

**THE ROLE OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE ENHANCEMENT OF
WOMEN REPRESENTATION IN THE PARLIAMENT OF ZAMBIA**

By

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**A dissertation submitted to the University of Zambia in partial fulfilment of the
requirements of the degree of Master of Arts in Development Studies**

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to my family for their encouragement and support.

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CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL

This dissertation of Pauline Brill is approved as fulfilling the partial requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Arts in Development Studies by the University of Zambia.

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ABSTRACT

This study aimed at finding out the role of political parties in the enhancement of women representation in the parliament of Zambia. The continued underrepresentation of women in the Zambian Parliament prompted undertaking this study.

The study confined itself to looking at the role of two major political parties, the Patriotic Front (PF) and the United Party for National Development (UPND). The 2016 general elections were the main focus of the study. The study was qualitative and a case study research design was used to study the two major political parties in depth. PF and UPND party officials at different levels of party hierarchies were purposefully selected as participants. Primary data was collected through in-depth interviews while secondary data was collected from political party and ECZ documents. Thematic analysis was used to analyse data and frequency tables and charts were also used for presentation purposes.

Feminist theory and the concept of affirmative action guided the study. The affirmative action measures said to be used by the two political parties included; having at least 30 percent women in decision-making positions, the adoption of the women's wing concept, training and sensitisation, adoption of women in political party strongholds and relaxing of requirements for one to be adopted when considering women for adoption. Further, following the 2016 General elections, the PF made a pronouncement that the party would adopt 40% women as parliamentary candidates. The PF manifesto also stated that the party would be adopting many women to ensure that the party met the regional thresholds. On the other hand, the UPND Constitution stated that the party would use affirmative action wherever necessary to ensure that there was 30 percent women representation in decision-making positions.

The study further found that the two political parties each adopted only 28 women out of 156 seats available to be contested in the 2016 parliamentary elections. Consequently, the number of women elected to parliament was also not only far below the earlier SADC target of 30 per cent women in politics and decision-making positions by 2005 but also below the 50/50 SADC target of women in politics and decision-making positions by 2015.

Looking at the number of women adopted by political parties and consequently the fewer numbers sent to parliament, the study concluded that there was no real affirmative action employed by political parties. Political parties themselves pointed out that they were finding it difficult to play a major part in the enhancement of women representation due to, among other things, the entrenched socio-cultural beliefs, lack of funding, a hostile political environment and a competitive political environment. This study urges political parties to revise their rules and ensure clearly stated practical affirmative action measures to ensure the enhanced representation of women in parliament.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

AU	African Union
BDPfA	Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination of against Women
CSO	Central Statistical Office
CSOs	Civil Society Organisations
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
ECZ	Electoral Commission of Zambia
EU	European Union
FDD	Forum for Democracy and Development
FODEP	Foundation for Democratic Process
FPTP	First Past the Post
GRZ	Government of the Republic of Zambia
IPU	Inter-Parliamentary Union
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MMD	Movement for Multiparty Democracy
MP	Member of Parliament
MPs	Members of Parliament
NAZ	National Assembly of Zambia
NDI	National Democratic Institute
OSCE/ODIHR	Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights
PF	Patriotic Front
SADC	Southern Africa Development Community
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
UN	United Nations
UNIP	United National Independence Party
UNZA	University of Zambia
UPND	United Party for National Development
US	United States
ZEIC	Zambia Elections Information Centre
ZNWL	Zambia National Women's Lobby

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Overview

This study aimed at finding out what role political parties were playing in the enhancement of women representation in the parliament of Zambia. The continued under-representation of women in the Zambian Parliament prompted undertaking the study. Political parties were studied as they are the primary determinants of who goes to parliament.

The study consists six chapters. Chapter one introduces the study. Chapter two reviews literature relevant to the study and Chapter three is the research methodology. Chapter four presents the research findings while Chapter five discusses the research findings. Chapter six gives the conclusion and recommendations.

1.1 Background to the Study

The under-representation of women in parliament is a global problem. World over, statistics on female representation in parliament have not been impressive. Although there has been an increasing trend globally on the representation of women in parliament, statistics show that women were still grossly underrepresented (IPU, 2015; Hatakka and Kelles-Viitanen, 2015). Worldwide, only 22.1 per cent of Members of Parliament (MPs) (single or lower house and upper house or senate combined) were women (Hatakka and Kelles-Viitanen, 2015).

Although some African countries are said to have made tremendous progress with regards representation of women in parliament, with Rwanda topping the world rankings, with 63.8 percent women in parliament, Zambia is one of the African countries where women are still grossly underrepresented (IPU, 2015; CSO 2012).

The underrepresentation of women in parliament is an indication that women were not participating fully in all issues that affect their lives. The Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) asserts that the under-representation of women in political and decision making positions does not only affect the lives of women but it is also a threat to national development (SADC, 2009). Clark (2011 cited in

Ballington et al, 2011) adds that the participation of women in politics was central to achieving inclusive, equitable and sustainable development. If nothing was done to address the low representation of women in parliament, Zambia would therefore continue missing out on the contributions of women towards national development.

The underrepresentation of women in politics and decision-making positions has not only received attention at international and regional level, but also at local level. At international level, in 1979, the United Nations (UN) adopted the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). The CEDAW defines what constitutes discrimination against women and sets out an agenda for national action leading to greater equality. Article 2 to 4 of the CEDAW calls on state parties to actively pursue the elimination of discrimination in women's political participation through legal and temporary special measures and affirmative action (Hatakka and Kelles-Viitanen, 2015).

At the 1995 United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women, Governments adopted the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (BDPfA), which “seeks to promote and protect the full enjoyment of all human rights and the fundamental freedoms of all women throughout their life cycle” (UN, 2015 a. p. ix). The BDPfA calls on all actors including political parties to take measures to ensure women's equal access to and full participation in power structures and decision-making (UN, 1995 p.81).

In September 2000, world leaders meeting at the UN Headquarters in New York adopted the UN Millennium Declaration. The declaration committed nations to a new global partnership to reduce extreme poverty, and set out a series of eight time bound targets that became known as the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The 2000 United Nations (UN) Millennium Development Goal (MDG) number three aimed at promoting gender equality and empowering women (UN, 2000). Gender equality and empowerment of women was seen as effective ways to combat poverty, hunger and disease and to stimulate development that was truly sustainable.

The UN heads of state and governments meeting at the United Nations Headquarters in New York from 25 to 27 September 2015 decided on new global Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Goal Number Five aims at achieving gender equality and empowering all women and girls. Target 5.5 of Goal number Five aims at

ensuring women's full and effective participation and equal opportunities for leadership at all levels of decision-making in political, economic and public life (UN, 2015 b.). 5. c calls for the adoption of sound policies and enforceable legislation for the promotion of gender equality and empowerment of all women and girls at all levels.

The African Union (AU), on July 11, 2003, during its second session of the Assembly of the AU in Maputo, Mozambique, adopted a Protocol on the African Charter on Human and People's rights on the Rights of women in Africa (AU, 2003). Article 9 deals with women's political rights and calls on state parties to take specific positive action to promote participative governance and the equal participation of women in the political life of their countries through affirmative action, enabling national legislation and other measures to ensure among other things that women are represented equally at all levels with men in all electoral processes (Hatakka and Kelles-Viitanen, 2015).

In September 1997, a Declaration on Gender and Development was signed by Southern African Development Community (SADC) heads of state and government in Blantyre, Malawi. The heads of state and government committed their countries to repeal and reform all laws, amending constitutions and changing social practices which still subject women to discrimination (SADC, 1997). Member states also committed themselves to achieve at least thirty percent target of women in political and decision-making structures by the year 2005 (SADC, 1997). In 2005 SADC Heads of State elevated the 30% target contained in the 1997 SADC Declaration on Gender and Development to 50% (Lowe Morna & Jambaya Nyakujarah, 2011).

The SADC Declaration preceded the 2008 SADC Protocol on Gender and Development, a binding instrument adopted in 2008 that has also maintained the 50% women in key decision making positions target by 2015. Article 12 (1) of the Protocol provides for state parties to ensure that, by 2015, at least fifty percent of decision-making positions in the public and private sectors were held by women including the use of affirmative action measures as provided for in Article 5 (SADC, 2008; Lowe Morna and Jambaya Nyakujarah, 2011).

At local level, the Government of the Republic of Zambia (GRZ) is not only party to international conventions and protocols but has also shown concern on gender

inequality in the country. In 2000, the GRZ formulated a National Gender Policy and revised it in 2014. The general aim of the Policy is to ensure that gender is mainstreamed throughout government operations by all government institutions. On 12th March, 2012, the GRZ established the Ministry of Gender and Child Development to ensure that gender issues were articulated at Cabinet level. The mandate of the Ministry is to coordinate the mainstreaming of gender in Government policies and programmes, and monitoring their implementation by all players in the gender sector (GRZ, 2014 a. p.1).

In 2015, the Gender Equity and Equality Act was enacted. The Act provides, among others, for the taking of measures and making strategic decisions in all spheres of life in order to ensure gender equity and equality (GRZ, 2015). The Constitutional Amendment Act No. 2 of 2016 also recognized gender equality as an important issue. Further Article 45 (d) of the Constitutional Amendment Act provides that the electoral system shall ensure gender equality in the National Assembly (GRZ, 2016).

On the other hand, Civil Society Organisations (CSOs), in particular, the women's movement, has also been advocating for increased representation of women in decision-making positions. CSOs such as the Zambia National Women's Lobby (ZNWL) has not only been lobbying the government to ensure enhanced representation of women in parliament, but has also been calling on political parties to see how they could help enhance the representation of women in parliament (ZNWL, 2014).

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Women have continued being underrepresented in parliament in Zambia despite many efforts made to address the problem. As the Central Statistical Office (CSO) shows, although the proportion of female Members of Parliament (MPs) increased from 13.9 percent in 2009 to 15 percent in 2010, the increase however, came after a drop in the proportion of female MPs in both 2006 (14.7 percent) and 2009 (13.9 percent) from 19 percent in 2005 (CSO, 2012 p.22). In 2016, before parliament was dissolved in readiness for the August 11, 2016 general elections, the representation of women in Parliament in Zambia stood at 13.9 percent (NAZ, 2016). The representation of women in parliament in Zambia has therefore continued being below the 22.1 percent world average. Zambia has not only failed to meet the 50-50

AU/SADC target by 2015 but also the earlier SADC target of 30 percent representation of women in politics and decision-making positions by the year 2005. If nothing deliberate is done to address the problem, women in Zambia would continue being denied the opportunity to benefit from and contribute to national development (GRZ, 2014 b.). As the background to the study has shown, efforts have been made at national and civil society organisation level to try and address the problem. Political parties are the main platform through which women can get to parliament. Despite this being the case, their role in the enhancement of women representation in parliament in Zambia was not well-known. This study hence embarked on looking at the role of political parties in the enhancement of women representation in the parliament of Zambia.

1.3 Study Objectives

The study's objectives were divided into a general objective and specific objectives as follows:

1.3.1 General Objective

The study's main objective was to find out what role political parties were playing in the enhancement of women representation in the parliament of Zambia.

1.3.2 Specific Objectives

The study's specific objectives were as follows:

1. To find out what affirmative action measures political parties had put in place to enhance the representation of women in the Zambian parliament.
2. To find out how the affirmative action measures put in place by political parties if any were helping in addressing the low representation of women in the parliament of Zambia.
3. To find out what challenges political parties were facing in the enhancement of women representation in the parliament of Zambia.

1.4 Research Questions

The study had a general question and specific questions as follows:

1.4.1 General Question

The study's general question was as follows:

What role were Political Parties playing in the enhancement of women representation in the parliament of Zambia?

1.4.2 Specific questions

The specific questions were as follows:

1. What affirmative action measures did political parties have in place to enhance the representation of women in the Zambian parliament?
2. How were the affirmative action measures put in place by political parties if any helping to address the low representation of women in the parliament of Zambia?
3. What challenges were political parties facing in the enhancement of women representation in the parliament of Zambia?

1.5 Rationale/Significance of the Study

The study may help in understanding what role political parties play in the enhancement of women representation in the parliament of Zambia. The study is also aimed at helping political parties to review their work and thereby devise better methods of enhancing the representation of women in parliament. Ultimately, it is hoped that once the underrepresentation of women in parliament in Zambia is addressed, women in Zambia would not only start contributing fully to their own development but also to national development.

1.6 Scope of the Study

Although there are other actors in enhancing the representation of women in the Zambian Parliament, this study was focused on the role of political parties. The study limited itself to the 2016 general elections due to among other factors, time constraints and that information was readily available as it was the most recent general election. In 2016, the National Assembly of Zambia had a total number of 156 directly elected members of parliament. According to the 2016 amended Constitution, in addition to the directly elected members, the president had also

power to nominate not more than eight non-constituency members of parliament (GRZ, 2016).

Although there were many political parties in Zambia, only a few were represented in parliament in 2016. As such, this study limited itself to the two major political parties with the most members of parliament, that is, the Patriotic Front (PF) and the United Party for National Development (UPND). The table below shows the political party representation in parliament in 2016.

Table 1.1 PF and UPND 2016 Directly Elected Members of Parliament

Political Party	Total No. of Members of Parliament	Gender	
		Males	Females
PF	80	67	13
UPND	58	48	10
INDEPENDENTS	14	12	2
MMD	3	3	0
FDD	1	0	1
GRAND TOTAL	156	130	26

Source: Electoral Commission of Zambia Data

Table 1.1 above shows that only four political parties had representation in parliament in 2016. The PF had the most directly elected members followed by the UPND. The Movement for Multi-party Democracy (MMD) and the Forum for Democracy and Development (FDD) had the least members, three and one, respectively. The other 14 members did not belong to any political party.

The UPND and the PF

The UPND was formed by the late Anderson Mazoka. The party was established on a social democratic platform of providing free health and educational services to the Zambian people. On the other hand, the PF was formed in September, 2001 by Michael Sata, a former Cabinet Minister and the MMD National Secretary. The

party's main policy platform is the reduction in taxes and prudence in the management of public resources (NDI/FODEP, 2003).

1.7 Chapter Summary

This chapter laid the background to the study. The next chapter reviews literature related to the study.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

The previous chapter laid the background to the study. This chapter reviews literature related to the study. The chapter first looks at an overview of Zambia's political and electoral system and then looks at the current status of women representation in parliament from the global to the local level. Thereafter the chapter looks at the factors contributing to the low representation of women in parliament. The chapter then looks at the factors explaining the enhanced representation of women in certain parliaments.

2.1 Overview of Zambia's Political and Electoral System

2.1.1 Zambia's Political System

Since independence in 1964, Zambia has used three different political systems. The first was a multiparty system, which was in place from 1964 to 1972 (AU, 2016 p. 11). In 1972, Zambia was declared a one party-state, with the ruling United National Independence Party (UNIP) as the only party led by President Kenneth Kaunda. In 1991, a multi-party constitution was adopted, with the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) winning the first multi-party elections in 23 years (Commonwealth, 2016). There are three arms of government, that is, the executive, the judiciary and the legislature. The executive authority of the state vests in the president, while the judicial authority vest in the courts. Meanwhile, the legislative authority of the Republic is vested in the Unicameral National Assembly (GRZ, 2016).

2.1.1.1 Political Party Arrangements in Zambia

The party system in Zambia has evolved from multiparty, to one party and back to multiparty. When Kaunda declared Zambia a one party state in 1972, this meant that only one political party was allowed to exist. The multiparty system however has seen the proliferation of political parties of different forms. While the Movement for Multi-party Democracy (MMD) could be said to have been formed collectively, by Zambians from different backgrounds, most political parties in Zambia are formed by one individual with presidential ambitions. Such parties are identified by that

particular individual who is also the major financier of the party (NDI/FODEP, 2003). Most of such political parties are offshoots of the MMD and these include; the United Party for National Development (UPND), Forum for Democracy and Development (FDD), the Heritage Party (HP) and the Patriotic Front (PF). While some of these political parties have grown with the PF managing to form government and the UPND being the largest opposition party, most political parties have remained insignificant.

