

**THE STRATEGIES OF WOMEN LEGISLATORS IN THE ENACTMENT OF GENDER
RESPONSIVE LEGISLATION IN ZAMBIA, 2010-2016.**

BY

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AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

I Kayumba Charles hereby declare that the work contained in this dissertation is my own original work and that I have not previously submitted it to any other university for the award of the Degree of Master of Arts in Gender Studies.

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ABSTRACT

The study investigated the influence of women on Gender Responsive Legislation (GRL) as individuals and as a caucus in the Zambian National Assembly from 2010 to 2016. It sought to examine the role of the women's movements in supporting the work of the women legislators. The study was anchored on determining whether or not women legislators influenced the introduction of GRL and amendments to legislation. The study further examined the role of women in parliamentary committees.

A descriptive study design with a mixed method approach was adopted. The sample comprised of 62 participants. 37 male Members of Parliament (M.P) selected randomly. 6 women MPs, 6 participants from Women's Lobby Group, 6 from Women in Law and Development in Africa and 5 from the Ministry of Gender were sampled purposively. Two critical actors from the NGOCC (Advocacy officer) and the women's desk at parliament were also selected purposively.

The findings revealed that the role of the women's movement was focused on capacity building in debate, supporting women candidates, advocacy on the legislative process as well as attempting to create a men's network. Evidence showed that some women legislators consider some women's organisations to be aligned with certain political parties. Women's efforts also resulted into the introduction of the Gender Equity and Equality Bill of 2015 even though some male MPs questioned their unity. On the other hand, an attempt by a woman legislator to have a bill (Termination of Pregnancy bill) brought to the house was not supported. The findings further revealed that the discussions on certain concerns by the women's caucus translated into programmes for the ministry of gender such the strategic plan to end child marriages of 2014.

Furthermore, women legislators significantly influenced amendments to the Anti-Gender Based Violence (Amendment) Bill of 2011 and the Penal Code (Amendment) Bill of 2010 in which they advocated for the protection for victims of GBV such as protection orders from the courts and inclusion of minimum sentence for rape cases respectively. Evidence indicated that women played an active role in committees, although women and girls concerns such as child marriages and education rights were restricted to the gender committee. However, leadership roles were limited for the women legislators due to under-representation. Therefore, the study recommended the enactment of legislation that improves women's representation, funding the women's caucus as well as engaging in constant dialogue and research with the women's movements on various issues affecting women and children.

Key words: Gender responsive legislation, Bill, Amendment

DEDICATION

This work I dedicate to my mother Catherine Josephine Phiri Kayumba and by siblings Clive Kayumba, Anne Kayumba and Arthur Kayumba whose support and encouragement inspired me to work hard. I am also indebted to my wife Charity D. Busiku Kayumba for her constant encouragement.

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ACRONYMS

CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CRC	Convention on the Rights of a Child
GRL	Gender Responsive Legislation
HCDSS	Committee on Health Community Development and Social Services
IPU	Inter-Parliamentary Union
LAGHRGMCA	Legal Affairs, Governance, Human Rights, Gender Matters and Child Affairs
M.P	Member of Parliament
NDI	National Democratic Institute
NGOCC	Non-Governmental Organisation Coordinating Council
PF	Patriotic Front
SADC	Southern African Development Community
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergence Fund
UPND	United Party for National development
WILDAF	Women in Law and Development in Africa
WM	Women's Movement
ZWLG	Zambia Women's Lobby Group

CHAPTER ONE – INTRODUCTION

1.1 Overview

This chapter presents the introduction to the study, statement of the problem and the purpose of the study. It also includes the study objectives, study questions, significance of the study, theoretical framework and the operational definitions.

1.1.1 Women in the Zambian Parliament

Over the years, there has been increasing debate over whether and in what circumstances the ‘descriptive’ representation of women, that is their presence in parliament, will be associated to the ‘substantive’ representation of women, that is, parliamentary interventions and advocacy on behalf of women (Sawer, 2012). This is particularly true in the case of Sub-Saharan Africa where inequities in various sectors still persist despite electing and appointments of women to positions of decision making. For many years now, women have struggled to enter the political scene at various levels. But once women enter parliament, their struggle is far from over as parliaments are largely male dominated.

Since the Beijing conference of 1995, women’s political representation had improved globally. The IPU report of 2016 showed that the number of women elected to National Assemblies globally had risen to 23.3% in 2016 compared to 16.8% ten years ago. This shows that there has been an increase of 6.8% following elections held in that year globally (Zambia inclusive).

Since Zambia got independence, women have continued to be under-represented in parliament ranging from 6.7% in 1964 to 18.0% 52 years later. The 2016 general elections saw the election of the first woman vice president, 26 women legislators while 4 were nominated members. The Zambian National Assembly also witnessed the appointment of the first woman deputy speaker of the National Assembly, Hon. Catherine Namugala. Despite these significant gains women still remained under-represented in the Zambian National Assembly. A number of obstacles have been identified that hinder the participation of more women in politics in Zambia by Sampa (2010). Among these are financial constraints, electoral violence and negative patriarchal attitudes towards women.

Women's election to parliaments have been reported to help change attitudes and behaviours of men towards women in politics. Dahlerup (1988) in her review of the Nordic parliaments indicated that the presence of increased women's representation caused a shift in terms of political culture.

The Zambian National Assembly has for a long time been largely dominated by men and as such the environment may seem hostile to women having already passed through a rigorous electoral process. Women firstly face challenges to get nominated as candidates as political parties are biased towards men who have the financial capacity to mount a strong campaign. According Sampa (2010), once nominated, the campaign process is also quite hostile to women as character assassination becomes the campaign strategy especially where a woman is contesting against a male candidate.

A report by Ngandu (1967) on the constraints of women's participation in the Zambian politics highlighted that women in the Zambian National Assembly in the 60s faced the challenge of being intimidated by their male counterparts and this had caused women not to propose motions that pertain to women's issues for fear of not being supported. On the other hand, Chilufya (2013) argued that even though women in the Zambian parliament exhibited a luke-warm approach towards parliamentary affairs and that opinions are normally in contrast between the elite and non-elite women legislators, women legislators had managed to set the agenda on women and girl's concerns in the National Assembly. This is to say that women legislators incorporated women and girl's issues in their debate in parliament without fear. Therefore, it is the aim of this study to establish the influence of women legislators and the caucus as regard to gender responsive legislation.

1.1.2 Caucuses

Despite the many challenges women face and being under-represented, it is envisaged by Ballington (2008) in his survey on equality in politics that women parliamentarians and the women's parliamentary caucuses aim to improve the status of women and girls.

There have been many studies discussing the strategic roles of a women's caucus especially in countries that have a significant descriptive representation. Caucuses usually comprise a diverse group with a shared ideology to achieve a common goal. They can act as a critical mass with strategic pressure, though formally, they do not necessarily have to have a large number of

members. A study done by Kamitraan (2014) on the role of women's caucuses in promoting women's participations and representation revealed that based on empirical experiences in various countries, an effective women's caucus could result in outcomes such as: 'regional political processes that result in policies or agendas which accommodate women's interests which are achievable through advocacy campaigns run by the caucus or through its studies and research, an effective 'watch dog' to monitor the implementation of policies concerning issues of interest to women's participation'.

Worldwide, some of the earliest women's caucuses were formed in the 20th century and were instrumental in getting equality laws enacted. In the UK for instance, the women parliamentarians were instrumental in getting equality laws enacted as early as 1970 after a 50years long fight. The Equal Pay Act which was enacted in 1970 was a fundamental right which prevented women from being underpaid and exploited (www.tuc.org.uk). Equally in the U.S, the congressional caucus for women's issues was established in 1977 which among others managed to influence legislation such as the Pregnancy Discrimination Act, the Child Support Enforcement Act and the Violence Against Women Act (www.womenpolicy.org). In Sweden, speaker Birgitta Dahl established the Speakers Network for Women Parliamentarians in 1994 after women had become a record of 41% in parliament. The aim was to devise schemes as to how best women's concerns can be addressed. However, women parliamentarians had recorded some achievements earlier such as the legalization of contraceptives in 1938 and abortion in 1974 (Palmquist & Widberg, 2004).

In Africa, most of the women's caucuses were formed in the 1990s and a number of achievements have been recorded. For instance, in Rwanda, the women's parliamentary caucus has made efforts to review existing laws and introduces amendments to change discriminatory statutes, examines proposed laws with an eye toward gender sensitivity. Powley's (2007) study on the impact of women legislators on policy outcome acknowledged the role of the Rwandan women's caucus in the revocation of legislation that prohibits women from owning land.

Therefore, Women's caucuses are important and can be an effective mechanism to influence legislative process. Through women's caucuses, it is expected that women's opinions and concerns will transform into legislation and political decision making that ultimately promote gender equality especially under favorable pre-conditions. According to Lahai (2011), caucuses can have an impact on national legislation but it depends on leadership, resources, entrenched cultural and

institutional values discriminating against gender equality, vibrant women's organization, and linkages with female parliamentarians.

1.1.3 The Zambia Women's Parliamentary Caucus

The Zambia Women's Parliamentary Caucus (ZWPC) was established as a follow up to the SADC seminar held in Windhoek, Namibia in 1997 under the theme 'Practical Gender Equality from Dialogue to Action. It became operational on 19th March, 1997 (www.zwpczambia.org). It was established to influence policies that would in turn improve the status of women in politics as well as other sectors. All women parliamentarians are considered members as the caucus takes interest in women's concerns. The objectives of the caucus are;

- (i) To provide a forum for discussion on matters affecting women.
- (ii) To promote and sensitize all parliamentarians on the principle of equality.
- (iii) To facilitate effective implementation of projects on gender issues.
- (iv) To mobilize and encourage women's participation in all issues pertaining to national development, and to promote self-reliance and economic independence among women.
- (v) To facilitate networking with organizations and institutions within and outside the country (www.zwpczambia.org).

According to Chilufya (2013), the ZWPC had succeeded in setting the gender agenda for women through their debate session in the 10th National Assembly (2006-2011) but however failed to achieve the objectives they set for themselves as they did not translate into action. He does not make mention as to whether or not the women parliamentarians influenced legislation that are in turn intended to achieve gender equality. It was therefore important to conduct this research to examine the influence of the women in parliament in as far as gender targeted legislation is concerned from 2010 to 2016. The period under review is significant in that a number of women had been appointed to positions of decision making in the government and matters affecting girls such as early marriages and pregnancies had been highly reported in the media. It was also equally important to undertake this study as this was the period under which a new constitution was adopted.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Women parliamentarians and the Women Parliamentarians Caucus can play an important role in influencing policies that address women and girls concerns. In Zambia, the women's caucus was formed to transform the nature of parliamentary debates to incorporate a gender perspective (Musokotwane, 2010). However, women in the Zambian parliament have continued to be under-represented ranging from 6.7% in 1964 to 18.0% in 2017. Therefore, there is relatively little information on the sort of impact women have made in the National Assembly of Zambia in their under-represented status. It is unclear whether or not as well as how far the women legislators individually and collectively have influenced legislation that addresses women and girls concerns in the period 2010 to 2016. This thereby underscores the need for more knowledge in this field. In Zambia, studies had mainly focused on women's descriptive representation where challenges and obstacles to women's election to the National Assembly (Sampa, 2010), equality in opportunity to enter parliament and the obstacles in this process are outlined. Chilufya (2013), studied on the role of women parliamentarians and the women's parliamentary caucus in parliament from 2006-2011. The available literature does show that women legislators had advanced women's issues in parliament with much emphasis on equality. This study intended to explicitly determine women's influence with regard to gender responsive legislation.

1.3 Purpose of the Study

This study aimed to demonstrate whether women parliamentarians and the women's parliamentary caucus had influenced the enactment of legislation that is gender responsive in a male dominated National Assembly during the period 2010 to 2016.

1.4 Specific Objectives

- (i) To analyse the relations between women parliamentarians and the women's movement towards influencing introduction and amendments of gender responsive legislation.
- (ii) To determine strategies used by women parliamentarians and the women's parliamentary caucus to influence the introduction of gender responsive legislation.
- (iii) To determine strategies by women parliamentarians and the women's caucus to influence amendments to legislation to address women and girls concerns.
- (iv) To examine the role of the women parliamentarians in parliamentary committees.

1.5 Research Questions

- i. What are the relations between the women's movement and the women legislators with regard to influencing gender legislation?
- ii. What are the strategies women parliamentarians used to influence the introduction of gender responsive legislation to address women and girl's concerns?
- iii. How have the women parliamentarians and the women's parliamentary caucus influenced amendments to legislation to address women and girl's concerns?
- iv. What roles do women parliamentarians perform in addressing women and girls concerns in the parliamentary committees?

1.6 Significance of the Study

The study will demonstrate whether despite their under-representation, women parliamentarians had strived to and succeeded in influencing legislations in an attempt to achieve gender equality. The study also hoped to add to the existing body of knowledge on the role of women parliamentarians collectively and individually in parliament in addressing gender inequalities. The women's impact could be essential to gender mainstreaming and implementation of policy objectives and programmes of action that concern women and girls. The study further sought to influence political parties to increase the adoptions of women candidates based on the impact that they may have in achieving gender equality.

1.7 Theoretical Framework

The study adopted two theories; Descriptive and Substantive representation theory propounded by Pitkin (1967) and Theory of the Politics of Presence propounded by Phillips 1994).

1.7.1 Descriptive and Substantive Representation Theory

Proponents of theories on women and politics such as Pitkin generally recognize two main perspectives on women's political representation: descriptive representation and substantive representation.

Descriptive representation suggests that choosing women as Members of Parliament (MPs) is symbolic to the fulfillment of the principle of gender equality in a ruling political system. It argues that a parliament should represent the voters, and considers that the increase in the number and proportion of women in the legislature is an attempt to make the parliament replicate its electorates, which include both men and women (Pitkin, 1967).

The second approach prioritizes the idea of substantive representation. This approach argues that women and men have different life experiences and different priorities and perspectives when viewing political issues. Substantive representation considers that women's representation should integrate the perspectives and interests of women in political issues.

In this research, Pitkin's modified theory which incorporates four aspects will be referred to as well. The four aspects of the theory are formal, descriptive, symbolic and substantive. The first two perspectives signify representation as a figurative composition and presence in the legislature while the other two, symbolic and substantive, regard representation as a way of being and is based on the actual work women legislators undertake and how women's interests are represented. Formal and descriptive representations refer to the description and meaning of representation as a concept, whereas the symbolic and substantive ones refer to activities in performing representation (Pitkin, 2004).

In applying Pitkin's theory to the study of women's representation, it can be said that a female MP substantively represents women if, by her expressed opinions and/or actions, she sustains the wishes, needs or interests of the female population, which are deemed women's issues and or concerns. From this point of view, women's issues and concerns, first of all, remain intimately

linked to social policies, and, secondly, are not necessarily synonymous with feminist issues except in Africa where feminism embraces women's concerns and issues.

1.7.2 Theory of the Politics of Presence

The theory of politics of presence was propounded by Phillips in 1995. The theory seeks to provide explanations into why there exists a link between descriptive and substantive representation. The theory suggests that the presence of women in parliament is a condition for women to achieve something in terms of legislation with a view to improving the status of women in society. This therefore provides a link between descriptive and substantive representation. According to Wangnerud (2009), Phillips based her theory upon differences in experiences between men and women. She was cognizant of the fact that there are inequalities in various forms such as education, child-rearing, exposure to violence and harassment, division in paid and unpaid labor etcetera. Such experiences it can be argued are what drive women in parliament to advocate for legislation that addresses their interests.

However, amidst traditional cultural practices, rigidity can be a stumbling block in the face of women's advocacy. Male politicians in this regard might not be willing to accommodate any changes that takes away their seemingly comfort zone. Therefore, it cannot be a guarantee that women will affect politics as parliaments are difficult to change. Phillips herself called it 'a shot in the dark' (1995: 83). Thus, this theory is essential to this study as the study was anchored on determining whether or not the presence of women in the Zambian parliament had yielded significant gender legislative outcomes.

1.8 Definition of Terms

Critical mass – Refers to a minimum number of women’s representation to have an impact on legislative change. Often scholars have attributed this to 30% representation (Grey, 2005).

Descriptive Representation – Numerical presence of women in parliament (Sawer, 2012)

Gender – Refers to a host of societal expectations and attributes associated with one’s sex (NGP, 2014).

Gender Equality – equal opportunities for all (ibid)

Gender Equity – justice and fairness for all (ibid)

Gender responsive legislation – bills, Acts of parliament and policies that aim to bridge the gender gap by addressing concerns of women and girls.

House – Parliament

National Assembly – All elected and nominated members of parliament.

Parliament – the president and members (elected and nominated) legally mandated to formulate national laws.

Quota System – considers a certain proportion of representation in any institution (Tripp, 2006).

Substantive representation - Considers that women’s representation should integrate the perspectives and interests of women in political issues (Sawer, 2012).

Women/ Girls concerns – shall mean matters that women legislators aim to address in order to bring about equality.

Zambia Women’s Parliamentary Caucus – an association of women parliamentarians across political parties represented in parliament (Musokotwane, 2010).

CHAPTER TWO – LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Overview

This chapter reviewed literature on what other scholars have written on the subject by focusing on themes in relation to the objectives of the study as a way of drawing lessons for the research. It begins by reviewing literature on the role of the women's movement in supporting the women legislators as regard to legislative influence, then moves on to review literature on women's influence on the introduction of and amendments to legislation. The chapter thereafter reviewed literature on the role of women legislators in parliamentary committees in addressing concerns of girls and women and finally gives a summary.

2.2 The Women's Movement and Women Legislators

After the UN decade for women (1976-85), the women's movement gained a renewed impetus to influence the inclusion and equality of men and women in all spheres of social, economic and political life. At the third UN world conference on women in Nairobi, whose aim was to evaluate the successes and challenges of the international women's year (1975) and decade, strategies known as the 'Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies' were adopted to re-affirm international concern for women's issues.

