



FROM THE QUEUE TO THE REGISTER:

Observation of Voter Registration Phases 4 to 6

I. Introduction

Zambia's voter registration is guided by Article 229 (2) (c) of the Zambian Constitution, Section 7 of the Electoral Process Act (EPA) and the Electoral Process (Registration of Voters) Regulations. The Electoral Commission of Zambia rolled out the 2025 mobile mass voter registration in October 2025 to allow new voters to register and existing voters to update their details, with the aim to have a complete and current register. CCMG deployed monitors to a representative random sample of registration centres across all six phases to ensure that Zambia's voter registration process upholds constitutional guarantees, adheres to the Electoral Process Act and Electoral Process (Registration of Voters) Regulations, aligns with international electoral standards, and promotes broad public confidence in the electoral process (see VII Methodology). The findings from Phases 4 to 6 are therefore presented not only to identify gaps but to support constructive engagement with electoral stakeholders and strengthen Zambia's democratic institutions ahead of the 2026 General Election.

Despite some improvements in operational consistency, education efforts, and observer accreditation during Phases 1 to 3 of the voter registration exercise, issues such as limited access to information, staffing shortages, lack of backup kits, and low civil society and party representatives' participation persisted. CCMG notes that increased public awareness, particularly by the ECZ Voter Education Facilitators (VEFs) and media, potentially helped maintain turnout nationwide.

This report, covering Phases 4 to 6, draws and builds on CCMG's analysis of the previous phases. CCMG's Phases 1 to 3 Report noted several critical issues including delays in accrediting observers due to poor planning resulting in closed offices, missing kits, and inconsistent ECZ rules, which limited observation on the first day of Phase 1. Despite later improvements, these problems undermined the transparency of the exercise. During the first three phases, about a quarter of observers were not given access to daily registration statistics, contradicting best practices and principles for transparent electoral processes. Low numbers of party agents and non-partisan observers at registration centres also weakened accountability. While 99% of centres had required registration materials, only 49% had backup kits. After a slow start, voter education improved, particularly following increased outreach by the ECZ and the media.

As mobile mass voter registration progressed into Phases 4 to 6, these early findings



served as key benchmarks for tracking progress. This report therefore examines whether administrative performance, transparency, stakeholder access, voter education reach, and overall inclusivity improved or deteriorated during the latter phases of the exercise. The report also evaluates the extent to which the ECZ addressed concerns and recommendations from Phases 1 to 3, particularly around accreditation, data transparency, staffing levels, and logistical preparedness.

At the close of Phase 6, the ECZ announced the extension of the mobile voter registration exercise. While CCMG welcomes the extension and calls on all eligible citizens to register or update their details during the extension phases, CCMG notes with concern that the organisation and planning for the extension appears to have been haphazard. The ECZ did not provide detailed, disaggregated information about registration rates against their target of 3.5 million and as such, stakeholders including CCMG are unable to assess areas where under registration may have occurred. Best practices dictate that using registration and voting age population projections can help electoral commissions to re-direct resources to those areas that were under registered, thus using data and targeting to inform an efficient, equitable process. Further, deployment plans were made at district level and were not adequately shared or aggregated at the national level, undermining the transparency and accountability of the exercise.

II. Observation and Findings

Overview of Key Findings

Phases 4 to 6 of the mass voter registration exercise recorded significant improvements in the availability of registration data, observer access, and adherence to key registration procedures. All CCMG observers were granted access to registration centres, and refusals to provide daily registration figures dropped sharply from 25% in earlier phases to 1%, marking a notable improvement in transparency.

At the same time, longstanding operational shortcomings remained unresolved. Registration centres not opening as scheduled continued to affect the process, with 11% of centres closed or delayed, mirroring trends from Phases 1 to 3 and pointing to ongoing coordination gaps between ECZ headquarters and district officials. Staffing challenges worsened, with 55% of centres operating with only one official, and the deployment of women officials showed only marginal improvement.



Observation of Voter Registration Phases 4 to 6

While technical performance improved, evidenced by a reduction in kit breakdowns from 10% to 5%, the availability of backup kits did not improve, risking delays and shutdowns of voter registration due to kit malfunction. Accessibility barriers remained widespread, with 65% of centres requiring registrants to navigate steps or stairs.

The presence of political party representatives and other observers declined during these phases, reducing multi-stakeholder oversight. However, procedural compliance remained high, with near-universal verification of eligibility, proper issuance of voter's cards, and improved prioritisation for persons with disabilities, pregnant women, and nursing mothers. Questionable registration practices were rare, and early centre closures dropped significantly. Overall, while Phases 4 to 6 demonstrated meaningful gains in transparency, procedural integrity, and technical reliability, the three phases also underscored persistent coordination, staffing, accessibility, and oversight gaps that must be addressed to strengthen the voter registration process ahead of future electoral cycles.

Key Tables:

Table 1: Registration Centres with Critical Materials

 Material	Average (Phase 1-3)	Phase 4 (28-31 Oct)	Phase 5 (2-5 Nov)	Phase 6 (6-11 Nov)	Average Phases 4-6
Registration Kit	98%	100%	99%	100%	100%
Backup Registration Kit	49%	48%	50%	50%	49%
Application Forms	99%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Working Camera	99%	100%	99%	99%	100%
Laminates	99%	100%	100%	99%	99%

Table 2: Average Number of Registrants per Registration Centre

Province	Average (Phase 1-3)	Phase 4 (28-31 Oct)	Phase 5 (2-5 Nov)	Phase 6 (6-11 Nov)	Average Phases 4-6
Central	61	57	46	55	53
Copperbelt	46	47	36	71	51
Eastern	53	52	73	42	56
Luapula	44	53	47	42	47
Lusaka	37	35	37	93	55
Muchinga	54	33	28	26	29
North-Western	45	60	33	35	43
Northern	51	34	32	34	33
Southern	40	48	34	60	47
Western	43	56	59	47	59
	47	47	43	56	49

III. Recommendations

Electoral Commission of Zambia

Access to Registration Centres for Observers: Section 77 of the Electoral Process Act should be amended to provide for accreditation of monitors/observers and party agents for other electoral activities, including voter registration. Accreditation procedures for voter registration are done in an ad hoc manner, with poor planning resulting in monitors not receiving accreditation in a timely manner. CCMG and other organisations have repeatedly engaged the ECZ on improving its accreditation processes to meet regional best practices and CCMG calls on the ECZ to institutionalise clear and consistent guidelines that provide unhindered access to voter registration data to all accredited observers. Furthermore, the ECZ should remove the arbitrary limits on the number of monitors or observers per constituency, which is not in line with best practices for transparency.

Provide Key Information to Observers: CCMG calls on the ECZ to standardise the requirements for registration officers to provide key information to observers, including the number of people registered per day, which is required to increase the transparency of



and build confidence in the process. While this information is sensitive, much like election results, it is key to the transparency of the process.

Increase Deployment of Staff and Registration Kits: CCMG calls on the ECZ to ensure a minimum of two ECZ officials per registration centre to support workload distribution, maintain service speed, and strengthen internal accountability. The ECZ should further consider establishing rotational staffing pools for high-traffic districts so that additional personnel can be deployed quickly in response to surges in registrant numbers.