Further, the party structure of most political parties in Zambia has taken the UNIP model. This model is hierarchical in nature with the lowest level being the branch, followed by the district, the province and the national level. To run such a model however, a political party is expected to have a huge financial base. The UNIP is said to have succeeded in running such a model because the party had the privilege of using government resources. The Zambian political party system is characterized by an absence of countrywide structures and in several instances the party organization exists only on paper. Parties engage in very few activities between elections (NDI/FODEP, 2003).

The party membership of most political parties is not well known. This is because most political parties do not maintain reliable membership records. It was therefore common for an individual to hold membership cards for more than one political party (NDI/FODEP, 2003).

Women and youths are not well represented in party structures of most political parties. Almost all political parties have included women and youths into their organisational structures through the existence of women and youth wings. However, real commitments to the agenda of these players into the political party dialogue have been marginal (NDI/FODEP, 2003, GRZ, 2018). Only eight out of 20 parties that contested parliamentary elections in 2011 nominated female candidates (EU, 2011).

The table below shows the MPs following elections held in Zambia from 1968 to 2016:

Table 2.1 Members of Parliament in Zambia from 1968 to 2016

Year	Gender		Total	Comment
	Female	Male		
1968	2	108	110	105 elected, 5 nominated
1973	7	129	136	125 elected, 10 nominated and 1 speaker
1978	6	130	136	125 elected, 10 nominated and 1 speaker
1983	4	131	135	125 elected, 10 nominated and 1 speaker
1988	7	127	134	
1991	7	143	150	
1996	15	140	155	
2001	19	139	158	150 elected, 8 nominated
2006	23	135	158	150 elected, 8 nominated
2011	17	141	158	150 elected, 8 nominated
2016	26	130	156	156 elected

Source: IPU 1996 – 2008; IPU, 1991

While UNIP could be said to have followed a socialist ideology, most political parties are said to lack strong ideological convictions. The PF is said to be a socialist party while the UPND is said to be a liberal party (EU, 2011). However, despite these ideological claims, it is not uncommon for political party members to easily switch to another political party with a different ideology (Carter Center, 2002).

Political parties in Zambia are not publicly funded (AU, 2016). This entails that each political party has to raise its own resources and much of the resources of political parties come (most of it) from membership fees and donations from party members and other well-wishers. Ruling political parties in Zambia however have been accused of using public funds for their party activities. In 2011, the use of state resources was also at times overt in support of the MMD (EU, 2011). In 2016, election observers observed the misuse of state resources for campaign purposes in Copperbelt, Eastern, Northern and Western provinces, in contravention of Zambian law. This situation is said to be leading to an unfair playing field (Carter Center, 2002; AU, 2016; EU, 2016).

While Zambia is said to be a democratic state, most political parties are said not to be living up to the tenets of democracy. These parties do not hold regular elections despite their constitutions stating so. Internal democracy has also been found lacking in the parliamentary candidate selection process. In most political parties there are no primary elections to select parliamentary candidates. Where party constitutions mandate primary elections, the procedures are either not followed, or the national leadership imposes their preferred candidates. This issue has been a source of bickering and even resignations within the parties (NDI/FODEP, 2003). Furthermore, there has been intolerance of divergent views in most political parties. In most parties, subordinate officials are expected to show loyalty to the national leadership or the party president. Differences of opinion are treated as insubordination and attract serious censure (NDI/FODEP, 2003).

Following the general elections that have been held from 1991 to 2016 the representation of political parties in parliament has been characterised by mostly few dominant parties. This has been the case despite Zambia having over 20 registered political parties. In 1991 and 1996, for example, the MMD was dominant. In 2001, Zambia's political system moved from single-party domination to strong multiparty representation in the Parliament (Carter Centre, 2002). The 2006 elections however saw the dominance of three political parties, that is, the MMD, the PF and the UPND and this was more or less the same in 2011. Following the 2016 elections however, the MMD disintegrated, having only three seats in parliament and this saw the dominance of two political parties, that is, the PF and the UPND (Carter Center, 2006).

The results of the 2016 presidential and parliamentary elections indicated that support for PF and UPND was largely regional, with only Central province being marginally competitive. These regional voting blocs are not a new development within Zambian politics. Rather, although support for various parties has shifted across the elections held since 1991, party support has increasingly been clustered in ethno- geographic patterns. Consequently, Zambia has had two consecutive elections with essentially the same electoral alignments, which has seemingly fostered greater, direct, head-to-head political conflict, which has regrettably taken on ethnic overtones to a degree that most have not previously experienced (Carter Center, 2016; EU, 2011).

2.1.2 Zambia's Electoral System

Since the reintroduction of multipartism in 1991, Zambia had been using the first-past-the-post (FPTP) electoral system (AU, 2016). The 2016 constitutional amendments however introduced a new electoral system for the presidential election that requires absolute majority of votes to be cast in favour of one candidate. If no candidate garners the majority of valid votes, a second round is to be held between the two leading candidates within 37 days of initial election day. Members of the National Assembly however are directly elected on the basis of a simple majority vote under the FPTP system in each of the 156 constituencies (Carter Center, 2016; GRZ, 2016). Article 47 (4) of the 2016 amended constitution provides that a constituency and a ward shall return only one member to the National Assembly and council, respectively (GRZ, 2016). The Constitution also empowers the president to nominate not more than eight non-constituency members of parliament where he or she considers it necessary to enhance the representation of special interests, skills or gender in the National Assembly (Commonwealth, 2016; GRZ, 2016). Further, Article 110 of the Amended Constitution introduced the running-mate system where votes for a presidential candidate is equal to votes for a vice presidential candidate (AU, 2016; GRZ, 2016). The members of the National Assembly thus include; 156 directly elected members, not more than eight nominated members, the vice president, the speaker and the first and second deputy speakers (GRZ, 2016).

2.2 The Current Status of Women Representation in Parliament

The International Level

In 1995, the BDPfA set a 30 percent target for women in decision-making, to be achieved through a wide range of strategies, including positive action, public debate and training and mentoring for women as leaders (IPU, 2015). The IPU reported that, worldwide, for the past 20 years since 1995 to 2015, the representation of women in parliament has been increasing. In 1995, there was a regional imbalance in terms of countries with the most women in parliament. European Countries featured prominently on the top ten countries with the most women in parliament. By 2015 however, the situation had changed; countries from other regions had joined the top ten (IPU, 2015). In 1995, Seychelles was the only African country in the top ten countries with the most women in parliament. By 2015, three other African

countries, that is, Rwanda, Senegal and South Africa had joined the top ten. The global average of women in national parliaments has nearly doubled; from 11.3 percent in 1995 to 22.1 percent in 2015. The table below shows the regional representation in 1995 and 2015.

Table 2.2 Top-Ranking Countries for Single and Lower Houses of Parliament, 1995 Vs. 2015

Top-ranking Countries for Single and Lower Houses of Parliament, 1995 Vs 2015							
1 January, 1995				1 January, 2015			
	Country	Region	% Women		Country	Region	% Women
1	Sweden	Nordic/Europe	40.4	1	Rwanda	Africa	63.8
2	Norway	Nordic/Europe	39.4	2	Bolivia	Americas	53.1
3	Denmark	Nordic/Europe	33.5	3	Andorra	Europe	50.0
4	Finland	Nordic/Europe	33.5	4	Cuba	Americas	48.9
5	Netherlands	Europe	32.7	5	Seychelles	Africa	43.8
6	Seychelles	Africa	27.3	6	Sweden	Nordic/Europe	43.6
7	Austria	Europe	26.8	7	Senegal	Africa	42.7
8	Germany	Europe	26.3	8	Finland	Nordic/Europe	42.5
9	Iceland	Nordic/Europe	25.4	9	Ecuador	Americas	41.6
10	Argentina	Americas	25.3	10	South Africa	Africa	41.5

Source: IPU, 2015

The Regional Level

The Sub-Saharan Africa region average of women in parliament rose from 9.8 percent in 1995 to 22.3 percent in 2015. The region is said to have achieved some of the most dramatic breakthroughs seen over the last 20 years, often in post conflict contexts, but lost ground in 2014 (IPU, 2015).

In the SADC Region, there has been a steady overall increase in women's representation in parliament from 21% in 2005 to 24% in 2009 and 25% in 2011.

South Africa ranked highest in the region at 43%. While three countries, Angola, Mozambique and Tanzania had witnessed substantial increases in women's representation in parliament from 2005 to 2011. Namibia, Seychelles, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and Botswana had moved backwards. Only four countries had surpassed the 30% mark and two were below 10%. (Lowe-Morna & Jambaya-Nyakujarah, 2011). The SADC region was said to be above the global average of 19% in 2011.

While some countries were said to be performing well with regards representation of women in parliament, cabinet and local government, Zambia was among the countries said to be consistently poor performers including Mauritius, Zimbabwe, Madagascar, DRC and Botswana (Lowe-Morna & Jambaya-Nyakujarah, 2011).

The Local Level

On the other hand, at the local level, the Central Statistical Office (CSO) asserts that politics and decision-making have generally been dominated by males in Zambia (CSO, 2013). The CSO citing the national Assembly of Zambia, reports that the proportion of female MPs increased from 13.9 percent in 2009 to 15 percent in 2010. This increase, however, came after a drop in the proportion of female MPs in both 2006 (14.7 percent) and 2009 (13.9 percent) from 19 percent in 2005 (CSO, 2012). Compared to the 2010 National Assembly, the proportion of female MPs has reduced from 14.7 percent in 2010 to 11.5 percent in 2011 (CSO, 2012). During the period of 2011-2012, the CSO reported that the percentage of female MPs was at 11 percent (CSO, 2013). Meanwhile, a 2014 gender audit of the private and public sector by the Zambia National Women's Lobby (ZNWL) revealed that in 2014, the representation of women in the Zambian Parliament stood at 11 percent (ZNWL, 2014). In 2016, before parliament was dissolved in readiness for the August 11, 2016 general elections, the representation of women in parliament in Zambia stood at 13.9 percent (NAZ, 2016).

While the representation of women at the global and regional level has been increasing, both the regional and global averages did not reach 30 percent after 20 years of setting the target, which is said to be the critical mass for women parliamentarians to make any effective or meaningful impact in parliament (Kandawasvika-Nundu, 2007). While the global and regional averages have been

steadily increasing, the representation of women in the Zambian parliament has been fluctuating. The representation of women in the Zambian parliament is not only below the African and SADC region targets, but is also below the global and regional averages.

2.3 Factors Contributing to the Low Representation of Women in Parliament

A number of factors have been attributed to the underrepresentation of women in parliament.

A 2008 survey of women and men in parliaments by the IPU found that women faced greater obstacles entering politics. The obstacles among others included; lack of political parties' support for women, domestic responsibilities, lack of financial resources and cultural beliefs about the role of women (Ballington, 2008). A study by Sampa to find out why there were few women elected to the Zambian Parliament, supports the IPU finding. Among other things, few women considered standing for election because of lack of support from political parties due to financial constraints and the fact that many of the selection committees were dominated by men who picked their fellow men as parliamentary candidates, lack of financial resources and cultural attitudes (Sampa, 2010).

On the other hand, a 2015 evaluation of Norway's support to women's rights and gender equality in development cooperation reports that the weak political empowerment of women in Zambia is attributed to, among other things, an overriding lack of political will at all levels to address gender-specific challenges facing potential women candidates and the hostile political environment for women, with women in leadership roles being perceived as a threat by male counterparts. Campaigning was also increasingly becoming expensive yet women compared to men generally had much less access to funds and the higher illiteracy rate among women (Norad, 2015).

A study to find out the male's perception about female political participation in Pakistan concluded that religious, economic and patriarchal mind-set were the main factors that hindered women to participate fully in politics (Latif et. al, 2015).

Further, a study attempting to understand why so few women held political office in the United States analysed data collected in 2001 and 2011 from thousands of males

and females who were seen to be potential candidates. The sample included lawyers, business leaders, educators and political activists. The study concluded that the reason for women's underrepresentation was not because of discrimination against female candidates but that the fundamental reason for women's under-representation was that women did not run for office. The study further pointed out that there was a substantial gender gap in political ambition; men tended to have it while women did not have it. The gender gap in ambition was persistent and unchanging (Lawless & Fox, 2012).

A journal article on the causes of the under-representation of women in Japan, points out that preceding studies suggest that multiple, intertwining factors have had a collective influence on the number of women representatives. The article highlights four factors which affect women's representation: the electoral system; socio-political culture; electoral quotas; and the activities and attitudes of women concerning their own representation. In Japan, major political parties sometimes nominated women candidates (Eto, 2010, p.177). However, such nominations were not because the parties were keen to increase the number of female legislators but because male leaders merely utilized women candidates as campaign strategies. Political parties in Japan have not shown interest in electoral gender quotas (Eto, 2010).

On the other hand, a journal article analysis of women's participation in key decision-making institutions in Zambia, points out that, political parties discriminate against women during the selection of parliamentary candidates. Among the reasons for the discrimination against women were the long held social/cultural beliefs that politics was a domain for men (Kalinda and Chirwa, 2015). While the quota system in other African countries has worked positively to increase the number of women in parliament, this approach was not embraced by the political leadership in Zambia. The article notes that while some improvements were seen in the judiciary in terms of women representation, the number of women in parliament kept fluctuating (Kalinda and Chirwa, 2015, p. 32).

2.4 Factors Explaining the Increased Representation of Women in Certain Parliaments

Various explanations have been given as to what has necessitated the increasing representation of women in certain parliaments both at international and regional level. While others attribute the increasing trends of women representation in certain parliaments to political/electoral systems, others attribute the increase to the use of affirmative action.

International Level

A review of the past 20 years since the 1995 Beijing Conference by the IPU points out that, in addition to shifting political circumstances, a crucial factor driving changes in women's representation has been the adoption of electoral gender quotas, which have spread from a small number of States in 1995 to more than 120 in 2015 (IPU, 2015,). The Nordic countries continue to stand out both regionally and globally for the relatively high share of women in their parliaments, although their rates of change vary somewhat. Prior to 1995, Iceland was the only Nordic country below 30 per cent. Iceland saw large jumps from election to election in the 1980s and 1990s, as women formed their own party, the Women's Alliance, and mobilized inside the traditional parties to get more women selected as parliamentary candidates. In Sweden, the 2014 elections saw a small drop in the proportion of women elected, to 43.6 per cent from 45 per cent in 2010. Yet the country has elected more than 40 per cent women to every parliament since 1994. This result stems from women's mobilization to ensure that Swedish parties nominate roughly equal numbers of male and female candidates, whether through formal or informal quotas. Small variations over time, therefore, tend to be linked to the electoral strength of parties less committed to gender parity, like the Sweden Democrats who won 14 per cent of the seats in parliament in 2014 (IPU, 2015).

In the Americas, the IPU Review attributes the increased representation of women in parliament to the widespread introduction of gender quotas across Latin America. Elsewhere in the Americas, for example, the Caribbean and North America where candidate quotas were not employed, the gains in terms of women representation in parliament were said to be smaller (IPU, 2015).

A qualitative comparative analysis of women's representation in parliament asserts that statistical and case study research has increasingly reached conflicting findings in terms of the factors explaining cross-national variations in the percentage of women elected to national parliaments. Proportional Representation system (PR) plays a role in promoting women's access in the West to the degree that it combines with women's activism. At the same time, a non-PR system is not a barrier if it is present alongside strong left parties. In contrast, the electoral system appears to play little or no decisive role in sub-Saharan Africa, as compared with other factors like quotas or post-conflict situations (Krook, 2010).

Sub-Saharan Africa

Four of the world's top 10 countries, in terms of women's share of single or lower houses of parliament, are in Sub-Saharan Africa: Rwanda, with 63.8 per cent; Seychelles, with 43.8 per cent; Senegal, with 42.7 per cent; and South Africa, with 41.5 per cent. Senegal is a second African success story, increasing its share of women in parliament from 11.7 per cent in 1995 to 42.7 per cent in 2015 (+31 points). These substantial gains were made possible, however, through gender quotas as well. Amendments to the election law, approved in 2012, mandate full gender parity, stipulating that all party lists must be composed of equal numbers of women and men. Lists are also required to alternate between women and men; otherwise, the lists are deemed ineligible to contest the elections (IPU, 2015).