The Beijing conference of 1995 was a landmark in terms of spelling out out-rightly the areas in which women's concerns are to be mainstreamed (i.e, women and health, economy, power and decision making, the girl child, etcetera). These and other conferences set the benchmark upon which the women's movements gained a greater autonomy to make strides in advancing women's concerns in African countries like Zambia that participated at that conference. Most importantly, Zambia and many other African countries ratified other documents such as the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) of 1979 and the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) 1989. The ratification of such documents gave the women's movements impetus for increased advocacy.

The last three decades have witnessed an increase in the number of women elected to parliaments. Shvedova's (2005) examination of the obstacles to women's participation in parliaments identified persistent patriarchal attitudes, lack of bargaining power among other obstacles. She thus attributed the increased participation of women in politics to the efforts by women's organizations inside and

outside political parties through their efforts to secure electoral changes to nominate and elect women. The role that the women's movements play in advocating for equality and supporting the work of the women parliamentarians once elected has the potential to reinforce gender equality and generally democratic practices such as respect for rights. However, networking between the women's groups and the women parliamentarians varies in different democracies. Shvedova (2005) further demonstrates this by attributing the lesser cooperation between the women's organizations and the women parliamentarians especially in young democracies to the lack of awareness of the potential benefits of this networking and a possible lack of resources. This is particularly true for African and other developing democracies as opposed to the western democracies where women legislators had been working with the women's movement as early as 1919 as is the case in the United Kingdom.

Froimovich et. al., (2013) study on evidence of legislative change by women in Mexico, Uganda and Viet Nam concluded that women's organizations of all kinds most especially in Uganda and Viet Nam provided research and experts drafted policies on women's issues and furnished insight into how legislation involving a range of issues, such as water, education reform or land rights, may affect women differently than men. Examples of such legislation and policy included the Domestic Violence Act of 2010 and the National Strategy for the Advancement of Women by 2020 in Uganda and Viet Nam respectively. While Froimovich et. al. focused on the impact of women legislators in collaboration with the women's movement, networking can further be enhanced when women's caucuses also supply information on important upcoming Parliamentary committee meetings to the women's organizations so they can better prepare and strategize on how to influence the outcome.

Markham (2012) in her article on strengthening women's roles in parliaments shared the need for support from both international and local women's groups to encourage women's participation in parliaments as well as to pressure political institutions to reform or implement policies that remove roadblocks to women's equal status with men. Support from both the international and local women's organizations has evidently enhanced the participation of women in public affairs. In most of the democratic nations (especially developing nations like Zambia), what has been more pronounced however has been the help women candidates receive in campaign strategies, debating skills, and financial support during elections without much consideration on legislative influence.

For instance, Markham (2013: 13) outlined that in Haiti, the “Elect Haitian Women” television and radio campaign was run by a local women’s group throughout Haiti in 2010 to encourage voters to support women candidates, showcasing local women leaders and using slogans such as, “If we can run our families, we can run our country.” This literature confirms a stronger relationship as regard electing women to parliaments without outlining women’s performance once they enter parliament.

Despite efforts from the women’s organizations to get women elected to parliaments, the partisan nature of most National Assemblies seems to confine legislators under the obligation to champion their party agendas. Individual members rarely go against party agendas to introduce private members bills. Froimovich et. al (2013) underscored that the duo, that’s is women in politics and the women’s groups in Mexico ought to be unified, determined and independent in demanding for attention on gender matters. They reported that initially women’s associations fought mainly for gender equality in education, health and expanding reproductive rights but had become disaggregated and lacked visibility and support from the general population. This can largely be attributed to the controlled party agenda by political parties and this therefore entails that women must be loyal to the party line, even at the expense of promoting gender centered legislative reforms. Violence against women and an unsafe society have also been identified as some of the obstacles to champion gender issues.

Ballington and Karam (2005) also acknowledged the importance of good relations between the women’s movement and women legislators. In their article on women making a difference in parliament, they observed that in South Africa, the women’s movement through the Women’s National Coalition (WNC- a consortium of women’s organizations) was instrumental in ensuring that the needs and interests of women and girls were included in the debates during the constitution drafting period 1992-1994. As such, the resultant document (constitution) enshrined gender equality and affirmative action and most importantly provides for a commission on gender equality. Following this achievement, the women’s cross-party caucus was formed to coordinate the women’s agenda in the National Assembly. Furthermore, the women’s movement was instrumental in the passing non-discriminatory legislation in South African such as ‘*Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act of 2000 and the Domestic Act of 1995*’ among others.

2.2.1 Women's Movement's and Women's Parliamentary Caucuses

Women's caucuses can act as the primary entry point for the women's movement to provide women legislators with needed information and support, and to build connections between the movement and legislature in general. A review by Karam & Lovenduski (2005) on women in parliaments indicated that women legislators in Sweden and South Africa through their political struggles had acquainted themselves with knowledge and information on women's issues and concerns that require redress as a result of their good relations with the women's organisations. For instance, Sainsbury's (2004) study on political representation in Sweden also observed in part that such relationships enabled women in the Swedish parliament to take a different approach by converting women's issues into broader gender equality issues and changed their style of debate from one about representation to one about a more complete democracy. Therefore, maintaining close links with the women's movement is essential to drawing from their expertise and resources.

Additionally, an investigation by Powley (2006) on the impact of women on policy outcomes reviewed that in Rwanda, the Forum of Women Parliamentarians (Which is the women's caucus) liaises with the women's movement, and conducts meetings and training with women's organizations to sensitize the population and advises on legal issues. For instance, in 2003 women's organizations worked closely and actively with women parliamentarians to ensure that equality of men and women was the cornerstone of the new constitution (Ratified constitution of Rwanda).

Similarly, in Uganda, the women's movement working with women's caucus not only advocated for the inclusion of women in decision making but also for the creation of the women's ministry's and most especially their strength was evident through influences on legislative change such as the Domestic Violence Act of 2010 (CEDOVIP 2016). In passing this legislation, the women's movements and other human rights organizations agreed to form the Domestic Violence Act Coalition in order to collectively advocate for the Domestic Violence Act (DVA) and lobby the government for its passage. According to the Center for Domestic Violence Prevention (CEDOVIP) the DVA Coalition also worked with the UWOPA and the Ministry of Gender, Labor and Social Development to create political support and pressure for the DVA (CEDOVIP, 2016).

On the other hand, Koblanck (2008) in his study on increased women's representation presented a parallel argument. Credit he argues must be given to governments (rather than the women's

organisations and women legislators) for the affirmative action policies (quota systems) adopted, such as in Uganda to have led to the increased representation of women in the National Assembly and subsequent adoptions of gender responsive legislation. This situation suggests that government's willingness to improve women's descriptive representation determines the substantive representation of women. Here, Tripp (2004) when examining women's movements, customary law and land rights in Uganda was cognizant of the fact that although affirmative action policies in Africa have generated mixed views, women have been widely accepted in places where these have been implemented.

The women's movement in Zambia has for a long time advocated for the increase in the descriptive representation of women in the National Assembly. Organizations such as the Zambia Women's Lobby Group (ZWLG) have in the past gone as far as financially supporting women candidates, training women in campaign and debate skills to bring to reality this goal. Geisler (2004) states that the ZNWL has been supporting the advancement of women irrespective of political affiliation since the 1991 elections. However, suspicions of working for the opposition arose from women members of the then ruling party UNIP. Sampa's (2010) review of the Lobby reports showed that out of the 176 women trained by the Lobby, only nineteen were elected to parliament in 2006. These studies outlined the assistance that the women's movement renders to aspiring candidates without essentially indicating the role of the women's movement (in collaboration with elected women MPs and ZWPC) with regards to influence on gender targeted legislation.

Other findings by Chilufya (2010) showed that the ZWPC is recognized but it is not a formal parliamentary institution. As such, it faces challenges in effectively carrying out its projects because it lacks funding.

2.3 Introduction of Legislation

Studies by Piscopo 2011, Moccia and Anthony, 2006, Karam and Lovenduski, 2005, UN Report, 2013 on women in politics have developed a theory that women in politics naturally represent the interest and concerns of women and children. Specifically, Piscopo (2011) in reference to gender and policy in Argentina and Mexico established that women are more likely to introduce gender-targeted legislation than men and that two-thirds of women's substantive legislation is authored by women. Wagnerude's (2000) empirical investigation of the attitudes and behavior of M.Ps in the Nordic Parliaments further established that women's presence caused a shift in party position

in areas of family policy, gender equality and social policy. It is therefore evident that under the condition of increased women's representation, gender responsive legislation may subsequently be enacted as women endeavor to improve the status of women in society.

However, a number of scholars have refuted this assumption citing a number of reasons especially in cases where quotas have been implemented and women have attained a critical mass. For instance, Celis et. al, (2008) in their investigation on substantive representation and the impact of descriptive representation in the Belgian parliament argued that women are not monolithic. Assuming that all women are the same and will always be in support of a feminist agenda is not accurate. Women differ in terms of ethnicity, age class, and political affiliation and as such may not have the same legislative priorities. What is essential is having a gender consciousness by both women and male legislators. The lack of such consciousness hinders the ability of elected MPs (Male and Female) to advance gender targeted legislation.

2.3.1 Critical mass and substantive representation

In analyzing women's substantive representation from critical mass to critical actors, Childs and Krook (2009) established that even when women have the will to advance women friendly policies, the outcomes are not always successful. Certain internal and external factors may hinder the successful presentation of such an agenda. For instance, persistent patriarchal values, absence of support networks, and lack of an enabling political, economic, and cultural climate may adversely affect the effectiveness of female change agents, and stifle their abilities to support policy issues that are of importance to them. This was also observed by Ngandu (1967) in her report on constraints of women in the Zambian National Assembly. She noted that women face intimidation from their male counterparts which had caused them not to propose motions that pertain to women issues for fear of not being supported. However, many years have gone by since such observations were made and as such, it is imperative to carry out this study to determine the current state of affairs. To counter such challenges, the women's caucus plays a critical role as the voices of the women legislators would be combined and a larger force can achieve much more as has been the case in the Nordic countries and parts of Africa.

Furthermore, using a case study of Argentina, Franceschet and Piscopo (2008) concluded that a rise in women's numbers may trigger a backlash and yield contradictory outcomes. While an increase in women's numbers may force male legislators to pay more attention to women's issues,

male legislators may feel threatened and employ a range of tactics to obstruct women's policy initiatives and keep women marginalized based on a misconception that women earned their seats in the National Assembly based on their gender and not on their merit.

However, evidence from Mexico showed that women in parliament managed to influence the introduction of a number of gender responsive policies and acts despite their under-representation of 22% in the years 2006 to 2009. Such policies and Laws were aimed at addressing women's issues and concerns. These included amendments to the federal budget to create the 'Programmes to Support State Level Institutes for Women,' providing funding for anti-violence programmes in the Mexican states. Laws to prevent trafficking as well as women's rights to live free from violence were also established. In 2008, women in the Mexican parliament further influenced the reforms to the federal Electoral Code by applying an electoral quota of 40%. In 2009, reforms were made to the Penal Code to address femicide and require higher penalties than homicide (UN Report, 2013).

The evidence from the Mexican study indicates that women MPs significantly influenced policies and legislation despite their under-representation. Women legislator's collaboration with one another was essential as regard to introduction of gender targeted legislation. With improved initiatives, strong leadership (in leading other women and committees) and noticeable bargaining strategies, a critical mass may not be necessary to influence gender targeted legislation. The Mexican situation implies that women legislators that collaborate regardless of political affiliations achieved a great deal as compared to others that do not. Moreover, Grey (2006) on the examination of the relevance of critical mass in gender research articulated that different thresholds have to be recognized in studies on women in parliaments; for example, attaining a proportion of 15% may allow female politicians to change the political agenda. 15% is half of the supposed critical mass and yet it is possible that women may score some achievements under such conditions.

In 2008, South Africa launched its multiparty caucus with the following aims: promoting the discussion of women's issues in parliament; introducing a women's perspective and focus in parliamentary activities, including the programming of debates; engaging in developmental and empowerment issues with women in political structures outside Parliament and women internationally; and considering any other matter referred by the House of Parliament within its mandate (Refki D et al, 2014). Following the increase in women's representation in the South

African parliament, the most significant feminist legislative records included Abortion Rights, Employment Equality, 1998 Domestic Violence Bill and so on.

A study by Tripp (2001) further indicated that women MPs had much influence in the constitution making processes in that the new South African constitution guarantees women's rights to equality, freedom and security of the person, freedom from violence, the right to make decisions concerning reproduction, and the right to security and control over one's own body. These constitutional changes were drawn up following changes in the electoral system from a First Past The Post (FPTP) to Proportional Representation (PR) system in which universal suffrage on a non-racial basis was introduced in 1994.

Similarly, in the Ugandan 8th National Assembly, women held 30% (critical mass) of the seats. It was during this period that a number of significant gender targeted bills were introduced such as the Prohibition of Female Genital Mutilation Act (2010), the Prevention of Trafficking in Persons Act (2010), the Equal Opportunities Act (2010), which establishes an Equal Opportunity Commission as required by the constitution, and the Domestic Violence Act (2010).

Ragnhild and Wang (2012) in their research on Executive Dominance and the Power of Quota Representation in Uganda contended that the quantity as much as the quality of women MPs may have contributed to these legislative gains. This trend however did not continue in the 9th Ugandan Parliament whereby the Marriage & Divorce Act was sidelined as some provisions were viewed as conflicting with customary practices (Rafki, et al. 2014). Thus, Studies that do not consider the role of attitudes in the population may over-estimate the effectiveness of increased women's representation (Muriaas & Veke, 2012).

2.3.2 Women's Impact in the Zambian Parliament

The Zambian situation has received little scholarly attention and notably women's descriptive representation is way below 30%. The establishment of the ZWPC was aimed at bringing a more collective feminist voice to address women's concerns and to influence gender responsive legislations. Chilufya (2013) in his study adopted an exploratory and descriptive design in which he reveals that women in the Zambian parliament exhibited a lukewarm approach during parliamentary debate sessions. This means that women exhibited relatively less interest or were

less determined in their approach to issues in the house. The study however does not specify on what issues women exhibited such an approach and cannot be generalized to gender matters.

Such findings could suggest that the role of the women parliamentarians is otherwise ineffective as regard to substantive representation. He further established that women play dual-roles, that is: in parliament (parliamentary debate, parliamentary committees) and outside parliament (Constituency obligations, portfolio obligations; i.e., ministers) and they succeeded in raising women's concerns in debate sessions. Chilufya's results seemingly are unclear as he refers on the one hand to women's approach as luke-warm and on the other hand refers to women succeeding in raising women's concerns. The study also does not provide evidence on whether or not women parliamentarians influenced the introduction of legislation to address women and girls concerns. There is need to therefore assess the impact of women's performance in as far as introduction of gender targeted legislation is concerned.

2.4 Influences on Amendments to Legislation

An amendment by definition refers to any addition or alteration to a law; be it a bill, statute, constitution or resolution. While amendments in favour of women and girls to existing pieces of legislation seemed a milestone for women legislators, such amendments have also enhanced women's empowerment and in some cases consolidated democratic tenets of equality which is a conduit for national development as has been the case in the west and parts of Sub-Saharan African countries. The 2013 IPU report on increased women's political participation outlined that changes to legislation have enabled women to gain the right to education, property rights, access to health services and political rights among others.

The most notable historical amendments to discriminatory laws happened in the developed democratic nations of today. America for instance is known for its many constitutional amendments (27 in total). The 19th Amendment for instance guaranteed women suffrage in the U.S in 1920 (Sampaolo, 2016). Following this and other amendments, several women had been allowed to vote and stand for political office. This achievement is partly attributed to the work of the suffrage advocates who pressured and lobbied government to grant women the right to vote.

An investigation on crime and Law Enforcement in Argentina by Ferrand (2012) also revealed that the level of gender violence had increased to necessitate the establishment of a domestic violence

office at the Supreme Court in 2008. According to the statistics published by this office, in March 2012, over the last two years there had been a 43% increase in the number of violent crimes against women reported. Following this report, women deputies in collaboration with activists lobbied for an amendment to the Penal Code and as such, on 18th April, 2012, Argentina's lower house of the Congress approved, by unanimous vote, a bill that amended the Criminal Code (Código Penal de la Nación Argentina, Law No. 11.179 of 1984) to include femicide as an aggravated type of homicide. The new provision includes the sanction of life imprisonment for an individual who kills his ascendant or descendant relative, spouse or former spouse, or a person with whom he has or has had an intimate relationship (Ferrand, 2012).

Additionally, Tripps (2006) examination on women as agents of change for women's advancement in Uganda indicated that in 2003, the Uganda Women's Network working with the women legislators pressured parliamentarians to pass an amendment to the 1998 Land Act that would give all family members access to land and also advocated for the Domestic Relations Bill (DRB), which consolidated laws on marriage, divorce, polygamy, and bride price and sought to advance women's rights on these issues. Despite such efforts by the women parliaments, both Tripp, (2006) and Powley (2007) have reported that the above amendments to pieces of legislation were obstructed by the majority male MPs at the end of the 7th Ugandan National assembly. Instead, Parliament passed the Persons with Disabilities Bill (2005) and the Employment Bill (2006), which addressed sexual harassment, forced labor as well as maternity and paternity leave. Despite the efforts by the UWONET and women legislators, political support especially from the male MPs was lacking. In this regard, we can ascertain that despite having a significant number of female representative's in the national assembly, not every bill sponsored by the women legislators is guaranteed to pass into law.