Release Disaggregated Registration Data from Phases 4 to 6 and Registration Targets: As noted previously, CCMG commends the ECZ for releasing registration statistics for Phases 1 to 6 of the exercise, and calls on the ECZ to continue to release this information during the extension period, including key demographic data such as the number of women, youth and persons with disabilities registered. The ECZ should adopt a consistent practice of releasing voter registration targets and provisional registration data for each province, district and constituency. This information enables stakeholders to evaluate performance, support targeted mobilisation efforts, and identify areas requiring intervention including informing extension decisions.

Improve Strategic and Stakeholder Communications: CCMG continues to note misalignment between district deployment plans and the national deployment plan. This problem was exacerbated in the announcement of the extension period and district level plans were not available for all districts, nor were they correctly aggregated in a national plan. The success of the voter registration exercise depends on the public fully and clearly understanding how, when and where to register to vote, and the ECZ has not consistently provided clear or accurate information in this regard. Similarly, if the ECZ plans to use other locations for registration, such as shopping malls, CCMG calls on the ECZ to announce these plans in good time and ensure that registration desks are set up in a way to maintain citizens' data privacy in high traffic public areas.

Publicise ECZ Logistical and Technical Information: CCMG calls on the ECZ to improve transparency by routinely publishing detailed information on the distribution of officers and registration kits. This will help stakeholders assess preparedness and support planning for outreach and monitoring.

Improve Accessibility of Voter Registration for Persons with Disabilities (PwDs): Whilst CCMG commends the ECZ for developing measures to capture the disability type of registrants in order to make accommodations on election day, the ECZ should review these categories with the disability community and discuss what types of adaptations and accessibility needs exist. Furthermore, the ECZ should adopt universal design principles by ensuring that all registration centres are physically accessible and that disability information is consistently captured. Creating disability friendly infrastructure will broaden participation



and uphold inclusion.

Increase Female Representation Among ECZ Officials: CCMG's registration centre observers reported that there were no women officials at 39% of registration centres, and that 57% of centres had a male officer in charge. The ECZ should mainstream gender balance by increasing recruitment, training and deployment of women as registration officials, including in leadership roles.

Enforce the Electoral Code of Conduct: During Phases 4 to 6, CCMG's long-term observers recorded instances of breaches of the Electoral Code of Conduct including an instance of buying of NRC/voter's cards, which, along with any other violations of the Code, should be swiftly investigated and sanctioned by the Commission. Given that voter registration is a key electoral process, the ECZ should strictly enforce section 11(1) (b) of the Electoral Process Act and establish strong and consistent enforcement mechanisms that quickly address violations of the Code of Conduct during voter registration. Rapid investigation of all instances of breaches of the Electoral Code of Conduct will promote fairness and credibility. The ECZ should also more broadly publicise its incident reporting system (*214#) and inform the public of incident data reported through the system.

Vote Buying and Inducements: Section 35 of the Anti-Corruption Act empowers the Anti-Corruption Commission to investigate and prosecute any offences under section 81(1) of the Electoral Process Act. CCMG urges the Anti-Corruption Commission, in close collaboration with the ECZ, to enforce Section 35 of the Anti-Corruption Act. This is in view of instances of voter's card buying and voter inducement documented by CCMG's observers during phases 4 to 6 of the voter registration exercise.

Voter Registration Extension: CCMG recommends that the ECZ implement a transparent, data-driven national deployment framework by publicly releasing disaggregated registration data, using registration trends and voting-age population projections to direct resources to under registered areas, and consolidating and publishing district deployment plans at the national level to ensure an equitable, efficient, and accountable voter registration extension process, with citizens easily able to locate the nearest open registration centre.

2. Political Parties

Deploy Representatives to Observe: CCMG calls on political parties to increase their efforts to train, accredit and deploy representatives to observe the voter registration exercise to fulfil their roles as critical stakeholders in this important electoral process. In Phases 4 to 6, CCMG's observers only documented political party representatives from UPND at 3%, from PF at 2%, and from other parties (neither PF nor UPND) at 2% of registration centres. Political parties should invest in training and deploying representatives to observe registration



processes to enhance transparency.

Mobilise and Sensitise for Voter Registration: CCMG's long-term observers reported relatively low levels of mobilisation for voter registration by political parties. Political parties can play a key role in making their supporters aware of voter registration and ensure that they register so that they are eligible to vote on election day, particularly for first-time voters. As such, CCMG calls on political parties as critical stakeholders in electoral processes to increase their mobilisation and sensitisation efforts on voter registration.

Adhere to the Electoral Code of Conduct: CCMG's long-term observers documented three (3) instances of violations of the Electoral Code of Conduct, (detailed under the Critical Incidents section) by political party members or supporters during Phases 4 to 6, and urges political parties to uphold the Electoral Code of Conduct and for political party leadership to take action against party members found to be in violation of the Code.

3. Civil Society and Faith-Based Organisations:

Enhance Voter Education: CCMG calls on civil society organisations (CSOs) and faith-based organisations (FBOs) to intensify their voter education activities and communications on voter registration to increase the turnout and to ensure that potential registrants have information on the process and locations for voter registration. Given the issues with information sharing on deployment, civil society has a key role to play in informing citizens of when and where to register. This includes targeted outreach to first-time voters, women, youth and persons with disabilities.

4. Zambia Police:

Enforce the Electoral Process Act: CCMG calls on the Zambia Police to enforce the Electoral Process Act as provided for under Sections 6 and 123 of the Act. The Police should act without fear or favour, as well as seek to provide a safe environment for political parties to mobilise their supporters for voter registration.

5. Zambian Citizens:

Continue to Register: CCMG commends all Zambians who have registered to vote in phases 4 to 6 of the voter registration exercise, especially those who may have had to wait in long queues and particularly youth and first-time registrants, women and persons with disabilities. CCMG calls on all eligible citizens to register to vote in the extension period which closes on 26 November 2025.





IV. Detailed Findings from Voter Registration Observation

Observation of Voter Registration Phases 4 to 6

Observation

During Phases 4 to 6, all CCMG accredited observers were granted access to their assigned registration centres. This represents a significant improvement from Phases 1 to 3, during which 1% of observers were denied access, particularly in North-Western and Western Provinces.

Despite improvements in observer access, the issue of registration centres not opening as scheduled persisted. In Phase 4, 10% of registration centres were not open, a considerable regression from the improvements seen in Phase 3 (5%). Though the situation improved somewhat in Phase 5 (9%), it rose again in Phase 6 (12%). These closures were most frequently reported in North-Western, Southern, and Eastern Provinces. As in Phases 1 to 3, the primary causes appeared to be:

- District-level deployment schedules differing from ECZ's national deployment plan;
- Last-minute logistical challenges; and
- Unannounced venue changes that made centres difficult for observers and voters to locate.

Overall, the average rate of closures for Phases 4 to 6 (11%) mirrors the earlier phases and reflects a structural coordination challenge that remains unresolved.