An assessment of the new quota system in Brundi and its impact on the political representation of women, reports that the adoption of a 30 percent female representation quota in the 2004 Constitution led to an increase in the representation of women in the National Assembly from 20 percent before the adoption of the quota system to 31.55 percent following the adoption of quotas. The adoption of quotas however was not accompanied by a transformation of the political and institutional systems, which continued to marginalize women. An analysis of the nine most representative political parties showed that only three political parties had over 30 percent of women within their decision-making bodies. Political parties attributed the low representation of women to lack of qualified women and experienced women in public policy issues to serve in their decision-making bodies (Sow, 2012).

A study on the substantive representation of women in the Ugandan Parliament, points out that despite the controversy over quotas; the adoption of such measures had led to an improvement in the participation of women in politics (Barenzi et. al, 2014). With the absence of a voluntary party quota in Uganda, the Constitution mandated quota systems risks undermining women's position and reinforcing stereotypes about the competences of women. Barenzi et. al (2014) further point out that affirmative action policies need to be well framed if they were to yield any positive results.

A journal article on emerging trends in women's participation in politics in Africa, asserts that Africa has witnessed rapid escalation in female political representation. The new trends in women's political participation have been aided by an amalgamation of numerous factors. Procedures such as gender quotas and reserved seats, have accounted for higher female representation in Uganda, Tanzania, Mozambique, South Africa, and a number of other African countries (Ndlovu and Mutale, 2013). They further note that while quotas are important in addressing the exclusion of women from the public political sphere, women have not fully benefitted much from the system. In most African countries, women in the reserved seats as a result of the quota systems have been like chess pieces, as they have been moved by men. Thus, there are several issues which need to be improved or changed for women to wholly benefit from the emerging trends in their political participation (Ndlovu and Mutale, 2013).

2.5 Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

2.5.1 Introduction

This section presents the theoretical and conceptual framework that guided the study to find out what role political parties were playing in the enhancement of women representation in the parliament of Zambia. The chapter first presents the theoretical framework followed by the conceptual framework.

2.5.2 Theoretical Framework

The following part presents the theoretical framework that guided the study.

2.5.2.1 Feminism

The feminist movement has given rise to a large body of theory which attempts to explain gender inequalities and to set forth agendas for overcoming those inequalities (Giddens, 2013 p 653). Feminist theory is a term covering an increasing range of positions, with six or seven different perspectives currently identified (Giddens, 2013 p. 95). These range from early theories of liberal, socialist/Marxist and radical feminism through dual-systems and critical feminism, to postmodern/poststructuralist, black and postcolonial feminism.

Despite there being diverse feminist theories, they all agree that knowledge is related to questions of sex and gender and that, women face oppression in patriarchal societies (Giddens, 2013 p. 95). The major concern of feminist theory was that women were being overlooked or marginalised in four crucial areas, namely political rights, legal rights, access to education and training, and their working lives (De Beer & Swanepoel, 2000). Feminism thus concentrates on gender inequality – the unequal situation between men and women that exist in most societies (Giddens, 2013 p.21).

Liberal feminism looks for explanations of gender inequalities in social and cultural attitudes. An important early contribution to liberal feminism came from the English philosopher John Stuart Mill, in his essay *The subjection of Women* (1869), which called for legal and political equality between the sexes, including the right to vote. Liberal feminists seek to work through the existing system to bring about reforms in a gradual way. Liberal feminists for example tend to focus their energies on establishing and protecting equal opportunities for women through legislation and other democratic means. They argue that enshrining equality in law is important to eliminating discrimination against women. (Giddens, 2013 p.653).

On the other hand, radical feminism is a form of feminist theory that believes that gender inequality is the result of male domination in all aspects of social and economic life. At the heart of radical feminism is the belief that men are responsible for and benefit from the exploitation of women (Giddens, 2006). The analysis of patriarchy – the systematic domination of females by males – is of central concern to this branch of feminism. They argue that men exploit women by relying on the free domestic labour that women provide in the home. As a group, men also deny women access to positions of power and influence. As men conventionally occupy the main

positions of power and authority in most societies, they have an investment in maintaining their privileged position. Because patriarchy is a systematic phenomenon, they argue that, gender equality can be attained only by overthrowing the patriarchal order (Giddens, 2013 p.95, p.654).

Feminists further argue that because men and women have different experiences and view the world from different perspectives, they do not construct their understandings of the world in identical ways (Giddens, 2013). The full participation of women in all spheres of society was said to be key for the achievement of equality, development and peace (UN, 1995). One of the arguments for the involvement of women in politics is the difference argument which asserts that women and men bring different perspectives, views and experiences to the table that can enrich political and policy debate (Lovenduski & Childs, 2005 in OSCE/ODIHR, 2014).

Feminist theory, most especially liberal and radical feminism guided the study in answering the research question on the role political parties play in the enhancement of women representation in parliament. This is more so that, the theory does not only seek to bring to the fore the gender inequalities that exist in society at different levels and to explain why these inequalities occur but also endeavours to provide solutions to overcome the gender inequalities.

2.5.3 Conceptual Framework

This section shows the conceptual framework.

The Concept of Affirmative Action

Affirmative action has been defined differently by different scholars. Weiss (1997) quoted in Kaimenyi et al. (2013) points out that Affirmative Action seeks to overcome discrimination, increase diversity and reduce poverty among groups that have historically been victimised by discrimination. On the other hand, Alexandar (2006) argues that affirmative action is to a large extent an aspect of transformational measures, as it aims at enriching society's welfare by providing education, better housing, sanitary condition, employment and other benefits. He went on to say that true and just affirmative action is based on the premise that preference is shown to members of a designated group as long as they were as qualified, skilled or have the

same know how as members of the non-designated group. On the other hand, according to Zambia's Gender Equity and Equality Act, 2015, Affirmative Action means "a policy, programme or measure that seeks to redress past discrimination to ensure equal opportunity and positive outcome in all spheres of life for women" (GRZ, 2015 p. 462).

Proponents of affirmative action argue that it creates opportunities for women and other previously disadvantaged groups to showcase their talent, skills and leadership qualities thereby compensating for their historical discrimination (McLean, 2002; Taylor, 2002; Whiteneck, 2003). Affirmative action is further said to promote diversity and to encourage public welfare for common good by increasing opportunities for previously disadvantaged groups, which in turn decrease the potential of conflict among members of society who find themselves at the same level politically, economically and socially (Kaimenyi, 2006).

It is argued that the reasons for women's underrepresentation in parliament were deep-rooted. As such, waiting for nature to take its course, the underrepresentation of women in parliament would not be achieved in the near future. Special measures are thus said to be a fast-track way to achieving gender equality (Dahlerup, 2006).

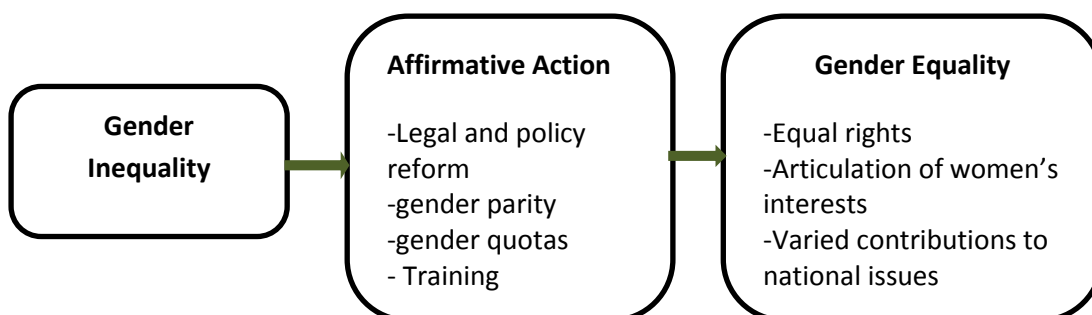
One of the examples of affirmative action in politics is the use of quotas. Quotas in politics may be defined as an affirmative action measure that establishes a fixed percentage or number for the nomination or representation of a specific group, for example women. Quotas could either be implemented at national level through national legislation or at party level through internal party rules (Tripp & Kang, 2008).

While the BDPfA set a 30% target of women in decision-making positions, in the recent past, in many regions such as Europe, the Americas and Sub-Saharan Africa, efforts have shifted the target to 50 per cent, referred to as "parity" (IPU, 2015).

It can be seen from the definitions that all scholars agree that deliberate actions have to be taken in order to change the situation of the disadvantaged groups. The study thus married the concept of affirmative action to the concepts of gender inequality and gender equality in trying to find out the role political parties were playing to enhance the representation of women in the parliament of Zambia.

Figure 1.1 below shows the Conceptual Framework which guided the study. The framework points out that the adoption of affirmative action by political parties would lead to gender equality in parliament.

Figure 2.1 Conceptual Framework



2.6 Operational Definitions

Affirmative Action: in this paper affirmative action entails any deliberate action taken by political parties to enhance the representation of women in parliament.

Gender: this paper adopted the SADC definition which states that gender means “the roles, duties and responsibilities which are culturally or socially ascribed to women, men, girls and boys” (SADC, 2008 p. 7).

Gender Equality: in this paper, gender equality was defined according to the SADC definition which states that “gender equality means the equal enjoyment of rights and the access to opportunities and outcomes, including resources, by women, men, girls and boys” (SADC, 2008 p. 7).

Representation of Women in Parliament: in this paper, representation of women in parliament entails the proportionate presence of women members of parliament in parliament.

2.7 Chapter Summary

This chapter has reviewed the literature related to the study. The next chapter presents the methodology.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

The previous chapter reviewed literature related to the study. This chapter explains the study's research methodology. It gives the research design, sample population, sample size, sampling techniques and how the data was collected and analysed.

3.1 Research Design

The study was mainly qualitative and a case study design was used. The study aimed to gain in-depth knowledge on the role the two political parties were playing in the enhancement of women representation in the parliament of Zambia. Qualitative methods aim at collecting detailed, rich data, allowing for in-depth understanding of individual action within the context of social life (Giddens, 2013 p. 48). The case study method is qualitative and allows for in-depth investigation of the problem at hand. In this method, various aspects of a unit or a problem are studied thereby allowing a researcher to gain through knowledge of the problem (Ghosh, 2015; Kombo & Tromp, 2006; Creswell, 2003). The results of the study were not meant to be generalised to other political parties but rather to bring forth detailed information about the two political parties from which then other political parties could learn.

3.2 Study Population

Kombo and Tromp (2006, p. 76) assert that "a population is a group of individuals, objects or items from which samples are taken for measurement". All the political parties registered in Zambia formed the population of the study from which the PF and the UPND were purposefully chosen. In 2016, only four political parties had representation in parliament.

3.3 Study Sample

In qualitative studies, it is difficult to have a predetermined sample size and fewer people take part in research because qualitative study does not aim to seek representation (Dawson, 2002). The concept of saturation can be used to arrive at a good enough sample (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). Saturation is said to be reached

when the researcher is no longer receiving any new information by continuing (Dawson, 2002). Sample size was arrived at qualitatively considering that the study was qualitative and that the study was using interviews as a method of data collection. This study had a tentative number of 40 participants. However, only 30 were reached and only 26 participated. The sample had 13 males and 13 females.

The table below shows a breakdown of the participants:

Table 3.1 Study Participant Breakdown

Target Group	Number of Participants	
	PF	UPND
Senior Party Officials	1	1
Women's Wing Officials	1	1
Female Aspiring Parliamentary Candidates	2	2
Candidate Select Committee Officials	9	9
TOTAL	13	13

3.4 Sampling Techniques

Political parties were purposively selected on the premise that they were information rich. At the time, the two political parties were the ones that were largely represented in parliament with the PF and the UPND having 80 and 58 directly elected members of parliament respectively, giving a total number of 138 MPs out of 156 directly elected MPs. The other two political parties represented in parliament only had four MPs in total, that is, three for the MMD and One for the FDD. The two political parties had participated in parliamentary elections since 2001 (NDI/FODEP, 2003).

Party officials at different levels of party hierarchies shown in 3.1 above were purposively selected on the basis that they were information rich having been identified as custodians of information about the topic under study. As Kombo and Tromp assert, (2006 p. 82) “the power of purposive sampling lies in selecting

information rich cases for in-depth analysis related to the central issues being studied”.

3.5 Data Collection Instruments

The material for the case study can also be gathered from writing materials about the respondent and through interviews (Ghosh, 2015). For this study, data was collected through interviews and from political party and ECZ documents. Unstructured interview guides were used as research instruments to collect primary data. Unstructured interview guides were used because the study was collecting in-depth information. Unstructured interviews were used to help in having a wider understanding of the topic and to get the participants to open up. The aim of unstructured interview is to get the informants to open up especially when studying sensitive topics such as sexuality or political topics (Kombo and Tromp, 2006).

Document review guides were used to collect data from documents. Documents helped to consolidate, and to verify some data collected through interviews. When data is collected through interviews, examining data from other sources may help a researcher to draw an accurate conclusion (Ghosh, 2015).

3.6 Data Collection Procedure and Timeline

Data collection was done within a period of three months from May 15, 2017 to August 15, 2017. The study started by collecting secondary data and then collecting primary data. Secondary data came from political party documents, that is, political party manifestos and constitutions, ECZ data and from other written documents.

3.7 Data Analysis Instruments and Procedures

Data was analysed thematically by summarising it and organising it into themes based on the research objectives and questions. Thematic analysis is one of the methods used to analyse qualitative data where the themes emerge from the data and not imposed upon it by the researcher (Dawson, 2002). Further, data was presented on charts, tables and themes. Some data was further quantified and frequency tables were also used for presentation purposes. Microsoft Word and Excel were used to generate charts and tables and interpreting some numerical data.

3.8 Ethical Considerations

Prior consent was obtained from all the participants before data was collected. The participants were all shown the introductory letter from the University of Zambia and told that the study was being conducted for academic purposes. The participants were also told what the study was all about and were told that their participation in the study was voluntary and on condition of anonymity. They were assured that the information collected from them would be strictly confidential and that their privacy would be carefully protected. They were further informed that they were free to withdraw from taking part in the study, at any time and at no cost.

A few challenges were however encountered. Some participants from both political parties were hesitant to participate in the study citing a hostile political environment following the 2016 general elections. One participant from the UPND provincial office, for example, pointed out that they were not giving out information anyhow as they feared that they could be dealing with a spy sent by the ruling party. As such, I asked them to seek clarity from their provincial chairperson and their secretariat who had given me a go ahead to conduct the study and I also showed them the introductory letter from the University of Zambia. Thereafter, most of them were free to participate. One female MP from the UPND who I had contacted for an interview had agreed to be interviewed on a specified date. She however later called off the interview citing a hostile political environment adding that no one could be trusted. As such, I respected her right not to want to participate in the study.

3.9 Limitations of the Study

The study had hoped to include four critical cases, that is, two female MPs and two female aspiring parliamentary candidates who had applied to be adopted but were not successful. However, of the intended number of MPs, only one UPND MP from Central Province participated. Some MPs had promised that they would participate but they failed to do so as they kept rescheduling our meetings citing busy schedules. As such the study missed out from the point of view of the MPs with regards the role of political parties in the enhancement of women representation in parliament. However, the other methods of data collection such as document review helped consolidate the study. In addition, some candidate selecting officials from both

political parties were aspiring candidates in the 2016 General Elections and most of the information required could still be answered by other political party officials.

