INTEREST GROUPS AND THE PROMOTION OF WOMEN PARTICIPATION IN ZAMBIA'S POLITICAL PROCESSES: CASE OF ZAMBIA NATIONAL WOMEN'S LOBBY (1991-2018)

BY

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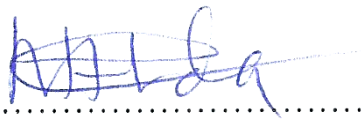
DECLARATION

I, CONRAD LUBINDA, declare that this dissertation is my own work and that it has not been previously submitted for a degree, diploma or other qualifications at this or another University. All published works or materials from other sources incorporated in this dissertation have been specifically acknowledged and references there by given.

Signature: ……  ……...

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ABSTRACT

Women exclusion in national development is a global problem which countries are struggling to address. In trying to address the problem, the Zambian government adopted a number of policies and Acts of Parliament among them the National Gender Policy of 2000 through Gender in Development Division (GIDD) which was later revised in 2014 after the establishment of the Ministry of Gender and Child Development (MGCD) and the Gender Equity and Equality Act of 2015. Despite Interest groups among them Zambia National Womens' Lobby (ZNWL) coming on board to complement government effort, the problem of women exclusion in decision making processes has continued to rise. This study sought to examine ZNWL's interventions in promoting women participation in Zambia's political processes. The study used an evaluative case study and mixed method research approach where 24 informants were sampled through purposive (Heterogeneous) sampling. While 130 individual women were sampled using convenience and snowball sampling. In this study, qualitative data was collected using semi-structured interviews and quantitative data was collected using questionnaires. The study revealed the following; ZNWL's interventions as it engages managements of various institutions through lobbying for women inclusion as well as raising awareness through advocacy using the media and building capacities of women meant to promote their participation in both the public and private sectors are not effective. ZNWL does not provide any direct empowerment in form of interventions to women taking part in intra-party competitions. Further, ZNWL's empowerment programmes in form of training, financial support and campaign materials provided to women adopted to take part in national elections are not adequate to meet their costs. Training to serving civic leaders is selective. Leading to limited effectiveness of such interventions to both adopted and elected female candidates. Recommendations, ZNWL should be engaging women directly when administering its interventions in Public, Private sectors and Intra-Party competitions. Financial support and campaign materials being provided to adopted female candidates in national elections be increased. Potential female candidates be identified early so that they are helped financially to conduct community works to gain popularity. Training programmes should be continuous and not only towards general elections. Training to serving councilors, mayors/council chairpersons and members of parliament should not be selective but benefit all the elected female candidates. Future studies can be conducted on interventions being under taken by other women organizations such as NGOCC, Women for Change etc. covering other provincial towns not covered in this study and ZNWL's interventions in promoting women participation in Socio-economic processes.

Keywords: Interest groups, women participation, Political process

DEDICATION

I wish to dedicate this dissertation to my family being my wife Mrs Tumba Muyutu Lubinda and my children Mooka, Mukelabai, Limpo, Likando and Tabo Lubinda. Not forgetting my parents Mr Felix Likando Lubinda and Mrs Lenty Mutinta Mizinga Lubinda for my upbringing as well as support in my entire education process.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

AU	–	African Union
AVAP	–	Ant-Voter Apathy project
BPFA	–	Beijing Platform for Action
CEU	–	Council of the European Union
CHAZ	–	Churches Association of Zambia
CHIN	–	Children in Need Net-work
CSO	–	Central Statistical Office
CSPR	–	Civil Society for Poverty Reduction
CSPR	–	Civil Society for Poverty Reduction
ECZ	–	Electoral Commission of Zambia
EU	–	European Union
EWEPP	–	Empowering Women for Effective Participation Project
FDD	–	Forum for Democracy and Development
FODEP	–	Foundation for Democratic Process
GIDD	–	Gender in Development Division
GRZ	–	Government of the Republic of Zambia
HSSREC	–	Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee
JCTR	–	Jesuit Centre for Theoretical Reflection
KCGM	–	Kansashi Copper and Gold Mine
MGCD	–	Ministry of Gender and Child Development
MMD	–	Movement for Multi-Party Democracy
NAREP	–	National Restoration Party

