



## CCMG Verification Statement on the Accuracy of the Official 2021 Presidential Results

*“CCMG PVT Verifies the ECZ Official Results for the Presidential Election Reflect the Ballots Cast at Polling Stations”*

16 August 2021

### Introduction

Today, the Christian Churches Monitoring Group (CCMG) is releasing its verification statement on the accuracy of the presidential results. CCMG conducted a parallel vote tabulation (PVT) for the presidential election as part of our comprehensive monitoring of the 2021 general elections. As we stated during preliminary statement, CCMG completed its PVT by 12 noon on Friday 13 August 2021 with over 99% of our monitors having sent in their observation reports. Had it proved necessary, CCMG would have released its PVT estimates if we had any indication there was manipulation of the official results. We commend the Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ) for fulfilling its constitutional duty with honour and are grateful to them for not having to do so. **CCMG now confirms that its PVT verifies that ECZ’s official presidential results reflect the ballots cast at polling stations.**

### Methodology

CCMG’s PVT deployed carefully recruited, highly trained accredited independent non-partisan monitors to a nationally representative random sample of 1,500 polling stations with 866,689 registered voters of whom 463,625 are female (53.5%)<sup>1</sup>. The PVT sample was carefully constructed according to well-established statistical principles to ensure that it was nationally representative and included polling stations in every province, district and constituency of the country. This is done by stratifying by province, district and constituency to ensure the percentage of polling stations, registered voters and female registered voters in the sample closely matches the percentage for the entire country (see Annex 6). For example, Eastern province has 11.8% of all polling stations, 12.8% of all registered voters, and 13.1% of all female registered voters in the country, and so the CCMG’s PVT sample matches this distribution with 11.8% of polling stations, 12.8% of registered voters, and 13.3% female registered voters coming for Eastern province in the sample. This ensure that CCMG’s PVT sample is truly nationally representative and therefore, can determine the quality of the voting and counting processes and can estimate accurately estimate how Zambians cast their ballots in all 12,152 polling stations.

On election day, CCMG’s PVT monitors witnessed and reported on the entire voting and counting process, arriving at 5:30 in the morning and staying at their assigned polling station

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<sup>1</sup> 53.4% of registered voters are female (3,751,040 of 7,023,499)

until counting was completed and results have been posted. Because CCMG's PVT monitors are deployed to a nationally representative random sample, the PVT methodology provides the most accurate information on the conduct of voting and counting and it is the only methodology that can provide independent verification of the accuracy of official election results. CCMG's PVT is not an exit poll. Our monitors do not ask any voter for whom he or she voted. CCMG's PVT monitors also do not count the presidential ballots as that is the responsibility of the polling officials. However, our monitors are present throughout the counting process and report on its conduct. CCMG's PVT estimates, therefore, are based on the official and publicly available official results from polling stations.

PVTs are used around the world and across Africa to independently determine if official election results reflect the ballots cast. The PVT methodology has been successfully employed by citizen observers for multiple elections in numerous African countries, including: Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, Kenya, Malawi, Nigeria, Ghana and Zimbabwe. PVT's have routinely been conducted for presidential elections in Zambia with PVTs previously conducted in 1991, 2008, 2011, 2015 and 2016.

The PVT methodology is impartial and non-partisan and reflects the ballots cast regardless of the outcome of an election. Thus, PVTs in Zambia have verified results in past elections both when the ruling party candidate won the election as well as when an opposition party candidate prevailed. For example, the PVT verified the results of the 2008 presidential election when the late Michael Sata lost as well as confirmed his victory in 2011 (see Annex 5).

PVTs serve to independently verify official election results by comparing the official result with the PVT's estimated range for each candidate (as well as for rejected candidates and turnout). If the official result falls within the PVT estimated range, then the official result reflects the ballots cast at polling stations. However, if the official result falls outside of the PVT estimated range, then the official result has been manipulated and the PVT suggests the true result.

CCMG is an independent, non-partisan citizen monitoring network that conducted a comprehensive observation of the 2021 general elections, including a long-term observation of the pre-election period and the election day PVT. Our observation effort was undertaken to ensure a credible electoral process for all Zambians, and we are beholden to no candidate nor the ECZ.

