

**INVESTIGATING THE STATUS QUO REGARDING WOMEN AND POLITICAL
PARTICIPATION IN KITWE DISTRICT OF ZAMBIA**

BY

CHIBAYE KANUNGWE

**A dissertation submitted to the University of Zambia-Zimbabwe Open University in
partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Master of Science in Peace,
Leadership and Conflict Resolution.**

The University of Zambia

Lusaka

2021

COPYRIGHT

All rights reserved. No part of this dissertation may be reproduced, stored in any retrieval system, transmitted in any form by electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise before seeking permission from the author or the University of Zambia/Zimbabwe Open University.

© Chibaye Kanungwe, 2021.

DECLARATION

I, **Chibaye Kanungwe**, do hereby declare that this dissertation represents my own work and that it has neither in part nor in whole, been presented as material for award of any degree at this or any other University. Where other people's work has been used, acknowledgement has been made.

Signature:

Date:

APPROVAL

The University of Zambia/Zimbabwe Open University approves the dissertation of **Chibaye Kanungwe** as fulfilling part of the requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Science in Peace, Leadership and Conflict Resolution.

1st Internal Examiner

Name: _____

Signature: _____ Date: _____

2nd Internal Examiner

Name: _____

Signature: _____ Date: _____

3rd Internal Examiner

Name: _____

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Chairperson Board of Examiners

Name: _____

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Supervisor

Name: _____

Signature: _____ Date: _____

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my husband, Kaseke S. Chitundu who has been considerate, supportive and cooperative throughout the duration of my study and has constantly encouraged me when tasks seemed difficult and too great to overcome. I did not give you and our dearest children the best of me as I had focused on the completion of this dissertation yet you did not complain. All I can say is that I am grateful.

I also dedicate this to my late father, Timothy Kanungwe who had always encouraged me to work hard and wanted to see me strive to excellence and to my mother, Christabel K Kanungwe who has always taught me to put God first and always persuaded me never to give up. I thank you for your guidance and love.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I would like to thank my heavenly father Jehovah for the unending blessings and the gift of life without which I could not have seen this work to completion. I would like to sincerely acknowledge in a special way the able supervisory mantle held by my supervisor, Dr. Farrelli Hambulo. I am thankful for his dedication and passion shown to this study. I thank you most sincerely for making this study reach fruition.

I would also wish to acknowledge the input of Dr. G. Muleya for reviewing and passing my proposal for ethical clearance together with his able team. My sincere appreciations also go to my Lecturer of Research Proposal and Writing in Peace, Conflict Resolution and Leadership Studies, Mr. Kaumba for the tireless efforts in teaching research skills. I wish to pass my gratitude to Peace, Conflict Resolution and Leadership Studies Lecturers; Dr. G. Muleya, Dr Moyo, Mr Kaumba, Mr Malamba, Mrs. Hanyika, Mr Mwanabayeke for their encouragement during my studies.

To the respondents, I am grateful for sharing your experiences and insights which made this study possible.

To my colleagues and fellow pursuants of the Master of Science in Peace, Conflict Resolution and Leadership Studies in particular Alinifa C Mwalwanda. Thank you.

ABSTRACT

The overarching focus of this study was to “Investigate the Status Quo Regarding Women and Political Participation in Kitwe District of Zambia”. The study sought to explore the nature of women participation in politics and to find out the factors that hindered women from participating in active politics. Furthermore, the study was predicated on ascertaining the strategies deployed for empowering women participation in politics. An exploration study design was used with a qualitative approach. The study purposefully sampled 30 participants from the four selected political parties and a women non-governmental organization. Semi-structured interview guide and Focus Group discussion guide were used as data collection instruments as well as document review checklist. Thematic approach was applied to analyse the data after coding. The findings revealed that nature of women participation included sitting on women desks in the party as well as managing leadership positions in line with women representation and being a part of public rallies and mobilization teams. With regards to factors that acted as hindrances against women participation in politics, findings revealed that, lack of support from male counterparts, limited financial resources as well as socio-cultural stereotypes acted as blockades for women penetration in mainstream politics of Kitwe district. On strategies employed, the findings revealed that, lobbying for men support, championing the 50/50 threshold representation in parliament and political parties’ deliberate policies of women support were among the key strategies that needed to be utilized. The study concluded that, women participation can only increase in the political space when society unanimously rallies behind them and drops the stereotypical mind-set that the only place of influence a woman belongs to is the kitchen. Also normalising calls for 50/50 representation would be incentive enough for women to appear in the political space. The study made four recommendations: The church should begin to speak out and merge with women organizations to address women representation in politics because decisions made by politicians affect all. Then political parties themselves should remain true to advocating for 50/50 gender representation and there is need to have implementation plans for the rolling out strategies of empowering women participation in politics.

Key words: *Political participation, women, status quo*

TABLE OF CONTENTS

COPYRIGHT	I
DECLARATION	II
APPROVAL	III
DEDICATION	IV
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	V
ABSTRACT	VI
LIST OF TABLES	XI
LIST OF FIGURES	XII
LIST OF APPENDICES	XIII
ACRONYMS/ABBREVIATIONS	XIV
CHAPTER ONE	1
INTRODUCTION	1
1.0 Overview	1
1.1 Background to the Study.....	1
1.3 Statement of the Problem.....	4
1.4 Purpose of the Study	5
1.5 General Objective	5
1.6 Specific Research Objectives	5
1.7 Research Questions.....	5
1.8 Significance of the Study	6
1.9 Theoretical Framework.....	6
1.9.1 Structural Functionalist Theory by Talcott Parsons	6
1.9.2 Implications of the Theory to the Study.....	6
1.10 Limitations of the Study.....	7
1.11 Delimitations of the study	7
1.12 Operational Definitions of Terms.....	7
1.13 Summary	8

CHAPTER TWO	9
LITERATURE REVIEW	9
2.0 Overview	9
2.1 Historical Brief of Women Participation in Political Space	9
2.2 The Concept of Political Participation in Perspective	10
2.3 International Protocols that Support Women Participation in Political Matters	10
2.4 Factors Affecting Political Participation of Women Globally	10
2.5 Factors that Influence Women Participation in Political Affairs in Zambia.....	11
2.5.1 Social-Cultural factors	11
2.5.2 Religious Factors	12
2.5.3 Economic Factors	12
2.5.4 Media Factors	12
2.5.5 Education Factors	12
2.6 Increasing the Participation of Women in Politics	13
2.7 Trends in Women’s Political Representation.....	13
2.8 Studies on the Extent of Women Participation in Political Affairs	13
2.9 Studies on the Factors Affecting Women Participation in Politics	15
2.10 Perceived Research Gap.....	16
2.11 Summary	17
CHAPTER THREE	18
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	18
3.0 Overview	18
3.1 Research Design	18
3.2 Study Site	19
3.3 Target Population	19
3.4 Sample Size	19
3.5 Sampling Procedure.....	19
3.5.1 Sampling of Women from Women Lobby Organization.....	20
3.5.2 Sampling of Women from Political Parties.....	20
3.6 Data Collection Instruments.....	20
3.6.1 Semi-Structured Interview Guide for Leaders of Women Organizations and Political Parties	20

3.6.2 Focus Group Discussion Guide for Women Members	20
3.6.3 Document Review Guide	21
3.7 Credibility, Dependability and Transferability	21
3.8 Data Collection Procedures.....	22
3.8.1 Procedure of Data Collection from Leaders of Women Organizations and Political Parties	22
3.8.2 Procedures of Data Collection from Women Members of Political Parties	22
3.8.3 Procedure of Data Collection from Documents	22
3.9 Data Analysis Procedure	22
3.9.1 Data Analysis from Interviews and Focus Group Discussions	23
3.9.2 Data Analysis from Document Review Guide	23
3.10 Ethical Consideration.....	23
3.11 Summary	24
CHAPTER FOUR.....	25
PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS.....	25
4.0 Overview	25
4.1 Demographics of Participants	25
4.1.1 Level of Education.....	25
4.1.2 Nationality of Parents of Women in Politics.....	26
4.1.3 Authenticity of Membership	26
4.2 Women Participation in Politics	27
4.2.1 Women Mobilization Staff.....	27
4.2.2 Representative on Women Desk of the Party.....	28
4.3 Hindering Factors of Women Political Participation in Contemporary Kitwe Politics.....	28
4.3.1 Hindrance by Male Counterparts.....	29
4.3.2 Hindrance by Socio-Cultural Stereotypes	30
4.3.3 Hindrance Influenced by Family Members.....	31
4.3.4 Hindrance Caused by Limited Financial Resources	31
4.4 Strategies to Empower Women Participation in Active Politics.....	32
4.5 Summary	33

CHAPTER FIVE	34
DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS.....	34
5.0 Overview	34
5.1 Women Participation in Politics	34
5.2 Hindering Factors of Women Political Participation in Contemporary Politics	35
5.3 Strategies to Empower Women Participation in Active Politics	37
5.4 Summary	39
CHAPTER SIX	40
CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....	40
6.0 Overview	40
6.1 Conclusion (s) of the study	40
6.2 Recommendations of the study	41
6.3 Proposals for Future Studies	41
REFERENCES.....	42
APPENDICES.....	47

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Trends of Women Participation in Politics against Men from 1964 to 2015	3
Table 2: Level of Education of Participants	25
Table 3: Nationality of Parents of the Women in Politics.....	26
Table 4: Authenticity of membership	27
Table 5: Factors hindering women participation in political parties of Kitwe	29
Table 6: Strategies for empowering women participation in active politics	32

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Public Parliamentarian Handbook for the Twelfth National assembly of Zambia (2016 -2021).....	4
--	---

LIST OF APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Timeline 2022	47
Appendix 2: Budget.....	48
Appendix 3: Semi Structured Interviews with Women Leaders.....	49
Appendix 4: Interview Guide for Women Leaders	50
Appendix 5: Focus Group Discussion Guide for Women Members.....	51
Appendix 6: General Question for Women Leaders and Women Members	52
Appendix 7: Document Review Check List	53
Appendix 8: Confirmation of Study	54

ACRONYMS/ABBREVIATIONS

CEDAW	Convention on Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women
CSO	Central Statistics Office
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
UN	United Nations
ZNWL	Zambian National Women Lobby

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Overview

This chapter presents the background to the study, the statement of the problem, objectives and research questions. Thereafter, the chapter proceeds to outline the significance of the study, the theoretical framework, limitations and delimitation of the study, the definitions of operational terms and finally, and the summary of the chapter.

1.1 Background to the Study

Political participation and the poor participation of women in politics has been a major concern worldwide. Globally women's political participation lags behind that of men; the world average for women in all national parliaments being 21.8%, a figure which is not near the 'critical majority' of 30% of women parliamentarians. Even though the right to vote and stand for elections begun as of the nineteenth century, the political participation of women throughout the world still lags behind as compared to that of their male counterparts (Afolabi and Lanre, 2003).

For many years now, various specialized agencies such as the United Nations (UN) have recognized that there is need for women to have equal rights with men in politics. Women are a major force behind people's participation in society today as they play a critical role in posterity. Their participation is recognized as both a right and a requirement for effective development and it is generally agreed that a critical mass of women in politics are needed in order to have policy impact (usually estimated at 30% of the parliamentarians being women) (Howell, 2002).

An array of international agreements and conventions have been meaningful in encouraging women to take up political offices and influence policy making in different African countries. Conventions such as the Convention on Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), Beijing Declaration of 1995, Southern African Development Community Declaration on Gender and Development (1997) with its addendum on Prevention and Eradication of Violence against Women and Children (1998) and The Millennium Declaration of (2000) have been ratified by many states. These conventions have brought to the fore the matter of gender equality and rights with political participation included (Tripp, 1999).

