7,280	53.8	13,532	57,583	23.5
Lundazi	25	-	-	-	4	21	-	-	11,034	64.9	16,994	70,119	24.2
Petauke	25	-	-	-	3	22	-	-	10,105	67.0	15,087	83,457	18.0
TOTAL	140	2	7	-	24	109	-	-	46,733	60.8	76,825	363,200	21.2

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L U A P U L A P R O V I N C E

District	No. of Seats	Unopp. Seats	Defer. Seats	Uncont. Seats	MMD	Distrib. Seats			Votes for Win.party		Total Votes Cast	No. Reg. Voters	Voter % Turnout
						UNIP	UDP	Ind.	No.	%			
Kawambwa	20	2	-	-	20	-	-	-	2,642	70.9	3,728	37,640	9.9
Mansa	20	-	-	-	20	-	-	-	3,955	67.1	5,889	51,592	11.4
Mwense	20	1	-	-	18	1	1	-	3,606	69.2	5,211	30,563	17.0
Nchelenge	20	1	-	-	20	-	-	-	3,396	73.3	4,631	36,222	12.8
Samfya	20	8	-	-	20	-	-	-	4,584	80.8	5,674	34,623	16.4
TOTAL	100	14	-	-	98	1	1	-	18,183	72.3	25,133	190,640	13.2

L U S A K A P R O V I N C E

District	No. of Seats	Unopp. Seats	Defer. Seats	Uncont. Seats	MMD	Distrib. Seats			Votes for Win.party		Total Votes	No. Reg. Voters	Voter % Turnout
						UNIP	UDP	Ind.	No.	%			
Luangwa	15	1	-	-	4	11	-	-	1,042	51.8	2,010	6,381	31.4
Lusaka Rural	26	1	-	-	21	5	-	-	5,175	62.6	8,264	53,472	15.5
Lusaka City	30	1	1	-	28	-	-	1	18,928	74.8	25,304	225,915	11.2
TOTAL	71	3	1	-	53	16	-	1	24,103	67.7	35,578	285,768	12.4

N O R T H E R N P R O V I N C E

District	No. of Seats	Unopp. Seats	Defer. Seats	Uncont. Seats	MMD	Distrib. Seats			Votes for Win. party		Total Votes Cast	No. Reg. Voters	Voter % Turnout
						UNIP	UDP	Ind.	No.	%			
Chilubi	20	3	-	1	17	-	-	2	2,363	60.8	3,886	15,884	24.5
Chinsali	20	4	-	-	20	-	-	-	2,130	78.5	2,712	22,251	12.2
Isoka	20	2	1	-	15	4	-	-	3,109	50.4	6,167	34,232	18.0
Kaputa	20	2	-	-	18	2	-	-	3,049	97.2	3,138	21,329	14.7
Kasame Munic.	25	7	-	-	24	-	-	1	4,207	80.0	5,262	59,809	8.8
Luwingu	20	7	-	-	19	-	-	1	2,136	68.4	3,125	25,879	12.0
Mbala	25	4	-	-	19	4	-	2	3,370	55.9	6,029	48,948	12.3
Mpika	20	6	2	1	16	-	-	1	1,834	61.2	2,996	24,679	12.1
Mporokoso	20	4	-	-	19	-	-	1	1,587	67.7	2,345	15,926	14.7
TOTAL	190	39	3	2	167	10	-	8	23,785	66.7	35,660	268,937	13.3

NORTH - WESTERN PROVINCE

District	No. of	Unopp.	Defer.	Uncont.	Distrib. Seats	Votes for	Total	No. Reg.	Voter %
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	Seats	Seats	Seats	Seats	MMD	UNIP	UDP	Ind.	Win.party		Votes Cast	Voters	Turnout
									No.	%			
Kasempa	20	9	-	-	20	-	-	-	562	70.0	804	14,232	5.6
Mwinilunga	20	5	-	-	20	-	-	-	2,978	77.7	3,835	43,734	8.7
Solwezi	20	-	-	-	15	1	4	-	2,001	53.2	3,761	49,695	7.6
Zambezi	20	-	-	-	16	-	3	1	4,780	54.0	8,858	31,673	28.0
Mufumbwe	15	2	-	-	8	-	7	-	988	48.1	2,051	9,776	21.0
Kadompo	20	1	-	-	11	-	9	-	2,377	47.2	5,033	47,898	10.5
TOTAL	115	17	-	-	90	1	23	1	13,686	56.2	24,342	197,008	12.4

S O U T H E R N P R O V I N C E

District	No. of Seats	Unopp. Seats	Defer. Seats	Uncont. Seats	MMD	Distrib. Seats		Ind.	Votes for Win.party		Total Votes Cast	No. Reg. Voters	Voter % Turnout
						UNIP	UDP		No.	%			

Choma	25	-	-	-	25	-	-	-	8,636	77.0	11,216	60,602	18.5
Gwembe	20	4	1	-	16	2	-	1	3,319	70.7	4,695	43,609	10.8
Kalomo	20	-	-	-	18	2	-	-	6,370	77.2	8,256	62,162	13.3
Livingstone	20	-	1	-	18	1	-	-	5,645	67.9	8,319	34,839	23.9
Mazabuka	20	2	-	-	20	-	-	-	6,284	75.6	8,315	51,039	16.3
Monze	20	2	-	-	18	1	-	1	6,364	74.0	8,604	43,104	20.0
Namwala	20	9	-	2	17	1	-	-	1,833	75.6	2,425	15,809	15.3
TOTAL	145	17	2	2	132	7	-	2	37,451	72.3	51,833	311,164	16.7

WESTERN PROVINCE

District	No. of Seats	Unopp. Seats	Defer. Seats	Uncont. Seats	MMD	Distrib. Seats			Votes for Win. party		Total Votes Cast	No. Reg. Voters	Voter % Turnout
						UNIP	UDP	Ind.	No.	%			
Kalabo	25	-	-	-	24	1	-	-	3,591	67.0	5,352	44,889	11.9
Kaoma	20	2	-	-	18	2	-	-	2,807	55.8	5,026	33,095	15.9
Kalulu	20	5	1	-	10	2	7	-	1,196	48.3	2,478	15,134	16.3
Mongu	25	-	1	-	22	-	-	2	2,973	55.3	5,374	46,614	11.5
Senanga	25	8	-	-	23	1	-	1	2,741	71.7	3,820	32,567	11.7
Sesheke	20	4	-	1	15	2	-	2	2,397	67.9	3,526	20,581	17.1
TOTAL	135	19	2	1	112	8	7	5	22,103	86.4	25,576	192,880	13.3