## **CCMG PVT Findings**

As Table 1 shows, for the two leading candidates as well as for all other candidates combined, the official results announced by the ECZ<sup>2</sup> fall within the PVT estimated range and therefore, we can declare with confidence that the official results reflect the ballots cast at polling stations (see Annex 1 for CCMG PVT estimates for all presidential candidates).

The PVT estimated range for Hichilema's vote share is 57.7% to 60.5% and his ECZ official result is 59.4%, which falls within this range. Similarly, for President Lungu, the ECZ official result is 38.4%, which falls within the PVT estimated range for his vote share of 37.1% to 39.7%.

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<sup>2</sup> At the time of this statement, ECZ had announced results for 155 of 156 constituencies (excluding Mandevu constituency) while CCMG PVT estimates for all 156 constituencies.

**Table 1: Comparison of ECZ Official Presidential Results with CCMG PVT Estimates (Leading Presidential Candidates)**

Presidential Candidate	ECZ	CCMG PVT		Verified
	Official Result	PVT Estimate	Margin of Error	
Hichilema, Hakainde (UPND)	59.4%	59.1%	+/-1.4%	✓
Lungu, Edgar (PF)	38.3%	38.4%	+/-1.3%	✓
All Other Presidential Candidates	2.3%	2.5%	+/-0.3%	✓

Source: CCMG 2021

**Note:** ECZ official presidential results for 155 of 156 constituencies (excluding Mandevu constituency) while CCMG PVT estimates for all 156 constituencies.

Because CCMG’s PVT estimates show that the lowest possible result for Hichilema (57.7%) is greater than the highest possible result for President Lungu (39.8%), the only possible outcome of the election is for Hichilema to receive the most votes of any presidential candidate.

Further, according to CCMG’s PVT estimates, the lowest possible result for Hichilema is 57.7%, which is greater than the 50%+1 vote share required to prevent a presidential runoff election.

CCMG’s PVT estimate for turnout is 70.4% +/-0.7%, with a range of 69.7% to 71.1% and for rejected ballots the PVT estimate is 2.5% +/-0.1%, with a range 2.4% to 2.6%. With 155 of 156 constituencies announced, ECZ’s turnout figure is 70.8%<sup>3</sup> with 2.3% rejected ballots.

CCMG’s PVT monitors reported the election day process was inclusive and transparent, as both PF and UPND party agents participated throughout voting and counting across the entire country (see Annex 2 and 3). As previously reported, PF and UNDP had party agents at 98% and 99% of polling stations during the counting of ballot papers. The PF and UNDP party agents also agreed with the official vote count for the presidential election at 98% and 99% of polling stations, respectively. At 97% of polling stations, a PF party agent signed the official presidential results form (GEN 20), while at 99% a UPND party agent signed the official presidential results form (GEN 20). In addition, polling officials posted the official results for the presidential election at 95% of polling stations (see Annex 4).

Overall, while there were serious challenges during the pre-election period that raised questions about the fairness and credibility of the electoral process, the ECZ conducted a well-organized and credible election day process that largely adhered to official procedures, and both PF and UPND party agents were involved through the voting and counting across all provinces. Given that the CCMG’s PVT estimates verify the ECZ’s official results for the presidential election, all Zambians should have confidence the ECZ’s official presidential results are accurate and reflect the ballots they cast at polling stations. We commend the ECZ for meticulously tabulating the presidential results and announcing results in line with its mandate.

<sup>3</sup> Total registered voters excluding Mandevu constituency is 6,861,080 and therefore ECZ’s turnout for 155 of 156 constituencies is equal to 4,858,193 divided by 6,861,080.

## Conclusion

Now that the results for the 2021 presidential election have been announced and independently verified, CCMG calls on the winners, and their supporters, to be magnanimous in victory and to work with all Zambians for the good of the country. We have pressing development challenges made more difficult by the COVID-19 pandemic. We call on the winners to govern on behalf of all Zambians and on all Zambians to work together, drawing on our diverse talents, to build a better life for ourselves and our children.

To those who unsuccessfully contested elections, and their supporters, CCMG notes that our independent non-partisan observation on behalf of all Zambians clearly shows that while the process was not perfect, the official results for the presidential election reflect the ballots cast. We call upon all Zambians to remain calm and to resolve any electoral disputes that may arise peacefully through the appropriate legal procedures.