Thus, it is no doubt that, across Africa, many countries have taken initiatives to increase women's participation in governance and other decision-making bodies. In the past decades, participation of women in governance across the continent of Africa, has increased tremendously (Burnet, 2008; Chilisa and Ntseane, 2010). Many African countries among them Rwanda, South Africa, Namibia and Uganda have instituted reserved seats for women or quota system to ensure the representation of women in decision making bodies. Zambia has made strides in increasing the representation of women albeit with challenges (UNICEF, 2008).

In Zambia, therefore, there is a clear justification for including women in decision-making bodies. Census data for all years indicates that the majority of the Zambian population is female. However, women have been on the periphery when it comes to influencing policy in the country, particularly when it comes to political participation and decision-making positions in both the public and private sectors (CSO, 2018).

An assessment of Zambia's political history shows marginalization of women in politics and public office appointments from independence up to the present political dispensation. In Zambia, the position of women in politics seems to be overlooked not because of the fact that women largely do not participate in politics but are known to have extensive contribution as a labour and mentor in the household (UNICEF, 2008). The role of women is often underestimated and not counted as an economic activity, moreover they suffer cultural, social and political deprivation. Traditionally, women's roles are confined to household chores and child bearing compared to their male counterparts who have penetrated the political arena as they have always been given an upper hand especially drawing from past experience where males have dominated the political sphere (Ibid, 2008).

Zambia's independence cannot be written without indicating the cardinal role which women played during the liberation struggle (O'Reilly and Gordon, 1995; EFZ, 2009). Yet historians have unconsciously or deliberately concealed the women's role in the liberation struggle and their participation in post-independence development related activities (Pankhurst, 2002; Grown & Sebstad, 1989). Consequently, this to some extent has led to the continued marginalization of women in many decision-making positions in the country in both the private and public sectors at different levels (Mwale, 2012).

The current few public positions held by women is an indication that politically, women are disempowered. An insignificant percentage compared to their population is involved in the decision-making process of the country. Female participation in decision-making is still a far

cry for instance from the Rwandan experience where the economic road to recovery is on the backs of women (Bird, 2003). It is this traumatic experience of women's view and position in the society that influenced this study.

In Zambia, women's political participation is not proportionate to the 50% of the nation's population which they represent and this has not been able to translate into equal representation in various political positions. This is despite the Millennium Development Goal's emphasis that women's equal participation with men in power and decision-making is part of their fundamental right to participate in political life and at the core of gender equality and women's empowerment. However, the Zambian Government, like many countries, has ratified a number of international instruments to promote women in politics but none have been domesticated (Mutume, 2004). Statistics on women's political participation in Zambia are very worrying because of the magnitude of the imbalance of women in the Zambian Parliament as compared to men. Prior to Zambia's independence in 1964, women fought colonialism alongside men but sadly for the former, inequality and oppression remained even after independence. Women have continued to lag behind due to inherited colonial and cultural practices which exclude them from leadership roles (Nalumango and Sifuniso, 1998). Thus, looking at the representation of women in parliament in Zambia since independence, Table 1 gives us an overview of the statistics to-date (Gender in Development Division, Zambia, 2006).

Table 1: Trends of Women Participation in Politics against Men from 1964 to 2015

Years	Number of Women MPS	(%)	Number of Men MPs	(%)	Total Elective Seats
1964-1968	5	6.67	70	93.3	75
1968-1972	2	1.9	103	98.1	105
1973-1978	7	5.6	118	94.4	125
1978-1983	6	4.8	119	95.2	125
1983-1988	4	3.2	120	96.8	125
1988-1991	6	4.8	119	95.2	125
1991-1996	6	4.8	119	95.2	125
1996-2001	16	10.6	134	89.4	150
2001-2006	19	12.6	131	88.34	150
2006-2008	22	14.6	128	85.3	150
2008-2011	17	11	133	89	150
2011-2015	26	17	130	83	156

Source: Electoral Commission of Zambia: Trends Report (2016)

Presented above are national scenarios by trends of women participation in politics against their male counterparts. Below is the statistics of gender distribution in the Zambian parliament for the election period 2016 – 2021.

Gender Representation in the Twelfth National Assembly

Out of the 167 Members of Parliament, 31 are female Members, while the remaining 136 are male Members. This brings female gender representation in the Twelfth National Assembly to 19%.

Gender Representation in the Twelfth National Assembly

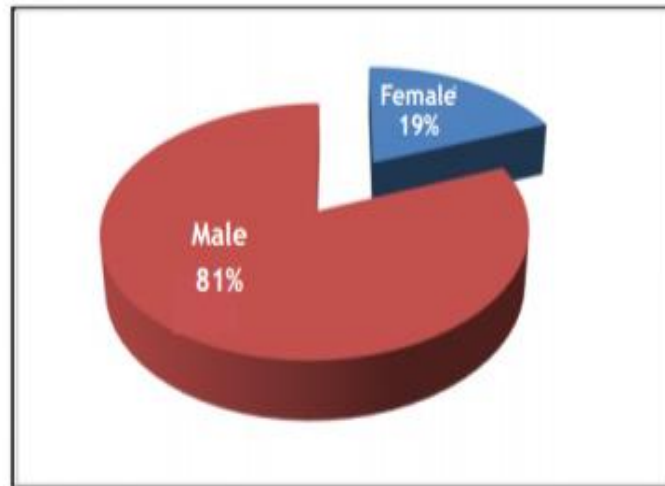


Figure 1: Public Parliamentarian Handbook for the Twelfth National assembly of Zambia (2016 -2021)

It was thus, imperative to investigate especially in Kitwe, an urban and populated district of Zambia how women participated in political affairs in order to represent their own interests in the political affairs of the nation.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

The low representation of women and Political Participation is a worldwide concern (UNICEF, 2008). The Zambian Government, like many countries, has ratified a number of international instruments to promote women in politics but none have been domesticated (Mutume, 2004). Statistics on women's political participation in Zambia are very worrying because of the magnitude of the imbalance of women in the Zambian Parliament as compared to men. Firstly, the need to have women actively participating in political matters is to be recognized as both a right and a requirement for effective development, and it is generally agreed that a critical mass of women in politics are needed in order to have policy impact (usually estimated at 30% of the parliamentarians being women) (Howell, 2002). With this figure not being close to attainment in the context of the Zambian women representation, it becomes worrisome how their rights are unsupported and how their voices are not being heard collectively. When

women representation is increased and their participation in politics intensified, women would bring to the attention of law makers their peculiar needs as well as their rights of participation in the political and socio-economic affairs of their country practiced. Hence, the purpose of the study was to critically review women and political participation in Kitwe district of Zambia which was timely and worth undertaking in order to establish the unknown forces that continued limiting women participation in the political spaces in the district.

1.4 Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to investigate the status quo regarding women and political participation in Kitwe District of Zambia

1.5 General Objective

To investigate the status quo regarding women and political participation in Kitwe.

1.6 Specific Research Objectives

The following were the research objectives;

1. To establish whether women participate in Politics in Kitwe
2. To investigate factors hindering women from political participation in contemporary Kitwe
3. To establish implementation strategies to empower women in active participation in politics.

1.7 Research Questions

The following were the research Questions;

1. How do women participate in politics in Kitwe District of Zambia?
2. What are the hindering factors for women's political participation in contemporary Kitwe?
3. What are the implementation strategies for the empowerment of women's participation in active politics?

1.8 Significance of the Study

The significance of the findings of this study are two-fold to policy makers and women practitioners in the spheres of politics. Firstly, policy makers might be guided in terms of leveraging the political field in order to encourage women participation especially in Kitwe district. To the women practitioners in the sphere of politics in Kitwe district, the findings might assist them to get back to the drawing board and device ways of mobilizing themselves and finding strategies that would encourage them to get involved in political affairs without fear of the stereotypes held by society.

1.9 Theoretical Framework

1.9.1 Structural Functionalist Theory by Talcott Parsons

The study was guided by the Structural Functionalist theory proposed by Talcott Parson which explains why society functions the way it does by focusing on the relationships between the various social institutions that make up society such as government (politics), law, education, religion. Talcott Parsons posits that different and complementary gender roles are beneficial for the society. The roles assigned to the woman are linked to the home. A woman is to take the responsibility of managing the household and bearing and raising of the children. He argues that men and women are socialized in different ways in order to prepare them to assume their gender roles as adults where a clear division of roles between men (undertaking instrumental roles) and women (undertaking expressive, nurturing roles) leads to stable families and to positive socialization of children. The man is to work outside the home and act as a link between the family unit and the larger world (the public sphere) while, women on the other hand are considered to be subjective to men and they cannot rule over men because of the pervasive influence of gender divisions on social life. Thus, any forms of representation be it at home level or society level according to Parsons, are deemed as masculine (male) types of responsibility and can only be accepted like that.

1.9.2 Implications of the Theory to the Study

The theory by Parsons clearly exposes what society has categorised as gender responsibilities of males and females. To this effect, matters of politics which are all about representation of groups at different levels clearly regard a man as a best fit for political positions and involvement. This might to some extent guide us in explaining why the women in Kitwe district

shun involvement in political matters due to societal stereotypes. Furthermore, it can be argued that gender is an important part of personal identity and family life, and it is deeply woven into the moral fabric of the society. Parsons' theory in the Zambian setting, suggests that men and women are socialized differently and this could be a reason as to why the participation of women in politics has been lower than that of their male counterparts. Against this backdrop, the point this paper seeks to emphasize is that the low participation of women in politics in the contemporary Kitwe district could be due to the stereotype's society has placed on gender roles. Thus, this theory was instrumental in guiding the endeavours of this study in order for the researcher to ascertain whether or not gender stereotypes as popularly perceived might have an influence on the low participation of women in the political fronts of Kitwe district.

1.10 Limitations of the Study

This study had a number of limitations which included challenges of time to conclusively collect data from women and NGO representatives. This study was delayed in trying to have access to the participants. However, the data they provided assisted to produce this report. Access to political party records that could have provided us with evidence of women support was denied by some parties stating that those were confidential. This largely compromised the triangulation of this study with regards to granting the findings authentic and reliable.

1.11 Delimitations of the study

The study was confined to Kitwe district of the Copperbelt Province of Zambia. Therefore, results might not be generalized to other provinces as they might have a unique orientation to women participation in politics.

1.12 Operational Definitions of Terms

Political participation: In this study it is interpreted as the extent to which women use their rights, such as the right to protest, the right of free speech, the right to vote, to influence or to get involved in political activities.

Woman: In this study the term is consistently biologically defined as an adult member of the female sex category as by birth, residence, membership or occupation.

1.13 Summary

The chapter introduced the study on women participation in political matters in Kitwe district of Zambia. The chapter also presented the background to the study, the statement of the problem, research objectives and questions, significance of the study and the theoretical framework which guided the study. Definition of terms and summary of the study were also presented. The next chapter presents a review of literature relevant to the current study.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Overview

This chapter reviews literature based on the thematic guidance of the objectives. It starts by giving a historical perspective with regards to women participation in political activities world over. It further gives a context of women participation in politics. Studies on women participation in politics are reviewed. Studies on the extent of women participation in politics are also discussed, then, studies concerned with the challenges associated with inhibiting women participation in politics are also discussed, critiqued and analysed. The chapter ends with a summary.

2.1 Historical Brief of Women Participation in Political Space

Women from the beginning have faced obstacles in their political participation worldwide. This is so because they are considered to be a corner stone of society. Historically, you will find that women play an important role in creating society but they are less recognised because of their minimum representation which is an indication that they have a long way to go to achieve recognition or equality in the political sphere.

