

**The Roles of women legislators in parliament and  
the women parliamentary Caucus in the years  
2007 to 2011: A feminist approach**

**By**

**CHILUFYA ALFRED**

**A Dissertation submitted to the University of Zambia in partial fulfilment of  
the Requirements of the Degree of Master of Arts in Gender studies**

**THE UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA**

**LUSAKA**

**2013**

## Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis is my own work and effort and that it has not been submitted at this University or any other University for any award.

Signature.....

Alfred Chilufya  
(Candidate)

Dated this 27<sup>th</sup> day of August 2013

Signature.....

Jason Mwanza  
Lecturer and Supervisor  
University of Zambia

Dated this 27<sup>th</sup> day of August 2013

### **Copyright**

All rights reserved. No part of this dissertation may be reproduced or stored in any form or by any means without prior permission in writing from the author or the University of Zambia

### **Approval of Admission of Dissertation**

This dissertation of Alfred Chilufya has been approved as partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Arts in Gender Studies by the University of Zambia.

**Signed:**

**Date**

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

## Abstract

**Background:** The Zambia Women Parliamentarians Caucus (ZWPC) was established as a follow up to the SADC seminar held in Windhoek, Namibia in 1997 under the theme “Practical Gender Equality from dialogue to Action. It sought to meet the needs of women in Zambia.

**Methodology:** Data for this study was drawn from Parliamentary debates of the tenth session of the National Assembly (2007 to 2011), minutes of the (ZWPC) within the same period and one to one interviews with five women parliamentarians.

**Data Analysis:** Qualitative data was analysed using framework analysis. Although framework analysis generates theories, the prime concern was to describe and interpret what is happening in a particular setting.

**Results:** The Women Parliamentarian caucus has two main roles that it plays. Most of activities related to these roles are performed in and outside of Parliament.

Field notes and the minutes of the caucus show that, opinions between the most elite women parliamentarians and the non elite are divided about the real consequences of the presence of women in politics. Women parliamentarians do not only do business in the house but engage themselves in many other activities. The Zambian women members of parliament have to juggle parliamentary business, constituency work, campaigning, media appearances and other party commitments, plus additional responsibilities in the case of government ministers, which make an equitable work-life, balance a significant challenge. Most of the times these women have not been attending debate especially the evening sessions. Research has found out that women parliamentarians coming from far off constituencies – those outside of Lusaka attend all sessions as compared to those within Lusaka. Women parliamentarians employed unconsciously two feminist approaches in addressing women’s issues. They used the radical feminist approach and liberal feminist approach through advocating for legal instruments (feminist liberal approaches) and overcoming oppression by espousing equity and equality through debate and constructive engagement (radical approaches).

**Conclusion:** This study provides a fairly comprehensive picture of the current state of women’s representation in Zambia’s parliament and it brings to the fore significant features (parliamentary debates) that have not been extensively studied either in the African context or more globally. This analysis fulfils a double purpose. First, by analyzing the four research questions and the theoretically informed themes and sub themes which in quantitative research would qualify as variables and attributes. There is evidence to show that the Zambia women parliamentarians’ caucus of 2007 to 2011 contributed to setting the agenda on women’s issues. However, the contribution was not marked because most of what was agreed in the caucus was not translated into actions outside and within parliament. An important related point is that women parliamentarians have a lukewarm approach to setting women’s agenda and this was highlighted by the interviews and the Parliamentary debate. In the area of policy, a significant positive impact from the desire to have greater numbers of women is unlikely to be seen in the near future and we need to make use of the few numbers of the women parliamentarians.

### ***Dedication***

To God be the Glory and Honour. Yahweh thanks for the wonderful family you have given me: my beloved wife Modester and my children Obed, Clement, Lwando and Kasongo. You endured this long process.

## **Acknowledgements**

First and foremost I offer my sincerest gratitude to the women parliamentarians who offered their invaluable time, experiences and thoughts as my respondents. My supervisor, Mr. Jason Mwanza who has supported me with Godly love, patience and knowledge whilst allowing me the room to work in my own way. I attribute the level of my Masters degree to his encouragement and effort and without him this thesis, too, would not have been completed or written. One simply could not wish for a better or friendlier supervisor.

In the various lectures, tutorials and workshops I have been aided against all odds for many weeks and I accord special thanks to Dr. T. Kusathan, Dr. Anna Namakando Phiri, Professor Mubiana Macwangi and Mr. Patrick Salaka. The smoothness of the work is much more a testament to their efforts than my own.

In my daily work I have been blessed with a friendly and cheerful group of fellow students. Mr. Sylvester Shipolo, Sam Simushi, Victor Mushabati, Gamito, Siabona, Terry Moono and Lezina Banda who have provided good arguments about the subject and helped me regain some sort of fitness: healthy body, healthy mind.

Many thanks go to the management and staff at parliament especially in the research and library departments and all the security personnel for according me an opportunity to carry out the research.

## Table of Contents

Title.....	
Declaration .....	i
Copyright.....	ii
Approval of Admission of Dissertation .....	iii
Abstract .....	iv
Dedication .....	v
Acknowledgements.....	vi
List of tables .....	xi
List of Appendices .....	xii
CHAPTER ONE – INTRODUCTION .....	1
1.0 Background .....	1
1.1 Statement of the Problem .....	5
1.2 Research Aim and Objectives .....	5
Aim.....	5
Objectives.....	5
Research Questions.....	5
1.4 Scope of the Study.....	6
1.5 Definition of Key Terms .....	6
CHAPTER TWO - LITERATURE REVIEW .....	8
2.0 Introduction .....	8
2.1 Women Marginalisation and the need for Gendered Democracy.....	9
2.1 Equality, Equity and gender.....	9
2.3 Gender (In) Equality and Political Elites .....	10
2.4 Women Numbers in Parliament .....	12
2.5 Women Representation in Parliament in Africa (reporting Countries) .....	13



Table 2.5.1 Women representation in Parliament in Africa.....	16
Table 2.5.2 Seats Held By Women in National Parliament – Zambia .....	17
2.6 Critical Mass.....	17
2.7 Modelling Gender Equity of Parliamentarians and Influence Opportunities among Women Elites: Suggested Framework .....	18
2.8 A Country’s Political Culture.....	19
2.9 The impact of women on parliaments .....	20
2.10 Feminist Theories and Research Approaches .....	21
2.10.1 Radical feminism .....	22
2.10.2 Liberal feminism.....	23
2.10.3 Standpoint Theory.....	24
2.10.4 Marxist Standpoint Theory.....	26
2.10.5 Feminist Empiricism .....	27
2.11 Theoretical Framework .....	29
CHAPTER THREE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY .....	32
3.0 Research Setting.....	32
3.1 Dimension of Study .....	32
3.2 Research Designs Used in Parliamentary Studies .....	32
3.2.1 Notable Study Methodologies .....	34
3.3 Research Strategy.....	34
3.4 Data Source and Sampling.....	36
3.5 Entry into the Setting and Data Collection.....	37
3.6 Data Analysis.....	39
CHAPTER FOUR-RESEARCH FINDINGS .....	42
4.0 Introduction .....	42
Table 4.0.1 Summary of Themes and sub themes .....	42

Role Performance of Women Parliamentarians as members of the Parliamentary Caucus .....	42
Attitudes of Women Parliamentarians attending Debates and Caucus Proceedings .....	43
4.1 The Zambian Parliament: A Description .....	43
Table 4.1.1 Names of Political with female representation in the house in the years 2007 to 2011 .....	43
4.2 Role Performance of Women Parliamentarians as members of the Parliamentary Caucus...	44
Theme I: Roles inside parliament .....	44
Sub Theme I: Lobbied for positions in subcommittees of parliament .....	45
Sub Theme II: Equality and Equity .....	45
Sub Theme III: Decision making Position .....	47
Sub Theme IV: Spoke and Performed As Authorities .....	50
Sub Theme V: Question Asking .....	51
Theme II: Roles outside Parliament .....	52
Theme III: Local and in house activities .....	54
4.3 Feminised Transformation of Debates .....	55
Theme I: Division among Women Parliamentarians .....	56
Theme II: Political women and men act in the same way.....	57
4.4 Attitudes towards Women Parliamentarians during Debates .....	59
4.5 Women Parliamentarians' attitudes towards parliamentary debates.....	60
The attendance of female MPs in parliament.....	62
Table 4.5.1 2007 to 2011 Overall Session attendance in % .....	63
Theme II: Women numbers and Support .....	65
Theme III: Timings.....	66
Theme III: Character .....	66
4.6 Situating the Role of Women Parliamentary Caucus in Feminist Theory .....	67
Sub Theme II: Patriarchy and Law versus Tradition (man's point of view) .....	69

Sub Theme III: Patriarchy and Law versus Tradition (women’s point of view) .....	70
Sub Theme IV: Liberalism and Patriarchy .....	71
Sub Theme V: Male Dominancy .....	72
Theme II: Radicalism .....	74
CHAPTER FIVE – DISCUSSION .....	76
5.0 Introduction .....	76
5.1 What This Study Shows .....	76
Sub Theme V: Question Asking. ....	78
5.2 The meaning of the Study Findings .....	79
5.3 Implications of the Findings .....	82
5.4 Limitations and Strengths of this Study.....	83
5.5 Strengths .....	84
CHAPTER SIX – CONCLUSION.....	86
BIBLIOGRAPHY .....	88
Appendix I – Guide for In-depth Interviews.....	97
Appendix I – Guide for In-depth Interviews.....	98
Appendix II Session dates of The Tenth National Assembly .....	99
Appendix III – Personal Request for Permission to Conduct the Study .....	104
Appendix IV – School Request for Permission to conduct the Study .....	105
Appendix V –Authority to Collect Data .....	106
Appendix VI– Extension to Collect Data.....	108

### *List of tables*

Table 2.5.1 Global Picture of Women and representation in Parliament.....	16
Table 2.5.2 Seats Held By Women in National Parliament – Zambia.....	17
Table 4.0.1 Summary of Themes and sub themes.....	42
Table 4.1.1 Names of Political Parties in the 2007 to 2011 Session.....	43

### *List of Appendices*

Appendix I – In-depth Interviews with Key Informants .....	98
Appendix II Session dates of The Tenth National Assembly .....	99
Appendix III – Personal Request for Permission to Conduct the Study .....	104
Appendix IV – School Request for Permission to conduct the Study .....	105
Appendix V –Authority to Collect Data .....	106
Appendix VI – Extension to Collect Data.....	108

## CHAPTER ONE – INTRODUCTION

*I am convinced that when we have established and are working with a system based on real equality, then the quality of women's participation will be raised.*

*Birgitta Dahl, Speaker of Parliament, Sweden.*

*Nelson Mandela said, 'Freedom cannot be achieved unless women have been emancipated from all forms of oppression. To this end, we have acknowledged that the objectives of our Reconstruction and Development Programme will not be realized unless we see, in visible and practical terms, that the condition of women in our country has radically changed for the better, and that women at every level have been empowered to intervene in all aspects of life as equals with any other member of society' (Stockemer, 2011:693).*

### 1.0 Background

The above quotations one from Birgitta Dahl, Speaker of Parliament, Sweden and the other from Nelson Mandela a renowned statesman from the African soil, set the theme of this study which is 'the roles of women legislators in parliament and the women parliamentary caucus in the years 2007 to 2011: a feminist approach.' The theme highlights the need for gender emphasis in our African society especially in the high echelons of governance and it also portrays the importance of gender equality for the economic, social and political development of Africa. Research on women in parliament would help gender practitioners whether or not women's roles in parliament address women's issues (Stockemer, 2011a).

Seventeen years after Mandela's statement, women's rights, as well as their social and political standing, have improved in some African states while in other parts of Africa inequities between the genders still persist (Stockemer, 2011b). Only few countries in Africa have women who have gained political rights and one show case is Rwanda. Rwanda is leading in implementing gender policies and especially in adding the voice of

women in parliament. In Zambia, the average representation of women in parliament has been rising and falling over the years in spite of the fact that there is a gender policy. By 2011, Zambia was ranking twenty one from the top country Rwanda in number of seats occupied by women in parliament (table 2.5.1).

The gender deficit in the arena of formal politics is not peculiar to Zambia, it is a global phenomenon. Women have been historically excluded from governance structures around the world. At present, with the exception of Rwanda (50% seats reserved for women), nowhere in the world are women equally represented in the legislatures of their countries. On average, there are only 18 percent women in world parliaments today. Out of 190 countries, women have served only in fifteen countries as presidents or prime ministers. Women's presence in the world's cabinets and as world mayors is also not more than seven and eight percent respectively Forbes, Geraldine (2005). Women were denied the citizenship right by all societies and this can be seen throughout history particularly up to the 18th century. They were perceived by political philosophers and thinkers as lacking in reason and rationality, and physically unable to participate in public affairs.

Two sets of dualities, nature/culture and public/private were central in shaping the conceptual basis of traditional western political thought. Since time immemorial, political philosophers and theoreticians including Plato, Aristotle, Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, Rousseau and many others used different arguments to arrive at the common conclusion that politics is essentially a male prerogative and women are not physically or mentally fit to participate in politics on equal terms with men. Women gained political rights all over the world through waging struggles. In most countries, women won their rights to vote and candidacy during the late nineteenth and the early twentieth century after fighting long drawn battles for political rights. The suffragist movement was at the center of the stage during the first wave of feminism. Some countries in Western Europe granted political rights to women in the post First and the Second World War period. In Africa, Asia, Central and South America women won the right to vote as soon as these countries became independent from colonial rule (Lorber, 1998). Currently, with the exception of

Saudi Arabia, where the right to vote is not granted to its citizens, there is no country in the world where formal political rights are not granted to its citizens.

In order to fortify women's issues in the Zambian parliament, the Zambian Women Parliamentarian Caucus (ZWPC) was established as a follow up to the SADC seminar on 'practical gender equality, from dialogue to action', held in Windhoek, Namibia in 1997. One of the main resolutions of the seminar was that a SADC women's Parliamentary network be formed with the aim of contributing to the achievement of democracy within the SADC region by promoting women's full participation in decision making at all levels and towards a democratic process. On the basis of the Windhoek Resolution, women in the Zambian Parliament resolved to form a Caucus based on the objectives of the Windhoek agenda at the first meeting on 19 March 1997. Upon approval by the Speaker of the National Assembly, the Zambian Caucus became known as the Zambian Women Parliamentarian Caucus (ZWPC). Although membership of the Caucus is Voluntary, all women MPs are considered members because the Caucus takes special interest in issues of fundamental importance to women and children and takes a united stand on these issues. Currently, the ZWPC is comprised of 22 female MPs. The objectives of the caucus were: (i) To provide a forum for discussion on matters affecting women in the country, Southern Africa and the Commonwealth. (ii) To promote and help sensitize all parliamentarians on the principles of gender equality in the country, within the SADC region, the Commonwealth as well as other regions worldwide (iii) To facilitate the effective implementation of projects on gender issues (iv) To encourage and mobilize women participation in all issues pertaining to national development, and to promote self reliance and economic independence among women . (v) To facilitate networking with other organizations and institutions within and outside the country, such as Non Governmental Organisations (NGOs), business and intellectual communities in activities aimed at promoting gender equality and participation among other objectives (Musokotwane, 2010 a).



The key focus of this research is to explore the roles of women legislatures who served in the national assembly (2007-2011), with reference to their impact on gender issues. The data for the study has been collected through the use of qualitative research methods. Parliamentary debates/proceedings of tenth national assembly sessions that took place over a period five years (2007-2011), were reviewed to assess the performance of these women parliamentarians (MPs). Their performance has been assessed through the analysis of qualitative aspects of their participation in the parliamentary proceedings, the types of issues raised and their attendance in the house and the role of the caucus. Another key method used to collect data was in-depth interviews with women parliamentarians with five key women parliamentarians. These research methods were further combined with parliamentary debates and minutes of the Caucus.

The findings of this study contribute to our understanding of the role and performance of women parliamentarians and women parliamentarians' caucus. The study addresses the issue of how far challenges faced by women parliamentarians relate to the wider social and political context and to what extent these are the result of the women's own capability and capacity. In addition, this research makes a contribution to the theoretical debate on the need and significance of women's presence in politics and addresses some thorny questions such as whether women parliamentarians can represent the interests of women who are divided as a social group along the lines of political affiliation, what role did the women parliamentary caucus and women parliamentarians perform between 2007 and 2011 in advancing gender issues and setting the agenda on women's issues? Based on the role of the women parliamentary caucus and women parliamentarians, to what extent can we say that there was a link with a feminised transformation of debates? What women representatives' attitude toward parliamentary debate in parliament? What feminist theories situated the performance of roles in and outside of parliament?

## **1.1 Statement of the Problem**

There has been so much debate in the NGO sector about the roles of women legislators in parliament and the impact these women have made within and outside parliament. Some NGO leaders argue that women parliamentarians have articulated gender issues very well while others argue to the contrary (Musokotwane, 2010 b). In Sub Saharan Africa, women legislators have formed women parliamentary caucuses so that there are transformations of debates in parliament such the legislators ought to employ feminist approaches when advancing women or gender issues. However, these debates, it is argued by men and even women, have no effect because of the negative attitudes women legislators exhibit during parliamentary debates (Mackinnon, 1987a). In the absence of empirical evidence, it is not possible to accept or refute such unsubstantiated claims. There are gaps in knowledge that need filling in with reference to the role of women and the caucus in advancing women's agenda within and outside parliament.

## **1.2 Research Aim and Objectives**

### **Aim**

The purpose of this study was to explore the happenings in both the Zambian parliament and outside parliament and to determine whether the women legislator's roles advanced gender issues and that they contributed to resolving women's issues.

### **Objectives**

- 1) To describe the roles that the women parliamentary caucus and women parliamentarians performed in the legislature between 2007 and 2011 in advancing gender issues and setting the agenda on women's issues.
- 2) To determine, using the difference approach in quantum terms, the gendered proportions of debates between male and female parliamentarians.
- 3) To describe the attitude of women parliamentarians towards debate in parliament.

### **Research Questions**

This study is anchored on one overarching question which is “What evidence is required to show that women parliamentarians and the Zambian women parliamentary caucus of 2007 to 2011 advanced gender issues and that they contributed to resolving women’s issues?” Specifically, the study will answer the following research questions:

- 1) What role did the women parliamentary caucus and women parliamentarians perform between 2007 and 2011 in advancing gender issues and setting the agenda on women’s issues?
- 2) Based on the roles of the women parliamentary caucus and women parliamentarians, to what extent can we say that there was a link with a feminised transformation of debates?
- 3) What are Women Parliamentarians’ attitudes towards parliamentary debates?
- 4) What feminist theories situated the performance of roles in and outside of parliament?

#### ***1.4 Scope of the Study***

This study is limited to women parliamentarians in Zambia. Looking at the research objectives, the study is further limited to employ qualitative feminist approaches and as such the specific logic that could best guide the inquiry is abduction which does not require quantitative statistics.

#### **1.5 Definition of Key Terms**

Role of Women parliamentarians and the Caucus

These are the functions of women parliamentarians and the Caucus in and outside the legislature.

### *Women legislators*

These are the female law makers

### *Women Parliamentarians Caucus*

This is the Multi-party grouping of Women MPs who advocate for women's issues in Parliament.

### *Feminist*

These are people who advocate for equal rights for women

### *Gender*

Gender is a theoretical construct in the social sciences and humanities that refers to a set of social and behavioural norms that, within a specific culture, are widely considered to be socially appropriate for individuals of a specific sex.

## **CHAPTER TWO - LITERATURE REVIEW**

### ***2.0 Introduction***

The literature that follows brings out what is known and the observed gaps about women in parliamentary practice. The concept map of this literature review is rooted in the inductive and deductive research strategies. The two research strategies are linked to applying positivist and an anti positivist paradigms in organising this review. The review is not a comprehensive review of the available literature and it is not a meta-analysis (a synthesis of research results using various statistical methods to retrieve, select, and combine results from previous studies).

A manual search of government reports and electronic search on keywords published only in peer reviewed journal articles and reports were performed to compile the main body of literature that has been reviewed. Other than these journal articles, an electronic multi-campus network of library holdings was used to identify books. Particular note was taken of references that were frequently cited in bibliographies and appeared to be classics. References were selected that reflected the models' original formulations and changes that have been made to the theories over time. In some instances, content within references was repetitive. When this occurred, the most comprehensive sources were selected for analysis.

This review attempts to partially close the gap that exists between what is known and what is yet to be known. Available literature shows that the details of what goes on in parliament are very scarce. Most of the data available is in form of reports and research done outside the field of parliamentary practice or presents issues of women representation. In general, the literature review has been arranged classified according to their focus attempting as much as possible providing grounds for the research questions.