3.10 Chapter Summary

This chapter has shown how the study was conducted. The next chapter presents the research findings.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRESENTATION OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

4.0 Introduction

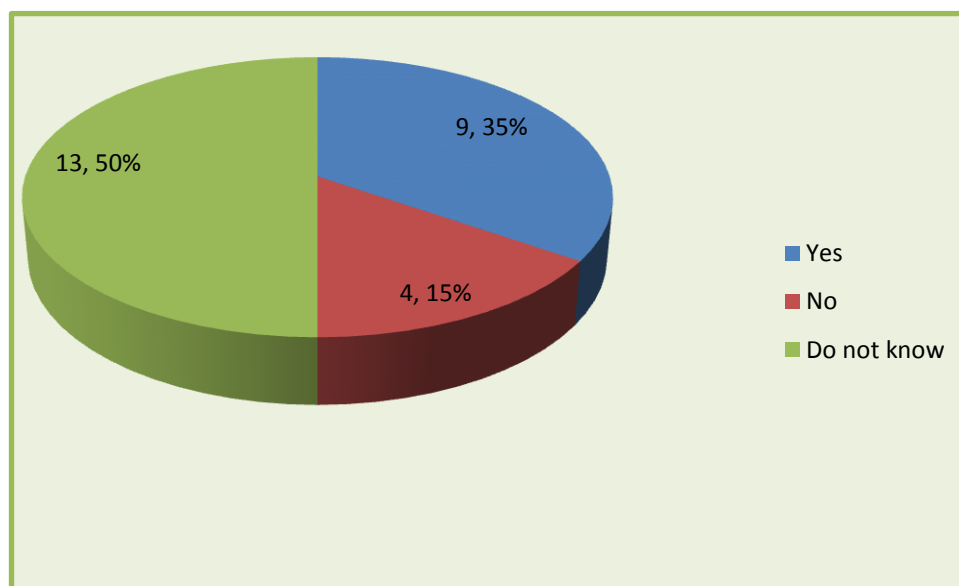
The previous chapter showed the methodology used by the study. This chapter presents the research findings which have been arranged in terms of the research objectives and research questions. The first section is focused on the affirmative action measures put in place by political parties to enhance the representation of women in Parliament. The second section presents data on how the affirmative action measures put in place by political parties were helping in addressing the low representation of women in parliament. The last section has data on the challenges faced by political parties in the enhancement of women representation in parliament.

4.1 Affirmative Action Measures put in place by Political Parties to address the Underrepresentation of Women in Parliament

The following areas address the first specific objective of the study. This was done by first stating the findings from the participants followed by the findings from the political parties' documents, that is, the manifestos and the political party constitutions.

All the participants from the two political parties were asked to state whether their political parties had done anything deliberate to help address the underrepresentation of women in parliament and Figure 4.1 below shows the responses:

Figure 4.1 Responses on whether Political Parties had done anything Deliberate to help address the Underrepresentation of Women in Parliament



As figure 4.1 shows 50 percent of the participants said they did not know while 35 percent of the participants said yes and 15 percent said no.

The nine participants, that is, 35 percent of the participants who said yes were further asked to state the kind of deliberate efforts made by political parties to help address the underrepresentation of women in parliament. Four of the nine participants were from the PF and five were from the UPND. Table 4.1 below shows a summary of their responses.

Table 4.1 Affirmative Action Measures put in place by the PF and the UPND to address the Underrepresentation of Women in Parliament

PF	UPND
To have at least 30% women in decision making positions	To have at least 30% women in decision making positions
Adoption of the women's wing concept	Adoption of the women's wing concept
Training and sensitization of women	Training and sensitization of women
Relaxing requirements for one to be adopted as a parliamentary candidate	Relaxing requirements for one to be adopted as a parliamentary candidate
Adoption of women in party strongholds	Adoption of women in party strongholds
Presidential pronouncement to adopt 40% female parliamentary candidates	

Table 4.1 above shows a summary of the responses from the PF and the UPND on the affirmative action measures put in place by their political parties to enhance the representation of women in parliament.

The nine respondents were mostly from the higher levels of the political party structure. Senior party officials from the PF and the UPND asserted that their political parties had relaxed the requirements for one to be considered for adoption as a parliamentary candidate to ensure the adoption of many female parliamentary candidates. "We have a soft spot towards women; we adopt them despite their many flaws," a senior UPND party official said. "I have many examples to cite; some women were not liked by the lower organs of the party, but were adopted simply because they were women," a PF senior party official pointed out.

One participant from the UPND also pointed out that the UPND deliberately adopted many women in an area the party considered to be a party stronghold to ensure that many women were elected to parliament. "Our party adopted four women in a region that I think was our stronghold and three of us won the National Assembly Elections.

So I believe it was a deliberate move to adopt many women in our stronghold,” a UPND female MP said.

Further, all the four participants from the PF said the President made a pronouncement that the PF would adopt 40% female parliamentary candidates which was one way to ensure that many women were elected to parliament.

Officials from the Women’s League of the two political parties said they held meetings where women were encouraged to vie for political office and were also given information on what it took to effectively participate as a parliamentary candidate. A Women’s Wing official from the PF also revealed that a National Conference spearheaded by women was held in May, 2016 at Mulungushi Conference Centre. The main aim of the conference was to appeal to the Party Secretary General, the Vice President and the Central Committee in general, to adopt more women as parliamentary candidates. At the conference, female MPs also gave tips on how women could prepare themselves for adoption. As such the president made a pronouncement that the party would adopt 40% female parliamentary candidates. In addition, many women expressed willingness to want to contest elections. “We had a woman applying to contest elections in almost all the constituencies”, the official pointed out.

A senior PF official and a women’s league official from the PF also revealed that Hon Dora Siliya spearheaded an initiative called the ‘*Pink Initiative*’ aimed at encouraging women to take an active part in politics.

The two senior representatives from both political parties further stated that their parties took cognizance of the international, local and regional commitments such as the SADC Declaration and Protocol when making party decisions, including during the adoption of parliamentary candidates. The officials further asserted that they made sure that all the party structures and committees mandated to adopt parliamentary candidates had at least 30 percent women representation. This was so as to ensure the interests of women were well represented and hence ensure that women spoke for fellow women when considering women for adoption as parliamentary candidates.

The senior officials from the two political parties also pointed out that they had adopted the concept of women's wing and as such they had women's wings as one way of encouraging women to enter politics and thereby have the much needed experience to vie for parliamentary office. The women's wing was also expected to represent the interests of women. A PF Women's Wing official also said that her association had drafted a National Plan of Action which was a policy instrument aimed at helping in addressing the low representation of women in parliament and other party activities although the policy instrument was not yet operational due to lack of funds.

4.1.1 Review of Political Party Documents

Political party documents were reviewed to see if they provided for affirmative action aimed at enhancing the representation of women in parliament.

Two PF Manifestos and the PF Constitution were reviewed. These manifestos reviewed were the 2011-2016 and the 2016-2021. The Manifesto stated that the PF adopted the greatest number of women as parliamentary candidates in 2006 and subsequently sent the largest proportion of female MPs to parliament (21 percent) that year. It was stated in the Manifesto that the PF as a party, intended to double the 2006 percentage.

The 2011-2016 Manifesto further gives reference to the prescribed threshold of women representation in decision-making as prescribed in the BDPfA (UN, 1995), the SADC Declaration on Gender and Development (SADC, 1997) and the 2000 Millennium Declaration and Development. The PF Manifesto 2016-2021 was reviewed and the study found that the manifesto states that in the period of 2016-2021, the PF would continue to adopt the greatest number of women as parliamentary candidates as well as at councillor level to help achieve the 50/50 threshold. The Party Constitution however had nothing stated with regards the representation of women in parliament.

Further, the UPND Manifesto for 2016 to 2021, also called the *Ten Point Plan* was reviewed. While point number two of the plan talks about reducing inequality and

point number ten is on good governance, the plan had no explicit statement on the enhancement of women representation in parliament.

Article 5 of the UPND Constitution stipulates the objectives of the party. Article 5(i) asserts that the party would work towards greater participation of women in public life and decision-making with a goal of attaining at least thirty percent representation for women in decision-making bodies and wherever possible engage in affirmative action in favour of women.

4.2 How the Affirmative Action Measures put in place by Political Parties were helping in Addressing the low Representation of Women in Parliament

The following section addresses specific question number two of the study. The first part looks at the responses from participants while the other part looks at data from the ECZ.

4.2.1 Relaxing of Requirements for one to be adopted as a Parliamentary Candidate

This measure is said to have been adopted by both political parties. The senior party officials from both political parties asserted that as a way of ensuring that many women were adopted, they relaxed the requirements for one to be adopted when considering women for adoption. All the participants from both political parties revealed that the main requirements or what they were looking at to consider an aspiring parliamentary candidate for adoption included: popularity of a candidate in a particular constituency, resourcefulness of a candidate and loyalty of a candidate to the party.

The senior party officials from both political parties who said this measure was used asserted that some women were adopted based on gender even when they did not meet most of the requirements for one to be adopted as a parliamentary candidate. “I can cite some provinces where no woman would have been adopted had the party not considered gender just to ensure that there was female representation,” a PF senior official said.

4.2.2 Training and Sensitisation of Women

This measure is also said to have been used by both political parties. Participants who said this measure was used asserted that the result of applying this measure saw a high response from women wanting to vie for office.

4.2.3 PF Pronouncement to adopt 40 percent Female Parliamentary Candidates

This measure was specific to the patriotic front. The four participants who said they knew about this measure were asked to state how the said measure fared. The participants asserted that there were both negatives and benefits achieved with regards the said measure. The main benefit according to the participants was that because of the pronouncement, many women expressed interest to vie for parliamentary office. “We had a woman applying to contest elections in almost all the constituencies”, a Women’s Wing official pointed out. On the negatives, the participants asserted that the measure was not met because not many women were adopted in party strongholds and that no practical measures were put in place to ensure that the specified number of women was achieved.

4.2.4 To have at least 30 percent Women in Decision-Making Positions

The reviewed documents of both political parties show that the documents say that the parties wished to have 30 percent women in decision-making positions while the PF manifesto even goes further to talk about the current African Union and SADC threshold of 50 percent. As such the two political parties were asked to state how the stated targets in their documents were helping to address the low representation of women in parliament.

All the 26 participants were asked to state their position with regards the said finding in the political party documents.

Table 4.2 PF and UPND Participants' Responses on why the Party has not met the percent Representation at Parliamentary Level

Response	Frequency		Percent	
	PF	UPND	PF	UPND
No practical measures put in place to meet the target	6	5	46.2%	38.5
No adoption of women in party strongholds	4	4	30.8%	30.8
Lack of political will by the party to address the low representation of women in parliament	2	3	15.4%	23.1
The target is not meant for the party but the nation at large	1	1	7.7%	7.7
Total	13	13	100	100

Table 4.2 above shows that for both political parties, no practical measures put in place to meet the target had the highest frequencies at 46.2 percent and 38.5 percent for the PF and UPND, respectively followed by no adoption of women in party strongholds. While the target is not meant for the party but the nation at large had the lowest frequencies for both political parties.

4.2.5 Adoption of Women in Political Party Strongholds

This measure is said to have been used by both the UPND and the PF. The participants from the two parties asserted that they deliberately adopted women in some party strongholds to ensure enhanced representation of women in parliament as it was guaranteed that they would win elections. Some women won elections because they were adopted in party strongholds. The participants further went on to say that many women won elections than in previous elections because they were adopted in party strongholds. A participant from the UPND for example, saw the adoption of women in a considered party stronghold as one way of enhancing the representation of women in parliament as such women were assured of winning elections whether popular or not popular. Some participants from the two political parties also pointed out that the

women who won elections were less than 30 percent because their respective political parties did not adopt many women in perceived political party strongholds.

As such, a further question was asked to participants to state their perceived political party strongholds following the 2016 General Elections.

Table 4.3 Responses by Participants from the PF and UPND on Perceived Political Party Strongholds following the 2016 Elections

Province	Frequency		Percent	
	PF	UPND	PF	UPND
CENTRAL	0	0		
COPPERBELT	1	0	7.7	
EASTERN	2	0	15.4	
LUAPULA	4	0	30.8	
LUSAKA	1	0	7.7	
MUCHINGA	2	0	15.4	
NORTHERN	3	0	23.1	
NORTH-WESTERN	0	4		30.8
SOUTHERN	0	6		46.2
WESTERN	0	3		23.1
TOTAL	13	13	100	100

Table 4.3 above shows that Luapula, Northern, Muchinga, Copperbelt, Eastern and Lusaka provinces were said to be PF strongholds. On the other hand, Southern, North-Western and Western provinces were said to be UPND strongholds. Although all the participants stated that the said provinces were their strongholds, the table above shows how they ranked them. On part of the PF, Luapula province had the highest frequency followed by Northern, Muchinga and Eastern Province while Copperbelt and Lusaka had the lowest frequency at 7.7 percent. On part of the UPND, Southern Province had the highest frequency followed by North-Western and Western

province had the least frequency. Central Province was not said to be a stronghold for any of the political parties.

4.2.6 Review of ECZ Data

The following sections look at adoption of parliamentary candidates by political parties and the parliamentary winners as per ECZ data. ECZ data was further looked at as political parties could not give the actual figures other than just stating that many women were adopted and that many won.

The following is data from ECZ on validly nominated candidates for 2016 National Assembly:

Table 4.4: PF and UPND 2016 adopted Female Parliamentary Candidates

PROVINCE	TOTAL NUMBER OF CANDIDATES ADOPTED		NUMBER OF FEMALE CANDIDATES ADOPTED		% OF FEMALE CANDIDATES ADOPTED	
	PF	UPND	PF	UPND	PF	UPND
CENTRAL	13	14	1	4	7.7%	28.6
COPPERBELT	22	22	1	4	4.5%	18.2
EASTERN	17	18	5	1	29.4%	5.6
LUAPULA	15	15	1	4	6.7%	26.7
LUSAKA	14	14	5	5	35.7%	35.7
MUCHINGA	10	10	1	1	10%	10%
NORTHERN	12	13	1	3	8.3%	23.1
NORTH-WESTERN	12	12	3	2	25%	16.7
SOUTHERN	18	18	6	3	33.3%	16.7
WESTERN	19	19	4	1	21.1%	5.3
TOTAL	152	155	28	28	18.4%	18.1

Source: Electoral Commission of Zambia Data

The table above shows that the PF adopted a total number of 28 female candidates, representing 18.4 percent of candidates adopted, while the UPND adopted a total number of 28 female candidates, representing 18.1 percent of candidates adopted. The table also shows that Lusaka Province had the highest percentage of female candidates adopted by the PF followed by Southern and Eastern Province. On the other hand, Copperbelt Province had the least percentage of female candidates adopted by the PF followed by Central, Luapula and Northern Province. The table further shows that Lusaka Province had the highest percentage of female candidates adopted by the UPND followed by Central, Luapula, Northern and Copperbelt Provinces. On the other hand, Western, Eastern and Muchinga Provinces had the least percentage of female candidates adopted by the UPND. The table also further shows that the PF only contested National Assembly elections in 152 constituencies while the UPND contested National Assembly elections in 155 constituencies out of the 156 constituencies.

The ECZ data on validly nominated candidates for 2016 National Assembly Elections revealed the following:

Table 4.5 PF 2016 adopted Parliamentary Candidates in Perceived Party Strongholds

PROVINCE	TOTAL NUMBER OF CANDIDATES ADOPTED	NUMBER OF FEMALE CANDIDATES ADOPTED	% OF FEMALE CANDIDATES ADOPTED
COPPERBELT	22	1	4.5%
EASTERN	17	5	29.4%
LUAPULA	15	1	6.7%
LUSAKA	14	5	35.7%
MUCHINGA	10	1	10%
NORTHERN	12	1	8.3%
TOTAL	90	14	15.6%

Source: Electoral Commission of Zambia data

The table above shows that the Patriotic Front adopted 14 women in their perceived political party strongholds, representing 15.6 percent of candidates adopted in the perceived party strongholds. Further the table shows that Lusaka and Eastern Provinces had the highest percentages of female candidates adopted, while the rest of the provinces had below 20 percent of women adopted.

Table 4.6 below shows the UPND adopted candidates in party strongholds.

Table 4.6 UPND 2016 adopted Parliamentary Candidates in Perceived Party Strongholds

PROVINCE	TOTAL OF ADOPTED	NUMBER CANDIDATES ADOPTED	NUMBER FEMALE CANDIDATES ADOPTED	% OF FEMALES CANDIDATES ADOPTED
NORTH- WESTERN	12		2	16.7%
SOUTHERN	18		3	16.7%
WESTERN	19		1	5.2%
TOTAL	49		6	12.2%

Source: Electoral Commission of Zambia Data

The table above shows that the UPND adopted a total number of 6 women in their perceived party strongholds, representing 12.2 percent of candidates adopted in the perceived party strongholds. The table also shows that in all their perceived party strongholds, the UPND had below 20 percent of women adopted.