Evidence recorded from the past shows that women's rights in politics and decision-making positions is one area with slow progress and has made very limited advances. Their participation has had minor growth in legislatures at both national and local levels, therefore making it difficult to implement policies and decisions on the advancement of taking the lead in decision-making positions both in the private and public sectors. However, there has been one critical area of concern in the Beijing Declaration and Platform which states that, "Women's empowerment and their full participation on the basis of equality in all spheres of society, including participation in the decision-making process and access to power, are fundamental for the achievement of equality, development and peace" (Beijing Declaration, para 13, United Nations 1995).

According to Yahaya and Umar Kari (2018), women had been politically active and relatively less exclusive in the decision-making process in many pre-colonial societies but the colonial administration with its gender-bias policies helped to enthrone and sustain patriarchy.

Globally the number of women leaders around the world has grown, even though they still form a small group in terms of political participation. For instance, at national and parliamentary levels, female participatory rate still remains around 24 percent compared to that of men.

2.2 The Concept of Political Participation in Perspective

The concept of women's political participation is not just about occupying positions of leadership but that meaningful political participation requires a broader definition of politics, which extends beyond the institutional boundaries of the party-state to other domains of social and economic life. As stated by the United Nations Development Programme, political participation ranges from the home, through the locality, to the national level. Women need to participate at the micro level of the home, the meso level of community organizations and local government, and at the macro level of national party, parliamentary and governmental politics (UNDP, 2000). Thus, women's exclusion from decision making positions results in state institutions and policies that do not address gender inequalities and are accountable or responsive to women citizens thereby perpetuating women's political, social and economic marginalization.

2.3 International Protocols that Support Women Participation in Political Matters

Zambia is a state party to a number of international and regional instruments which guarantee the rights of women and gender equality and women's empowerment. These include, among others the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of Women (AU Protocol) as well as the Southern African Development Committee (SADC) Protocol on Gender.

According to the World Bank (2017) Zambia has the lowest proportion of seats held by women in the national parliament in sub-Saharan Africa. The low levels of female political representation in Zambia are considered to undermine the quality of the country's democracy.

2.4 Factors Affecting Political Participation of Women Globally

Lawless (2004), Atkeson (2003), and Koch (1997) emphasized on the impact of gender on political participation. They pointed out that the political participation of females has always been less than males. This was due to many reasons, such as women's political alienation and

their belief that their ability to make a political change is still weak, etc. Pyeatt and Yanus (2018) concluded that these reasons reflected the low and limited participation of women in political issues, political parties, and civil organizations. This, in turn, affected women's political aspirations and supported their sense of marginalization and lack of their equality with men.

Homana (2018), Pyeatt and Yanus (2018), Solt (2008), Atkeson (2003), Lawless and Fox (2001), Koch (1997), Brady *et al.* (1995), Cohen and Dawson (1993) discussed the factors affecting political participation. They concluded that the social and economic factors such as (gender, age, education, place of residence, family, tribal affiliation, unemployment, income, poverty, economic growth, social relationships, and regional affiliation) affected political participation. Political participation of females in most societies is less than that of males, not only in developing countries but also in developed countries. Fitzgerald (2013), Taft (2014) pointed out that women in American society are less engaged in politics than men. Similarly, in Britain, there is a gender gap in political participation. It would be interesting to note that according to statistics from the inter-parliamentary Union (2011), a total of nine Countries had no women in their national parliaments at all. These countries include Palau, Micronesia, Nauru, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, the Comolo Islands, Tuvalu, Oman, and Belize. Yemen had only one woman in a parliament of three hundred and one members.

2.5 Factors that Influence Women Participation in Political Affairs in Zambia

In order to identify the limitations and opportunities available for women participation in Kitwe political affairs, it is important to establish the nature of factors that impede women participation in Zambia's political system as a whole, Kitwe inclusive. It is asserted that specific barriers at the party, community and national levels constitute obstacles that hamper women's opportunities to actively engage and influence political platforms within parties, and more broadly the implementation of reforms aiming at advancing gender equality (UNESCO, 2008).

2.5.1 Social-Cultural factors

In Zambia, women continue to face prejudices as leaders because there is a cultural assumption that leadership is a masculine trait (Kunovich *et.al.*2007; Phiri, 2018). Women are considered subordinate to men both in the family and in the society especially in most rural areas. Many are reluctant to run for political office and if they seek office, they fail to attract sufficient party

and electoral support to win. Political life is organized by male norms, values, lifestyle and working patterns (Norris *et.al.* 2008).

2.5.2 Religious Factors

Religion is another arena where women's inferiority to men has long been used to exclude women from aspects of political life in the Zambian. The exclusion of women from religious institutions and leadership may have a negative impact on women's status in society and limit their opportunities in politics and public life (CSO, 2015). In most religions, power and authority is believed to divinely belong to men hence subjugating women (Kunovich *et.al.* 2007). Women are also seen to be their own enemies in their own political advancement and empowerment, especially when they internalize these long held anachronistic assumptions and perception that politics is a dirty game, thus a preserve game for men (Douglas, 2014).

2.5.3 Economic Factors

Lack of economic resources is one of the biggest obstacles that prevent women's participation in politics. Most women are financially dependent on their male partners or relatives to enter politics which poses hurdles for women to participate in politics in most developing nations like Zambia (Shvedova, 2002). Despite the increase in the number of women in paid employment, there additional work burden prevents them from having time to engage in politics.

2.5.4 Media Factors

Gender biases in media coverage continue to hinder women's chances of ascending to political positions in Africa and Zambia in particular. Women are often allocated less time and space in the media than their male counterparts and often times women in politics are subjected to a higher negative bias in coverage. In most cases, women politicians are covered less by the mass media than their male counterparts and events and issues of importance to women are not covered as much as other issues. Mass media also reinforces gender cultural stereotypes about the role of women which prevent women from engaging in politics.

2.5.5 Education Factors

Education has been seen as a way to emancipate women from all social, intellectual, and political barriers. This is because of the awareness and enlightenment it creates; it also stirs the

desire to be meaningful to society. Adedokun (1998) cited in Fapohunda (2009) attributed the poor participation of women in governance to their educational status. He believed that men are more educated than their female counterparts. Okpilike and Abamba (2004) referenced the result of a survey conducted by the National Planning Commission which revealed that 50% of women in Nigeria had no formal education; they concluded that 50% of women were automatically disqualified from contesting any appointive or elective position since formal education was a prerequisite for contesting for any position. This was similar to what is prevailing in Zambia today.

2.6 Increasing the Participation of Women in Politics

Genuine democracy cannot exist without the equal participation of men and women in politics (IPU, 2005). Democracy in its true sense means that a political system should have a fair and reflective system of representation in politics and decision making for the various segments of its population. This value has not received the requisite attention when it comes to parity between men and women in politics and decision-making. Excluding women from positions in politics and power weakens the development of democratic principles.

2.7 Trends in Women's Political Representation

The trend in terms of women's representation over the past decade has been one of gradual but steady progress (IPU, 2005:2). A survey of the world trends shows that there has been a definite increase in the number of women legislators generally in the world between the years 1995 and 2005 when focusing on the lower houses of parliament. According to statistics from the Inter-Parliamentary Union (2006), there was just less than 12% of women in parliament. The figure had steadily increased to approximately 16% by 2005. By February 2013 the figure had gone up to 20.8%. Although there is some progress being recorded, it is clear that the progress is not occurring at the desired rate.

2.8 Studies on the Extent of Women Participation in Political Affairs

Extent of women participation in political affairs is usually an indicator that explains whether women are stagnant in their participation or they are advancing. In the recent trends of politics, the philosophy which degrades the value of women has ended and it has been replaced with a new one that takes in account, and differently, the power of women in public life. This situation has led to the entry of western women into the political sphere and got them senior positions

for example, Rwanda and South Africa in Africa and Sweden in Europe (Dahlerup & Freidanvall, 2003; Goetz, 1998). Political participation for women varies from country to country and differs from one society to another depending on the social environment and the nature of the historical stage sometimes (Devlin & Robert, 2008). This was one significant thematic area this study wished to establish with regards to women participation in political affairs in Kitwe district of Zambia.

Kalinda and Chirwa (2015) conducted a study titled, “Women’s Participation in Key Decision-Making Institutions in Zambia: Case of Three Arms of Government: Legislature, Executive and the Judiciary”. The study looked at women participation in the judiciary, legislature and executive arms of the government since the introduction of democracy in the country at the time of independence in 1964. Evidence from the available literature indicated that women were under-represented in all the three arms of government except in the judiciary. This review indicated that there was need to achieve a 50 percent representation of women in all key areas of the country, politics inclusive. The Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) have been working hard through advocacy to have women promoted to key decision-making positions in government and should continue their work in order to attain equal participation between men and women in key decision-making positions not only in government but also in the private sector at all levels. The study concluded that, this was in the long run going to create a more equitable and just society for all. It was the contention of this study to establish whether the available sectors where women were participating well had culminated into their involvement in political affairs.

Evans (2013) conducted a study which sought to explore the causes and consequences of growing flexibility in gender divisions of labour in Kitwe, Zambia. It examined the relationship between four contemporary trends (1990-2011): Worsening economic security, growing flexibility in gender divisions of labour in the form of increasing female labour force participation and occupational desegregation, and the weakening of gender stereotypes. The evidence for these trends comes from census data, earlier ethnographies and this researcher’s own qualitative research (April 2010 – March 2011). It was a quantitative study. The study found out that worsening economic security led many families to sacrifice the social gains accrued by complying with cultural expectations of gender divisions of labour in exchange for the financial benefits of female labour force participation. But occupational desegregation is partly attributed to a prior rejection of gender stereotypes. Flexibility in gender divisions of labour seems to undermine gender stereotypes and related status inequalities, by enabling

exposure to a critical mass of women performing roles that they were previously presumed to be incapable and that are valorised because they were historically performed by men. This study by Evans highlighted gender stereotypes in wage labour employments in Kitwe district including the extent to which women participated, however, it did not investigate aspects of political participation by women. It was this gap that the current study wished to fill.

Another study by Evans (2015) examined the causes of women's rising political participation in Zambia. It argued that women's historical paucity in politics was largely the result of widely-shared gender stereotypes. These were weakening due to growing flexibility in gender divisions of labour, which had been catalysed by worsening economic security. By performing work previously presumed to be beyond their abilities and valorised because of its association with masculinity, such women were increasingly perceived as equally capable of leadership. This gradual erosion of gender beliefs has fostered women's political participation and leadership in Zambia.

2.9 Studies on the Factors Affecting Women Participation in Politics

Nsana and Kabubi (2018) conducted a study which sought to investigate the factors that affect women's political participation in Lusaka. The research design used was a descriptive survey method and the study used both primary and secondary data sources. The study employed a semi-structured questionnaire to collect data. The findings demonstrated that there existed a significant gender gap in the political participation of women in Lusaka and that factors affecting their effective participation were socioeconomic, political and cultural. The study therefore, recommended the economic empowerment of women, change of perception of people, equal representation in governance, support from everyone and stopping of discriminatory practices to ensure equal and full participation of women.

Matland (1998) finds that high-income countries with proportional representation tend to elect more women. However, this association does not hold for low and middle-income countries – such as Zambia (ibid; Fallon *et al.*, 2012). Moreover, cross-national, longitudinal studies suggest that changes in electoral laws (e.g. from majoritarian to proportional representation) are not sufficient to amplify female political participation over time (Paxton *et al.*, 2010; Roberts *et al.*, forthcoming). Therefore, while there may be a positive association at any one time, changing electoral systems does not amplify women's descriptive representation. Hence, we must look for other explanations.

Democratisation is said to be another factor that leads to either poor or good women participation in politics. This is associated with increased female representation over time (Fallon *et al.*, 2012). Greater freedoms of speech and assembly arguably spur women's political participation in Ghana and Zambia by lessening their fear to speak out (Fallon, 2008; Geisler, 2004: 154-156). Tripp (2001: 142-144) suggests that 'the shift from one-party to multiparty politics created favourable conditions for greater participation by sectors of society long marginalized under authoritarianism. The opening of new political space created 'new organisational opportunities', which women were able to seize upon given their 'long experience of working collectively' and increased donor support.