## ***2.1 Women Marginalisation and the need for Gendered Democracy***

Representativeness is a central concern in recent debates about the democratic level of our political institutions and processes. The under representation of specific groups (especially women) in political institutions, decision making and policies is considered to be a democratic problem of justice, legitimacy, responsiveness and effectiveness (Phillips, 1995a). Proof for this concern can be found in the implementation of quotas in progressively more countries as a cure for the under representation of women in politics (Dahlerup, 2006) and the installation of women's policy agencies to foster gender equality policies (Outshoorn and Kantola, 2007). A more equal distribution of, for instance, parliamentary seats would not only contribute to a more just and democratic political system because it implies more equality in the formal and descriptive dimensions of political participation. It would also enhance the quality of democratic decision making on a substantive level, that is, by the inclusion of women's interests and perspectives (Phillips, 1995 b; Young, 1997; 2000). This brings to the fore the issue of equality and equity.

## ***2.1 Equality, Equity and gender***

Goldberg (1977, 1993) points out that gender disparities are inevitable, despite the attempts to create existing equal opportunity policies and other institutional arrangements aiming to level out inequalities in western societies. This is extremely worse in societies where women may not even have equal representation in decision making positions including the legislature. Previous research has attempted to explain the puzzle of disparities of gender outcomes in formally gender-equal societies through many different means: culture (Connell, 1987), socialization (Coltrane, 1988, 2008), discrimination (MacKinnon, 1987b), functionalism, human capital investment (Becker, 1991), politics, decision making and even genetics (Pinker, 2002). These and other frameworks were, however, primarily developed through investigations of unequal gender situations. In this study, we present a unique study of an environment where the inequality of gender

outcomes seems to exist already and this in an elite group (the women parliamentary caucus) whose numbers are few and yet it ought to have an exceptionally strong impact on society. Since the analysis concerns a very powerful group of political elites, the study is of particular interest not only to scholars of gender and elites, but also to those of political and democracy research. It is prudent now to examine gender (in) equality and political elites.

### ***2.3 Gender (In) Equality and Political Elites***

The theory of representation by elite women in politics suggests that all citizens should enjoy the same opportunity to participate in politics regardless of gender, race and so on. Thus, if the entry of more women into legislative politics is a matter of justice and equality, it is also important for symbolic reasons that are, by contributing to the legitimacy of political regimes in democratic politics. In the same vein, it is worth noting that having more women elected into parliament is important not only in order to provide role-models for girls and women, and symbols of what females can achieve, but also to change the attitudes, opinions and behaviour of men in political parties. Of interest, then, is whether women's representational claim is strong enough to justify political parties adopting female candidates (Tremblay, 1998). In effect, opinions are divided about the real consequences of the presence of women in politics. On the one hand, some have argued that political women and men act in the same way, pointing to such examples as Britain's Margaret Thatcher or India's Indira Gandhi or Liberia's Sirleaf Johnson, whose terms in power were not particularly marked by actions favourable to women. On the other hand, some have maintained that women make a difference in politics. They support this position with numerous arguments: notably that differences in perception between women and men are the result of different psycho-social development, socialization and gender roles (Sapiro, 1983) that differences between women and men in politics reflect a gender gap in the electorate (Carroll and Dodson, 1991); that, since

women experience discrimination in society, they would have a more women-friendly political agenda than men and would more easily espouse an egalitarian perspective on social and political issues (Klein, 1984; Sigel, 1996).

Bottomore (1964) defined elites straightforwardly as ‘a superior social group’. Today however, elite groups are commonly defined by the position they hold in society: ‘persons occupying senior-decision making positions in powerful national and international institutions’ (Dogan and Highley, 1988; 15). The political elite like Zambia’s women parliamentarian caucus can further be identified as the group in society which is ‘able to affect national political outcomes regularly as Dogan and Highley (1998; 15) would like to argue the case of women.

A common theme running through most elite studies is the question of how power and influence is exercised, and especially of what mechanisms determine who gets the privilege of exercising power. However, these studies, which are commonly based within the subject field of political science, have tended to de-emphasize the potential impact of home or family sphere responsibilities in determining who is able to reach and stay in elite positions and in who is able to make use of the full powers connected to elite positions (Drew et al., 2000; Etzioni-Halevy, 2004). Nevertheless, numerous research studies of general populations indicate that this ‘private’ sphere is indeed an important factor to take into consideration in explaining individuals’ career performance (Grzywacz and Marks, 2000; Galinsky et al., 2001; Berg et al., 2003).

One could assume that demands from the home sphere may not be an important aspect to consider when studying individuals at the very top of society’s hierarchy (those in Zambian Parliament), based on the presumption that those who make it that far have already eliminated potential distractions from the home/family sphere. However, such assumptions have not been commonly empirically tested on elite populations, and the few existing studies we have in this regard do not confirm the arguments (Esseveld and Andersson, 2000). Moreover and related, the representation of women in elite positions



and the question of the equal influence or power opportunities of the men and women who occupy these positions, have not yet been fully explored in large-scale, quantitative studies (Vianello and Moore, 2000, 2004; Vianello and Siemieniska, 1990, for notable exceptions).

#### ***2.4 Women Numbers in Parliament***

Research employing statistics show that the proportion of women in parliament tends to be higher in countries with proportional representation (PR) electoral systems, as opposed to those with majoritarian electoral arrangements (McAllister and Studlar, 2002). This is because these systems often have higher district magnitudes, which open the way for women to be included as the total number of members elected per district increases (Welch and Studlar, 1990), and closed party lists, which enable parties to place women in electable positions on party slates (Caul, 1999). Recent work also points to the importance of PR in enabling the effective implementation of gender quota policies aimed at increasing the number of female candidates (Tripp and Kang, 2008). In terms of socio-economic factors, a wide range of studies done in this regard observed strong correlations between women's overall rates of education and labor force participation (Rosenbluth *et al.*, 2006), as well as levels of national development (Matland, 1998), whose effects they attribute to modernization processes that enable women to move into higher social and economic roles which lead to greater influence in politics (Inglehart and Norris, 2003). Lastly, statistical analyses discover close connections with cultural attitudes towards equality, noting that the number of women in politics is typically higher in Protestant countries (Kaiser, 2001) and in countries where citizens are more open to women in leadership positions (Inglehart and Norris, 2003).

Despite the care taken to increase sample size, however, a closer look at the range of cases examined in this literature suggests that these findings are more likely to be specific to the countries included in each data set. Most notably, the conventional wisdom derives almost exclusively from studies of advanced Western democracies. While some confirm these findings in non-Western cases (Paxton, 1997; Yoon, 2004), other work reveal that

these same factors play little or no role in developing countries (Matland, 1998). Further, the collection of more complete data reveals important nuances in the relationship between certain factors and outcomes. A central example is the electoral system, which most work identifies as one of the – if not *the* most – important factors explaining cross-national variations. Yet, before 1970, women’s representation was roughly the same in PR and majoritarian systems (Matland, 1998), with differences emerging only after women inside parties began mobilizing for change (Kittilson, 2006). Moreover, while it is true that most countries with large numbers of women do have some form of PR electoral arrangement, not all states with PR have high levels of female representation (McAllister and Studlar, 2002). At the same time, several countries with majoritarian systems have seen dramatic increases in recent years, including in the single-member district aspect of mixed electoral systems (Russell *et al.*, 2002). These patterns suggest that political, social, economic and cultural factors may operate in more diverse ways than can be captured through traditional statistical analysis.

Women still make up a modest minority among elites. Despite a recent increase, the average proportion of females in national parliaments across the world was only 19 per cent in 2008 (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2009), and most of the world’s top economic organizations are headed by men (Drew *et al.*, 2000; Siemienińska, 2004). Thus, the advancement of women among elites does not match the progress taken place in the rest of society even among the industrialized countries, where women’s access to education and participation in the labour market sphere has boomed since the beginning of the last century (Drew *et al.*, 2000). This is puzzling and it indirectly points towards a problem of equality and democracy, since significant parts of the formal as well as informal power of society are concentrated in elite groups.

## ***2.5 Women Representation in Parliament in Africa (reporting Countries)***

Despite constituting half the population, in most countries women remain greatly under-represented in positions of power and decision-making, such as in national parliaments. The proportion of women in parliament is of concern because of justice—the view that all humans are of equal worth, and therefore have an equal right to take part in decision-

making. The claim for equal representation stands irrespective of whether a greater number of women in parliament lead to a better representation of women's interests. Although a greater number of women in parliament can be regarded as a necessary first step for the representation of women's interests, however these interests are defined (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2009).

The average masks substantial cross-national variations and Rwanda has roughly equal numbers of women and men in her national assembly (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2009). Rwanda reinforced its position at the top of the leader board by electing more than 56 percent women members to its lower house in September 2008. This is the first single/lower house in history where women hold the majority of seats. It improved on the previous record it had set, when in its first post-conflict elections held in 2003 it elected nearly 49 percent women. Rwanda is joined by Angola (37.3%), Burundi (30.5%), Mozambique (34.8%), South Africa (33%), Tanzania (30.4%) and Uganda (30.7%) as the seven African countries to have reached the target in single/lower houses. Angola was a newcomer to the list in 2008, electing more than 37 percent women in its first election since 1992, signaling the return to a democratic process. In Angola, Burundi, Mozambique, Rwanda and South Africa, post conflict settlements afforded the opportunity to incorporate special measures into electoral rules or party practices increasing women's representation in a short period of time. In Tanzania and Uganda, women's increased access to parliaments has been incremental (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2009).

Some of these substantive improvements on the long road toward greater gender equality stem from increases in the descriptive representation of women in parliament (e.g. the share of parliamentary seats held by women in Africa has increased substantially from around 7 per cent in 1990 to around 18 per cent in December 2008). The 'theory of presence' (e.g. female politicians are best equipped to represent the interests of women (Phillips, 1995) and the 'feminist awareness approach' (whereby women and men

formulate programmes that aim explicitly to change society) provide theoretical evidence for a link between descriptive and substantive representation. The data in the table below was compiled by the Inter-Parliamentary Union on the basis of information provided by National Parliaments by 31 August 2011. Countries are classified by descending order of the percentage of women in the lower or single house.

Table 2.5.1 Women representation in Parliament in Africa

CLASSIFICATION									
Rank	Country	Lower or single House				Upper House or Senate			
		Elections	Seats*	Women	% W	Elections	Seats*	Women	% W
1	Rwanda	9 2008	80	45	56.3%	10 2003	26	9	34.6%
2	South Africa	4 2009	400	178	44.5%	4 2009	54	16	29.6%
3	Mozambique	10 2009	250	98	39.2%	---	---	---	---
4	Angola	9 2008	220	85	38.6%	---	---	---	---
5	Tanzania	10 2010	350	126	36.0%	---	---	---	---
6	Uganda	2 2011	375	131	34.9%	---	---	---	---
7	Burundi	7 2010	106	34	32.1%	7 2010	41	19	46.3%
8	Ethiopia	5 2010	547	152	27.8%	5 2010	135	22	16.3%
9	South Sudan	8 2011	332	88	26.5%	8 2011	50	5	10.0%
10	Sudan	4 2010	346	87	25.1%	5 2010	28	5	17.9%
11	Namibia	11 2009	78	19	24.4%	11 2010	26	7	26.9%
12	Lesotho	2 2007	120	29	24.2%	3 2007	33	6	18.2%
13	Senegal	6 2007	150	34	22.7%	8 2007	100	40	40.0%
14	Mauritania	11 2006	95	21	22.1%	11 2009	56	8	14.3%
15	Eritrea	2 1994	150	33	22.0%	---	---	---	---
16	Malawi	5 2009	192	40	20.8%	---	---	---	---
17	Mauritius	5 2010	69	13	18.8%	---	---	---	---
18	Burkina Faso	5 2007	111	17	15.3%	---	---	---	---
19	Zimbabwe	3 2008	214	32	15.0%	3 2008	99	24	24.2%
20	Gabon	1 2009	116	17	14.7%	1 2009	102	18	17.6%
21	Zambia	9 2006	157	22	14.0%	---	---	---	---
23	Cameroon	7 2007	180	25	13.9%	---	---	---	---
24	Djibouti	2 2008	65	9	13.8%	---	---	---	---
25	Swaziland	9 2008	66	9	13.6%	10 2008	30	12	40.0%
26	Niger	1 2011	113	15	13.3%	---	---	---	---
27	Sierra Leone	8 2007	121	16	13.2%	---	---	---	---
28	C.African Republic	3 2011	92	12	13.0%	---	---	---	---
29	Chad	2 2011	188	24	12.8%	---	---	---	---
30	Madagascar	10 2010	256	32	12.5%	10 2010	90	10	11.1%
31	Togo	10 2007	81	9	11.1%	---	---	---	---
32	Morocco	9 2007	325	34	10.5%	10 2009	270	6	2.2%
33	DRC	7 2006	500	52	10.4%	1 2007	108	5	4.6%
34	Mali	7 2007	147	15	10.2%	---	---	---	---
35	Equatorial Guinea	5 2008	100	10	10.0%	---	---	---	---
36	Guinea-Bissau	11 2008	100	10	10.0%	---	---	---	---
37	Kenya	12 2007	224	22	9.8%	---	---	---	---
38	Cote d'Ivoire	12 2000	203	18	8.9%	---	---	---	---
39	Benin	4 2011	83	7	8.4%	---	---	---	---
40	Ghana	12 2008	230	19	8.3%	---	---	---	---
41	Botswana	10 2009	63	5	7.9%	---	---	---	---
42	Algeria	5 2007	389	30	7.7%	12 2009	136	7	5.1%
43	Libyan Arab	3 2009	468	36	7.7%	---	---	---	---
44	Gambia	1 2002	53	4	7.5%	---	---	---	---
45	Congo	6 2007	137	10	7.3%	8 2008	70	9	12.9%
46	Somalia	8 2004	546	37	6.8%	---	---	---	---
47	Nigeria	4 2011	352	13	3.7%	4 2011	109	4	3.7%

(Source: Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2002)

Figures correspond to the number of seats currently filled in Parliament

- Egypt: The People's Assembly and the Shoura Assembly were dissolved by the Egypt Supreme Council of Armed Forces (ESCAF) on 13 February 2011.
- Guinea: The parliament was dissolved following the December 2008 coup
- Tunisia: On 8 and 9 February 2011 respectively, in accordance with Article 28 of the Constitution, the Chamber of Deputies and the Chamber of Councillors invested the Acting President with the power to rule the country by decree on key issues. The Parliament has since ceased to function.
- South Africa: The figures on the distribution of seats in the Upper House do not include the 36 special rotating delegates appointed on an ad hoc basis, and all percentages given are therefore calculated on the basis of the 54 permanent seats.

When we examine the numbers of women in parliament over the years, the figures have not been inspiring. The modal representation has been 19.

**Table 2.5.2 Seats Held By Women in National Parliament – Zambia**  
Source Clerk of the Zambia National Assembly

<i>Year</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Change</i>	<i>Cumulative Change</i>
1990	9	-	-
1997	15	66.67 %	66.67 %
1998	15	0.00 %	66.67 %
1999	16	6.67 %	77.78 %
2000	16	0.00 %	77.78 %
2001	16	0.00 %	77.78 %
2002	19	18.75 %	111.11 %
2003	19	0.00 %	111.11 %
2004	19	0.00 %	111.11 %
2005	19	0.00 %	111.11 %
2006	20	5.26 %	122.22 %

## **2.6 Critical Mass**

Critical mass is an idea that has moved from sociology to political science and into popular usage over the last 30 years. As Drude Dahlerup notes the concept itself is borrowed from nuclear physics, where it refers to the quantity needed to start a chain reaction, an irreversible take-off into a new situation or process (Dahlerup, 1988). Critical mass is based on the belief that the form of a public body will shape the processes and policies of that organisation. In political science literature the concept of critical mass infers that the election of an adequate number of female politicians will result in governance more responsive to women. But the existing literature fails to provide specifics on how changing the proportions of men and women will alter power relations within the political arena. For the most part, discussions of critical mass involve speculation about what might happen if women won the necessary numbers in legislatures. Further, the extent of women's impact will depend very much on the number of women in parliament who are motivated to represent women's issues and concerns.

Feminists often argue that pioneer women parliamentarians became surrogate men – that they were socialized into the legislature and became indistinguishable from the men they replaced. I personally doubt this. Men are known to behave differently when women are absent. Because it upsets gender boundaries, the presence of even one woman will alter male behaviour; the presence of several women will alter it even further. West European experience shows that where women MPs have a mission to effect change even small numbers can produce significant results. While the presence of even one woman can make a difference, long-term significant change will largely be realized when there are a sufficient number of women in parliament who are motivated to represent women's concerns. This need for a significant minority of women to affect political change has been referred to by feminist political scientists as “critical mass”. According to Drude Dahlerup, the test that a critical mass of women is present is the acceleration of the development of women's representation through acts that improve the situation for themselves and for women in general. These actions are critical acts of empowerment. In her studies of women MPs in Scandinavia, Dahlerup found that women politicians worked to recruit other women and developed new legislation and institutions to benefit women. As their numbers grew it became easier to be a woman politician and public perceptions of women politicians changed (Dahlerup, 1988).

## ***2.7 Modelling Gender Equity of Parliamentarians and Influence Opportunities among Women Elites: Suggested Framework***

As touched upon above, according to Blossfeld and Drobic (2001), a woman's powers in today's modern African societies are primarily connected to the career positions occupied within the public sphere. Thus, if we are interested in exploring questions of gender equity and power, it is essential that we scrutinize the opportunities given to men and women to equally develop their public sphere careers—especially in the case of those individuals positioned in influential elite positions. Given this, we first need to pose the question of (i) which factors impact individuals', and especially elites', possibilities of

developing their work-related careers and second the question of (ii) what mechanisms may impact elite women's careers in flourishing (un) equally to men's.

To start with the first question, a commonly identified factor important to women's work-related career developments is the workload faced in the home/family sphere. This has been confirmed in studies on the general population (see Blossfeld and Drobic, 2001, for a summary) as well as in findings concerning individuals in higher positions (Hochschild, 1989; Ahrne and Roman, 1997). Although the direct link between home sphere demands and organizational career development has not been studied explicitly so frequently among elite groups in Zambia, previous studies in the West nevertheless show that elites dedicate untypically high amounts of hours per week to labor market career devotion (Kuusipalo et al., 2000; Woodward and Lyon, 2000; Thomas, 2002; Vianello and Moore, 2000 and 2004) and spend less time than other groups in home sphere-related work tasks (Kuusipalo et al., 2000; Jakobs and Winslow, 2004). This indirectly implies a relationship between the time allotted by elite individuals' time to home-related tasks and their career developments (Epstein, 2000). Another commonly recognized factor impacting the possibilities of the successful career development of individuals in any work organization is the level of 'person-environment fit' experienced by the individual, that is whether the characteristics of the individual is compatible with those in his or her work environment (Schneider, 2001; Kristof-Brown et al., 2005).

## **2.8 A Country's Political Culture**

In the analysis, I also control for the variable political culture. Political culture may be described as the embodiment of the attitudes and values of a society that define the roles an individual may play in the political process (Hill, 1981; 160). According to Ronald Inglehart and Pippa Norris (2003: 140–1), cultural attitudes and values continue to influence the proportion of women in parliament. Traditional values of gender inequality should remain a major obstacle to the election of women. In traditional cultures, female



participation in legislative politics is likely to be discouraged by elite opinion leaders and the public, both of whom want to maintain a male-oriented status quo. The more liberal and egalitarian a culture, the more receptive the public will be to women's issues and the higher the demand will be for an increase in women's political participation (Inglehart and Norris, 2001; Paxton and Kunovich, 2003). The current applicability of this thesis to Africa will be evaluated in this analysis.

## ***2.9 The impact of women on parliaments***

There is now a considerable body of work on the impact of increased women's representation in parliaments. The majority of this work has been based on case studies of individual western countries. For example, Squires and Wickham-Jones have reviewed the studies of the increased female presence in the British House of Commons, and they categorise the effects under the headings of policy style, agenda and outcomes (Squires and Wickham-Jones, 2001). In terms of policy style, the review suggests that women tend to work more behind the scenes, rather than relying on direct challenges in the debating chamber; they have also been shown to be more loyal to the party line than male Labor MPs (though it has not been shown whether this is a sign of a distinctive female consensual style of politics, or a result of negative pressure on the women to conform).

By contrast, women MPs had little success in changing the 'adversarial' culture of the parliament, or in other areas such as altering work hours or introducing childcare facilities. As regards the policy agenda, it is suggested that women were likely to raise issues of equality, education, women's relatively poor economic position, childcare, violence against women and integration of gender into the issues of employment and pay. However, in terms of policy outcomes, the few initiatives that were considered successes for the women (such as the development of the National Childcare Strategy) were in areas that dovetailed with existing government policy. The evidence from the UK shows mixed results of greater women's representation in parliament with few distinct women's-oriented policy-related outcomes.