Parliamentary Winners by Province

The following section looks at parliamentary winners as per ECZ data.

Table 4.7 below shows PF parliamentary winners in 2016.

Table 4.7 PF and UPND 2016 Female Parliamentary Winners by Province

PROVINCE	TOTAL NUMBER OF PARLIAMENTARY WINNERS		NUMBER OF FEMALE WINNERS		% OF FEMALE WINNERS	
	PF	UPND	PF	UPND	PF	UPND
CENTRAL	6	6	1	3	16.7%	50%
COPPERBELT	17	2	1	0	5.9%	0%
EASTERN	14	0	4	0	28.6%	
LUAPULA	13	0	1	0	7.7%	
LUSAKA	8	4	4	2	50%	50%
MUCHINGA	10	0	1	0	10%	
NORTHERN	12	0	1	0	8.3%	
NORTH-WESTERN	0	12	0	2		16.7%
SOUTHERN	0	18	0	3		16.7%
WESTERN	0	16	0	0		0%
TOTAL	80	58	13	10	16.3%	17.2%

Source: Electoral Commission of Zambia Data

The table above shows that out of 156 seats, the PF won 80 seats while the UPND won 58 seats. Of the 80 seats won by the PF, 13 seats were won by women representing 16.3 percent of the seats won. The table further shows that Lusaka Province had the highest number of the seats won by women from the PF followed by Eastern province, while in the rest of the provinces below 20 percent of the seats were won by women from the PF. Of the 58 seats won by the UPND, 10 seats were won by women, representing 17.2 percent of the seats won. The table also shows that Lusaka and Central Provinces had the highest number of seats won by women from the UPND, while in the rest of the provinces below 20 percent of the seats were won by women from the UPND.

Parliamentary Winners in Perceived Political Party Strongholds

The following data shows the parliamentary winners in political party strongholds.

ECZ data shows that more than 70 percent of parliamentary winners came from areas said to be political party strongholds. As shown on the responses for question one and also as revealed during interviews on how the measures put in place by political parties were helping to address the low representation of women in parliament, participants revealed that mostly winners of parliamentary seats come from areas where a particular political party had more support than in areas where a party did not have much support.

Table 4.8 below shows the 2016 PF parliamentary winners in perceived party strongholds.

Table 4.8 PF 2016 Parliamentary Winners in Perceived Party Strongholds

PROVINCE	TOTAL NUMBER OF PARLIAMENTARY WINNERS	NUMBER OF FEMALE WINNERS	% OF FEMALE WINNERS
COPPERBELT	17	1	5.9%
EASTERN	14	4	28.6%
LUAPULA	13	1	7.6%
LUSAKA	8	4	50%
MUCHINGA	10	1	10%
NORTHERN	12	1	8.3%
TOTAL	74	12	16.2%

Source: Electoral Commission of Zambia

Of the 74 seats won by the PF in their perceived party stronghold, 12 seats were won by women, representing 16.2 percent of the seats won in the party strongholds. Lusaka Province had the highest number of seats won followed by Eastern Province while the rest of the provinces had below 20 percent of the seats won.

On the other hand Table 4.9 below shows the UPND parliamentarians in perceived party strongholds.

Table 4.9 UPND 2016 Parliamentarians in Perceived Party Strongholds

PROVINCE	TOTAL OF PARLIAMENTARY WINNERS	NUMBER OF FEMALE WINERS	% OF FEMALE WINNERS
NORTH-WESTERN	12	2	16.7%
SOUTHERN	18	3	16.7%
WESTERN	16	0	0%
TOTAL	46	5	10.9%

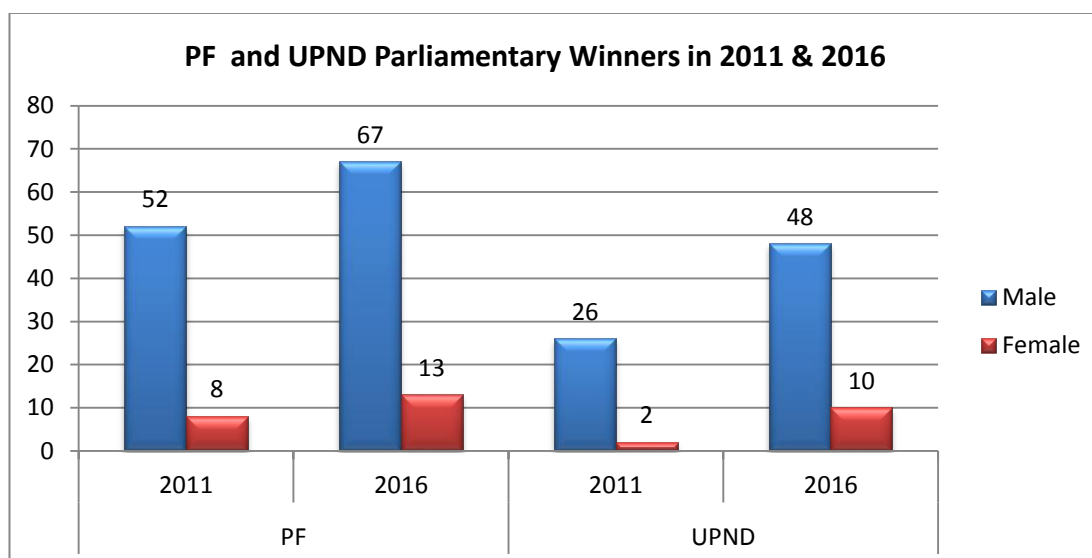
Source: Electoral Commission of Zambia Data

The table above shows that out of the 46 seats won in the perceived party strongholds, 5 seats were won by women, representing 10.9 % of the seats won in the party strongholds. The table also shows that below 20% seats were won by women in each of the provinces.

Parliamentary Winners in 2011 and 2016

Figure 4.2 below shows the parliamentary winners in 2011 and 2016.

Figure 4.2 PF & UPND Parliamentary Winners in 2011 & 2016



Source: ECZ Data

As the figure shows the PF had 60 winners in 2011 and the UPND had 28 winners. In 2016, the PF had 80 winners while the UPND had 58 winners. Of the winners in 2011, the PF had 8 women, representing 13.3 percent of winners while the UPND had 2 women, representing 7.2 percent of the winners. On the other hand, of the winners in 2016, the PF had 13 women representing 16.3 percent of the winners in 2016, while the UPND had 10 women, representing 17.2 percent of winners in 2016. The PF therefore added five more women in 2016 representing a percentage increase of 62.5 percent while the UPND added eight more women to the number of winners in 2011, representing a percentage increase of 80 percent. On the other hand the PF added 15 more men in 2016 representing a percentage increase of 28.8 percent while the UPND added 22 more men, representing a percentage increase of 84.6 percent.

4.3 Challenges faced by Political Parties in the Enhancement of Women Representation in Parliament in the 2016 General Elections

All the 26 participants from the two political parties were asked to state whether political parties faced any problems in addressing the low representation of women in parliament following the 2016 General elections and they all said their respective political parties faced challenges. Table 4.6 below however shows what the participants saw to be the main challenge.

Table 4.10 PF and UPND Participants on the main Challenges faced by Political Parties in the Enhancement of Women Representation in Parliament

Response	Frequency		Percent	
	PF	UPND	PF	UPND
Lack of resources	3	4	23.1	30.8
Social/cultural beliefs	2	1	15.4	7.7
Commercialisation of politics	2	2	15.4	15.4
Competitive political environment	2	2	15.4	15.4
Political party strongholds	2	1	15.4	7.7
Hostile political environment	0	2	0	15.4
Fewer women participating at parliamentary level	1	1	7.7	7.7
Grade twelve clause	1	0	7.7	0
Total	13	13	100	100

Table 4.10 shows that lack of resources had the highest frequency at 30.8 percent and 23.1 percent for the UPND and PF, respectively while political party strongholds, social/cultural beliefs, competitive political environment and commercialisation of politics had similar frequencies on the part of the PF. On the other hand, commercialisation of politics, hostile political environment and competitive political environment had similar frequencies on the part of the UPND. No PF participant saw a hostile political environment to be the main challenge and no UPND participant saw a Grade Twelve Constitutional Clause to be the main challenge.

Further, additional responses on some of the stated challenges are shown below.

Lack of Resources

The following part shows the actual responses from the participants regarding the challenge on the lack of resources. Lack of resources here means lack of financial, human and material resources to enable one participate effectively as a parliamentary candidate.

Senior national level officials from the two political parties asserted that political parties did not have enough resources. As such, those participating at parliamentary level were expected to meet their own costs. It was also in this regard that the financial position of someone was one of the requirements for one to be adopted as a parliamentary candidate. Political parties find it difficult to advance the interests of women due to lack of resources.

The actual assertions by the participants were as follows:

“I know of a woman who sold her only house so as to be adopted by a particular party and lost the elections. So I cannot sell my only house just to participate as a parliamentary candidate because participating at such a level is a gamble. If I were to lose, I would be condemned to poverty,” a PF female constituency official pointed out.

“No woman can survive in my constituency. There are a lot of people with money here,” a PF constituency official said.

Hostile Political Environment

This area addresses the challenge on a hostile political environment. By hostile political environment is meant a political environment in which participants could not participate freely due to a number of factors such as political violence, lack of freedom of assembly and freedom of speech.

Most participants especially from the UPND asserted that there was too much violence and political intolerance during the 2016 election period. As such women could not participate fully in political party activities.

The following is what the participants had to say:

“You see these stitches on my hand. These are PF cadres, a UPND female constituency official pointed out.

“Let me show you. Have you seen those new unpainted roofing sheets on my house? That is the work of PF cadres. They threw something on the roof which ended up damaging the roofing sheets. My wife even told me to stop politics because it was becoming more and more dangerous to participate in politics. Most women in my constituency were refusing to participate in party activities for fear of violence,” a UPND constituency official pointed out. Political violence was also echoed by elections observers (AU, 2016, Carter Centre, 2016, EU, 2016 and Commonwealth, 2016).

Competitive Political Environment

The section below shows the responses of participants regarding the challenge on competitive political environment. By competitive political environment is meant a situation where each one wanted to get into power and hence each one had to put in place measures to challenge the other. In case of the 2016 general elections, competition was said to have been very stiff.

Participants revealed that the 2016 elections were very competitive hence making it difficult for political parties to fully help in addressing the low representation of women in parliament.

The verbatim below shows what one of the participants said.

“In my constituency, I think the woman who was aspiring for adoption had done a very good job on the ground, but a new comer from the MMD was adopted,” a UPND constituency official observed.

Entrenched Socio/Cultural Beliefs and Expectations

The following addresses the challenge on socio/cultural beliefs and expectations. By entrenched socio/cultural beliefs and expectations is meant deep-rooted societal/cultural beliefs and expectations regarding the behaviour of men and women. Society expects women and men to behave in certain ways.

Participants revealed that socio/cultural beliefs were deep-rooted even in political parties, where it was still a general belief for example that leadership should be a preserve for men. As such it was difficult for political parties to advance the interests of women. Socio/cultural beliefs hence had an adverse effect on the full participation of women at parliamentary level.

The following is what some participants had to say:

“I am in politics but I cannot allow my wife to participate in politics; politics are very dirty,” a UPND constituency official said.

“The President was shocked to find that our Provincial Chairpersons had only recommended fellow men to be adopted as parliamentary candidates; this is because there is a general belief that leadership should only be for men” a PF Women’s Wing National Official pointed out. The revelation by this participant resonates with feminist theory view that men as a group deny women access to positions of power and influence (Giddens, 2013).

“Within my party, for example, there were people who thought I could not win an election considering that I was female and standing against an incumbent popular male candidate. So they thought that adopting a popular male candidate would enable the party to win the seat,” a female UPND MP stated.

Commercialisation of Politics

The following addresses the verbatim responses regarding the challenge on commercialisation of politics. Commercialisation of politics means a situation where

for one to participate in politics at whatever level, one needed to pay something in return.

Some participants asserted that politics have become so commercial that in almost all political activities, one had to part way with money. The following verbatim of participants shows how commercial politics have become:

“Nowadays, politics is money based. I had participated as a parliamentary candidate before but I think this time around it was very costly. I discovered that I needed to spend at least K20 000 per week, which was more than what I had anticipated,” a UPND female MP pointed out.

“Politicians like money especially during adoptions. “Those in party structures eat money through adoptions, “a PF constituency official pointed out.

“In fact corruption begins way before elections. Some have already started giving material things to those in party structures so that they could be adopted in the coming 2021 elections,” a PF constituency official pointed out.

“You cannot rule out corruption during the adoption process. How come in my constituency, a candidate who was not even interviewed was adopted,” a UPND constituency official wondered.

“Politics is about money exchanging hands and men are more willing to give while women are on the receiving end” a PF party official observed.

“In my constituency, we had more feeding points than we have had in previous elections. People were pretending to be with us so that they could benefit in one way or another. One surprising thing is that after our opponent was declared winner, many of the people who were eating with us were seen celebrating. So, they had just come to our party to eat,” a UPND constituency official pointed out.

Fewer Women Participating at Parliamentary Level

This part talks about the challenge on fewer women participating at parliamentary level. It was revealed during interviews that not many women were participating as parliamentary candidates compared to men. In one constituency for example, only one woman would apply for adoption against six men.

Some participants asserted that it was challenging for political parties to find suitable women who could participate at parliamentary level because there were fewer

women than men who contest elections. They further asserted that it was easy to find suitable men because there was a larger pool of men to choose from than that of women, as the following responses show:

“I was the only female aspirant in my constituency against 11 male aspirants,” a UPND female MP pointed out.

“In my constituency, there was no female aspirant, not even in 2011,” a PF constituency official pointed out.

Political Party Strongholds

This part looks at the challenge regarding political party strongholds. Political party strongholds mean areas where one political party is said to be more popular than other political parties.

Participants from the political parties pointed out that the popularity of a political party in a particular region meant that parliamentary candidates from less popular parties had a lower chance of winning elections. As such, even if a political party adopted many women in a region where such a party was not popular, the adopted female candidates had a lower chance of winning elections.

“We had adopted many women in Southern Province and they all lost,” a PF National Women’s Wing Official asserted.

4.4 Chapter Summary

This chapter has presented the research findings. The next chapter discusses the findings.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

5.0 Introduction

The previous chapter presented the study findings. This chapter discusses the findings on what affirmative action measures political parties had in place to enhance the representation of women in parliament, how the affirmative action measures were helping in addressing the low representation of women in parliament and the challenges political parties were faced with in the enhancement of women representation in parliament.

5.1 Affirmative Action Measures put in place by Political Parties to Enhance the Representation of Women in Parliament

This section will discuss findings relating to specific research question number one which is “What affirmative action measures did political parties have in place to enhance the representation of women in the parliament of Zambia”?

At least 30 percent Women in Decision-Making Positions

This measure meant that political parties intended to have at least 30 percent women representation in decision-making positions. Having such a target meant that the representation of women in parliament would be enhanced. In the PF manifesto, for example, the party envisaged to adopt as many women as possible to ensure that not only the 30 percent target was met but also the SADC/African Union target of 50 percent women in decision-making positions was met. On the other hand the UPND constitution promulgated the use of affirmative action measures to ensure at least 30 percent women in decision-making positions. The statements on having at least 30 percent women in decision-making positions were seen as one way through which the representation of women in parliament could be enhanced. By having the thresholds in their political party documents, political parties could be said to be responding to the international and feminist calls for the need to address gender inequality in politics as shown in the literature cited (Giddens, 2013; UN, 1995; SADC, 1997; AU, 2003 and SADC, 2008).

Adoption of the Women's Wing Concept

The adoption of the women's wing concept was seen by the two political parties as one way through which the underrepresentation of women in parliament and other decision-making positions would be enhanced. The two political parties pointed to the fact that they were aware of the low representation of women hence coming up with a wing that would represent the interests of women and thereby ensure that they were well represented not only in parliament but in other decision-making positions. By designating a wing specifically for women, it shows that political parties were aware that women suffer disadvantage in politics as also feminist theory propagates in the literature cited (De Beer & Swanepool, 2000).

Pronouncement to adopt 40 percent Female Parliamentary Candidates

The pronouncement to adopt 40 percent women was specific to the PF and it meant that the PF had intended to adopt at least 40 percent women as parliamentary candidates. It was hoped that by so doing the low representation of women in parliament would be enhanced.