Another variable that determines women participation in politics is the one that concerns differences between individual men and women's socio-economic resources as gained through formal education and employment. These conceivably foster political participation and leadership by enabling engagement in formal and informal networks, providing politicising experiences (such as exposure to unions), as well as human, financial and social capital (Desposato and Norrande, 2008; Iversen and Rosenbluth, 2008; Ross, 2008; Schlozman *et al.*, 1999). This perspective emphasises supply-side constraints: women's paucity in politics results from their lesser share of resources. The hypothesis is that individual women who are employed (especially in full-time and high-level jobs) are more likely to engage politically. In Latin America, for example, women who work outside the home are more likely to discuss politics or demonstrate (Desposato and Norrande, 2008). However, the current study wished to establish the extent to which, the gender gap in political participation persisted in Kitwe district even when controlled for socio-economic characteristics. This underscored the need to explore further factors at play.

2.10 Perceived Research Gap

Various studies have been reviewed in relation to the study topic and none has investigated anything directly with regards to women participation in the political affairs of Kitwe district. For instance, a study by Nsana and Kabubi (2018) in its findings demonstrated that, there exists a significant gender gap in the political participation of women in Lusaka and that factors affecting their effective participation were socio-economic, political and cultural. All in all, the study merely gave a picture with regards to women associated challenges to participate in politics in Lusaka and did not investigate Kitwe. The study by Evans which looked at Kitwe women involvement in wage labour employment only focused on chances and challenges

which women had, it never focused on women participation in politics. It was thus, the contention of this study to establish whether the available sectors where women were participating well in Kitwe district would culminate into their involvement in political affairs. No studies had been done from the Copperbelt in particular Kitwe district, hence the need to carry out this study as the status quo of women participation in political affairs was not known at that time.

2.11 Summary

This chapter discussed the historical perspective with regards women participation in political affairs. It also discussed the concept of political participation in a more concise manner. Factors that hinder women participation in political affairs of Zambia were highlighted. Further, the chapter reviewed studies based on the extent of women participation in political affairs as well as studies on the challenges associated with women participation in political affairs. The next chapter discusses the methodology which guided data collection for this study.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Overview

This chapter will help to clearly address the questions that have been raised in this study by using qualitative methods to explore and gain a deeper knowledge of the issue of women's political participation. It will also provide the study site, population, sample size, data collection, instrument used, data analysis and the ethical consideration.

3.1 Research Design

Creswell (2012) states that a research design is the specific procedure employed in carrying out a research process. It involves the collection of data, data analysis and report writing. Chola (2016) also contends that a research design is a frame work in the whole process of research aimed at pointing the researcher in the direction of that research.

The study adopted a qualitative research approach, which is the most suited method based on the research objectives. Creswell (2007) elucidates that qualitative research is conducted when people need to be empowered to share their stories or make their voices heard. Qualitative methods are usually selected when the researcher's intent is to describe and understand a complex phenomenon from the perspective of the participants.

According to Astalin (2013) qualitative research is an umbrella term for a broad range of different approaches and methods which vary considerably in terms of focus, assumption about the nature of knowledge and the role of the researcher. Therefore, the purpose of choosing a qualitative method for this study was because the method would create an in-depth knowledge and give more clarification about the topic of discussion.

The study adopted a Descriptive Research Design. A Descriptive research design is a process through which the researcher finds solutions to fundamental questions like the 'what', 'who' and the 'where' to this effect the study will take a qualitative approach by analysing both the Primary and Secondary data. This is the design which was applied to show the clear political participation of women in Kitwe district.

3.2 Study Site

The research was conducted in Kitwe, a town on the Copperbelt Province of Zambia.

3.3 Target Population

Aday and Cornelius (2006), explain that, study population refers to a group to which information is desired and to which one wishes to make inferences. That is to say, study population consists of all the members of the hypothetical set of people, events or objects to which generalization of the research study could be made. For this study, the population was drawn from Kitwe district.

3.4 Sample Size

According to Kulbir (2006), a sample is a small proportion of a population selected for observation and analysis. It can also be said to be the number of participants selected from the universe population to constitute a desired number of participants needed for the study. Dhlamini (2012) argues that the primary purpose of sampling is not to establish a random or representative sample drawn from a population but rather to identify specific groups of people who either possess similar characteristics or live in the circumstances relevant to the phenomenon being studied. The study sample comprised 30 respondents. This was broken down as follows: 5 women from Women's Lobby Group and 25 women from political parties.

3.5 Sampling Procedure

Sampling refers to a process of selecting a number of individuals or objectives from a population such that the selected group contains elements representative of the characteristics found in the entire group (Orodho and Kombo. 2002). It is also said that, sampling techniques are procedures that are used by a researcher to gather people, places or things to study. This study employed purposive sampling technique when sampling all participants; women from Women Lobby Group, political parties and local women organizations because purposive sampling leads to having a sample of rich informants with regards to information for the study. As Kasonde-Ng'andu (2013) puts it, purposive sampling refers to the selection of a group of people believed to be reliable for the study because of the rich information they possess.

3.5.1 Sampling of Women from Women Lobby Organization

The researcher targeted the Women's Lobby Group to sample respondents as this organization centred on handling women affairs and support women in leadership. Therefore, purposive sampling procedures were used to sample respondents from this organization. These included; programme coordinators, women mentors, as well as the political focal personnel.

3.5.2 Sampling of Women from Political Parties

Women from political parties were purposively sampled too. Chair ladies of branches, women sitting on women desks were sampled too. These were key informants with regards to their engagement with women issues in political and personal endeavours.

3.6 Data Collection Instruments

Kasonde-Ng'andu (2013) defines data collection instruments as tools that help the researcher to collect necessary information from participants. In order to collect appropriate data for this study three instruments were employed. These were; semi-structured interview guides, focus group discussion guide, and document review check list.

3.6.1 Semi-Structured Interview Guide for Leaders of Women Organizations and Political Parties

Data from chairpersons and branch women leaders was collected through the administration of semi-structured interview guides. Kombo (2007) and Hambulo (2016), assert that an interview is a conversation or interaction between the researcher and the research respondents. Interviews are an effective way of collecting data because they involve a one to one contact with the subject. This facilitates capturing of data from many respondents. Amin (2004) adds that interviews have the strength to limit inconsistencies and also save time as they bring the researcher and interviewee face to face.

3.6.2 Focus Group Discussion Guide for Women Members

In order to collect data from women members of the above-mentioned organizations, the researcher engaged the sampled respondents in Focus Group Discussion sessions. The women engaged were individuals with different characteristics with varying aspirations for political affairs engagement.

3.6.3 Document Review Guide

In order to collect data within these political parties with regards to the number of women who participated in political affairs as well as the total number of women in the organization, document review checklist template was prepared to collect statistics as well as the information available with regards to women participation and the extent of participation.

3.7 Credibility, Dependability and Transferability

There was need to ensure credibility, dependability and transferability of the findings generated in this study. Morse, Barrett, Mayan, Olson, and Spiers (2002) assert that without rigor, research is worthless, becomes fiction, and loses its utility. Hence, a great deal of attention is applied to reliability and validity in all research methods. In this type of study, the concern was with regards to issues of credibility, dependability, and transferability; it being a qualitative study. Bryman (2012) states that the significance of this stress on multiple accounts of social reality is especially evident in the trustworthiness criterion of credibility. After all, if there are several possible accounts of an aspect of social reality, it is the feasibility or credibility of the account that a researcher arrives at that is cardinal. Credibility helps to determine dependability, transferability and acceptability of the account arrived at in research. To ensure credibility there was prolonged stay in the field in order to gain a better understanding of the phenomenon under investigation. The researcher indeed stayed long in touch with the women involved in politics.

Reliability is defined by Fraenkel and Wallen (1993) as the consistency of an instrument to yield the same results at different times. Other scholars like Mugenda and Mugenda (1999) define reliability as a measure of the degree to which a research instrument yields consistent results or data after repeated trials. In research, reliability deals with how trustworthy the research instruments are in order to produce reliable findings. The most common way of measuring reliability is piloting. A pilot study was conducted before the main research. Bell (1993) highlights that piloting is one way of checking reliability of instruments. In this respect, the researcher conducted a pilot study in order to pre-test the interview guide and focus group discussion guides. This helped in ensuring reliability of the instrument and ensured it measured the variables intended for the study. Difficult questions to answer and the unanswered ones were modified to make them answerable. Use of mentioned varied instruments resulted in data triangulation, which in itself validated the findings of the study by either confirming or rectifying data sought through different instruments. Reliability of the instruments was also

determined by establishing ambiguities in the items and whether the instruments were eliciting the type of data anticipated and also if the type of data desired was meaningfully analysed in relation to the research questions. Necessary changes to the instruments were made in order to collect the required data for the questions. The next section outlines the ethical considerations.

3.8 Data Collection Procedures

Data collection procedure refers to the process through which data is collected from the respondents through the use of necessary instruments (Kombo and Tromp, 2002).

3.8.1 Procedure of Data Collection from Leaders of Women Organizations and Political Parties

The researcher engaged them in one-to-one interviews. The researcher also used voice recorders to store the conversations. Further, interviews were based on structured questions as well as through the skill of probing based on unforeseen new raised issues by the respondents.

3.8.2 Procedures of Data Collection from Women Members of Political Parties

Women members of political parties were engaged in focus group discussions. This was used as a tool to collect data in one sitting from more than 5 individuals with vast and possible varying experiences. The researcher used a voice recorder alongside recording of responses from the respondents. The researcher used probing skills until saturation of responses was reached.

3.8.3 Procedure of Data Collection from Documents

The researcher used a document review checklist to collect information with regards to the template's guidelines. This data was confirmed if available and remarks were made with regards the status quo.

3.9 Data Analysis Procedure

Data analysis is the critical examination and scrutiny of the coded data in order to make deductions and inferences, (Kombo and Tromp, 2006). This activity involves uncovering underlying structures; extracting important variables, detecting any anomalies and testing any underlying assumptions. Therefore, data analysis is a mechanism for reducing and organising data to produce findings that require interpretation. Data from audio recorders, interviews were

transcribed having read text files and listened to the tape recorders thoroughly for a general understanding. Common themes were then identified and clustered to categorise the data. Relevant information was labelled and grouped according to categories.

3.9.1 Data Analysis from Interviews and Focus Group Discussions

Data from interviews was packaged according to common themes then they were analysed in relation to available literature and the theory that informed this study.

3.9.2 Data Analysis from Document Review Guide

Data from document review guide was first of all analysed using content analysis. This was done in such a way that, the researcher used the document review template and confirmed the availability of a particular expected content in the documents of the women organization. Then a quantitative summative total of information was generated using frequencies of distributive statistics to give descriptions of information present and missing in women organizations.

3.10 Ethical Consideration

Ethical considerations are a set of principles about how researchers should conduct themselves when dealing with research participants (Kombo and Tromp, 2006). It is for this and other reasons that ethical considerations are relevant in research. Other reasons are that ethical considerations ensure respect and make sure no harm is caused to the participants. Ethical considerations also show a sign of respect for other researchers and those who will use the research (Kombo and Tromp, 2006). However, failing to conduct research ethically could be embarrassing or result in the research or the researcher being dismissed or rejected by the research community.