The situation in Scandinavia is similar. In her recent historical overview of the climbing proportions of women in the Swedish parliament, Sainsbury concluded that the presence of greater numbers of women was decisive in two respects (Sainsbury, 2004). First, the women deputies reformulated traditional 'women's issues' as a broader issue of gender equality, which helped to make them major considerations for parties. Secondly, they converted the demand for women's representation into a demand for a more complete democracy. Sainsbury's findings imply that a greater presence for women moved the debate from one about women to one about gender. In her review of Nordic parliaments, Drude Dahlerup (1998) revealed that changes in the political culture did occur as a consequence of increased female presence. However, that phenomenon, she concluded, was the 'one point' on which it seemed 'relevant to talk about a kind of "automatic" change when the minority grows large' (Dahlerup, 1998:296). Wängnerud's empirical investigations of the attitudes and behaviour of MPs in the Nordic parliaments revealed that most women considered the increased representation of women to have changed their party's position; the particular areas mentioned were family policy, gender equality and social policy (Dahlerup, 1998:296). Wängnerud also tested the idea that the gender of representatives is important in determining the political agenda of the Riksdag. She found that women representatives were more likely to represent 'women's interests', and consequently argues that increased female representation results in greater parliamentary attention for gender equality, family policy and social policy.

### ***2.10 Feminist Theories and Research Approaches***

The term "feminist theory" is used to refer to a myriad of kinds of works, produced by movement activists and scholars in a variety of disciplines; these are not mutually exclusive and include: (a) normative discussions of how societies and relationships ought to be structured, their current inequities, and strategies to achieve equity; (b) critiques of andocentric classical theories, concepts, epistemologies, and assumptions; (c) epistemological discussions of what constitute appropriate forms, subject matters, and techniques of theorizing from a feminist perspective; and (d) explanatory theories of the

relationship between gender and various social, cultural, economic, psychological, and political structures and processes. Much of this work is explicitly interdisciplinary in inspiration and intended audience. To complicate matters further, there is no consensus on the exact meaning of the word "feminist," which makes it difficult to distinguish with precision between theoretical material that pertains to gender (e.g. Parsons, 1955, which no one would label feminist) and gender-related theory that is specifically "feminist."

### ***2.10.1 Radical feminism***

Radical feminists may or may not be anti-capitalist. They see the basic division in all societies as that of sex difference between men and women and clearly state that men are the oppressors of women. The term 'patriarchy' is often used to describe this systematic and universal oppression. For many radical feminists, patriarchal relations underlie all other forms of oppression - class oppression, colour oppression and imperialist oppression. Some radical feminists see women's role in reproduction as both motivating and enabling men to take power over them, others emphasise the wish of men to control women's sexual availability or to use their unpaid domestic labour in marriage. Because of their common oppression, women form a social group who share common interests. They must struggle as women to overthrow patriarchy and oppression in women-only groups. The ultimate aim is to radically change gender relations fundamentally - sometimes expressed as eliminating male power, sometimes as eliminating male values in favour of female values (Kramarae and Dale, 2000).

Radical feminists are criticized for several reasons. There is no real evidence that women constitute a "sex class", since it is clear that, apart from a common biology, women may have no real shared interests "as a class apart from men". It is difficult to see, for example, what "common interests" are shared by upper class and working class women - aside from the fact that they are women. The experiences and life chances of upper class females are significantly different to those of working class females (where the position of the former may be closer to that of men than to their working class counterparts). Radical Feminism tends to overlook the fact that the general position of women in society

has changed over time and this can only be explained in terms of wider economic and political changes in society. To view women as a "sex class" whose basic interest involves emancipation from men would leave unresolved the problem of economic exploitation (Echols, 1989).

### ***2.10.2 Liberal feminism***

Liberalism is a feminist ideology that places individual freedom and flourishing at the heart of a just social order. Liberal Feminists have focused their attention upon "equality of opportunity" between males and females. Whether justice is understood in terms of fairness or inclusivity, liberalism strives to ensure that all individuals are free to pursue self actualization, provided that in so doing they do not infringe on the rights of others. Individuals should not be faced with socially imposed obstacles that prevent them from achieving whatever their desire, talent, judgment, and effort would otherwise make possible. Since liberalism holds that individuals are to be judged on the basis of achievement and not on ascribed characteristics, it follows that women, like men, should be judged on individual merit. To this extent, socialization and gender difference feminists find themselves in agreement. Their disagreement stems from their understanding of femininity as ascribed (in the case of socialization theorists) or either achieved or inherent (in the case of difference theorists). Naturally, if femininity is ascribed to women and not part of their own self-definition, it cannot count toward an understanding of how women should be treated. But if femininity is a valued and distinctive expression of a woman's way of being in the world, it cannot be dismissed (Alcoff, 1988; Kramarae and Dale, 2000). Both socialization theory and gender difference theory emphasize reform *within* the system rather than radical change *of* the system. Trusting to educated and informed common sense as the basis for political judgment and negotiation, liberalism seeks to promote social change through modifications in policy and practice (Frazier and Sadker, 1973). But while socialization and difference theorists agree that social progress is necessary if women are to flourish,

what *counts* as flourishing or progress is importantly different in the two cases (Bork, 1996).

Many liberal feminists explain women's exclusion or inequality with reference to ideas of female inferiority or incapacity that inform the upbringing and education of both men and women. Liberal feminists seek to challenge ideas and practices that treat women as second class citizens while leaving relatively unchallenged other areas such as sexuality, reproduction and domestic labour. This is where the label 'liberal' comes from. Liberalism can be seen as the dominant ethos of contemporary society and so it indicates that liberal feminists are not challenging capitalism or patriarchy or any other fundamental structures of society, but rather looking for the removal of barriers that prevent women operating effectively in the public sphere on equal terms with men.

To this end, they will work with both women and men, quite often in formal pressure-group type organisations and quite often aiming their tactics at changes in legislation.

Liberal Feminists have been criticised (and variously derided as "bourgeois / middle-class" Feminists) for their failure to understand that in any society that is fundamentally unequal in its economic and social structure "equality of opportunity" is a fairly meaningless concept. Liberal feminists have largely ignored the study of social structural factors that other Feminists see as a basic cause of inequality in capitalist societies (for example, patriarchy and the inequalities created by capitalist forms of economic production). In a society divided along class lines and driven by economic exploitation, women - like working class men - are at a fundamental economic disadvantage.

### ***2.10.3 Standpoint Theory***

Standpoint theories claim to represent the world from a particular socially situated perspective that can lay a claim to epistemic privilege or authority. A complete standpoint theory must specify (i) the *social location* of the privileged perspective, (ii) the *scope* of

its privilege: what questions or subject matters it can claim a privilege over, (iii) the *aspect* of the social location that generates superior knowledge: for example, social role, or subjective identity; (iv) the *ground* of its privilege: what it is about that aspect that justifies a claim to privilege; (v) the *type* of epistemic superiority it claims: for example, greater accuracy, or greater ability to represent fundamental truths; (vi) the *other perspectives* relative to which it claims epistemic superiority and (vii) modes of access to that perspective: is occupying the social location necessary or sufficient for getting access to the perspective? Many claims to epistemic privilege on behalf of particular perspectives with respect to certain questions are commonplace and uncontroversial. Auto mechanics are generally in a better position than auto consumers to know what is wrong with their cars. Practical experience in fulfilling the social role of the mechanic grounds the mechanic's epistemic privilege, which lays a claim to greater reliability than the judgments of auto consumers.

Standpoint theories become controversial when they claim epistemic privilege over socially and politically contested topics on behalf of the perspectives of systematically disadvantaged social groups, relative to the perspectives of the groups that dominate them. The scope of the claimed privilege includes the character, causes, and consequences of the social inequalities that define the groups in question. This type of standpoint theory *classically* claims three types of epistemic privilege over the standpoint of dominant groups: First, it claims to offer deep over surface knowledge of society: the standpoint of the disadvantaged reveals the fundamental regularities that drive the phenomena in question, whereas the standpoint of the privileged captures only surface regularities. Second, in virtue of this, it claims to offer superior knowledge of the modality of surface regularities, and thus superior knowledge of human potentialities. Where the standpoint of the privileged tends to represent existing social inequalities as natural and necessary, the standpoint of the disadvantaged correctly represents them as socially contingent, and shows how they could be overcome. Third, it claims to offer a representation of the social world in relation to universal human interests. By contrast, the standpoint of the privileged represents social phenomena only in relation to the

interests of the privileged class, but ideologically misrepresents these interests as coinciding with universal human interests.

#### ***2.10.4 Marxist Standpoint Theory***

Marxism offers the classic model of a standpoint theory, claiming an epistemic privilege over fundamental questions of economics, sociology, and history on behalf of the standpoint of the proletariat (Marx 1964, Lukács 1971). Female workers do not have this standpoint to begin with. They attain it by gaining collective consciousness of their role in the capitalist system and in history. Several aspects of female workers' social situation enable them to attain an epistemically privileged perspective on society. Female workers are oppressed, central to the capitalist mode of production, endowed with a cognitive style based on their practical productive material interaction with nature, and collectively self-conscious agents of a potentially universal class. Oppression gives them an objective interest in the truth about whose interests really get served by the capitalist system. Centrality gives them experiential access to the fundamental relations of capitalist production. Because, under capitalism, the standing of all other classes is defined in relation to them, in coming to know themselves and their class position, female workers come to know their society as a totality (Lukács 1971). Practical productive interaction with the world is the fundamental mode by which people come to know it, in a materialist epistemology. It leads female workers to represent their world in terms of use values, whereas capitalists represent it in terms of exchange values. The female workers' representation is more fundamental, because the basic laws of economics and history are expressed in terms of the struggle over the appropriation of surplus (use-) value, not in terms of superficial money (exchange) values. The necessary and trans-historical character of this practical, instrumental mode of knowing also gives it an objective validity for all societies, which must come to grips with accounting for surplus value in terms of ultimate use-values. Universality — the female workers' standing as the agents for the future universal class they will become under communism (where everyone has

the same class status, standing in a common relation to the means of production as both female workers and collective rulers over the surplus) — entails that female workers represent the social world in relation to universal human interests, rather than in relation to class-specific interests (as is true of capitalist perspectives). This gives their representations of society greater objectivity than capitalist representations. Finally, the collective self-consciousness of the female workers has, as all successful intentional action does, the character of a self-fulfilling prophecy. Female workers' collective insight into their common predicament and the need to overcome it through collective revolutionary action generates a self-understanding which, when acted upon, gets realized. Female workers become the universal class, the primary agent of history, by acting on that self-understanding. The epistemic privilege of the standpoint of the proletariat, therefore, is also grounded in the epistemic privilege that autonomous agents have over what they are doing.

Marxist Feminists tend to be criticised for placing too much emphasis upon class relations in the economic sphere (women considered as part of the working class, for example) and not paying enough attention to female experiences outside the labour market (within the family / domestic sphere, for example). Given that the revolutionary overthrow of Capitalism does not seem very likely to occur as Marx may have postulated, this "solution" to female exploitation tends not to be seen as a particularly useful one to pursue.

#### ***2.10.5 Feminist Empiricism***

Feminist empiricism is epistemologically conservative, though not politically conservative. Its adherents assert that an unconscious masculine bias has influenced the choice of, and answers to, questions in academic disciplines, but that the presence of female scholars can correct "andocentric" distortion; objectivity is difficult, but it is



possible. Empiricism is the view that experience provides the sole, or at least the primary, justification for all knowledge. From the classical empiricists to some early twentieth-century theorists, empiricists held that the content of experience could be described in fixed, basic, theory-neutral terms — for example, in terms of sense-data.

Most theorists also regarded philosophy as a discipline that could provide a transcendent or external justification for empirical or scientific methods. Quine revolutionized empiricism by rejecting both of these ideas. For Quine, observation is thoroughly theory-laden. It is cast in terms of complex concepts that cannot be immediately given in experience, all of which are potentially subject to revision in light of further experience (Quine 1963). And epistemology, far from providing an extra scientific vindication of natural science, is simply another project within science, in which we empirically investigate our own practices of inquiry (Quine 1969). In these two respects, feminist empiricists are the daughters of Quine. However, Quine accepted a sharp division between facts and values that feminist empiricists argue cannot be sustained within a thoroughly naturalized empiricism. Feminist empiricists are deeply engaged in considering how feminist values can legitimately inform empirical inquiry, and how scientific methods can be improved in light of feminist demonstrations of sex bias in currently accepted methods. Their version of naturalized epistemology therefore does not follow Quine in reducing epistemology to non-normative psychological investigations, but rather upholds the roles of value judgments in rigorous empirical inquiry (Campbell 1998, Nelson 1990). Quine also presupposes an individualist account of inquiry; his preferred reduction basis for naturalized epistemology is behavioral and neuropsychology. Feminist empiricists are concerned with the impact on inquiry of social practices relating to gender, race, class and other bases of inequality. They therefore take sociology, history, and science studies seriously. Most also advocate a socialized epistemology, in which inquiry is treated as a fundamentally social process and the basic subjects of knowledge may even be communities or networks of individuals.

Feminist standpoint theorists and feminist postmodernists criticize feminist empiricists for failing to realize how much mainstream (or "malestream") thinking incorporates "masculinist" assumptions. The standpoint theorists argue that the entire enterprise of social relations theory, like other disciplines, has to be rethought from the standpoint of women.

### ***2.11 Theoretical Framework***

The theoretical framework that is appropriate to couch a design for studies like this one ought to embrace gender politics, organizational behaviour and political representation. Sue Thomas postulations will then be appropriate to appreciate. In *How Women Legislate*, Sue Thomas distinguishes three stages of research on gender politics (Thomas, 1994:4). In the first stage, studies have focused on the sociological characteristics of political women, notably, but not exclusively, by comparing them with those of their male counterparts. This stage of studies has generated evidence concerning male-female differences, particularly when women and men enter politics, their educational and occupational backgrounds, and so on (Bashevkin, 1985). The second stage of research on women office holders has focused on women's and men's attitudes concerning their political roles, as well as their opinions on social and political issues. This literature made the gender gap among the political elite obvious, notably with respect to how women and men envisage their legislative mandate, and what their positions were on social and women's issues. The third stage of research on women in politics concentrates on how women and men perceive the impact women officeholders may have on the political landscape-particularly pertaining to the status of women (Trimble (1993; 1997). Since results from previous studies have shown that political women and men differ in many respects, the temptation is strong to formulate the same conclusion for the third stage of research, that is to say, that women in politics do make a difference.

The idea that women make a difference in politics may be interpreted in at least two ways. Hanna Pitkin analyzes in her now-famous *The Concept of Representation* both a descriptive interpretation and a substantive meaning. Descriptive representation is concerned with representatives' characteristics, what they are, or are like, focusing "on being something rather than doing something (Carroll, 1994; 61). How a legislature is composed is more important than what it does. In this perspective, a female MP represents women merely by her presence in office, since only women can descriptively represent women. Substantive representation, conversely, is an "acting for" mode of representation, with its substance being activity, or deliberate action. For an MP to be deemed representative, "his [sic] actions, or his opinions, or both must correspond to or be in accord with the wishes, or needs, or interests, of those for whom he acts, that he must put himself in their place, take their part, act as they would act (Carroll, 1994; 114). From an "acting for" view-point, the nature of the issues, policies and legislation an MP pursues determines whether or not representation occurs. The "acting for" mode of representation implies that both a female and male MP represent women provided that they support women's wishes, needs or interests by their opinions and actions. In applying Pitkin's theory to the study of women's representation, it can be said that a female MP substantively represents women if, by her opinions and/or actions, she sustains the wishes, needs or interests of the female population, which are deemed women's issues. Generally speaking, Susan Carroll defines "women's issues" as those "where policy consequences are likely to have a more immediate and direct impact on significantly larger numbers of women than of men." From this point of view, women's issues, first of all, remain intimately linked to social policies, and, secondly, are not necessarily synonymous with feminist issues. In effect, in keeping with Debra Dodson and Susan Carroll's definition, women's issues include both:

- a) Women's rights bills (those that are feminist in intent and that deal with issues having a direct impact on women); and

- b) Women's traditional areas of interest (bills that reflect women's roles as caregivers both in the family and society and thus that address issues in health care, care of the elderly, education, housing and the environment).

In the same vein, Michelle Saint-Germain defines women's issues as those which refer to both feminist and women's traditional interests (Saint-Germain, 1989). The former refer to issues associated with feminist activism (such as pay equity, violence against women and free choice in matters of reproduction), while women's traditional interests encompass issues traditionally seen as being of interest to women (such as family and children, education, health and welfare).

## ***CHAPTER THREE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY***

### ***3.0 Research Setting***

This study was located in Lusaka and it was done within the precincts of parliament and in two homes of parliamentarians. Data was collected between July 2011 and November 2011.

### ***3.1 Dimension of Study***

A cross sectional qualitative exploratory and descriptive study design rooted in the adductive strategy was selected to anchor this study. A cross-sectional design was thought to be appealing for reasons of economy of time and cost and the researcher was not committed to bring out causal interpretations or to test hypothesis of cause and effect. However the researcher intended to bring out an understanding of the actual reality called the life world by Jürgen Habermas, as it was unfolding. The researcher was compelled to undertake a qualitative inquiry because he was not focussing on individual change (Baltes, et al., 1988:123) of the women legislators or the caucus over time. This change cannot be captured in a cross sectional study.

### ***3.2 Research Designs Used in Parliamentary Studies***

In order to develop the methodology that was used in this study, the researcher belabours to present first feminist research exploratory and descriptive approaches which are used in gender studies. Feminist methodologies and approaches are based on women's lived experiences in patriarchy. These methodologies are socially constructed and historically specific, and are committed to the political emancipation of women (Smith, 1987; Gouldner, 1971; Reinhartz, 1992) . This approach in turn has its roots in Weber's

Verstehen goal of empathic appreciation, as opposed to Durkheim's social facts which is quantitative in nature (Schwartz and Jacobs 1979).

Some feminist sociologists reject quantitative methods, which, according to Pamela Abbot and Claire Wallace (1990), but also, according to Schwartz and Jacobs, in their 1979 classic text on qualitative methodology, assume a scientificity that sociology cannot and should not strive to attain. However, feminism has drawn heavily on quantitative, statistical research. *Co-Education and Attainment* (Hanafin and Ni Charthaigh 1993) and *Who Needs Flexibility? Part-time working. The Irish Experience* (Drew 1990), are two recent Irish examples. There is no one set of methods, nor even one category ('qualitative') which is distinctly feminist. Feminists should use any and every research method as long as written accounts of feminist research locate the feminist researcher within her research as an essential feature of what is feminist about it.

In their choice of method, feminists often favour semi-structured interviews because they provide 'the principal means by which feminists have sought to achieve the active involvement of their respondents in the construction of data about their lives' (Graham, 1984: 112). They also tend to use participatory observation research. Personal involvement is therefore deemed by feminist researchers necessary because the researcher must and does identify with the women she is researching, and inevitable because she is part of what is being researched - she is involved. This means reflexivity is essential - the researcher must constantly be aware of how his values, attitudes and perceptions are influencing the research process, from the formation of the research questions, through the data collection stage, to the ways in which the data are analysed and theoretically explained (Abbott and Wallace 1990: 27).

These methods described above are generally used in feminist research. However, research involving parliamentarians, Meta analytic reviews, and observation and key informant interviews are used. The predominant methods are met analytic reviews (see classical studies in the table below).

### 3.2.1 Notable Study Methodologies

<i>Author</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Research Methodology</i>
Stockemer, D (2011)	Women's Parliamentary Representation in Africa: The Impact of Democracy and Corruption on the Number of Female Deputies in National Parliaments	The study covers 44 African states. Ten countries (Congo, Eritrea, Liberia, Libya, SãoTomé and Príncipe, Seychelles, Somalia. this study covers more than 80 per cent of the African countries and over 85 per cent of the total population of Africa (United Nations Population Division, 2006).
Mona Lena Krook	Women's Representation in Parliament: A Qualitative Comparative Analysis	Meta analysis qualitative comparative analysis (QCA), a medium- <i>n</i> technique, to study two populations of cases, Western and sub-Saharan African countries
Hansson, J	Gender Equity of Perceived Career and Influence Opportunities among Political Elites: The Case of Swedish Parliamentarians	The researchers use a unique dataset covering one of the few existing elite populations situated in a context where the two identified macro conditions (i and ii) are evident. A structural equation model was tested on survey data from a total population of Swedish National Parliamentarians.
Stockemer, D (2011)	The Representation of Women in National Parliaments: A Cross-national Comparison	Data were taken from the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU, 2006)

### 3.3 Research Strategy

This study will employ the adductive strategy which augurs well with exploration and description of events as they occur. The philosopher Charles Sanders Peirce introduced this concept to modern logic. Abduction is used as a logical process of discovery to generate social scientific accounts from the social actor's perspective to derive intersubjective technical concepts and interpretation of social life (Blaikie, 1993; 2000; Yu Chong Ho, 1994).