NCDP	–	National Commissioner for Development Planning
NDC	–	National Democratic Congress
NEC	–	National Executive Committee
NGO	–	Non-Governmental Organization
NGOCC	–	Non-Governmental Organizations Coordinating Committee
NGP	–	National Gender Policy
OPYV	–	Operational Young Vote
PF	–	Patriotic Front
PSMD	–	Public Service Management Division
SACCORD	–	Southern African Centre for Constructive Resolution of Disputes
SADC	–	Southern African Development Community
SPSS	–	Statistical Package of Social Sciences
TIZ	–	Transparency International Zambia
UN	–	United Nations
UNDP	–	United Nations Development Programme
UNIP	–	United National Independence Party
UPND	–	United Party for National Development
WFC	–	Women for Change
WIDD	–	Women in Development Department
WIP	–	Women In Politics
YWA	–	Young Women in Action
ZANACO	–	Zambia National Commercial Bank
ZANEC	–	Zambia National Education Coalition
ZCEA	–	Zambia Civic Education Association

ZNAN – Zambia National AIDS Network

ZNWL – Zambia National Women's Lobby

ZWPC – Zambia Women Parliamentarian Caucus

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Study background

The study of interest groups falls under the rubric of what is called Group analysis, Group politics, or simply the Group approach. Arthur Bentley originated this kind of thinking and analysis in 1908 whose ideas were expressed in his book titled The Process of Government. The thrust of this kind of thinking is that, group analysis focuses on collectives of individuals who interact in pursuit of common goals. Interest groups are phenomena of groups pressing one another, forming one another and pushing out new groups as well as group representatives (organs or agencies of government) to mediate adjustments (Bentley, 1908).

Interest groups are classified as Institutional interest groups, Anomic interest groups, Associational interest groups and Non-associational interest groups. Institutional interest groups are closely connected with various institutions and even political parties. They are formal organizations composed of professionally employed personnel with designated political and social functions other than interest articulation. These groups may articulate their own interests or represent the interests of other groups in society. Such groups are very influential and powerful. In some third world countries they are not only satisfied by exercising influence but also seize power in some cases. Anomic interest groups are said to be less or more spontaneous penetrations into the political system from society. These groups often appear when normal means of expressing dissatisfaction prove ineffective. They are concerned with religious or linguistic, ethnic disturbances or demonstrations, even assassinations and hijackings. They are generally characterized by unconventional usually violent means and influence the political system in numerous unconventional ways. Associational interest groups are closely associated with formally organized institutions. They are functionally specialized to articulate interests of specific groups such as management, labor, business and agriculture. These groups are found in countries where the right of association is constitutionally recognized. Some of them have regular paid employees on their roles to influence the concerned institutions. Unlike a well-organized association system, non-associational interest groups are based on factors like kinship, ethnicity, status and religion. They articulate interests informally as well as irregular and do not have any permanent organization (Almond et al, 1958).

Prior to 18th Century, women around the world were restricted to the private domain while the public domain which include political processes were left to men. However, the French revolution brought more hope to women by inspiring them to form a collective force so that they could fight for their rights in the political arena. Political arena became the main focus because it was regarded as the gate way to attaining women's rights with regards to participating in policy formulation and decision making (Fraise and Perrot, 1993). The extreme oppression of women was felt when Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott were denied the opportunity to speak at an Anti-Slavery Convention in London in 1840. This led to convening the first women's rights Convention held at Seneca Falls in 1948, in which women were made aware of the need to fight for their public rights (History Net, 2016).

The pressure staged by women led to the attainment of the right to vote which began in Sweden, Iceland, Finland and some Australian colonies at the close of the 19th Century. South Australia as well as the self-governing colonies of New Zealand followed suit by granting women the right to vote in 1893. In Britain, the Suffragettes (militant) and the Suffragists (non-militant) also fought for women's rights to vote. This led to the enactment of the representation of the people's Act in 1918 which allowed women over the age of 30 and owned property to vote. In 1928, women over the age of 21 were also given chance to vote (History Net, 2016).