To this effect, the researcher put into place the following ethical considerations; before going to Women Organizations and Political Parties to collect the needed information for the study, permission was sought from the relevant authorities. This included; approval of data collection from the University of Zambia – Zimbabwe Open University Post Graduate Dean with an authority letter to collect data from Women Organizations and Political Parties in Kitwe district. Then authority was sought from the Head Offices of Women Organizations and Political Parties of Kitwe district in order to be allowed to conduct a study in their organizations. Further, the participants were given an informed consent form before they took part meaning that they were to know exactly what they were asked to do, and what the risks

and benefits were, before they agreed to take part. The participants were informed of exactly who the researcher was, where the researcher was coming from and what the researcher was doing. Furthermore, the participants were assured that the data they would give would be made anonymous; this means that the participant's names were removed in order to protect their identity as well as the names of the political parties were to be cited using codes and not their actual names. The information collected was treated with confidentiality as proposed by Kombo and Tromp, (2006). The participants were assured that they would be protected as the research was purely for academic purposes.

3.11 Summary

The chapter presented information on the methodology which this research used. The research applied a Descriptive Study Design with qualitative bias. Research site, study population and sample size were also presented. The chapter further explained the sampling procedure, data collection instruments and the method of data analysis. The chapter further discussed the process of data collection, validity and reliability of data collection instruments as well as ethical procedures.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

4.0 Overview

This chapter presents the findings of the study obtained during data collection. The findings are presented in thematic areas. The themes emerged from the responses given by the respondents. However, the themes are guided by the objectives of this study.

4.1 Demographics of Participants

Some demographics of participants were taken. These demographics included; level of education, nationality of parentage and authenticity of membership. These were taken as consideration of eligibility of women and men alike in political participation.

4.1.1 Level of Education

Level of education was investigated in form of a census through questionnaires which were distributed to the female participants. Table one below shows the results.

Table 2: Level of Education of Participants

S/N	LEVEL OF EDUCATION	FREQUENCY OF WOMEN	PERCENT%
1	Primary school level (Grades1-7)	2	8%
2	Junior secondary school level (8-9)	5	20%
3	High school level (Grades 10-12)	10	40%
4	Skills certificate level	3	12%
5	Diploma level	5	20%
6	Degree level	0	0
7	Masters level	0	0
8	PhD level	0	0
	TOTAL	25	100%

Table 1 above shows the education levels of women in politics in Kitwe district and their corresponding percent. Those with primary education level (Grade 1-7) were 2 representing

8% of the respondents. Those with junior secondary (Grade 8-9) school level were 5 representing 20% of respondents. Then those who had high school qualification were 10 in total representing 40%. There were also three (3) who had skills certificates and five (5) had attained a diploma representing 12% and 20%, respectively. The table shows that women had varying education levels in the political parties of Kitwe district.

4.1.2 Nationality of Parents of Women in Politics

The nationality of parentage of the women participants was investigated as well. it was imperative to establish the parentage of the women in politics as a way of declaring their eligibility as the Zambian constitution requires that one whose parents were born in Zambia qualifies to contest for any political position as such a one was deemed eligible. The table below shows findings of the nationality of parents of the women who participated in the study.

Table 3: Nationality of Parents of the Women in Politics

S/N	NATIONALITY OF PARENTS OF WOMEN IN POLITICS	FREQUENCY	PERCENT%
1	Zambian	25	100
2	Non-Zambian	0	100
	TOTAL	25	100%

Table 3 above shows that all of the women in politics in Kitwe their parents were Zambian. This showed that they were all having traceable parentage locally.

4.1.3 Authenticity of Membership

Census was also conducted on the validity and bonafide nature of women to the parties they allegedly belonged to. This was in a bid to establish evidence which women had as symbols of identity of belonging to the political parties they claimed. Table 4 below reveals the authenticity data.

Table 4: Authenticity of membership

S/N	NATURE OF AUTHENTICITY OF MEMBERSHIP	FREQUENCY	PERCENT%
1	Holder of a party membership card	8	32%
2	Nominated member	0	0
3	General member without card	17	68%
4	Affiliate member	0	0
	TOTAL	25	100%

Source: Field data during focus group discussion (2022)

Table 4 shows that there were 8 women participants in the study who were holders of party membership cards. Then there were 17 women in the study who were general members without party cards. The above data shows that officially the 8 were formally recognized while the 17 relied on their general familiarity and automatic belonging.

4.2 Women Participation in Politics

Women participation in politics was a question that the researcher needed to be answered in terms of the following areas of participation; the roles women played in the political party, the positions women held in the party, women participation in party public activities. Also asked was women participation in party affairs and lastly, the nature of women influence in the parties. To answer the questions, 25 women from 5 different political parties were engaged in focus group discussions within their parties. Various responses were given with regards the thematic areas of concern. Below are the verbatim of women in focus group discussions.

4.2.1 Women Mobilization Staff

Women were asked questions on the specific roles they played in the political parties they belonged to. They indicated that they were involved in various roles. Some indicated that they played roles as women mobilization staff. Two women had this to say:

“In our party women have been given various roles to play. Among them is the women mobilization role. Since we know well

what our fellow women want in terms of their needs, we go to them and mobilize them by addressing their needs and how our party wishes to address them”.

The verbatim above indicates that women were involved in mobilization activities at party level.

4.2.2 Representative on Women Desk of the Party

Representation at women desks of the political parties was another area where women participated in politics at party level. This was one area many women involved in the focus group discussions brought out. The women identified themselves with positions they held in their parties. Many stated that they were representatives on women desks of their fellow women.

Women respondent from political Party ‘A’ said:

Women desks were popular in almost every committee of the party. This was one area/responsibility that was charged to us women to represent our fellow women’s issues.

Another woman from another party who was a sitting representative on women’s desk in her party said that from the time the position was created women who have sat on it have really executed the work better than ever before. She said:

Woman respondent from political Party “C” said:

I have seen women execute their roles well on this desk. My predecessor did well. I am executing timely and responsive services. This desk makes women’s presence in the party recognised and appreciated.

4.3 Hindering Factors of Women Political Participation in Contemporary Kitwe Politics

Women in focus groups as well as those interviewed shared a number of issues that they felt were a hindrance to women participation in politics. Table 5 below contains the thematic areas that women referred to as aspects that were a huge hindrance of women from participating in party politics:

Table 5: Factors hindering women participation in political parties of Kitwe

S/N	HINDERING FACTORS	FREQUENCY OF RESPONDENTS
1	Hindrance by male counterparts	All of the 25 women refereed to this variable
2	Hindrance by socio-cultural stereotypes	12 women pointed at this variable
3	Hindrance influence by family members	17 women pointed at this variable
4	Hindrance caused by limited financial resources	All of the 25 women pointed at this variable

Source: Field data collected from responses of women during focus group discussions (2022)

Women stated a number of hindering variables as presented on Table 5 above. Various specific statements were highlighted by women under the question of what hindered women from participating in political affairs? Below are the verbatims:

4.3.1 Hindrance by Male Counterparts

Hindrance from taking part in political affairs by male folks was one aspect that women pointed out. They said that hindrance was in form of underrating and undermining. Men were cited to doubt the calibre of most women members. Thus, women had a challenge to prove their worth. This was one of the major factor's women cited.

Women respondent 1 from Party "C"

"In politics, men who are the dominating gender, sometimes come to doubt and fight women by ways of not supporting them. We end up seeing them as hindrance especially when a position is to be competed for between a man and a woman. Usually, women are side-lined and worse off not supported by men."

Another woman added on a different view point how women were side-lined and disadvantaged by men. She said:

Woman respondent 4 from party “D”

“Men see women as their rivals. Most of the times during meetings this rivalry is exhibited by men simply because they do not want to see women take up leadership positions that women assume them to be subordinates to women.”

4.3.2 Hindrance by Socio-Cultural Stereotypes

Social cultural stereotypes side-line women from participating in politics and public activities. Women are believed to be individuals who are not supposed to participate in politics but should be home to take care of children and family. Thus, these stereotypes were said to be another huge hindrance to women participation in politics. Kitwe women in politics bemoaned the presence of socio-cultural stereotypes in their community as a draw back. They said that most of the women involved in politics were labelled and cited as flirts who were only chasing after men and were being used by men in return for financial gain. This is what one woman shared:

Woman respondent 7 from Party “D”

“We still live in a time when women participation in politics has not yet been accepted by the wider society. Women are still perceived as individuals who belong to the kitchen and need to be home to take care of the family, which should not be the case in this era especially. It is these stereotypes that keep deterring us from participating openly in politics because our images are tainted and we in return retreat to protect them.”

Another woman added that UN regulations of having women representation in parliament according to the threshold of 35% requires men and the general society to support women in parliament and correct the social stereotypes. She said:

“According to the UN women representation threshold requirement of 50% against men in parliament is one of the theories that needs to be used to address the misconceptions and stereotypes that society has held for a longer time about the place of women. If women are not represented then who is going

to represent them? It will still take a woman to stand up boldly and represent.”

4.3.3 Hindrance Influenced by Family Members

Some family members were cited as a hindrance to some women from participating in politics. In as much as family is supposed to unite and support one another, some families are not ready to do so especially when the career direction of one of them is politics. This becomes the easiest way to derail focus when one’s own family members decide to stand in the way for their own. One woman shared her experience saying:

“I have been brought up believing that family support is the best support ever one can receive in the world as these are people who are very close to you. Therefore, this needs to translate into support of a loved one who is involved in politics. Politics is a career and a means of a livelihood for some. Therefore, once family support is positive women would fight on and participate in politics knowing that after a stressful day family would embrace them and encourage them to go on.”

4.3.4 Hindrance Caused by Limited Financial Resources

Financial resources are one of the most significant aspects that women in politics need to have or they would not manage to sustain their ambition. Women interviewed and those engaged in the focus group discussions indicated that limited financial resources were a hindrance to active participation in politics in Kitwe district. Since politics were already dominated by men, these were already having an upper hand in terms of sourcing for finances to support their politics. Limited finances were indeed an outcry of women who had the ambition for politics but lacked financial resources. One of the interviewed women from Women Lobby Group said:

“As a provincial leader of our women organization that is concerned with women plight and women support in leadership positions we have time and again engaged ourselves in supporting fellow women to raise funds for their political engagements. We have been on record of sponsoring some women to contest on parliamentary positions here in Kitwe. We have been in the forefront

lobbying for their finances. This calls to show that women are indeed struggling financially and this becomes a drawback for their participation in politics.”

Table 5 as previously alluded to and the verbatim given by women have shown that women are ready to participate in politics but the bottlenecks on the way are too many to thrive through smoothly.

4.4 Strategies to Empower Women Participation in Active Politics

The research wished to establish the strategies that political parties and women organization put in place to ensure that women space of participation is widened and more women join. Interviews and focus group discussions were used for data collection as well as document review check list. The table below presents the common responses that were given by different leadership of political parties involved in the study as potential strategies.

Table 6: Strategies for empowering women participation in active politics

S/N	STRATEGY	FREQUENCY OF RESPONDENTS
1	Lobby support from male politicians	30 respondents referred to this
2	Increase support from fellow women	All 30 respondents said
3	Introduce deliberate policies of empowering women with positions of responsibility in political parties	25 respondents from political parties alluded to this
4	Championing the UN women/men threshold representation in parliament	25 respondents from political parties alluded to this
5	Appointments be premised on gender equality	30 respondents refereed to this
6	Gender stereotypes to be suppressed within the party	25 respondents said so

Source: Field data through interview responses by study participants (2022)

The data in the table above shows the strategies that were suggested by women in politics and non-governmental organization representatives as factors that might encourage women participation in politics. This is what they said:

Woman respondent from non-governmental organization

“For us to see change and mind-set transformation, strategies have to be put in place for example, there is need to lobby for male support to rally behind in politics. By so doing those men who are still adamant about the potential of women in leadership positions and political positions alike would begin introspecting and eventually see the need to do so.”