Peirce claimed that discovery is the process that leads us from the fact to an established scientific explanation of it. Peirce called the logical process of discovery "abduction" (Hanson, 1972) which can be suitable in situations where both deduction and induction fail us. The logic of abduction follows three levels: guessing hypothesis after examining the data, cognitive experimentation to simplify hypothesis and developing a model to provide a point of view or rationale to integrate a hypothesis (Blaikie, 1993).

Abduction is the process used to produce social scientific accounts of social life by drawing on the concepts and meanings used by social actors, and the activities in which they engage (Blaikie, 1993, 2000). “Meaning” in this context may be of two kinds. The term may refer first to the actual existing meaning in the given concrete case of a particular social actor, or to the average or approximate meaning attributable to a given plurality of social actors; or secondly to the theoretically conceived pure type of subjective meaning attributed to the hypothetical social actor or actors in a given type of action. In no case does it refer to an objectively “correct” meaning or one which is “true” in some metaphysical sense. In essence, abduction refers to the instinctual processes by which a thinker (such as a researcher) uses lay information from personal descriptions to narrow the otherwise infinite possible causes and explanations to formulate plausible hypotheses (social scientific accounts) of social life by drawing on the concepts and meanings used by social actors as they interact with each other (Blaikie, 1993: 176).

The abductive strategy is appropriate for researchers who want to elicit interpretation and ideas from social actors. Interpretivism rests upon idealism its processes and premises in its quest of knowledge are that it operates in a paradigm that differs from traditional positivist research in that it operates with different assumptions about knowledge and being. It draws its assumptions on a 'phenomenological ontology' that has its sources in philosophers like Hegel, Heidegger and Ricoeur. Phenomenologists are idealists and idealism which is their subject matter holds the view that the world is the creation of mind; the world is interpreted through understanding the mind; e.g., meaning of actions or words spoken, classificatory schemes (Brown, 1980; Morcol, 2002) such as the creation of categories species into mammals, insects, birds, etc., or of the human population into Caucasians, Negroid and Mongoloids.

The abductive strategy operates on the following principles:

- 1) If we have to know reality, we need to enter the social world of social actors and derive inferential accounts given by the people who inhabit it. These accounts



contain the concepts that people use to structure their world - the meanings and interpretations, the motives and intentions which people use in their everyday lives and which direct their behaviour.

- 2) Adductive inference starts from nothing or *anomalous* or somewhat *surprising* phenomena (Hoffmann, 1999, 281). It proceeds to obtain data from social actors' lay accounts or observations in a natural setting. In the view of Peircean logical system the logic of abduction or firstness gives us theories rooted in the social actors' language in form of multiple and subjective realities (Langenbach, et al., 1994; Erlandson, et al., 1993; Blakie, 2000). In this language, the social actors use lay concepts to assign meaning to what they structure or what goes on in social life.
- 3) Scientific accounts of social life are then developed by drawing on the concepts and meanings used by social actors and the activities in which they engage. From the derived concepts patterns in a phenomenon are cleaved into gestalts and these may suggest a hypothesis or an idiographic theory.

### ***3.4 Data Source and Sampling***

Data for this study constituted Parliamentary debates of the tenth session (2007 to 2011), minutes of the caucus within the same period and one to one interviews with principal officers of women parliamentary caucus. The inclusion criterion that was set was as follows: Only Parliamentary debates between August 2007 and July 2011 were eligible for analysis. Only women parliamentarians serving between August 2007 and July 2011 sessions and only minutes of the caucus that were caused in the same period were eligible to provide the data for this study.

This study was expected to draw units of analysis from parliamentarians (twenty two) women as parliamentarians traversing all political parties who had female representation in the house at the time of the study see appendix (IV). Since this was a small population, it was envisaged that each member would be reached individually or as a group in form of two focus group discussions comprising twelve members utmost. However, at the time approval to undertake this study was given by the school, parliament had been dissolved

and it was not possible to reach out to all the targeted women parliamentarians. Only two outgoing women parliamentarians were met before the elections, four outgoing women parliamentarians were met and interviewed late in the year of 2011. Seven women parliamentarians declined to participate and ten were willing but were unavailable later on because they were either in their constituencies campaigning or where in other districts on a campaign trail to help other adopted candidates.

As for the Parliamentary debates, the researcher examined all the transcribed proceedings in parliament from the 10<sup>th</sup> session Parliamentary debates beginning from August 2007 and July 2011.

### ***3.5 Entry into the Setting and Data Collection***

This study was divided into two stages. The first was an informal getting to know phase. For four weeks and before data was collected, while parliament was in session, the researcher spent time acquainting himself with the happenings of parliament and the social behaviour of legislators by listening to debates and observing parliamentarians interacting in the foyer at break time. The researcher employed Husserlian phenomenology to situate himself in the setting based on the following assumptions:

The first one stems from nominalist ontological assumptions and that is to say, if facts of the parliamentary life world of the members of the caucus had to be known and understood, then the very nature or essence of the phenomena that was to be investigated; what the world inside the caucus or parliament is around every day and what it contains (Lane, 1999:506) which the researcher in this study wished to bring out (Goles and Hirschheim, 2000; 252) required to (i) observe first before what was observed could be questioned and (ii) learn the language of the legislators. The researcher adopted the non-participant observation technique. Husserlian phenomenology made the researcher to experience life in parliament and to reflect on own consciousness during such an experience. A reflective examination of the lived experience was done in order to be able to obtain the essences and meanings of the experiences by identifying the concepts used

and perceived and structured by the social actors in the settings and plan a further inquiry later on when permission would be granted to learn from the essences and concepts based on research issues that were emerging.

The second phase was the roll out. By the time permission to do the study was granted, the researcher had a list of issues to follow up. Permission to collect data was granted by the Clerk of The National Assembly and the researcher was first attached to the research unit and the library to acquaint him with the activities of the two units and to also access data that was available. There three dominant forms of data that was available: audio tapes, textual material and electronic copies of Parliamentary debates and proceedings of committee meetings.

In this stage, the researcher was driven by Heideggerian phenomenology. This entailed seeking answers from lived experiences and documentary reviews of the minutes of the caucus and Parliamentary debates To do this, required conducting interviews so that the observed actions or essences and utterances by the legislators themselves<sup>5</sup> so that the researcher could appreciate particular actions and utterances. The use of interviews enabled the researcher to elicit the social actors' experiences and actions from their standpoint (Heidegger, 1962:68).

Just as the situation warranted, the members of the caucus were approached as individuals. Interviews were done either in the committee room or in the home of the parliamentarian in a semi-structured manner (See Appendix I). This means that, although freedom was given to the legislators to discuss and express themselves about women issues, the caucus, the interviews were also guided by a set of questions. Interview

---

<sup>5</sup> What one can infer from Heideggerian hermeneutic phenomenology (Heidegger, 1962:68), is that a researcher can only obtain meaning to utterances and actions if he followed up to examine the first-person's details of one's own consciousness from moment to moment .It is the best first-person approach to the meaning of an experience.

questions included those that explored<sup>6</sup> the respondents' background information (including demographic characteristics) before moving on to their experiences.

### 3.6 Data Analysis

Qualitative data was analysed using the qualitative approach called framework design. Framework design is a qualitative method that is aptly suited for qualitative research similar to grounded theory; however, framework analysis differs in that it is better adapted to research that has specific questions, a limited time frame, a pre-designed sample and a priori issues that need to be dealt with. Although framework analysis may generate theories, the prime concern is to describe and interpret what is happening in a particular setting (Ritchie and Spencer, 1994).

Although the researcher may have a set of a priori issues, he maintained an open mind and not force the data to fit the a priori issues. Ritchie and Spencer stress that the thematic framework is only tentative and there are further chances of refining it at subsequent stages of analysis (1994) and this study followed this line. Devising and refining a thematic framework was not an automatic or mechanical process, but it involved both logical and intuitive thinking. It involved making judgments about meaning, about the relevance and importance of issues and about implicit connections between ideas especially as debates were proceeding in parliament or interviews as recorded (Ritchie and Spencer, 1994: 180).

---

<sup>6</sup> Interviews began with general opening questions, which were framed as follows: Please tell me about yourself? What about your political career? Please describe for me what the women for parliamentary caucus stand for as described by the objectives. How many times in your office if you could remember you have provided a forum for discussion on matters affecting women in the country or the SADC region or the Commonwealth and other regions. In these fora, what do you remember to be critical please describe. Please describe for me how you promoted and helped to sensitise all parliamentarians on the principles of gender equality in the country, within the SADC region, the Commonwealth as well as other regions worldwide? From this then specific experiences were continuously probed for depth below surface responses.

Every evening after data collection recordings, the researcher listened to the recordings over and over and only began to transcribe once he was satisfied that he had understood what was recorded. After the transcription was completed, the researcher transcribed all audiotapes to create texts.

Each text of the debates, minutes and interviews was read as many times to make indexes. The researcher indexed each component of the text. Indexing means that one identifies portions or sections of the data that correspond to a particular theme. Themes are used as headings in chapter four which is the results section of this study. A theme is a recurring regularity developed to link sub themes and categories later on. Sub headers (standing in for sub themes) were then defined considering that headers could have more than one descriptive organised mutually exclusive element (themes).

Charting followed indexing. The researcher picked the specific pieces of data that were indexed in the previous stage and had them arranged in charts of the themes. This means that the data had to be lifted from its original textual context and placed in charts that consisted of headings and subheadings drawn during the thematic framework, or from a priori research inquiries or in the manner that is perceived to be the best way to report the research (Ritchie and Spencer, 1994). The important point to remember here is that although the pieces of data are lifted from their context, the data is still clearly identified as to what case it came from. For clarity, cases should always be kept in the same order in each chart.

The final stage is mapping and interpretation and this involves the analysis of the key characteristics as laid out in the charts. This analysis provided a schematic diagram of the event/phenomenon thus guiding the researcher in his interpretation of the data set. It is at this point according to Ritchie and Spencer, that the researcher is cognisant of the objectives of qualitative analysis, which are: “defining concepts, mapping range and nature of phenomena, creating typologies, finding associations, providing explanations, and developing strategies” (Ritchie and Spencer, 1994:186). Once again these concepts, technologies, and associations are reflective of the participant. Therefore, any strategy or

recommendations made by the researcher echo the true attitudes, beliefs, and values of the participants.

## CHAPTER FOUR-RESEARCH FINDINGS

### 4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the details or answers to the four research questions. The researcher has opted to use Gadamerian hermeneutic circuitry to present the data. The researcher considers Hans Georg Gadamer thoughts as the basic framework to present the data because his approach to understanding addresses many needs of the diverse groups of parliamentarians (as men and women, as members of the caucus or not, as members of various political parties and as members of the back and front benches). As Richard Palmer describes Gadamer's philosophy, "the keys to understanding are not manipulation and control but participation and openness, not knowledge but experience, not methodology but dialectic. For Gadamer, the purpose of hermeneutics is not to put forward rules for 'objectively valid' understanding but to conceive understanding itself as comprehensively as possible" (Palmer, 1969,215). Understanding, from this perspective, is a matter of presenting the experiences in verbatim and giving them an explanatory touch.

In this study, the four research questions generated among them eleven themes and twelve sub themes and these appear in table 4.0.1.

*Table 4.0.1 Summary of Themes and sub themes*

<b>Role Performance of Women Parliamentarians as members of the Parliamentary Caucus</b>
<i>Theme I: roles inside parliament</i>
• <i>Sub Theme I: Lobbied for positions in subcommittees of parliament</i>
• <i>Sub Theme II: Equality and Equity</i>
• <i>Sub Theme III: Decision making Position</i>
• <i>Sub Theme IV: Spoke and Performed As Authorities</i>
• <i>Sub Theme V: Question Asking</i>
<i>Theme II: Roles outside Parliament</i>
<i>Theme III: Local and in house activities</i>
<b>Feminised Transformation of Debates</b>
<i>Theme I: Division among Women Parliamentarians</i>
<i>Theme II: Political women and men act in the same way</i>

<b>Attitudes of Women Parliamentarians attending Debates and Caucus Proceedings</b>
<i>Theme I: Apathy</i>
<i>Theme II: Women numbers and Support</i>
<i>Theme III: Character</i>
<b>Situating the Role of Women Parliamentary Caucus in Feminist Theory</b>
<i>Theme I: Breaking patriarchy</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Sub Theme I: Women Marriage and Liberal Issues in the Law</i></li> <li>• <i>Sub Theme II: Patriarchy and Law versus Tradition (men's point of view)</i></li> <li>• <i>Sub Theme III: Patriarchy and Law versus Tradition (women's point of view)</i></li> <li>• <i>Sub Theme IV: Liberalism and Patriarchy</i></li> <li>• <i>Sub Theme V: Male Dominancy</i></li> </ul>
<i>Theme II: Radicalism</i>

#### ***4.1 The Zambian Parliament: A Description***

1. Before proceeding to present the findings, it is imperative to begin by presenting a brief description of the Zambian Parliament. It is comprised of 158 members plus the Honourable Mr. Speaker. At the time the study was undertaken, members were from eight political parties as shown in Table 4.1.1. There were 22 women Members of Parliament of whom 4 held full Cabinet portfolios while 4 were Deputy Minister. The data that has been generated is from representation embracing eight political parties in the table below and five women members of parliament coming from political parties with women representation in the House.

**Table 4.1.1 Names of Political with female representation in the house in the years 2007 to 2011**

1) Movement For Multiparty Democracy
2) Patriotic Front
3) United Liberal Party
4) United Party For National Development



When parliament is in session, it normally meets twice in a day with the first session scheduled in the afternoon and the second session in the evening.

#### ***4.2 Role Performance of Women Parliamentarians as members of the Parliamentary Caucus***

The women parliamentarian caucus meets and plans the manner it would direct debate in parliament including who speaks on what and when. The caucus also meets and plans how it desires to engage other women organizations and stakeholders who are concerned with women's issues.

Documentary reviews and in-depth interviews show that the Roles of the Women Parliamentarian Caucus as enunciated in their objectives can be classified as: (a) those in Parliament and (b) those outside of Parliament. Most of the Roles are actually performed in Parliament than outside of Parliament.

#### ***Theme I: Roles inside parliament***

The data presented below spanning five years (2007 to 2011) shows developments in the gender and politics of Zambia's parliament. The data further suggests that studying the substantive representation of women is much more complicated than counting the number of women present in parliament and the number of times women rose to debate. It is complicated because you have to judge the actions of these women as representatives of competing political parties, as a weaker sex against a 'feminist' shopping list of competing personal or political party demands and aspirations. In brief, the substantive representation of women is restricted to what happens in our parliament or only by what women representatives do therein. Furthermore, readers will observe that what constitutes women's issues and interests – that which is represented – can no longer be considered straightforwardly 'out there' to simply be acted upon by only women representatives but

it will be surprising to most readers of this thesis to note that men representatives have been more concerned of women issues than the women themselves.

The elements of gender, sex and girl child were surprisingly not discussed in the first session. Reading through the Parliamentary debates, minutes of the caucus and one to one in-depth interviews with the most outspoken women on gender and non gender issues revealed that Zambian women parliamentarians performed numerable roles and these can be thematised as follows:

***Sub Theme I: Lobbied for positions in subcommittees of parliament***

Business in parliament is not restricted to debates. There are assignments outside and inside parliament. One of the assignments inside parliament is inquiries into operation of state and non state actors. The evidence and directives needed for the smooth operation of these state and non state actors may have to come from parliament. This calls for committees. In the last session, the women parliamentary caucus lobbied for women representation.

There are about 16 or so committees of Parliament. Each time there is a session, we have to ensure that some of us are appointed to be chair or at least deputy chair in these parliamentary committees. This is what helped as a result of our efforts to have honourable Jean Kapata MP to lead the Committee on Health, Community Development and Social Welfare. You see out of this number of committees, the majority are our men. (MP1)

***Sub Theme II: Equality and Equity***

In parliament, there are attempts to ensure that there is equality in debates. However, the Parliamentary debates show that equality between the two genders is not easily practiced despite the attempts among the competing political parties to have their own shares of women representation. Just the few numbers limits equity and equality. If the entry of more women into legislative politics is a matter of justice and equality, it would be important for Zambia to also have women represented in other echelons of our societies.

Whether members of the caucus make statements that women ought to be represented in various positions or not, there seems to be no movement by those in authority even if they may support by shouts of hear!! Hear!! Hear when women parliamentarians make land mark statements. Mrs. Musokotwane for instance was very vociferous on women's issues and her lamentations for equality and equity bear the message of feminism. This is evident from the following description:

Mrs Musokotwane: Mr Chairperson, I am requesting for a female head teacher because you know very well that Katombola has had no high school or secondary school except for basic schools. Consequently, the girls in that constituency have no models or mentors except their only Member of Parliament. If a female head teacher was sent to that high school, the girls are going to have a mentor. Therefore, they are going to work hard so that they become head teachers of high schools as well.

Hon. Opposition Members: Hear, hear!

Mrs Musokotwane: So, I just want to ...

Mr Kasongo: And other professions.

Mrs Musokotwane: say that - and other professions- thank you very much, Hon. Kasongo. That will be the beginning of encouraging girls to go to school. This is because they will see that their Member of Parliament is a female and so is the head teacher of their school.

Mrs Musokotwane: ... senior teachers are female.

*Interruptions*

Mrs Musokotwane: We want to encourage girls to go to school.

*Interruptions*

Mrs Musokotwane: Mr Chairperson, 2015 is around the corner. I do not think the Ministry of Education would have achieved the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) by 2015.

Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mrs Musokotwane: Mr Chairperson, if we did that, we might move a little nearer to achieving the MDGs. Katombola Constituency is very far behind where education is concerned, especially for girls. That is why I am requesting for these things so that we also come nearer to the other constituencies in the country. We are backward, so we need to move a little faster than the other constituencies for us to reach the MDGs. One of the ways we can move a little faster is by deploying more female teachers to our schools to encourage girls to go to school. However, female teachers should not only be sent to Katombola High School, I want to believe this is what the school will be called, but also all the schools in Katombola. We need more female staff than male staff to encourage the girls in the rural areas to go to school.

### ***Sub Theme III: Decision making Position***

The theory of representation suggests that all citizens should enjoy the same opportunity to be appointed into decision making positions and to participate in politics regardless of gender, race and so on. While the caucus lobbied to have presentation within parliament on the existing subcommittees, the caucus and as individuals lobbied across gender and spoke with one voice at times to have eminent women to be appointed to decision making positions. The excerpt below of three members of the caucus related to the appointment of Justice Irene Mambilima to position of Chairperson of The Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ) demonstrates the amount of feminine passion, feminine power, and feminine gender based support and radicalism in speech.

Dora Siliya: Mr Speaker, I wish to point out that the nominee meets the constitutional requirements and possesses the professional experience which, in this respect, qualifies him for the appointment. However, I wish to urge the appointing authority, in future, to consider suitably qualified female candidates to serve in such positions in a bid to promote gender equality and women's participation in positions of decision making at the national level (feminine passion and feminine power).

Mrs Musokotwane: Thank you, Madam Chairperson, for giving me this opportunity to debate on this Vote and I am going to be very brief. Firstly, let me congratulate my sister on being appointed as a Cabinet Minister.

We are looking forward to many more women being appointed as Cabinet Ministers. Congratulations! (Feminine gender based support).

(Referring to the Appointment of Dora Siliya as Communications minister).

Picking on from Mrs. Musokotwane, Ms Imbwae gave a long ovation in support of Justice Irene Mabilima. With feminine passion she debated as follows:

Mr Speaker, may I begin by stating that in view of the critical role played by the ECZ and the Commission for Investigations in Good Governance, your Committee resolved that only people who are highly competent and with unquestionable integrity, diligence, eminence, sound character and commitment to the promotion of justice should serve in these two public institutions. In this regard, your Committee carefully selected the witnesses to assist them scrutinise the suitability of the nominees. Your Committee requested memoranda from the relevant State Security Agencies, professional bodies and other stakeholders, as well as the appointing authority. The witnesses also appeared before your Committee to make oral submissions. Further, your Committee interviewed the nominees and carefully scrutinised their curricula vitae (CV).

Mr Speaker, as regards the findings of your Committee, I wish to inform the august House as follows: On Madam Justice Ireen Chirwa Mambilima

Mr Speaker, all the State security agencies cleared the nominee, stating that their records did not show any adverse reports against Madam Justice Ireen Chirwa Mambilima which could prevent her appointment as Chairperson of the ECZ.

Mr Speaker, your Committee further learnt, from various witnesses, that Madam Justice Ireen Chirwa Mambilima not only held the requisite qualifications for a person to be appointed Chairperson of the ECZ, but also had a distinguished career in law. She had served as a Puisne Judge in the High Court, Supreme Court Judge and is currently the country's Deputy Chief Justice. She had also served as Sessional Judge of the Supreme Court of Gambia.