CCMG reminds all Zambians there will be elections again in five years when they will again have the opportunity to determine who governs on their behalf. Zambia has now had seven elections since the re-introduction of multiparty politics in 1991 with incumbents being re-election as well as opposition candidates winning elections. The official results show, once again, that our elections are not a forgone conclusion to those who seek political office and that ultimately it is the voters who will decide who governs on our behalf.

While CCMG is proud of Zambians and our institutions that have delivered an election that reflects the choice of the people, we must strive to improve our electoral and governance processes to address the many shortcomings that threaten the quality of our democracy, governance and future electoral processes. First, Zambians must examine why we continue to experience unacceptable levels of political violence and polarization and begin to work together on solutions. Second, while CCMG commends the ECZ for conducting an election that overall provided Zambians with an opportunity to determine their government, as noted in our preliminary statement CCMG urges the ECZ to engage with stakeholders in a more constructive and timely manner going forward and to increase its commitment to transparency by sharing key information, such as electoral process procedures and the voters register in an analysable format to allow for independent review. Third, the 2021 elections, like those before, were marred by candidates and their supporters from all political parties making specious arguments about the conduct of the elections and the ECZ. These superficially plausible but false accusations unnecessarily heighten political tensions and unduly undermine public confidence in our nascent electoral institutions as well as the long-term democratic development of the country.

Following the elections, CCMG will issue a comprehensive final report on the 2021 general elections. It will include detailed recommendations on how we can further strengthen our elections and democracy. CCMG is committed to working with the ECZ and all stakeholders to learn from these elections to improve future ones and hopes to capitalize on the strong momentum provided by Zambian citizens in this election to address areas of needed reform in many areas. As such, CCMG intends to join with our colleagues in civil society and other stakeholders to host a series of forums in the post-election period to build consensus for reforms that will make our democracy stronger, increase guarantees for personal freedoms and human rights and improve governance for all Zambians.

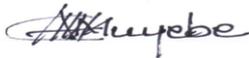
CCMG continues to monitor the electoral process, as it is not complete until all electoral related disputes are heard and resolved. We call upon the courts, in the interest of ensuring all

grievances are heard, to consider all petitions, regardless of whether they have minor technical mistakes or slightly miss filing deadlines. We further call on the courts to be guided by the law in ruling on any petitions and to make their judgements in a timely manner.

Finally, CCMG again commends the voters who went to polls, often waiting in long lines, to exercise their right to vote, a commitment that resulted in a record of nearly 5 million votes cast. We note that many voters were young people likely voting for the first time. We also recognize the efforts of our fellow citizens who served as election officials at polling stations and made voting possible. Finally, we thank the more than 1,600 CCMG volunteers who diligently monitored voting and counting on behalf of all Zambia. All of your efforts together served to strengthen our democracy.

God Bless Zambia

### END ###



Fr. Alex Muyeba, JCTR  
CCMG -Steering Committee



Fr. Emmanuel Chikoya, CCZ  
CCMG – Steering Committee Chair



Fr. Cornelius Chibamba, ZCCB  
CCMG – Steering Committee Member



Bishop Andrew Mwenda, EFZ  
CCMG-Steering Committee Member

#### Contact Details:

Fr. Alex Muyeba  
CCMG Spokesperson  
0976735208

Peter Mwanangombe  
CCMG Programme Manager  
0977545592

**About CCMG:** The Christian Churches Monitoring Group (CCMG) is a partnership of four faith-based organizations: Council of Churches in Zambia (CCZ); Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia (EFZ); Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflections (JCTR); and Zambia Episcopal Conference (ZEC) through Caritas Zambia. CCMG is an independent non-partisan organization that monitors elections on behalf of all Zambians. CCMG’s mission is: to strengthen genuine democratic electoral processes and encourage citizen participation in democratic governance in Zambia through civic and voter education, non-partisan election monitoring, research and documentation, electoral reforms advocacy and capacity building of civil society organisations in democracy, elections and governance.