In Rwanda, not only have women parliamentarians networked with women's organization, they have worked hard to introduce new legislation as well as to influence amendments to statutes that perpetuated gender inequalities. Following the Rwandan genocide that devastated and traumatized the country in 1994, the population of women stood at 70% (Sampa, 2010). In this regard, women's role in development could not have been ignored. Powley (2007) attributes the inclusion of the quota system in the 2003 ratified constitution to the influence by women deputies in which 30% of the seats in both houses (Bi-cameral) were reserved for women. She further spells out that

among the roles of ‘The Forum of Women Parliamentarians’ (Which is the women’s caucus) were to: review existing laws and introduces amendments to discriminatory legislation, examine proposed laws with an eye to gender sensitivity. Among other achievements, women in Rwanda influenced an amendment to the law that discriminated against women inheriting land in 1999 (Powley, 2007). The Rwandan case provides a fairly detailed account of women’s influence on legislative amendments.

2.5 Women’s Role in Parliamentary Committees

Women legislators once elected have to consolidate their position of power and authority in both the house and committees in order to influence the legislative process. Few women in politics are recognized by appointing authorities as suitably qualified to fill certain positions in parliamentary hierarchies, particularly at the higher levels as speaker or deputy speakers of the house. The IPU report (2015) on women in politics: 20years in review showed that statistically, there were only 46 women speakers out of 190 parliaments globally; from the 54 countries in Africa, in only 11 countries did women preside over the lower or single and the upper houses as shown in the table below.

Table 1: Countries with a woman presiding over the lower or single house of parliament and upper house or senate, in Africa as at 1 January 2016.

Lower/Single House	Upper House
Botswana	Equatorial Guinea
Mauritius	Gabon
Mozambique	Swaziland
Rwanda	
South Africa	Zimbabwe
Uganda	
United Republic of Tanzania	

This shows that women are still not adequately represented in politics precisely in the National Assemblies. The statistics show that the few that have made it to National Assemblies either in the single lower or upper houses are still struggling to be considered in positions of leadership within these houses. Despite the status quo, a number of gender targeted bills have been passed in Africa and elsewhere with women being members of such committees as are responsible for handling gender matters. Therefore it's imperative to unearth such knowledge from the Zambian context by examining the women's performance towards gender responsive legislation within committees.

By definition, parliamentary committees are smaller forums where members investigate the workability of legislation and government policies and make recommendations to the broader assembly (IPU Report, 2015). Thus, the purpose of parliamentary committees is to assist the National Assembly in the legislative and oversight responsibilities. They are mandated to carry out assignments given to them by the speaker of the National Assembly and report their findings back to the house. In this regard, parliament performs its democratic mandate of providing checks and balances as well as guiding the formulation of policies through committees. Each member (except ministers in the case of Zambia) of the National Assembly belongs to a committee. Normally parliamentary committees correspond with the government ministries and departments.

The appointment of members to committees is a privilege for the speaker of the National Assembly in consultation with party leaders within the house. In a project report by the UNDP (2013) on gender mainstreaming strategies for National Assemblies, it was noted that in countries where women's representation is low, (in National Assemblies) committee membership is very patchy, with the majority of women situated in the Social and Cultural Affairs portfolio and that women are very poorly represented in Economics, Law and Security committees. This was confirmation of an earlier survey conducted by the IPU in 2009 and 2010 in which it was discovered that globally, the share of women in committees related to social affairs was 40 per cent. In terms of leadership, women constituted approximately 21 per cent of committee chairs of the parliaments surveyed, and 23 per cent of deputy chair positions. Consistent with the overall composition of committees, women were most commonly chairs of committees on women/gender issues or social policy (IPU Report, 2015). The reason for this state of affairs could be that women have a background in the social sector and lack experience in economic, legal and security affairs.

With reference to positions, Froimovich et. al. (2013) in their examination of evidence of legislative change found that in Viet Nam women had occupied leadership positions in the National Assembly. They reported that out of the four vice presidents of the 2011-2016 legislative terms, two were women and that the proportion of female representation in committees had risen to 23.6 per cent over the previous term.

Similarly, in Rwanda, reports have indicated that the number of women leading committees had drastically improved. If the chair of a committee is female, her deputy is male and vice versa (Markham, 2012). In Uganda, the situation was more favourable as the speaker of the national assembly was female (Rebecca Kadaga) who chairs the committee on appointments, committee in Business and the Parliamentary Commission. This state of affairs illustrates the importance of balancing leadership roles in the national assembly and is designed, in part, to ensure that a gender perspective is included in all committees, and not relegated solely to the gender affairs committee. As such, women gain more experience in heading committees that have largely been male dominated and their contributions will in turn be improved.

Research has also revealed that women are also more likely to reach across party lines and strive for consensus, even in partisan and polarized environments (NDI, 2011). The same can be assumed of women working with their male counterparts in parliamentary committees with regard to addressing women's concerns with a view to fostering gender equality.

Chilufya's (2013) research on the role of women legislators and women's caucus in the Zambian parliament established that in the last session of the 10th National Assembly, the women's parliamentary caucus lobbied for women representation in the 16 or so committees of Parliament. One participant in his study explained that *"each time there is a session; we have to ensure that some of us are appointed to be chair or at least deputy chair in these parliamentary committees. This is what helped as a result of our efforts to have honourable Jean Kapata MP to lead the Committee on Health, Community Development and Social Welfare."* This finding in part confirms women's relegation to committees associated with caring professions. The question therefore that begs an answer is whether or not women legislators through the committees have influenced legislation to address women and girl's concerns.

Legitimacy of the committee outcomes on issues affecting women and girls must be taken into consideration. Therefore, a committee relating to gender matters must take into account the views of both men and women legislators on an equal basis. According to Markham (2012), either a women's affairs committee or gender committee can be an effective way of ensuring gender sensitive legislation. It is therefore important that both men and women are members of such committees to ensure that their work is not regarded as women's views but as a collective agreement. As revealed by the NDI (2011) in a study conducted in Serbia, the committee had to ensure that legislative initiatives were reviewed from a gender perspective throughout the policy processes. Similarly, in Uganda Domestic violence was portrayed not as a women's issue, but as a family issue that required the attention of men and women as women advocated for the enactment of the Domestic Violence Act (Froimovich, 2013).

Other arguments from scholars such as Skjeie (1991) on the rhetoric of difference on women's inclusion in politics in Karam & Lovenduski (2005: 199) have stressed that "the experience of the Netherlands shows that the creation of parliamentary committees on women's issues is one way of making position for women and such committees scrutinize all legislation for their gendered content and thereby aid the extension of women's agendas. They also enhance awareness of the gendered nature of many political issues. The committees feed into the legislative process and also play a part in generating public discussion on such issues." However, having a women's committee runs the risk of their work not being widely accepted especially by male counterparts. The general unbiased objectives of such committees must therefore be understood by all. However, Skjeie, (1991), further argues that while in existence they can enable women to display their skills and thus serve as launching platforms for careers in other political areas.

2.5.1 Women as Equals in Committees

For women to effectively perform their oversight duties in committees, mutual respect with their male counterparts must be present. In Uganda, a study conducted by the Center for Women in Government and Civil Society (2014), revealed that the majority of female legislators were actually cognizant of the fact that their male counterparts respected strong women who carried themselves with dignity and self-respect. The study further revealed that female leadership had been more valued in parliament and committees as the women out-performed their male counterparts. When asked about voicing out their concerns and opinions on equal footing, it was

revealed that female legislators were given equal opportunity to freely debate issues both in parliamentary committees and in the house.

Summary

The literature reviewed from various countries gives an insight on the impact of women legislators and women's caucuses on the legislature and the legislative process. Some studies have shown how women legislators coordinate with the women's organisations in reviewing existing discriminatory laws and policies in order to address the concerns of women and children, particularly girls. The literature reviewed has further shown that countries with a higher proportion of women in the legislature have witnessed an increase in the introduction and amendments to a number of gender responsive legislations. Scholars such as Grey have argued that women do not need a critical mass to affect the legislative process but instead women acting as critical actors can influence the legislative process. The literature also revealed that the roles of women legislators in parliamentary committees are limited globally. This is so in that the proportion of women heading committees is lesser as compared to that of men. This however does not mean that women in parliamentary committees cannot influence an outcome just as mere members. Where women have been found to head a committee, literature has suggested that such committees are those linked to caring professions. Literature further indicates that the proportion of men heading legislatures is higher compared to that of women. In countries (Rwanda, Sweden, South Africa) with higher proportions of women the National Assemblies, literature has however shown a balance in terms of representation and leadership roles in parliamentary committees and in some cases women have been reported to out-perform their male counterparts in committees. The situation is not known in Zambia and thus this study seeks to investigate the women's influence on gender responsive legislation.

CHAPTER THREE - METHODOLOGY

3.1 Overview

This chapter presents the procedures adopted in conducting this research. It discusses the methodology which was used in the study. It starts with an outline of the area and scope of the study, description of the research design that was employed, the target population, sample size, the sampling procedures and research instruments used. Furthermore, it describes the data collection procedures and how data was analysed to answer the research questions.

3.2 Area and Scope

The study was conducted in Lusaka and within the precincts of parliament as all members of parliament are easily accessed when parliament is in session. WILDAF, NGOCC, ZNWL and Ministry of Gender have their head offices in Lusaka from which data was also collected from officials in these women's organizations.

3.3 Research Design

A research design is a plan or outline that is used to generate answers to research problems (Kombo & Tromp, 2006). In other words, a research design entails the planning of any research from the beginning until the last stage of the research. In a much broader sense, the research design guides the research in collecting, analyzing and interpretation of gathered facts (Bless & Achola, 1988). A Descriptive research designs was adopted as the study aimed to establish an understanding of realities and experiences of women legislators in terms of their performance towards influencing gender targeted legislation despite their underrepresentation.

3.3.1 Research Method

In this study, the researcher was cognizant of the fact that each method of data collection has its own limitations. As such, the mode of inquiry adopted in this study was a multi-method mode of inquiry. According to Creswell (2009: 47), "limitations or biases inherent in one method could neutralize or cancel the biases of other methods." As a result, this mode of inquiry was used as a basis for adopting an appropriate research design. However, in this study the quantitative orientation was given lesser priority while qualitative approach was given a higher priority. "The use of a multi-method mode of inquiry in a study enhances the validity and credibility of the study" (Macmillan & Schumacher, 2001: 428-429). Creswell (2009) affirms the proceeding statement by stating that triangulation may lead to confirmed and validated findings. Therefore, the use of a multi-method mode of inquiry sought to converge qualitative data with quantitative data. The

quantitative approach ensures validity, reliability and objectivity to the study while the qualitative approach ensures the achievement of a holistic view of the phenomenon by exploring meaning, feelings, experiences and perceptions (Tashakkori and Teddie, 2003).

3.4 Study Population

Oson and Onen (2009) refer to a target population as the total environment of interest to the one carrying out research. The study population comprised of 156 women and men parliamentarians serving between January 2010 and August 2016. 64 Officials from the Ministry of Gender, WiLDAF, NGOCC and ZNWL were also part of the population.

3.5 Sampling Strategy and Size

A sample size according to Kahn & Best (2006) is a small proportion of the population that is selected for observation and analysis. Simple random sampling was used to select 40 male parliamentarians across all parties. The sample comprised of 25 P.F MPs, 14 UPND MPs and 1 Independent MP. A 'lottery' technique of selection was used by assigning numbers to the 54 male members available at the time of the study. Simple random sampling was preferred because it gives equal chance of being selected while 14 women parliamentarians were selected purposively because they were a minority and the study was focused on their work. It was during the 12th National Assembly (2017 to be precise) that this study was conducted and in total comprised of 30 women legislators. Among the 30, the 14 were selected purposively because they served as legislators during the period under study (2010-2016) while the rest did not. Therefore, these were suitable to provide the desired responses. Among the 14, 8 were PF, 1 MMD, 4 UPND and 1 FDD. Purposive sampling was appropriate in this case because it relates to the choosing of sample elements that the researcher feels represents the characteristics in which he or she is interested.

The sample also comprised of one principle gender officer from the Women's Caucus desk at the National Assembly who was selected purposively as a key informant.

Six (6) officials were also drawn from each of the following institutions; WiLDAF, ZNWL and Ministry of Gender while 1 advocacy officer was selected from NGOCC. These were also selected purposively because the institutions coordinate with the women legislators and the women's parliamentary caucus. The sample size therefore comprised of 74 respondents initially. After the study the total number of participants reduced to 62 comprising 47 male and 15 female participants.

3.6 Data Collection Techniques and Instruments

Data was collected from December 2016 to June 2017. The following techniques and instruments were used:

- 1. Document Analysis:** The documents under review during this study included: reports by parliamentary committees and parliamentary debate Publications. These documents were appropriate to the study as they provided reliable documented accounts of the performance of the women legislators.
- 2. Questionnaires:** Self-administered questionnaires with both open and closed ended questions were administered to 40 male MPs, 18 officials (5 Gender specialists from the ministry of gender, 6 women empowerment officers from WiLDAF and 6 personnel from ZNWL and 1 advocacy officer from NGOCC) from the women's movement. A total of 58 questionnaires were distributed and 55 were returned. The use of questionnaires was appropriate for the purpose of validating information from other techniques. Questionnaires were also found to be relatively convenient to the respondent and fairly easy to tabulate and analyse for the researcher. The use of open end questions was to allowed respondents to frame their own responses and where possible give a reason for his or her frame of responses.
- 3. In-depth Interview Guide:** One to One interviews were conducted with 6 women legislators and 1 key informant a principle officer from the women's desk at parliament. Responses from the interviews were noted down as well as recorded. This proved to be an accurate way of collecting data. This technique is also reliable in order to gather in-depth and specific information from the respondents on the particular case of women's influence on gender targeted legislation. This entails that on the spot improvements, explanations and adjustments can be introduced to collect accurate information.

3.7 Data Analysis

Quantitative data was analyzed using Microsoft Excel and presented using Charts and tables while qualitative data was analyzed thematically. In the analysis of legislation, the study relied on primary sources of data such as daily plenary sessions of the National Assembly, reports of the committee on gender matters and speeches by ministers of gender. The data generated from these sources was qualitative in nature and was coded and analysed thematically.

3.8 Challenges Faced

The study, however, faced challenges in the availability of some critical primary documents, specifically minutes of the ZWPC meetings and recorded proceedings of parliamentary committees. The information was intended to support and confirm the accounts of the women legislators. However, this limitation was controlled by engaging one critical actor from the women's desk at parliament to support the accounts of the women legislators.

This study was also expected to draw units of analysis from (14) women parliamentarians traversing all political parties who had female representation in the house at the time of the study. Since this was a small population, it was envisaged that each member would be reached individually or as a group in form of one focus group discussion comprising 8 member's utmost. However, this study was conducted during the 12th National Assembly as this was the period approval was granted to undertake the study and as such, it was not possible to reach all the targeted women and men legislators because others were not available for participation. Additionally, some gender specialists from the gender ministry were not willing to participate in the study despite the researcher's assurance to respect their right of anonymity.

Under these limitations, this study should be perceived as a first step toward understanding the complex question of women's substantive representation in Zambia.

3.9 Ethical Considerations

The study was conducted while ensuring that research ethics were strictly followed. Approval and introductory letters were obtained from the Gender Studies Department of the University to allow the researcher conduct the research. The rights of the respondents in this study were upheld and the researcher made sure to come up with questions which did not harm the respondents emotionally and psychologically and the aim and benefits of the study were explained. Participants and respondents were assured of anonymity and confidentiality by assigning them with pseudo names. Respect was also granted to those who wished not to participate in the study.

CHAPTER FOUR - PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

The previous chapter presented the methodology used to collect data in this study. This chapter is a presentation, analysis as well as a discussion of the research findings on the influence of women legislators and the Zambia Women's Parliamentary Caucus on GRL. The Chapter is presented in themes derived from the research objectives which were: (1). To analyze the relations between women parliamentarians and the women's movements towards influencing introduction and amendments of gender legislations; (2) To determine strategies used by women parliamentarians and the women's parliamentary caucus to influence introduction of gender targeted legislation; (3). To determine the strategies by women parliamentarians and the women's caucus to influence amendments to legislation to address women and girls concerns; (4). To examine the role of the women parliamentarians in parliamentary committees.

The research questions that guided data collection were:

- i. What are the *relations* between the women's movements and the women legislators with regard to influencing gender legislation?
- ii. What are the *strategies* women parliamentarians used to influence the introduction of gender responsive legislation to address women and girl's concerns?
- iii. How have the women parliamentarians and the women's parliamentary caucus *influenced amendments* to gender responsive legislation?
- iv. What *roles* do women parliamentarians perform in addressing women and girls concerns in *parliamentary committees*?

4.1.1 Description of Sample

The total intended sample for this study was 74 consisting women and male legislators who served from January 2010 to September 2016, officials from the Ministry of Gender, NGOCC, WiLDAF and ZWLG. However only 62 (see reason in chapter 3 on challenges) participated in the study consisting of 15 women and 47 men as shown below.

Table 2: Description of the Sample

INSTISTUTION/M.Ps	SEX		No. OF RESPONDENTS
	Male	female	
Ministry of Gender	3	2	5
NGOCC	1	0	1
ZWLG	3	3	6
WILDAF	2	4	6
Women's desk (parley)	1	0	1
M.Ps	37	6	43
Totals	47	15	62

4.1.2 Social - Demographic Characteristics of Sample.

Table 3: Legislators Age Range

Age Range	Female	Male	Total
21-30	-	-	-
31-40	1	1	2
41-50	1	13	14
51-60	3	20	23
Above 60	1	3	4

The table above shows that the majority of legislators were in the age range 41-60 comprising all but one female legislator who was above the age of 60. The majority of male MPs also fell in the age range 41-60 except 1 who was in the age range 31-40 and another 3 above the age of 60. From

this sample, the data indicates that this class of politicians both women and men were in politics while in the same age range.

Table 4: Age Range- women’s movements

Age Range	Female	Male	Total
21-30	1	0	1
31-40	4	6	10
41-50	2	2	4
51-60	2	2	4
Above 60	0	0	0

The majority of participants from the women’s movement and the ministry of gender were below the age of 41. As activists for gender parity in politics, we can assume that activism is best conducted while young for those in the women’s movements.