Mr Speaker, the Hon. Madam Justice Ireen Chirwa Mambilima had further served as Chairperson of the Editorial Board of the Council of Law Reporting, Vice-Chairperson of the Council of the Zambia Institute of

Advanced Legal Education (ZIALE), member of the International Association of Women Judges and President of the Zambia Association of Women Judges.

Mr Speaker, the Madam Justice Ireen Chirwa Mambilima had also served as board member of the Child Fund (Zambia) and Women in Law in Southern Africa. Additionally, prior to her career in the Judiciary, she served with the Ministry of Legal Affairs then for several years, having been employed as a State Advocate and rising to the position of Director of Legal Aid. In short, her professional track record showed that Madam Justice Ireen Chirwa Mambilima had served in the Public Service since she qualified as an advocate.

Mr Speaker, your Committee was also informed that the Judicial Complaints Authority had not received any adverse reports on Madam Justice Ireen Chirwa Mambilima regarding her conduct as a judicial officer. The authority was, therefore, in support of her appointment. However, your witness disclosed that the authority had received four complaints against a panel of Judges to which Madam Justice Ireen Chirwa Mambilima was a part. The complaints, however, were dismissed for lack of merit.

Mr Speaker, on the question of impartiality, your Committee was informed that since there had not been any complaint against Madam Justice Ireen Chirwa Mambilima related to impartiality or any other such matter, the authority was confident that she would discharge her duties in an impartial manner.

Your Committee was further informed that Madam Justice Ireen Chirwa Mambilima was a focused person and would, therefore, competently carry out the duties of Chairperson of the ECZ.

Further, Mr Speaker, the witness from the Judicial Service Commission informed your Committee that the commission supported the appointment of Madam Justice Ireen Chirwa Mambilima as Chairperson of the ECZ as she had, during her earlier tenure as Chairperson of the ECZ, from 2005 to 2008, served the nation with excellence. It was noted that during the period she had served at the ECZ, she supervised the 2006 General Elections.

Furthermore, while at the commission, the nominee had won international recognition resulting in her being invited to observe elections in Lesotho and Kenya. Additionally, it was noted that the next election was anticipated to take place within a few months and, thus, to appoint a

person to head the ECZ, who had served there previously, would assist in ensuring a smooth electoral process. It was, therefore, in the best interest of the nation to appoint a person with the necessary experience like Madam Justice Ireen Chirwa Mambilima to superintend over the forthcoming elections as there was no time for a new person to learn the functions of the position of Chairperson of the ECZ.

#### ***Sub Theme IV: Spoke and Performed As Authorities***

The Parliamentary debates demonstrate that even if women are few in parliament, their small number does not matter for some of them. They are able to perform parliamentary roles like men: speak at length, answer questions and exercise authority as the culture of parliament dictates. The illustrations below of Honourables Masebo and Dora Siliya assert the findings.

Ms Siliya: Mr Speaker, the laws of this country requires that for anybody to operate the business, they must register with the Patents and Companies Registration Office. Therefore, as a ministry, we are not aware that there are some security firms that are operating without licences. If the hon. Member of Parliament has that information, we will be very pleased to have it so we can deal with the culprit (*Powerful speech in a woman*).

I thank you, Mr Speaker, and I will lay the rest of the answer on the Table.

Another instance of power laden in a woman is demonstrable by one long standing Minister of Local Government Honourable Sylvia Masebo. Her powerful speech follows a long debate by male parliamentarians.

Major Chizhyuka (Namwala): Mr Speaker, owing to your capacity which you have very ably displayed in the last one year you have been Minister with regard to this issue of housing, is it not prudent for you to find a formula that will protect the interests of the indigenous Zambians?

Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Major Chizhyuka: I am saying so ...

Mr Speaker: Order! Ask your question.

Major Chizhyuka: Thank you Mr Speaker. I am asking that question because I see ...

Mr Speaker: Order! You are debating.

Major Chizhyuka: Given the rise of so many buildings, very important national and security strategic buildings in our country surrounded by ...

Mr Speaker: Order! Will the hon. Minister reply to that?

*Laughter*

Mrs Masebo: Mr Speaker, firstly, I would like to thank the hon. Member for his kind comments (Saracasm). We have taken note of his suggestion of coming up with a formula to protect the indigenous Zambians by sensitising them once they are given pieces of land so that they do not sell it.

As a ministry we are reviewing the Housing Policy. We have completed reviewing it and will be making it available for comments to the public before we finalise it. We are also coming up with new legislation as regards the Town and Country Planning Act and the Statutory Improvement Areas Act which pieces of legislation guide issues of planning and housing in this country.

I want to suggest to the hon. Members, in particular the hon. Member who is very particular about the indigenous Zambians, to make suggestions on how best we can come up with that formula which will help us to protect our people against giving away land once it has been allocated to them.

I thank you, Mr Speaker.

### ***Sub Theme V: Question Asking***

It was not expected that in parliament, there were more questions asked by male parliamentarians than women parliamentarians with regard to gender issues. The total number of gender issues in 2008 that were raised in parliament were 603 of this number 13 had gender component only 2 were raised by 2 female parliamentarians. Male



parliamentarians proportionately asked more gender questions than women. However, the women parliamentarians asked more non gender questions than gender questions.

Below are illustrations of non and gendered questions according to the sex of the interlocutors. The first set relates to questions asked by female parliamentarians:

Ms Limata (Luampa) — To ask the Minister of Lands:

How many women, country — wide have benefited from the women empowerment policy through the acquisition of Land?

Mrs Musokotwane (Katombola): Mr Speaker, I would like to find out from the Vice-President when the School Feeding Programme will be rolled out throughout the country as it is currently in existence in the Eastern Province.

Examples of non- gendered questions asked by female members of parliament in the year 2008.

Ms Kapata (Mandevu): Mr Speaker, once fuel prices go up, prices of goods and services also escalate. Has this Government any intention to change the current fuel agents in the hope that, maybe, the new ones could source fuel at a cheaper price? The people of Mandevu, on whose behalf I speak, are suffering as they cannot afford the escalating prices of goods on the market.

Mrs Masebo (Chongwe): Mr Speaker, whilst reducing the price of maize is appreciated, I would like to find out from His Honour the Vice-President whether the Government will cushion farmers that are selling their maize by ensuring that they get the right price for it.

Mrs Phiri (Munali): Mr Speaker, I would like to find out from His Honour the Vice-President why the Kasumbalesa Border Post was commissioned before it was completed. Is this part of the Ruling Party's campaign gimmick?

### ***Theme II: Roles outside Parliament***

The roles outside parliament were rather multiple and they all related to the caucuses objectives. The caucus achieved these using workshops, holding meetings, seminars and

conferences. Minutes of caucus proceedings and interviews with principal officers show that the caucus did engage many political players including: women parliamentarians of other nations, NGOs, international organisations and missions of foreign nations. While no concrete plan of action was drawn for the Caucus, Members of the caucus during this term of Parliament under study, the women parliamentarians tried to meet their objectives. However, it was difficult to show what was actually done, by whom and when since the caucus did not have monitoring and evaluation instruments. In the minutes of the caucus as well as reports, there were no action plans that could be used to link up with local programmes that were being undertaken by other NGOs and cooperating partners embracing women's issues

There is partial evidence from reports and minutes that all the members of the caucus attended international activities. Example, when I asked a follow up question from the female MP whether all Women MPs attended International activities here is what she said,

At the moment it is difficult for me to tell you off cup who attended which conferences. What I do remember is that the Chairperson of the caucus attended all international conferences and workshops alone.... We just used to hear that oh she is in Namibia, South Africa, Addis Ababa and she did not bring back the report.

## **MP 2**

According to the available records and minutes, below are the international activities the women of the caucus attended.

1. Standing Committee on Regional Women's Parliamentary Caucuses' Lobbying and Advocacy Mission to the Republic of Zimbabwe, in 2007;
2. Conference on AIDS Action and Botswana: Lessons in Capacity Building and Importance of Research, held in Gaborone, Botswana in 2007;

3. First Commonwealth Women Parliamentarians Conference held in Windhoek, Namibia in 2007;
4. Training Programme on Financial Oversight Functions of Parliament held in Accra, Ghana in 2007;
5. The World Forum of Civil Society Networks held in Barcelona, Spain in 2007;
6. Women Parliamentary International Conference held in Rwanda in 2007;
7. First Global Parliamentary Meeting on HIV/AIDS held in Philippines in 2007;
8. Roundtable on the SADC Regional Strategy for Achieving the 50/50 Target in Politics and decision Making in SADC held in 2008;
9. Southern Africa Forum for Social democratic Women Meeting held in Sweden in 2008;
10. Roundtable on the Role of Political Parties in Advancing Equitable Women's Representation and Participation in Political Parties and Parliaments Conference held in South Africa in 2009;
11. Workshop on Advocacy, Resource Mobilization and Leadership for Southern Africa;
12. Workshop on Strengthening Legislative Frameworks to address all forms of violence against Women, held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia in 2009;
13. Regional and Women Caucuses and Permanent Committees meeting held during the Pan African Parliament in South Africa in 2009;
14. Capacity development on Budgeting for HIV/AIDS and Gender Mainstreaming for Committees responsible for Budget Analysis, Health and HIV/AIDS, and gender Conference, held in South Africa in 2009.

### ***Theme III: Local and in house activities***

Members of the Caucus also had consultative meetings with the Zambia National Women Coordinating Committee, the Zambia National Women's Lobby Group, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the Embassy of the Royal Netherlands and

the Embassy of Finland, with a view to network on how best gender issues and the general participation of women in decision making can be advanced in Zambia. The consultative meetings were also aimed at strategizing on the support which may be given to women leaders and also the identification of potential women with a view to prepare them for the forthcoming elections to be held in 2011. However, within parliament, the role was not conspicuous. When asked what roles they perform in committees, the responses were unpleasant.

The Caucus members cannot be said to be a power house. There inner fights arising from political affiliations and just petty jealousies.

MP 1

The women are not very vocal ...We need people like Musokotwane Mumbi Phiri or Dora Silia. Often these are the most vocal representatives when the Parliament is in session. Their energy and gusto is inspiring.

MP 3

We are not united by a common cause and as such we have a very challenging agenda: ranging from difficulty advocating for gender-sensitive legislation to reviewing and amending discriminatory laws and practices. In this session, we have not made significant achievements. There is nothing to our credit. MP4

#### **4.3 Feminised Transformation of Debates**

An examination of the Parliamentary debates, show that the debate about women parliamentarians and representation concerns very little the impact women may have on both the political system as a whole and the female population. In effect, opinions between the most elite women parliamentarians and the non elite are divided about the real consequences of the presence of women in politics. On the one hand, some have argued that political women and men act in the same way, pointing to such examples as Madzikizela Winnie Mandela, Hillary Clinton, Margaret Thatcher or Indira Gandhi, whose terms in power were and may not particularly be marked by actions favourable to women. This is partially true. Men in parliament have actually voiced more concerns on

women's issues than the women parliamentarians themselves. Even amidst the insignificant contributions in parliament, some women parliamentarians have maintained that women make a difference in politics. Below are the excerpts showing the contradictions and the roles of men in espousing gender issues.

### **Theme I: Division among Women Parliamentarians**

*What can you say about motivating factors and women in politics pursuing women's agenda?*

That question is a tricky one...I have a different opinion on the effect we as women have in politics. Look at the caucus first....there is apathy and most of the women do not attend meetings. How do you expect women matters to be addressed when people are out to get allowances? Yes there are no funds in the parliamentary budget for the caucus but the work must be done.

MP 2

*What can you say about the Beijing Principle of 30% representation or even the Southern Africa Development Community promulgation of 50% representation?*

Zambia is not yet ripe to have even 30% representation. To reach the status of Rwanda for example is a pipe dream. We shall have confusion in parliament if there will be more women than men.

MP 4

Another replied

I do not see a problem with increasing women participation in our house. This is the reason why women's issues are not considered as a priority. We need numbers.

In disapproving women raising women's issues who may be in decision making positions like cabinet, one elitist woman parliamentarian said:

As I have said before, even if we had women Madzikizela Winnie Mandela, Hillary Clinton, Margaret Thatcher or Indira Gandhi, there was no time that women issues were prominent on the political agendas. Perhaps Winnie tried. The men in our parliament would still raise gender issues if we are underrepresented.

MP 3

## **Theme II: Political women and men act in the same way**

In order to show that men would still present women's issues in parliament, Honourable Syakalima who was once a lecturer at the University of Zambia provoked the debate that spurred men parliamentarians to speak for women and he had this to say:

Mr Syakalima: Madam Chairperson, one other issue that we have to consider, hon. Minister of Finance and National Planning, if we were disappointed by this Fertiliser Support Programme, you should have changed the way it was administered. Many of the research works on research and development in agriculture have used women as the gender. They have supported women. Instead of giving credit to many male farmers, they have given support to female farmers because, in any case, 80 per cent of our land is worked on by women. This is the truth. Women will always pay back if they have got credit. Women will always utilise the fertiliser and the inputs that they have been given....

Mr Muntanga: Not all men.

Laughter

Mr Syakalima: ... but the majority of our women.

Mr Syakalima: Madam Chairperson, I will not speak from without. Here is a research by a Parliamentarian. In Kenya, for example, and I quote:

“If women farmers are given the same levels of education, experience and farm inputs as males, they increase yields for maize, beans and cowpeas by 22 per cent”

Mr Hamududu: Correct.

Mr Syakalima: That is what happens elsewhere, where your colleagues plan. When you see that this programme has not worked out for the country, try a different one.

Mr Shakafuswa: Madam, the issue at hand here is not that people, especially women, are not getting the inputs. To a large extent, those in the lower echelon of society, those who really deserve the inputs, when they get the inputs, actually put them to good use. As one hon. Member of Parliament rightly said, it is women who actually apply those inputs and do so prudently. The people who are misusing these facilities are not the so-called peasant farmers who would want something to eat. It is some hon. Members of Parliament, including myself, who would take advantage ...

Mrs C. J. M. Phiri: Mr Chairperson, the infrastructure at Munali High School, the only proper high school in my constituency, is poor. The set up at the school is confusing there is Munali Girls' High School that also caters for disabled pupils who are boys and the budget for Munali Girls' High School. I have lamented about this many times, but nothing has been done about it.

Sir, teachers wanted that land to be allocated to them and it was made clear to them that the land was for the school. Who allocated this land to these people? This is going to come up very soon. I am very sure that the hard working hon. Minister of Lands is going to investigate and the truth will be known. What do you want to do with our children who are at Munali Girls' High School which houses both boys and girls?

Mr Chairperson, this is such a big school, but it has no laboratory facilities. How do we expect the girls to learn when we are saying that we want 50 per cent female representation at SADC? That is a joke. Let us be serious when we make pronouncements so that when people follow them up, they can see that we are doing something in this direction.

Mrs Musokotwane: I have said before and I will say it now, that one high school is not enough, but, at least, is the beginning. I want to believe that the Ministry will continue building. For that, I thank them.

Mr Chairperson, let me now talk about my observation on the high school. The number of ablution blocks for girls are the same as that for boys. That is not practical. That is a high school, meaning most of the girls, if not all, who go to this school are young girls; teenagers. You know what I mean by this. The girls need more ablution blocks than boys. I do not want to go into details because all of you know what I am talking about.

Hon. Members: Aah!

Mrs Musokotwane: If the hon. Minister is not sure, I can whisper to him when we are only the two of us.

Laughter

Mrs Musokotwane: Apparently, this is the trend of the Ministry of Education. It is not only at Katombola High School, but also most of the schools, where there is the same number of toilets for girls as there are for boys. I do not know why this is so, probably because most of the officers are male.

Hon. Members: Gender balance.

Mrs Musokotwane: Gender balance, yes, but biologically, we do not do things the same way.

Laughter

Mrs Banda (Chililabombwe): Mr Speaker, looking at the small number of female scientists this country has produced, what is the Government doing to encourage women to take up sciences?

Mr Daka: Mr Speaker, the number of female scientists is not as small as perceived. What I have said in my answer is that some of these scientists in the first degree programme are covered by the Ministry of Education. I have stated here that there are twenty-four at the master's level who are covered under our ministry. So, really, the number is growing because we want to get beyond the 30 per cent threshold for the Southern African Development Community (SADC).

Thank you, Sir.

Mr Simuusa (Nchanga): Mr Speaker, I wish to find out whether, in its quest to fulfil gender balance, the Government is not sacrificing academic excellence and, as such, reducing the quality of female scientists.

#### **4.4 Attitudes towards Women Parliamentarians during Debates**

Attending parliamentary debates and reading through Hasards the research found out those Zambian women legislators are too often assessed on their looks and clothes and



their Speech by their fellow Members of Parliament. They do this by laughter, raising unnecessary points of order or just mere sarcasm.

The excerpts below attest to this.

One male member of the opposition made a comment during parliamentary debate regarding the dress of a female member of parliament he said, ‘why is the professor dressed like a school girl?’  
(Sarcasm)

MP 2

#### **4.5 Women Parliamentarians’ attitudes towards parliamentary debates.**

It has not been easy to communicate one’s position in parliament especially if the interlocutor is a woman with humble education and a back bencher. Drawing from Habermas’ theory of communicative action, in an ideal situation, the actions of agents involved in some social action are co-ordinated not through egocentric calculations of success but through acts of reaching understanding. In communicative action participants are not primarily oriented to their own individual successes; they pursue their individual goals under the condition that they can harmonise their plans of action on the basis of common situation definitions. In this respect the negotiation of definitions of the situation is an essential element of the interpretative accomplishments required for communicative action (Habermas, 1984: 86, 285–286).

In parliament, the male parliamentarians as actors achieve personal or political party ends through relationships forged out of unethical communication. What is shown later and below is departure from ideal communicative action but a terrible form called strategic communication. This communication that is manipulative and it is typified, then, by a quest for lack of consensus, less understanding and lack of reciprocity in human affairs. One would see how women parliamentarians are inhibited to communicate because of men’s strategic communicative competencies in form of points of order, interruptions or

mere laughter and joking strictly in pursuit of their own goals (Habermas, 1984: 86). Below is an excerpt of a debate employing strategic communication that creates difficulty for a woman parliamentarian who is in a decision making position and has some humble education.

Ms Sayifwanda: Madam Chairperson, I think I explained clearly that I could not cite activity by activity, but that the K10 billion is “spreaded”. It is not just a lump sum. It is “spreaded”.

Hon. Opposition Members: Spreaded?

Hon. Government Members: Hear, hear!

Laughter

Ms Sayifwanda: Madam Chairperson, Hon. Muntanga should have got that note. In fact, if he looked at Activity 15 - Kwando-Zambezi, an amount of K21, 678,999,948 has been thereto allocated.

Ms Sayifwanda: I thank you, Madam.

Hon. Government Members: Hear, hear!

Mr Muntanga: This Budget is activity-based and under the Policy and Planning Department, there are specific programmes. There is no way that K10 billion which is not specified for Animal Health can go to Animal Disease Control. I cannot see the spreading.

Hon. Opposition Member: “Spreaded”.

Mr Muntanga: If it is not there, let the hon. Minister admit that it is not in this particular vote.

Ms Sayifwanda: Madam Chairperson, much as I follow Hon. Muntanga’s concern, I think I have already answered his question. I said that we have “spreaded” the activities.

Laughter

Ms Sayifwanda: There are allocations under headquarters, Veterinary and Livestock Development Department and the Agriculture Department. Unless Hon. Muntanga wants something else, I think I have made it clear

that he should just follow the activities and he will see what I am talking about. I thank you, Madam

Hear, hear! Hon. Members:

It is evident from honourable Sayifwanda's persistence that she was eager to communicate her position but her female counterparts were rather up in arms. She was trying as much as possible to employ widespread participation, sharing of information with the rest while working on reaching consensus through public dialogue rather than exercise of political power which she had as a member of the front bench. She tried as much as possible to avoid privileging experts and bureaucrats planner and replacing the model of the technical expert (like honourable Muntanga) with hers as a reflective planner.

#### The attendance of female MPs in parliament

Women parliamentarians seem to be caught up in two worlds, one political and one social. Given this situation, they would rather opt for the social for the interim to ensure that the family and personal well being are maintained first. In order to ascertain whether the conduct of politics and the culture and habits which underpin it are gendered, it is necessary to consider what women parliamentary life entails and what challenges the women parliamentarians face as politicians, as wives and as mothers. This is because the latter role has been demonstrated as a recipe of poor attitudes to legislative functions as women members of parliament tend to spend less time in the legislature. They have to juggle between parliamentary business, constituency work, campaigning, media appearances and other party commitments. They also have additional responsibilities in the case of government ministers, which make an equitable work-life balance a significant challenge. It is perhaps only to be expected that the daily and weekly routines of these women in Zambia as a modern democracy are very demanding and irregular, and in view of the breadth of the role it is hard to see how it could become a typical 'nine-to-five' job.