**Annex 1: Comparison of ECZ Official Presidential Results with CCMG PVT Estimates (All Presidential Candidates)**

Presidential Candidate	ECZ	CCMG PVT		Verified
	Official Result	PVT Estimate	Margin of Error	
<b>Banda</b> , Andyford (PAC)	0.42%	0.4%	+/-0.1%	✓
<b>Chanda</b> , Charles (UPPZ)	0.14%	0.1%	+/-0.1%	✓
<b>Chisela</b> , Lazarus (ZUSD)	0.11%	0.1%	+/-0.1%	✓
<b>Hamududu</b> , Highvie (PNUP)	0.22%	0.2%	+/-0.1%	✓
<b>Hichilema</b> , Hakainde (UPND)	59.38%	59.1%	+/-1.4%	✓
<b>Kalaba</b> , Harry (DP)	0.53%	0.5%	+/-0.1%	✓
<b>Kateka</b> , Chishala (NHP)	0.17%	0.2%	+/-0.1%	✓
<b>Lungu</b> , Edgar (PF)	38.33%	38.4%	+/-1.3%	✓
<b>M'membe</b> , Fred (SP)	0.35%	0.4%	+/-0.1%	✓
<b>Mumba</b> , Nevers (MMD)	0.10%	0.1%	+/-0.1%	✓
<b>Mwamba</b> , Musonda (UNIP)	0.06%	0.1%	+/-0.1%	✓
<b>Mwenda</b> , Kasonde (EFF)	0.03%	0.1%	+/-0.1%	✓
<b>Nyirenda</b> , Stephen (NAREP)	0.04%	0.1%	+/-0.1%	✓
<b>Silumbe</b> , Richard (LM)	0.03%	0.1%	+/-0.1%	✓
<b>Tembo</b> , Sean (PEP)	0.04%	0.1%	+/-0.1%	✓
<b>Tongo</b> , Enock (3RD LM)	0.07%	0.1%	+/-0.1%	✓

Source: CCMG 2021

**Note:** ECZ official presidential results for 155 of 156 constituencies (excluding Mandevu constituency) while CCMG PVT estimates for all 156 constituencies.

<b>Annex 2: Presence of PF Party Agents at Polling Stations by Province based on CCMG PVT Data</b>					
<b>Province</b>	<b>PF Party Agent Present at Setup</b>	<b>PF Party Agent Present During Counting</b>	<b>PF Party Agent Agreed with Presidential Results</b>	<b>PF Party Agent Signed Presidential Results Form (Gen-20)</b>	<b>PF Party Agent Given Copy of Presidential Results Form (Gen-20)</b>
Central	99%	98%	98%	99%	94%
Copperbelt	99%	99%	100%	98%	94%
Eastern	100%	100%	100%	99%	95%
Luapula	100%	100%	99%	98%	94%
Lusaka	99%	100%	99%	96%	90%
Muchinga	99%	100%	99%	100%	98%
Northern	99%	99%	99%	99%	95%
North-Western	97%	96%	95%	95%	90%
Southern	95%	94%	94%	93%	88%
Western	99%	99%	97%	97%	92%
<b>Zambia</b>	<b>99%</b>	<b>98%</b>	<b>98%</b>	<b>97%</b>	<b>93%</b>

Source: CCMG 2021

<b>Annex 3: Presence of UPND Party Agents at Polling Stations by Province based on CCMGP PVT Data</b>					
<b>Province</b>	<b>UPND Party Agent Present at Setup</b>	<b>UPND Party Agent Present During Counting</b>	<b>UPND Party Agent Agreed with Presidential Results</b>	<b>UPND Party Agent Signed Presidential Results Form (Gen-20)</b>	<b>UPND Party Agent Given Copy of Presidential Results Form (Gen-20)</b>
Central	99%	99%	99%	99%	95%
Copperbelt	100%	99%	100%	99%	95%
Eastern	100%	99%	100%	99%	95%
Luapula	99%	99%	98%	99%	94%
Lusaka	99%	99%	100%	98%	93%
Muchinga	100%	100%	100%	100%	97%
Northern	96%	98%	98%	98%	96%
North-Western	100%	100%	99%	99%	94%
Southern	99%	100%	100%	99%	95%
Western	100%	99%	99%	99%	94%
<b>Zambia</b>	<b>99%</b>	<b>99%</b>	<b>99%</b>	<b>99%</b>	<b>95%</b>

Source: CCMG 2021

<b>Annex 4: Posting of Official Results at Polling Stations based on CCMG PVT Data</b>	
<b>Province</b>	<b>Presidential Results Posted at Polling Station</b>
Central	99%
Copperbelt	96%
Eastern	95%
Luapula	95%
Lusaka	89%
Muchinga	95%
Northern	94%
North-Western	96%
Southern	96%
Western	95%
<b>Zambia</b>	<b>95%</b>