Table 5: Marital Status –Legislators

Status	Women	Men	Total
Single	-	0	1
Married	2	32	34
Divorced	2	2	3
Separated	-	2	3
Widowed	2	1	2

From the 6 women legislators, 2 were married, 2 were divorced and another 2 widowed. The majority of women legislators in this case were not married and this therefore affirms Sampa’s (2010) assertion that most women aspire for political office when they have little family responsibilities. A larger proportion of men were married as compared to those who were not. This

too Sampa alleged that men on the other hand easily remarry when they lose a wife thereby explaining the higher proportion of married participants for men as compared to those who are not.

Table 6: Marital Status – Women’s Movements/Min of Gender

Status	Women	Men	Total
Single	3	5	8
Married	5	5	10
Divorced	0	0	0
Separated	1	0	1
Widowed	-	0	0

The findings indicate a somewhat equal proportion of married women and men in the women’s movements. Only 3 women and 5 men were single while one female was separated.

Table 7: Highest Education Qualification – Legislators

Qualification	Women	Men	Total	%	
				F	M
GCE O’Level		1	1	-	2.3
Certificate	1	5	6	2.3	12
Diploma	2	8	10	4.7	19
Advanced Diploma	1	-	1	2.3	-
Degree	1	16	17	2.3	37.2
Masters		5	5	-	11.6
PhD		1	1	-	2.3
Professor	1	1	2	2.3	2.3

In terms of academic qualifications, the results showed that only 1 male legislator had a General Certificate of Education while 1 woman and 5 men had college certificates. 2 women and 8 men were diploma holders and 1 woman was a holder of an advanced college diploma. 1 woman and 16 men had first university degrees while only 5 men legislators had second degrees. 1 male held a PhD while 1 woman and 1 man were professors. Similar to Sampa's (2010) findings, the results revealed that most of the women were well educated (certificate level and above). All female legislators had tertiary education an indication that women are qualified for political office in accordance with the Zambian constitution, yet when compared with the education of their male counterparts, women legislators as not as educated. This could be a contributing factor that perpetuates women's underrepresentation in parliament.

Table 8: Highest Education Qualification – Women's Movements/Min of Gender

	Women	Men	Total
GCE O'Level	-	-	-
Certificate	-	-	-
Diploma	-	2	2
Advanced Diploma	-	-	-
Degree	7	5	12
Masters	2	3	5
PhD	-	-	-
Professor	-	-	-

With reference to respondents from the women's movements, the data showed that respondents were also well educated, that is male and female alike. The proportion of female degree holders was higher than that of the male (7:5). The proportion of respondents with second degrees was slightly higher for males (3: 2). This small difference in proportions entails that women and men activists are both qualified to handle and advocate for gender matters on an equal footing.

Table 9: Term of office and Years of Service

Terms of office	Legislators		Years of Work	Other Participants	
	Women	Men		Women	Men
One Term	1	11	2-5	5	4
Two Terms	2	21	5-10	2	5
Three Terms	3	4	10-15	1	1
Four Terms	-	1	15-20	1	-
Over 20	-	-	-	-	-

The 12th National Assembly comprised of 18.2% women and 81.8% men. The table illustrates the terms of office for MPs and years in services for participants from the women’s movement, Ministry of Gender and the key informant from the women’s desk. The results showed that only 1 woman and 11 men had served as M.Ps for one term. 2 women and 21 men had been M.Ps for two terms while 3 women 4 men had served three terms. The longest serving M.P was four terms. Despite the different proportions of male and female legislators in the National Assembly, it is evident that 50% of the women served as legislators for 3 terms compared to 14% of the men. This shows that women have more chances of being re-adopted by their political parties having gained experience as parliamentarians. Such experience helps women to have more influence and be effective in the house.

4.1.3 Motivation to become a member of parliament

Table 10: Motivating factors

Response	Number of F MPs	Number of M M.Ps
People wanted me	1	12
Party Keeness	-	24
Develop Constituency	6	37
Change gov't Policy/advocate for women	5	21

The data presented in the table above shows the numbers of MPs who gave the responses as to why they became MPs. From an open ended question, male MPs gave similar responses to those of women. It should be noted that most legislators gave more than one response. All M.Ps indicated that they became M.Ps to develop their constituencies. This is inclusive of all the women legislators. 26 M.Ps indicated that they became M.Ps to change government policies and it is in this category that all the opposition M.Ps fell. Of the 26, 5 of the female legislators further expressed that they wanted to change government policies by advocating for women's issues in parliament. 13 indicated that the people in their constituency also wanted them to stand with the only independent candidate and one woman falling in this category. Seemingly, popularity can be said to have played a role with regards to getting adopted as a candidate. 24 M.Ps, all male, both from the ruling party and the opposition indicated that their parties were keen on adopting them. Notably, no female legislator indicated such a response suggesting preference for male candidates as opposed to females.

4.2 Relations Between the Women's Movements and the Women Legislators with Regard to Influencing Gender Responsive Legislation

Research objective one wished to establish the common grounds which showed the relations between women movement groups and women legislators in their quest to influence gender responsive legislations. To establish this, the researcher administered questionnaires to the sampled officials from the Ministry of Gender, women's movements and to the male

parliamentarians. The male parliamentarians were included to acquire their perceptions on the nature of relationship between the women legislators and the women's movements. Interviews were also conducted with the women legislators as well to gain more elaborate insights into the role of the women's movements in supporting the work of the women legislators. Themes were generated from data that came from interviews and the verbatim recorded alongside data from questionnaires. Among the common themes that emerged were, 'Advocacy on AU and SADC 50% political representation threshold, Women organization initiated campaigns on gender equality matters, Women's movements supporting of elections of women to the National Assembly, Networking with the Women Parliamentarians and the Women's Caucus on the legislative process'. These were aspects that demonstrated the relations between women groups and women parliamentarians. Below are the findings and verbatim of respondents.

4.2.1 Advocacy for 50% Political Representation Threshold

Women's movements respondents as well as women parliamentarians when asked on areas that acted as common grounds for their relations, it was pointed out that advocacy on the AU and SADC 50% political representation in parliament acted as common ground. One female legislator was of the view that the women's movements should be given some credit for influencing the increase of women participation at various levels through their advocacy. Advocacy was said to be one of the strategies that legislators identified as having played a role in getting to improve female representation in parliament as almost all the women's organizations had advocacy programmes. In her submissions, M.P 3 elaborated as follows:

“you know where gender is concerned...I think we have made a lot of strides and the NGOs that deal with women's affairs have really helped...I think it is all because of the advocacy work that they do that we are also able to push for gender laws in parliament...for instance they helped us advocate for the ministry of gender especially during women's day celebrations...so it's a mutual relationship in that way.”

Zambia had also witnessed an increase in the number of women being appointed to positions of decision making in both government and the private sector. Credit to this effect is due to the advocacy by the women’s movements through generation and dissemination of information on women’s empowerment. This had led to increased women’s participation at all levels.

4.2.2 Support of election of women in politics to the National Assembly

It was noted that, relations between women’s movements and women parliamentarian’s start as early as the periods before women parliamentarians get into the National Assembly. From a closed ended question respondents were asked to indicate by ticking the appropriate responses (one or more) that best applies to their organization. 16 out of 18 respondents from the ministry of gender and the women’s movements agreed to their institutions supporting the election of women to the National Assembly for the reasons as indicated below.

Table 11: Reasons for supporting women candidates

REASON	NO. OF RESPONDENTS
Increase proportion of women	16
Address women/girls concerns	8
Improve Solidarity among women	4
Advance institutional interests	3

The table shows the numbers of people who gave reasons as to why the women’s movements support the election of women to the N.A. From the table above, 16 respondents from all the women’s organisations were of the view that the support was aimed at increasing the proportion of the women in parliament. Another 8 indicated that their support is intended to address women and girls concerns in the N.A while 4 people indicated that the support is for the purpose of increasing women’s support for each other in parliament. Only 3 individuals indicated that their institutions support was intended to advance their institutional interests.

The obtained data therefore shows that the women’s movements considered the election of women to parliament as most urgent in order to acquire numbers necessary to influence women and girls

issues. This suggests that the collaboration between the women's movements and the women parliamentarians is most strengthened and most apparent during election times.

It was also apparent that the three women's organizations from which respondents were drawn all endeavor to ensure women's descriptive representation improves in an attempt to get women's issues in the political domain. This resonates with Shvedova's (2005) sentiments that the last two decades have witnessed an increase in the number of women elected to parliaments in matured democracies. She attributed this increase in the number of elected women to the efforts by women's organizations inside and outside political organisations through their efforts to secure electoral changes to nominate and elect women. Consequently, Zambia has witnessed a slow increase in the proportion of seats held by women from 8% two decades ago to 18.1% in 2017.

4.2.3 Capacity building

Capacity building as one of the ways the women legislators and the women's movements demonstrate their relations through networking was reported by respondents from the women's organisations. A respondent from the ZWLG elaborated that they worked with the women parliamentarians by holding capacity building workshops where they helped improve women's skills as parliamentarians. The respondent said:

“Women as parliamentary candidates were also engaged in a number of projects like the ‘Count me in Campaign’ where they were grooming women candidates for effective campaign's. The aim was to ensure the effective participation of women by improving their political leadership skills. This project was aimed at enhancing and promoting women's participation in elections.”.

The evidence above showed that the role of the women's movement was mostly based on ensuring that women are equipped with the skills needed to debate in the house as well as campaign skills in order to effectively influence legislation and policy. This however is in contrast with Shvedova's (2005) findings who noted that there has been less cooperation between the women's organizations and the women parliamentarians especially in young democracies and this she attributes to the lack of awareness to the potential benefits of this networking and a possible lack of resources. The

evident coordination where capacity building is concerned prepares women for effective advocacy where gender legislation is concerned.

According to Ndhlovu and Mutale (2013), they expressly stated that women's groups are responsible for constitutional and legislative transformations that are gender responsive in Africa. In the Zambian context, in spite of the urgent need being women's political representation, the women's movements have also largely engaged in the legislative process through advocacy and at committee stage for the purpose of making submission when required to.

4.2.4 Networking on Gender Legislation through Gender Committee

Once elected, to the National Assembly, one might expect that relations between the women legislators and the women's movements would strengthen and flourish in terms of substantive representation owing to the support rendered during campaigns. The women legislators and respondents from the women's movements were asked to explain whether there had been any collaborated efforts to influence either the introduction or amendments to legislation. The aspect of networking on gender legislation was one prominent point of relation expressed by women legislators and respondents from the women's movements. The point of relations with the women parliamentarians was through successful invitations to make submissions on gender issues as submitted by respondents from ZWLG. NGOCC also indicated that they were invited to make submissions on the GEEB as well as the Anti-GBV bill and the organisation was further pushing for the establishment of a men's network on gender matters. For instance, one respondent from WiLDAF, mentioned:

“My organization was invited to make submissions on the Anti-Gender Based Violence Act of 2011...today, NGOCC has taken the lead in making such submissions as we are now more focused on women empowerment. To us this demonstrates how influential our opportunity to engage in women's issues can be.”

Based on the study findings, respondents from the three women's organisations seemed to hold the view that the women's movements have strong relation with women in parliament and that, they are directly involved in the legislative process when called upon to make submission once a piece of legislation is being drafted as well as at committee stage. It was interesting to note that

the women's organisation NGOCC was pushing for the establishment of men's parliamentary network on gender. This strategy is one that would dilute certain patriarchal attitudes that impeded the realization of equality. Additionally, such a network would amplify the women's voices in parliament and subsequently enhance gender mainstreaming.

Interviews with the women legislators also revealed the role of women's movement in supporting the work of the women legislators vis-à-vis gender targeted legislation. M.P 1 said:

“I can recall the invitation which was extended to the women's lobby group by the committee on Legal Affairs Governance Human Rights Gender Matters and Child Affairs (LAGHRGMCA) to make submissions on the two bills; that is the Anti-GBV Bill and the GEEB. They responded positively and it was a success. This demonstrated the good relations that exist between us.”

4.2.5 Gender Legislative Consultancy

It was realized that as the ministry responsible for gender matters, Ministry of Gender had the responsibility of making consultations with women in parliament and the women's movements as stakeholders. This meant that good working relations needed to exist in order to address such matters. Based on gathered evidence, there was some collaboration with the women parliamentarians on women's issues in the formulation of legislation. One respondent from the ministry of gender asserted that they engaged both the women parliamentarians and the women's movements when drafting legislation that bordered on gender matters. She stated:

“We work with women parliamentarians and NGOs in various ways. For instance, when the GEEB bills was being drafted, the women MPs were sensitized on the contents before it was sent to parliament... we also asked them if they had things they wanted to be added or removed. Most of the women wanted an autonomous gender commission in the GEEB.”

Froimovich (2013) acknowledges the importance of collaborating with the women's organizations by explaining that women's organizations of all kinds can provide research and expertise, draft policies on women's issues and furnish insight into how legislation involving a range of issues, such as water, education reform or land rights, may affect women differently than men. Similarly, networking can further be enhanced when women's caucuses also supply information on important

upcoming association and committee (Parliamentary committees) meetings to the women's organizations so they can better prepare, strategize on how to influence the outcome. Such a working relationship is one that yields significant results where gender targeted legislation is concerned.

The findings further resonate with those of Powley (2006) who revealed that in Rwanda; the Forum of Women Parliamentarians (Which is the women's caucus) liaises with the women's movements, and conducts meetings and training with women's organizations to sensitize the population and advice on legal issues. The Zambia Women's Parliamentary Caucus engages to a large extent with Ministry of Gender and women's movements in making gender legislation submissions. It is for this reason that programmes in the ministry such as boys to men which teach boys from an early age to value and respect women were adopted by the ministry following resolutions by the caucus as reported by the key informant.

4.2.6 Rating the Relationship with the Women MPs

In terms of rating the relationship between the women legislators and the women's movements, male MPs and the respondents from the women's movements were required to tick their response from the provided choices. Male M.Ps were asked this in order to get their perceived view of the relationship between the women legislators and the women's movements. The responses to this closed ended question are shown in the chart below:

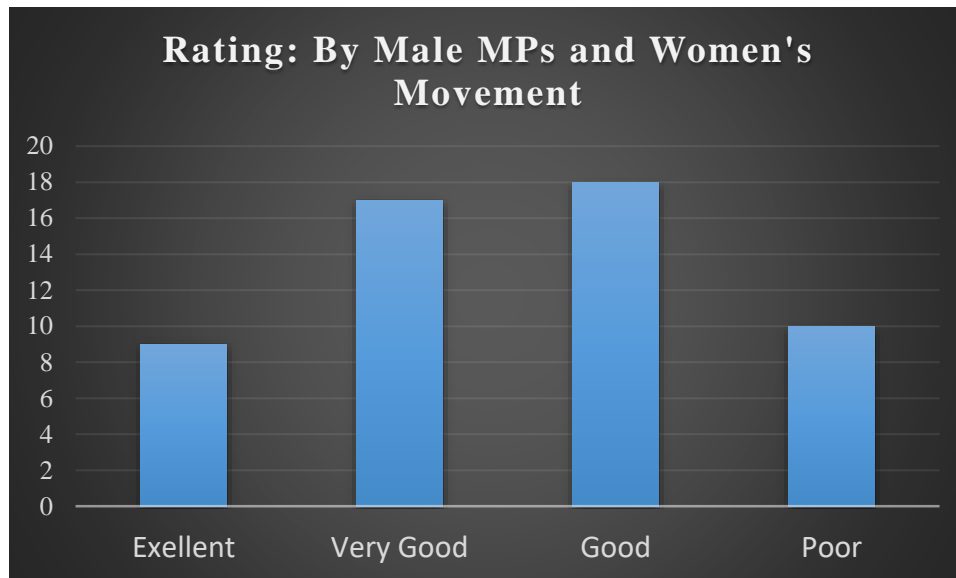


Figure 1: Rating the relationship by women’s movements and male M.Ps. Field Data (2017)

The chart above is an illustration on how respondents rated the relationship between the women’s organizations and the women M.Ps. The general feeling was that the relationship was more than just good. 2 respondents from women’s movements, 1 from the ministry of gender and 6 male M.Ps rated the relationship as excellent. Another 3 respondents from the women’s movements and 14 M.Ps rated the relationship as very good. 3 from the women’s movements, 3 from the ministry of gender and 12 male M.Ps rated the relationship as just good while 4 respondents from the women’s movements, 1 respondent from the ministry of gender and 5 male M.Ps rated the relationship as poor. Most of the respondents who rated the relationship as poor felt that it was one of suspicion especially with women in government. One respondent stated:

“Some women in parliament do not consider women movements as partners for the reason that they think the women’s movements are there to oppose them especially those in government.”

Some ratings that indicate low relations possibly are for women organizations which did not have firm relations with women legislators for special reasons. For instance, one female legislator reported to have had cordial relations with certain women’s organizations while being suspicious of one women’s organization of being partisan. She narrated (M.P 1) that:

“well...we have a very cordial relationship as parliamentarians with women groupings especially the womens lobby....because the women’s lobby their interest is to see to it that they have women and not just women but quality women.....we have some of the these NGOs that relate to women like.....(name withheld) which is headed by madam...(name withheld) which is political as far as we are concerned.....they bring in politics...it’s like they are in bed with certain political parties...and I feel as a member of parliament and a female parliamentarian especially that issues of women we do not need to politicize them.”

This response implies that there could be preferences in terms of which women’s organizations the women legislators would want to work with. Such a state of affairs further weakens the relationship between the women in parliament and women’s organizations. This may also deteriorate into relations of push and pull. Women’s organizations that are supposedly partisan and inclined to the ruling government run the risk of being less critical on issues affecting women and girls.