The study found that women parliamentarians coming from far off constituencies – those outside of Lusaka attend all sessions as compared to those within Lusaka. The attendance register with the Clerk of the National Assembly shows a high rate of absenteeism in the evening sessions especially for women members of parliament who are Lusaka based (table 4.5.1).

***Table 4.5.1 2007 to 2011 Overall Session attendance in %***

	Morning sessions		Evening sessions	
	Attended	Absent	Attended	Absent
Male	91	9	94	6
Female	90	10	86	14

The descriptions by the women parliamentarians below point to what Baron and Byrne (1994) and Christa (2001) have argued regarding attitudes that dictate individuals' perception of the world and their social interaction as well as what they consider to do. The women parliamentarian's attitudes, behaviour and feelings towards the caucus show a lack of readiness to deal with women's developmental issues. The following excerpts exemplify that attitudes are as strongly held beliefs that reflect people's opinions and feelings and can be manifested in behaviour as shown by Chambers and Pitman (1986).

### **Theme I: Apathy**

We have not been able to meet among ourselves regularly. I guess this political affiliation is a factor. When the Chairperson of the caucus is coming from the opposition- There is high absenteeism among the members of the ruling party. I had an initial belief that politics would not be a barrier to unite us as women.

MP 3

One thing which is disappointing is the position some women have on the caucus activities. There are no allowances on the caucus and as such it is seen to be waste of time and energy. Besides there is little we do except talking and talking.... If only we could take a leaf from our friends in Malawi. They work even without pay.....The caucus could have achieved

a lot if it was receiving support from parliament. Malawi is a testing case. The women's caucus there is supported by parliament and these women are miles ahead of us here...what do you expect out of nothing.

.....Yeah we have a vibrant chair of the caucus but the problem is that she attends meetings alone and we do not see the report of her meetings. It is difficult to support each other in this case. You see ehh... you are a leader; your role is to influence the flock....she (chairperson) was not in a position to influence other members in the right direction.

MP 2

Up to now, we have not taken a positive step to have a women parliamentary forum that works on and advocates issues relating to gender and legislation and monitors policies, gender strategies and budgets....everyone says they are busy...busy for what? Rwanda has one and the women there are very committed.

MP 5

Women are not pro active and engaging. There are committees of parliament that get assignments...you see these are the structural units through which women agenda could be channelled but women do not come forward. In Malawi, the caucus works on legislation relating to widows and inheritance and here we do not, in Uganda Women Parliamentarians Association has been instrumental in including gender equality clauses in the Ugandan Constitution but here, they are concerned with constituency allowances and funds.

MP 5

We just need to be funded so that we could be able to visit more women in our constituencies. Otherwise .....forget about charity.

MP 1

## **Theme II: Women numbers and Support**

There is a contradiction among Zambian women parliamentarians concerning the numbers of women who ought to participate in the governance of this nation. A smaller portion of women parliamentarians prefers to have few women. This opinion comes from those who have relatively higher education. Those with lower education, however, feel that there is need for more women representation. These contradictions are exemplified in the excerpts below:

I challenge the government to appoint more women into decision making positions. Most of the problems we have in our society affect women.....Women should support fellow women not only in parliament but also outside of parliament to get into decision making positions.

MP 4

I do not believe in having more women as members of parliament because women do not support each other. Allowing more women in parliament is actually allowing more confusion. For example, fights have erupted among Zambian female MPS which has never happened among male members of parliament. As a nation, if we allow a woman to lead *we* will bring disaster amongst ourselves....Tell me which woman is going to support her? It is better for a woman to deputise.

MP 5

I have been a member of parliament in the earlier term and I do not see change among women in this country...not even in my constituency. As women parliamentarians, we have our own setbacks and external forces to contend with. There are things like: external political environment; institutional norms; party politics, affiliations, political ideology and cohesion; differences among women representatives; representatives' newness like after a by election; institutional position, including front and back bench, and government or opposition membership; committee appointment and leadership.

MP 4

### **Theme III: Timings**

It was noted that timings for some sittings were an inconvenience. ‘The timing of sittings should be selected to make parliament effective, not to make life easier for MPs. As for me, mornings could have been better. The evening’s one interfere so much with home management. However, there is no reason why sitting hours should be more inconvenient or more disruptive to family life than absolutely necessary.

MP 1

I desire ‘family-friendly’ hours 14 to 18 hours. As for me, I detest the 18 hours to 20 hours session. You can see, these would be of much benefit to MPs with families. I have often not attended the late debates. However, it should not be assumed that MPs attend every debate in the house; my decision to attend will be based on the subject matter and the degree of pressure from my party whip.

MP

### **Theme III: Character**

It was interesting to note that the women legislators had particular dispositions to parliamentary proceedings. These related to how they took debates, attendance and contributions to the debates. The positions were not encouraging notwithstanding the fact there were particular roles that needed to be performed. The descriptions below testify.

We are very few women...ehh and we try as much as possible to participate in parliament but the problem is that there is male resistance... we get this from our male counterparts who think that we are not their matches. You also have to speak like a man.

So you have to speak boldly. When you present issues about women and girls in parliament, most men except a few...think that it is a joke. To present your point, you just have to be bold and give a lot of examples.

It is a pity that when you are debating a matter, you may not get any support from fellow women parliamentarians...As for me, I have received support from the men. It is also a pity that the women parliamentary caucus has not done much... One time, we wanted to solicit support from fellow women outside of parliament, the women parliamentarians were nowhere to be seen....They just have this negative attitude...The caucus has no money to pay just some small allowances. It is not funded from the national Assembly allocation. The women do not get moved to work in the caucus you know...

Fights have erupted among women parliamentarians. I prefer having male parliamentarians as friends. Our conduct as female parliamentarians has not been admirable and there is a saying that is attributed to a bad character. You will hear sometimes people will say parliament 'yama hule' in 2011. (This is a term in English which means parliament is a place for prostitutes).

MP 1

#### ***4.6 Situating the Role of Women Parliamentary Caucus in Feminist Theory***

The discursive dichotomy of the public-private in political discourse defines politics in the public sphere and as a male prerogative. Women have to struggle through these patriarchal discursive spaces to negotiate and claim politics as a legitimate realm for themselves. Feminists challenge the traditional notion of politics that defines it as an activity, a conscious, deliberate participation in the process by which resources are allocated among citizens. This conception of politics restricts political activity only to the public arena and the private sphere of family life is rendered as apolitical. Vicky Randall defines politics as an "articulation, or working out of relationships within an already given power structure", which is in contrast with the traditional view of politics. This means that boundaries of politics between public and private spheres are fluid and politics takes place in both spheres.

MP2 observed that patriarchal mindset that they encountered in society, in political parties and in the parliament as the key challenge in performing their role as public



representatives, effectively. She said that they were not treated equally by male parliamentarians and were not taken seriously by parliamentary authorities. She complained that men brought their patriarchal attitudes from home to the parliament. Male domination in the parliament however, women have to continue to fight their way by resisting public patriarchy on a daily basis.

Below are the two themes bordering on feminist theoretical approaches those women parliamentarians employed unconsciously to break women oppression. Theme I (breaking patriarchy) addresses the evils of patriarchy and the need to break it through legal instruments (feminist liberal approaches) and the second theme (radicalism) is related to radical approaches to overcome oppression by espousing equity and equality through debate and constructive engagement.

### **Theme I: Breaking patriarchy**

The women parliamentarians were committed to addressing patriarchy by using feminist approaches and these included supporting legislation and engaging community and political structures into meetings, debates and workshops among other radical steps. This is evident from the excerpts under the three sub themes as below (i) (ii) and (iii)

#### **Sub Theme I: Women Marriage and Liberal Issues in the Law**

The Minister of Justice (Mr Kunda): Madam Speaker, I beg to move that the Bill be now read a second time.

Madam Speaker, the Matrimonial Causes Bill is intended to provide for divorce and other related matrimonial causes. The Bill has come before this august House in response to the Government's concern that more than four decades after independence, Zambia does not have a local Matrimonial Causes Law. The High Court is still applying the English Matrimonial Causes Act of 1973 and related rules in the resolution of matrimonial disputes.

Madam, following the Government's decision that a local Matrimonial Causes Act be drafted, the Zambia Law Development Commission was tasked to conduct the necessary consultations with stakeholders and gather their views on the contents of the proposed Matrimonial Causes Law. At that time, the Zambia Law Development Commission was undertaking a project on restatement of Customary Law and it was considered important that the commission be involved in the drafting of the Matrimonial Causes Act so as to avoid any conflict with the Zambian Customary Law.

The findings of the project on the restatement of Customary Law were useful, as they highlighted important aspects of the customs and practices of various ethnic groups in Zambia with respect to customary marriages and the dissolution of the marriages.

Following the Vice Presidents presentation of the Bill, issues of oppression were discussed from various points of views and both men and women parliamentarians were no exception to debate with some desiring a change in patriarchy and others desiring its sustenance.

### **Sub Theme II: Patriarchy and Law versus Tradition (man's point of view)**

Mr Chilembo: Even where I come from, the Nsengas and Tumbukas, polygamy is practiced and is a source of pride, supported not only by men, but also women. It is believed that if you do not marry more than one wife, some will remain unmarried, thereby denying them the right to conjugal rights and so on. For those who do not want to be governed by this law, the only escape is that, please, do not marry because the cause of divorce is marriage. If you marry, you are already, potentially, a client under this law. You may one day wish to have these provisions help you. However, in this country, we seem to be undecided in as far as marriage is concerned. There is still a mix between customary law and English law. If you are marrying under the Act, why do you want me to pay dowry?

People pay dowry and take part in matebeto and practice other traditions and thereafter, wear a white dress as a Christian, mixing the two laws. Can we choose one law?

This is why I appreciate the difficult position the Committee had when it thought we can mix the two laws because when it comes to our general practice of marrying, we tend to mix them.

In future, let us consider separating the two laws. Maybe the Marriage Act also should come here one day so that we can make it clear that if one chooses to marry under that Act, they do not have to be inconvenienced with other requirements under our customary law.

Madam Speaker, I have also noticed that under Section 60, for maintenance, the man has been given certain obligations for maintenance that are totally different from what a woman has been given. For instance, it states that when a man is old, lame and so on, he requires support, and yet the woman is not perceived as one who would also be old and lame and therefore, requiring similar support.

Therefore, I tend to think that particular section is discriminatory. It could be that we, the men folk, left our women in the forefront and in the end, they may have made further protection for themselves.

On the whole, it is a very progressive Bill, which should be supported. Let us govern our own affairs as Zambians.

I thank you, Madam.

### **Sub Theme III: Patriarchy and Law versus Tradition (women's point of view)**

Mrs Musokotwane (Katombola): Madam Speaker, I will start with Page 3 of the report, item (b) where you want us to wait for two years if my partner has gone bonkers.

Madam Speaker, under Part V, of the report where it is says the law capacity to marry under the Act for reasons other than the ones in Section 29, one of them is if they are under sixteen, they should not get married. I thought in Zambia, sixteen years is still minor. Why do you want them to get married at sixteen? Why do we not raise the year to eighteen because in Zambia, one will vote only at the age of eighteen? In this Bill, we are saying that minors should get married, but cannot vote, why? We need to raise the years of marriage from sixteen to eighteen because Zambia recognises eighteen years as an adult age.

Madam Speaker, we are saying that one of the reasons I can divorce is if my marriage is not consummated.

After how many days should I petition the unconsummated marriage? Two years again? No. We need to put a date to this one as well because though you have put one reason of incapacity, there are many other reasons people cannot consummate a marriage. These should take into consideration the reason they are not consummating their marriage. I do not think waiting for two years is a good idea.

On Customary Law, Madam Speaker, all these men you see here are married under that law. That is why they do not want to marry under the Act. They want to continue abusing us women.

Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

#### Sub Theme IV: Liberalism and Patriarchy

The women parliamentarians were able to advance some of the contentious issues that were raised in the caucus and in meetings with stakeholders especially those bordering on gender based violence and sex discrimination. They echoed the need for dealing with patriarchy and espousing liberalism. In their debates, they desired placing individual freedom and a just social order "equality of opportunity" between males and females. Honorable Musokotwane was a critical feminist parliamentarian who espoused liberalism that the Gender Minister Ms Sayifwanda did not espouse. Below are extracts of feminist liberal claims from women parliamentarians.

Mrs Musokotwane: None of us here will allow their daughter to be battered by a husband because you gave her away in church on that day? No man here or woman will allow their son to be nagged by a wife on a daily basis. The Bible says ...

Hon. Member: Even being battered.

Mrs Musokotwane: ... I would rather stay on the roof of a house than stay in a house with a woman who nags. That is the Bible. When the Bible says that, it is not true that you should sit on top of the roof. No. It is telling you to find your way out and leave that nagging woman inside.

So, Madam Speaker, even Christian marriages should be included here. We know of pastors who batter their wives. We know them very well. We

do not want to bring it here. We know of pastors' wives who are horrible, but cannot be divorced because of the belief that what God has put together, no man should put asunder. What guarantees do we have that it is God? They did not even pray for those partners. Most of them became pastors or Christians after they were already married to these partners. At the time of marriage most of them were not marrying in church.

Even those that married in church, we have no guarantee that God put them together because there is nowhere where it says they are not going to fight. As I said earlier, we know they fight and batter each other. Why then should we make them suffer because 'ategwa' we are a Christian nation. No, Madam Speaker, Christian marriages must be included in the Act.

Those who are put together by God are not going to divorce. Automatically, there will be no fighting in their homes, but those who are not put together by God, will inevitably divorce. Sometimes fighting is a sign that they are not put together by God. So, let them go and look for their right partners.

I thank you, Madam Speaker.

Hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Mrs Sinyangwe (Matero): Thank you Madam Speaker. That is the reason we should have more women in this House ... (Equality and women in decision making position)

Hon Members: Hear, hear!

Mrs Sinyangwe: ... because these people are looking at this issue from their own perspective. This law is there to protect women. I agree people are saying from the Christian point of view, people are not supposed to divorce because it is for better for worse, but at the same time, a man vows to say I will love only you and forsake all the others and the woman makes the same vow. In most cases, we keep our vows. The women make the same vow and in most cases, we keep our vows.

### **Sub Theme V: Male Dominancy**

It was evident in parliament that there were moments that men were dominant over women exhibiting the rule of men or fathers called patriarchy. This was demonstrable in

form of interruptions of speech in many forms and especially when women parliamentarians were demonstrating acts of social injustices committed by men inherent of our culture.

*Interruption*

Madam Deputy Speaker: Order!

This is a very serious Bill. In as much as we are emotionally involved, we should remember that the nation is listening at the moment. Therefore, our responses to the debates on the Floor will have a bearing out there. Therefore, let us take the debate seriously and not talk continuously without paying attention to what is being said on the Floor.

The hon. Member may continue.

Mrs Sinyangwe: Madam Speaker, we are talking of a situation where the wrong doers know that they will continue doing the wrong things and they will be divorced. Let them be divorced because they deserve it. A woman is normally forgiving. For a woman to decide to go to court, it means she had had enough. If a man loves his wife and considers that she is a human being, there would be no divorces in this country.

I heard somebody saying that a Zambian man is a polygamous by nature. Who said that it is true? You do not know that women are traumatised. It is not easy to live with a man when you know that he has three or four other women elsewhere.

Mrs Sinyangwe: Madam Speaker, lastly, I would like to say that whether church or no church, we should respect the institution of marriage. When we make these laws, we are not making them for all of us who went under customary law. We are making it for our children because this Bill will not come again tomorrow. It will be here for many years and all of us are taking our children to the Council and Boma for registration of marriage. Therefore, what protection are we giving our children? I think it will be high time men started fearing to be divorced. That way, maybe, they will start behaving.

### *Interruptions*

Mr Mabenga (Mulobezi): Madam Speaker, first and foremost, I want to say that we cannot discuss divorce without referring to marriage. Just like one colleague mentioned here, it would be of some help, if, indeed, some aspect of marriage would also be discussed in this House. All of us are married and have married off our children ...

### *Interruptions*

Mr Mabenga: Oh, some people are not married. I am sorry for those who are not married, but, at least, we have seen people get married.

## **Theme II: Radicalism**

It was evident in parliament that the Zambia society has more men than women in decision making positions. This was true when debating estimates for a number of Ministries and radical feminists like Honourable Musokotwane, argued that patriarchal relations underlie all other forms of oppression in the workplace and in society. Her debates on the need for equality and equity show the desire for women parliamentarians to overthrow patriarchy and oppression. Below we repeat the earlier excerpt to show the radical approach to women's issues.

Mrs Musokotwane: Mr Chairperson, I am requesting for a female head teacher because you know very well that Katombola has had no high school or secondary school except for basic schools. Consequently, the girls in that constituency have no models or mentors except their only Member of Parliament. If a female head teacher was sent to that high school, the girls are going to have a mentor. Therefore, they are going to work hard so that they become head teachers of high schools as well.

Hon. Opposition Members: Hear, hear!

Mrs Musokotwane: So, I just want to ...

Mr Kasongo: And other professions.

Mrs Musokotwane: say that - and other professions- thank you very much, Hon. Kasongo. That will be the beginning of encouraging girls to go to school. This is because they will see that their Member of Parliament is a female and so is the head teacher of their school.



## CHAPTER FIVE – DISCUSSION

### *5.0 Introduction*

This is a third study to look at the Zambian parliament and a premiere to get into the Parliamentary debates and daily proceedings of the Zambian parliament to solicit information about the roles of women in advancing the agenda for women. It is a study that got information from interviews and documentation like minutes. The study has explored the roles of women legislators and the Zambia women parliamentarians' caucus from 2007 to 2011. The study has shown the assessment using women's descriptive accounts verbatim.

### *5.1 What This Study Shows*

This study had questions that were set at the beginning to which answers were needed. The study was anchored on one overarching question which was "What evidence is required to show that women parliamentarians and the Zambian women parliamentarian caucus of 2007 to 2011 advanced gender issues and that they contributed to resolving women's issues?"

There is evidence to indicate that the Zambian women parliamentarians and the caucus of 2007 to 2011 advanced gender issues and that they contributed to resolving women's issues. The contribution was not remarkable<sup>1</sup> because most of what was agreed in the caucus was not translated into actions both inside and outside of parliament.

---

<sup>1</sup> Just as in association tests in quantitative research, a researcher may use Chi square tests and link them up with Phi or Cramer V Coefficient to see the strength of the association.

Parliamentary debates reflected very little of what was agreed in the meetings. In addition, workshop, seminar and consultative meetings outside parliament were not mainstreamed into parliamentary activities. Even the caucus resolutions were not mainstreamed in international as well as local engagements for example in 2010 during the Caucus meeting Women Parliamentarians agreed on two major things and these were (1) They would visit all female led constituencies to encourage Women MPs and see the challenges they face. (2) When a woman moves a motion on gender all women should support-This were not done because political affiliation.

”Specifically, the answers to the research questions are as follows:

*In reference to research question one: What role does the women parliamentary caucus and women parliamentarians perform?*

The women parliamentarian caucus has two main roles that it plays (Roles outside and inside Parliament).

1. Lobbied for positions in subcommittees of parliament.
2. Spoke and lobbied for Equality and Equity.
3. Lobbied for increase in the numbers of women in decision making positions.
4. Spoke and performed roles as authorities especially those in the front bench.
5. Asked questions.
6. Got involved in local and international activities.

*Regarding research question two: Based on the roles of the women parliamentary caucus and women parliamentarians to what extent can we say that there is a link with a feminised transformation of debates?*

An examination of the Parliamentary debates, field notes and the minutes of the caucus show that opinions between the most elite women parliamentarians and the non elite are divided about the real consequences of the presence of women in politics. On the one hand, some have argued that political women and men act in the same way. This is partially true. Men in parliament have actually voiced more concerns on women's issues than the women parliamentarians themselves.

***Sub Theme V: Question Asking.***

What we can say is that there is no link with a feminised transformation of debates.

In reference to research question three: What are women representative's attitudes towards parliamentary debates?

Parliament is guided by the rules which are called parliamentary etiquette (practice and procedure). These are defined as procedures that guide the behaviour of all MPs in the chamber and during committee meetings. Engaging in the parliamentary process goes beyond just knowing these rules. Being able to understand and apply them is paramount. It was the general feeling among respondents that these procedures were too legal to understand especially for the lay person. This has negatively impacted on women's performance in parliamentary debates. The research revealed that this has led to women lacking confidence when they start debating.

'The language used in parliament is too legal to understand'.

MP1

Another female legislator observed that:

'Women are not public speakers because they lack education, perhaps one of the requirements for a person to stand as an MP should be having a full grade twelve certificate in addition to any professional qualification. MP4

Women were of the view that the only way to increase confidence in women is by training them in public speaking.

Considering research question four: What feminist theory situates the role the women parliamentary caucus and women parliamentarians perform in the legislature?