Table 3: Registration Centres Not Open

Province	Average (Phase 1-3)	Phase 4 (28-31 Oct)	Phase 5 (2-5 Nov)	Phase 6 (6-11 Nov)	Average Phases 4-6
Central	7%	13%	14%	17%	15%
Copperbelt	3%	10%	8%	4%	8%
Eastern	20%	7%	10%	21%	13%
Luapula	8%	7%	7%	4%	6%
Lusaka	1%	3%	5%	0%	2%
Muchinga	2%	0%	0%	6%	2%
North-Western	19%	32%	18%	25%	25%
Northern	4%	6%	3%	10%	7%
Southern	13%	20%	10%	29%	20%
Western	12%	6%	20%	11%	12%
	9%	10%	9%	12%	11%

Observation of Voter Registration Phases 4 to 6

Transparency improved considerably during Phases 4 to 6. Only 1% of observers reported being denied daily registration figures, compared to 25% during Phases 1 to 3. This improvement demonstrates a more consistent adherence to transparency norms. However, refusals, where they occurred, were prevalent in Copperbelt and Northern Provinces.

Table 4: Registration Centres where CCMG Observers were not provided with Daily Registration Figures

Province	Average (Phase 1-3)	Phase 4 (28-31 Oct)	Phase 5 (2-5 Nov)	Phase 6 (6-11 Nov)	Average Phases 4-6
Central	22%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Copperbelt	12%	0%	7%	4%	4%
Eastern	36%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Luapula	25%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Lusaka	14%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Muchinga	12%	6%	0%	0%	2%
North-Western	34%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Northern	31%	3%	4%	4%	4%
Southern	37%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Western	46%	0%	0%	0%	0%
	25%	1%	1%	1%	1%

Registration Centre Setup

For Phases 4 to 6, CCMG observers reported that at more than half of registration centres (55%), there was only one ECZ official present. This is consistent with Phases 1 to 3 where at 51% of registration centres, there was only one ECZ official present, while in 2020, only 45% had only one ECZ official present. This was more of an issue in Central and Copperbelt Provinces (80% and 82%, respectively). At 39% of registration centres, there were no women officials compared to 43% of registration centres in Phases 1-3 representing a 4% improvement in centres with no woman registration officer. Centres where the official in charge was a woman increased modestly from 41% to 43%. While positive, these shifts remain marginal. Significant gender imbalances persisted, particularly in Central, Copperbelt, and Muchinga Provinces and at 57% of registration centres, the official in charge was a man.



Observation of Voter Registration Phases 4 to 6

Table 5a: Registration Centres with Only One Registration Official

Province	Average (Phase 1-3)	Phase 4 (28-31 Oct)	Phase 5 (2-5 Nov)	Phase 6 (6-11 Nov)	Average Phases 4-6
Central	59%	78%	83%	80%	80%
Copperbelt	75%	91%	77%	78%	82%
Eastern	68%	55%	50%	48%	51%
Luapula	39%	42%	32%	37%	37%
Lusaka	56%	71%	64%	46%	59%
Muchinga	37%	28%	33%	40%	33%
North-Western	46%	50%	67%	27%	49%
Northern	22%	40%	36%	30%	35%
Southern	56%	50%	42%	68%	52%
Western	31%	47%	33%	40%	41%
	51%	59%	53%	52%	55%

Table 5b: Registration Centres with No Women Registration Officials

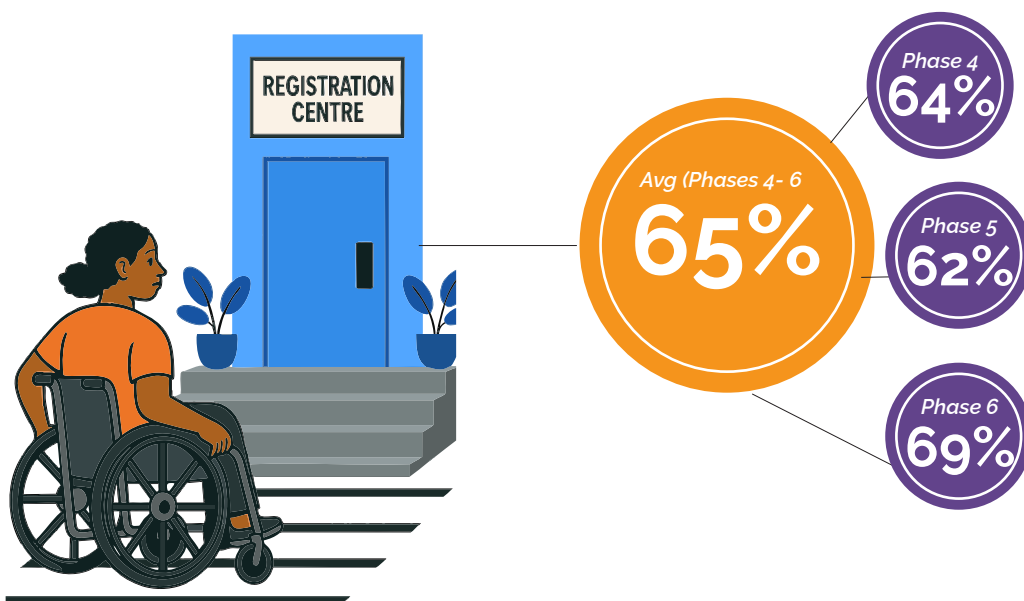
Province	Average (Phase 1-3)	Phase 4 (28-31 Oct)	Phase 5 (2-5 Nov)	Phase 6 (6-11 Nov)	Average Phases 4-6
Central	31%	48%	29%	60%	46%
Copperbelt	46%	48%	48%	43%	46%
Eastern	36%	61%	45%	24%	43%
Luapula	36%	38%	44%	48%	43%
Lusaka	47%	39%	23%	30%	31%
Muchinga	46%	44%	33%	47%	41%
North-Western	31%	13%	33%	53%	33%
Northern	37%	27%	43%	52%	41%
Southern	56%	31%	34%	46%	37%
Western	50%	33%	21%	20%	25%
	43%	40%	36%	41%	39%

Table 5c: Registration Centres where the Official in Charge was a Woman

Province	Average (Phase 1-3)	Phase 4 (28-31 Oct)	Phase 5 (2-5 Nov)	Phase 6 (6-11 Nov)	Average Phases 4-6
Central	31%	37%	62%	24%	41%
Copperbelt	38%	30%	30%	43%	34%
Eastern	31%	24%	21%	67%	36%
Luapula	36%	62%	32%	44%	46%
Lusaka	56%	47%	67%	61%	59%
Muchinga	48%	33%	56%	40%	43%
North-Western	27%	44%	50%	33%	43%
Northern	50%	50%	39%	48%	46%
Southern	41%	44%	29%	32%	35%
Western	42%	40%	50%	60%	49%
	40%	40%	42%	47%	43%

Accessibility

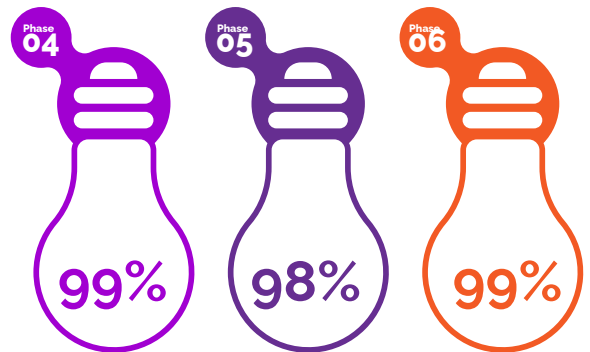
For Phases 4 to 6, CCMG observers reported that registrants had to go up steps or stairs to reach the registration centre at 65% of registration centres and that 99% of registration centres had sufficient light during the registration process, compared to 67% and 98% respectively in Phases 1 to 3. Physical access barriers remain widespread and require a systematic plan to ensure that all Zambians, regardless of disability, are able to access electoral processes.