Despite women attaining the right to vote around the world, they were still marginalized in the area of political processes. This eventually prompted them in the 1920s and 1930s to continue fighting for their rights through the League of Nations and later the United Nations after its establishment in 1945. This fight led to the recognition of the principle of equality by the United Nations Charter of 1945. Women continued with the fight for public rights through the second wave which focused on issues such as reproductive rights, equality at place of work, domestic violence etc. The Feminist further argued that, a gender comprehensive approach towards social, political as well as economic development was key especially for Countries operating or adopting Democratic kind of Government (Division for advancement of women, 2005).

This new wave of feminism gained momentum through a series of International Women's Conferences. The first Conference was held in 1975 in Mexico which led to it being declared as a women's year and decade up to 1985. This Conference led to the adoption of an international bill of rights aimed at eliminating all forms of discrimination against women and was endorsed almost universally. The second Conference was held in Copenhagen in 1980 to assess the progress of the decade of women. The most notable achievement was that women

associations and other interest groups in many Countries became proactive in promoting women participation in political processes. In 1985, the third Conference was held in Nairobi to mark the end of the women's decade (Division for advancement of women, 2005).

Concerns over women's marginalization and invisibility in African Policy making, remains a serious global problem. These concerns are likely due to restrictive laws, cultural diversities, institutional barriers as well as disproportionate access to quality education, healthcare and resources. Other barriers include Socio-demographic which involves age restrictions, gender norms and cultural practices which prevents women from participating in decision making processes. Under economic barriers, many African women lack the economic power necessary to fully participate in decision making. Time factor hinders women from participating in decision making processes because time demands of such positions conflict with the demands of their families. Gender stereotype implying entrenched societal and systematic gender stereotypes affect women negatively from participating in decision making. Men's resistance and non-preparedness to share political power and decision making processes with women also serves as huddle to women. These discriminatory practices can be reversed by understanding the progress made so far, the challenges faced and the way forward through right mechanisms (Ilesamin, 2018).

The exclusion of women from participating in decision making processes is worse in the developing world where Zambia is not an exceptional. In trying to mitigate the impact of social economic and political problems, interest groups play a significant role in almost all areas that concern human life such as poverty, HIV/AIDS, corruption, democracy, human rights, gender inequality, environmental issues among others. However, this study will concentrate on the concept of gender inequality emanating from the exclusion of women participation in political processes. In the Zambian context, the exclusion of women participation in decision making processes has its origin from the pre-colonial social relations that governed family structures as well as marital arrangements which were later reinforced by colonial policies and practices. Barriers that spear headed discrimination against women include restrictive laws, cultural diversity, intuitional barriers, disproportionate access to quality education, gender stereotype, gender norms and cultural practices. Despite some attempts since independence to reduce discrimination against women through the improvement of their lives and enhanced access to opportunities they still remain disadvantaged politically, economically and socially. The restoration of multiparty democracy and liberalization of the economy in the 1990s brought about an increase in the growth of interest groups. These interest groups are involved in

advocating for increased women's opportunities, ascendance to decision making positions as well as participating in socio-economic and political processes (Rakordi, 2005).

Gender inequality in Zambia in terms of statistics provide the general picture as follows; The entire United National Independence Party (UNIP)'s rule, Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) and Patriotic Front (PF) administrations marginalized women from participating in decision making positions. Members of Parliament during UNIP's rule between 1964 and 1991, female Members of Parliament stood at 30 MPs representing 4.4 percent and that of men stood at 650 MPs representing 95.6 percent and none of the women was appointed to the Cabinet. Female Members of Parliament (MPs) under PF and MMD administrations that is between 1991 and 2016 stood at 118 MPs representing 13.3 percent and that of men stood at 770 MPs representing 86.7 percent. During the entire 20 years of MMD rule from 1991 to 2011, only a total of 15 female Cabinet Ministers were appointed. Patriotic Front (PF) rule from 2011 to 2019, only 14 women Cabinet Ministers were appointed. Employment levels in 2014, administrative and support activities women were at 0.2 percent while men at 1.6 percent. In public administration women stood at 0.3 percent and men at 2.2 percent (Central Statistical Office, 2018). In the private sector, women in the executive leadership stands at 17 percent while that of board members is at 23 percent (Commonwealth secretariat, 2015). By the year 2020, the Gender Inequality Index (GII) value for Zambia stood at 0.58 placing the Country at number 146 out of 189 countries in the 2020 Index. This entails that, lack of women in decision making positions in Zambia seem to have marginalized the female population's access to resources. This has served as a key constraint to the achievement of human and economic development in the Country (UNDP, 2021).

In the quest to finding a solution to gender inequality emanating from the exclusion of women participation in both the Public and Private sectors, the Government of the Republic of Zambia, adopted a number of gender policies and Acts of Parliament among them being the first National Gender Policy of 2000 through the Gender in Development Division (GIDD) and its revised version of 2014 through the Ministry of Gender and Child Development (MGCD). The National Gender Policy's main objective is to achieve full participation of both women and men in the development process at all levels in order to ensure sustainable development, attainment of equity and equality between sexes (GRZ,2000). The Country also enacted legislation meant to promote gender equity and equality namely the Gender Equity and Equality Act of 2015. Further, the Republican Constitution provides for the establishment of

the Gender Equity and Equality Commission whose main aim is to ensure compliance and adherence to the Act and other closely related legislation (GRZ,2015: GRZ,2016).

Further, the Republic of Zambia joined the global fight against the exclusion of women by ratifying a number of International treaties and Conventions. Among them include, the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). The spirit of this convention is rooted in the goals of the United Nations such as to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, the dignity and worth of human person in equal rights of men and women. This convention was adopted on 18th December, 1979 and entered in force as international treaty on 3rd September, 1981. The main objective of this treaty is to establish tribunals and other public institutions to ensuring effective protection of women against discrimination either by persons, organizations or enterprises (UN, 1981). International Convention on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) was adopted and opened for signatures, ratification and accession by the General Assembly resolution 2200(XX) of 16th December, 1976 and entered into force on 23rd March, 1976. This emphasizes on human beings enjoying civil, political freedom, freedom from fear regardless of gender (UN, 1996).

The protocol to the African Charter on Human and People on Womens' Rights in Africa was endorsed by the Assembly of heads of states and government during its 31st ordinary session in Addis Ababa in June, 1995. This was endorsed through resolution 240(XXX1) as the recommendation to elaborate a protocol on the rights of women in Africa. Article 2 of the protocol directs all member states to combat all forms of discrimination against women through appropriate legislative, institutional and other measures. It also emphasizes that member states enact and effectively implement appropriate legislative or regulatory measures which prohibits and curbs all forms of discrimination especially those harmful practices that endangers the health and general well-being of women. The protocol also informs member states to integrate a gender perspective in their policy decisions, legislation, development, plans, programmes and activities. Support local, national and continental initiatives meant to eradicate discrimination against women (AU, 1995).

The SADC Heads of States and Government signed the SADC declaration on Gender and Development in the month of September, 1997 followed by its Addendum on the Prevention and Eradication of Violence against Women and Children in September, 1998. The objectives of this declaration include to provide for empowerment of women to eliminate discrimination and achieve gender equality and equity through development as well as implementation of

gender responsive legislation, policies, programmes and projects. To harmonize the implementation of various instruments, SADC member states are subscribed to regional, continental and international levels on gender equality and equity. Among them being the elimination of all forms Discrimination against women of 1979, the Beijing declaration and its platform for action of 1985, the protocol to the African Charter on Human and people's Rights of 1995 etc. To address emerging gender issues and concerns as well as setting realistic, measurable targets, times frames and indicators for achieving gender equality and equity. To strengthen, monitor and evaluate the progress made by member states towards reaching the targets and goals set out in the protocol (SADC, 2008).

1.2 Statement of the problem

Women face serious exclusion when it comes to participating in decision making processes at all levels of national development leading to gender inequality (Miranda, 2005). Despite government and other political actors such as interest groups (ZNWL) fighting the exclusion of women through the implementation of various interventions among them, the National Gender Policy of 2000 and its revised version of 2014 as well as the Gender Equity and Equality Act of 2015, statistics still show that women are still under represented in decision making processes (ZNWL, 2014). However, it is not clear as to why the situation has not improved even after undertaking such efforts.

1.3 Research objectives

1.3.1 General objective

To examine the role of Interest Groups in promoting women participation in Zambia's Political processes.

1.3.2 Specific objectives

(i) To investigate ZNWL's interventions in promoting women participation in decision making in private and public sectors.

(ii) To examine ZNWL's interventions in promoting women participation in intra-party competitions.

(iii) To discuss ZNWL's interventions in enhancing capacities of female candidates adopted and elected during inter party elections.

1.3.3 Research Questions

(i) What does ZNWL do in terms of interventions to promote women participation in decision making in private and public sectors?

(ii) What could be ZNWL's interventions in promoting women participation in intra-party competitions?

(iii) What interventions are being under taken by ZNWL in enhancing capacity of female candidates adopted and elected during inter party elections?

1.4 Research Hypothesis

(i) ZNWL promotes women participation in decision making processes (Research hypothesis)

(ii) ZNWL does not promote women participation in decision making processes (Null hypothesis)

1.5 Justification of the study

Justification of this study is that it provided sufficient explanation regarding interest groups (ZNWL)'s interventions in promoting women participation in Zambia's political processes. Interest groups were chosen because they are considered to be indispensable and provide the platform through which women could participate in political processes (Chakraborty, 1974). Furthermore, Women participation was chosen because the involvement of women in decision making processes ensures transparency, enhanced accountability, political commitment, good and responsiveness of government, meeting basic needs as well as addressing basic problems of communities and national development (Ojulu and Malesse, 2014).

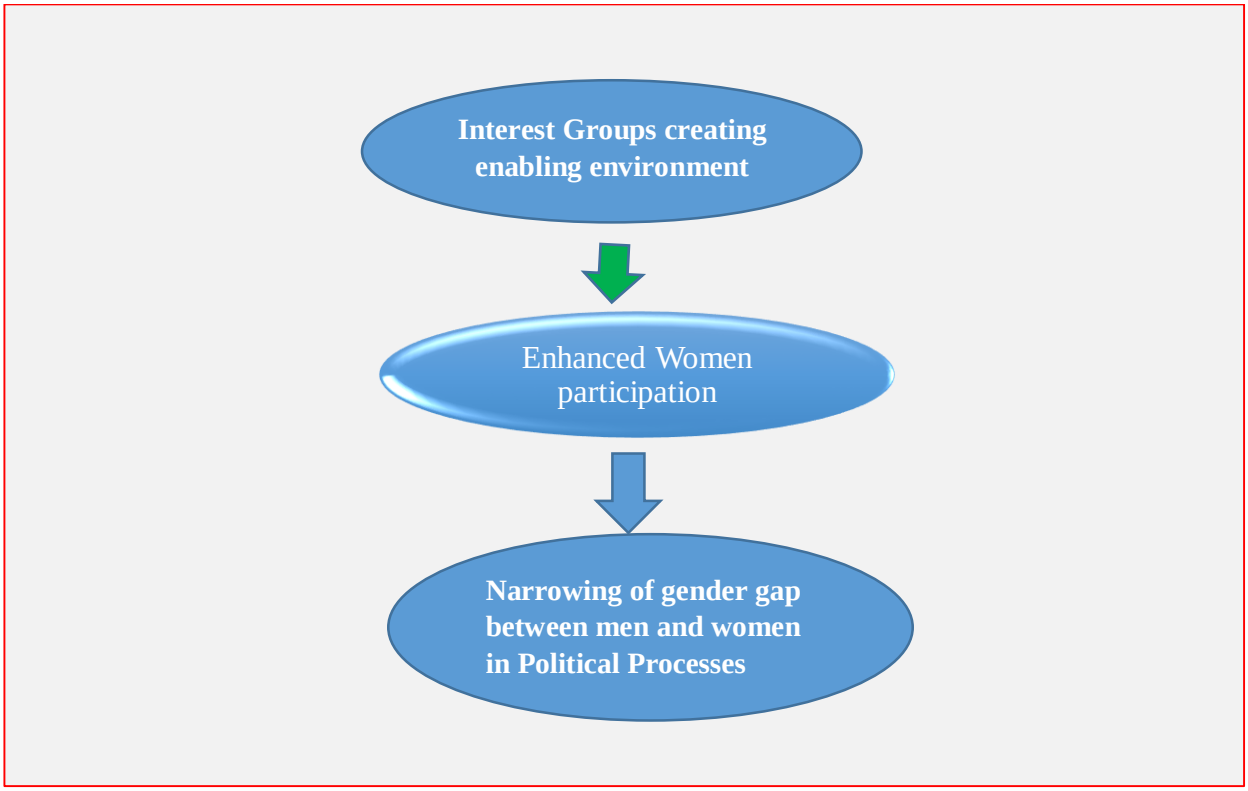
ZNWL was singled out to be part of this study because from its inception in 1991, it has been instrumental in advocating for women participation in decision making processes. Zambia National Women's Lobby (ZNWL) is a non-partisan, non-profit making and membership driven Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) committed to equal representation as well as participation of women in decision making at all levels. This organization was founded in 1991 with the core responsibility of addressing the continued exclusion of women from decision making processes leading to gender imbalances biased against women in Government departments, Political arena, Public and Private sectors (ZNWL, 2003a).

In addition, the study was conducted based on the following reasons. The first being to provide policy makers with evidence based information on constraints associated with women participation in political processes. This would enable them design viable interventions to enhance women participation in Zambia's political processes. Secondly, it would help interest groups identify their short comings as they promote women participation in Zambia's political processes. This in turn would help them come up with effective interventions to fight gender inequality. Thirdly, the general citizenry especially women would be enlightened of their rights or importance to participate in political processes. The usefulness of this study may be extended to other countries that have characteristics similar to Zambia. Further, it serves as a

requirement to the attainment of a Master of Arts degree in Political Science at the University of Zambia.

1.6 Conceptual frame work

Figure 1.1 ***Conceptual Framework on the enhancement of Women Participation in Political processes.***



Source: Masumba (2018)

This study used a conceptual frame work on the promotion of women participation in Political Processes focusing on three (03) concepts such as Interest groups, Women participation and Political process as shown in Figure 1.1 above. The concepts mentioned guides the entire research starting with the topic itself and objectives of the research. The narration of the conceptual frame work also shows how the key concepts are connected to one another leading to one goal.

In this study, ***Interest groups*** are said to be organized bodies seeking to influence public policy without trying to take over government itself. Interest groups, both economic and socio-political are mainly concerned with influencing public officials to either accept or reject specific programmes as well as policies. Their influence is either direct or indirect using skilled

lobbyists who personally contact important decision makers in the executive and legislative branches of government as well as the private sector (Etzioni,1986). In this study socio-political interest groups refer to groups of people that have specific political interests for their members and the people they represent. They organize in an effort to influence laws and public policy. On the other hand, economic interest groups refer to groups of people that advocate for economic interests that benefit their members and the people they represent in society (Etzioni, 1986a). If women are to participate effectively in decision making processes, interest groups play an important role by creating an enabling environment.

Women participation in this study is looked at in terms participating in decision making processes. This is seen as a fundamental pre-requisite for gender equality and genuine democracy. It facilitates women's direct engagement in public decision making and happens to be a means of better accountability to women. Women have the right to engage in civil society, vote in elections, be elected to government office, serve on boards and make their voices heard in any process that will ultimately affect them, their families and communities. Women participation is a necessary step to achieving gender equality and democratic governance. The participation of women and effective operations of interest groups dependent on the political process. All the laws and regulations with regards to interest groups' operations and women participation are set by the political process.

In this study, *political process* is defined as the formulation and administration of public policy usually by interactions between social groups and political institutions or between political leadership and public opinion. This is also said to be a simulation game where you can explore a dynamic world of politics. This creates a character, run for political office, write legislation, balance budgets and ascend to the political hierarchy (Webster, 2021).

In summary, interest groups play an important role in promoting women participation in Political Processes. This starts with imparting knowledge or information regarding their importance to participate in political processes. This enables women to start fighting for their rights to participate with a view to narrowing the gender gap. Participation alone is not adequate, hence interest groups and other stake holders moving a step further by empowering women with training and finances in some instance to help them sustain their participation.