Another female respondent from one of the political parties also emphasized the 50/50 threshold to be attained through women support. She said:

Woman respondent from Political Party “B”

“It is no mistake for the 50/50 threshold representation in parliament to be called for by UN and other regional bodies. It is because they have realised the need to have women placed in influential positions. It is the competency and the nature of women of being caregivers that translates into them being leaders with an affective attitude and responsive to needs and plight of society at large.”

The data on the Table 6 and the verbatim clearly present the need to hurriedly have these strategies evolved for women to begin flooding the political space. Which would indeed come with an impact in the long run.

4.5 Summary

The chapter presented findings of various concerns. The findings were presented in thematic areas as derived from objectives of the study. The findings were also presented in tables and verbatim. The next chapter presents the discussion of findings.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

5.0 Overview

This chapter discusses the results of the study. The discussions are based on the responses as presented in chapter four under themes. All the three objectives that guided this study are addressed and the results are discussed in relation to the available literature on similar studies and in conformity with the theory that guided this study.

5.1 Women Participation in Politics

The concept of women's political participation is not just about occupying positions of leadership but that meaningful political participation requires a broader definition of politics which extends beyond the institutional boundaries of the party-state to other domains of social and economic life. As stated by the United Nations Development Programme, political participation ranges from the home, through the locality, to the national level. This implies that women need to participate at the micro level of the home, the meso level of community organizations and local government and at the macro level of national party, parliamentary and governmental politics (UNDP, 2000).

In this study, it was revealed that the roles women play in the political parties in Kitwe is not limited to positions within the party and that women participate in party public activities, party internal affairs and lastly, their participation is not passive but has an influence in the party's circles. Thus, women's exclusion from decision making positions results in state institutions and policies that do not address gender inequalities and are accountable or responsive to women citizens thereby perpetuating women's political, social and economic marginalization.

Zambia is a state party to a number of international and regional instruments which guarantee the rights of women and gender equality and women's empowerment. These include, among others the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of Women (AU Protocol) as well as the Southern African Development Committee (SADC) Protocol on Gender. The results of the study have shown that to some extent, political parties in Kitwe district were gradually recognizing these bearings of gender equality by creating women's desks and positions within their parties for women to occupy.

Women support to participate in politics needs to be every political party's song in order to change the narration of the status quo as found trending among Kitwe political parties which confirm the World Bank (2017) report that Zambia has the lowest proportion of seats held by women in the national parliament in Sub-Saharan Africa. The low levels of female political representation in Zambia are considered to undermine the quality of the country's democracy. The study by Kalinda and Chirwa (2015) on establishing Women's Participation in Key Decision-Making Institutions in Zambia in the Three Arms of Government: Legislature, Executive and the Judiciary, indicated that there was need to achieve a 50 percent representation of women in all key areas of the country, politics inclusive.

5.2 Hindering Factors of Women Political Participation in Contemporary Politics

The passage of the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and other international clarion have laid the foundation for the emergence of women's participation in politics. In Zambia, women's political participation is not proportional to the 50% of the country's population which women represent, thereby not translating into equal representation in political leadership positions (Nsama and Kabubi, 2018). According to the results of this study, what was obtaining on the ground would make Kitwe district to fail to contribute to the 50% women representation in parliament. The study found that a number of factors acted as hindrances for women to fully participate in politics. The subsequent passages below discuss these factors.

Firstly, socio-cultural stereotypes label women as individuals who belong to the kitchen and in the homes to take care of family. Tradition instructs women to follow men in public and not to lead (Zambia National Women's Lobby, 2001). Thus, any woman who tries to enter into politics faces all forms of discrimination. Another study by Evans (2015) examined the causes of women's rising political participation in Zambia. It argued that women's historical paucity in politics was largely the result of widely-shared gender stereotypes. Therefore, women who showed up in political arenas were judged as cultural misfits by society. Thus, attaching socio-cultural stereotypes to politics and how women in politics are perceived acts as a drawback to most women with a genuine agenda to represent fellow women issues.

In Zambia, women continue to face prejudices as leaders because there is a cultural assumption that leadership is a masculine trait (Kunovich *et.al.*2007; Phiri, 2018). Women are considered subordinate to men both in the family and in the society especially in most rural areas. Many are reluctant to run for political office and if they seek office, they fail to attract sufficient party

and electoral support to win. Political life is organized by male norms, values, lifestyle and working patterns (Norris *et.al.* 2008). Thus, the study by Mundende (2019) confirms the results of this study when he found out that society defined women's traditional roles during times that women did not play a role in public life and that it is high time the same society redefined those roles to suit the modern times, including roles women can play in masculine dominated areas. These sentiments were weakening due to growing flexibility in gender divisions of labour, which had been catalysed by worsening economic security. By performing work previously presumed to be beyond their abilities and valourised because of its association with masculinity, such women are increasingly perceived as equally capable of leadership. This gradual erosion of gender beliefs has fostered women's political participation and leadership in Zambia. Women are marginalized in national and local politics. Traditional values speak more when it comes to women's participation in politics and everyone sees politics as man's game.

Religious factors also contribute to low women participation in politics. Religion is another arena where women's inferiority to men has long been used to exclude them from aspects of political life in the Zambian political arena. The exclusion of women from religious institutions and leadership may have a negative impact on women's status in society and limit their opportunities in politics and public life (CSO, 2015). The results of our study showed that a non-religious body or group came to the support of women who showed interest to contest in political activities. The study revealed that in Kitwe only non-governmental organizations played instrumental roles in helping women compete favourably in political space such as the Women Lobby Organization. The religious sector has been silent when women cry out for help. This is because in most religions, power and authority is believed to divinely belong to men hence subjugating women (Kunovich *et.al.* 2007). Women are also seen to be their own enemies in their own political advancement and empowerment especially when they internalize these long held anachronistic assumptions and perception that politics is a dirty game, thus a preserve game for men (Douglas, 2014).

The aforementioned religious shades should be addressed and corrected. In fact, the church needs to empower women who stand up for others in form of moral support, material support because even biblically, it was always women who would show up to comfort men and society that experienced trouble and misery. In the modern time, the area women can be equated to politics which if left unchecked some greedy men would starve communities whilst if it were

a woman holding on to some position she would comfort the community by being available and showing concern genuinely.

On lack of economic resources by women in Kitwe political parties, this factor served as a major drawback especially for those women who literary had nowhere to source for funds. This finding, synergises with the findings of Shvedova (2002) who found out that most women are financially dependent on their male partners or relatives to enter politics which poses hurdles for them to participate in politics in most developing nations like Zambia. Despite the increase in the number of women in paid employment, there additional work burden prevents them from having time to engage in politics. This leaves out those who have time and are jobless to pursue politics.

Media factors are also another known hindrance to women political life in Kitwe district of Zambia. It was found out that gender biases in media coverage continue to hinder women's chances of ascending to political positions in Africa and Zambia in particular (Kapula, 2019). Women are often allocated less time and space in the media than their male counterparts and often times women in politics would be subjected to a higher negative bias in coverage of their political agenda. Women interviewed in this study explained that, in most cases, women politicians were covered less by the mass media than their male counterparts and events and issues of importance to women were not covered as much as other issues. That is why Chilisa and Ntseane (2010) argue that mass media has a way it reinforces gender cultural stereotypes about the role of women which prevent women from engaging in politics. This indeed was said by most women who refrained from constantly going to the media for fear of their statements being misrepresented and labelled.

5.3 Strategies to Empower Women Participation in Active Politics

Across Africa, many countries have taken initiatives to increase women's participation in governance and other decision-making bodies. In the past decades, participation of women in governance across the continent has increased tremendously (Burnet, 2008; Chilisa & Ntseane, 2010). This study revealed that political parties in Kitwe resolved to empower women to participate in politics through various strategies.

On lobbying for male counterpart support, the women holding leadership positions in Kitwe political parties were on record suggesting lobbying for male politicians' support. Men indeed have to be brought on board to support women agenda and leadership aspirations. As it is

known that in recent political times, the philosophy which degrades the value of women has ended and has been replaced with a new one that takes in account, and differently, the power of women in public life. This situation has led to the entry of western women into the political sphere and has gotten them senior positions for example, Rwanda and South Africa in Africa and Sweden in Europe (Dahlerup & Freidanvall, 2003; Goetz, 1998). In as much as political participation for women varies from country to country, and differs from one society to another depending on the social environment and the nature of the historical stage sometimes, Zambian politics is still far from the tenets that embrace women in leadership positions almost automatically because we exist in a global village in which ideas can be borrowed and learnt from countries that are already embracing working tenets.

Use of women organizations to champion women support in politics is another strategy that women in political parties are utilizing. A good number of women's organizations are greatly involved in advocacy work in the country. For example, Forum for African Women Educationalist in Zambia (FAWEZA), Women and Law in Southern Africa (WLSA), Women for Change, Campaign for Female Education (CAMFED), Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), have continued to perform commendable work to uplift the girls' and women's position and economic status in society (Milimo *et al.*, 2008). The Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) have been working hard through advocacy to have women promoted to key decision-making positions in government and should continue their work in order to attain equal participation between men and women in key decision making positions.

Mwale (2012) posits that women's organizations have greater space in which to maneuver and advocate for women's rights than many other civil society organizations, especially local human rights or indigenous rights organizations. In this study, the Women's Lobby Group members who participated as respondents revealed that their organization supported women in politics financially and lobbied on their behalf for financial support from well-wishers. This greatly showed that women in politics in Zambia have a solid support system created by their fellow women. Such strides made by the Women's Lobby organization must continue and be emulated by ordinary women in communities in order to assure their colleagues who are competing with men for political space, support to feel encouraged.

On championing the UN 50/50 threshold gender representation most women participants in the study cited it as a way out for society and the general political space to be aware. Zambia has made strides in increasing the representation of women albeit with challenges (UNICEF, 2008).

There is need to continue championing international causes for women representation in parliament and leadership positions. Such crusades are the only ones that would amplify the voices of millions of women and shield them with a guarantee of being acknowledged and supported by people at a wider political stage.

5.4 Summary

The chapter discussed the results of the study as presented in Chapter Four. Discussions proceeded in thematic areas as outlined in chapter four. All the three objectives of the study were addressed. The next chapter presents the conclusion and the recommendations for the study.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.0 Overview

This chapter presents the conclusion and the recommendation of the study as presented and discussed in chapters four and five, respectively. It also presents potential areas of future studies around the same topic in varying parameters.

6.1 Conclusion (s) of the study

The study raised a lot of issues in chapter four. The reality on women participation in politics in Kitwe district leaves much to be desired. Among the areas explored include; the nature of women participation in politics, hindrances women face in their quest to participate in politics as well as the strategies that might be employed to empower women to participate equally. Below are the conclusions that this study drew:

With regards to the nature of women participation in politics, the study concluded that Women's political participation in as much as it is not just about occupying positions of leadership and involvement with their voices, for Kitwe politics, women are limited to sitting on the women's desk and ascribe to leadership roles that delineate them to looking into women related affairs and not the mainstream party affairs. This in itself is a replica of the ordinary roles of women in homes, that of their presence being around issues of home maintenance and childcare and family feeding responsibility. Women in Kitwe politics are still in the periphery when it comes to influencing policy and programmes.

Secondly, on the aspect of factors that hinder women from participating in active politics, the study concluded that financial resources, sociocultural stereotypes and lack of male support were a triad of hindrances. These factors gave men advantage to dominate as the majority were working classes and managed business from which they drew resources for their participation. To this end, women can do well if they form cooperatives and conglomerates of themselves as a pool of resources to back up their agendas.

Lastly, on the strategies that empowered women's participation in politics, the study concluded that mindset change through championing the 50/50 representation cause by UN and other regional organizations was the basis to seek women support and participation in politics in

Kitwe. These crusades would transcend across corners of society and begin loosening chains of socio-cultural stereotypes that held the minds of people crude against women participation in politics. By so doing the natural change would manifest and every other thought of strategy would become secondary.