Observation of Voter Registration Phases 4 to 6

Table 6a: Registration Centres with Steps/Stairs

Province	Average (Phase 1-3)	Phase 4 (28-31 Oct)	Phase 5 (2-5 Nov)	Phase 6 (6-11 Nov)	Average Phases 4-6
Central	61%	56%	50%	68%	58%
Copperbelt	64%	59%	75%	70%	68%
Eastern	54%	55%	37%	42%	45%
Luapula	62%	50%	72%	85%	69%
Lusaka	57%	61%	59%	65%	62%
Muchinga	86%	89%	72%	100%	86%
North-Western	84%	88%	67%	60%	71%
Northern	86%	77%	82%	74%	78%
Southern	64%	62%	66%	64%	64%
Western	67%	67%	42%	76%	62%
	67%	64%	62%	69%	65%



Percentage of Registration Centres with Sufficient Light Phase 4-6

Table 6b: Registration Centres with Sufficient Light

Province	Average (Phase 1-3)	Phase 4 (28-31 Oct)	Phase 5 (2-5 Nov)	Phase 6 (6-11 Nov)	Average Phases 4-6
Central	98%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Copperbelt	98%	100%	98%	98%	98%
Eastern	97%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Luapula	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Lusaka	97%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Muchinga	100%	100%	83%	93%	92%
North-Western	92%	94%	89%	93%	92%
Northern	99%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Southern	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Western	90%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	98%	99%	98%	99%	99%

Critical Materials for Voter Registration

For Phases 4 to 6, CCMG observers reported nearly 99% of registration centres had all critical materials for the exercise. However, only 49% of registration centres had backup registration kits, similar to Phases 1 to 3, representing no improvement in the availability of backup kits across the mass voter registration exercise. This persistent shortfall increases the risk of disruptions when primary kits malfunction or power constraints arise, as was observed in the period covered by this report and in earlier phases.

Table 7a: Registration Centres with Critical Materials

Material	Average (Phase 1-3)	Phase 4 (28-31 Oct)	Phase 5 (2-5 Nov)	Phase 6 (6-11 Nov)	Average Phases 4-6
Registration Kit	98%	100%	99%	100%	100%
Backup Registration Kit	49%	48%	50%	50%	49%
Application Forms	99%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Working Camera	99%	100%	99%	99%	100%
Laminates	99%	100%	100%	99%	99%



Table 7b: Registration Centres with a Backup Registration Kit

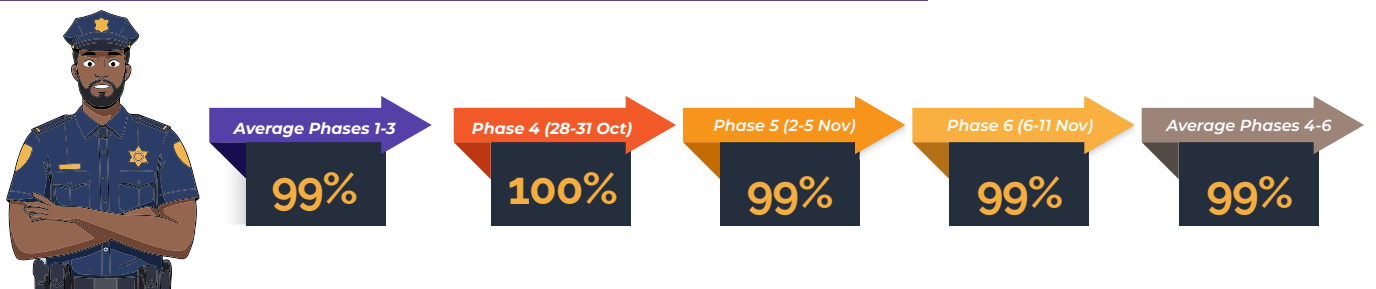
Province	Average (Phase 1-3)	Phase 4 (28-31 Oct)	Phase 5 (2-5 Nov)	Phase 6 (6-11 Nov)	Average Phases 4-6
Central	55%	59%	50%	60%	57%
Copperbelt	41%	52%	43%	52%	49%
Eastern	60%	61%	63%	48%	58%
Luapula	37%	50%	80%	67%	65%
Lusaka	48%	34%	38%	50%	41%
Muchinga	47%	50%	44%	47%	47%
North-Western	65%	38%	56%	73%	55%
Northern	27%	30%	32%	26%	29%
Southern	62%	44%	39%	25%	37%
Western	61%	63%	67%	60%	63%
	49%	48%	50%	50%	49%

CCMG observers reported that application forms were available at all registration centres throughout Phases 4 to 6.

Stakeholders Present During Voter Registration

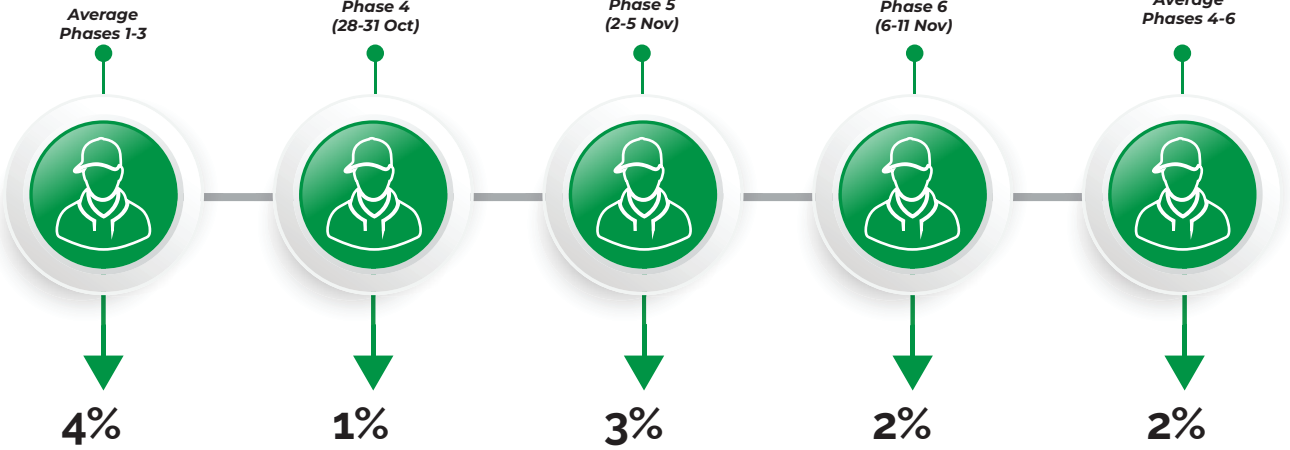
During Phases 4 to 6, CCMG observers reported the following were present at the centres: security personnel at 99%; political parties including UPND at 3%, PF at 2% and other parties at 2%; as well as other observers at 6% of registration centres compared to security personnel at 99%; political parties at 4% and other observers at 10% of registration centres in Phases 1 to 3. The decline in multi-stakeholder monitoring reduces transparency and weakens accountability.