4.3 Women Legislators and the Women’s Caucus strategies of Influence on Introduction of Gender Responsive Legislation.

This study focused on the period 2010 to 2016, a period in which two important laws were passed by the Zambian National Assembly, namely the ‘Gender Equity and Equality Act of 2015 and the Anti-Gender Based Violence Act of 2011.’ A policy to end child marriages was also formulated by the Ministry of Gender. This research objective sought to acquire information from respondents on the performance of women legislators towards introduction of gender responsive legislation such as the Gender Equity and Equality Bill of 2015 and the Anti-Gender Based Violence Act of 2011. Various responses were obtained from both female and male M.Ps, women organizations and the key informant. Various themes emerged from this regard including: Taking advantage of the female minister of gender and the caucus.

4.3.1 (a). Taking Advantage of the Female Ministers of Gender and the Caucus

Women legislators who were interviewed shared similar views on their influence towards introduction of gender responsive legislation. It was established that efforts by the female M.Ps contributed to the introduction of the Gender Equity and Equality Bill of 2015.

One female MP categorically stated:

“We take advantage of the Minister of Gender who is also a member of the women’s caucus. To us it is a privilege to have the ministry which was the gender division at cabinet office and which in my view to some degree it has assisted in trying to bring about gender equality”.

Another M.P 6 affirmed the above response of the fellow M.P by stating that, having a standalone Ministry of Gender created by President Michael Chilufya Sata during his tenure in 2013 was a stepping stone to influencing of legislation as there was an implementing institution of the laws to be formulated. She narrated:

“Where legislation is concerned...it has become much easier because the ministry will always back legislation that supports the welfare of women...and the minister herself is a member of the women’s caucus...her honor the vice president for instance when she was gender minister...we had discussions during some of our caucus meetings over GEEB bill especially its contents...and as the bill was coming to the house all the women including those in opposition spoke with one voice.”

From the verbatim above, one important aspect to note is that the Ministers of Gender in Zambia had always been female thus, making them part and parcel of the women’s caucus. Therefore, this showed the advantageous position women legislators were in and had used in advocating for gender pieces of legislation.

The Gender Equity and Equality bill which was passed and ratified in 2015 spelled out a number of factors that are cardinal in fostering gender equality if unreservedly implemented. The act provides for: (1) the establishment of the Gender Equity and Equality Commission which shall have offices at provincial and district levels. Section (2) affirms that the commission shall have the responsibility of attaining and mainstreaming gender equality. Further down, section (3) clauses (a), (b), (c), and (d) prescribe the responsibilities of the commission as follows; (a) monitor, investigate, advise, educate and report on issues of gender equality. (b) ensure institutions comply with legal requirements and other standards relating to gender equality. (c) take steps to secure appropriate redress to complaints relating to gender equality. (d) Perform such other functions as

prescribed (Constitution Amendment Act No. 2 of 2016). The anti-GBV Act on the other hand provides for the protection of victims of gender based violence by constituting the Anti-GBV committee, establishing the Anti-GBV fund.

We can therefore conclude that women in the Zambian National Assembly through the Women Caucus were able to take advantage of the growing political will to advocate for the enactment of the two important pieces of legislation even though the percentage of women in the house stood at 11% in 2011 and 14% in 2015. In agreement with Grey (2006), different thresholds have to be recognized in studies on women in parliaments; for example, attaining a proportion of 15% may allow female politicians to change the political agenda. This was further amplified by Chilufya (2013) who explained that women in the Zambian parliament succeeded in setting the agenda for women's issues despite being few in number. This study has gone an extra mile by identifying how the women in the case of Zambia have not only continued to set the agenda for women's concerns but also how they influenced the introduction of legislation with a view to achieving gender equality.

4.3.1 (b). Adoption of Caucus Engagement Outcomes

Another way through which the female parliamentarians managed to influence formulation of new legislations was through attainment of positive outcomes of their caucus consultative discussions and engagements. The key informant (from women's desk at parliament) was on record reporting that, discussions on certain concerns by the women's caucus translated into programmes for the Ministry of gender such as the strategic plan to end child marriages. The key informant elaborated saying:

“The minister of gender is part of the caucus and as such much of the discussions of the caucus or rather resolutions are what translated into policy. The caucus ensures that decisions arrived at in meetings and activities are implemented. The then draft constitution had provided for a gender equity and equality commission. So it was incumbent upon the women to discuss on the contents of the bill...in the meetings that followed...many of them made suggestions on what they wanted to be included in the bill”

The ZWPC in this regard had shown leadership towards the enactment of the GEEB and Anti-GBV Act. Women successfully diffused their priority on the legislative process through the caucus. Arguably, the push for the GEEB was progressive and spelled out the need to curtail the typical masculine political, social and economic systems. The enactment of such legislation further strengthens the position of women in society and protects women and girls from discriminatory practices and violence. Moreover, in 2017, the women's caucus in their meetings resolved to have the marriage act amended. This was necessitated by the increase in the number of girls that were being married off and falling pregnant at a young age which denied them an education and a future.

The possibility to influence introduction of gender responsive legislation by the women legislators can largely be attributed to the quality of women that had characterized the Zambian parliament during the period under study. An experienced and very assertive crop of women parliamentarians was critical to influencing legislation

4.3.1 (c). Spirit of Unity and Commitment of Purpose

During interviews, there was an observed recurring spirit of unity and commitment of purpose among female legislators for the achievement gender targeted legislation. With regard to women's unity, respondents from the women's movement and ministry of gender were all of the view that women legislators were committed to supporting legislation that aimed at addressing the plight of women and girls. A respondent from NGOCC stated:

“I feel that the women are key players in the legislative process of women and girls related pieces of legislation. Gender laws in Zambia are long overdue for enactment and as such the women legislators have to unite for the sake of the victims”.

Two other respondents from Ministry of Gender and WILDAF expressed similar thoughts of unity and collective voice. A respondent from Ministry of Gender expressed her thoughts saying:

“The women legislators are proactive. Normally they forgo their political party differences and represent women and girls issues, just to support such legislation.”

A respondent from WILDAF said:

“All the women do support gender laws although sometimes they are unable to separate women’s issues from politics. However, most of them have managed to draw a line between the two (politics and women real issues).”

The findings above demonstrate that, in as much as parliaments comprise of different members from various political parties. Gender responsive legislation seems to regroup women in one hypothetical class devoid of the consciousness of political affiliation and make women legislators united and speak with one voice. Even though it is acceptable for women of different political parties to follow different political ideologies, division among women parliamentarians on gender issues have the potential to revert much of the progress that women would have made. Luckily women in the Zambian parliament had proved to all be in support of gender legislation.

4.3.1 (d) Engagement of Gender Sensitive Male M.Ps

It was also discovered that women further took advantage of male legislators who were gender sensitive to support their efforts of influencing formulation of gender laws. In this regard, the women acknowledged their influence but also expressed concern as regard to the proportion of women compared to the male M.Ps. Female M.P 3 explained:

“If you look at the women representation in parliament it’s very small and so for us to influence we depended so much on our colleagues the men...you know to co-opt them and which has been very difficult though some of them are very supportive...we sometimes followed the men during tea break just to convince them to support us.”

When it was evident that women legislators in the Zambian parliament saw that their numbers were insufficient where pushing for gender targeted legislation was concerned, they devised a strategy of soliciting for support from the male parliamentarians not only during debate sessions in the house but also outside the chambers during tea breaks. They adopted this strategy for the mere fact that often times it is during tea breaks that they usually engage into light conversations with the male M.Ps away from the politics of the chambers, hence the chance to co-opt their counterparts. Where gender responsive legislation is concerned, social differences in men and women has the potential to influence their legislative behaviours as women are more likely to propose legislation that favors women, children and the family. Therefore, gender has the potential

to influence one's political views and affect the desired legislation that one wishes to promote, hence the desire to solicit for male support.

Male MPs engaged in the study were asked to give their views through an open-ended question over the performance of women as regard to influencing of gender targeted legislation. Since male M.Ps operate in the same institution of Parliament as women M.Ps, it was deemed necessary to obtain views from them. 31 of the male M.Ps had pointed out that the crop of experienced women in the house had become courageous, motivated and knowledgeable. One male M.P said:

“With our support, the women in the house had a positive impact towards the introduction of gender responsive legislation. They are a crop of women who are proactive, experienced and articulate women's issues well”.

Another male M.P added saying:

“Most of the women in the house have a lot of experience in politics and with that experience comes better relations and understanding on how to juggle the issues in the house. To pass such bills also depended on the men's support.”

The findings above show a not so common contribution to contemporary studies on substantive representation especially in the context of under-representation. This aspect suggests that women's experience and proactiveness coupled with male support proved essential in trying to get gender responsive legislation enacted. This extension of effort seemed to be an effective strategy which the women legislators in the Zambian parliament had employed to get legislation enacted that is gender responsive in nature. This is in agreement with Powley (2007) who observed that given this pressure, women parliamentarians feel an urgency to bring their male colleagues on board and convince them that gender-sensitivity benefits the whole country. The importance attached to incorporating men can be said to be fueled by a sense of urgency and inclusiveness. Tamales (1999) study further revealed that women legislators in Uganda sometimes got men to introduce bills so as not to antagonize less sympathetic male M.Ps. In Zambia however, most bills are presented by the executive members (ministers) in most instances after approval by cabinet.

The Anti-GBV and GEE bills (presented by then ministers of justice George Kunda and minister of gender Nkandu Luo respectively) when brought to the house passed all stages in the house with support of every M.P in the house, women and men. This kind of overwhelming support from the male MPs suggests a shift in terms of patriarchal attitudes towards gender matters. It is suggestive that men are steadily accepting and supporting legislative changes that would bring about gender equality. We can further assume that men in the Zambian National Assembly consider their women counter parts as their equals and therefore would support gender targeted legislations even though most bills come from the executive wing of the government. This is so because no private bills bordering on gender matters have formally been brought to the house by any female legislator or by the caucus directly. Instead, women legislators had opted to make verbal and written submissions as a way to influence legislation through the ministry of gender in the case of the two legislations.

4.3.2 Proposing Gender Responsive Legislation directly in Parliament

Analysis of the Hansards of parliament proceedings revealed how in some instances women in their debates suggested the introduction of bills that border on women's issues as indicated below.

4.3.2 (a). Termination of Pregnancy Bill proposed by Hon. Catherine Namugala (2012)

An attempt by a female legislator to have a bill (Termination of Pregnancy bill) brought to the house was not supported. During a debate session dated 27th September 2012, Hon. Namugala argued for the introduction of the said bill premising her argument on the aspect that unsafe abortions were among the leading causes of maternal mortality. By this, she was attempting to have women's reproductive rights recognized. In response, the vice president bluntly indicated that government had no plans to bring such a piece of legislation. The suggestion to have a bill on abortion brought to the house for enactment signifies a female legislator substantively representing the women in society who are at risk of death due to unsafe abortions. This followed a report by the committee on health which cited un-safe abortions as one of the major causes of maternal mortality in Zambia. This evidence however suggests that despite women having the will to introduce gender targeted bills, not all bills would be supported. Many factors can be attributed to this such as conventional patriarchal attitudes, lack of support from male legislators and generally unpreparedness on the part of the proposer to defend her position and provide merits. Moreover, merely making a proposal in parliament while debating a report may not seem influential enough.

Celis, Childs, Krook & Kantola, 2008; Childs & Krook, 2009; Franceschet & Piscopo, 2008, all observed that even when women have the will to advance women friendly policies, the outcomes are not always successful. Certain internal and external factors may hinder the successful presentation of such an agenda. Additionally, such evidence is revealed by Froimovich (2013) in the draft bills (Gender Equality Bill-Viet Nam: Domestic Relations Bill in Uganda) analysed in Viet Nam and Uganda. In the Former, the Quota for women's representation in the National Assembly, Sub National Peoples Councils and key leadership positions in state institutions were removed while in the latter the whole process to enact the DRB was halted by an executive influence amidst controversy over its provisions that threatened certain religious and cultural practices, such as polygamy. Women's under-representation is a challenge in terms of influencing policy generally; however, accounts from women, the key informant from the women's desk have indicated how the women devised strategies to influence the introduction of the two legislations.

The passage of the GEEB and the Anti-GBV act was a significant victory and a step towards the realization of gender equality in Zambia. The acts provide the legal basis upon which equality and equity can begin to be realized and guarantees protections against domestic violence. Its passage also highlighted the women's substantive representation of women as they made it a top priority to build consensus among both men and women parliamentarians. As such, the presence of women in the National Assembly largely resulted into the substantive representation of women and girls.

4.3.2 (b). Proposing Creation of the Ministry of Gender

Further interrogations of the parliamentary Hansard of 25th October 2011, led to the discovery that women in parliament also argued for the creation of the ministry of gender through their debate in the house prior to the creation of the 'Ministry of Gender and Child Development'. For instance Hon. Ms. Lubezhi M.P for Namwala constituency and Ms. Kalima M.P for Kasenengwa constituency argued as follows on the floor of the house:

Ms. Lubezhi:

“Mr Speaker, I strongly feel gender matters deserve to have full ministerial status with a full Cabinet Minister. I have noted, with keen interest, that Zambia is now lagging behind the rest of the SADC Region on gender equality measures, especially in decision making. It is sad that Zambia has been a pioneer in the region and now, we are the last at a time

when regionally and internationally gender is treated as a key area of national development.”

These sentiments were echoed by Ms. Kalima MP as follows

Mr. Speaker, I expected the PF Government to give priority to addressing gender imbalances by maintaining the Gender Ministry and appointing a full Cabinet Minister as the hon. Member for Namwala suggested earlier. Unfortunately, that has not been the case. Instead, one month down the line, gender issues have no representation at all. I ask whether it is because it is an issue that deals with women.”

Hon. Members: ‘Gender is not women only...’

There were over 10 female legislators who supported the creation of a full-fledged Ministry of Gender. Among them included Hon Ms. Sayifwanda M.P for Zambezi west, Hon. Ms. Siliya M.P for Petauke Central, Hon. Ms. Mazoka M.P for Pemba, Hon. Ms. Sylvia Masebo M.P for Chongwe (Hansard dated 29th February 2012).

Indeed, gender is not about women only but the women are the most marginalized in Zambia. The evidence shows the intensity with which women legislators and the women’s movements pushed for the creation of the Ministry of Gender. This is synonymous with a two-front engagement in influencing an outcome. Women legislators pushing from the political standpoint while the women’s movements advocating from the public domain through the media and other platforms.

The findings are in agreement with Powley’s (2006) study in Uganda where the women’s movements not only advocated for the inclusion of women in decision making but also for the creation of the women’s ministry’s.

In Zambia similarly, the women legislators advocated for the creation of a ministry that would look into the affairs of women and children which was created in 2012 elevating the office of the deputy minister at cabinet office which was tasked to oversee the implementation of gender and child policies. According to the Gender Newsletter (2012), the ministry was created following various demands, lobbying and petitions from the women legislators and women’s movements to enhance visibility of women’s affairs both in cabinet and parliament. This is synonymous with a two-front engagement in influencing an outcome. Women legislators pushing from the political

standpoint while the women's movements advocating from the public domain through the media and other platforms.

4.4 The Women Legislators Strategies to Influence Amendments of Gender Responsive Legislation

This objective wished to establish ways or the process by which women parliamentarians and the women parliamentary caucus influenced amendments to legislation which affected women. In determining the influence of the women legislators towards amendments, interviews and document review were carried out. Emerging themes from this question included; lobbying for amendments to Penal Code on defilement and rape, through partnership engagements with A.U and UN on amendment strategies, peddling on caucus resolutions as benchmarks for amendments as well as reliance on support of gender responsive legislation by male legislators. These stood out to have been the salient themes of this research question.

4.4.1 Information Dissemination as a Measure to Influence of Opinions

From the interviews, all 6 women expressed great concern at the rate at which defilement and rape cases were being reported and therefore resorted to lobbying the Ministry of Justice to strengthen the section of the penal code dealing with such matters. M.P 3 for instance explained that:

“When you look at the rationale behind the amendments to the penal code you will see that rape and defilement cases were quite rampant and people seemed not to be getting punished for these atrocities...I remember the women (M.Ps) were the ones who lobbied and pushed for the inclusion of a minimum sentence...most of us argued that the offenders were not being punished enough and we wanted to see a difference in terms of the cases reducing...and our men argued to give the assumed defiler a chance to prove that the child is above age...which is ok as far as am concerned.”

To further support women's assertions, evidence from the plenary session of 17th July 2009 showed that women first lobbied for the introduction of a defilement bill in the house which eventually was presented as an amendment to the Penal Code. In her submission, Hon. Ms. Kapata lobbied then hon. Minister of Home Affairs (Mangani) and the Government to bring a Bill to the House on defilement cases or cases of abuse, so that the offenders are given non-bailable charges as she

felt some of them defile many children before they are sentenced. In response, the minister acknowledged the seriousness of the issue and pledged that a bill would soon follow.

Reports of this scourge had prompted women to influence the amendment of section 133 of the penal code. It became of grave concern the rate at which cases of rape and defilement as forms of GBV were being reported. The Central Statistical Office (2010) reported that 2419 defilement cases, 254 rape cases and 35 attempted rape cases were reported to the police in 2010 alone. Defilement cases alone had recorded an increase from 696 cases reported in 2007 to 2419 in 2010. This unprecedented increase is the main reason women in the National Assembly felt it their responsibility to influence the amendment of sections 133, 137A and 138 of the penal code. Due to the gravity of sexual offences, women legislators sought to have the minimum years of imprisonment at 25 years but this was finally settled at 15years.

The findings resonate with those of Ferrand (2012) who noted that in Argentina, the increase in the number of femicide cases prompted an amendment to the criminal code in which the atrocity was criminalized. This amendment was supported by various advocates who included the women members of the lower house. Similarly, in Zambia, the amendments included provisions in the code relating to sexual offences particularly section 133 which anchors on rape and is replaced by the following: Any person who commits the offence of rape is liable, upon conviction, to imprisonment for a period not less than fifteen years and may be liable to imprisonment for life. The amendment bill also sought to introduce a provision to allow for defense of mistake of facts in defilement cases.