6.2 Recommendations of the study

From the forgoing, the problem of women misrepresentation and limited participation can be further addressed by the following recommendations:

There is need to extend barriers advocacy and add the voices of the church alongside those of women organizations for this battle to begin spreading. The church is on record of being mute and acts as a silent agent of women hindrance to participating in politics.

There is need for political parties to be true to the 50/50 representation at all levels. When the parties recognise and subscribe to this proposal, then the women would be assured of internal support. This is the support that would ensure other women supporters to strongly rally behind their fellow women in competing for political positions.

On the strategies that have been addressed in this study and other studies on the similar subject, it is high time implementation plans were drawn for the execution to take off. The more delays take shape, the more the steps taken would be retrogressing and return to the traditional way of running male dominated politics.

6.3 Proposals for Future Studies

In order to ensure that the recommendations reach fruition, future studies might need to make follow ups on how political parties in Kitwe and elsewhere are responding to these recommendations. To this effect, the following proposed study areas might be developed and explored:

1. Exploring efficacy of implementation plans of strategies of empowering women participation among political parties in Kitwe district.
2. Attaining the 50/50 representation parity in politics: Exploring quality of strategies of actualising it among political parties in Kitwe district.
3. Women organization in support of women in politics motivation and its effect on society's mind-set change in Kitwe district of Zambia.

REFERENCES

- Afolabi, A. A., & Lanre, A. (Eds.) (2003). *Gender Audit – 2003 election and issues in Women’s Political Participation in Nigeria*. A publication of Women Advocates Research and Documentation Centre (WARDC).
- Atkeson, L.R. (2003), “Not all cues are created equal: the conditional impact of female candidates on political engagement”, *Journal of Politics*, Vol. 65 No. 4, pp. 1040-1061.
- Brady, H.E., Verba, S. and Schlozman, K.L. (1995), “Beyond SES: a resource model of political participation”, *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 89 No. 2, pp. 271-294.
- Burnet, J.E. (2008). *Gender Balance and Meanings of Women in Governance in Post Genocide Rwanda*. *African Affairs*, 107/428, 361-386
- Chilisa, B. & Ntseane, G. (2010). *Resiting Dominant Discourse: Implications of Indigenous, African Feminist Theory and Methods*. *Gender and Education Research* 22(6), pp617-632
- Coffe, H. and Bolzendahl, C. (2010) ‘Gender gaps in political participation across Sub-Saharan African nations’, *Social Indicators Research* 102(2): 245-264
- Cohen, C.J. and Dawson, M.C. (1993), “Neighborhood poverty and AfricanAmerican politics”, *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 87 No. 2, pp. 286-302.
- Creswell, J. W. (2007). *Qualitative Inquiry & Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches*, London: Sage Publications.
- CSO (1996) *Gender Statistical Bulletin*, Central statistical office, Lusaka: CSO Publication
- CSO (2010a) *Gender Statistics Report*, Lusaka: Cabinet Office Publication.
- CSO (2010) *Selected Social Economic Indicators 2010*, Lusaka, CSO Publication.
- Dahlerup, D. & Freidanvall, L 2003. Quotas as a ‘Fast Track’ to Equal Representation of women. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*.

- Desposato, S and B. Norrande (2008) 'The gender gap in Latin America: contextual and individual influences on gender and political participation', *British Journal of Political Science*, 39(1): 141-162.
- Evans, A. (2014). "'Women Can Do What Men Can Do': The Causes and Consequences of Flexibility in Gender Divisions of Labour in Kitwe, Zambia'. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 40(5): 991-8.
- Evans, A. (2015a). 'Gender Sensitisation in the Zambian Copperbelt'. *Geoforum*, 59: 12-20.
- Evans, A. (2015b). 'History Lessons for Gender Equality from the Zambian Copperbelt, 1900- 1990'. *Gender, Place & Culture*, 22(3): 344-62.
- Fallon, K. M. (2008) *Democracy and the Rise of Women's Movements*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.
- Fallon, K. M., L. Swiss and J. Viterna (2012) 'Resolving the democracy paradox: democratization and women's legislative representation in developing nations, 1975 to 2009', *American Sociological Review* 77(3): 380-408.
- Fitzgerald, J., 2013. What does "Political" mean to you? *Political Behaviour*, 35(3), pp.453-479.
- Geisler, G. (2004) *Women and the Remaking of Politics in Southern Africa: Negotiating Autonomy, Incorporation and Representation*. Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet.
- Gender in Development Division, Zambia's (GDDZ) (2006). *Country Report on the Progress Made on the Implementation of the Southern African Declaration on Gender and Development and its Addendum on the Prevention of Violence Against Women and Children*, GIDD, Lusaka.
- Grown, C.A. and Sebstad, J., 1989. Introduction: Toward a Wider Perspective on Women's Employment. *World Development*, 17(7), pp.937-952.
- Hambulo, F. (2016). *Catholic Secondary Education and Identity Reformation in Zambia's Southern Province*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of South Africa.
- Howell, J. (2002). Women's political participation in China: struggling to hold up half the sky. *Parliamentary Affairs*, 55: 43-56.

- Iversen, T. and F. Rosenbluth, (2008) 'Work and Power: The Connection Between Female Labour Force Participation and Female Political Representation', *Annual Review of Political Science* 11: 479–495.
- Kalinda, R and Chirwa, M. (2014). *Women's Participation in Key Decision Making Institutions in Zambia: Case Of Three Arms of Government: Legislature, Executive and the Judiciary*. *Journal of Societal and Cultural Research* Volume 1, Number 3 September. ISSN: 2376-399X
- Kasonde-Ng'andu. S. (2013). *Writing Research Proposal in Educational Research*. Lusaka: University of Zambia
- Kombo, D. K and Tromp. D. L .A. (2006). *Proposal and Thesis Writing: An Introduction*. Nairobi: Pauline's Publications Africa.
- Koch, J.W. (1997), "Women's engagement in politics in the year of the woman", *American Politics Quarterly*, Vol. 25 No. 1, pp. 118-133.
- Kulbir, S.S., 2006. *Educational Research Methodologies*.
- Kunovich, S.L., Paxton, P. and Hughes, M.M., 2007. *Gender in politics*. *The Annual Review of Sociology*.
- Lawless, J.L. (2004), "Politics of presence: women in the house and symbolic representation", *Political Research Quarterly*, Vol. 53 No. 1, pp. 81-99.
- Marczyk, G., et al. (2005). *Essentials of Research Design and Methodology*, Kaufman, A.S. and Kaufman, N. L., (editors). Hoboken, New Jersey: John Wiley and Sons, Inc.
- Matland, R. (1998) 'Women's legislative representation in national legislatures: A comparison of democracies in developed and developing countries, *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 28(1): 109-125. Mikell, G. (1995) 'African feminism: toward a new politics of representation', *Feminist Studies* 21(2): 405-424
- McNamara, C. (2007). *Field Guide to Leadership and Supervision*. Authenticity Consulting, LLC.
- Mutume, G. (2004). "Women Break into African Politics," *Africa Recovery*, Vol.1.
- Nalumango, M., and Sifuniso, M. (1998). *Woman Power in Politics*, Zambia Women Writers Association, Lusaka.

- Nsana, S and Kabubi, M. (2018). Factors affecting Women's Political Participation in Lusaka: A Case Study of Kabwata and Munali Constituencies. : <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/327690671>
- Orodho, A. J. (2003). Essentials of Educational and Social Sciences; Research Method. Nairobi: Masola Publishers.
- Pankhurst, D., 2002. Women and Politics in Africa: The case of Uganda. *Parliamentary Affairs*, 55(1), pp.119-128.
- Paxton, P., et al. (2010) 'Growth in women's political representation: a longitudinal exploration of democracy, electoral system and gender quotas', *European Journal of Political Research* 49: 25-52;
- Pyeatt, N. and Yanus, B. (2018), "Increasing women's political participation: the role of women-friendly districts", *Journal of Representative Democracy*, Vol. 54 No. 4, pp. 185-199.
- Schlozman, K. L., N. Burns and S. Verba, (1999) 'What happened at work today?': a multistage model of gender, employment and political participation', *The Journal of Politics* 61(1): 29-53.
- Shvedova, N., 2002. *Women in Parliament: Obstacles to Women's Participation*. Stockholm: International IDEA.
- Solt, F., 2008. Economic Inequality and Democratic Political Engagement. *American Journal of Political Science*, 52(1), pp.48-60.
- Tripp A. M., (1999). *New Trends in Women's Political Participation in Africa*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Tripp, A.M. (2001) 'The new political activism in Africa', *Journal of Democracy* 12(3):141-155.
- Tripp, A.M., I. Casimiro, J. Kwesiga and A. Mungwa (2009) *African Women's Movements: Transforming Political Landscapes*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- UNDP. (2000). *Women's political participation and good governance: 21st Century Challenges*. New York: United Nations Development Programme.

UNICEF (2008). *Situation Analysis of Children and Women 2008*. Lusaka: New Horizon Printing Press.

Women, U.N., 1995. *Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action-Beijing: 5 Political Declaration and Outcome*.

Yahaya U., Umar Kari A. G., (2018,). Factors Militating against Women's Political Participation in Nupe Communities of Central Nigeria, *World Journal of Innovative Research (WJIR)*., 5(6), 61-67.

Zambia National Women's Lobby (2001). *Report on the National Conference to Establish the Women in Politics Forum and Adopt the Zambia Women's Manifesto*, Golden. Lusaka: ZNWL

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Timeline 2021

Month	Title & Literature Research	Proposal Writing	Data Collection	Data Analysis and Report Writing	Binding	Oral Poster Presentation
MAR	✓					
APR		✓				
MAY		✓				
JUN		✓				
JUL			✓			
AUG				✓		
SEP					✓	
OCT					✓	✓

Appendix 2: Budget

S/N	DESCRIPTION	QUANTITY	UNIT PRICE(ZMK)	TOTAL(ZMK)
1.	Stationery	2USB Flashes	100.00	200.00
		15 rewritable blank CDs	40.00	600.00
		5 realms of paper		
		1 Box of Pens	70.00	350.00
			100.00	100.00
2.	Transport	Five Trips different schools in Kabwe District	200	1000.00
3.	Logistics	Accommodation and food	K500.00	K3000.00
4.	Typing/ Printing	350 pages	5.00	1950.00
		1 poster	300.00	300.00
5.	Binding	Proposals	15.00	30.00
		4 Final reports	150.00	600.00
6.	Research assistance	1 per person times 2	K 350.00	700.00
			TOTAL K8,630.00	

Appendix 3: Semi Structured Interviews with Women Leaders

THE UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA/ZIMBABWE OPEN UNIVERSITY

QUESTION 1: How Do Women Participate In Politics In Kitwe District Of Zambia?

My name is **CHIBAYE KANUNGWE**, I welcome you to this interview session. This research is my school research work. The findings to be shared here will be put in my academic work as part of my Masters programme I am pursuing. In this discussion, you are free to walk out whenever you wish to. It is your right not to answer what you feel you don't want to. However, as a researcher I need to accept the decisions you make in the course of this discussion because you are the people with the information I want for my study to be successful. I promise to respect you and your views because all I need are your truthful views in order for me to write a report that will be informative to my study. Be open and give your views freely.

1. Do women participate in political affairs of Kitwe district?
2. What is the general membership like of women participation in politics?
3. What drives women participation in politics in Kitwe?
4. How open is the political arena for women participation here in Kitwe?
5. How supportive are your fellow women to your leadership?
6. How easy is it for you as a woman leader to organize your fellow women for meetings and political gatherings?
7. Do women demand for material things in order to turn up for meetings and other political gatherings?
8. What can you conclude about women participation in politics of Kitwe district?