Women parliamentarians employed unconsciously two feminist approaches in addressing women's issues. They used the radical feminist and liberal feminist approaches through advocating for legal instruments (feminist liberal approaches) and overcoming oppression by espousing equity and equality through debate and constructive engagement (radical approaches).

Looking at the data presented above, this study has generated the following dominant hypotheses and questions that may require testing and answering in future studies:

### *Hypotheses*

The participation of women in parliament does not make a difference' as women have:

- 1) *HO<sub>1</sub>*: Failed to represent women's interests;
- 2) *HO<sub>2</sub>*: Failed to introduce feminist policies.
- 3) *HO<sub>3</sub>*: Failed to increase women's presence and de facto substantive representation of women in parliament.

## ***5.2 The meaning of the Study Findings***

Looking at the available literature and the data that has been generated, there are numerous meanings that could be deduced. The study has shown that the women parliamentarians are not of a critical mass. Critical mass is based on the belief that the election of an adequate number of female politicians will result in governance system that is more responsive to women's interest. However, this may not be true in this study. There may be arguments that representation is not effective in the Zambian parliament because it is far from reaching 'Critical Mass theory' and this is because women's substantive representation has not attained at least 15 and 30 per cent (Childs and Krook, 2006). It therefore follows logically that a Critical mass could have changed the picture in terms of policy. The researcher is arguing that this is not true. The fact that there were very few women in parliament does not hold water because even among the women who were part of the front bench, one of them was a minister in charge of gender which position was influential in directing gender policy. It was surprising that even from this

small population of women parliamentarians, the women were more unlikely to seek to act for women's issues than men representatives. This is a finding contrary to that of Dovi (2002); Mansbridge (1999) and Phillips, (1995) who argue that women representatives will always espouse women's issues.

Further, even if women may be fewer than men in the legislature, they may act as an institutional channel for the goals of women's movements and organizations outside based on the injustices suffered outside or within. Ramirez et al., (1997) found that a more activist and welfare-oriented state is often the unintended consequence of social movement mobilization and citizenship rights enhancement. Among the developed democracies, the second wave of feminist movements in the 1960s through the 1970s supported an agenda calling attention to women's lack of political power and policy influence from the corridors of parliament and the streets. This recognition strengthened calls for supporting women's candidacies to political office (Bystydzienski and Sekhon 1999; Kolinsky 1993).

Parliamentary Activity Research, conducted primarily in the US, has demonstrated that women more than men take concrete action in order to ensure that legislative assemblies take women's issues into consideration. Saint- Germain found that female legislators generally initiated more bills related to women's issues (including both areas of interest for women and feminist issues) than their male counterparts, a conclusion also reached by Thomas. Similarly, Lyn Kathlene, Susan Clarke and Barbara Fox's study, which concentrated on female and male members of the Colorado House of Representatives, found that while bills initiated (Saint-Germain, 1991).

Over the years Zambia has shown a non increase in the representation of women parliamentarians and yet these women could have facilitated a numeric increase. A study by Arturo Vega and Juanita Firestone demonstrates that when women are elected to the Commons (see Saint-Germain, 1991, Carroll, 1992) under the Liberal banner of the women caucus, they then influence the election of more women. The Women's Caucus-

which is in fact one of the official caucuses of the Liberals, and is unparalleled in other parties present in the House-acts not only as a catalyst to awareness of women's issues for both female and male Liberal MPs, but also constitutes an actual pressure group within the Liberal caucus as a whole. It is for this reason that it was able to create a structure of encouragement for female Liberal MPs enabling them to take a position on women's issues in the House of Commons as well as the selection of candidates for an election.

There is an increasing amount of work on whether a higher level of women's representation in parliament leads to a different style of parliamentary politics. To date, most studies have focused on Western cases, and the results have been mixed. Women add new dimensions to the policy agenda, but there is little evidence in Africa except Rwanda that increased women's representation changes policy outputs (Devlin, and Elgie, 2008). In sub-Saharan Africa, women have added issues such as HIV/AIDS and property rights to the policy agenda, but there is little evidence to suggest that increased women's representation has altered policy outcomes. This is true for Zambia where women have been part of the front bench.

In a comparative perspective, the findings of this research are far from previous studies in many ways. First, the fact that there are no quota provisions in our democracy as the case elsewhere, the numbers of our women in parliament have been found to be negatively related to higher numbers of men (e.g. Bauer, 2008; Tripp, 2004). This research highlights that development and the cultural proxy – the percentage of women in political parties and those forming the workforce – have no impact on the number of women in African parliaments (Reynolds, 1999; Schwindt-Bayer and Mishler, 2005; Dahlerup and Friedenvall, 2005; Norris, 2006; Paxton et al., 2006).

### ***5.3 Implications of the Findings***

The findings of the present study have significant research, political, gender, and management and public policy implications (recommendations).

#### ***Political Implications***

For political parties it is recommended that the party representatives in parliament ought to have a common front on gender issues. There is need to bury political differences if the national gender agenda has to be realised. Political parties should not only recruit women to parliament by linking them to a normative feminist agenda but to broader issues as well. Political parties and women NGOs should not weigh towards the causes of under-representation but focus on strategies of national development in problem areas that are linked to gender.

#### ***Public policy Implications***

For political parties, the women who ought to represent them should have credentials and an employment of practice history that has richness in gender. There is need for the Ministry of gender to re align the gender policy in Zambia to embrace political matters.

#### ***Management Implications***

From a managerial standpoint, these results suggest that the caucus is weak in many areas and that it just exists on paper. The lack of funding, failure by parliament to grant the caucus recognition as a structure of parliament are all barriers to effecting the gender policy at this high level of political organisation. It is recommended that the Zambian Parliament and the Women NGOs in Zambia undertake a desk and field visit to Malawi and Rwanda to learn about gender mainstreaming of caucus activities. There is need for meaningful insight into the value added by women parliamentarian caucuses in mitigating women and girl child issues.

### ***Research Implications***

This study is suggesting that future research may cover the following questions which the data is begging to generate.

- 1) How can the few women in parliament maximize their impact on setting the agenda for the girl child and women?
- 2) What strategies apart from the parliamentary caucus are most useful in increasing their effectiveness?
- 3) What lessons can women legislators share with those aspiring to enter the field?
- 4) Why are women legislators not inclined to address gender issues?

### ***5.4 Limitations and Strengths of this Study***

Just like all other research, this study has its own limitations too. The limitations arise from the type of study being qualitative, the methods and methodology that were adopted for this study notwithstanding the small number of respondents. These limitations play an important role in interpreting study findings and making suggestions for future research.

The researcher cannot generalize the results of this study beyond the number of women who were studied. Though this point is valid in quantitative research, it does not hold water for qualitative research studies because the focus is not generalisation but to exhibit thick descriptions which this study has demonstrated according to the proponents of qualitative inquiries (Creswell, 1998; Bogdan and Biklen, 2003; Denzin and Lincoln, 2005).

The other limitation is that qualitative research is often thought not to be suitable for evidence-based systematic reviews since it does not provide numerical values for point



estimates. However, looking at this study, it does provide valuable information leading to meaningful conclusions. An example quoted by Dixon-Woods and Fitzpatrick (2001) demonstrates the value of qualitative research in evidence-based practice using a Cochrane review on how to improve communication skills with children and adolescents about their cancer. This analysis focused only on randomized controlled trials and before and after studies and included only 6 of 1500 identified studies. Clearly, a more inclusive view of what constitutes evidence is necessary to answer complex questions or address important issues that cannot be easily quantified (Dixon-Woods and Fitzpatrick, 2001). However, in spite of the fact that this study does not provide point estimates, even with six respondents, the study is valid and credible in the sense that the inquiry was very rigorous and the study fulfilled the criteria of a qualitative investigation that employed more than one data collection method. In addition, the researcher took an extra mile to sit in parliament and observe the mannerisms of the interlocutors.

Finally and not least of the limitations, while the research design had set the inclusion and exclusion criteria to avoid confounding information, by design, it excluded male Members of Parliament from the outset. This could not allow the researcher to make comparisons and the omission affected the comprehensiveness of the data that was collected. However, it did not require male Members of Parliament to participate in the study because they were not members of the caucus. To overcome this limitation, the researcher used extensively parliamentary excerpts from the Hansards to compare and contrast views and expressions of both male and female Members of Parliament on matters that were close in the debates.

### ***5.5 Strengths***

In spite of the limitations, this study has notable strengths and these are drawn from the following standpoints:

- 1) The study has provided room for readers to appreciate the lived life in Parliament of men and women legislators to understand from their points of view the goings on.
- 2) To the research fraternity, the data adds gaps in knowledge and practices of the caucus where they were missing. The methodology used could be applied in other settings where women are players.
- 3) This study has theoretically generated themes and sub themes which could be used as variables in quantitative research. This study brings to the fore significant features (parliamentary debates) that have not been extensively studied either in the Zambian context or in Africa.

## CHAPTER SIX – CONCLUSION

This analysis fulfils a double purpose. First, by analyzing the four research questions and the theoretically informed themes and sub themes which in quantitative research would qualify as variables and attributes. This study provides a fairly comprehensive picture of the current state of women's representation in Zambia's parliament. Second and possibly even more importantly, this study brings to the fore significant features (parliamentary debates) that have not been extensively studied either in the African context or more globally. This study has found that Zambian democracy has very few women in parliament. What then is the significance of these findings for research on women parliamentary caucus and women in parliament? There is evidence to indicate that the Zambia women parliamentarians' caucus of 2007 to 2011 contributed to setting the agenda on women's issues. However, the contribution was not marked because most of what was agreed in the caucus was not translated into actions outside and within parliament. In the area of policy, a significant positive impact from the desire to have greater numbers of women is unlikely to be seen in the near future and we need to make use of the few numbers of the women parliamentarians.

The point the researcher wishes to make regarding representation in parliament is that those studying the substantive representation of women should walk away from assuming to know *a priori* what women's issues and interests are because the women have demonstrated not to have a definite agenda and therefore what they present in parliament is couched in serendipity. Women in Zambia at the moment desire representation by women who appreciate gender matters and who have prowess in developmental approaches that mainstream gender. In addition, the women's representatives should reject an approach that excludes male involvement and claims that substantive representation on gender matters should be 'for' women only when gender is not only a feminist matter but a masculinist matter also.

Given that Zambia has been a liberal democracy since independence allowing for women representation; it is still too early to say whether these negative features involving the caucus and women parliamentarians will be reversed in the long run. Even if Paxton and Hughes (2007) suggest that once democratic institutions begin to consolidate, women will benefit from the more open and transparent rules and will gain greater access to true political power, it is not definite that our women will benefit from the feminist approaches that are being used.

## ***BIBLIOGRAPHY***

Abbott, P. and C. Wallace (1990). *An Introduction to Sociology: Feminist Perspectives*. London: Rutledge.

Alcoff, Linda. (2006) *Cultural Feminism Versus Post-Structuralism: the Identity Crisis in Feminist Theory*. The University of Chicago Press.

Bashevkin, S.B. (1985) Political Participation, Ambition and Feminism: Women in the Ontario Party Elites. *American Review of Canadian Studies* 15 (1985), 405-19.

Becker, G. S. (1991). *A Treatise on Family*, 2nd edn. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Berg, P., Kalleberg, A. L. and Appelbaum, E. (2003). Balancing work and family: the role of high commitment environments. *Industrial Relations*, 42, 168–188.

Blaikie, N. (1993). *Approaches to Social Enquiry*. Blackwell Publishing .NY.

Blaikie, N. (2000). *The Logic Of anticipation*. Polity Press, Cambridge.

Blossfeld, H. P. and Drobnic, S. (Eds.) (2001). *Careers of Couples in Contemporary Society: From Male Breadwinner to Dual Earner Societies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bogdan, R. C., & Biklen, S. K. (2003). *Qualitative research for education: An introduction to theories and methods* (4th ed.). Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Bork, R. H. (1986) *Slouching Towards Gomorrah: Modern Liberalism and American Decline*. Harper Collins.

Brabeck, M.M (1989) Pragmatism, Feminism, and Sensitivity to Context. in *Who Cares? Theory, Research, and Educational Implications of the Ethic of Care*. New York: Praeger.

Bystydzienski, Jill M., and Joti Sekhon. 1999. "Introduction." 1-21. *Democratization and Women's Grassroots Movements*. Jill M. Bystydzienski and Joti Sekhon, editors. Indiana University Press.

Baron and Byrne (1994). *The study effect and Mathematics*: A proposed genetic model for research and Mathematics, Journal of Research in Mathematics Education.

Campbell, R. (1998) *Illusions of Paradox*, Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield.

Carroll, S.J (1992) Women State Legislators, Women's Organizations, and the Representation of Women's Culture in the United States, in Jill M. Bystyd-zienski, ed., *Women Transforming Politics: Worldwide Strategies for Empowerment* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press).

Christa L. 2001: Teacher attitude in computer Education. Retrieved October, 2004 from [www.cikgu.net.my/English/classtech](http://www.cikgu.net.my/English/classtech)

Carroll, S.J. (1994) *Women as Candidates in American Politics* (2nd ed.; Bloomington: Indiana University Press).

Chambers and Pitman(1986). *A Study of the factor influencing students' Attitudes Towards Mathematics in Junior Secondary Schools*. Indiana University press

Carroll S.J., and Dodson, D.L. (1991) Introduction, in Debra L. Dodson, ed., *Gender and Policymaking: Studies of Women in Office*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Center for the American Woman and Politics.

Caul, M. (1999) 'Women's Representation in Parliament: The Role of Political Parties', *Party Politics*, 5 (1), 79–98.

Charon JM. (1979) *Symbolic Interactionism: An Introduction, an Interpretation, an Integration*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Childs, S. and Krook, M. L. (2006) 'Should Feminists Give Up on Critical Mass? A Contingent Yes', *Politics and Gender*, 2 (4), 522–30.

Coltrane, S. (1988, 2008). *Gender and Families*, 2nd edn. Newbury Park, CA: Pine Forge Press.

Connell, R. W. (1987). *Gender and Power*. Cambridge: University Press.

Creswell, J. W. (1998). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five traditions*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Dahlerup, D. (1998) *From a Small to a Large Minority: Women in Scandinavian Politics*, *Scandinavian Political Studies*, 11(4). 296.

Dahlerup, D. (1988) From a Small to a Large Minority: Women in Scandinavian Politics. *Scandinavian Political Studies* 11 ( 4): 275-2766.

Dahlerup,D. and Friedenvall, L. (2005) Quotas as a “FastTrack” to Equal Representation for Women. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 7 (1), 26–48.

Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (Eds.). (2005). *Handbook of qualitative research* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Devlin, C., and Elgie, R. (2008) The Effect of Increased Women's Representation in Parliament: The Case of Rwanda. *Parliamentary Affairs* 61 (2) 237-254.

Dixon-Woods M, Fitzpatrick R (2001) Qualitative research in systematic reviews. Has established a place for itself. *BMJ* . 323(7316):765-766.

Dovi, S. (2002) ‘Preferable Descriptive Representatives: Will Just Any Woman, Black or Latino Do?’, *American Political Science Review*, 96 (4), 729–43.

Drew, E., Moore, G., Siemenska, R. and Vianello, M. (2000). Theoretical framework. In Vianello, M. and Moore, G. (Eds.) *Gendering Elites: Economic and Political Leadership in 27 Industrialised Societies*. Oxford: *Advances in Political Science*.

Drew, E.P. (1990) *Who Needs Flexibility? Part-Time Working ... the Irish Experience*. Dublin: *Employment Equality Agency*.

Echols, A (1989) *Daring to Be Bad: Radical Feminism in America, 1967-1975.* University of Minnesota Press.

Esseveld, J. and Andersson, G. (2000). Career lifeforms. In Vianello, M. and Moore, G. (Eds.) *Gendering Elites: Economic and Political Leadership in 27 Industrialized Societies*. London: *Macmillan*.

Etzioni-Halevy, E. (2004). Foreword. In Vianello, M. and Moore, G. (Eds.) *Women and Men in Political and Business Elites: A Comparative Study in the Industrialized World*. London: *Sage Publications Inc*.

Frazier,N., and Sadker, M. (1973)*Sexism in School and Society*. New York: *Harper & Row*.

Forbes, Geraldine (2005), *Women in Colonial India*, Chronicle Books, New Delhi.

- Galinsky, E., Kim, S. S. and Bond, J. T. (2001). *Feeling Overworked: When Work Becomes Too Much*. New York: Families and Work Institute.
- Goldberg, S. (1973). *The Inevitability of Patriarchy*. New York: William Morrow and Company.
- Goldberg, S. (1993). *Why Men Rule: A Theory of Male Dominance*. Chicago, Illinois: Open Court Publishing Company.
- Goles, T and Hirschheim, R. (2000). The paradigm is dead, the paradigm is dead...long live the paradigm: the legacy of Burrell and Morgan. *Omega*: 28 (3): 249-268.
- Gouldner, A. (1971) *The Coming Crisis in Western Sociology*. New York: Basic Books.
- Graham, H. (1984) Surveying through stories. In C. Bell and H. Roberts (eds.), *Social Researching: Politics, Problems, Practice*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Grzywacz, J. G. and Marks, N. F. (2000). Reconceptualising the work-family interface: an ecological perspective on the correlates of positive and negative spillover between work and family. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, 5, 11–126.
- Habermas, J. (1984). *Reason and the Rationalization of Society*, Volume 1 of *The Theory of Communicative Action*, English translation by Thomas McCarthy. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Hanafin, J. and D. Ni Charthaigh (1993) *Co-Education and Attainment*. Limerick: Centre for Studies in Gender and Education, University of Limerick.
- Hanson, N. R., 1972, *Patterns of Discovery*, University Press, Cambridge.
- Hoschchild, A. (1989). *The Time Bind: When Work becomes Home and Home becomes Work*. Berkeley: Harcourt College Publishers.
- Hurley-Wilson BA. (1988) Socialization for roles. In: Hardy ME, Conway ME, eds. *Role Theory: Perspectives for Health Professionals*. 2nd ed. Norwalk, CT: Appleton & Lange.73–110.
- Inglehart, R. and Norris, P. (2003) *Rising Tide: Gender Equality and Cultural Change around the World*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Inter-Parliamentary Union (2009). *Women in National Parliaments*. <http://www.ipu.org> [accessed 15 June 2011].



Inter-Parliamentary Union. (2002). Women in National Parliaments. See <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/world.htm>.

Kaiser, P. (2001) Strategic Predictors of Women's Parliamentary Participation: A Comparative Study of Twenty-Three Democracies. Unpublished PhD thesis, Department of Political Science, University of California, Los Angeles.

Karam, A. M. (1999) 'Strengthening the Role of Women Parliamentarians in the Arab Region: Challenges and Options', UNDP-POGAR. Available from: <http://www.pogar.org/publications/gender/karam1/karama.pdf>. [Accessed 26 November 2011].

Kathlene, L. (1995). Position Power versus Gender Power: Who Holds the Floor?" R. M. Kelly. eds. In Duerst-Lahti & R. M. Kelly. eds. 1995. Gender Power, Leadership and Governance. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 167–194.

Klein, E. (1984) Gender Politics: From Consciousness to Mass Politics (Cam-bridge: Harvard University Press.

Kolinsky, E. (1993). Party Change and Women's Representation Unified Germany. Gender and Party Politics. Joni Lovenduski and Pippa Norris, editors. Sage Publications

Kondracki, N.L., Wellman, N.S. and Amundson, D.R. (2002) Content Analysis: Review of Methods and Their Applications in Nutrition Education', Nutrition Education Behaviour, 34 (4): 224-230.

Kramarae, C., and Dale, S (2000). Rutledge international encyclopaedia of women: global women's issues and knowledge. New York. Rutledge.

Kramarae, C., and Spender, D. (2000). Rutledge international encyclopaedia of women: global women's issues and knowledge. New York: Rutledge, 746.

Krippendorff, K. (1980). Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Krook, L.M (2010) Women's Representation in Parliament: A Qualitative Comparative Analysis. Political Studies. 58, 886–908.

Kuusipalo, J., Kauppinen, K. and Nuutinen, I. (2000). Life and career in north and south Europe. In Vianello, M. and Moore, G. (Eds.) Gendering Elites: Economic and Political Leadership in 27 Industrialized Societies. London: Macmillan.

Lane, D.C. (1999). Social theory and system dynamics practice. *European Journal Of Operational Research*. 113:501-527.

Lorber, Judith (1998), *Gender Inequality*, Roxbury Publishing Company, Los Angeles.

Lukács, G. (1971). Reification and the Consciousness of the Proletariat, In *History and Class Consciousness*, Rodney Livingstone, (tr.), Cambridge, Mass. MIT Press.

MacKinnon, C. (1987). Difference and dominance: on sex discrimination. In MacKinnon, C. (Ed.) *Feminism Unmodified: Discourse on Life and Law*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Mansbridge, J. (1999) 'Should Blacks Represent Blacks and Women Represent Women? A Contingent "Yes"', *Journal of Politics*, 61 (3), 628–57.