4.4.2 Caucus Resolutions as Benchmarks for Amendments

The women's influence on amendments is not only vivid in their debates in the house but also through the caucus as explained by the key informant. Emphasis was made that the caucus championed their resolutions to influence such amendments as the amendment of the Penal Code. The informant narrated that most of the contributions by the women on most gender issues are anchored on the caucus resolutions. These resolutions of the caucus are what would later translate into debate points. The informant also acknowledged that the technocrats are the ones that draft most of these laws which come back to the house and through the committees and that's were again the women make more submissions if there is any need. He further hinted, that calls to revise the marriage act and the child policy have come from the women M.Ps following resolutions made

in their meetings. In this case the women legislators see how the children especially the girls are being deprived of a future and speak for them not only in their meetings but also in the house and publicly.

From the forgoing, it can be added that, the review of these pieces (Marriage Act, child policy and sections 133, 137A, 138 of the penal code Amendment bill) of legislation is also an attestation that Zambia is making headways towards accepting the obligation to domesticate various parts of international instruments such as the Convention on the Elimination of forms of Discrimination against women of 1979, the Convention on the Rights of a Child-1989, the Southern African Development Community Declaration on Gender and Development among others

4.4.3 Partnerships with A.U and UN agencies

It was reported that partnerships were another strategy to which women drew strength to push for amendments to laws that had lacunas against women and girls rights. In terms of partnerships, interviews with M.P 6, 3, 2 and 1 and hansard showed that partnerships with other countries and international organisations such as the African Union helped intensify the fight against rape, child defilement and Child marriages. For instance, M.P 6 narrated how international organisations like African Union have come on board to assist curb the issue of early marriages and teenage pregnancies. This she alluded to their caucus resolutions which informed policy outcomes and programmes in the Ministry of Gender. Hansard records of 24th September, 2015 showed that Hon. Prof. Luo mentioned to the house on the situation analysis conducted in 2013 with the Canadian government on early marriages which aimed at understanding the driving factors, challenges faced by children in forced marriages and subsequently develop interventions. A report was further presented at the 2013 UN General Assembly. In her submission, she further indicated that the African Union would invest resources to this end and wanted to partner with Zambia in hosting the girl's summit from 27th – 28th November, 2015. It is due to all these measures the Minister announced that 'The draft Marriage Bill' would soon be tabled which will amend the Marriage Act.

Zambia however has a dual legal system in which African Customary Law is well recognized and applied. In contrast with the Children's Code Act of 2022, particularly section 18 (2) which prohibits the subjection of a child to; child marriage, cultural rites, and religious or traditional practices, that are likely to negatively affect the child's life, health, social welfare, dignity, and

physical or psychological development, it is public knowledge that customary law recognizes the commencement of puberty as the end of childhood.

Considering that puberty can commence as early as age 10, there is need to call into question the customary legal system. For instance, the issue of early marriages has been one complex matter that the legal system has had to deal with. CHIN (2008) observed that the constitution of Zambia allowed the application of customary law in social practices and the local courts administer the law. In a report by Ncube (2003), it was also noted that in customary law, age has no relevance in determining childhood or adulthood and adulthood is marked by biological changes and undergoing initiation ceremonies. It is however comforting to note that the 2016 Zambian constitution places customary law as subordinate to statutory law where certain tradition practices are in violation of rights and freedoms or in contrast to statutory law.

Therefore, partnerships with international organizations and other countries (especially developed ones) provide the expertise and experiences from other countries. In some cases, international organizations provided financial support in order for research to be carried out so as to obtain gender disaggregated data to inform policy outcomes. The women in the Zambian National Assembly are aware of the potential benefits of partnering with developed countries like Canada and international organizations as is the case with A.U following the increase in the number of child marriage cases recorded in Zambia which stood at 31% of girls aged between 15 and 18 as reported by ZDHS (2017). Similarly, in Vietnam, Froimovich et. al (2013) reported that international actors continued to influence the gender equality agenda as seen through the 2010-2015 partnership between UN Women and the Committee on Social Affairs in the National Assembly to evaluate the gender dimensions in draft legislation.

4.4.4 Reliance on Male Legislators Support

Reliance on male legislator's support was re-echoed as a strategy used to influence amendments in parliament. With regard to male support to these amendments, it was generally expressed by M.Ps 1, 2, 3, 5 and 6 that they enjoyed overwhelming support. During an interview with M.P 4, she testified to this support saying:

“You know it's easy for most of the men to support the gender issues especially when it's a government bill...somehow I feel it has helped to have

had a man as chairperson for the gender committee...Honorable Mwimbu who has supported equality...but it's a different story if one of us was to present a private motion that borders on gender because then we would be raising eyebrows...otherwise there are a lot of women's issues that we need to back up with good laws...right now we are just working within the caucus".

Koblanck (2008) in his study on increased women's representation presented such an argument. Credit he argues must be given to governments rather than the women's organisations and women legislators for the affirmative action policies (quota systems) adopted, such as in Uganda to have led to the increased representation of women in the National Assembly and subsequent adoptions of gender responsive legislation. In this case, the question that begs an answer could be that without women voicing out their concerns (either in their individual capacity or collectively), would governments (which are largely dominated by male figures) introduce such policies? To the contrary, another case in point that exposes women influence in amendments of laws, can be drawn from the Ugandan case in which Tripps (2006) examination on women as agents of change for women's advancement in Uganda indicated that in 2003, the Uganda Women's Network working with the women legislators pressured parliamentarians to pass an amendment to the 1998 Land Act that would give all family members access to land and also advocated for the Domestic Relations Bill (DRB), which consolidated laws on marriage, divorce, polygamy, and bride price and sought to advance women's rights on these issues. The Zambian case demonstrates clearly that women both parliamentarians and those out of parliament had acted as agents of change where amendments to the penal code are concerned. Ultimately, male M.Ps overwhelmingly supported the amendments to the penal code to the extent that the amendments passed the final stage without any objections.

4.5 The Role of Women Parliamentarians in Addressing Women and Girls Concerns in Parliamentary Committees.

The last research objective of the study intended to find out the role of the women legislators in parliamentary committees in as far as influencing the outcome of legislation pertaining to women and girl's issues was concerned. From the findings the following were highlighted as major roles which they played:

4.5.1 Composition

In order to ascertain the appropriate roles women played in parliamentary committees, the researcher carried out an inventory survey on the types of parliamentary committees that existed at the time and the number of women representation of each.

Table 12: Parliamentary committees their roles and composition of women members

S/N	MAIN COMMITTEE	SUB COMMITTEES	COMMENT BY KEY INFORMANT ON NUMBER OF WOMEN
1	House Keeping Committees:	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Privileges, Absences and Support Services, 2. Reforms and Modernization 3. Committee on Standing Orders. 	A minimum of 2 women in each committee
2	General Purpose Committees	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Delegated Legislation, Estimates, 2. Estimates, Government Assurance 3. Public Accounts committee. 	A minimum of 2 women in each committee
3	Portfolio Committees	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Gender Matters and Children's affairs 2. Health 3. Development and Social Services 4. Agriculture 5. Education, Science and Technology 	A minimum of 2 women in each committee

		6. Legal Affairs and Governance 7. Mining and Industry	
4	Select or ad hoc committees	Only instituted when need arises by the speaker. They are not permanent and once its mandate has been fulfilled, the committee disbands	A minimum of 2 women in each committee

Source: *National Assembly website (2017)*

Typically, committees in the parliament serve as legislative counterparts to and correspond with government ministries (NDI, 2011). It is therefore within their mandate to carryout assignments as per requirement of the house. The nineteen Zambian parliamentary committees fall under four categories as indicated on the table above. At most, a committee would comprise of two women. Only two committees were discovered to have had addressed women’s and girl’s concerns during the period under study, that is the committee on Legal Affairs, Governance, Human Rights, Gender Matters and Child Affairs as well as the Health, Community Development and Social Services committee.

4.5.2 Roles Performed by Women Legislators in Parliamentary Committees

The role of the women legislators in parliamentary committees has the potential to determine the outcome of legislation, more so on legislation that addresses women and girl’s concerns. In light of the forgoing, interviews with the women legislators on the women’s roles in the various committees they participated were conducted. Committee reports were further scrutinized to support accounts from the women legislators. In determining the role of the women legislators in parliamentary committees, responses were drawn from the women legislators which translated into themes as indicated below.

4.5.2 (a) Proactive Role as a Member

Four (4) women legislators narrated that the women played a proactive role as committee members in the committees they were assigned to despite only holding two positions of leadership in the health and public accounts committees. They were proactive in the sense that they carried

out all tasks assigned to them, contributed towards discussion at hand substantively. The accounts of women legislators as regard their role in parliamentary committees in addressing women and girl's concerns are reflected in the following narrative by M.P 2:

“Each committee has a female representative and there is actually a committee on gender...we would encourage the women representatives of those committees to champion women's issues and take the resolutions from the caucus meetings to their committees...so as women we have been very vocal in these committees...the only challenge is that we are not enough otherwise we would be leading most of these committees.”

The findings showed that the position of the caucus on certain matters was reflected by women members in these committees, more especially on gender matters during committee meetings. For example, M.P 6 explained that the caucus had resolved to include in the Anti-GBV act a clause for non-withdrawer of cases. This was illustrated above (objective 1) through the submission by Hon. Masebo who was a member of the committee which dealt with the aforementioned act. This also indicated that the views of the women legislators who are not part of the gender matters committee were presented by those who were part of the committee. This is a good strategy in terms of substantively representing the various concerns of women and girls. In other words, the women's caucus provides talking points for their members on gender matters to address within particular committees. Markham (2012) agrees that women's caucuses can also act as the primary entry point to provide women legislators with needed information and support. This is typical of the two theories which argue that women's presences in politics, in this regard parliamentary committee, results in women's presentation of women's perspectives on various concerns.

4.5.2 (b) Leadership Role

In terms of leadership roles, two women legislators (M.P 1 & 5) mentioned that some women performed leadership roles in two committees they were assigned to out of the 19. This is to say that women were appointed as chairperson or deputy. Of the two committees identified above, M.P 1 was chairperson for the Health committee while Hon. Ms. C. Namugala Deputised the Public Accounts committee. In September 2015, Hon. Ms. G.M. Imenda was appointed chairperson for the Public Accounts committee a position she held until parliament was dissolved prior to the 2016 general elections. In her submission, M.P 1 explained that:

“...before I was appointed as minister I remember I was the one who led the committee on health and we managed to address the issue of maternal death by advocating for more funding to the ministry of health so that the women can be protected.”

Heading the committee on health, community development and social services symbolize women's relegation to committees handling social issues while on the other hand, deputizing and heading the public accounts committee showed that women were beginning to break barriers and showing capacity to lead in such committees as have been characterized to be male domains. M.P 5 also made reference to hon. Ms. Namugala as deputy chair for PAC at some point on how in 2012 together with Hon.V. Mwale took government departments to task and yet it was thought women cannot head such committees.

The findings however are at variance with those from a survey conducted by the IPU in 2009 and 2010 in which it was discovered that globally, the share of women in committees related to social affairs was 40 per cent. In terms of leadership, women constituted approximately 21 per cent of committee chairpersons of the parliaments surveyed, and 23 per cent of deputy chair positions. Consistent with the overall composition of committees, women were most commonly chairs of committees on women/gender issues or social policy (IPU Report, 2015). In Zambia, the committee on gender matters in the last decade and half has been led by male parliamentarians (Hon. J.J. Mwimbu and Hon. C. Mweetwa) with women as active members.

One female legislator however attached value to substantive representation as opposed to occupying leadership positions in committees. M.P 3 expressed that it did not exclusively matter whether a committee was chaired by a man or women. What matters the most is whether committees are addressing women's issues effectively. She also felt that there was need to advocate for more positions for women not only in parliament but at all levels. In view of this, it is expected of women to use their position in whatever capacity to effectively address issues from a gender perspective. Legislation must be looked at with a gender lens to incorporate woman's perspective in addressing a particular matter. It is also through such committees that women can begin to bargain and lobby for more gender responsive legislation and appointments to positions of decision making by seeking for support from male committee members. Markham's (2012) study on Uganda presented a different state of affairs as compared to the Zambian case. She

stressed the importance that women attach to balancing leadership roles by reporting that if a committee is headed by a male parliamentarian, the deputy chairperson would be female and vice versa.

4.5.3 Equality in Committees - women's perspective

Interviews with the women legislators further generated responses with regard to whether or not equality prevails in the committees. The women legislators based their responses on their perception of equality as shown in the themes below:

4.5.3 (a) Equality based on Treatment and Opportunities

Based on the findings, it was generally felt by all women legislators that there is equality in the committees as women are treated as equals by the men. 5 of the women explained that male M.Ps are very supportive and women are given the same opportunities as men in discussing and debating matters before the committees. M.P 2 for instance narrated as follows:

“I’ve been in so many committees and I can assure you that I’ve enjoyed cordial relations with the men...and being the only female in most of those committees I was always chosen to second motions in the house...even when we are carrying out parliamentary duties outside parliament I was mostly given an opportunity to speak...at one time we visited the prisons and there it was me who was chosen to speak on women’s issues....”

Equality in this regard was based on the premise that women were allocated chance to express their views on any issue at hand. The evidence suggests that women in committees were granted equal status as their male counterparts as they were not undermined in any way by virtue of their gender. In this case, women were able to speak freely and their concerns considered as important as those of men. By freely expressing themselves and treated with respect, women grow in confidence not only in committees but also on the floor of the house during debate sessions. Similarly, the Center for Women in Governance and Civil Society (2014) of Uganda revealed that female legislators of that country were given equal opportunity to freely debate issues both in parliamentary committees and in the house. We can thus conclude that treating women as equals improves their capabilities and fosters good relations with male legislators. Such good relations inevitably lead to support for women friendly policies that may be stemming from committees.

The theory of the politics of presence stipulates that politics of the right to vote are not good enough as equality must be exhibited even among elected officials.

4.5.3 (b) Equality based on Committee Allowances

Equality was also based on the same allowances M.Ps receive. Equality based on allowance is important as it ultimately eliminates discrimination. In modern parliaments however, the issue of pay is surly never an issue. This was explained by M.P 6 as follows:

“you know....we are always treated as equals...we get the same allowances andwe are able to contribute and debate matters just like anybody else...on that platform I know the men take us as equals...but where we have problems is when we meet on the political arena because then it becomes a sour relationship...you know...because culturally people believe that men actually do better than women even when they know very well that women perform better than men when it comes to working.”

Through a closed ended question, male parliamentarians also answered in the affirmative as having considered and treated women equally in committees. From the evidence obtained, it is clear that women and men enjoyed cordial relations in parliamentary committees as they found themselves supporting a common agenda. There was a sense of unity in committees regardless of political affiliations. Therefore, women can take advantage of this platform to advance women’s and girl’s concerns especially in committees that directly consider their welfare.

4.5.4 Substantive Representation in Committees

In ascertaining whether women addressed girls and women’s concerns in parliamentary committees, women and male M.Ps gave varying views. From the interviews, analysis of plenary sessions and committee reports, it was discovered that in only two committees were women’s and girl’s concerns more pronounced. These included the committee on gender matters and the committee on health.

To symbolize such substantive representation in the committee on LAGHRGMCA, women and girls issues were directly addressed and yielded some achievements. In one interview one woman legislators explained that; (M.P 3)

“...when I was in the gender committee we addressed the issues of GBV...girls falling pregnant while in school...early marriages and so on...and this is why today we have the anti-gender based violence act and very soon the minister of gender hon. Kalima is about to bring a bill to parliament that will criminalize early marriages...so you can see we are moving in the right direction.”

The theory of descriptive and substantive representation comes in play in this regard. Women’s experiences of violence, girl’s experiences of early pregnancies and early marriages had been on the rise and women in parliament identified themselves with the affected as they share the same gender to find a solution to the state of affairs. By addressing the violence against women, early pregnancies and marriages in committees, women legislators were substantively representing the affected women.

Violence against women in any form causes not only physical harm but psychologically traumatizes victims. Similarly, teenage pregnancies and early marriages affect girls negatively. Girls are denied the opportunity to discover their potential to become self-reliant through education. Despite having a policy that allows girls to go back to school after delivering, few girls prefer going back for fear of discrimination. According to the ZDHS (2014), Zambia is ranked as one of the countries with the highest prevalence rate of early marriages at 32% of girls aged 15-20. This can further be said to have been one of the leading causes of girls dropping out of schools most especially in rural and peri-urban areas.

The ministry of gender in 2013 embarked on a quest to drafting a bill that will criminalize early marriages and redefine who a child is. This was an attempt to ensure that girls are given an opportunity to complete their education and make informed choices. It is for this reason that the ministry of gender constituted a National Strategy on Ending Child Marriages in 2014 in which they engaged traditional leaders as partners to ending the vice.

Similarly, on GBV, the women in parliament were concerned about the high prevalence rate of GBV. Despite having one female legislator (Hon. Masebo) in the committee on gender matters, the issue of GBV was adequately addressed and the final report supported by not only the women but by the male parliamentarians as well. Awareness was raised by not only the women in the national assembly but also by other stakeholder that included the women organisations. Certain

women's organizations were invited to make oral and written submission before the committee on the terms of reference. Despite the bill having been enacted into law, the number of GBV cases had continued to rise. Evidently, the trend of GBV has taken a noticeable shift as men have been reported to be victims of murder for reasons such as infidelity. Media reports of women murdering their partners have become more pronounced. This therefore calls for concerted efforts from all stakeholders in finding a lasting solution to end the scourge.

The 2014 yearly report of the committee on LAGHRGMCA considered a topical issue relating to "Enforcement of the Law Relating to Violence and Harassment against Women and Girls in Zambia" in which the committee discovered an increase in the number of GBV cases with insufficient redress. Some of the observations and recommendations made called on government to decentralize police services especially in rural areas, strengthening and integrating traditional courts in formal justice system, public awareness about GBV, etcetera.