Thank You for Your Time and Participation

Appendix 4: Interview Guide for Women Leaders

THE UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA/ZIMBABWE OPEN UNIVERSITY

QUESTION 2: What Extent Do Women Participate In Politics?

My name is CHIBAYE KANUNGWE, I would like to welcome you to this interactive interview session. This research is my school work as a partial fulfilment of my Master's degree in Peace and Conflict Studies to which the findings to be shared here will be put. Having been purposively sampled, your views will be taken as rich information to help answer some of the pertinent questions this research is raising. However, you are at liberty not to respond to questions that may be deemed sensitive against your position and institutional as well as personal ethics. Your views and opinions will be respected because you are our chief informant in whom we rely for information to answer our research and ultimately write a report that will be informative to my study. Be open and give your views freely.

1. What are some of the top positions women in Kitwe aspire for and rise to in the course of participating in the political affairs?
2. Are there limitations with the political structures of Kitwe with regards the extent a woman may participate in politics?
3. What are the economic limitations of women participation in the political affairs of Kitwe district?
4. What are some of the social limitations of women participation in politics of Kitwe district?
5. What are some of the religious limitations with regards to women participation in the political affairs of Kitwe district?
6. How devoted to political affairs do women in Kitwe become?
7. How supportive are the husbands of your female members?

Thank you for your responses

Appendix 5: Focus Group Discussion Guide for Women Members

THE UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA/ZIMBABWE OPEN UNIVERSITY

QUESTIONS 3: What Are Hindering Factors for Women's Political Participation In Contemporary Kitwe?

My name is CHIBAYE KANUNGWE, I would like to welcome you to this interactive Focus Group Discussion session. This research is my school work as a partial fulfilment of my Master's degree in Peace and Conflict Studies to which the findings to be shared here will be put. Having been purposively sampled, your views will be taken as rich information to help answer some of the pertinent questions this research is raising. However, you are at liberty not to respond to questions that may be deemed sensitive against your position and institutional as well as personal ethics. Your views and opinions will be respected because you are our chief informant in whom we rely for information to answer our research and ultimately write a report that will be informative to the population of secondary school administration of Monze district and to other information users around the world after publication. I welcome you to this interview session once more. Be open and give your views freely.

1. What are common types of hindrances women in Kitwe face when it comes to involvement in political affairs?
2. What is the gender proportion like for women inclusion in politics in Kitwe?
3. How supportive are your families towards your involvement in political affairs?
4. What does the church say with regards to women participation in political affairs of Kitwe district?
5. How supportive is the general public with regards to women involvement in politics?
6. How easy is it within the political party to see a woman rise in ranks from one level of leadership to the other?
7. How supportive are fellow women to their colleagues in political affairs?

Thank you for your time

Appendix 6: General Question for Women Leaders and Women Members

THE UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA/ZIMBABWE OPEN UNIVERSITY

QUESTION 4: What Strategies Should Be Put In Place In The Implementation Of Women Participation In Political Affairs?



1. What do you think can be done to attain the 30% women representation in political affairs in Kitwe and later on in the Zambian parliament?
2. What strategies would you propose with regards to media coverage of women participation in politics?
3. What strategy would you propose with regards to creation of the enabling environment in the political structures for women participation?
4. How would you wish the church and other social systems regard women participation in political affairs?
5. How should fellow women in politics behave towards encouraging one another in the endeavours of political affairs?
6. What sort of legislations would you wish the political parties propose that will be constitutionally enabling women participation in the political affairs of Kitwe?
7. What sort of incentives would you propose be attached to the political space as a way of encouraging women participation?
8. What sort of sensitization message or strategy do you think might be effected to encourage women participation in political affairs?

Appendix 7: Document Review Check List

THE UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA/ZIMBABWE OPEN UNIVERSITY

1. Number of registered women in a given political party at district level in Kitwe
2. Trends of women participation in politics since 1964 in Kitwe district
3. Women in key leadership positions in Kitwe
4. Deliberate policies that support women participation in politics in Kitwe
5. Local legislations that encourage women in Kitwe to participate
6. Availability of legislations (including: UN Protocols on women affairs, local legislations and regional legislations) that support women participation in politics

Appendix 8: Confirmation of Study

**THE UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA – ZIMBABWE OPEN UNIVERSITY
(UNZA/ZOU)**

Telephone: 26021-1-291777-78 Ext. 3500/ 0978772249
Telegrams: UNZA LUSAKA
Telex: UNZALU ZA 44370
Fax: 26021-1-290719
E-mail: director-ide@unza.zm

P.O. Box 32379
LUSAKA, ZAMBIA

DATE: 8th FEBRUARY, 2021

Dear Sir/Madam,

RE: CONFIRMATION OF STUDY

Name: CHIBAYE KALUJWA Computer #: 718000295

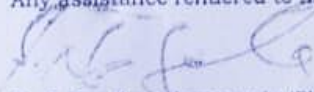
Reference is made to the above subject.

This serves to confirm that the above named student of NRC Number _____ is a bonafide student of the University of Zambia in collaboration with the Zimbabwe Open University (UNZA-ZOU).

The student is pursuing a Master of Peace, Leadership and Conflict Resolution Programme and that he/she will be carrying out a research on

INVESTIGATING THE STATUS QUO REGARDING
WOMEN AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN
KITWE DISTRICT OF ZAMBIA.

Any assistance rendered to him/her will be greatly appreciated.


Prof. Boniface Namangala (PhD)
DIRECTOR
INSTITUTE OF DISTANCE EDUCATION

THE END



HSSREC FORM 1a

THE UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA

DIRECTORATE OF RESEARCH AND GRADUATE STUDIES

HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

Telephone: +260-211-290258/293937

P O Box 32379

Fax: +260-211-290258/293937
Zambia

Lusaka,

E-mail drgs@unza.zm

**APPLICATION FOR ETHICAL APPROVAL FOR PROPOSED RESEARCH
INVOLVING HUMAN PARTICIPANTS**

1. **TITLE OF STUDY:**

2. **Principal Investigator:**

Name:

Qualifications:

Present Appointment/Affiliations:

3a. **OTHER INVESTIGATORS:**

Name: Qualifications:

Present Appointment/Affiliations:

Name: Qualifications

Present Appointment/Affiliations:

(Other names to be included on a separate page)

3b. **SUPERVISORS: FOR STUDENTS ONLY**

Name: Qualifications:

Present Appointment/Affiliations:

Name:

Present Appointment/Affiliations:

Signature:

3c. Co-Supervisor/Mentor in Zambia (This section is for all researchers outside Zambia)

Name:

Qualifications:

Present Appointments/Affiliations:

Name:

Qualifications:

Present Appointments/Affiliations:

4. SUMMARY OF PROPOSED RESEARCH

A summary of the project proposal should include background to the study, aims and objectives, participants to be studied and research methods to be used. Technical terminology should be avoided as much as possible.

(Use not more than one additional A4 sheet if necessary)

5. ARE THE PARTICIPANTS DEPENDENT ON ANY OF THE INVESTIGATORS

As students: Yes No As employees: Yes No

As patients: Yes No In other ways: Yes No

If 'Yes' to any of the above, give details

6. **POSSIBLE BENEFITS TO PARTICIPANTS:** These are extracted from the information sheet and presented as a summary

7. **POSSIBLE RISKS TO PARTICIPANTS:** These are extracted from the information sheet and presented as a summary and the investigator specifies steps to minimize them

8. **POSSIBLE BENEFITS TO THE COMMUNITY:** These are extracted from the information sheet and presented as a summary

9. **BUDGET**

(a) Financial support (requested or granted): Yes No

SPONSOR

(b) Are there costs which will be carried by other institutions Yes No

(c) Are there costs which will be carried by the participants Yes No
involved (e.g. travel, accommodation, meals, treatment)?

If 'Yes' to any of the above, give details:

10. **SUBMISSION** (Please take note of UNZAREC Forms 1a and 1b)

A. **For Normal Review** at regular monthly meetings, attachments should include (**Tick to show that you have provided these**):

- | | | | | |
|--------|---|-----|--------------------------|-----------------------------|
| (i) | 4 copies of Full Protocol | Yes | | No |
| (ii) | 9 copies of Summary of Protocol. | Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (iii) | 4 copies of Questionnaire and/or interview schedules | Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (iv) | 4 copies of Information Sheet | Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (v) | 4 copies of Consent Form | Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (vi) | 4 copies of letter approving of or giving ethical clearance to the project proposal if it is a sponsored research related to another University | Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (vii) | 4 copies of Budget | Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (viii) | 4 copies of Time Line | Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> |

B. For Expedited Review, attachments should include (Tick to show that you have provided these):

C.

- | | | | | | |
|------|---|-----|--------------------------|----|--------------------------|
| (i) | 4 copies of Full Protocol (to include the following): | Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> | No | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (ii) | 9 Summary of Protocol | Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> | No | <input type="checkbox"/> |

- (ii) 4 Questionnaire and/or interview schedules Yes No
- (iii) 4 Information Sheet Yes No
- (iv) 4 Consent Form Yes No
- (v) 4 Letter approving the project proposal if
it is a sponsored research related to another
University Yes No
- (vi) 4 Budget Yes No
- (viii) 4 Time Line Yes No
-

11. DECLARATION

I.....

(Full Name) Apply to the Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee of the University of Zambia apply for ethical approval of the above research proposal involving human participants, as conforming with recognized ethical standards and as not impinging on the rights of the individuals.

Signed: Date:

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR

Contact Address:

Local Contact Address:

Telephone No:

Fax No:

Cell phone No:

E-mail address

Full name and address of Local Co-Supervisor/Member (if applicable):

Signed:

Date:

Full name and address of Head of Department or Head of relevant Organization:

Signed:

Date:

Full name of Assistant Dean Postgraduate¹

Signed:

Date:

¹ The Assistant dean should provide a confirmatory letter that the candidate made a proposal presentation to the school/department.

12. Checklist for Documentation:

For a thorough and complete review, all research proposals should be submitted with the following documents:

- 1) Name of the applicant with designation
- 2) Name of the institution, field area where research will be conducted.
- 3) Approval of the Head of the Department / Institution/Supervisor superintending the study.
- 4) CV of supervisor for students and of PI if the study does not involve a student.
- 5) Protocol of the proposed research with sufficient detail (see form)
- 6) Ethical issues in the study and plans to address these issues.
- 7) Proposal should be submitted with all relevant enclosures like case questionnaires, interview, and Focus group discussion guides, follow - up cards, etc. (Questionnaires interview schedules and focus group discussion guides should be in English and in the study site local language(s).
- 8) Informed consent process, including information sheet and informed consent form in local language(s) of ALL categories of respondents or participants based the reason they are being recruited in the study (see type of tool relevant for respondents or participants) .
- 9) Curriculum vitae of all the investigators with relevant publications in last five years or supervisors for students.
- 10) Any regulatory clearances or authority to do a study in a particular site is required.
- 11) Source of funding and financial requirements for the project.
- 12) Other financial issues including those related to insurance
- 13) Statement of conflicts of interest, if any.
- 14) A statement describing any compensation for study participation (including expenses) to be given to research participants; a description of the arrangements for indemnity, if applicable (in study-related injuries); a description of the arrangements for insurance coverage for research participants, if applicable; all

significant previous decisions(e.g., those leading to a negative decision or modified protocol) by other IRBs or regulatory authorities for the proposed study (whether in the same location or elsewhere) and an indication of the modification(s) to the protocol made on that account. The reasons for negative decisions should be provided.

15) Plans for publication of results – positive or negative- while maintaining the privacy and confidentiality of the study participants.

16) Any other information relevant to the study.

17) Items prescribed in section 10 of this form.