Source: CCMG 2021

<b>Annex 5: Past Citizen Observer PVTs in Zambia</b>				
<b>Presidential Candidate</b>	<b>ECZ</b>	<b>Citizen Observer PVT</b>		<b>Verification</b>
	<b>Official Result</b>	<b>PVT Estimate</b>	<b>Margin of Error</b>	
<b>2016 Presidential Election</b>				(Source: CCMG)
Hichilema, Hakainde (UPND)	47.6%	47.8%	2.5%	Consistent
<b>Lungu, Edgar (PF)</b>	<b>50.4%</b>	<b>50.2%</b>	<b>2.5%</b>	Consistent
<b>2015 Presidential By-Election</b>				(Source: CCMG)
Hichilema, Hakainde (UPND)	46.7%	46.7%	3.7%	Consistent
<b>Lungu, Edgar (PF)</b>	<b>48.3%</b>	<b>48.6%</b>	<b>3.7%</b>	Consistent
<b>2011 Presidential Election</b>				(Source: CSEC)
Banda, Rupiah (MMD)	35.4%	35.9%	1.4%	Verified
<b>Sata, Michael (PF)</b>	<b>42.0%</b>	<b>42.7%</b>	<b>1.4%</b>	Verified
<b>2008 Presidential By-Election</b>				(Source: FODEP)
<b>Banda, Rupiah (MMD)</b>	<b>40.1%</b>	<b>39.2%</b>	<b>2.2%</b>	Consistent
Sata, Michael (PF)	38.1%	37.4%	3.0%	Consistent

**Note:** Verified indicates that the official results fall within the PVT estimated range and the estimated ranges for the two leading candidates do not overlap, so the PVT can definitively determine the outcome of the election.

**Note:** Consistent indicates that the official results fall within the PVT estimated range, but the estimated ranges for the two leading candidates overlap, so the PVT cannot definitively determine the outcome of the election.

### Annex 6: Comparison of Distribution of All Polling Stations with Distribution of CCMG PVT Sampled Polling Stations by Province

Province	All Polling Stations						CCMG PVT Sampled Polling Stations with Stationary Monitors					
	Polling Stations	Registered Voters	Female Registered Voters	Percent Polling Stations	Percent Registered Voters	Percent Female Registered Voters	Polling Stations	Registered Voters	Female Registered Voters	Percent Polling Stations	Percent Registered Voters	Percent Female Registered Voters
Central	1,143	666,600	349,563	9.4%	9.5%	9.3%	140	81,722	42,926	9.3%	9.4%	9.3%
Copperbelt	1,719	1,025,897	518,072	14.1%	14.6%	13.8%	214	127,655	64,429	14.3%	14.7%	13.9%
Eastern	1,437	896,339	492,707	11.8%	12.8%	13.1%	177	111,026	61,466	11.8%	12.8%	13.3%
Luapula	1,017	567,003	312,433	8.4%	8.1%	8.3%	126	69,970	38,504	8.4%	8.1%	8.3%
Lusaka	1,602	1,243,619	644,692	13.2%	17.7%	17.2%	197	152,599	78,532	13.1%	17.6%	16.9%
Muchinga	793	401,658	216,200	6.5%	5.7%	5.8%	99	50,076	27,277	6.6%	5.8%	5.9%
Northern	1,103	606,346	325,590	9.1%	8.6%	8.7%	135	73,396	39,938	9.0%	8.5%	8.6%
North-Western	794	386,677	205,689	6.5%	5.5%	5.5%	99	48,560	25,905	6.6%	5.6%	5.6%
Southern	1,394	782,067	422,149	11.5%	11.1%	11.3%	170	95,057	51,153	11.3%	11.0%	11.0%
Western	1,150	447,293	263,945	9.5%	6.4%	7.0%	143	56,628	33,495	9.5%	6.5%	7.2%
Zambia	12,152	7,023,499	3,751,040	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	1,500	866,689	463,625	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: CCMG 2021

**Note:** The CCMG PVT sample was also stratified by districts and constituencies with proportion sampling and with sample points in all provinces, districts and constituencies.