Table 8a: Registration Centres with Key Stakeholders Present at Opening

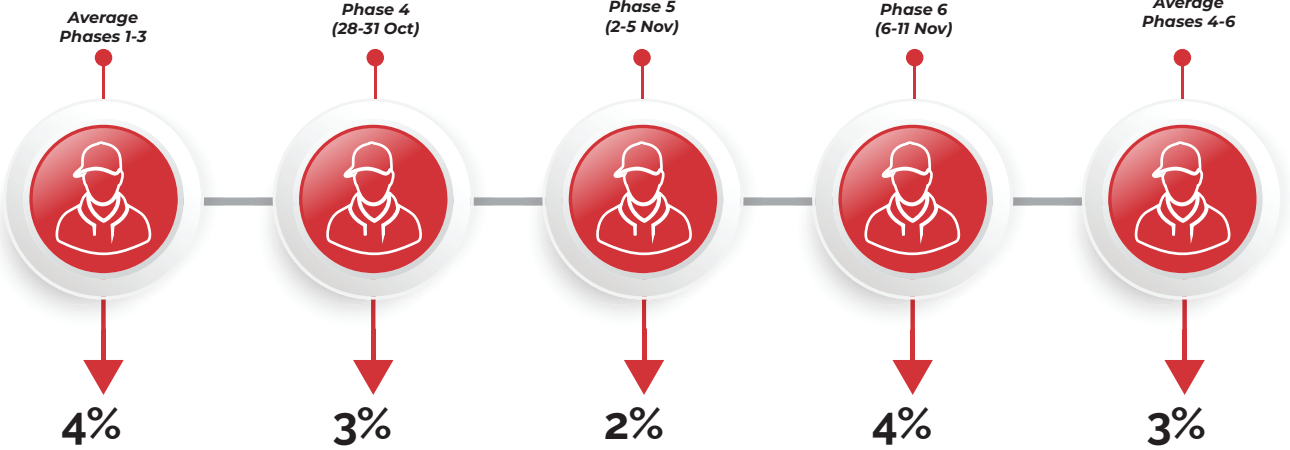


Observation of Voter Registration Phases 4 to 6

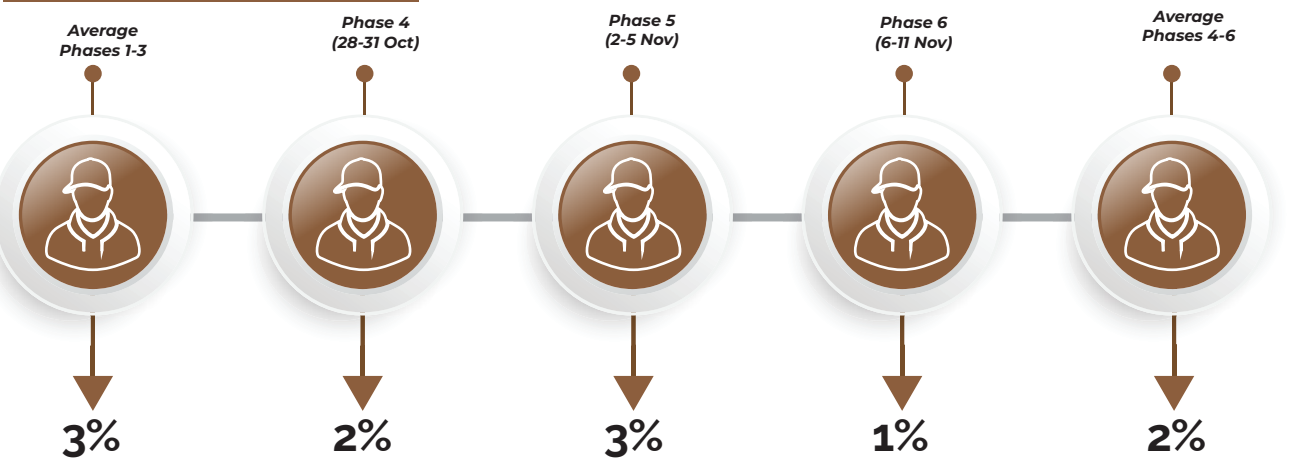
PF Representative



UPND Representative



Representatives of Other Parties



Observation of Voter Registration Phases 4 to 6

Other Non-Partisan Observers

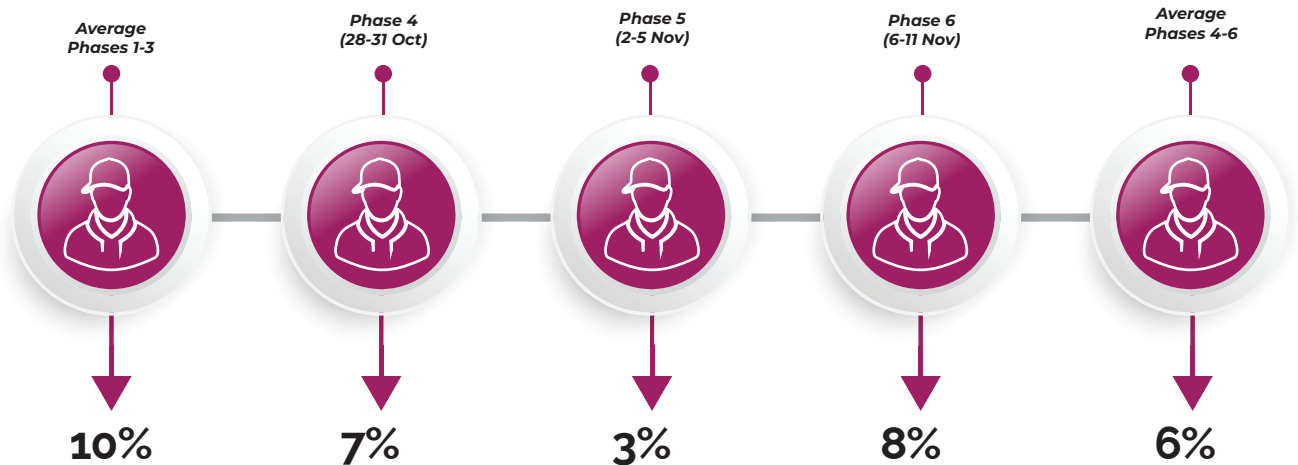


Table 8b: Women Key Stakeholders Present at Registration Centres During Opening

Stakeholder	Average (Phase 1-3)	Phase 4 (28-31 Oct)	Phase 5 (2-5 Nov)	Phase 6 (6-11 Nov)	Average Phases 4-6
Security Personnel	45%	36%	49%	45%	44%
PF Representative	13%	0%	40%	40%	40%
UPND Representative	26%	28%	0%	18%	15%
Representatives of Other Parties	22%	60%	25%	33%	39%

Registration Process

Use of Registration Kit

During Phases 4 to 6, CCMG's observers reported that at 99% of registration centres, ECZ officials appeared to know how to operate the voter registration kit. However, kit breakdowns affected 5% of centres across Phases 4 to 6 at some point during the day. Eastern, Lusaka and Southern Provinces experienced the most breakdowns. While kit breakdowns were observed at 5% of registration centres, the situation significantly improved from Phase 1 (16%).

Observation of Voter Registration Phases 4 to 6

Table 9a: Use of Registration Kits at Registration Centres

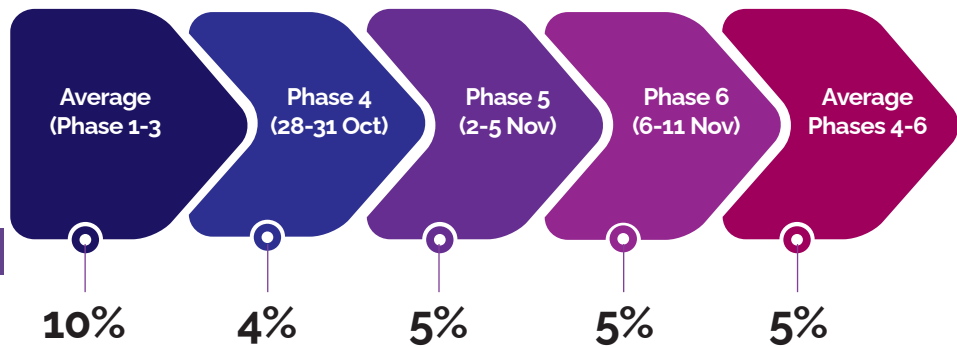
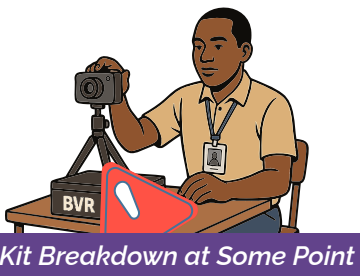
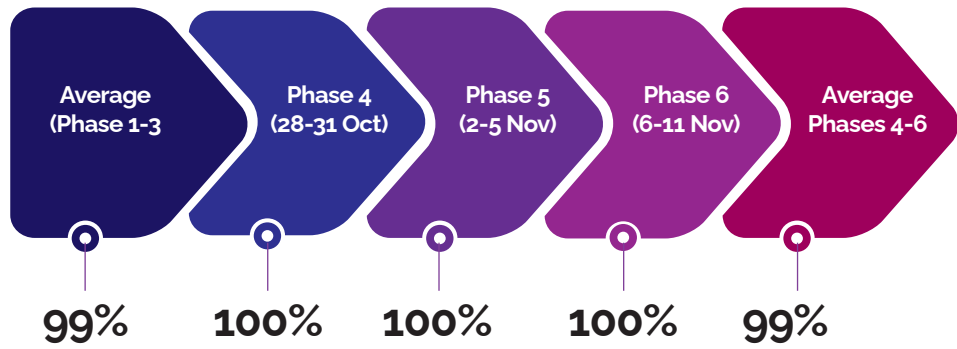


Table 9b: Registration Centres with Registration Kit Breakdown at Some Point

Province	Average (Phase 1-3)	Phase 4 (28-31 Oct)	Phase 5 (2-5 Nov)	Phase 6 (6-11 Nov)	Average Phases 4-6
Central	4%	0%	8%	4%	4%
Copperbelt	16%	5%	7%	4%	5%
Eastern	5%	5%	11%	12%	9%
Luapula	8%	4%	0%	4%	3%
Lusaka	16%	8%	5%	9%	7%
Muchinga	6%	0%	0%	0%	0%
North-Western	10%	0%	6%	0%	2%
Northern	5%	0%	0%	4%	1%
Southern	9%	13%	8%	0%	7%
Western	8%	0%	0%	4%	1%
Total	10%	4%	5%	5%	5%



Following Registration Procedures

In Phases 4 to 6, CCMG's observers reported systematic adherence to registration procedures: 100% reporting that applicants showed proof of eligibility, 100% reporting that successful applicants were given a voters card with a photo, 100% reporting that registration materials were packed away safely at the end of the day at registration centres and only 1% reporting registration centres closed before 17h00. CCMG also reported high rates of adherence to key inclusion procedures, including that at only 1% of registration centres, officials did not record the disability type of any registrants with disabilities, and that at 95% of registration centres, PWDs, pregnant women and nursing mothers were allowed to go to the front of the queue. This adherence is consistent with findings from phases 1 to 3. Lack of adherence to recording disability types in phases 4 to 6 was more prevalent primarily in Eastern and Muchinga Provinces.

Table 10a: Registration Centres following Registration Procedures


 Procedure	Average (Phase 1-3)	Phase 4 (28-31 Oct)	Phase 5 (2-5 Nov)	Phase 6 (6-11 Nov)	Average Phases 4-6
Applicants asked to show Proof of Eligibility	99%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Successful Applicants Given Voter ID Card with Photo	99%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Registration Materials Packed Away for Safekeeping at the End of the Day	99%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Registration Centre Closed Before 17hrs	1%	0%	1%	2%	1%
Officials Recorded the Type of Disability of PWDs	96%	99%	99%	100%	99%
PWDs, Pregnant Women and Nursing Mothers allowed to the Front of the Queue	92%	94%	96%	94%	95%

Table 10b: Registration Centres where PWDS, Pregnant Women and Nursing Mothers are Allowed to Front of Queue

Province	Average (Phase 1-3)	Phase 4 (28-31 Oct)	Phase 5 (2-5 Nov)	Phase 6 (6-11 Nov)	Average Phases 4-6
Central	96%	96%	100%	100%	99%
Copperbelt	83%	98%	91%	96%	95%
Eastern	93%	87%	89%	88%	88%
Luapula	92%	85%	100%	89%	91%
Lusaka	94%	100%	97%	93%	97%
Muchinga	86%	78%	89%	87%	84%
North-Western	92%	94%	100%	93%	96%
Northern	94%	97%	96%	93%	95%
Southern	96%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Western	91%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	92%	94%	96%	94%	95%

Potential Questionable Registrations

CCMG's observers reported on potential questionable registration or disenfranchisement in Phases 4 to 6, including that these issues affected a small number of people per registration centre and a small number of registration centres: at 1% of registration centres, there was registration of applicants who appeared to be underage (on average 4 voters per centre impacted), with these instances reported in Phase 4 only; at 1% of registration centres, officials refused to register applicants who appeared to be eligible (on average 2 voters per centre impacted), with these instances reported in Phase 4 and 6; at 1% of registration centres, there was registration of applicants without NRCs (on average 1 voter per centre impacted), with these instances reported in Phase 4 and 5. CCMG's observers did not report any instances of registration of applicants who appeared to be non-Zambians.



Table 11: Registration Centres with Possible Questionable Registration



Issue


Issue	Average (Phase 1-3)	Phase 4 (28-31 Oct)	Phase 5 (2-5 Nov)	Phase 6 (6-11 Nov)	Average Phases 4-6
Registration of Applicants who Appeared Under-age	2%	1%	0%	0%	1%
Registration of Applicants who Appeared to be non-Zambians	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Refusal to Register Applicants who Appeared Eligible	21%	1%	0%	1%	0%
Registration of Applicants without NRCs	0%	1%	1%	0%	1%

Potential Problems During Registration

CCMG’s observers reported on potential problems at registration centres during Phases 4 to 6 similar to Phases 1 to 3; however, the most frequently occurring issues of unauthorised individuals present in registration centres, security officers interfering in the process, and the registration process being suspended were reported at an average of 1% of registration centres.