Marx, K. (1964) *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, New York: International Publishers.

Matland, R. E. (1998) Women's Representation in National Legislatures: Developed and Developing Countries. *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 23 (1), 109–25.

McAllister, I. and Studlar, D. T. (2002) Electoral Systems and Women's Representation: A Long-Term Perspective', *Representation*, 39 (1), 3–14.

Moghadam, V. M. (2003) *Modernising Women: Gender and Social Change in the Middle East*. Boulder CO: Lynne Rienner.

Musokotwane, R. (2010) Women in Politics. In *Super Computing Systems. Proceedings of the Conference on Women in Politics*, Comfort Lodge, Lusaka. July 26<sup>th</sup> 2010.

Nelson, L.H. (1990) *Who Knows: From Quine to a Feminist Empiricism*, Philadelphia, Pa.: Temple University Press.

Norris, P. (2006) 'The Impact of Electoral Reform on Women's Representation', *Acta Politica*, 41 (2), 197–213.

Oakley, A. (1972) *Sex, Gender and Society*. London: Temple Smith.

Palmer, R.E (1969). *Hermeneutics; Interpretation Theory in Schleiermacher, Dilthey, Heidegger, and Gadamer*. Evanston [Ill.] North-western University Press.

Parsons T. (1955). The American family: its relation to personality and to the social structure. In *Family, Socialization and Interaction Process*, ed. T Parsons, RF Bales, 3-33. Glencoe, IL: Free Press.

- Patton, M.Q. (1987). *How to Use Qualitative Methods in Evaluation*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Paxton, P. (1997) 'Women in National Legislatures: A Cross-National Analysis', *Social Science Research*, 26 (4), 442–64.
- Paxton, P. and Hughes, M. (2007) *Women, Politics, and Power: A Global Perspective*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Phillips, A. (1995). *The Politics of Presence*. New York: Clarendon Press.
- Pinker, S. (2002). *The Blank Slate: The Modern Denial of Human Nature*. New York: Penguin Putnam.
- Richie, J and Spencer, L (1994). Qualitative data analysis for applied policy research, in Bryman and Burgess, eds., *Analysing Qualitative Data*, London: Routledge, p173-194.
- Quine, W. V. O., (1963) *Two Dogmas of Empiricism*. In *From a Logical Point of View*, New York: Harper & Row.
- Quine, W. V. O., (1969), *Epistemology Naturalized*, In *Ontological Relativity and Other Essays*, New York: Columbia University Press.
- Rakow, L. (1986) 'Rethinking Gender Research in Communication', *Communication*, 36 (4): 11-26.
- Ramirez, Francisco, O., Yasemin Soysal and Suzanne Shanahan. 1997. "The Changing Logic of Political Citizenship: Cross-national Acquisition of Women's Suffrage Rights, 1890-1990." *American Sociological Review* 62(5):735-45.
- Reinharz, S. (1983) 'Experiential analysis: a contribution to feminist research'. In G. Bowles, and R.D. Klein (eds.), *Theories of Women's Studies*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Rosenbluth, F., Salmond, R. and Thies, M. F. (2006) *Welfare Works: Explaining Female Legislative Representation*. *Politics & Gender*, 2 (2), 165–92.
- Sainsbury, D. (2004) 'Women's Political Representation in Sweden: Discursive Politics and Institutional Presence', *Scandinavian Political Studies*, 27(1). 65–87.
- Saint-Germain (1991) *Does Their Difference Make a Difference?* and Sue Thomas, *The Impact of Women on State Legislative Policies*. *Journal of Politics* 53. 958-76.

Saint-Germain, M. (1989) Does Their Difference Make a Difference? The Impact of Women on Public Policy in the Arizona Legislature. *Social Science Quarterly* 70. 956-68.

Sapiro, V (1983) *The Political Integration of Women: Roles, Socialisation, and Politics*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Schwartz, H. and J. Jacobs (1979) *Qualitative Sociology: A Method to the Madness*. New York: Free Press.

Schwindt-Bayer, L. A. and Mishler, W. (2005) An Integrated Model of Women's Representation, *The Journal of Politics*, 67 (2), 407–28.

Siemieniska, R. (2004). Values. In Vianello, M. and Moore, G. (Eds.) *Women and Men in Political and Business Elites: A Comparative Study in the Industrialized World*. London: Sage.

Sigel, R.S. (1996) *Ambition and Accommodation: How Women View Gender Relations* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press).

Smith, D. (1987) *The Everyday World as Problematic: A Feminist Sociology*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

Squires, J., and Wickham-Jones, M. (2001). *Women in Parliament: A Comparative Analysis*, Equal Opportunities Commission. 88–99.

Stockemer, D (2011) Gender Equity of Perceived Career and Influence Opportunities among Political Elites: The Case of Swedish Parliamentarians *European Sociological Review* . 27 (3) 307–326.

Stockemer, D (2011) Women's Parliamentary Representation in Africa: The Impact of Democracy and Corruption on the Number of Female Deputies in National Parliaments *POLITICAL STUDIES*. 59, 693–712.

Thomas, S. (1994) *How Women Legislate*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Thomas, S. (2002). The personal is the political: antecedents of gendered choices of elected representatives. *Sex Roles*, 47, 343–353.

Tremblay, M (1998) Do Female MPs Substantively Represent Women? A Study of Legislative Behaviour in Canada's 35th Parliament. *Canadian Journal of Political Science*. 31 (3): 435-465.

Trimble, L. (1993) A Few Good Women: Female Legislators in Alberta, 1972-1991," in Catherine A. Cavanaugh and Randi R. Warne, eds., *Standing on New Ground: Women in Alberta*. Calgary: University of Alberta Press. 87-118.

Trimble, L. (1997) Feminist Politics in the Alberta Legislature, 1972-1994, in Jane Arcsott and Linda Trimble, eds., *In the Presence of Women: Representation in Canadian Governments*. Toronto: Harcourt Brace.

Tripp, A. M. and Kang, A. (2008) 'The Global Impact of Quotas: The Fast Track to Female Representation', *Comparative Political Studies*, 41 (3), 338-61.

Vianello, M. and Moore, G. (Eds.) (2000). *Gendering Elites: Economic and Political Leadership in 27 Industrialized Societies*. London: Macmillan.

Vianello, M. and Moore, G. (Eds.) (2004). *Women and Men in Political and Business Elites: A Comparative Study in the Industrialized World*. London: Sage.

Vianello, M. and Siemieniska, R. (1990). *Gender Inequality: A Comparative Study of Discrimination and Participation*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Wängnerud, L., (2000) Representing Women in P. Esaiasson and K. Heidar (eds), *Beyond Westminster and Congress: The Nordic Experience*, Ohio State University Press. 146-48.

Weber, R. P. (1990). *Basic Content Analysis*, 2nd ed. Newbury Park, CA.

Welch, S. and Studlar, D. T. (1990) 'Multi-Member Districts and the Representation of Women', *Journal of Politics*, 52 (2), 391-412.

Woodward, A. and Lyon, D. (2000). Gendered time and women's access to power. In Vianello, M. and Moore, G. (Eds.) *Gendering Elites: Economic and Political Leadership in 27 Industrialised Societies*. Oxford: *Advances in Political Science*, pp. 91-103.

Yoon, M. Y. (2004) 'Explaining Women's Legislative Representation in Sub-Saharan Africa', *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 29 (3), 447-66.

Young, I.M. (1997) Deferring Group Representation. In: I. Shapiro and W. Kymlicka (eds.) *Ethnicity and Group Rights*, *Nomos* 39, *Yearbook of the American Society for Political and Legal Philosophy*. New York: New York University Press, pp. 349-376.

Young, I.M. (2000) *Inclusion and Democracy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Yu, Chong Ho (1994), Is There a Logic of Exploratory Data Analysis? Annual Meeting of American Educational Research Association, New Orleans, LA, April.

## APPENDICES

### *Appendix I – Guide for In-depth Interviews*

1. Please tell me about yourself?
2. What about your political career?
3. Please describe for me what the women for parliamentary caucus stands for I have indeed seen the objectives.
4. How many times in your office if you could remember you have provided a forum for discussion on matters affecting women in the country or the SADC region or the Commonwealth and other regions.
5. In these fora what do you remember to be critical please describe.
6. Please describe for me how you promoted and helped to sensitise all parliamentarians on the principles of gender equality in the country, within the SADC region, the Commonwealth as well as other regions worldwide?
7. What were these issues?
8. How did you ensure that there was an effective implementation of projects on gender issues
9. How did you encourage and mobilize women to participate in all issues pertaining to national development, and to promote self reliance and economic independence among women?
10. How did facilitate networking with other organizations and institutions within and outside the country, such as Non Governmental Organisations (NGOs), business and intellectual communities in activities aimed at promoting gender equality and participation among other objectives.
11. What role does the women parliamentary caucus and women parliamentarians perform in the legislature?
12. What are the women representatives' attitudes in parliamentary debates?
13. In all this work, what do you say where your major achievements?
14. What challenges did you face as a caucus?
15. What challenges did you face individually as women parliamentarians when it comes to activities in parliament? Probe for gender roles (accounting also for absenteeism), patriarchy, and numbers of women in parliament?
16. How do you look at the approaches in the immediate future to solutions given these challenges? Probe for the solutions for the caucus. Probe for solutions for that could be individualised.

## Appendix II Session dates of The Tenth National Assembly

Fifth session of tenth National Assembly	
1.	Debates- Friday, 24th June, 2011
2.	Debates- Thursday, 23rd June, 2011
3.	Debates- Wednesday, 22nd June, 2011
4.	Debates- Tuesday, 21st June, 2011
5.	Debates- Thursday, 17th, June, 2011
6.	Debates- Thursday, 16th June, 2011
7.	Debates- Wednesday, 15th June, 2011
8.	Debates- Tuesday, 14th June, 2011
9.	Debates- Friday, 10th June, 2011
10.	Debates- Thursday, 9th June, 2011
11.	Debates- Wednesday, 8th June, 2011
12.	Debates- Tuesday, 7th June, 2011
13.	Debates- Friday, 3rd June, 2011
14.	Debates- Thursday, 2nd June, 2011
15.	Debates- Wednesday, 1st June, 2011
16.	Debates- Tuesday, 31st May, 2011
17.	Debates- Wednesday, 30th March, 2011
18.	Debates- Tuesday, 29th March, 2011
19.	Debates- Friday, 25th March, 2011
20.	Debates- Thursday, 24th March, 2011
21.	Debates- Wednesday, 23rd March, 2011
22.	Debates- Tuesday, 22nd March, 2011
23.	Debates- Friday, 18th March, 2011
24.	Debates- Thursday, 17th March, 2011
25.	Debates- Wednesday, 16th March, 2011
26.	Debates- Tuesday, 15th March, 2011
27.	Debates- Friday, 11th March, 2011
28.	Debates- Thursday, 10th March, 2011
29.	Debates- Wednesday, 9th March, 2011
30.	Debates- Friday, 4th March, 2011



Fourth session of tenth National Assembly	
1.	Debates- Friday, 6th August, 2010
2.	Debates- Thursday, 5th August, 2010
3.	Debates- Wednesday, 4th August, 2010
4.	Debates- Tuesday, 3rd August, 2010
5.	Debates- Friday, 30th July, 2010
6.	Debates- Friday, 30th July, 2010
7.	Debates- Thursday, 29th July, 2010
8.	Debates- Wednesday, 28th July, 2010
9.	Debates- Tuesday, 27th July, 2010
10.	Debates- Friday, 23rd July, 2010
11.	Debates- Thursday, 22nd July, 2010
12.	Debates- Wednesday, 21st July, 2010
13.	Debates- Tuesday, 20th July, 2010
14.	Debates- Friday, 16th July, 2010
15.	Debates- Thursday, 15th July, 2010
16.	Debates- Wednesday 14th June, 2010
17.	Debates- Tuesday, 13th July, 2010
18.	Debates- Friday, 9th July, 2010
19.	Debates- Thursday, 8th July, 2010
20.	Debates- Wednesday, 7th July, 2010
21.	Debates- Friday, 2nd July, 2010
22.	Debates- Thursday, 1st July, 2010
23.	Debates- Wednesday, 30th June, 2010
24.	Debates- Tuesday, 29th June, 2010
25.	Debates- Friday, 26th March, 2010
26.	Debates- Thursday, 25th March, 2010
27.	Debates- Wednesday, 24th March, 2010
28.	Debates- Tuesday, 23rd March, 2010
29.	Debates- Friday, 19th March, 2010
30.	Debates- Thursday, 18th March, 2010

Third session of tenth National Assembly

1. Debates- Friday, 14th August, 2009
2. Debates- Thursday, 13th August, 2009
3. Debates- Wednesday, 12th August, 2009
4. Debates- Tuesday, 11th August, 2009
5. Debates- Friday, 7th August, 2009
6. Debates- Thursday, 6th August, 2009
7. Debates- Wednesday, 5th August, 2009
8. Debates- Tuesday, 4th August, 2009
9. Debates- Friday, 31st July, 2009
10. Debates- Thursday, 30th July, 2009
11. Debates- Wednesday, 29th July, 2009
12. Debates- Tuesday, 28th July, 2009
13. Debates- Friday, 24th July, 2009
14. Debates- Thursday, 23rd July, 2009
15. Debates- Wednesday, 22nd July, 2009
16. Debates- Tuesday, 21st July, 2009
17. Debates- Friday, 17th July, 2009
18. Debates- Thursday, 16th July, 2009
19. Debates- Wednesday, 15th July, 2009
20. Debates- Tuesday, 14th July, 2009
21. Debates- Friday, 27th March, 2009
22. Debates- Thursday, 26th March, 2009
23. Debates- Wednesday, 25th March, 2009
24. Debates- Tuesday, 24th March, 2009
25. Debates- Friday, 20th March, 2009
26. Debates- Thursday, 19th March, 2009
27. Debates- Wednesday, 18th March, 2009
28. Debates- Tuesday, 17th March, 2009
29. Debates- Friday, 13th March, 2009
30. Debates- Wednesday, 11th March, 2009

## Second session of tenth National Assembly

1. Debates- Friday, 28th November, 2008
2. Debates- Thursday, 27th November, 2008
3. Debates- Wednesday, 26th November, 2008
4. Debates- Tuesday, 25th November, 2008
5. Debates- Friday, 21st November, 2008
6. Debates- Thursday, 20th September, 2008
7. Debates- Wednesday, 19th November, 2008
8. Debates- Tuesday, 18th November, 2008
9. Debates- Friday, 14th November, 2008
10. Debates- Thursday, 13th November, 2008
11. Debates- Wednesday, 12th November, 2008
12. Debates- Tuesday, 11th November, 2008
13. Debates- Friday, 12th September, 2008
14. Debates- Thursday, 11th September, 2008
15. Debates- Wednesday, 10th September, 2008
16. Debates- Tuesday, 9th September, 2008
17. Debates- Tuesday, 19th August, 2008
18. Debates- Friday, 15th August, 2008
19. Debates- Thursday, 14th August, 2008
20. Debates- Wednesday, 13th August, 2008
21. Debates- Tuesday, 12th August, 2008
22. Debates- Friday, 8th August, 2008
23. Debates- Thursday, 7th August, 2008
24. Debates- Wednesday, 6th August, 2008
25. Debates- Tuesday, 5th August, 2008
26. Debates- Thursday, 20th March, 2008
27. Debates- Wednesday, 19th March, 2008
28. Debates- Tuesday, 18th March, 2008
29. Debates- Friday, 14th March, 2008
30. Debates- Thursday, 13th March, 2008

First session of tenth National Assembly

1. Debates- Friday, 30th November, 2007
2. Debates- Thursday, 29th November, 2007
3. Debates- Wednesday, 28th November, 2007
4. Debates- Tuesday, 27th November, 2007
5. Debates- Friday, 23rd November, 2007
6. Debates- Thursday, 22nd November, 2007
7. Debates- Wednesday, 21st November, 2007
8. Debates- Tuesday, 20th November, 2007
9. Debates- Friday, 16th November, 2007
10. Debates- Thursday, 15th November, 2007
11. Debates- Wednesday, 14th November, 2007
12. Debates- Tuesday, 13th November, 2007
13. Debates- Friday, 9th November, 2007
14. Debates- Thursday, 8th November, 2007
15. Debates- Wednesday, 7th November, 2007
16. Debates- Tuesday, 6th November, 2007
17. Debates- Friday, 2nd November, 2007
18. Debates- Thursday, 1st November, 2007
19. Debates- Wednesday, 31st October, 2007
20. Debates- Tuesday, 30th October, 2007
21. Debates- Wednesday, 22nd August, 2007
22. Debates- Tuesday, 21st August, 2007
23. Debates- Friday, 17th August, 2007
24. Debates- Thursday, 16th August, 2007
25. Debates- Wednesday, 15th August, 2007
26. Debates- Tuesday, 14th August, 2007
27. Debates- Friday, 10th August, 2007
28. Debates- Thursday, 9th August, 2007
29. Debates- Wednesday, 8th August, 2007
30. Debates- Tuesday, 7th August, 2007

### Appendix III – Personal Request for Permission to Conduct the Study

Lilayi Paramilitary,  
P.O. Box 340003,  
Lusaka, Zambia.

13<sup>th</sup> June, 2011.

The Clerk,  
National Assembly,  
P.O. Box 31299,  
Lusaka.

Dear Sir/Madam,

**RE: REQUESTING FOR CAUCUS REPORTS AND PARLIAMENTARY HAZARDS**

I am requesting for Caucus report and parliamentary Hazards from 2007 to 2011. I am interested in gender issues which have been documented. After this I will request to interview the Parliamentarians before the Parliament is dissolved.

I am a Masters student in gender studies at the University of Zambia doing a research on an assessment of the performance of the Zambia women Parliamentarians caucus (ZWPC) from 2007 to 2011.

Attached here are the letters from head of Department University of Zambia and a summary of a full proposal.

Your assistance will be highly appreciated

Yours faithfully,



**Alfred Chilufya**  
**0977-869791**

Appendix IV – School Request for Permission to conduct the Study



**THE UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA  
SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES  
GENDER STUDIES DEPARTMENT**

Telephone 295216

P O BOX 32379  
LUSAKA

03 August, 2011

**THE LIBRARIAN  
NATIONAL ASSEMBLY  
LUSAKA**

**RE: INTRODUCTION OF MR. ALFRED CHILUFYA**

Mr. Alfred Chilufya, Computer Number, 530503345, is a student of M.A. Degree programme in Gender Studies at the University of Zambia, doing part II of his programme which is research work.

Please allow him to have access to your library facilities.

Dr. T. Kusanthan

**HEAD, GENDER STUDIES DEPARTMENT**



## Appendix V –Authority to Collect Data



Telephone : +260-211-292425  
Fax : +260-211-292252  
E-mail : [info@parliament.gov.zm](mailto:info@parliament.gov.zm)  
<http://www.parliament.gov.zm>



National Assembly  
Parliament Buildings  
P.O. Box 31299  
LUSAKA  
ZAMBIA

Reference No. : **NAS/1/9**.....

11 November 2011

Mr Alfred Chilufya  
University of Zambia  
School of Humanities and Social Science  
Department of Social Development Studies  
P O Box 32379  
LUSAKA

Dear Sir

**FURTHER ASSISTANCE: MR A CHILUFYA – MASTERS STUDENT**

Reference is made to your letter dated 7 November 2011, in which you requested for permission to have access to the Library, interview and have a focus group discussion with Members of the Zambia Women Parliamentary Caucus.

I am directed to inform you that permission has been granted for you to conduct your research under the supervision of the Chief Librarian.

Please inform the office of the Chief Librarian when you are ready to start your research. However, before you do so, kindly forward a copy of the research questionnaire.

Yours faithfully

T C Mtine (Mrs)  
for/CLERK OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

/en



## Appendix VI- Extension to Collect Data

Telephone: +260-211-292425-36  
Fax: +260-211-292252  
E-mail: info@parliament.gov.zm  
www.parliament.gov.zm



National Assembly  
Parliament Buildings  
Box 31299  
Lusaka 10101  
Zambia

Reference No.:.....**NAS/35/7...**

12<sup>th</sup> August, 2011

Mr Alfred Chilufya  
Zambia Police Lilayi  
Paramilitary  
P O Box 340003  
**LUSAKA**

Dear Sir,

**RE: RENEWING THE USE OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY LIBRARY**

Reference is made to your letter dated 3<sup>rd</sup> August, 2011 in which you requested to continue using the library for research accompanied by your supervisor Mr Janson Mwanza.

I am directed to inform you that your request has been approved for you to use the Library for two weeks under the supervision of the Chief Librarian with effect from 23<sup>rd</sup> August, 2011.

Please call on the office of the Chief Librarian when you are ready to start using the Library.

Yours faithfully,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to be 'F Banda'.

F Banda  
for/**CLERK OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY**