

**TITLE: INVESTIGATING THE INFLUENCES OF GENDER AND QUALIFICATIONS ON
POLITICAL LEADERSHIP IN ZAMBIA; A CASE STUDY OF CHINGOLA DISTRICT**

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Lusaka

2024

DECLARATION

This report is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university

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CERTIFICATE OF APROVAL

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ABSTRACT

The assessment of women's representation in elections in Zambia is currently low and the proposed Bill 10 provided opportunities to increase women's political participation. The proportion of women who contested in the just ended elections stood at 6% for Presidential, 21% for Parliamentary, 13% for Mayor/Council Chairperson and 9% for Councillor. The study aims at finding out Patriotic Front, United Party for National Development, Socialist party and Forum for Democracy and Development parties 'policies concerning a working mechanism for increasing female political representation. The study is qualitative. Data was collected through in-depth interviews with party officials in the District Executive Committees and from the Election Committees, officials from the Ministry of Gender and Zambia National Women's Lobby. Data was also collected through focus group discussions with the Zambian Parliamentary Caucus for Women, and voters (male and female) from the Chingola and Nchanga Constituencies. The samples were drawn using purposive and random sampling for party officials and voters respectively. The following were the research specific objectives; (i) to establish the rights and freedoms that the constitution of Zambia provides to all the citizens regardless of their sex, color, religion or political opinions. (ii) to find ways of closing gender gaps in access to education and skill training that holds women's political participation in leadership. (iii) to find out measures that have been put in place by political parties to promote gender equality in nation decision making positions. The research found that all the four political parties have been structured in such a way that they have a women's wing which should bring out women in numbers to participate and be heard. The study also revealed that the criteria for nominating candidate for parliamentary elections is not discriminatory but disadvantages a woman more as compared to a man. Both in elected and appointed offices of the government, most of the interviewed officials admitted the fact that there is a link though it cannot be clearly established.

The Constitution guarantees equality between men and women as it recognizes that every person in Zambia is entitled to all fundamental rights and freedoms as contained in Part III of the Constitution. Article 8 of the Constitution provides for national values and principles which include non-discrimination. The researcher found that many attached importance to having women teachers in schools. The womens lobby group as well as election committee members and party officials illustrated their support for women teachers in schools. Female teachers act as mentors for young girls in schools. Mentors have played a key role in encouraging women to pursue political leadership, being a role model for what successful leadership looks like, and guiding them through the processes and challenges leadership can hold.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to my wonderful family, particularly my understanding and patient wife Fresiah Ngambo Chinyama, who has put up with these many years of studies. I must also thank my loving sister Betty kavangu Sangambo, and my beautiful daughters Dorcas Mbambi Chinyama, Diana Mbingila Chinyama, Comfort Lejima Chinyama and my beloved sons Moses Atotwe Chinyama, Emmanuel Chipamba Chinyama, and Aaron Kasenda Chinyama Jr who have given me their fullest support.

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ABBREVIATIONS

CDP- Citizens Democratic Party

FDD- Forum for Democracy and Development

FODEP- Foundation for Democratic Process

MDGs- Millenium Development Goals

MMD- Movement for Multiparty Democracy

MPs- Members of Parliament

NEC- National Executive Committee

NGOCC- Non Governmental Organizations' Coordinating Council

NMP- National Movement for Progress

PF- Patriotic Front

UNDP- United Nations Development Programme

UPND- United Party for National Development

ZCID- Zambia Centre for Inter Party Dialogue

ZCP- Zambia Conservative Party

ZED- Zambians for Empowerment and Development

ZDDM- Zambia Direct Democracy Movement

ZNWL- Zambia National Women's Lobby

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CHAPTER ONE

1.0 Overview

This chapter explains the background, statement of the problem of the research, and purpose of the study. It also states the objectives, research questions, significance of the study and its limitations.

1.1 Background of the study

Increasingly, human resource managers are recognizing the need to understand how the differences between men and women affect organizational culture and leadership. This study will examine the influence of gender on the leadership and cultural dimensions. Much has been written about the traits and skills of successful leaders. Those whose names have become synonymous with great leadership include Jack Welch, Steve Jobs, Bill Gates, and Bill Clinton. But what do Carly Fiorina, Meg Whitman, Indra Nooyi, and Ursula Burns all have in common? They are just a few of the many women whose names have become identified with exceptional leadership and whose styles break with traditional leadership patterns among women.

Leadership has been defined in many ways. According to Northouse (2004, p. 3), it is “the process whereby an individual influences a group of individuals to achieve a common goal.” Influence is what a leader exerts as a way to motivate followers. Most interactions occur in group settings, although an individual who has no followers also can display leadership. A leader’s objective is to achieve goals. Yukl (2002) defined leadership as “the process of influencing others to understand and agree about what needs to be done and how it can be done effectively, and the process of facilitating individual and collective efforts to accomplish the shared objectives”. Both Northouse and Yukl use the word influence in their definitions of leadership, and both agree that the overall objective is to achieve goals. Neither author distinguishes leadership in terms of gender. Yet, the relationship between leadership and gender is of significant concern and, therefore, merits full examination. Although the number of females in the workforce has continued to grow over the last few decades, a proportional growth in the number of women in the executive ranks of organizations has not occurred. Despite the fact that women now occupy more than 40 percent of all managerial positions in the Zambia, they account for only 6 percent of those with such titles as chair, president, and chief executive officer (Allix, 2000).

Studies have affirmed that people associate men and women with different traits and associate men with more of the traits that denote effective leadership (Ely & Rhode, 2010). As a result, women in leadership roles often find themselves in a double bind. If they exhibit highly feminine modes of management, they may be criticized for lacking some of the masculine traits. On the other hand, if they display highly masculine qualities, they may be criticized for lacking a more feminine-participative style. Either way, they are perceived as not having what it takes to fill top leadership positions.

Whereas men perceive a hierarchical and competitive behavioral style as crucial to their leadership style, women view a more democratic-participative style that involves collaboration and consensus building as crucial to their leadership status. As a result, women are rated as more effective than men in feminine leadership roles that require interpersonal skills and the ability to promote working relationships. Additionally, Meister and Willyerd (2010) propose that organizational leaders in the future must bring a collaborative mind-set to the workplace, which means that leaders will need to embrace inclusive decision making and solicit genuine feedback. Therefore, HR managers will need to seek out ways to develop current leaders and emerging managers to support employee engagement in a participative environment.

Discussing the state of the ‘women and politics’ discipline seems fashionable as of late. As in most countries, women make up the majority of the Zambian population and subsequently, the majority of the electorate. Political parties and politicians in Zambia readily organise women for political support, and so, women are more observable in political activities in terms of attending rallies, demonstrating and voting. Their contribution to the social and economic development of societies is also more than half as compared to that of men by virtue of their dual roles in the productive and reproductive spheres (Ford, 2002).

This study attempts to investigate the influences of gender and qualifications on political leadership in Zambia. This is because women’s participation in formal political structures and processes, where decisions regarding the use of societal resources generated by both men and women are made, remains trivial despite their massive political contribution. The inability of poor Zambian women to achieve a significant degree of empowerment is caused, among other reasons, by the virtual absence of women in the political arena. Very few women hold high appointive or

elective office. A handful of professional women have risen through the ranks to become directors and general managers in government, parastatals and private companies. Their numbers are so few that they typically find themselves as the only women in an all-male setting.

1.2 Statement of the Problem.

A lot of writings concerning women and their role in political leadership worldwide have been done by various scholars across the globe. In Zambia, politics is one area that has been over-researched by scholars from various disciplines. However, very little if any, has been done on the influences of gender and qualifications on political leadership in Zambia. There is still insufficient understanding and knowledge about the influences of gender and qualifications on political leadership in Zambia. Therefore, there is need to analyze the influences of gender and qualifications on political leadership in Zambia, particularly in Zambia's politics.

1.3 Purpose of the Study

The main purpose of this study was to establish the influences of gender and qualifications on the political leadership in Zambia.

1.5 Specific objectives

The study was guided by the following specific objectives:

1. To establish the rights and freedoms that the constitution of Zambia provides to all the citizens regardless of their sex, color, religion or political opinions.
2. To find ways of closing gender gaps in access to education and skill training that holds women's political participation in leadership.
3. To find out measures that have been put in place by political parties to promote gender equality in nation decision making positions.

1.6 Research questions

1. What are the rights and freedoms that the constitution of Zambia provides to all the citizens regardless of their sex, color, religion or political opinions?
2. State ways of closing gender gaps in access to education and skill training that holds women's political participation in leadership?

3. What measures that have been put in place by political parties to promote gender equality in nation decision making positions?

1.7 Significance of the Study

The study may contribute to the limited literature on the influences of gender and qualifications on political leadership in Zambia. It is also hoped that the study may stimulate further research interest on the subject. Secondly, the findings of this study will provide insights to policy makers and researchers on challenges facing women in order to effectively and efficiently address them. Lastly, the study aims at empowering women leaders in fulfilling their potentials through adding value on women leadership skills and strategies.

1.8 Limitations of the study

The limitations of this study are the financial constraint and time constraint; insufficient fund tends to impede the efficiency of the researcher in sourcing for the relevant materials, literature or information and in the process of data collection. The researcher will simultaneously engage in this study with other academic work. This consequently will cut down on the time devoted for the research work.

1.9 Definition of terms

The following definitions will enable readers to understand the essential concepts used throughout this study and their operational meaning.

Career advancement: Moving to higher job responsibilities or reaching a top position in companies or organizations to anticipate future posts (Roman, 2017).

Equal opportunity: The principle of treating all people the same without being discriminated against based on gender, age, or national origin (Bishu and Alkadry, 2017).

Gender: A set of characteristics that are associated with specific biological sex (male or female) that is also referred to as masculine or feminine, but associates with females or discrimination (Pryzgoda and Chrisler, 2000).

Gender stereotype: The differences of treatment that exist because of stereotypical expectations, behaviors, and attitudes toward women (Ellemers, 2018).

Leadership: The ability to influence, inspire, persuade, and motivate others to pursue a shared vision to achieve worthwhile goals (Mind Tools, 2016).

Underrepresentation: Is to give inadequate representation to, or to represent in disproportionately low numbers (Gumpertz, Durodoye, Griffith, and Wilson, (2017).

Work-life balance: The extent to which an employee is satisfied that his or her work and life role is fulfilled according to his or her values at the time (Koh, Allen, and Zafar, 2013).

1.10 Conceptual Framework

In this study, the concept of politics will be understood in the term suggested Lawrence. He states that politics, in its broadest sense, is the activity through which people make, preserve and amend the general rules under which they live. This implies that wherever human beings exist, politics also exists. Politics takes place at every level of social interaction; it can be found within families and amongst small groups of friends just as much as amongst nations and on the global stage. From the definition, it can also be deduced that politics involves human social interaction. This can be complemented by the idea from one of the classical writers Aristotle who alludes to the fact that ‘Man is by nature a political animal.’ He goes on to say that anyone who does not take part in politics ceases to be human, instead he becomes a beast. This tells us that every human being male or female should actively take part in politics and should be accorded the same opportunities.

1.11 Structure of the report

The study is prepared into five chapters. Chapter one presents a general introduction and includes the background to the study, the statement of the problem, purpose of the study, objectives of the study research questions, significance of the study, limitations, and the structure of the report. Chapter two covers literature reviews. Chapter three describes the research methodology to be used. This included the research design, target population, sample selection, data collection technique and data analysis. Chapter four includes presentations and discussion of research findings. Chapter five covers covers the conclusion and recommendations.

1.12 Summary

In conclusion, this introductory chapter has highlighted the background, statement of the problem, the purpose of the study, objectives of the study, the significance of the study, limitations and delimitations of the study, and finally the definition of key terms has been given.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Overview

This literature review starts by presenting general information about Zambia. This is followed by features of the Zambian political system, which serve as background information for the topic of this thesis. The section next in line covers gender in Zambian politics, Enabling Circumstances for Women's Participation and Influence of gender and qualification on political leadership

2.1 The Political System

In 1991, in Zambia there was a peaceful transition from a one-party system to multi-party democracy. However, in practice there was just one party that led the country from 1991 to 2011. (Nalumango, M. and Sifuniso, 1998). The Zambian political system is based on a tripartite system of powers the executive (cabinet), legislature (parliament) and judiciary (Courts of Law). The people elect the president and the members of parliament (Elshtain, 2011).

According to Ford, (2002), most Africans support democracy, and Zambia is one of the countries where the will towards democracy is one of the highest in Africa. With a support of 81%, Zambians reach the third highest place in the support for democracy out of the 34 African countries included in the research. 92% of Zambians reject military rule, which is the highest percentage of the researched countries (Nalumango, M. and Sifuniso, 1998). In addition, in Zambia people want more democracy than they feel they are getting. Thus, in Zambia the strong general opinion is that the state should remain democratic and there are no openly anti-democratic actors (Elshtain, 2011). The Zambian military has never been in power and Zambia has at no time gone through a civil war or significant ethnic conflict. However, the latest elections as well as the space for freedom of speech and assembly indicate that the state of democracy in Zambia is fragile.

2.2 Gender in Politics

The representation of female Member of Parliament candidates increased with 30% from 2016 to 2021, a major reason for which was that the parties PF and UPND held complex interview processes. The National Executive Committee of each party made the final decision of the

candidates after the constituency; district and provincial level committees had made their recommendations. Many women were accepted at constituency and district levels (Elshtain, 2011).

Gender stereotypes, beliefs, and cultural norms are the major challenges for women politicians that hinder their political participation (Ford, 2002). Women are considered subordinate in the society, especially in rural areas. It is common that women do not want to run for political office and if they do, they do not gain enough support to win (Ministry of Gender-Zambia 2018, 15).

Zambia is a patriarchal society (Ford, 2002), in politics and in other leading positions there are and have been more men than women, which reinforces the thinking that men are naturally better leaders, which strengthens male dominance even further (Evans 2016). Women have been excluded from religious leadership positions, which weaken their status in the society in general, which in turn leads to fewer opportunities in public life and in politics (Phiri, 2006).

In Zambia, the traditional role of women is that of a follower, not a leader (Phiri 2008). Even many women say that they would prefer to have a male leader rather than female (FODEP & UNZA-PAS 2011, 73). If a woman is a politician, she can be said to have “a men’s job” that is very challenging for a woman (Evans 2016). Societal discrimination and violence harm women’s rights in Zambia. Rape and domestic abuse are common, and traditional norms hinder women from reporting assaults. Rape is punishable, but this law is not commonly enforced. Additionally, there is discrimination against women in property and inheritance rights (Bari, F 2005) The media affects women’s possibilities to become political leaders because of the gender biases in media coverage. Women get less space and time in the media compared to men. Additionally, the mass media strengthens the cultural stereotypes about the role of women, which hinders the political participation (Ford, L.2002).

The first step in being able to understand the society and to take part in its functions is education, literacy in particular. Women’s literacy is rather new in Zambia, which can partly explain the situation of women in politics. While women’s political participation is promoted particularly by educated women, the majority of women still think differently. Almost the same number of girls and boys are enrolled in primary school, but in tertiary education only 45.8 girls to every 100 boys are enrolled. Only half of primary school students finish primary education Low literacy levels

harm women's rights in Zambia (Freedom in the World 2019). Traditionally, age has been appreciated in Zambia and there have been conflicts between generations when younger generations have respected university education more than the traditional wisdom of age (Geisler, 2006).

Women have the right to stand as candidates in elections in Zambia, but the restriction that a candidate must have a certificate of high school graduation, called a Grade 12 certificate, hinders women's possibilities, since their education level is on average lower than men's (Freedom in the World 2019). In addition, the increase in nomination fees for becoming a candidate in elections affects more women than men since women are in general in a weaker financial position (EU Election Observation Mission – Zambia 2016, 18).

2.3 Enabling Circumstances for Women's Participation

Although Zambian women face numerous difficulties in taking part in politics, the circumstances have become better over time. Democratization has been an important factor in improving women's political situation because of better freedom of speech and assembly as well as less fear of speaking out. This has been particularly important for Zambian women. (Evans 2016.) The fall of one-party state structure in 1990 and the following transition to a multi-party system in 1991 have given more room for women. In 2001 for the first time in Zambia there were a lot of young voters and the first two female presidential candidates (Phiri 2008).

Education plays a crucial role in women's political participation. Younger educated women have been able to change the traditional notions of womanhood and in this way given women wider chances to find fulfillment. Women have also been educated about the reasons why they should vote for women in elections. Education can bear fruit in terms of the future because seeing educated women as role models can improve younger generations' self-esteem (Evans 2016).

ZNWL, which is one of the organisations I am implementing this master's thesis with, is one of the major associations in improving women's rights. It was founded in 1991 in order to improve women's possibilities to take part in decision-making and to improve the representation of women in the government and political parties, which was on a low level in Zambia. Nowadays it has over 5,000 members, of which about 95% are female and 5% male. The vision of the Lobby is "A nation with women and girls fully present in leadership roles and actively involved in decision-making

processes.” ZNWL has chapters in every province of Zambia, headed by District Executive Committees. ZNWL gets international funding for its projects, and Demo Finland is one of the many partners and financiers of ZNWL. (Zambia National Women’s Lobby 2017.)

Zambia Women’s Parliamentary Caucus (ZWPC) was formed one year later than ZNWL in 1992 by female MPs in order to support women parliamentarians’ work in the male dominated House. It promotes gender equality and its goal is to increase the number of women in political leadership positions as well as empowering women and girls in general. (Zambia Women’s Parliamentary Caucus 2016.) On the other hand, since there are fewer female MPs than male MPs in the Zambian Parliament, ZWPC’s influence in legislative processes is limited due to lack of numerical force (FODEP & UNZA-PAS 2011, 44).

2.4 Influence of gender and qualification on political leadership

As earlier stated, politics in Zambia is one field that has been over-researched. Most political involvement in Zambian politics has been associated with men, telling the world what men have done and not the challenges faced by women in Zambia’s politics. The influences of gender and qualifications on political leadership in Zambia are a focus of this study. Phiri’s piece of work, *A Political History of Zambia from Colonial period to the 3rd Republic* was a generalized political history of Zambia. His work is a critical analysis of historical Zambian politics. Although the book does not loudly come out on influences of gender on political leadership in Zambia, it is an invaluable source of information on the various political systems adopted during the period under study. It has immensely sharpened the understanding and analysis of political evolution in Zambia. His work gives this study an investigative idea into the influences of gender and qualification on political leadership in Zambia.

Phiri, (2006) examined the role of women’s organizations in the political development of Zambia. The Author argued that; it is clear that the roles and responsibilities women undertook during the freedom struggle had a great influence in terms of shaping their place in the future political arena. Since women mainly adopted supportive roles during the freedom struggle, participation in mainstream politics did not occupy centre stage in their political outlook. They were more preoccupied with the issue of freedom and overlooked the importance of gender equality in mainstream politics which was not very popular among African women at that time.

Furthermore, National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) Report *Why Women in Politics* has noted that the full and equitable participation of women in public life is essential to building and sustaining strong, vibrant democracies. Accordingly, the meaningful participation of women in national, local and community leadership roles has become an important focus of global development policy. This is partly because the world has realized that women's political participation results are tangible gains for democracy, including greater responsiveness to citizen needs, increased cooperation across party and ethnic lines, and more sustainable peace (Elshtain, 2011). Research through NDI further indicates the fact that whether a legislator is male or female has a distinct impact on their policy priorities, making it critical that women are present in politics to represent the concerns of women and other marginalized voters and help improve the responsiveness of policy making and governance. There is strong evidence that as more women are elected to office, there is also a corollary increase in policy making that emphasizes quality of life and reflects the priorities of families, women, and ethnic and racial minorities. Women's political participation has profound positive and democratic impacts on communities, legislatures, political parties, and citizen's lives, and helps democracy deliver. This report though not highlighting the challenges of women provides valuable insights into the importance of the presence of women in decision making bodies, government and society at large .

Miranda in *Impact of Women's Participation and Leadership on Outcomes* also observed that most women in the United States did not focus on how political and governmental actions affected their issues. Many did not realize that they could do something to improve the quality of their lives and that of their families and communities by reaching for political leadership or becoming involved in political and civic activities. If democracies are to function and to better their citizens' lives, women's voices need to be heard at the political level and the barriers to their participation have to come down. Miranda noted that there were a lot of cases in which women political figures had difficulty gaining a hearing or respect for their ideas. They were tied to female issues and were perceived as not capable of winning elections. The history of Western culture is riddled with evidence of traps for women that have forcefully curtailed their options. Unlike Miranda's observation, this study is a tale of the voiceless women in Zambian politics (Flood, 2019).

Although women in Nigeria constituted half of the total population and slightly more than half of voters in elections in 2018, yet they do not enjoy their full political rights as their male counterparts. Flood, (2019) observed that women's total political representation in government had been very low. Also, women had not still attained the recommended 30 percent seats in government as recommended by the Beijing platform of Action to which Nigeria subscribes. It was not until 1979 that women in Northern Nigeria had the franchise to exercise their voting rights. This implies that they could not contest for political positions nor participate in choosing their political leaders until 1979. The author's work this study in trying to take a study on the influences of gender and qualification on the political leadership in Zambia.

2.5 Political leadership in Zambia since 2021 general election

Zambia went to the polls on 12th August 2021 to elect President, Members of Parliament, Mayors/Council Chairpersons and Councillors. The elections took place after the debates on the change of the current First Past The Post (FPTP) electoral system to a mixed electoral system as tabled in the Constitution Amendment Bill 10, which unfortunately did not materialise as the bill could not go through. The assessment of women's representation in elections in Zambia is currently low and the proposed Bill 10 provided opportunities to increase women's political participation. Gender Links Zambia and Zambian civil society organisation have been tracking women's political participation at all levels of governance. One of the key targets in the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development is 50% women's representation in all areas of decision-making by 2030. The updated 2030 SADC Protocol on Gender and Development, Article 12. 1, states that: "State parties shall ensure equal and effective representation by women in decision-making in the political, public and private sectors, including the use of special measures

The proportion of women who contested in the just ended elections stood at 6% for Presidential, 21% for Parliamentary, 13% for Mayor/Council Chairperson and 9% for Councillor. The report provides a summary gender analysis for elected officials after the 12th August 2021 elections. Zambia is a signatory to a number of regional and global instruments of equal women's political participation. Key instruments include the SADC Gender and Development Protocol, the Maputo Protocol and the Sustainable Development Goals among others. The current proportions of women in political participation in Zambia is an opposite of what these instruments stand for

Following the adoption of the amendment of the country's Constitution in 2016, the proportion of women in the national assembly increased from 11% to 18% and in the Cabinet from 11% to 25%. In the 2016 Zambian elections political parties fielded only 16% women as parliamentary candidates and 9% women in the local government elections. The 2021 Elections have recorded a reduction in women's representation at Local Government, Cabinet and National Assembly level. Zambia still ranks at 115 in the Inter Parliamentary Union's ratings of women in parliament. Women's representation in local government increased from 6% in 2011 to 9% in 2016. Zambia is well behind the 50/50 target in all three areas

The Constitution attaches importance to valuing women and men equally and to their rights to shape the country's political, legal, economic, and social direction (Government of Zambia, 2016). The National Gender Policy was revised in 2014 to address gender imbalances, strengthening calls for equal opportunities for women and men to participate in and contribute to national development, and the Gender Equity and Equality Act of 2015 reinforces the legal framework to eradicate all forms of discrimination against women and girls (Ministry of Gender and Child Development, 2015, 2019). Despite this policy framework, the country's ranking in the Global Gender Gap Index declined in 2023, slipping from 62nd to 85th place out of 146 countries (World Economic Forum, 2023). This dispatch reports on a special survey module included in the Afrobarometer Round 9 (2021/2023) questionnaire to explore Africans' experiences and perceptions of gender equality in control over assets, hiring, land ownership, and political leadership. (For findings on gender-based violence, see Chibwili, 2023). Survey findings show that Zambian women continue to trail men in educational attainment and ownership of key assets such as mobile phones and bank accounts. Majorities endorse equal rights for women in employment, land ownership, and political leadership. But significant minorities consider it likely that female candidates for public office might suffer criticism, harassment, or family problems. Most Zambians approve of the government's performance in promoting equal rights and opportunities for women, though they also say greater efforts are needed.

2.6 Summary

Review of related studies reveals that research has been done to find the challenges women face in Zambian politics. The search found no study done in Chingola on the influences of gender and qualification on political leadership in Zambia. Based on this background the study sets out to investigate the influences of gender and qualifications on the political leadership in Zambia.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter explains the research design and methodology that will be used in this study to achieve the purpose and objectives stated. In doing so, the chapter discusses the following: the target population, sample and sampling techniques, data collection methods and instruments, data collection procedures, and data analysis.

3.1 Research design

The research design that was used in this study is a qualitative survey and it will take a form of the case study. This is the process of collecting data by interviewing or administering a questionnaire to a sample of individuals. The focus will be on collecting data from respondents on the influences of gender and qualifications on political leadership in Zambia. This approach is appropriate for this study which focused on soliciting for information and establishing the influences of gender and qualifications on political leadership in Zambia.

3.2 Target Population

Accordingly, the population of this study consisted of ward councilors, other civic leaders and education leaders. These will be selected based on the knowledge and experience they have in Zambian politics and leadership

3.3 Sample selection

In total the sample size was 35 respondents, thus at least 20 ward councilors where 10 will be selected from each constituency in Chingola and at least 5 female members of parliament. It will also consist of the mayor (1) and 3 other civic leaders and 6 political party leaders from the five major political parties in Zambia which are UPND, PF, FDD and Socialist party. The study will use two types of sampling procedures which are purposive and simple random sampling methods. Purposive sampling means that respondents are chosen on the basis of their knowledge of the information desired (Sogoni, 2017). Moreover random sampling will be used in choosing sample unit from the entire population of councilors, members of parliament and civic leaders. This will be done by dividing the sample into 2 groups; councilors and constituency political party

leaders and then drawing a random sample from each subset to ensure that each sub group is adequately represented in the sample.

3.4 Study Sampling Procedures

UPND was purposely selected on the basis of being the ruling party of the day and having the highest number of female Members of Parliament. Sampa has reported that, the 20% representation of women is incorporated in the PF constitution, (2010, p. 47). Therefore, PF was purposely selected more importantly for this reason and secondly because it is the largest opposition political party of the day. FDD was also purposely selected for the simple reason of having a female party president, Edith Nawakwi. Socialist Party as the latest political party on the scene was anticipated to be concerned about gender and qualification because of the prevailing link between gender and development therefore curiosity prompted its inclusion in the study. Based on these reasons, the policies and perspectives of these parties were cardinal to the study

3.5 Distribution of respondents by Age

The figure below shows distribution of respondents by age

Figure 1: Distribution of respondents by age

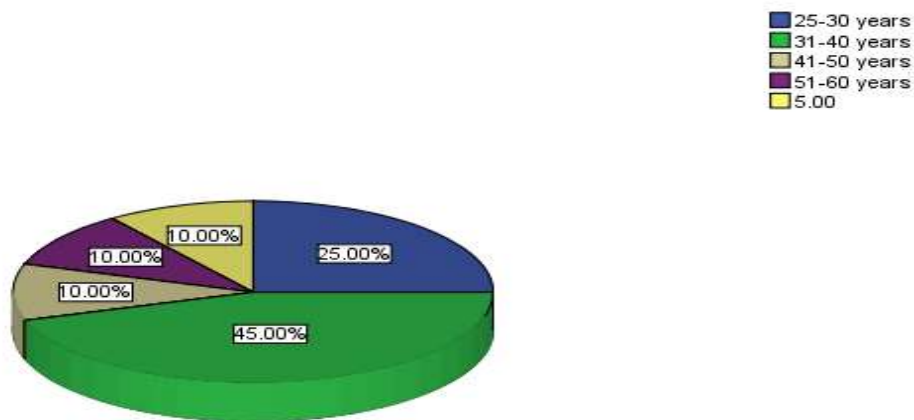


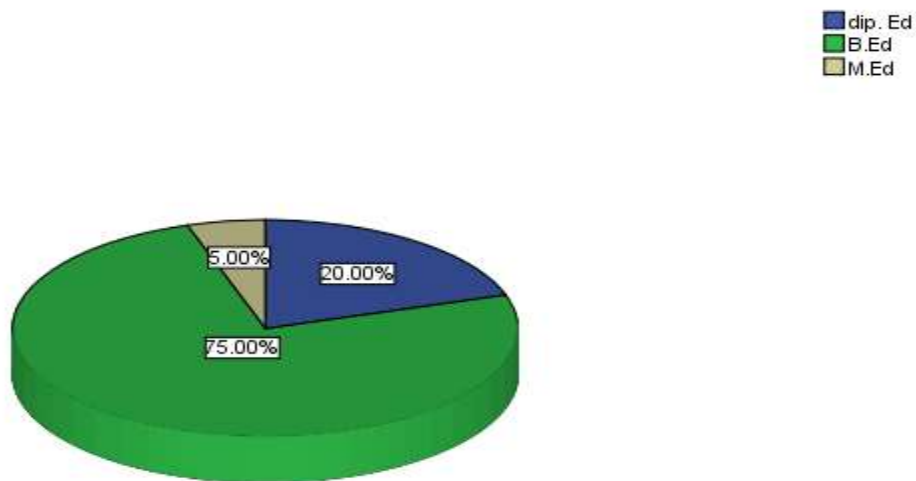
Figure 1 show that majority (45%) were aged between 31-40 years. Another high proportion (25%) of respondents was aged between 25-30 years. This shows that those in leadership were evenly

distributed on the basis of age from 25 years to 60 years. Many positive and negative views have been put forward regarding age and leadership. It is a general thought that as age advanced and designation is promoted, leaders loose the enthusiasm to work. Another thought was that age and experience go hand in hand. Age is an asset because as the age advanced the leader becomes experienced and he knows where to tap the potential of the subordinate.

3.6 Academic Level of respondents

The figure below shows the academic level of respondents who were interviewed

Figure 2: Qualification of Female Respondents

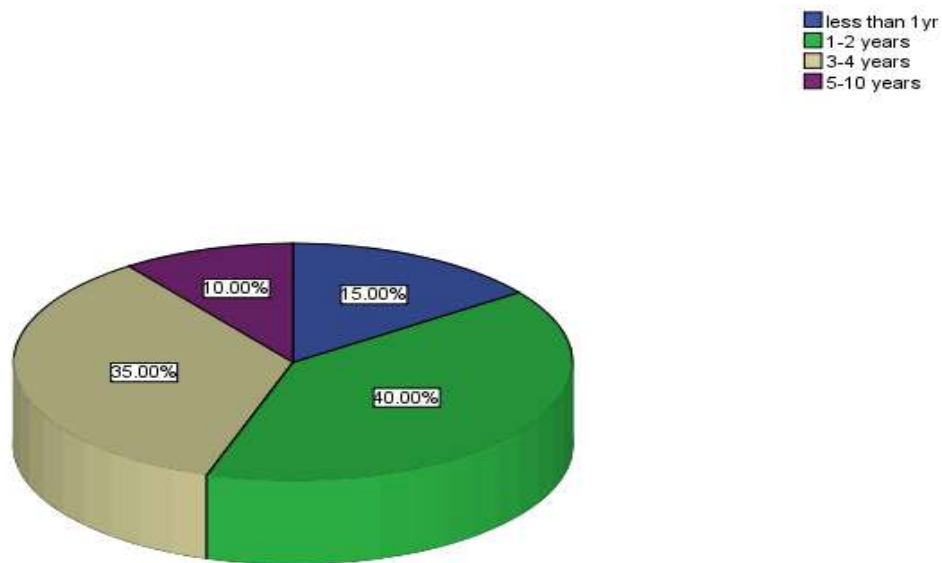


It is evident that majority (75%) of females were bachelor degree holders. Another high proportion (20%) had diplomas in various fields while only (5%) were holders in masters. According to Anderson (2000), an academic level of women leaders has a great influence on their performance and achievement.

3.7 Experience of political party leaders

The political party leaders were asked to indicate the number of years they had been in leadership. The aim was to establish whether these leaders have served long enough to understand the influence of gender and qualification. The results are shown in Figure 3

Figure 3 : Number of Years in Political Leadership



3.8 Distribution of political party leaders by Experience

Majority of the political party leaders (40%) had been in leadership for two years and (35%) have been in leadership for four years. However, only (15%) had been in leadership for less than one year. From the findings of the study, it can be said that majority of political leaders who participated in the study have been in leadership for a long period of time.

3.9 Description of the sample for Focus Group Discussions

Institution	Women	men	total
Women Parliamentary Caucus	4	3	7
Nchanga constituency	6	9	15
Chingola constituency	5	8	13

A total number of 35 participated in the focus group discussions with 20 men and 15 women belonging to different political parties between 20 to 40 years old held in constituencies and nine (4) Female MPs.

3.10 Instruments for Data collection

The study will use three different research instruments and these are the questionnaire, interview schedule and focus group discussions. The adoption of multiple methods or triangulation in social research has been endorsed by various researchers because it helps to overcome flaws inherent in the use of one method.

3.11 Data collection technique

Data will be mainly collected from primary sources in form of interviews and questionnaires. The researcher will start with conducting interviews with the civic leaders and then questionnaires will be given to councilors and constituency political leaders in Chingola and Nchanga constituency.

3.12 Data analysis

Data will be analyzed qualitatively under different themes. Data collected will be coded and then analyzed repeatedly involving re-reading the interview transcripts to identify themes emerging from the respondent's answers. Questionnaires will be quantified using statistical package for social sciences. (SPSS).The descriptive data will be presented in percentages. The data collected will also be presented in form of charts and graphs.

3.13 Ethical Consideration

Permission to conduct research will be obtained from the relevant authorities. An introductory letter will be obtained from the department of gender studies in the school of humanities and social sciences. The researcher will explain the purpose and the aim of the study to the participants before the commencement of the study. The researcher will also explain the benefits of the study to their political leadership in various political parties. The researcher will ensure that anonymity and confidentiality of the respondents is observed and maintained. This will be done by asking respondents not to put their names on the questionnaires. Respondents will be assured that the information obtained through the questionnaire will be used for academic purposes only and would not be used for any other purpose without the respondent's permission. In addition the interviews and focus group discussions will be conducted at the appropriate time and place that participants chooses. The information collected will be stored electronically and will be used only for academic purposes and the participants' confidentiality will be kept by withholding their names and only use letters and symbols.

3.14 Summary

The chapter outlined the methods that were used and the data collection techniques used in gathering, analyzing and presenting qualitative data. The presentation followed; study design, study site, study population, sampling methods, sample size, description of the sample, sampling techniques and procedures, data collection methods and tools, data analysis, ethical issues, including difficulties encountered in the field. The next chapter will look at the discussion of the research findings.

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

4.0 Over view

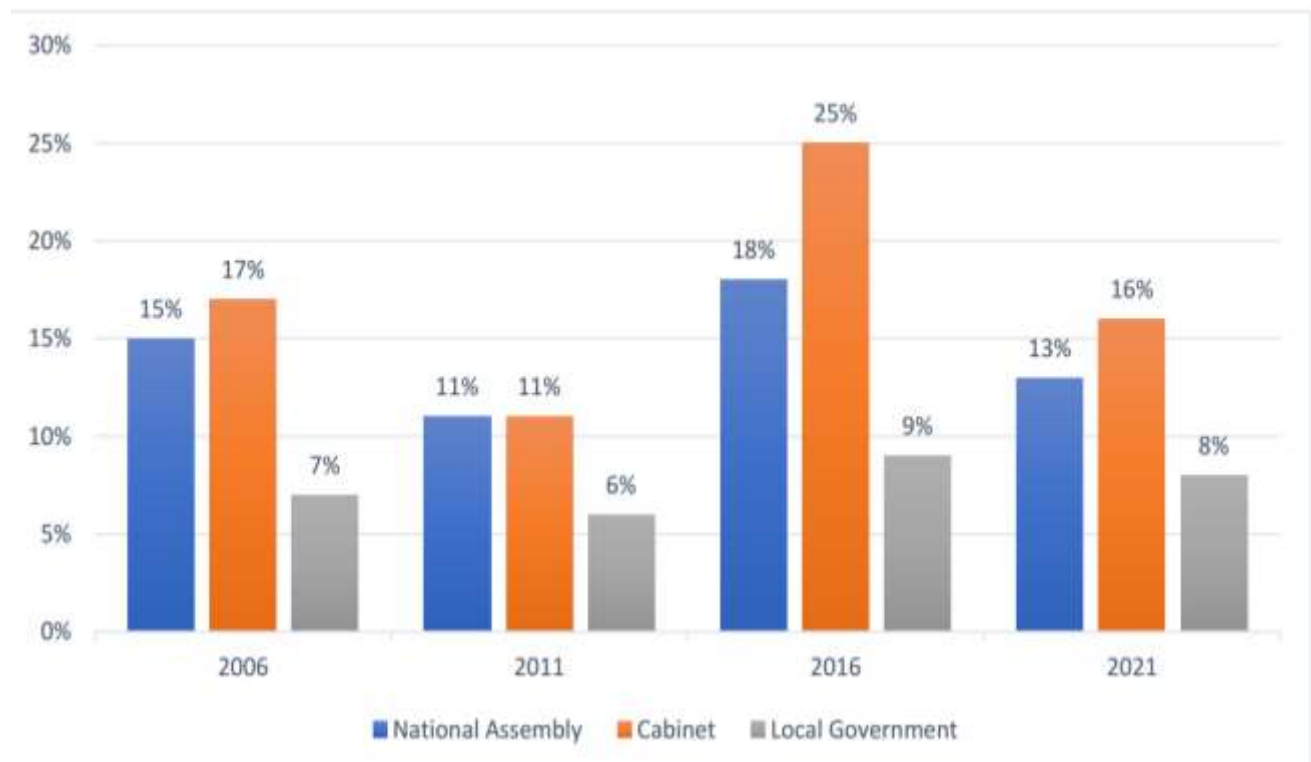
This chapter reports on the results of the fieldwork that was carried out to investigate the influences of gender and qualifications on political leadership in Zambia as indicated in chapter three, the main data collecting instruments were the questionnaires and the interviews. In this regard, the questionnaires delivered to the political party leaders, members of parliament and voters who were selected at random. The structured questions generated quantitative data, while the unstructured questions generated qualitative data. The quantitative data was analyzed using descriptive statistics and presented in the form of frequency tables and percentages. The qualitative data was analyzed through the use of content analysis. Results of the data analysis provided information that formed the basis for interpretation of the findings, discussions, conclusions and recommendations of the study. The study had the following research objectives.

1. To establish the rights and freedoms that the constitution of Zambia provides to all the citizens regardless of their sex, color, religion or political opinions.
2. To find ways of closing gender gaps in access to education and skill training that holds women's political participation in leadership.
3. To find out measures that have been put in place by political parties to promote gender equality in nation decision making positions.

4.1 Gender Analysis of the 2021 Zambian Tripartite Elections

Zambia went to the polls on 12th August 2021 to elect President, Members of Parliament, Mayors/Council Chairpersons and Councillors. The elections took place after the debates on the change of the current First Past the Post (FPTP) electoral system to a mixed electoral system as tabled in the Constitution Amendment Bill 10, which unfortunately did not materialise as the bill could not go through. The assessment of women's representation in elections in Zambia is currently low. The proportion of women who contested in the just ended elections stood at 6% for Presidential, 21% for Parliamentary, 13% for Mayor/Council Chairperson and 9% for Councillor.

4.2 Women political representations at different levels of governance in Zambia



The graph tracks women's participation in political decision-making in Zambia over the last four elections. Following the adoption of the amendment of the country's Constitution in 2016, the proportion of women in the national assembly increased from 11% to 18% and in the Cabinet from 11% to 25%. In the 2016 Zambian elections political parties fielded only 16% women as parliamentary candidates and 9% women in the local government elections. The 2021 Elections have recorded a reduction in women's representation at Local Government, Cabinet and National Assembly level. Zambia still ranks at 115 in the Inter Parliamentary Union's ratings of women in parliament. Women's representation in local government increased from 6% in 2011 to 9% in 2016. Zambia is well behind the 50/50 target in all three areas.

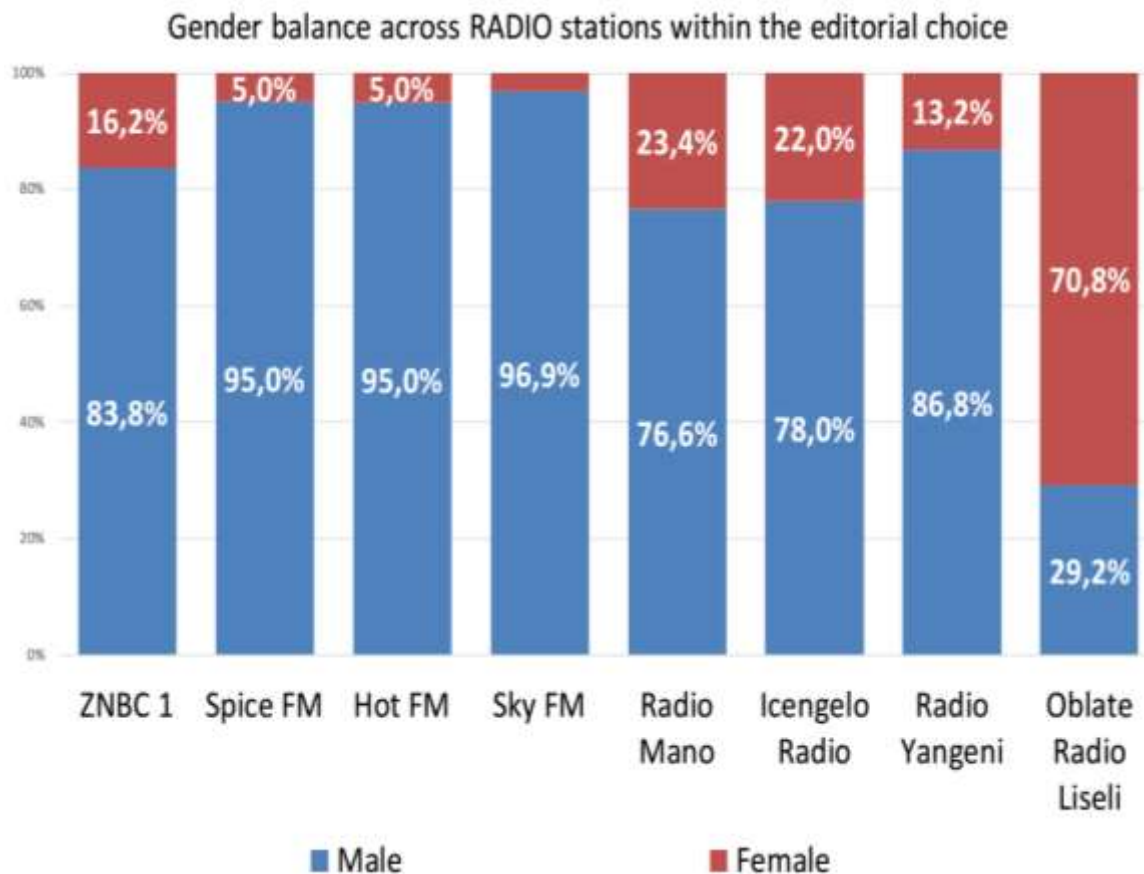
4.3 Analysis of elected officials (2016 vs 2021 General Elections)

	Last election	No of men	No of women	% Women	Current Election	No of Men	No of women	% Women
Councillors	2016	1516	126	8%	2021	1718	140	7.5%
Mayors	2016	15	2	12%	2021	14	5	26.3%
Council Chairperson	2016	93	7	7%	2021	87	10	11.5%
National Assembly	2016	167	30	18%	2021	136	20	13%
Presidential elections Candidates	2016	16	1	6%	2021	16	1	6%

5,693 candidates contested for the 1,858 positions of councillor in 2021. Of whom 565 were female and 5,128 were male. After the elections, 140 females and 1,718 males emerged as winners. As for the 116 positions of Mayors/Council Chairpersons, a total of 437 candidates contested. Of whom 56 were women and 382 were men. The election results show that 15 women and 101 men emerged as winners. The 156 available positions of Member of Parliament were contested by 181 females and 676 males making a total of 857 nominees. Of these, 20 women and 136 men emerged as winners. For the position of presidential running mate, 5 females and 11 males were fielded making a total of 16 nominees for the single available position were a female emerged as winner. On the presidential level, 16 candidates stood for election, of which 1 was female and 15 were male and a man emerged victorious.

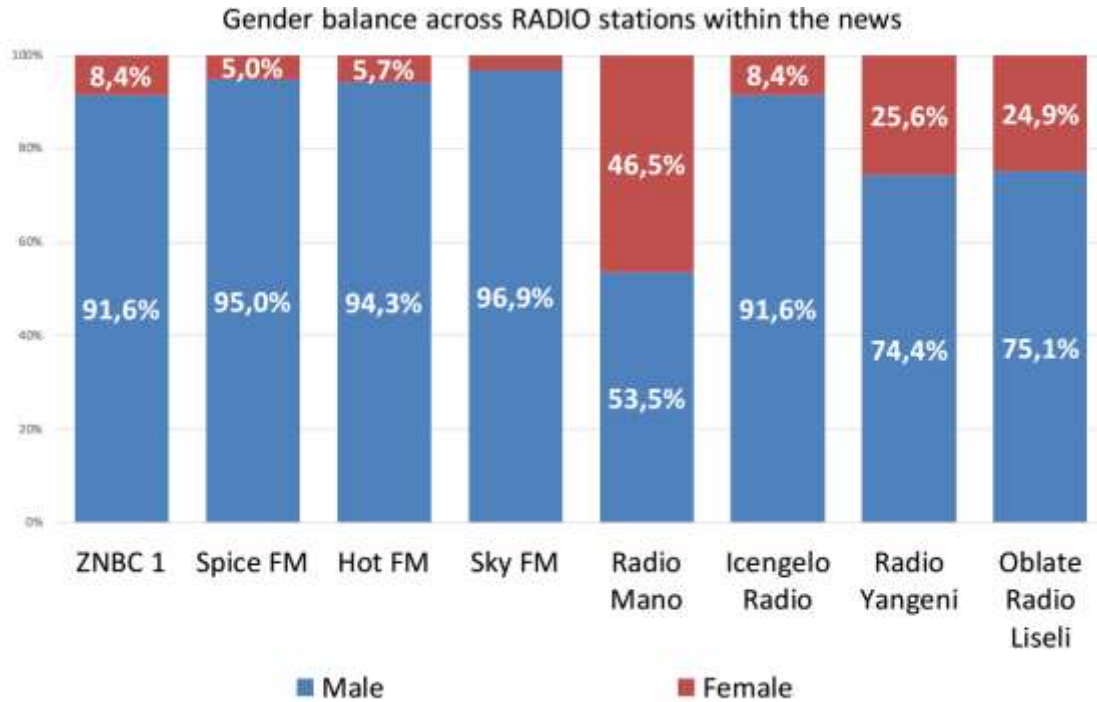
4.4 Time allocated to candidates during 2021 campaign based on gender – RADIO NEWS

The chart below shows the time allocation to candidates to feature on radio news based on gender. From this chart it is clear that women are not given enough time to campaign, therefore despite their qualification women are not accorded opportunity to campaign to the masses. During focus group interview one alluded that the reason why political parties prefer sending men on radio stations to discuss campaign issues it's because men are critical analyzers and they know how to respond to those who question them. She added that although women constitute the majority of voters, it has been observed that they are severely underrepresented in party structures and on party lists to the extent that while gender equality is enshrined in the party constitutions and manifestos, it is not integrated in party structures.

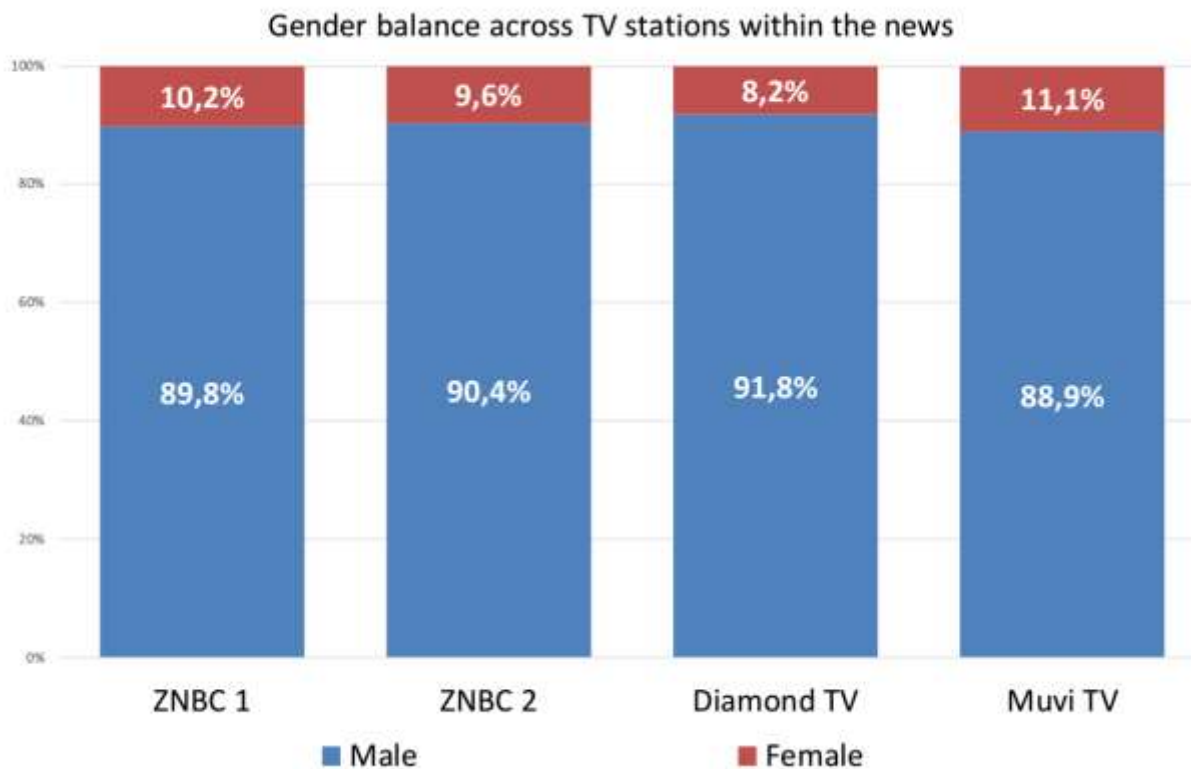


4.5 Time allocated to candidates based on gender – RADIO EDITORIAL PROGRAMMES

The two figure below shows the percentages of men and women who were given opportunities to campaign using radio programmes and featured on tv news. From this figure it can be clearly seen that despite women being the majority in many political parties they were side lined when it comes to their appearance on radio programmes.

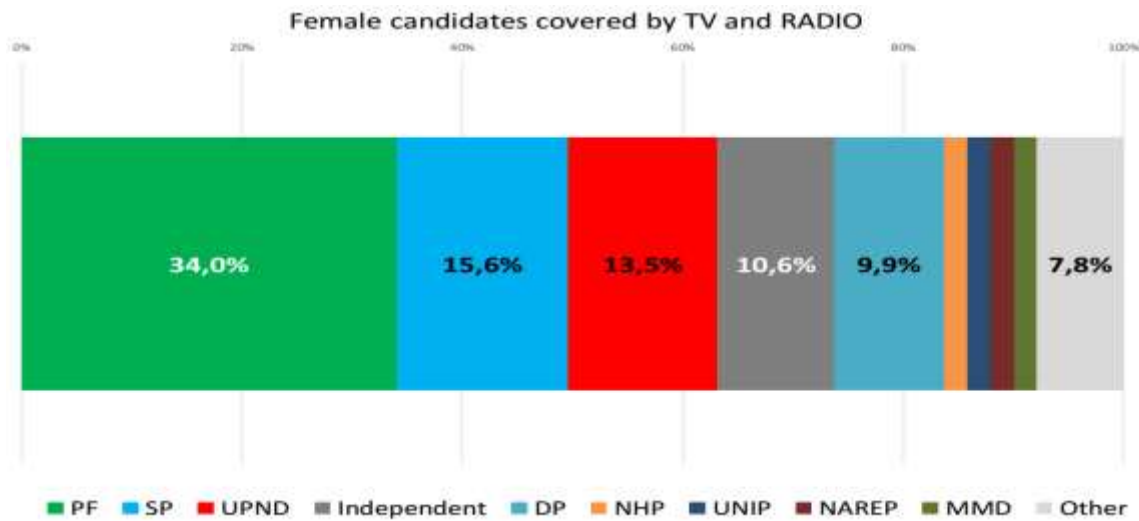


4.6 Time allocated to candidates based on gender – TV NEWS



4.7 Female candidates covered by radio and tv per political party during 2021 campaign

The figure below shows the percentages of female who were sent to radio and tv programmes to represent their respective political parties.



4.8 Political parties’ measures to promote female political representation

Women the world over have been excluded from positions of power both within the party as well as parliamentary representation. All the four political parties interviewed indicated that it is a challenge to find women to participate in decision making due to the stereotypes of wanting women to be found in homes; play the mother and wife role. It was for the same reasons that Foundation for Democratic Process (FODEP) called upon all political parties in 2015 to tailor gender policy to their party constitutions in attaining gender equity in decision making positions as stipulated under the SADC protocol of the current 50 % threshold (Lifwekelo, 2016).

In an effort to promote female political representation, it was discovered that all the four political parties have been structured in such a way that they have a women’s wing which should bring out women in numbers to participate and be heard. PF has gone a step further and introduced a female youth wing called PF pink out of the realization that female youths were failing to be active party members under the youth wing which mostly is associated with violence in the mobilization of voters. It is however unfortunate that these women’s wings are mostly associated with membership mobilization as opposed to decision making in these political parties. Women mostly do not rise up to make use of these structures positively by demanding for their rightful Positions as equal partners with men. Out of the four political parties under research, UPND is the only party that has a 50% gender quota enshrined in the constitution to promote female political representation (Flood, 2019).

The party increased its 30% threshold in accordance with the new SADC gender protocol of 50%; however, this quota is not being implemented because there have been low numbers of females adopted for elections by all political parties and UPND is not an exemption. The reasons advanced for this failure is that women are not standing up to this challenge and to meet this target becomes a problem on the part of the nomination committee (Nyambe, 2016). The findings also revealed that professional women shun politics because of the gender insensitive political party structures. One of the district officials for UPND brought out important points as regards to the reluctance of professional women to join politics when he stated that,

Politics naturally is not the arena for professional women who are able to make a living elsewhere, there is a lot of vulgar language so women who feel they can make a living away from politics do stay away hence you will only find a few skilled women in politics. Otherwise, politics are open to every woman, to participate. If you look at Zambian politics now only women without husbands can survive because of constant accusations that women politicians sleeps with other men politicians.

Are politics really open to women? Is it true that professional women prefer to be in the private domain to joining politics? These questions can better be answered by the experiences of professional women themselves as regards to politics. Besides the 300 cases of women trained by ZNWL but could not be adopted by political parties, the example of Sara Longwe, chairperson of Non-Governmental Organization Coordinating Committee (NGOCC) is given to help argue the assertion that professional women shun politics because not all of these women are shunning politics inspite of the political environment being hostile but are only prevented from succeeding by the patriarchal structures. A female member of parliament quoted some the words she was told by a political party leader

“. He categorically said that he was not ready to work with a feminist. So, women politicians are not expected to believe or behave as social equals to male politicians. This is why very few women are „allowed“ to Parliament and if they are „allowed“ they are treated as second class decision makers that will not readily upset the male supremacy. Hence, I consider the Zambian Parliament as equivalent to „a men’s-club“, (Longwe, 2014).

When Sara states this, she is simply explaining why professional women are not in politics and disputing that far from shunning politics, professional women are just prevented from active political participation and thereby best describing the political environment as hostile to women. This point was also raised by the female mayor who shared her experience in the political world, the council chamber to be specific as a professional woman. She lamented that,

We women are judged harshly. One thing that men do not like is a woman who is higher than them so women like me are stigmatized against because of our education levels, so I suffer a lot as a mayor and this is what frightens a lot of professional women. It is for this reason that we need to prepare women and let them know that becoming a politician is something that you have to decide and be bold about, assert yourself and be known that you are there and yourself is felt, as opposed to the set culture of women being the second class citizens. It is not really an easy thing but it is achievable.

Another UPND official interviewed stated that

The grade 12 school certificate qualification for politicians as per requirement of the amended constitution has changed the political atmosphere into one more welcoming to professional women. It is also hoped that since there are women in the professional world who are earning as much as men, the issue of quality and financial back up will have been dealt with in this manner hence no challenges to fill up the fifty percent quota under UPND should be faced.

According to the literature reviewed under the case study of South Africa, Goals as opposed to political party quotas and party targets, are defined as, parties' commitment to recruiting more women, but without any explicit suggestions of how, when and to what extent this will take place, (Freidenvall, 2009). We can therefore agree that while political parties like UPND party in Zambia has provisions in its constitution on gender equality which the party claims to be a quota, this is only a goal and neither a party target nor political party quotas, with the rest of the Zambian political parties being Non-action, so we can trace the problem of low female political representation from here being that Zambian political parties are not in a competition on women in parliament and so are not identifying various strategies to improve their numbers.

There was however another argument by UPND in defense of why the gender policy seems not to be working, besides women's reluctance, there was also the issue of political will that lacks commitment to gender equity and equality. This information came out clearly in a statement made by the UPND official for Nchanga constituency

The 50 % threshold was going to be successful if the Proportional Representation had passed in the previously debated Constitution instead of the First Past the Post. The idea of proportional representation was going to deal with issues of women, youths and the disabled that are marginalized. With that law, political parties were going to follow suit. Without that law, it is difficult for political parties to implement the 50% threshold.

In line with this argument, all the respondents except for those from the PF regret that the Mixed Member Proportional Representation clause could not be passed in the amended constitution as this was going to help political parties become more gender sensitive. 35 seats were going to be reserved for women and political parties would have been legally obliged to comply with these quotas. Now without law, it is difficult to do so. If parties opted for voluntary party quotas in the absence of constitutional recommendations, these quotas may not be as effective as they should be; instead they may just be party goals on female political representation as is the case in ruling UPND party.

A gender sensitive party ideology is an important factor in the enhancement of female political representation. Alexander and Welzel have also noted party ideology as one of the attributes of institutional designs that may either improve or hinder women's presence in political office (). The measure of party ideology, one which is anchored on the principle of equity was also noted in an interview with the district chairperson for socialist party. The district chairperson for socialist party explained that,

What is most important is the ideology because gender equality is not just about having numbers in place, it is about changing the minds of people on how they relate and think about each other. This is so because even having 50/50, that does not change the mindsets, where women are oppressed as a gender, they will always remain oppressed. Not every woman who represents at

the certain level is really putting the aspirations of this gender there; we have women who make decisions against the interests of fellow women just like we have few men who make decisions in the interest of women. So the issue of ideology, the norm that you would want to plant in your membership counts a lot for us. So as a party one of the measures that we put in place is to train our leaders and membership to ensure that there is proper leadership that is acquainted with the ideology and this ideology is about equity at all levels which is also equity between man and woman. There is no other party today that is working at the ideological level. Socialist party works under the socialist ideology that upholds equality, no domination and that is why the issue of women becomes central to the socialist Party.

The Socialist party prefers dealing with the real root cause of the problem that could offer a permanent solution to the problem which in this case is the ideology, rather than quotas which are perceived as an alternative solution. The party officials also explained that, because our society is capitalist in nature, even when you are a woman who wants to make a difference, your thinking would still be modelled in a way to suit or maintain the status quo and this is where the ideology comes in. The ideology should be able to help women liberate themselves by abolishing the patriarchal state of society. Her argument can be backed up by Davis (2009) who also states that, they say that without cultural change the institutional mechanisms are not effective as such, but merely cultural change will not close the gender gap either. In short, ideology (cultural change) is as important as quotas (institutional mechanism) and can work hand in hand to bring about the desired change rather than independently and separately.

The five interviewees from the district women group for the UPND party agreed that there are significant benefits to having women in political leadership positions. The following points summarize their thoughts which refer to difference feminism, since women regularly provide different views or perspectives than men, bringing diverse ideas to the party. Also, women are usually more sensitive, empathetic towards others, and intuitive by nature, offering alternate methods of management skills. Women are generally better at time management, as well, which, among other things, could help the party become more organized and more efficient. For example, one of their representative mentioned that

If a party can have a mixture of men and women in leadership roles, this gender diversity can bring multiple benefits to the table, including an increase in performance, better reputation for the party, increased ideas, better decision-making processes and improved diversity of management styles between the genders. Consequently, having women in leadership positions in a party could enrich its diversity, improve its reputation, increase performance, and expand its popularity base.

After providing their views on the paramount factors impacting gender diversity in leadership positions in Zambian political arena, the interviewees also provided some ideas on how political parties could increase the number of women in leadership positions. For example, one official talked about having infrastructures, such as good child care support, which would help working mothers take care of their children and encourage and support females. Governments could encourage and provide rewards to political parties that provide equal opportunities for both genders and offer further education for women. Government could provide flexible working hours and affordable infrastructures, such as day-care facilities, nursing rooms for infants, lunchrooms for older children, nannies, and housekeeping services for working women's families. The government could also subsidize these services' costs since they usually are very expensive to the average member of society.

Another participant explained the unfair treatment she encountered during her political appointments. *She stated, "I feel women in the political organizations need more confidence, qualification, and training to compete with the men counterparts because the Zambian political system is manipulated and dominated by men. More women should be allowed to apply to positions of a senior role."* She expressed her experience as "Mayor" and very challenging. She continued by saying that she was able to sail through because she demonstrated excellent communication and patience when leading. She went further by saying that women are not discouraged from political leadership, but they are not given a chance to utilize the available opportunities.

Participant from PF political party explained how women lag behind the men in political organizations; they are not even called for meetings because they are seen as less favorable and incompetent to lead. She stated, *"I recall the bias, stereotyping, and prejudice I encountered*

seeking promotion, as an unpleasant experience.” “Women should be given opportunity, encouraged, and mentored to take political leadership roles, but because society sees the political organization as masculine, women do not get promoted quickly. She expressed how hard she worked with all her qualifications, training, and experience, but she was jumped over during promotions and never moved up. “Currently, I am looking for another organization to go, but if I see an improvement to support women leaders in the organization, I will stay.”

4.9 Recommended ways of closing gender gaps in access to education

In further exploring ways of closing gender gaps in access to education and skill training that holds women's political participation in leadership through interviews and focus group discussions, I found that they attached importance to having women teachers in schools. The women's lobby group as well as election committee members and party officials illustrated their support for women teachers in schools. One member spoke on the importance of women teachers in enhancing girls' education:

“There is need for more women teachers as role models to encourage girls to emulate them. She added that pupils who go to school that has many women teachers are motivated to work hard and pursue careers that are prominent in society. “The presence of women teachers is important in a school as girls can easily talk to them about issues that relate to them, besides women teachers can easily advocate for policies to issues affecting the girls, such as sanitary facilities.

Female teachers act as mentors for young girls in schools. Mentors have played a key role in encouraging women to pursue political leadership, being a role model for what successful leadership looks like, and guiding them through the processes and challenges leadership can hold. Though only two participants revealed that they had always wanted to be in political leadership, every participant in this study reported that a female mentor brought the idea of political leadership to them as a career path they should seriously consider. *A female member of parliament recounted calls from female teachers encouraging her to apply for an open leadership position because of the way she was debating in school debate club: “So when these teachers told me about considering political leadership I was shocked, because I really couldn't believe it...I just never really thought that highly of myself and didn't really feel like I would be the right fit to lead others.”*

This encouragement to consider leadership from mentors also existed at higher levels of political parties. For example, one council chairperson shared why she decided to pursue this position when she was just a women chairperson of a certain political party. “[My mentor] encouraged me. She’s like, ‘You know you can do this job, right?’ And I said, ‘I don’t know about that.’ She was like, ‘Yes you can!’” a retired teacher shared a similar story, “My administrators that I was teaching under were very, very supportive [of me pursuing leadership roles]...They already saw me as leader.”

In an effort to ensure girls in Zambia enjoy their right to education in the same way as their male counterparts, the Zambian government launched the Re-admission Policy in 1997 to enable girls that fell pregnant while attending school to go back after delivery (Mitchell et. al., 1999; Mwansa, 2011). The aim of this policy is to implement measures that will help prevent the exclusion of young mothers from furthering their education. In the event of a girl being forced out of school due to pregnancy, the Ministry of Education has provided policy guidelines¹¹ to assist schools and other stakeholders such as parents and guardians to ensure that the girl is enabled to complete her education (Ministry of Education, FAWEZA and UNICEF, 2004).

However, several studies have been done in Zambia to assess the viability of the Re-entry Policy in Zambia (Banda and Nowanga, 2017; Birungi et. al. 2015; Chulu, 2016; McCadden, 2015; Mutombo and Mwenda, 2010; Mwansa, 2011; Sampa 2010). Although the policy is aimed at supporting girls’ retention and continuation of education, studies show that it is not well understood by both educational personnel and learners and the community, making it difficult to be applied by the school authorities. An assessment by Davis (2009), found that the policy alone may not be enough to drive a substantive increase in educational attainment among adolescent mothers. In validation of this argument, Birungi et. al. (2015), found that 75% of girls who did not return to school after giving birth, cited the lack of financial support for the welfare of their babies and themselves as the major reason for not returning. In addition, research demonstrates that there are difficulties that are encountered by the beneficiaries that is the girls that fall pregnant and return to school (Birungi et. al., 2015; Chulu, 2016; Mutombo and Muenda, 2010).

Zambia has made significant strides towards achieving gender equality through legal frameworks, such as the Anti-Gender-Based Violence Act and the National Gender Policy. However, the implementation and impact of these measures warrant further exploration. Understanding the distinction between equality of opportunity and equality of outcome is crucial for evaluating the effectiveness of efforts towards gender equality in Zambia.

Constitution guarantees equality between men and women as it recognizes that every person in Zambia is entitled to all fundamental rights and freedoms as contained in Part III of the Constitution. Article 8 of the Constitution provides for national values and principles which include non-discrimination

There is a sequential link between the financing of female higher education, human capital formation and human development (Davis,2009). There is need for the adoption of a committed, sustained and proactive strategy to promote female higher education and finance is the key. The University of Zambia has for long been running its programs and activities with a level of gender insensitivity bordering on gender blindness. Some positive steps have been taken recently by the University management to redress this situation. But a lot more still remains to be done in terms of developing and promoting gender-responsive budgets, gender-sensitive leadership, gender monitoring institutions and gender-empathetic mindsets.

The Government of the Republic of Zambia established the Ministry of Gender and Child Development on 12th March, 2012 to ensure that gender issues were well articulated at Cabinet level. The mandate of the Ministry was to coordinate the mainstreaming of gender in Government policies and programmes, and monitoring their implementation by all players in the gender sector. In achieving this mandate, the Ministry had revised the Gender Policy of 2000 and produced the 2014 National Gender Policy which had taken into account emerging gender

During the interview with women lobby group, it was reported that a number of favorable government decisions concerning female higher education have been taken. For instance, there has been a nationwide campaign to encourage a number of women university lecturers to act as motivational figures for the females. Thus the females will use such lecturers as their role models.

Moreover, the government is undertaking expansion projects throughout the public universities to meet mass qualification of higher education with especially considerations to girl child. The government has committed a lot of funds to the projects through the ministry of education. Now the government has directed the universities to lower the entry barrier for females instead of the regular high cut off point. This is intended to bridge the gap between the males and females in the higher education.

Some also offered suggestions of what they thought should be done to close gender gaps in access to education which is key for female political participation. The district commented that;

“I am concerned that laws governing girls’ protection against sexual harassment in schools are weak in Zambia and therefore ignored by the perpetrators, who get away with offences freely. This affects girls’ progress in higher institutions and also in their political career. Many women have reported that during adoptions their political leaders asked for sex so that they can be adopted. The girls are disadvantaged because of sexual harassment in schools and higher learning institutions; it is a critical issue and requires urgent attention. Such vices should STOP”

Previous studies have also confirmed sexual harassment experienced by students on the way to school (PLAN, 2013; UNESCO and UN Women, 2016). Other studies further confirm that sexual harassment against girls can negatively affect school participation, learning levels and completion rates, and raises barriers to gender equality in education and wider society (UNESCO, GMR, UNGEI, 2015). The district education officers also described sexual harassment against girls as a common barrier to girls’ schooling. One district officer explained that sexual harassment was a concern, requiring teaching personnel to check on the girls they teach and ensure they were safe:

“The challenge with sexual harassment sometimes, is that the perpetrators could be teaching personnel, school administrative personnel and other adults whom you would least expect to indulge in such vices. Hence, girls often have difficulty reporting when they find themselves in such situations. I suppose special teaching and counselling on assertiveness among girls, for their self-confidence is required. The problem is that culturally in Zambia; our girls are generally to be submissive in their behaviour, resulting in girls not being able to resist sexual harassment and

abuse. We really have a task as district education officers to ensure girls are aware of their rights and resist negative vices against them

Literature suggests absence of channels for people to report harassment and so a lack of ensuring victims are heard, their concerns validated, and complaints taken seriously, results in silence (Fernando, 2018). Other studies done on sexual harassments in schools found that even when girls who are sexually exploited, harassed or abused want to come forward, they are reluctant to report cases within schools for fear of being stigmatized or shamed (Davis, M. 2009). Therefore, unless more effort is made by the school authorities to introduce proper reporting procedures and facilitate greater collaboration with parents in assessing and tackling such issues, then the underlying patriarchal power and girls' continuing position in society, as demonstrated by the experiences of many women will continue.

Although Zambian women face numerous difficulties in taking part in politics, the circumstances have become better over time. Democratization has been an important factor in improving women's political situation because of better freedom of speech and assembly as well as less fear of speaking out. This has been particularly important for Zambian women. (Evans 2016.) The fall of one-party state structure in 1990 and the following transition to a multi-party system in 1991 have given more room for women (Geisler 2006). In 2001 for the first time in Zambia there were a lot of young voters and the first two female presidential candidates (Phiri 2008).

Women's road towards increased political participation has not taken place in isolation of the society as a whole. The worsening economic situation has improved women's possibilities to work outside the home because the money earned by men has often not been enough to sustain the family anymore. This has led to a more flexible gendered division of labour and weakening gender stereotypes. (Evans 2016.) HIV/AIDS-related deaths of men have also forced the division of labour to become more flexible (Fraser & Larmer 2010). Earlier, many people thought that a mother who works outside the home is not a good mother, but the way of thinking has changed by time. Nowadays a working mother can be found as a strong fighter who provides for her children. Additionally, men not being able to provide for their families give a chance for women to fulfil

that role. Work outside the home increases women's resources and can improve their self-esteem. These are significant factors for women's electoral competitiveness in Zambia. (Evans 2016.) Education plays a crucial role in women's political participation. Younger educated women have been able to change the traditional notions of womanhood and in this way given women wider chances to find fulfilment. Women have also been educated about the reasons why they should vote for women in elections. (Geisler 2006.) Education can bear fruit in terms of the future because seeing educated women as role models can improve younger generations' self-esteem (Evans 2016).

Women have little by little been accepted as independent political actors. The gradual erosion of gender beliefs has been the key factor in improving women's political participation in Zambia. In addition, different organisations have given women in Zambia the possibility to organise collectively and to learn about politics. (Evans 2016.) Zambia National Women's Lobby (ZNWL) and Zambia Women's Parliamentary Caucus (ZWPC) are examples of such associations.

ZNWL, which is one of the organisations I am implementing this master's thesis with, is one of the major associations in improving women's rights. It was founded in 1991 in order to improve women's possibilities to take part in decision-making and to improve the representation of women in the government and political parties, which was on a low level in Zambia. Nowadays it has over 5,000 members, of which about 95% are female and 5% male. The vision of the Lobby is "A nation with women and girls fully present in leadership roles and actively involved in decision-making processes." ZNWL has chapters in every province of Zambia, headed by District Executive Committees. ZNWL gets international funding for its projects, and Demo Finland is one of the many partners and financiers of ZNWL. (Zambia National Women's Lobby 2017.)

4.10 Rights and freedoms that the constitution of Zambia provides to all the citizens regardless of their sex, color, religion or political opinions

Gender equality is a critical issue worldwide, and Zambia is no exception. Despite progress in recent years, gender disparities persist, affecting women's access to education, employment, healthcare, and political representation. The cultural, social, and economic landscape of Zambia shapes these gender dynamics, emphasizing the need to examine the concept of gender equality within the Zambian context.

Zambia has made significant strides towards achieving gender equality through legal frameworks, such as the Anti-Gender-Based Violence Act and the National Gender Policy. However, the implementation and impact of these measures warrant further exploration. Understanding the distinction between equality of opportunity and equality of outcome is crucial for evaluating the effectiveness of efforts towards gender equality in Zambia

Constitution guarantees equality between men and women as it recognizes that every person in Zambia is entitled to all fundamental rights and freedoms as contained in Part III of the Constitution. Article 8 of the Constitution provides for national values and principles which include non-discrimination. The Constitution is the most important law in Zambia. The very first Article of the Constitution states:

“This Constitution is the supreme law of the Republic of Zambia and any other written law, customary law and customary practice that is inconsistent with its provisions is void to the extent of the inconsistency.”

By making clear the fact that the Constitution is the supreme, the most important law in the country, the people who wrote the Constitution made clear that nothing should happen in the country that is not in line with these rights and values. The Constitution also made clear that the rights and values apply to everyone! Another element of Article 1 of the Constitution states that: *“The Constitution shall bind all persons in Zambia, State organs and state institutions.”* Everyone, no matter how rich, how influential, has to act in accordance with the Constitution and must respect the rights of others. The Constitution makes clear that the people of Zambia can hold the government to account, and can make sure that the government acts in line with the values and rights of the Constitution.

There are a number of rights in the bill of rights, all of which are designed to make sure that everyone in Zambia has their dignity protected and feels valued as a human being regardless of their gender. The rights of every individual are an important part of the Zambian Constitution. Many of these rights are found in the Bill of Rights, which is part of the Constitution, and which you can find at Part 3 of the Constitution. There are a range of different ways to ensure that the rights in the Bill of Rights are protected, but the most common way is to approach the Courts.

Courts can order the State to take measures to protect rights, can order compensation, or can order another solution that helps people whose rights and freedoms are threatened or violated. The courts are the ultimate protectors of rights, but people can also obtain rights through other organisations (Davis, 2009).

There are also a number of organisations created by the Constitution, like the Human Rights Commission of Zambia (HRC) or the Public Protector. These bodies are mandated to assist people whose rights are threatened for example, the HRC can investigate suspected abuses, and has a number of powers which it can exercise to make sure that violations of rights end. Anyone can apply to the HRC if they think that their rights are threatened, or they can apply as part of a community. Other organisations, like non-governmental organisations, can help people claim their rights. The organisations frequently engage with the government in order to protect the rights of people in Zambia, and may have resources to take cases to court or to resolve the matter outside court.

Protection of Right to Life – Everyone has the right to life, unless they have been sentenced to death in a court. Abortion is only allowed when there is a law in the country which allows it. People are allowed to act in self-defense, and this may allow one person to take the life of another.

Protection of Right to Personal Liberty – No one can be put in prison or have their freedom taken away, unless they have been sentenced to a jail sentence, or it would be in the interests of public health or safety to detain the person. No one can be arrested without being told why they are being arrested. Anyone who is detained must be kept in decent conditions.

Protection from Slavery and Forced Labour – No one can be made a slave or kept in enslavement, or made to perform forced labour

Protection from Deprivation of Property – No one can have their property taken away without the law saying that this is allowed – and, if the law does allow property to be taken away, the person who is losing their property must be paid a reasonable amount to compensate.

Protection of Privacy of Home and Other Property – Everyone has the right to privacy. This means that no one can be searched or have their property searched, unless they consent to the search or there is a good reason for the search. These reasons can include defense, public safety, public order, and public health. them for their loss.

Provisions to Secure Protection of Law – When someone is charged with a criminal offence, they have the right to a fair hearing, which must take place within a reasonable time. The court that hears the case must be independent and unbiased, and the trial should take place in public. Everyone has the right to be presumed innocent until they are found guilty, and to be informed of why they are being charged. Everyone has the right to an attorney or a legal representative, and if they cannot afford one, the State must pay for them to have one.

Protection of Freedom of Conscience – Everyone should be able to follow whatever religion they want to, and this includes being able to take part in religious practices. No one can be forced to take part in a religious activity. Religious expression can be limited sometimes, for reasons like public safety or public health.

Protection of Freedom of Expression – Everyone should have the right to express themselves freely, which means they can hold and share information and their own opinions, and listen to other people’s opinions. The freedom of the press is an important part of the right to freedom of expression, and no law can be made that limits the freedom of the press. Freedom of expression can be limited to protect someone’s right to privacy.

Protection of Freedom of Assembly and Association – Everyone in Zambia can meet with whoever they want, form an organisation and is allowed to gather freely. This includes having the right to join a political party of their choice, to join a trade union, or to join any other organisation that will protect their interests.

Protection of Freedom of Movement – Every citizen of Zambia has the right to move freely within Zambia and to live wherever they want, and to leave and re-enter Zambia as they wish.

Protection from Discrimination – No law can be made that discriminates against someone, and no one should be discriminated against by anyone who claims to be acting within the law, or who is a public official. To ‘discriminate’ against someone means to treat them in a way that makes their life harder or worse because of their race, tribe, sex, place of origin, marital status, political opinions, colour, or creed

Women are gaining more and more political leverage in Zambia, but a lot remains to be done in this developing democracy in order to improve women's political participation and gender equality. Where political participation is concerned, all female parliamentarians belong to the Zambia Parliamentarian Caucus for Women. Delys has recommended that, —Women's Parliamentary Caucuses should be established and strengthened to boost women's voices. Uniting women in office enables them to successfully shape parliamentary and legislative agendas (2014, p. 23). Through the caucus, which allows for political agendas to be developed by women taking part in politics' through a range of activities such as discussion and debate, lobbying and activism in formal and informal ways female parliamentarians collectively engage in political participation. Political leadership, which cuts across both political participation and political representation, by key individuals shaping political agendas, taking the lead in articulating these and participating in their translation into policy is also cardinal. The IPU's women in Parliament report of 2015 echoed this explicitly: As parliamentary leaders are among the most powerful political figures in their countries, women Speakers are not only critical role models and mentors for other women MPs, they are also vital to changing mindsets on delivering change, (Inter Parliamentary Union, 2016). Among the female parliamentarians there are females heading Ministries as Ministers and Deputy Ministers, and also various committees in parliament such as Financial Committees, Parliamentary Caucus for Women and so on and there are those MPs who are only back benchers. Ministers and chairpersons are the ones who take the lead in shaping political agendas, implementing and monitoring them.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter gives a summary of the findings of the study, the recommendations and suggestions for further study.

5.1 Conclusion of the study

Zambia went to the polls on 12th August 2021 to elect President, Members of Parliament, Mayors/Council Chairpersons and Councillors. The elections took place after the debates on the change of the current First Past The Post (FPTP) electoral system to a mixed electoral system as tabled in the Constitution Amendment Bill 10, which unfortunately did not materialise as the bill could not go through. The assessment of women's representation in elections in Zambia is currently low and the proposed Bill 10 provided opportunities to increase women's political participation. The proportion of women who contested in the just ended elections stood at 6% for Presidential, 21% for Parliamentary, 13% for Mayor/Council Chairperson and 9% for Councillor. With regards to objective one on political parties 'measures to promote female political representation, parties lack strategies on how to inspire women to join politics. All the four political parties basically have one strategy of instituting women's wing which in essence relegates women to mere followers of men. The affirmative actions reported to have been put in place by party officials ahead of 2021 General elections were also not implemented indicating non commitment to increasing female political representation. Lack of political will on female political representation is also evident a government failed to implement the Mixed Member Proportional Representation that could have enhanced female political representation in Zambia.

The Constitution of Zambia is clear on who qualifies to be elected as Member of Parliament regardless being male or female, political parties have more confidence in men as sellable candidates than women. The patriarchal system which has also extended its influence even in political parties leave women with the option of supporting men as they lead as opposed to aspiring for political office. Most women who have tried to challenge the status quo have ended up being blocked before reaching the National Election Committee (NEC) since emphasis is put on beginning

from wards. The process of adoption has therefore done more harm than good to women politicians who receive resistance even from fellow women, the term commonly known as 'pull her down syndrome'. It is true that women do not offer themselves up for adoption as much as men do because the political environment is hostile and even more hostile for a woman and this discourages other women from attempting to join active politics. The few women who have made it to the parliament have done so with a lot of courage and assertiveness.

5. 2 Recommendations of the Study

- There is need for political parties to be sensitized and schooled into the modern and important concepts of politics. If people should advocate for certain policies, there is need that they first understand them, know how they work and their significance. Political education is therefore recommended
- The adoption of Reserved Seats in Zambia would help nomination committees that lack confidence in women as winning candidates.
- The research proposes legislative, administrative and supportive measures and calls on the governments to monitor and evaluate the achieved progress in balanced participation. There is also need for the adoption of monitoring of gender equality policies (include the protection of equal civil and political rights, the revision of legislation), and the adoption of specific consultation methods to discover the views and needs of both women and men (gender segregated statistic) on how to improve the participation of women and men in the decision-making positions. Indicators must be drawn to monitor the progress
- Research suggests that gender sensitivity training programmes should focus on altering the unequal relations of power that perpetuate and tolerate both physical and psychological violence against girls

- Gender sensitive political party structures ensure increased female political representation. Female politicians face gender stigma from male members of the political parties to which they belong which can undermine the ability of women to reach or maintain leadership roles. For this reason therefore, the study recommends for male politicians to be gender sensitive and supportive to women politicians, because we have had observed how women politicians are attacked by male politician and the media

- There is need for political parties to begin motivating women not to just be good recruiters and mobilizers but to also get engaged into the actual planning of recruitment activities by holding decision making positions in these parties. Women also need to stand up and become more actively involved in politics, aspire for decision making positions and above all support each other.

- Be a mentor to other woman trying to grow. Mentoring other women through challenges is cyclic. It creates more opportunities for women aspiring for more, who will in turn, do the same for women below them.

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APPENDICES

DEAR RESPONDENT

This study is meant to find out the influence of gender and qualification on the political leadership in Zambia. The researcher has identified you as the key partner in this study. The findings of this study will go a long way to improve performance in this critical paper. Therefore your cooperation is highly acknowledged and the response you give will solely be used for the purpose of this research. Thank you for your cooperation.

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION FOR PARLIAMENTARY CAUCUS FOR WOMEN

Experience Theme

1. What are your experiences as Members of Parliament with regards to being nominated and elected?
2. What impact do you have on policies?
3. What would be your comment on the adoption of reserved seats and party quotas in Zambia?
4. Considering all the efforts and recommendations that have been put in place by Non-Governmental Organisations especially the Zambia National Women’s Lobby Group and the ratified declarations by the government with regards to the female political representation, the figures are still far from gender equality, can we attribute this to lack of political will?

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION FOR VOTERS

- 1) General Politics of the Country

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- 2) Voting behavior of the Constituency

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3) Gender preferences when voting and why

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Appendix 1: Interview Guide for the Election Committee

1) What requirements are needed for one to be nominated as parliamentary candidates?

- A. educational background
- B. political experience
- C. financial back up (could it be same as for men)
- D. personal background
- E. family orientation

Any other

2. Is gender taken into consideration? If yes what mechanism is used to implement this?

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3. How do you look at female candidates? Do you have full confidence in them that they will compete and win the elections?

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.....

4. May you assist me with statistics of women contesting/ selected and elected from the 2021 tripartite and by- elections to date.

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5. Is your party concerned about the under representation of women in parliament? If yes what is being done about it?

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.....

6. In your opinion, why are so few women nominated and elected to parliament?

.....
.....

7. How can Zambia as a democratic nation benefit from a gender balanced parliament?

.....
.....

8. What is your comment on reserved seats? Do you think they should apply in Zambia?

.....
.....

9. Do you think there must be laws legislated to compel political parties to consider gender equality in nominating parliamentary candidates in form of political party quotas in Zambia?

Appendix 2: Interview Guide for the Party Officials

1) When was the party formed?

.....

2) On what principles was the party formed?

.....

3) Who are the most paid up membership of the party, females or males?

- May you kindly assist me with statistics?

.....

4) In comparison between male and female party members who are the most active members?

.....

5) What contributions do male and female party members make towards the growth and prosperity of the party?

.....

6) In relation to decision making, the objective of the Gender policy is to achieve equality and equity in decision making at all levels in all spheres. The strategies to achieve this include:

➤ *Adopt and implement special measures to put more women into decision making positions and,*

➤ *Facilitate women's participation in politics*

a) What has been done by your party to promote gender equality in decision making positions?

.....

b) Does the political party facilitate women's participation in politics? If yes, in what ways?

7) How many women and men does the National Party leadership consist of?

.....

8) Is there a link between the presence of women in party leadership positions and their numeric presence both in elected and appointed offices of the government? – Do women in party leadership stand a high chance to be nominated for elections? And in the long run, do women in these leadership positions encourage other women's active involvement and participation in political parties?

Appendix 3: Interview Guide for the Women's Lobby and Ministry of Gender

- 1) Do you think the National Gender Policy has adequately addressed the issue of women in politics and decision making?
- 2) How is government implementing the issues relating to women in politics and decision making in the National Gender Policy?
- 4) Is the Ministry and the organisation planning, monitoring and evaluating that the government is undertaking the pledged strategies in increasing female political representation?
 - 4) What is your opinion on the adoption of reserved seats in Zambia?
- 6) Would you recommend that president nominates women as the majority to help close the gender gap?
7. What are some of the contributions and challenges faced in the previous elections in trying to promote female representation in legislature? And learning from the previous elections what would be devised to overcome the challenges?
- 8) It is the objective of women's lobby and the Ministry of Gender to increase female representation in legislature, and if political parties are the sole gate keepers to the political office, then would it make an impact to focus on increasing more women in these political parties as an entry point to the legislature?
- 9) Considering all the efforts and recommendations that have been put in place by Non-Governmental Organisations especially the Zambia National Women's Lobby Group and the ratified declarations by the government with regards to the female political representation, the figures are still far from gender equality, can we attribute this to lack of political will?
- 10) Can you comment on the gender quota adoption in Zambia?

Appendix 4: Informed Consent Form For Member Of Parliament

This informed consent form is for civic leaders in chingola district who are invited to participate in the research titled the influences of gender and qualification on the political leadership in Zambia

Name of the researcher:

Name of organization:

Iam AARON CHINYAMA a student of the University of Zambia in association with the Zimbabwe Open University. I'm doing a research on the influences of gender and qualification on the political leadership in Zambia. The main purpose of this study is to establish the influences of gender and qualifications on the political leadership in Zambia. This research will involve your participation in a group discussion interview, one on one interview and answering of questions in the questionnaire that will be provided. You have been selected to participate in this research because we feel your experience and knowledge as a civic leader will contribute greatly to our understanding of the influences of gender and qualification on the political leadership in Zambia. There will be no direct benefit that you will receive for participating in this research.

Please fill in the questionnaire provided carefully and as honestly as possible. Tick where applicable and answer briefly where appropriate by filling in the gaps. The information to be gathered is for academic purposes and will be treated with the uttermost confidence.

Certificate of informed consent

I have read the foregoing information or it has been read to me. I have had the opportunity to ask questions about it and all the questions asked has been answered to my satification. Therefore I consent to voluntarily participate in this research

Name

Signature

Date

Appendix 5: Focus Group Discussion for Parliamentary Caucus for Women

Experience Theme

10. What are your experiences as Members of Parliament with regards to being nominated and elected?
11. What impact do you have on policies?
12. What would be your comment on the adoption of reserved seats and party quotas in Zambia?
13. Considering all the efforts and recommendations that have been put in place by Non-Governmental Organizations especially the Zambia National Women's Lobby Group and the ratified declarations by the government with regards to the female political representation, the figures are still far from gender equality, can we attribute this to lack of political will?

INFORMED CONSENT FORM FOR VOTERS

I am AARON CHINYAMA a student of the University of Zambia in association with the Zimbabwe Open University. I'm doing a research on the influences of gender and qualification on the political leadership in Zambia. The main purpose of this study is to establish the influences of gender and qualifications on the political leadership in Zambia. This research will involve your participation in a group discussion interview, one on one interview and answering of questions in the questionnaire that will be provided. You have been selected to participate in this research because we feel your experience and knowledge as a civic leader will contribute greatly to our understanding of the influences of gender and qualification on the political leadership in Zambia. There will be no direct benefit that you will receive for participating in this research.

Please fill in the questionnaire provided carefully and as honestly as possible. Tick where applicable and answer briefly where appropriate by filling in the gaps. The information to be gathered is for academic purposes and will be treated with the utmost confidence.

Certificate of informed consent

I have read the foregoing information or it has been read to me. I have had the opportunity to ask questions about it and all the questions asked has been answered to my satisfaction. Therefore I consent to voluntarily participate in this research

Name

Signature

Date

Appendix 6: Focus Group Discussion for Voters

5) General Politics of the Country

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6) Voting behavior of the Constituency

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.....
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7) Gender preferences when voting and why

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INFORMED CONSENT FORM FOR THE ELECTION COMMITTEE

I am AARON CHINYAMA a student of the University of Zambia in association with the Zimbabwe Open University. I'm doing a research on the influences of gender and qualification on the political leadership in Zambia. The main purpose of this study is to establish the influences of gender and qualifications on the political leadership in Zambia. This research will involve your participation in a group discussion interview, one on one interview and answering of questions in the questionnaire that will be provided. You have been selected to participate in this research because we feel your experience and knowledge as a civic leader will contribute greatly to our understanding of the influences of gender and qualification on the political leadership in Zambia. There will be no direct benefit that you will receive for participating in this research.

Please fill in the questionnaire provided carefully and as honestly as possible. Tick where applicable and answer briefly where appropriate by filling in the gaps. The information to be gathered is for academic purposes and will be treated with the uttermost confidence.

Certificate of informed consent

I have read the foregoing information or it has been read to me. I have had the opportunity to ask questions about it and all the questions asked has been answered to my satisfaction. Therefore I consent to voluntarily participate in this research

Name

Signature

Date

Appendix 7: Interview Guide for the Election Committee

1) What requirements are needed for one to be nominated as parliamentary candidates?

- A. educational background
- B. political experience
- C. financial back up (could it be same as for men)
- D. personal background
- E. family orientation

Any other

2) Is gender taken into consideration? If yes what mechanism is used to implement this?

.....
.....

8) How do you look at female candidates? Do you have full confidence in them that they will compete and win the elections?

.....
.....

14. may you assist me with statistics of women contesting/ selected and elected from the 2021 tripartite and by- elections to date.

.....
.....

15. Is your party concerned about the under representation of women in parliament? If yes what is being done about it?

.....
.....

16. In your opinion, why are so few women nominated and elected to parliament?

.....
.....

17. How can Zambia as a democratic nation benefit from a gender balanced parliament?

.....
.....

18. What is your comment on reserved seats? Do you think they should apply in Zambia?

.....

19. Do you think there must be laws legislated to compel political parties to consider gender equality in nominating parliamentary candidates in form of political party quotas in Zambia?

.....

Appendix 8: Informed Consent Form for the Party Officials

I am AARON CHINYAMA a student of the University of Zambia in association with the Zimbabwe Open University. I'm doing a research on the influences of gender and qualification on the political leadership in Zambia. The main purpose of this study is to establish the influences of gender and qualifications on the political leadership in Zambia. This research will involve your participation in a group discussion interview, one on one interview and answering of questions in the questionnaire that will be provided. You have been selected to participate in this research because we feel your experience and knowledge as a civic leader will contribute greatly to our understanding of the influences of gender and qualification on the political leadership in Zambia. There will be no direct benefit that you will receive for participating in this research.

Please fill in the questionnaire provided carefully and as honestly as possible. Tick where applicable and answer briefly where appropriate by filling in the gaps. The information to be gathered is for academic purposes and will be treated with the utmost confidence.

Certificate of informed consent

I have read the foregoing information or it has been read to me. I have had the opportunity to ask questions about it and all the questions asked has been answered to my satisfaction. Therefore I consent to voluntarily participate in this research

Name

Signature

Date

Appendix 9: Interview Guide for the Party Officials

3) When was the party formed?

.....

4) On what principles was the party formed?

.....

3) Who are the most paid up membership of the party, females or males?

- May you kindly assist me with statistics?

.....

4) In comparison between male and female party members who are the most active members?

.....

5) What contributions do male and female party members make towards the growth and prosperity of the party?

.....

6) In relation to decision making, the objective of the Gender policy is to achieve equality and equity in decision making at all levels in all spheres. The strategies to achieve this include:

➤ *Adopt and implement special measures to put more women into decision making positions and,*

➤ *Facilitate women's participation in politics*

a) What has been done by your party to promote gender equality in decision making positions?

.....

b) Does the political party facilitate women's participation in politics? If yes, in what ways?

7) How many women and men does the National Party leadership consist of?

.....

8) Is there a link between the presence of women in party leadership positions and their numeric presence both in elected and appointed offices of the government? – Do women in party leadership stand a high chance to be nominated for elections? And in the long run, do women in these leadership positions encourage other women's active involvement and participation in political parties?