Relaxing of Requirements for one to be adopted as a Parliamentary Candidate

Both political parties said they used positive discrimination as an affirmative action measure to ensure the adoption of many female candidates. By positive discrimination, the participants meant that the requirements for one to be adopted were relaxed when it came to the adoption of female candidates. Participants from both political parties revealed that the main requirements or what they were looking at to consider an aspiring parliamentary candidate for adoption included: resourcefulness of a candidate, loyalty of a candidate to the party, popularity of a candidate in a particular constituency and a candidate's knowledge of the party rules. By overlooking some of the requirements when considering women for adoption, the two political parties hoped that the low representation of women in the parliament of Zambia could be enhanced thereby acknowledging feminist theory observations that women suffer disadvantage (Giddens, 2013).

Adopting Women in Political Party Strongholds

Regarding this measure, political parties meant that there were those regions where political parties perceived themselves to have been popular; as such they were assured of winning because those were the regions where they usually won many seats. Literature cited in the study also shows that political parties in Zambia have specific regions where they have more support than in other regions (Carter Center, 2016).

5.2 How the Affirmative Action Measures put in place by Political Parties were helping in addressing the Low Representation of Women in Parliament.

This section addresses specific research question number two of the study which looks at how the affirmative action measures put in place by political parties were helping in addressing the low representation of women in parliament. As such the measures stated in question one will be discussed.

5.2.1 At least 30 percent Women in Decision-Making Positions

On the measure to have at least 30 percent women in decision-making positions, it was encouraging to note that political parties had now started incorporating women in decision-making positions. Being in party decision-making positions would not only see the articulation of women's interests but would also help women to gain the much needed experience, thereby having courage to vie for parliamentary office.

The translation of international, regional and local commitments into political party documents also gave the impression that political parties were concerned with the underrepresentation of women in parliament.

However, an interview with participants found that most members of the controlling organs of the party structures were men. The PF District Executive Committee for example had 24 members, that is, eight members of the main body, eight women and eight youths. However, the Main body and Youths mainly comprised men. It seemed political parties were not willing to go beyond the 30 percent representation of women in party structures. It can therefore be argued that women were not well represented in political party structures. As such, women did not have a bigger voice on issues that affect them such as their underrepresentation in parliament.

Further, the study found that although the two political parties said women now were holding high positions in their respective political parties, most of such positions were at deputy level. For example, the two Secretary Generals for both political parties and Political Party Presidents were all men. In all the constituencies visited, the constituency chairpersons of both political parties were male. The Lusaka District chairpersons were all male and the Provincial chairpersons were all male. This was so despite the participants pointing out that women too were illegible to hold such positions. It can be said that influential positions in political parties continue to be held by men and this finding resonates with the findings cited in literature (NDI/FODEP, 2003; Sampa, 2010). As the participants revealed, at Provincial level, the Province was usually represented by the Provincial Chairperson when deciding the names of candidates to be on the final list of adopted parliamentary candidates by the highest organs of the party, that is, the Central Committee in case of the PF and the National Management Committee in case of the UPND. With most senior positions being held by men, it can be argued that interests of women were not well represented. As such women continued being underrepresented on political party adopted candidate lists as well as in parliament.

Further, while the PF Manifestos show that there was something written on gender and meeting of the 50/50 SADC threshold in terms of candidate adoptions, the UPND constitution had a provision on having at least 30 percent women in decision making positions and to use affirmative action measures wherever possible.

However, apart from the PF manifesto stating that the party would continue adopting the greatest number of women to meet the SADC threshold, the documents did not give a specific number of female candidates to be adopted in each election. Further, the PF documents had nothing stated on what the party would do to ensure the adoption of many female candidates. The party constitution had nothing stated with regards the representation of women. The participants from the PF said that the party was working on revising their constitution and that the issue of women would be taken care of.

Further, the UPND constitution did not state the kind of affirmative action measures the party would use to ensure at least 30 percent representation of women in decision-making positions. The UPND constitution did not also state what kind of

decision-making the party hoped to ensure 30 percent women representation. Further, the UPND constitution did not state whether the use of affirmative action would also be implemented at political party level, particularly at parliamentary level or that would only suffice at national level.

The political parties needed to do more by going further to state the steps they would take to help address the underrepresentation of women in parliament. Failure by the PF, for example, to state a specific number of women to be adopted in each election would render it difficult for the party to be held accountable. It would be up to the party to measure what they term 'greatest'.

On the other hand, the failure by the UPND to specify at what level of decision making they hoped to ensure at least 30 percent women representation and also the failure by the party to state the kind of affirmative action measures to be implemented would also make it difficult for the party to be held accountable. As the conceptual framework has shown, affirmative action measures aim at overcoming past discrimination and one example of an affirmative action measure used in politics is the use of quotas which establish a fixed percentage or number for nomination or representation of a specific group (Tripp & Kang, 2008). Although 30 percent could be said to be some kind of quota, it was not enough for the PF and the UPND not to specify in their political party rules the exact numbers of women to be adopted and to be sent to parliament.

5.2.2 Training and Sensitisation of Women

Regarding the measure on training and sensitisation, party officials from the two political parties also said that the sensitisation aimed at encouraging women to take an active part in politics has seen a number of women taking up leadership positions in the political parties thereby having a bigger influence on women participation in politics even at parliamentary level. However, the assertion by some political party participants that women shun to participate at parliamentary level and the continued underrepresentation of women in parliament is an indication that women are not fully sensitised on the importance of contesting elections. Further, the training and sensitisation was only done in the run up to the elections than it happening as an on-going exercise. As such, political parties do not seem to prepare women well in

advance. This finding resonates with the finding in literature that political parties engage in very few activities between elections (NDI/FODEP, 2003).

5.2.3 Adoption of the Women's Wing Concept

Regarding the measure on the adoption of the women's wing concept, the continued underrepresentation of women on candidate lists of the two political parties could be an indication that the activities of women in the two political parties were not adequate enough to help enhance the representation of women in parliament in Zambia. The PF women's wing official for example pointed out that her association had drafted a plan of action which would enable the wing to carry out various activities that would also see the enhancement of women representation in parliament but that the plan had remained at draft level due to lack of funding. The revelation by the PF official therefore shows that women have not been doing much to help enhance their own representation in parliament. Other than waiting for donors or political party financial support, the women's wings also needed to be innovative and come up with fundraising ventures to ensure the active participation of women in politics. At the same time the women in political parties need also to take a leading role in demanding for gender equality in all their political party processes and procedures.

It was also time women in the two political parties started using other recruitment platforms such as visiting learning institutions and also reaching out to working women through the main-stream and the new media. As the UPND Senior Party official pointed out women also needed to show interest if they wanted to participate fully in politics as they would not be forced to do so. The Women's wings could thus help to raise the interest of women by continuously talking to them through various platforms. As literature points out, women in the US were said to be lacking interest to participate in politics (Lawless & Fox, 2012). It was imperative for women in political parties in Zambia to take effective steps if the representation of women in parliament in Zambia was to be enhanced.

Further, respective political parties also needed to support the work of women in their political parties and ensure that many women were well represented in various party ventures other than just participating in politics as voters.

5.2.4 Relaxing of Requirements for one to be Adopted as a Parliamentary Candidate

Regarding the findings on the said measure, the two political parties indicated during the study that they had applied 'positive discrimination' to ensure that many women were adopted as candidates. Looking at the numbers that were adopted, it could be said that if the two political parties did not make any positive discrimination the numbers of women adopted by the respective political parties could have been far below the 28 women that were adopted by each political party. One national official from the PF asserted for example that, in one Province which was a party stronghold, had the party not deliberately adopted the woman who was adopted even without meeting the needed requirements; the province would have had no female candidate contesting elections. However, considering the fewer numbers of women adopted, discrepancies in the adoption pattern with regards the adoption of women and the revelations from participants, it was not clear how and to what extent the said positive discrimination was applied.

Further, some participants said not many women were adopted and not many won because there were no practical measures put in place by their respective political parties to address the low representation of women in parliament. A UPND national party official revealed that had her party national adopting panel agreed to adopt a considerable specified number of women in their strongholds, many women would have been elected to parliament. "Had we as a party agreed to adopt at least five or seven women in each of our strongholds, we would have achieved even 30 per cent women representation in parliament," she pointed out. The sentiments by this participant were echoed by another participant, a female MP who asserted that if her party had adopted considerable numbers of women in their strongholds, more women would have been in parliament than the numbers of women who were elected to parliament following the 2016 General Elections. The female MP wondered how a political party would adopt many women in regions where the party was not popular. "Why adopt many women in an area you know that they would not win?" a female MP asked.

The revelations by these participants show that the political parties had no clear guidelines on how to adopt many women. In some Provinces; the ECZ data shows that only one woman was adopted by respective political parties. As such, the

commitment of the two political parties to the enhancement of women representation in parliament can further be questioned. Literature shows that political parties do not adopt many women in Zambia (EU, 2011).

The two political parties further said they provided campaign materials and some funding to all their parliamentary candidates. There was however no gender discrimination with regards funding allocated to parliamentary candidates by respective political parties. The political party senior officials said the campaign materials allocated to candidates were not enough owing to the fact that political parties were not publicly funded but relied on member contributions and well-wishers. As such, each candidate had to source his or her own resources to use during campaigns. The UPND Senior official reviewed that mostly the funding given to candidates was meant to pay polling agents; as such, candidates had to fund their own campaign activities. The ZEIC report also revealed that women did not receive financial support from their respective parties following the 2016 General Elections (ZEIC, 2016, p. 29). The financial position of a candidate was one of the requirements for one to be considered for adoption. Considering that women are said to be of low financial position and the assertions that political parties did not provide funding to women, the extent to which political parties relaxed the requirements for one to be adopted when considering women for adoption can further be questioned.

Review of ECZ data on validly nominated candidates show that there were fewer women than men adopted to stand as parliamentary candidates by both political parties. In fact the reviewed data show that the two political parties each adopted 28 women out of 156 parliamentary seats. The ZEIC also reported that there was a reduction in the number of female candidates adopted across political parties in 2016 compared to 2011. The ZEIC, citing the ZNWL reported that political parties adopted fewer women in 2016 than in 2011. In 2011, 138 women were adopted while in 2016, 106 women were adopted across political parties (ZEIC, 2016). However, the 2011 SADC Parliamentary Forum (SADC PF) report shows individual political party number of adopted candidates to have been 22 for UPND and 21 for PF, indicating some increases in 2016 (SADC PF 2011). The increase was the reason senior party officials from the two political parties were saying they had adopted many women than in the previous elections because of using positive discrimination. However, the numbers of women adopted by the two political parties in 2016 still

fell short of not only the 50/50 AU/SADC target by 2015 but also the earlier 30% SADC target of women representation in politics and decision-making positions by 2005. It should further be mentioned that the number of constituencies also increased from 150 in 2011 to 156 in 2016 (GRZ, 2016).

While the requirements for one to be adopted as a parliamentary candidate were well articulated through the entire adoption stages, that is, from Constituency, District, Provincial and National level, consideration of candidates based on gender was not well articulated. Lower organs of the parties said they were not considering gender when selecting parliamentary candidates while the Political Party national level participants said they were considering gender hence the employment of positive discrimination. It can therefore be argued that affirmative action measures said to be used by political parties were not clearly stated. It was up to the party leadership to determine what special measure to apply or the extent to which such affirmative action measures would be applied. Constituency officials interviewed also revealed that some candidates were imposed by the party leadership in their constituencies. Literature cited has also talked about the lack of democracy in political parties (NDI/FODEP, 2003). It can be said that the measures undertaken by the party leadership were not well appreciated by the lower organs of the party. It can also be argued that political parties have not mainstreamed gender in all party processes and procedures. As such, women continue to be underrepresented not only as candidates on the candidate lists of political parties but also as MPs. Although it was incumbent upon party leadership to lead the way in ensuring the equitable participation of both sexes in party processes and procedures, decisions made by party leaders would be more successful if they had the support of those in the lower echelons of authority.

5.2.5 The PF Pronouncement to Adopt 40 percent Female Parliamentary Candidates

Some PF participants revealed that due to the pronouncement, many women expressed willingness to want to contest the elections. It can be said that the making of the pronouncement was seen as an opportunity by women to participate in an arena where there were fewer opportunities for women to do so. A women's wing representative from the PF said following the pronouncement by the president that the party would adopt 40 percent women in the 2016 General elections, a good

number of women expressed interest to want to contest elections. “I can tell you that we had a woman in almost all the constituencies we contested,” she pointed out.

On the other hand, an analysis of the ECZ data shows that the PF failed to meet their 40% pronouncement with regards the adoption of women as parliamentary candidates. The fact that the PF failed to meet their 40% target also shows that not much was done to ensure that the envisaged 40 per cent was met. It was also not clear how the lower organs of the party were guided by the pronouncement. During interviews, lower organs of the party revealed that they were not looking at gender when recommending candidates for adoption. In addition, a Women’s Wing National Official revealed that the President was shocked to find that Provincial Chairpersons, most of whom were men, recommended fellow men to be adopted as parliamentary candidates. The assertion by this official resonates with feminist perspective that men work as a group to disadvantage women (Giddens, 2013). Kalinda and Chirwa (2015) in their analysis of women’s participation in key decision-making institutions in Zambia also found that political parties in Zambia discriminated against women during the selection of parliamentary candidates. The reasons for the discrimination were attributed to among other reasons the long held social/cultural beliefs that politics was a domain for men.

Some candidate selecting committee officials interviewed were not even aware of the pronouncement. Further, a PF national women’s wing official asserted that the party failed to meet the 40 percent target because there was nothing put in place by the party to ensure that many women were adopted and that the party did not adopt many women in party strongholds. It can therefore be argued that there was no operationalization of the pronouncement. The motive behind the 40% pronouncement could further be questioned. As Eto (2010) observed, in Japan, political parties nominate women not as a way of addressing gender imbalances but for the hidden agenda of winning support from women. It could also be said that even the PF could have made their pronouncement for political mileage or to please certain sections of society.

It can be said that merely making pronouncements without putting in place measures to realize the intended result was not enough to enhance the representation of women in parliament. As proponents of affirmative action assume, deliberate efforts have to be put in place to favour women if at all the gender imbalances were to be addressed.

While the political parties studied could be commended for showing interest in the enhancement of women representation, much needed to be done by the said political parties if real enhancement of women representation could be realized.

5.2.6 Adopting Women in Political Party Strongholds

The adoption pattern further shows lack of political will by the political parties to help address the low representation of women in the Zambian Parliament. The ECZ data shows that the two political parties adopted fewer women in their strongholds than anywhere else. While the PF adopted 5 women each in Lusaka and Eastern Provinces, in the other four Provinces perceived to have been their strongholds in the run up to the 2016 General Elections, they only adopted one woman per Province. On the other hand the UPND only adopted six women in their strongholds, that is, two women in North-Western Province, one woman in Western Province and three women in Southern Province. Had there been political will to help address the low representation of women in parliament, the political parties would have adopted many women in their strongholds than in regions that were not their strongholds. As the ECZ data has shown, most of the parliamentary winners for each of the two political parties came from their respective party strongholds. The literature on political parties that embarked on enhancing the representation of women also points out that, women had to be placed in winnable seats if positive results with regards the enhancement of women representation in parliament were to be realised. Further, a PF national official also pointed out that political parties were preoccupied with winning elections and not gender issues. He further pointed out that leaving them on their own, the representation of women in parliament in Zambia would continue being low. He stated for example that the PF adopted many women in Southern Province than anywhere else even when it was well known that such women would not win because Southern Province was an opposition stronghold.

Considering that the two political parties each won over 70 percent of the seats in their strongholds, the seats in these Provinces could therefore be considered to have been safe seats. It did not matter therefore who contested the National Assembly Elections in these regions as long as, that candidate met the requirements for one to be selected as a candidate. The gender of the contestant in the said regions could therefore also said not to have been a factor. In Lusaka District, for example, the PF

adopted 4 women and all of them won. It can be seen from the results that the decision by the PF to adopt 10 women in two Provinces of their perceived party stronghold saw the election of 8 women to parliament. The fact that these women came from only 2 provinces despite the party having had adopted only 1 woman in other provinces perceived to have been the party strongholds, shows that, had the trend of adopting at least five women per province continued, many women would have been elected to parliament. It is also true therefore that had the political parties adopted a considerable number of women in party strongholds, many women would have been elected to parliament.