The committee on health which was chaired by M.P1 also considered among other issues Maternal Health. M.P 1 narrated that:

"in the committee which I chaired when I was in opposition...yes we addressed the issue of maternal mortality...we lobbied for more funding to the ministry of health and in the next budget the increment came...and we are proud of that achievement...today the numbers of women dying while giving birth have reduced...even in our communities we encourage expectant mother to frequently seek health services...like ante natal."

These sentiments were supported by the committee's report of 2010 in which a topical issue on 'Maternal Health in Zambia' was considered. The committee report recommended to the executive that the 'Ministry of Health must engage Ministry of Finance and National Planning to increase funding towards the maternal health sector, government to disseminate the reproductive health policy to all stakeholders and developing effective outreach services especially in rural areas'. Following these recommendations, the ministry of finance in its next budget allocation increased the funding to the ministry of health in order to address the maternal health issues. From such findings, it can be assumed that similar to men, women leading committees can yield results aimed at improving the status of women and girls as they attach great importance to lobbying and advocating for such issues to be addressed. This is further a clear indication that women are as

capable as men to lead a committee and yield results with the support of every member despite the political party they represent.

4.5.5 Substantive Representation in the Committees – women’s movements perspective

Parliamentary committees while conducting their work usually invite various stakeholders to make submissions on a particular topical issue. In other instances, they visit the institutions from which they intend to gather information. The committee on gender matters when reviewing legislation invites stakeholders such as the women’s organizations to make oral or written submissions. In trying to establish whether women legislators acted for and indeed on behalf of the women and girls in the Zambian National Assembly Committees in as far as addressing their concerns, 1 respondent from the women’s movements (NGOCC) felt that during the period under study, women in parliament generally were trying but did not adequately achieve the desired results as there are still no laws that protect or give certain guarantees to women and girls, such as on child marriages, reproductive health rights and equal representation.

In order to appreciate the work of the women in the Zambian parliament, one ought to realize first that women are underrepresented and secondly consider their role on already enacted legislation. The women’s movement in the last decade has had good collaboration with the women in parliament as earlier established. Indeed, women ought to adopt various strategies that will ensure the adoption of more equality laws. Their under-representation is certainly what has affected their full capacity to influence gender responsive legislation. It is widely accepted that increasing the number of women in parliament is a measure that may propagate extensive influence on legislation and policy that are gender responsive. Under these circumstances, the committee responsible for dealing with gender matters has the responsibility to supplement the women’s efforts by reviewing legislation from a gender perspective. A gender perspective in this regard entails taking into consideration the needs of men and women and how they are affected differently.

Child marriages, teenage pregnancies and reproductive rights are matters that have been of concern for a long time. Laws are in place that prohibits child marriages but because of certain traditional practices, poverty and illiteracy this has continued. However, women legislators through the minister of gender had put up measures to end child marriages. In this regard, to the contrary, women substantively represented the girls.

4.5.6 Independent Women’s Parliamentary Committee ideal

During the interviews with M.Ps 1, 2, 3 and 6, the M.Ps expressed support for an independent women’s affairs committee. They premised their support on the idea that an independent committee would attract funding. MP 1 for instance said that:

“I think it is good to have a stand-alone women’s committee with its own money...the caucus yes we can do one or two things but a committee that deals with women issues alone can be able to achieve much more...and such a committee needs to take on board a lot of men...so I can support it.”

In its current state, the committee that has a gender mandate can be argued to be quite broad. This is because the same committee handles Legal matters, Human Rights, Governance, child matters as well as gender issues. Therefore, it may not adequately attach ideal importance to gender issues. There is a sense of urgency among women inside and outside parliament to achieve gender equality, and as such it is assumed that an independent gender committee would grant adequate attention to various issues affecting women and girls. Such a committee would be more focused and direct in its approach. However, the legitimacy of such a committee lies in how widely it has been accepted and its diverse membership. As such a stand-alone gender committee should consider equal representation of both female and male legislators. In this way, resolutions and recommendations of such a committee would not be regarded as women’s views but as collective views of both sexes. According to Markham (2012), either a women’s affairs committee or gender committee can be an effective way of ensuring gender sensitive legislation. She further makes mention that the strength of such a committee is dependent on several factors such as the capacity of staff and committee members, the seniority or influence of individual committee members.

4.5.7 Challenges Faced in Influencing Gender Legislation

When questioned on the challenges women faced in their effort to influencing gender responsive legislations, women highlighted the following challenges:

4.5.7 (a) Under-representation

All women legislators identified under-representation as a challenge to influencing gender responsive legislation. M.P 5 explained that:

“...the major challenge is that we are few...that’s why we depend on our colleagues to support us in enacting laws that pertain to women’s issues...although there certain times when our colleagues tend to undermine us as women in the house...but we are also strong and the speaker is there to protect us...and we show them that they cannot push us around.”

Sampa (2010) suggested that financing political parties would assist women with some resources to conduct a credible campaign thereby increasing the chances of more women being elected once adopted by political parties. The concept of underrepresentation is one that many scholars have stressed on. As earlier alluded to, women’s under-representation reduces their capability to influence significantly the legislative process without clear strategies. It is therefore in the interest of women to fight for increased women’s representation.

In contrast with Sampa’ (2010), who alleged that the NGP of 2000 did not address issues of women in politics, the revised NGP of 2014 spells out various areas to address for women in politics. One of the mandates of the Ministry of Gender was to coordinate and monitor the implementation of the NGP. Therefore, the policy sought to address gender inequality in politics at cabinet level, in parliament and at local levels. The policy focused on three specific measures to increase the participation of women in decision making: a) Strengthen the capabilities of women and men to take up leadership roles. b) Advocate for increased participation of women in decision making. c) Ensure advancement of girls in education.

Through advocacy, the percentage of women in decision making is bound to increase. For instance, “in 2000, the percentage of women permanent secretaries was at 19% compared to 29% in 2011” (NGP, 2014: 5). In 2016, the number of women cabinet ministers was at a record 10 while the percentage of women legislators had increased from 14% in 2014 to 18.1% in 2017. Despite having such and ambitious policy women continue to be under represented at all levels. Government through the Ministry of Gender is therefore making concerted efforts to mainstream gender at all levels of government and other institutions. This is why the number of women appointed in various positions of decision making in Zambia has steadily increased.

4.5.8 Measure to Best Improve the Influence on Legislation by women legislators

Asked on what measures can best address challenges women face in influencing legislation, women and male M.Ps gave varying views.

4.5.8 (a) Affirmative Action Laws

4 of the women legislators were of the view that there is need to improve their descriptive representation by introducing affirmative action laws.

Scholars such as Sampa (2010), Powley (2007) have indicated that certain deliberate measures must be put in place for women's descriptive representation to improve. Women legislator's interviewed identified such measures as mentioned above. M.P 3 was of the view that:

“I think if we are to seriously improve, we have to have bigger numbers...the best is just to bring in laws that will improve the representation of women...you know like the quota system...to say maybe 30% of the seats in parliament be reserved for women...if you look the previous representation it was only about 22 women out of 150...”

4.5.8.(b) Increased Collaboration Among Women and Sensitization of Male Legislators on the Benefits of Gender Equality

2 of the women legislators also expressed that there was need for increased collaboration among women and sensitization of men on the significance gender equality. One the women put forward the following view: M.P 6,

“I feel we sometimes lack that united force as women parliamentarians in Zambia...if us the women from the ruling party and those in the opposition can put our foot down to ensure there is gender equality we can achieve a lot...”

Through a closed ended question, male M.Ps as well as official from the women's movements and Ministry of Gender were also asked to indicate the best measures they thought were adequate in order to improve women's influence on GTL with an aim of improving the status of women and girls. The chart below illustrates the responses on the measures to best improve how women influence legislation.

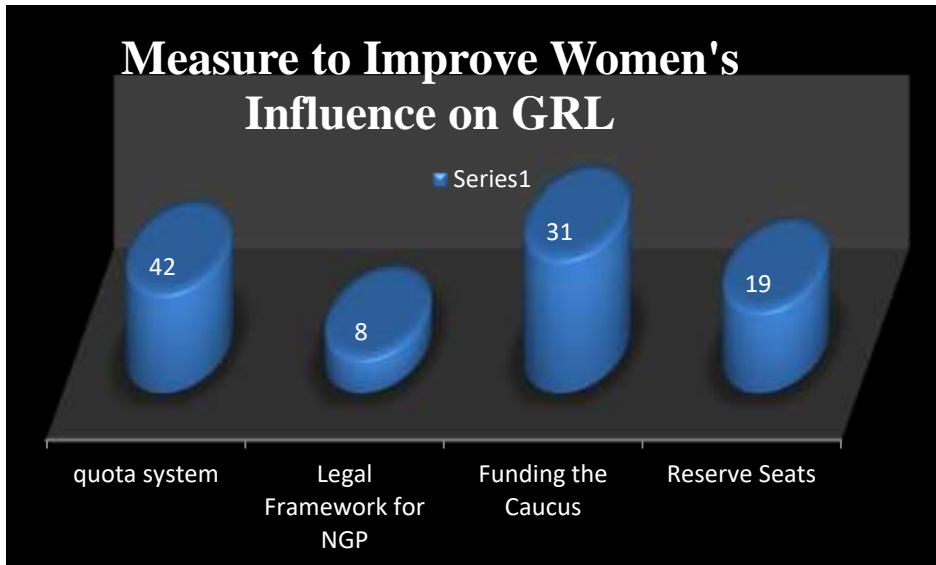


Figure 2: Measures to improve women’s performance

The chart illustrates the number of responses on the measures that would enable women legislators improve their influence on legislation. Respondents were required to tick more than one of the given options. In this regard, 42 responses representing 52% indicate a change of the electoral system to included quota system and reserve seats. 31 responses representing 38% were in favor of funding the women’s caucus while 8 responses representing 10% were in support of providing a legal frame work for the NGP.

Increased women’s representation would subsequently result in more advocacy and support base on gender targeted legislation. Globally, there has been a call for the increase in proportion of women in National Assemblies. Institutional factors, such as the electoral system, are the most common explanation for the variance in the proportion of women in parliament across countries. Almost all studies find the electoral formula to be a good predictor, with proportional representation (PR) systems associated with higher proportions of women in parliament than majoritarian ones (Galligan and Tremblay, 2005, Dahlerup, 2006, Tripp and Kang, 2008). These have been successful in countries such as Rwanda and most of the Nordic nations. Geisler (2004) on the other hand professes that gender quotas are regarded with mixed feelings with arguments women must assert their position as politicians and not get positions at the mercy of men. Quotas in this regard are assumed to discredit the position of women in parliament. This perhaps is also

the reason why changes to the Zambian electoral system to include quotas have been met with resistance by male politicians.

Summary

The above chapter presented the findings and discussion of the study according to the objectives and generated some sub themes. The study revealed that the women's movements in Zambia largely support women when it is election period. They collaborate with them on campaign strategies and also finance their campaigns in certain instances. Where legislative influence is concerned, the women's movements are consulted and mostly participate at committee stage to make submissions to the committee responsible for gender matters. Other than that, women's organizations also carry out their independent advocacy and campaigns on gender related matters. It was discovered that some women legislators consider certain women's organizations to be partisan.

Efforts by the women legislators resulted in the introduction of two identified gender responsive legislation (GEEB 2015 and Anti-GBV Act 2011) and amendments to the Penal Code 2010. Through, their debates in the house, discussions as a caucus and subsequently making submissions to committees, having the Minister of Gender as a member of the caucus to get their resolutions included in the bills as well as engaging with international organisations were among the means used by the women legislators to influence gender targeted legislation. The findings also revealed that not every attempt to influence the introduction or amendment to legislation by women was supported by the executive in the house. Generally, there is consensus among women legislators when pushing for the address of women and girls concerns, differences arise on other matters because then political inclinations come to play. Furthermore, women in parliamentary committees performed active roles as members. Equal opportunities are given to women and men to debate and discuss on a particular matter. However, out of the nineteen committees, in only two did women occupy leadership position; that of chairperson in HCDSS committee and deputy chairperson in the PAC committee. It is also in two committees (HCDSS and LAGHRGMCA) that matters affecting women and children were more pronounced, such as maternal mortality and early marriages and pregnancies. The latter issues contributed to the current review of the marriage act.

CHAPTER FIVE - CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Overview

The previous chapter presented an analysis of the study findings and provided a discussion. This chapter presents a summary of the research findings and recommendations drawn from the findings of the study. The study was to investigate the strategies of women legislators in the enactment of Gender Responsive Legislation.

5.2 Conclusion

The emergence of women's movements in Zambia has led to an increase in advocacy for women's political representation and equality generally. The women's movements are expected to be fundamental in advocating for legislative changes in order to improve the status of women and girls. In this obligation, the women's movements have not fallen short of expectation. Evidence suggests that good relations with the women legislators were understood to be more pronounced during the election period. Once women got elected to the national Assembly, there were collaborative efforts in terms of influencing the legislative process to improve the status of women and girls mostly through advocacy campaigns. Interestingly, evidence suggests that NGOCC was leading efforts for the establishment a men's parliamentary network on gender matters. Such a strategy has the potential to eliminate barriers to equality and promotion of gender mainstreaming.

The women's movements were also seen to be more active once called upon to make submission on a particular bill despite evidence suggesting that most women's organizations have the expertise to draft gender responsive legislation. Evidence further showed that the women's movements and the women's caucus identified shortcomings in legislation and sought to influence their amendments. However, one challenge identified was that some female legislators regard certain women's organizations as partisan. A suspicion that could undermine smooth relations.

The success of women's substantive representation solely depends on women's ability to choreograph new initiatives, strong leadership and bargaining power. The ability of women legislators to influence legislation further depends on strong relations with the women's movements and other civil society organizations, a vibrant women's caucus and the ability of those in leadership to exhibit gender neutrality. The strength of the women's movements, consensus

building among women legislators and men's support are critical factors in determining the success of legislation that address the concerns of women and girls concerns.

The core responsibility of any Parliament is to draft bills, introduce them to the house and pass them. The capacity of the Zambian women legislators to carry out this function was largely limited as evidence has shown that most bills are drafted by the executive branch of the government. This however does not mean that women legislators did not influence the introduction of legislation to the house. Given the state of affairs (of under-representation), the women legislators and the ZWPC took advantage of the political will, seized the opportunity following increased reports from the media and other stakeholders on abuses of women and children to lobby and bargain for the introduction of the Gender Equity and Equality Bill, 2015, the Anti-Gender Based Violence Bill, 2011 as well as the Amendments to the Penal Code. To get the bills enacted, women adopted such strategies as taking advantage of the female ministers of gender, engagement of gender sensitive male legislators among others.

Evidence has also shown that even though women in parliament may have the will to propose directly the introduction of more gender targeted legislation, the executive may not be willing to act upon it as most legislation is drafted by the executive. This is evident in the lack of support for the Termination of Pregnancy Bill suggested by a female legislator. For this reason, the women's caucus which comprises of executive members sought to use this state of affairs to their advantage and as such, much of the programmes adopted by the Ministry of Gender such as the Strategy on Ending Child Marriages were as a result of the caucus meetings resolutions. The caucus further used their position to make direct submission to the Ministry of Gender and the committee on matter relating to the welfare of women and children. The Women's caucus further engaged with one international organization in advocating for the amendment of the penal code. This strategy proved significant as international organizations are better respected with wider resources.

Even though women's representation in committees is patchy, evidence indicated they are treated and considered as equals by the men parliamentarians. They enjoy the same opportunities as regard to debating and making submission on any topical issues before the committee. Some women felt that their numbers must not be a hindrance in substantively representing the concerns of women and girls in society. It was however discovered that women and girl's concerns were more pronounced in only two committees (LAGHRGMCA and HCDSS). In most of the committees,

women were found to be active members except in two where one was the chairperson and in the other a deputy chairperson. The leading of the HCDSS by a female legislator somewhat confirmed the assertion that women prefer committees that are social in nature. On the other hand, two female legislators were found to be chairperson and deputy chairperson of the PAC committee an indication that women are slowly taking on the challenge and showing their capabilities to lead in such committees as have traditionally been regarded male dominated.

Despite having gender responsive legislation, much of them are not fully implemented. Moreover, women and girls in rural areas have little or no understanding of their rights. A clash of socio-cultural norms and practices is one of the factors that have caused hurdles in the full transformation of society with regard to gender equality and justice for women. Zambia has the backing of international frameworks and national institutions required to ensure the effective participation of women in the national assembly in as far as addressing women and girl's issues are concerned. While we continue to appreciate the adoption of the National Gender Policy, it is essential that the provisions of the policy be implemented effectively for accountability purposes.

Although women remain significantly under-represented in the *Zambian parliament*, the study sought to look beyond the numbers to focus on what women legislators can actually accomplish while in the house and how they can make a positive impact. The crop of women legislators under study was able to demonstrate impact making it a challenge for men and other women to question their role. By uniting in a formal caucus, women were more likely to successfully shape the parliamentary agenda. Such caucuses not only advance women's policy priorities, they provide an important model of democratic governance and collaborative policy-making.

Phillips (1995: 47) argued that “the core issue in research on substantive representation does not concern ‘what women do in parliaments’ but, more specifically, the extent to which the number of women elected affects women's interests. She further argues that gender equality among those elected to office is desirable because of the changes it can bring about: It is representation with a purpose, it aims to subvert or add or transform.”

5.3 Recommendations

- Capacity building could be taken as a rallying point upon which women legislators and the women's movement can begin to review policies and laws with a gender eye. The women's

parliamentary caucus is one institution through which the women's movements can provide assistance, guidance and coordination. The two institutions working together could produce private member's motions as well as influence government into bringing gender targeted legislation.