Table 12: Registration Centres with Possible Registration Problems

 Issue	Average (Phase 1-3)	Phase 4 (28-31 Oct)	Phase 5 (2-5 Nov)	Phase 6 (6-11 Nov)	Average Phases 4-6
Applicants Registering on Behalf of Others	0%	0%	1%	1%	1%
Unauthorized Individuals Present	0%	1%	0%	1%	1%
Uniformed Security Officials Interfering in Process	0%	0%	0%	1%	1%
Intimidation of Officials, Applicants, Party Representatives or Observers	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Attempts to Disrupt Process	0%	1%	1%	0%	1%
Process Suspended at Any Time	2%	1%	2%	3%	2%

Number of Registrants

In instances where information was made available to CCMG's observers, observers reported on the total number of applicants registered per centre, with an average of 49 voters registered per centre per day nationwide during Phases 4 to 6. According to data reported by CCMG observers, 51% of registrants were female in areas where daily statistics were provided. During phases 4 to 6, Northern Province recorded the highest number of female registrants at 59%. In contrast, Eastern and Muchinga Provinces recorded fewer than 50% female registrants during Phases 4 to 6.



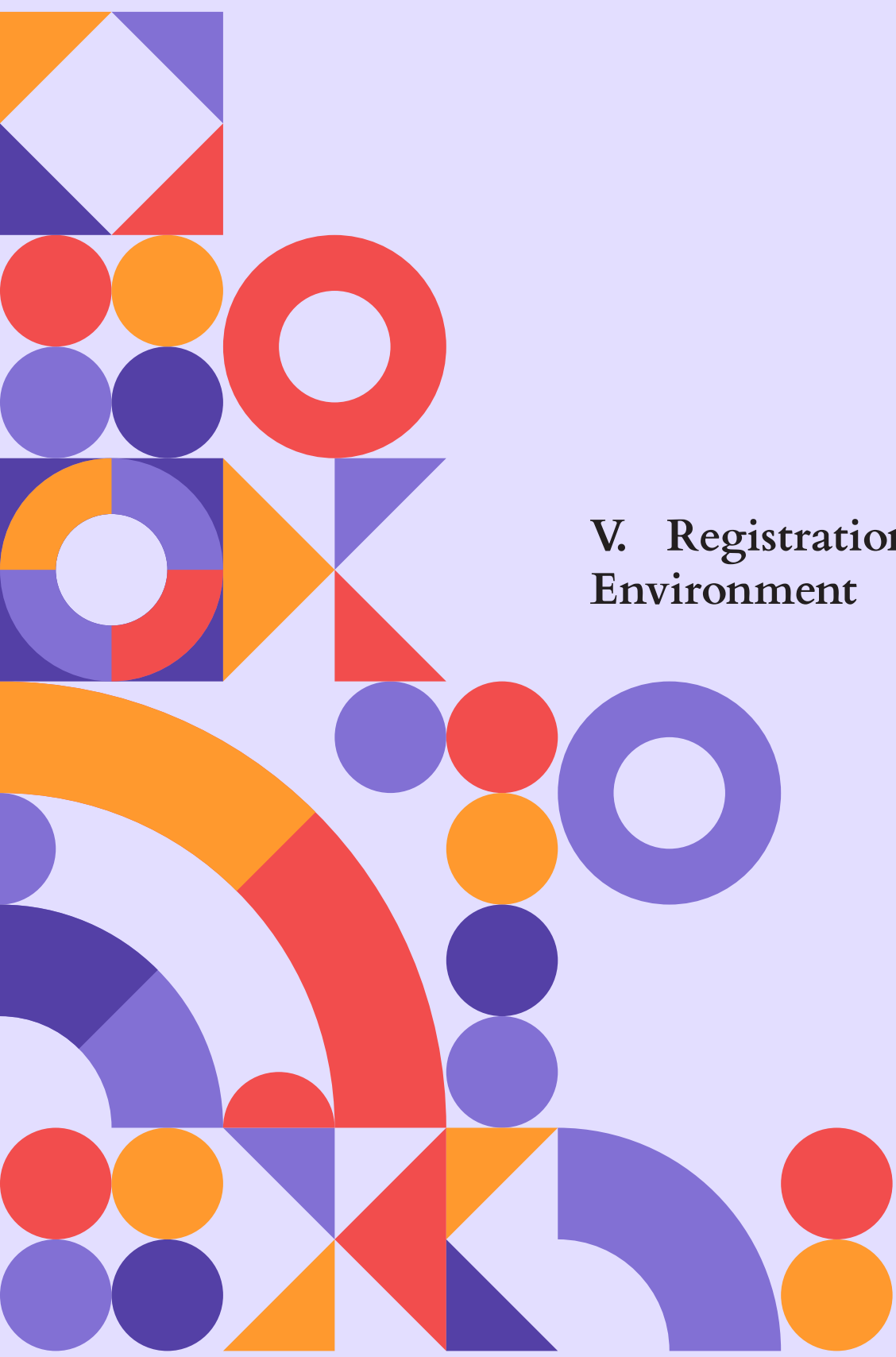
Observation of Voter Registration Phases 4 to 6

Table 13a: Average Number of Registrants per Registration Centre

Province	Average (Phase 1-3)	Phase 4 (28-31 Oct)	Phase 5 (2-5 Nov)	Phase 6 (6-11 Nov)	Average Phases 4-6
Central	61	57	46	55	53
Copperbelt	46	47	36	71	51
Eastern	53	52	73	42	56
Luapula	44	53	47	42	47
Lusaka	37	35	37	93	55
Muchinga	54	33	28	26	29
North-Western	45	60	33	35	43
Northern	51	34	32	34	33
Southern	40	48	34	60	47
Western	43	56	59	47	59
	47	47	43	56	49

Table 13b: Percentage of Female Registrants

Province	Average (Phase 1-3)	Phase 4 (28-31 Oct)	Phase 5 (2-5 Nov)	Phase 6 (6-11 Nov)	Average Phases 4-6
Central	58%	56%	53%	55%	55%
Copperbelt	49%	51%	52%	46%	50%
Eastern	55%	50%	35%	59%	48%
Luapula	53%	56%	53%	56%	55%
Lusaka	46%	46%	51%	54%	50%
Muchinga	45%	56%	51%	38%	48%
North-Western	52%	54%	54%	48%	52%
Northern	56%	58%	60%	58%	59%
Southern	53%	48%	53%	51%	51%
Western	58%	51%	53%	50%	51%
	53%	52%	49%	52%	51%



V. Registration Environment

During CCMG's weekly long-term observation reporting for the period 27 October - 11 November, CCMG's observers reported the following about the general voter registration environment:

1. Voter Education/Information: CCMG's observers reported a significant level of information/education activities on voter registration conducted by the ECZ/voter education facilitators (VEFs), with 96% either witnessing or hearing of these activities, and 70% reporting on voter information/education by local media. Only 1% of CCMG's observers witnessed/heard of these activities conducted by civil society organizations (CSOs).

2. Political Parties and Traditional Leaders: CCMG's observers reported mobilisation for voter registration activities by UPND (14%), PF (9%), and other parties (7%). In addition, 15% of CCMG's observers reported mobilisation and/or sensitisation activities on voter registration conducted by traditional leaders.