The ECZ data also shows that Zambians voted on political party lines in the 2016 General Elections. It is no wonder that despite the PF having had adopted more women in Southern Province than anywhere else, all the adopted six women lost as the UPND won all the seats in Southern Province. On the other hand, despite the UPND having had adopted 4 women in Northern and Luapula provinces respectively, all the adopted women lost the elections. It can therefore be argued that if nothing deliberate was done by a political party to adopt many women in regions where a party was popular, the numbers of women being elected to parliament would continue being low. As the UPND female MP pointed out, she had contested elections in her constituency under different political parties but kept losing until when she contested under what she termed the right political party, the UPND that is when she won the elections despite contesting against an opponent who was considered the most popular in the constituency.

The results show that in 2016, the PF added five more women while the UPND added eight more women to the 2011 winners. Such increases were the reasons why participants during interviews were saying their adopted measures had seen the election of more women to parliament. A UPND parliamentarian, for example pointed out that her party deliberately adopted four women in a region considered a party stronghold and three of the women won elections, representing 30 percent of the women who won elections. On the other hand, PF officials pointed out that their party deliberately adopted more women in Lusaka District than in 2011 and all the four who were adopted won elections. It can therefore be said that adopting deliberate measures when necessary such measures would help yield positive results just as literature shows (IPU, 2015; Krook, 2010; Sow, 2012 and Ndlovu & Mutale,

2013). If the two political parties had put in place deliberate measures for example adopting 40% women per Province in their strongholds, many women would have been elected to parliament.

On the assertion by some participants that many women won in 2016 compared to the 2011 elections because of the measures their parties put in place such increases could be attributed to a number of things. The increases recorded by both political parties could be attributed to among other things, the disintegration of the MMD which was the second largest party in 2011. It should further be pointed out that the number of seats available to be contested in 2016 was also increased to 156 from 150 available seats in 2011. The increase in the number of seats was as a result of the Constitutional Amendment Act 2016 provision.

Although each political party recorded an increase in terms of women who won elections in 2016 compared to the number of women who won in 2011, such increases were far below the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development which requires SADC countries to ensure 50/50 gender representation in both political and decision-making positions by 2015. In fact the increases even fell short of the earlier 30 percent SADC Declaration of women in decision-making by 2005. Worst still, much of the female representation in parliament came from the two political parties as Appendix 1 shows. As such, the representation of women in the Zambian parliament was further adversely affected. As the Appendix shows there were only 26 women elected to parliament across political parties in 2016 out of 156 available seats, where, 23 came from the two political parties while one came from the FDD and two were independent candidates. As such even the representation of women in the Zambian Parliament did not only fall short of the 50/50 gender representation in both political and decision-making positions by 2015 but also the earlier 30% SADC target by 2005.

While the 50-50 advocacy was said to be gaining momentum, the minimum 30 percent is regarded as the “critical mass” for women Parliamentarians to make any effective or meaningful impact in Parliament (Kandawasvika-Nundu, 2007).

5.3 Challenges faced by Political Parties in the Enhancement of Women Representation in Parliament

This section discusses findings on the following factors that were said to constrain political parties from enhancing women representation in parliament.

5.3.1 Lack of Resources

Mainly participants talked of lack of material and financial resources. The lack of funding was said to be at two levels, that is, at party level and individual level. Participants from both political parties asserted that they were not publicly funded. As such their funding came from contributions from their members and well-wishers. Literature also shows that political parties in Zambia were not publicly funded (AU, 2016). The UPND participants further said that lack of funding was even a major challenge for an opposition political party as they believed the ruling party had a privilege of using public funds during campaigns. The participants said that even if they wanted to further the interests of women, it was not possible for them to do so due to lack of funding. The revelation by the political party officials resonates with the finding by Sampa (2010) that political parties did not support women due to lack of funding. The participants revealed that due to lack of funding at party level, the resourcefulness of a candidate was one of the considerations for one to be adopted as a candidate. As such, from constituency level to national level of the adoption process, the resourcefulness of candidates was carefully scrutinised. The participants asserted that during adoptions, aspirants were also told to disclose their financial status even showing bank statements as proof of their actual financial position. The participants said that usually women were found to be of low material and financial status compared to men. "Where a woman would only have K5000.00 in the account, men would have millions of Kwacha," one constituency official noted. As such, women were usually left out at adoption stage.

It was clear that for one to participate as a parliamentary candidate one should have been of good economic status and women were disadvantaged given that most women were of low economic standing. The IPU study also found lack of finances as one of the obstacles preventing women from participating in politics (Ballington, 2008). If the economic status of women continued being low, they would continue being underrepresented in parliament. Both political parties stated that they gave

funding to parliamentary candidates, but that there was no discrimination in terms of gender when allocating financial and material resources. The UPND senior party official stated that such funding was usually for paying polling agents. As such individual MPs were required to fully fund their campaigns.

Although the lack of funding can be said to be a factor on both women and political parties, there was no doubt that political parties do raise funds in one way or the other. If the political parties truly wanted to adopt women, the funds generated by political parties could be channelled towards helping such women. In addition, NGOs like the National Women's Lobby Group do sponsor female candidates. As such, the assertion by political parties that they find it difficult to adopt women who do not have funds can be questioned.

5.3.2 Hostile Political Environment

Regarding the finding that there was no level playing field during the 2016 General Election period, the ZEIC also reported that the political environment had changed drastically when compared to the 2011 general elections as well as the 2015 Presidential elections (ZEIC, 2016). The SADC 2011 Zambian Elections Report also points out that there was not much violence in the 2011 General Elections (SADC, 2011). Many other election observers also reported that there was violence, especially between the PF and the UPND, during the 2016 elections (EU, 2016; AU, 2016; Carter Center, 2016; Commonwealth, 2016). Political violence which began way before the campaign period had seen the death of three people and countless injuries. The ZEIC further reported that political violence was being perpetrated mainly by two political parties, the PF and the UPND. The ZEIC however reported that the majority of the victims of violence were from the UPND. Violence against women had taken different forms including being beaten or stripped naked when in party regalia (ZEIC, 2016, p. 29). Contrary to the kind of violence being talked about in reviewed literature where women were being verbally abused based on their gender; the violence of the 2016 elections had become more advanced. The violence was not only targeted at women but at political opponents regardless of gender. In addition, the violence was not only targeted at women aspiring candidates but even at other women participating at other party activities. As such the kind of violence did not only affect the chances of women emerging winners when contesting elections

but also scared away women from contesting elections. This was more so that the violence is said to have begun way before the campaigns. The continuation of political violence shows that political parties in Zambia had not lived up to the call on political parties by the SADC that they should effectively address political violence including all forms of intimidation in order to reduce impediments to the participation of women in politics (SADC, 2009).

Further, the ECZ had suspended campaigns in Namwala and Lusaka Districts for ten days with effect from 9th July, 2016 to 18th July, 2016 citing intensified political violence not only in the said districts but also in other districts (Aljazeera, 2016; Akufuna, 2016). In addition, after the 2016 August Elections, President Edgar Lungu appointed a Commission of Inquiry to examine the causes of the political violence before and after the 11th August, 2016 General Elections (Lusaka Times, 2016).

Although the UPND asserted that they were a target of violence, the suspension of campaigns in Lusaka and Namwala showed that even the UPND could have engaged in violence in their strongholds. Further, at the time of data analysis, the UPND MP for Namwala was still appearing in court for allegedly assaulting an FDD opponent during the 2016 General Elections.

Given the findings, there was no doubt that the 2016 General Election period and its aftermath was hostile. Political parties like the UPND who said that they could not attract many women due to intensified political violence, could therefore be given a benefit of doubt.

5.3.3 Competitive Political Environment

A competitive political environment entails that there was too much competition in the run up to the 2016 general elections. Among the factors said to have heightened competition was the introduction of the 50+1 Clause at Presidential Level and due to the closeness of the 2015 Presidential By-Election results. These factors were also highlighted by 2016 election observers (Commonwealth, 2016).

Regarding the finding on competitive political environment, participants revealed that to survive competition, political parties used certain strategies that could have been disadvantageous to women. Participants from both political parties said for

example that they had to work with other political parties like the MMD and adopted former MMD MPs most of whom were men. The adoption of candidates from other political parties was done at the expense of their own members, even some women considered to have been popular. The former MMD MPs were viewed to have been stronger politically than new entrants. The former MPs were viewed to have been popular having been incumbents and that they had enough resources that they would not only use to campaign for themselves but also the Presidential Candidates. The revelation by the participants resonated with the ZEIC report which pointed out that some women were asked not to contest on a particular party ticket but to give way to candidates from other political parties (ZEIC, 2016).

Another strategy used by political parties was said to be the withholding of names of adopted candidates to see which candidate an opponent party would adopt. As such, candidates viewed not strong were left out at the last minute. Such a strategy explains the revelation by the ZEIC report that some women who were adopted by political parties were replaced at the last minute even after being issued with adoption certificates (ZEIC, 2016). Although strategies used by political parties affected even male aspirants, women were affected more as they were viewed not to be stronger candidates compared to men. Participants from the UPND for example asserted that the party had wanted to adopt female candidates in Chilanga Constituency and Western Province, but male candidates were later preferred.

A study by Sampa (2010) also reveals that in 2006 the UPND had made an alliance with the Forum for Democracy and Development and the United National Independence Party (UNIP). The alliance was said to have been one of the reasons there were few women represented at parliamentary level. In the alliance called the United Democratic Alliance (UDA), each party had to make its own choice of candidates and there was no consideration of gender as candidates considered strong were picked. Although in 2016, there was no such alliance, as the former MMD MPs simply defected from the MMD to join the UPND, the working arrangement was more less the same. The UPND Senior party official revealed that in such working arrangements, no one political party had absolute power. It could therefore be said that the former MMD MPs defected to UPND or PF on the condition that they would be adopted as parliamentary candidates.

Although each election period could be said to be an opportunity to incorporate many women into political offices, the need to win elections by political parties could be said to be one of the factors that had continued to hinder the full participation of women. Considering that elections were always competitive, the assertion that political parties were finding it difficult to adopt women to counter competition shows lack of willingness by political parties to address the low representation of women in parliament.

5.3.4 Commercialisation of Politics

Commercialisation of politics here entails a situation where one needed to pay something in return for participating in political office. Some participants interviewed revealed that it was becoming clear that one had to buy one's way into political office.

Given the revelation by participants, it was clear that politics in Zambia were becoming more and more commercial. While some lower organ party officials pointed out that corruption was rife during primary elections, senior party officials also confirmed that they do receive allegations of corruption during the adoption process. A constituency official who was a member of the candidate selecting committee revealed that there was usually payment of bribes to the candidate selecting committee members by aspiring candidates. The revelation by this constituency official was also supported by a National Women's League official who pointed out that one did not only need money for campaigns but also money to get adopted because there was so much corruption during Primary Elections. Some lower organ officials however said they could not be corrupt because they did not have the last say on who was to be adopted, but had no doubt that corruption could be rampant at the higher levels of the party.

Politics were also said to be a source of livelihood for many unemployed members of the community. The campaign period acts as a source of income for many poor people. Poverty and lack of employment were said to have contributed to the unprecedented 'cadreism' seen in the 2016 General Elections. As such, members of the community would not help a candidate to campaign without expecting something in return. The participants revealed that usually men were viewed to be popular because they were willing to share their financial resources while women were

viewed to be on the receiving end. “Politics is about money exchanging hands and women are not good at giving,” a party official observed. Another Constituency Official revealed that the Election period was a time to share money with aspiring candidates because after elections those elected to parliament had a tendency of detaching themselves from constituents. One participant who was an aspiring candidate in the 2016 General Elections pointed out that his colleagues who seemed to have been financially sound attracted more support not only from party members but also to the candidate selecting committee members who were seen hovering around the aspiring candidate.

Regarding the finding on commercialisation of politics, even the ECZ seemed to be raising revenue through elections. The Commission increased the 2016 nomination fees for aspiring candidates to meet its running costs. The Parliamentary nomination fees were initially increased to K10 000 from K5, 000 but later revised to K7, 500 following stakeholder outcry (ECZ, 2016; Chongo and Mbewe, 2016)

It should be pointed out that popularity of an aspiring candidate was said to be one of the prerequisites for one to stand a chance of being adopted. However, the revelations by the participants show that popularity of a candidate was assessed in many ways. Other than having been good at performing civic duties in the community, a candidate would also be said to be popular if he or she was willing to share materially and financially with party members and making material and financial contributions to the party. Some constituency officials interviewed asserted that women were less popular compared to men because women were not good at giving. Candidates viewed to be economically powerful were usually preferred for adoption. As pointed out by the 2015 Norway evaluation cited in the literature review, campaigning in Zambia was increasingly becoming expensive yet women compared to men generally had much less access to funds. The socio/cultural beliefs and expectations and the poor economic status of women further combine to disadvantage women. “People go where there is money. During the adoptions I could see how party members were hovering around one of my competitors who seemed to have money. So I have no doubt that money could also influence a voter (during primary elections) to vote for a particular candidate not based on the quality of a candidate but based on expected personal benefits,” one constituency official who was also an aspiring candidate observed.

It can therefore be said that in a commercialized political environment, to successfully participate as a parliamentary candidate, one must be willing to part away with huge sums of money.

5.3.5 Party Strongholds

From the ECZ data, it is clear that the two political parties each had regions where they had more support than the other. While the PF had more support in Muchinga, Northern, Luapula, Eastern and Copperbelt Provinces, the UPND had more support in Western, Southern and North-Western Provinces. The ECZ data therefore show that Zambians voted on political party lines instead of voting based on the qualities of individual candidates. The Commonwealth (2016 p.22) observed that, “although politicians have repeatedly sought to appeal to particularly ethnic or regional groupings since the introduction of multiparty politics in 1991, the level and degree to which this has been exploited were more pronounced in the these election”. It was no wonder that despite the PF having had adopted more women in Southern Province than anywhere else, all the adopted women lost as the UPND won all the seats in Southern Province. On the other hand, while the UPND had adopted 4 women in Luapula Province, all the women lost elections. Given the state of affairs, it can be said that even if women were to stand as Independent candidates, their chances of winning elections would be slim. The issue of regional party popularity therefore could be the reason why some participants were emphasising that had their political parties deliberately adopted many women in their strongholds, many women would have been elected to parliament. It can also be said that if nothing deliberate was done by a political party to adopt many women in regions where a party was popular, the numbers of women being elected to parliament would continue being low.

5.3.6 Grade Twelve Constitutional Clause

Although the study was not availed with statistics on the number of women who could not stand due to lack of a Grade Twelve Certificate, research participants asserted that the Grade Twelve Clause affected many people. Those affected were not only women but also men some of whom were incumbent MPs but could not re-contest their seats due to lack of Grade Twelve. Women however were said to have been affected more. As a 2015 Norway evaluation points out, higher illiteracy rates among women in Zambia was an obstacle to their effective participation in politics

(Norad, 2015). The participants further asserted that many women who were active in party politics had no Grade Twelve. One interviewee, a senior female party official at Provincial level asserted that she would have loved to stand but she could not because of the lack of a Grade Twelve certificate. Another party official at District level asserted that she could not participate because of lack of Grade Twelve. The two participants observed that mostly the women who were active in politics were those who had no Grade Twelve certificates while educated women shunned politics or entered into politics late.

It was clear therefore that the introduction of the Grade Twelve Certificate Clause during an election year was disadvantageous to women. Had it been introduced way before or 3 years before elections, some people could have been given a chance to go back to school or to rewrite their Grade Twelve. It was also clear that not much was done to mainstream gender when revising the constitution as the socio/economic background of women was overlooked. The women's wing said their main role was to recruit many women into political parties, however their revelation that most of the women members were of low educational standards also shows that the wings had not done much to recruit educated women. It could also be said that politics in Zambia was an arena friendly to a particular group of women.

The ZEIC Report also asserts that political parties could not find suitably qualified candidates to field in all the areas due to the Grade Twelve Constitutional clause (ZEIC, 2016). When making decisions at national level, it was also important to analyse how certain decisions made could affect a particular group in order for such a group not to be disadvantaged.

5.3.7 Entrenched Socio/Cultural Beliefs

Entrenched socio/cultural beliefs entails the deep rooted societal/cultural expectations regarding how females and males should conduct themselves.

Regarding this finding, most participants said that men were good at playing politics while women were not. Men could freely interact with their constituents, while women could not. Interviews with participants revealed that, to gain popularity within the party and the community where one intended to stand, there were certain expectations not only from party members, but also from members of the

community. One was expected to be active in performing certain civic duties within the community which did not only call for parting away with huge sums of money but also using one's time undertaking these activities, for example, making contributions at funerals within the community and at many other community needs. One was also expected to be a good person around people and in Zambian politics, to be said to be a person who is good at being around people, one should be willing to part away with money at any time. It was therefore believed that men were good at giving while women were not. As such men were popular within their parties and the community. During adoption time therefore, men stood a higher chance of being adopted than women.

The participants also said that some women who had been active in politics had given other women a bad name. Some participants gave examples of some women who had been active in politics and how badly they had been conducting themselves. As such women were not preferred for adoption as they were viewed to be of bad behaviour, such as using insulting language and being promiscuous. It was said by the participants that no respectable woman would want to join politics because politics were '*dirty*'. Some participants said for example that politics were considered dirty because most politicians engaged in all sorts of bad vices such as telling lies about opponents, making fake promises during campaigns and moving from one political party to another as long as they thought that such actions would enable them to get into power or to stay in power.

A female UPND MP also said that some party members did not believe in her as they thought she could not win elections on the basis of her contesting against a stronger male opponent. A UPND Senior Management Committee official also revealed that a Traditional Leader even went to their Party Secretariat to challenge the party decision of adopting a woman in his constituency. A journal article by Kalinda and Chirwa also reveals that women were discriminated against in political parties due to the long held social/cultural beliefs that politics was a domain for men (Kalinda and Chirwa, 2015). It can therefore be said that women were more stereotyped than men just as feminist theory argues. It can be said that the socio/cultural beliefs and expectations were still deep rooted and disadvantaged women more than men. It can

also be argued that political parties have not done much to try and change the negative attitudes towards women.

5.3.8 Fewer Women Participating at Parliamentary Level

Regarding this finding, it can be said that although the participants said the participation of women at parliamentary level was improving, there were still few women participating at parliamentary level. Although Women's Wing officials from both political parties pointed out that their role was that of recruiting women and encouraging them to participate in politics, it seems that these groups had not done much in encouraging women to vie for political office. As a female MP asserted, mostly women in her party were not vying for political office but were more active in activities such as singing, dancing and cooking. It was therefore incumbent among the women within the said political parties to take an active role to ensure that their voices were heard by the political party leadership.

It could further be argued that women were there in political parties but were not just vying for political office. This was more so that the participants said at least 30% of women occupied positions in party structures. The argument that there were fewer women participating at parliamentary level can therefore not hold.

5.4 Chapter Summary

This chapter has discussed the results. The chapter has shown that among the affirmative action measures put in place by political parties included, the introduction of the women's wing, the relaxing of the requirements for one to be adopted as a parliamentary candidate, training and sensitisation, the PF pronouncement to adopt 40 percent women, the adoption of women in political party strongholds and the placing of 30 percent women in decision-making positions. The chapter has also shown that although political parties had put in place certain measures to enhance the representation of women in parliament, such measures were not adequate enough as the two political parties failed to meet the minimum international targets in terms of adopting women and consequently, the number of women elected to parliament was also below the regional and international targets considering that the two were the major parties participating in the 2016 general elections. The factors mentioned above that women lacked financial resources, many were still of low education standards, the deep rooted socio/cultural beliefs and some

party practices within political parties also combined to push women away from participating actively in leadership positions. While some of the factors could be said to be external to the said political parties and therefore required external interventions, political parties can still take a centre stage to address the internal challenges and can also play a part in helping to address the external ones.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.0 Introduction

The previous chapter discussed the research findings. This chapter gives the conclusion and recommendations of the study.

6.1 Conclusion

This study had three specific questions derived from one general question which aimed at finding out what role political parties were playing in the enhancement of women representation in the parliament of Zambia. The study's specific research questions were as follows:

1. What affirmative action measures did political parties have in place to enhance the representation of women in the Zambian parliament?
2. How were the affirmative action measures put in place by political parties helping in addressing the low representation of women in the parliament of Zambia?
3. What challenges were political parties facing in the enhancement of women representation in the parliament of Zambia?

With regards specific research question number one, following the outcome of the study, it appeared that political parties believed that they had a role in the enhancement of women representation in the parliament of Zambia. To this effect, the two political parties revealed that they had used affirmative action to help enhance the representation of women in parliament in Zambia which included; to have at least 30 percent women in decision-making positions, a presidential pronouncement by the PF to adopt 40 percent female parliamentary candidates, adoption of women in political party strongholds, training and sensitisation of women, adoption of the women's wing concept and relaxing of requirements for one to be adopted as a parliamentary candidate. However, the affirmative action measures used by the two political parties to ensure the adoption of many women as parliamentary candidates could be said not to be sustainable. Most of the said measures seemed to be a preserve of the party leadership who had the sole

knowledge of when and how to apply them. The party leadership seemed not to have taken a leading role in ensuring that such measures and pronouncements were translated into binding political party rules. Further, some of the measures had no specifics as to how they would help enhance the representation of women in parliament although the political parties believed that such measures were one way of enhancing the representation of women in parliament. Such measures included, having a women's wing and ensuring a critical mass of women in decision-making positions.

With regards specific research question number two of the study, following the fewer numbers of women than men sent to parliament by the respective political parties in the 2016 general elections, the study concluded that no serious affirmative action was taking place to enhance the low representation of women in the parliament of Zambia.

On the challenges faced by political parties, the study concluded that while some of the challenges were beyond what political parties could do such as the Grade 12 constitutional clause, most of the challenges were internal to political parties and hence political parties should ensure that these challenges were addressed so as to enhance the representation of women in the parliament of Zambia.

Generally, the study concluded among other things that political parties in Zambia had a critical role in the enhancement of women representation in parliament. This was more so that Zambia did not have a legislated quota to help enhance the representation of women in parliament and that in Zambia, political parties were the main vehicle through which men and women got to parliament. Political parties had a role to ensure, through affirmative action that women were well-represented in their respective parties and actively participated in all party processes and procedures including as parliamentary candidates.

6.2 Recommendations

The study recommends as follows:

- Political parties should consider adopting proper affirmative action by among other things, revising their party rules and manifestos and incorporate gender neutral candidate quotas per province, with regards the adoption of

parliamentary candidates. Such a measure would not only help provide clarity on what was to be done to enhance the representation of women in parliament but also help to ensure the adoption of many female parliamentary candidates.

- Political parties should ensure the inclusion of women in influential positions of the party.
- Political parties should consider adopting many women in their strongholds.
- Political parties should also consider discriminating when allocating financial and material resources and allocate more financial and material resources to women identified to be of low economic standing.
- The political party women's wings should also consider recruiting working and educated women and encourage the other women in their parties to go back to school.
- Political parties should work hand in hand with the government to find a lasting solution to political violence.
- To ensure attitude change towards women, the political party women's wings should work hand in hand with the Ministry of Gender and CSOs and intensify sensitisation activities on gender issues not only to political party members but also the general public.
- The political party women's wings should also lobby for funds from the government and other well-wishers to help economically empower women in political parties to help mitigate the lack of funding experienced by women.

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APPENDICES

INTERVIEW GUIDE TO POLITICAL PARTY REPRESENTATIVES AT NATIONAL LEVEL

Measures put in place by political parties to enhance the representation of women in parliament

What written guidelines if any does your party have to help address the underrepresentation of women in the parliament of Zambia?

What affirmative action measures if any does your party use to help address the low representation of women in parliament?

Following the 2016 General Elections what efforts if any did your party make to help address the underrepresentation of women in the parliament of Zambia?

What were the stages in the adoption of parliamentary candidates following the 2016 General Elections?

What were you looking at to consider one for adoption as a parliamentary candidate?

Were there any special considerations accorded to women during the selection Process? If so what special considerations?

How the measures put in place by political parties were helping to address the low representation of women in parliament

Please state in what ways the affirmative action measures used by your party if any, are helping or not helping to address the low representation of women in parliament.

How many women as opposed to men were adopted by your political party in the 2016 General Elections?

How many women as opposed to men were adopted in the perceived party strongholds?

How many women as opposed to men won National Assembly elections?

How many women as opposed to men won in perceived party strongholds?

How many women as opposed to men won elections in 2016 compared to 2011 General Elections?

Please state if there is anything else you feel your party should be doing to help address the underrepresentation of women in parliament in Zambia.

Challenges faced by political parties in the enhancement of women representation in parliament

What problems if any does your party face in the enhancement of women representation in the parliament of Zambia?

If your party is facing any problems in helping to address the underrepresentation of women in parliament, in which ways do you think these problems could be overcome.

In your view how best can the underrepresentation of women in parliament in Zambia be addressed?

State if there is anything else you would like to say regarding the study.

INTERVIEW GUIDE TO WOMEN PARLIAMENTARY CANDIDATES

Political Party:.....

Measures political parties have put in place to enhance the representation of women in the parliament of Zambia

What affirmative action measures if any does your party use to help address the low representation of women in parliament?

Following the 2016 General Elections, was there anything deliberate your political party did to ensure that more women were elected to parliament? If so what did your political party do?

As an individual woman aspiring candidate, please state if there is anything your political party did to help improve your chances of being elected to parliament in the 2016 General Elections.

How the measures were helping to address the underrepresentation of women in parliament

Please state in what ways the affirmative action measures used by your party if any, are helping or not helping to address the low representation of women in parliament.

Would you say the measures adopted by your party to address the low representation of women in parliament played a major part in getting you elected to parliament? If so how?

Please state if there is anything else you feel your political party should be doing to help address the low representation of women in parliament

Challenges faced by political parties in the enhancement of women representation in the Zambian parliament

Please state what problems if any, your political party is facing in the enhancement of women representation in parliament

In your view, how best could the low representation of women in the Zambian Parliament be addressed?

Please state if there is anything else you would like to say regarding the study.

INTERVIEW GUIDE TO CANDIDATE SELECTING COMMITTEE POLITICAL PARTY OFFICIALS

Measures put in place by political parties to enhance the representation of women in parliament.

What affirmative action measures if any does your party use to help address the low representation of women in parliament?

Following the 2016 General Elections what efforts if any did your party make to encourage the participation of women at parliamentary level?

What were the stages in the adoption of parliamentary candidates following the 2016 General Elections?

What were you looking at to consider one for adoption as a parliamentary candidate?

When adopting parliamentary candidates was there any preference accorded to female candidates? If so what was done to favour women?

How the measures put in place by political parties were helping to address the low representation of women in parliament

Please state in what ways the affirmative action measures used by your party if any, are helping or not helping to address the low representation of women in parliament.

Please state if you think there is anything else your party should be doing to help address the underrepresentation of women in parliament?

Challenges faced by political parties in the enhancement of women representation in parliament

What problems does your party face if any in the enhancement of women representation in parliament?

In your view how best can the underrepresentation of women in parliament be addressed?

Please state if there is anything else you would like to say regarding the study?

INTERVIEW GUIDE TO WOMEN'S WING OFFICIALS

Measures put in place by political parties to address the low representation of women in parliament

What is the main role of the women's wing?

As a women's wing do you do anything to help address the underrepresentation of women in parliament in Zambia. If so what does your wing do to help address the underrepresentation of women in parliament?

What written guidelines does your party have to help address the underrepresentation of women in parliament in Zambia?

What were the stages in the adoption of parliamentary candidates following the 2016 General Elections?

What were you looking at to consider one for adoption as a parliamentary candidate?

Following the 2016 General Elections what efforts if any did your party and your wing in particular make to help address the underrepresentation of women in parliament in Zambia?

What support if any do you receive from your political party to help address the underrepresentation of women in parliament in Zambia?

To your knowledge does your party use any affirmative action measures to help enhance the low representation of women in parliament? If so, what affirmative action measures?

How the measures were helping to address the low representation of women in parliament

If your party and your wing did anything to help address the underrepresentation of women in parliament how did your actions help or not help to address the underrepresentation of women in parliament?

Is there anything else you think your party and your wing should be doing to help address the underrepresentation of women in parliament?

Challenges faced by political parties in the enhancement of women representation in parliament

What challenges if any do you face as a wing in the enhancement of women representation in parliament in Zambia?

Generally what problems does your political party face in the enhancement of women representation in parliament in Zambia?

How best could the underrepresentation of women in parliament be addressed?

Anything else you would like to say regarding the study?

POLITICAL PARTY DOCUMENT REVIEW GUIDE

Do party documents have any gender statements? If so what is stated with regards gender?

What do the documents say with regards the underrepresentation of women in parliament?

Do party documents say anything on the use of affirmative action measures to help address the underrepresentation of women in parliament?

If so what is stated in party documents with regards the use of affirmative action measures?

ECZ DOCUMENT REVIEW GUIDE

How many women as opposed to men were adopted by the PF and the UPND in the 2016 General Elections?

How many women as opposed to men were adopted in the perceived party strongholds?

How many women as opposed to men won National Assembly elections?

How many women as opposed to men won in perceived party strongholds?

How many women as opposed to men won elections in 2016 compared to 2011 General Elections?

List of all Female Parliamentarians as at October 3, 2017				
S/No.	Name	Constituency	Political Party	Portfolio
1.	Inonge Mutukwa Wina	Not Applicable	PF	Vice President
2.	Dora Siliya	Petauke Central	PF	Minister - Agriculture
3.	Doreen Mwape	Mkushi North	PF	Back Bench
4.	Elizabeth Phiri	Kanyama	PF	Back Bench
5.	Emerine Kabanshi	Luapula	PF	Minister – Community Development & Social Welfare
6.	Godfridah Nsenduluka Sumaili	Nominated	PF	Minister – Religious Affairs & National Guidance
7.	Jean Kapata	Mandevu	PF	Minister – Lands & Natural Resources
8.	Joyce Nonde Simukoko	Nominated	PF	Minister – Labour & Social Security
9.	Kampamba Mulenga Chilumba	Kalulushi	PF	Minister – Information & Broadcasting
10.	Margaret Miti	Vubwi	PF	Back Bench
11.	Margaret Mhango Mwanakatwe	Lusaka Central	PF	Minister – Commerce, Trade & Industry
12.	Nkandu Luo	Munali	PF	Minister – Higher Education
13.	Olipa Mwansa Phiri	Nyimba	PF	Back Bench
14.	Rosario C. Fundanga	Chilubi	PF	Back Bench
15.	Sylvia Bambala Chalikosa	Mpika Central	PF	Minister – Office of the vice President
16.	Victoria Kalima	Kasenengwa	PF	Minister - Gender
17.	Attractor Malungo Chisangano	Gwembe	UPND	Back Bench
18.	Brenda Mwika Tambatamba	Kasempa	UPND	Back Bench
19.	Chushi C. Kasanda	Chisamba	UPND	Back Bench
20.	Moono Lubezhi	Namwala	UPND	Back Bench
21.	Mutinta C. Mazoka	Pemba	UPND	Back Bench
22.	Miriam Chinyama Chonya	Kafue	UPND	Back Bench
23.	Patricia C. Mwashingwele	Katuba	UPND	Back Bench
24.	Princess Kasune	Keembe	UPND	Back Bench
25.	Prisca Kucheka	Zambezi West	UPND	Back Bench
26.	Sheal S. Mulyata	Rufunsa	UPND	Back Bench
27.	Given Katuta	Chiengi	FDD	Back Bench
28.	Catherine Namugala	Nominated	MMD	First Deputy Speaker
29.	Mbololwa Subulwa	Sioma	IND	Back Bench
30.	Pilila Mwanza Getrude Jere	Lumezi	IND	Back Bench
Source: National Assembly of Zambia (2017)				