- It is essential that women should incorporate male MPs in their activities and grant them an invitation to their caucus meetings. It is equally important to leave the membership of the caucus open to sympathetic male legislators in order for men to have a positive attitude towards the women's agenda. This would not defeat the whole purpose of a women's caucus but can be an effective strategy and platform to acquire the much needed male support on legislation to improve women and girls status for as long as women remain under-represented.
- Through the women's caucus issues that border on legislation raised by women in the house should be followed up and a way forward adopted. The introduction of legislation to address women and girl's concerns must not only be left to the government through the ministry of gender but could be a direct responsibility of the women's caucus in consultation with various stakeholders such as legal experts and the women's movements.
- All M.Ps but more especially women legislators ought to learn how to conduct gender analysis to be able to review legislation for gender responsiveness.
- Parliament should ensure that gender mainstreaming is carried out especially in committees
- Women parliamentarians should push for the review of the electoral act to include gender quotas or reserve seats. This will increase their representation in parliament.

5.4 Recommendations for future research

- There is need to understand why there are still inequalities and GBV despite having legislation in place. This report while underlining the successful women's interventions does not assume that there is a direct impact on society.
- There is need to investigate the extent to which government has localized the provisions of international instruments on gender equality such as the A.U and SADC protocols, CEDAW etc.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I - IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW GUIDE (Women Parliamentarians)

Biographical data

I. Please tell me about yourself?

II. What about your political career?

III. What is your perception of women in parliament?

Do you feel the performance substantively represented women and girls concerns?

WOMEN MPs AND THE WOMENS MOVEMENT/ MIN. of GENDER

I. Describe the nature of your relationship as women parliamentarians with the women's movement/ Ministry of Gender? I understand you network

II. Were you in any way supported by an NGO as a candidate? Please give details if yes

III. How often (quantify if possible) did you coordinate efforts with the Min. of Gender or Women's movement in order to address women and girls concerns?

IV. From the bills introduced, (i.e., Gender Equity and Equality Bill No. 19 of 2015) how influential were the Min of Gender and the Women's Movement in introducing the bills in parliament? Please explain

WOMEN MPs AND LEGISLATION

I. Tell me about your influence as women MPs to introduce gender targeted bills in the 11th National Assembly?

II. What is your view on male MPs support on gender targeted legislation (gender equity and equality bill).

III. Did you in any way influence any amendments to legislation during the 11th National Assembly? (i.e., The Anti-Gender Based Violence Act). Please give details

IV. What impact have you noted on the status of girls and women?

V. Has the National Gender Policy helped to introduce and influence legislation? Explain how

WOMEN MPs AND THEIR ROLE IN SESSIONAL COMMITTEES

I. What roles did you and other women parliamentarians perform in the parliamentary committee(s) in the 11th National Assembly?

II. Can you describe your relations with male MPs in the parliamentary committee(s).

III. Were women and girls concerns addressed in these committees? Please specify and explain (categorizing women's concerns and girls concerns).

CHALLENGES AND MEASURES OF IMPROVEMENT

I. How do political affiliations affect women parliamentarians in introducing and influencing legislation to address women and girls concerns?

II. What challenges did you face individually and collectively as women parliamentarians when it comes to influencing introduction of more gender targeted legislation in parliament?

III. In all this work, what do you say were your major achievements despite being underrepresented?

IV. How best do you think you can effectively influence legislation to become more gender responsive in future?

APPENDIX II - QUESTIONNAIRE FOR MALE M.Ps

Dear respondent

I am a postgraduate student in the school of Humanities and Social Sciences pursuing a Master of Arts degree in Gender Studies at the University of Zambia. I am carrying out a study on the topic 'Influence by Women Parliamentarians and Women's Parliamentary Caucus on Legislation Concerning Women and Girls, 2011-2016.' Influence in this study refers to the ability to cause or affect while Legislation in this study will include Bills, Acts of Parliament as well as gender responsive policies. This study aims to examine the efficacy of women's participation in parliament and committee(s) (especially those dealing with gender matters) in as far as women and girl's issues are concerned during the 11th National Assembly. The study also seeks to examine the relationship with the women's movement as regard to influence on legislation and policies that address women and girls concerns in an attempt to achieve gender equality. You have been selected to be one of the respondents in this research and be assured that all the information that you will give shall be treated with strict confidentiality and used for academic purposes only.

PART A – BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

INSTRUCTION: TICK WHERE APPROPRIATE

1. AGE

- 21-30 years..... 31-40 years..... 41-50 years.....
51-60 years..... Over 60 year.....

2. Marital Status

1. Single..... 2. Married.... 3. Divorced.....
4. Separated.... 5. Widowed....

3. Place of Residence

4. Educational Qualification?

1. JSSLE.....
2. GCE.....
3. Certificate.....
4. Diploma.....
5. Advanced Diploma.....
6. First Degree.....
7. Master Degree.....

8. PhD.....

Other.....

PART B – TICK WHERE APPROPRIATE

1. How many terms have you served as an M.P?

One.....

Two.....

Three.....

Four.....

Five.....

Over five.....

2. Which Political Party do you belong to?

.....

3. Which party did you belong to before the general elections of 11th August 2016?

.....

4. Why did you become a Member of Parliament? (**Tick more than one if relevant**)

1. My party was keen to adopt me.....

2. To develop my constituency and serve the people in my area.....

3. To change government policies.....

4. People in my constituency asked me to.....

Other reasons.....

.....

5. How would you rate the performance of women parliamentarians in the 11th National Assembly?

Excellent.....

Very good.....

Average.....

Below average.....

6. What is your perception of the relationship between the women parliamentarians?

.....

.....

.....

7. What is your perception of the relationship between the women's parliamentary caucus and the women's movement?

.....

.....

8. Do you know of any coordinated efforts (between the women's movement and women's parliamentary caucus) to introduce any bills or influence amendments to legislation to address women and girls concerns during the 11th National Assembly?

Yes..... No.....

If yes specify.....

.....

9. What is your view on bills introduced by women M.Ps to address women and girls concerns?

.....

.....

10. What is your perception of the women's caucus influence on amendments to legislation to address women and girls concerns?

.....

.....

.....

11. What is your view on women parliamentarians' coordination on amendments to legislation?

.....

.....

12. Have the women MPs or the ZWPC had an impact on government policies that address women and girls concerns?

Yes..... NO.....

If Yes, please specify.....

.....

.....

13. Were you in any parliamentary committee with women parliamentarians in the 11th National Assembly?

Yes..... No.....

If yes, name the committee(s).....

.....

14. Who chaired the committee(s)? (if yes to Q13)

Male MP..... Female M.P.....

15. What role did the women parliamentarians play in the committees?

1. Provided good leadership.....

2. Active role as a member.....

3. Passive role as a member.....

Other, specify

16. Were the women parliamentarians treated as equals with men in the committee(s)?

Yes.....

No.....

State why.....

.....

17. Did the committee(s) address women and girls concerns?

Yes.....

No.....

If yes, specify

.....

18. What measures will best improve how women parliamentarians and the women's caucus influence legislation to address women and girls concerns? (Tick more than one if relevant)

1. Introduce quota systems and reserved seats.....

2. Adopt a proportional representation system.....

3. Provide a legal framework for the national gender policy.....

4. Provide funding to the women's parliamentary caucus.....

Other, specify.....

THANK YOU!!!

APPENDIX III - QUESTIONNAIRE FOR WILDAF/NGOCC/ZNWL OFFICIALS

Dear respondent

I am a postgraduate student in the school of Humanities and Social Sciences pursuing a Master of Arts degree in Gender Studies at the University of Zambia. I am carrying out a study on the topic 'Influence by Women Parliamentarians and Women's Parliamentary Caucus on Legislation Concerning Women and Girls, 2011-2016.' Legislation in this study will include Bills, Acts of Parliament as well as gender responsive government policies. This study aims to demonstrate whether women parliamentarians and the women's parliamentary caucus have introduced or influenced legislation and/or gender responsive government policies that address women and girls concerns in a male dominated National Assembly during the 11th National Assembly. You have been selected to be one of the respondents in this research and be assured that all the information that you will give shall be treated with strict confidentiality and used for academic purposes only.

PART A – Biographical Data

INSTRUCTION: TICK WHERE APPROPRIATE

1. Sex

Male Female

2. Age

21-30 years..... 31-40 years..... 41-50 years.....
51-60 years..... Over 60 year.....

3. Marital status

Single..... Married..... Divorced.....
Separated.... Widowed.....

4. Educational Qualification?

JSSLE.....
GCE.....
Certificate.....
Diploma.....
Advanced Diploma.....
First Degree.....
Master's Degree.....
Other.....

5. How long have you worked in your organization?

2-5 years.....

5-10 years.....

10-15 years.....

15-20 years.....

Above 20 years....

PART B – TICK WHERE APPROPRIATE

1. How is government doing in implementing 50% SADC and AU representation of women in politics?

1. Excellent.....

2. Very well.....

3. Fairly well.....

4. Poorly.....

2. Did your organization help any female candidates to get elected to parliament in 2011? (**Answer for NGOs under NGOCC**).

Yes No Not Sure

3. Why does your organization or any under NGOCC support the election of female candidates? (**Tick more than one if necessary**).

1. To increase the proportion of women parliamentarians.....

2. To advance your organizations interests in parliament.....

3. To increase women’s support for each other in parliament.....

4. To address women and girls concerns in parliament.....

.Other, specify.....

4. Does your organization work with women parliamentarians and the women’s parliamentary caucus?

Yes No

If yes, state how

5. How can you rate your relationship with women parliamentarians and the women parliamentarians caucus?

Very good Good
Moderate Poor

6. Did your organization work with women parliamentarians or the women's caucus to introduce any bills to address women and girls concerns during the 11th National Assembly, 2011- 2016?

Yes No

Specify if yes.....

7. How do you perceive male MPs support for bills introduced by female MPs?

8. What is your view on women parliamentarians support for bills to address women and girls concerns?.....

9. Did your organization coordinate with women parliamentarians or the women's parliamentary caucus to influence any amendments to legislation to address women and girls concerns during the 11th National Assembly - 2011 to 2016?

Yes No

If yes specify.....

10. Has your organization worked with the women parliamentarians to influence government policy/strategies in order to address women and girls concerns?

Yes No

Specify if yes.....

11. What was the motivating factor behind this collaboration? (If yes to Q11)

.....
.....
.....

12. How do you perceive male MPs support to female MPs influence on amendments to legislation?.....

.....
.....

13. How do you rate the performance of women in parliamentary standing committees?

Excellent Above average
Average Below average

14. What role did the women parliamentarians play in the parliamentary standing committees that you are aware of? (Tick more than one if necessary)

- 1. Provided good leadership.....
- 2. Active role as a member.....
- 3. Passive role as a member.....
- 4. Other, specify

15. In your view, did the committee(s) address women and girls concerns?

Yes No

Specify

16. Do you think the women parliamentarians and the women parliamentarians caucus substantively represented the concerns of women and girls in the 11th National Assembly?

Yes No

Please explain

17. How would you rate government's response to women and girls concerns raised by legislators in an attempt to attain gender equality and equity?

1. Excellent 2. Very good 3. Good 4. Poorly

18. What measures will best improve how women parliamentarians and the women's caucus influence legislation to address women and girls concerns? (**Tick more than one if necessary**)

1. Introduce quota systems and reserved seats.....
2. Adopt a proportional representation system.....
3. Provide a legal framework for the national gender policy.....
4. Provide funding to the women's parliamentary caucus.....

Other, specify.....

.....

THANK YOU

APPENDIX IV - QUESTIONNAIRE FOR MINISTRY OF GENDER OFFICIALS

Dear respondent

I am a postgraduate student in the school of Humanities and Social Sciences pursuing a Master of Arts degree in Gender Studies at the University of Zambia. I am carrying out a study on the topic ‘The Influence of Women Legislators and Women’s Parliamentary Caucus on Gender Targeted Legislation, 2010-2016.’ Legislation in this study will include Bills, Acts of Parliament as well as gender responsive government policies. This study aims to demonstrate whether women parliamentarians and the women’s parliamentary caucus have introduced or influenced legislation and/or gender responsive government policies that address women and girls concerns in a male dominated National Assembly during the 11th National Assembly. You have been selected to be one of the respondents in this research and be assured that all the information that you will give shall be treated with strict confidentiality and used for academic purposes only.

PART A

INSTRUCTION: TICK WHERE APPROPRIATE

1. Sex

Male Female

2. Age

21-30 years.....

31-40 years.....

41-50 years.....

51-60 years.....

Over 60 year.....

3. Marital status

Single Married Divorced

Separated Widowed

4. Educational Qualification?

JSSLE.....

GCE.....

Certificate.....

Diploma.....

Advanced Diploma.....

First Degree.....

Master Degree.....

Other.....

PART B – TICK WHERE APPROPRIATE

1. How long have you worked in your organization?

- 2-5 years 5-10 years 10-15 years
15-20 years Above 20 years

2. How is government doing in implementing 50% SADC and AU representation of women in politics?

- Excellent..... Very well.....
Fairly well..... Poorly.....

3. Does the ministry support the election of women to parliament in any way? (If No skip to question five)

- Yes No

If yes, state how

4. Why does the ministry support the election of female candidates to the National Assembly? **(Tick more than one if necessary)**

1. To increase the proportion of women parliamentarians.....
2. To advance the ministry's interests in parliament.....
3. To increase women's support for each other in parliament...
4. To address women and girls concerns in parliament.....

Other specify.....

.....

5. Does the ministry work with women parliamentarians and the women's parliamentary caucus?

- Yes No

If yes, state how

6. How can you describe your relationship with women parliamentarians and the women parliamentarians caucus?

Very good

Good

Moderate

Poor

7. Did the ministry work with the women parliamentarians caucus in introducing bills to address women and girls concerns during the 11th National Assembly, 2011 -2016?

Yes

No

Please specify

8. What is your perception of the male MPs support to bills addressing women and girls concerns?

9. What is your perception of the women parliamentarians support to the bills addressing women and girls concerns?

10. Did the ministry coordinate with women parliamentarians and the women’s parliamentary caucus to influence any amendments to legislation to address women and girls concerns? (i.e., The Marriage Act Chapter 50 of the Laws of Zambia,)

Yes

No

If yes specify.....

11. What was the motivating factor behind this collaboration?

12. How do you perceive the male MPs support to amendments to legislation to address women and girls concerns?.....

.....

13. How do you perceive women MPs support to legislative amendments addressing women and girls concerns?

.....

14. Have the women parliamentarian had and influence on gender responsive government policies?

Yes No

Please give details

.....

15. How do you rate the performance of women in parliamentary standing committees?

Excellent Above average

Average Below average

16. What role did the women parliamentarians play in the parliamentary standing committee(s) that you are aware of? (**Tick more than one if necessary**)

1. Provided good leadership.....

2. Active role as a member.....

3. Passive role as a member.....

Other specify

17. In your view, did the committee(s) address women and girls concerns?

Yes No

Specify

.....

18. Do you think the women parliamentarians and the women parliamentarians caucus substantively represented the concerns of women and girls in the 11th National Assembly?

Yes No

Give reason.....

.....

19. What measures will best improve how women parliamentarians and the women's caucus influence legislation to address women and girls concerns? (**Tick more than one if necessary**)

1. Introduce quota systems and reserved seats.....

2. Adopt a proportional representation system.....

3. Provide a legal framework for the national gender policy....

4. Provide funding to the women's parliamentary caucus.....

Other, specify.....

.....

THANK YOU

APPENDIX IV - INTERVIEW GUIDE – KEY INFORMANT (WOMEN’S DESK)
THEMES

A. Functions of Caucus

1. How important is the caucus in raising women and girls concerns?
2. Please describe for me the function of the caucus. What does it stand for?
3. What do you see as the major obstacles to the functioning of the caucus?

B. Coordination with the Women’s Movement/ Min. of Gender.

1. Describe the nature of the relationship between the ZWPC, the women’s movements and ministry of gender?
2. How effective were the women’s movement/Min of Gender in ensuring gender responsive legislation are tabled before the National Assembly? (Make reference to the GEEB, Anti-GBV Act)
3. How did the caucus utilize the women’s movements assistance to promote the enactment of gender responsive legislations?

C. The ZWPC and Legislation

1. What have been the roles of the women MPs and the Caucus in influencing the introduction and amendments of gender targeted legislation?
2. What has been the impact of their efforts on the status of girls and women?
3. How do political affiliations affect the caucus in influencing introduction gender responsive bills and influencing amendments?

D. Role of Women M.Ps in Parliamentary Committees

1. What roles did women MPs perform in the parliamentary committee(s)?
2. How useful are these committees in addressing women and girls concerns?
3. What would you recommend as an effective way of influencing legislation to become more gender responsive in future?

PROPOSED RESEARCH BUDGET

BUDGET ITEM/RESEARCH ACTIVITIES	DETAILS	QUANTITY	UNIT COST	TOTAL IN KWACHA(K)
Stationery	Reams of paper	6	35.00	140.00
	Pens	6	1.00	6.00
	Box file	1	30.00	30.00
	Note book	1	20.00	20.00
Equipment	Toner cartridge	1	700.00	700.00
	Voice recorder	1	550.00	550.00
	Flash disk	1	100.00	100.00
	Rewritable CDs	2	10.00	20.00
Transport	Visiting parliament building, GIDD and NGOCC offices in Lusaka	4 months at most	1000.00	1000.00
Production Cost	Poster	1	180.00	180.00
	Typing/printing Reports	4	60.00	240.00
	Binding	4	150.00	600.00
Contingency				1,250.00
Grand total				4,836.00

RESEARCH TIME LINE

DATE RESEARCH	ACTIVITY	EXPECTED OUTCOME
May-June 2016	Preparing proposal	Research proposal
July 2016	Developing research instruments	Developed research instruments
September 2016	Distributing instruments	Distributed instruments
October 2016	Collecting data	Collected data
November-December 2016	Entering data	Entered Data
January 2017	Analysing data	Analysed data
February-May 2017	Writing report	Written report
June 2017	Submitting report	Submitted report