3. Electoral Code of Conduct Violations:

1. One (1) CCMG observer reported an instance of people being ferried from an area outside of their constituency by political parties or their agents (see VI. Critical Incidents).
2. Two (2) CCMG observers witnessed or heard of instances of voter's card buying, destruction, or confiscation (see VI. Critical Incidents).
3. One (1) CCMG observer witnessed or heard of an instance of National Registration Card (NRC) buying, destruction, or confiscation (see VI. Critical Incidents).
4. 4% of the CCMG observers witnessed or heard of traditional or religious leaders using their influence to support a particular party or candidate.
5. 1% of the CCMG observers reported non-elected government officials (e.g., civil servants) using their influence to support a particular party.

4. General Environment and Civic Space:

1. One (1) CCMG observer reported a political party being denied permission or having their permission revoked by the police for an activity/meeting in a public space (see VI. Critical Incidents).



VI. Critical Incidents

During Phases 4 to 6, CCMG documented four (4) critical incidents including permission for a political party meeting being revoked, ferrying, and NRC/voter's card buying, detailed below:

- Between October 27 and 31, a CCMG observer in Luanshya Constituency witnessed an incident where suspected UPND and PF officials bought physical voter's cards at K500 and voter's card details (only collected card details but not the physical cards) at K100 in Minkonfwa Ward.
- On October 29, a CCMG observer in Chasefu Constituency heard of an incident where the police revoked the permission initially granted to the Citizens First Party to hold a rally for unknown reasons.
- On October 31, a CCMG observer in Mpongwe Constituency reported witnessing an incident where UPND officials bought voter's cards and NRCs at K1500 each in Shingwa Ward.
- On November 1, a CCMG Observer in Chama South Constituency heard of the UPND MP aspirant ferrying people from Chama North Constituency to Chama South Constituency to register to vote and offered them K300 while encouraging them to vote for him in next year's election.

VII. Methodology

For Phases 4 to 6, CCMG trained, accredited and deployed observers to a statistically representative sample of 499 (167 in Phase 4, 165 in Phase 5, and 167 in Phase 6) registration centres across all provinces. In total, CCMG's observers sent in 986 reports on the conduct of voter registration at registration centres. However, in total, 11% of CCMG observers found that the registration team had not deployed to the designated location (possibly due to changes made at the district level to the national plan for mobile voter registration). The margin of error was estimated at approximately 5% for data on each day and 3% for all of Phases 4 to 6.

Distribution of All and Sampled Mobile Registration Centres by Province

Province	All Centres		Sampled Centres		Difference
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
Central	1,046	8.6%	85	8.5%	-0.1%
Copperbelt	1,724	14.2%	143	14.3%	0.1%
Eastern	1,546	12.7%	126	12.6%	-0.1%
Luapula	1,025	8.4%	85	8.5%	0.1%
Lusaka	1,554	12.8%	128	12.8%	0.0%
Muchinga	687	5.6%	56	5.6%	0.0%
North-Western	801	6.6%	65	6.5%	-0.1%
Northern	1,111	9.1%	93	9.3%	0.2%
Southern	1,518	12.5%	125	12.5%	0.0%
Western	1,152	9.5%	94	9.4%	-0.1%
Total	12,164		1,000		



Distribution of All and Sampled Mobile Registration Centres by Phase					
Phase	All Centres		Sampled Centres		Difference
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
1st (13-16 Oct)	2,057	16.9%	169	16.9%	0.0%
2nd (18-21 Oct)	2,006	16.5%	165	16.5%	0.0%
3rd (23-26 Oct)	2,034	16.7%	167	16.7%	0.0%
4th (28 – 31Oct)	2,029	16.7%	167	16.7%	0.0%
5th (2 - 5 Nov)	2,009	16.5%	165	16.5%	0.0%
6th (7 – 11 Nov)	2,029	16.7%	167	16.7%	0.0%
Total	12,164		1,000		

CCMG's observers used specific checklists and critical incident forms to systematically collect information on opening, setup, registration, and closing of voter registration centres. CCMG's observers sent their observation reports to the CCMG Data Centre, where information was analysed, and any critical incident reports were followed up on. CCMG's observers also sent in weekly reports on the overall electoral environment, including stakeholder activities such as civic and voter education and mobilisation, and any breaches of the Electoral Code of Conduct.



Table 15: Sampled Registration Centres Observed and Open

Province	Average (Phase 1-3)	Phase 4 (28-31 Oct)	Phase 5 (2-5 Nov)	Phase 6 (6-11 Nov)	Average Phases 4-6
Central	92%	87%	86%	83%	85%
Copperbelt	95%	90%	92%	96%	92%
Eastern	74%	93%	90%	79%	87%
Luapula	89%	93%	93%	96%	94%
Lusaka	96%	98%	95%	100%	98%
Muchinga	98%	100%	100%	94%	98%
North-Western	77%	68%	82%	75%	75%
Northern	95%	94%	97%	90%	93%
Southern	82%	80%	90%	71%	81%
Western	83%	94%	80%	90%	88%
	88%	90%	91%	88%	89%

VIII. Conclusion

Across Phases 4 to 6 of the 2025 mass voter registration exercise, CCMG’s observation reveals a mixed pattern of substantial progress in transparency and procedural compliance, alongside continued structural and logistical weaknesses that undermine equitable access to registration services. The ECZ made significant improvements in allowing observer access, providing daily registration statistics, and reducing kit breakdowns, all of which had the potential to strengthen public confidence in the latter stages of the exercise. Similarly, improvements in inclusive practices such as priority queues and disability data capture demonstrate increasing attention to vulnerable groups.

However, longstanding challenges remain unresolved. Centre closures persisted at levels similar to earlier phases, district-level deviations from national deployment plans continued, and the availability of backup kits did not improve at any point during the six-phase exercise. Staffing shortages intensified, with more centres operating with only one officer, and gender representation among officials, while slightly improved, continues to fall short of acceptable standards. The decline in political party and civil society presence at registration centres further weakened oversight during Phases 4 to 6.



Taken together, these findings show that while the ECZ has made commendable progress in certain aspects of administrative performance and transparency, structural gaps in logistics, planning, staffing, and accessibility remain systemic and require urgent interventions ahead of the 2026 General Election. Addressing these deficits, through clearer deployment coordination, better resource allocation, stronger inclusion and accessibility measures, and sustained multi-stakeholder oversight, will be essential to ensuring credible, inclusive, and trustworthy electoral processes going forward.

IX. About CCMG

The Christian Churches Monitoring Group (CCMG) is an alliance of three faith-based organisations formed to help promote credible elections through non-partisan citizen monitoring. The CCMG partner organisations are the Council of Churches in Zambia (CCZ), Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia (EFZ), and Zambia Conference of Catholic Bishops (ZCCB). CCMG was founded ahead of the 20 January 2015 presidential election. CCMG is a member of the Global Network of Domestic Election Monitors (GNDEM)¹, African Election Observers Network (AfEONet) and the Election Support Network-Southern Africa (ESN-SA) and conducts all of its observation efforts in conformity with the Declaration of Global Principles for Nonpartisan Election Observation and Monitoring by Citizen Organisations².

CCMG is strictly independent and non-partisan. We support no political party or candidate.

1 <https://gndem.org/>

2 <https://gndem.org/declaration-of-global-principles/>



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