CHAPTER TWO

2.1 Literature review

The purpose of literature review is to place each work in the context of its contribution to understanding the research problem being studied. This helps to gather valuable data and ideas that will guide the research process. In this study, the identified research problem is the exclusion of women from participating in decision making leading to gender inequality in political processes. Therefore, all the literature reviewed under this study is in line with interest groups promoting women participation in private, public sectors and the political arena in the quest to mitigating gender inequality. Literature on interest groups will be reviewed first and this is done by reviewing literature on the role of interest groups in Zambia first and thereafter literature from other areas. literature on Women participation will follow which will also be reviewed by starting with literature on women participation in decision making processes in Zambia and end with literature from other areas.

2.2 Interest groups

Lubosi (2012) in his MA dissertation carried out a study entitled the role of women's organizations in political development,1964-2001: A case study of UNIP Women's league and Zambia National Women's Lobby group. The study sort to find out the role of women organizations in political development. The study focused on the role of women organizations in political development and found that women organizations are used by Zambian women as alternative public sphere to participate as collective political actors. This helps them to institutionalize their issues and pressure their gender equality goals. It was also revealed that, women organizations play a cardinal role in setting up institutions and transforming political structures in order to bring women issues and gender concerns in the public arena. The lesson learnt from this study is that women organizations play an important role in fighting for women's rights with regards to institutionalizing gender concerns. However, its weakness is that it only focuses on women organizations leaving out other non-women organization groups that are involved in advocating for women's rights.

Gelsler (2006) conducted a study entitled a second liberation: lobbying for women's political representation in Zambia, Botswana and Namibia. The study focused the effort of women movements in Sothern Africa and found that women's movements creates an avenue through which women could pursue their specific demands in formal politics. After decades of exclusion, the importance of political representation on the part of women was first realized by the women's movement in Zambia on the eve of the first Democratic elections. The lesson

leant is that, women movements provides an avenue through which women demand for their specific needs in formal politics. The weakness of this study is that, it focused much on women representation in formal politics leaving out other cardinal areas such as socio-economic process, environmental issues, agriculture etc.

Datta, et al (1998) conducted a study focusing on the experience of Women in Botswana in social, economic and political spheres. The study shows that since 1994 *Emang Basadi*, a women's NGO in Botswana, has been raising gender awareness of women in rural and urban areas to exercise voting and other political rights. This has helped women in Botswana become more knowledgeable of their potential rights and capabilities in politics. The lesson learnt is that, women organizations play a cardinal role in sensitizing women regarding their rights and capabilities in politics. However, the weakness of this study is that it does not show whether the measures or interventions put in place by women organizations have improved participation or not.

Akhakpe (2014) undertook a study which focused on Public policy, interest groups and sustainable development in Nigeria. His study revealed that, public policy is an instrument through which governments achieve their objectives and goals for the citizens. This can only be achieved effectively through the contributions from different groups such as interest groups. Interest groups do not only influence government policies in their members' interests but also help in promoting effective public policy for sustainable national development. For instance, interest groups may *advocate* for policy reforms to accommodate the marginalized groups in society such as women, children etc. The lesson leant is that, interest groups do not only influence public policy to do with their members but also for national sustainable development. The weakness of this study is that, it concentrated much on public policy targeting government agencies leaving out the private sector.

The study conducted by Nagara and Orokpo (2013) focusing on political groups as important elements in political decision making in Nigeria revealed that, politics is all about the struggle for the control and exercise of political power in the midst of group politics. Further, it maintains that in plural democratic society, individual citizens can only best realize their ambition of influencing government policies through group participation in politics. Political groups influence political decision making through various ways which include among others *capacity building*, *advocacy*, civil disobedience and violence, civil litigation, lobbying,

protests, demonstrations etc. The lesson leant is that citizens in a democratic political process can realize their goals effectively when they participate through group politics. The weakness associated with this study is that, it is more centered on political participation ignoring other areas such as the private sector which require participation as well and also the study does not mention the actual political group which influences political decision making.

Ginger (2007) in his Ph.D. thesis conducted a study entitled NGOs in policy making in Tanzania: The relationships of group characteristics, political participation and policy outcomes. The study revealed that local Tanzanian non-governmental organizations acted in the same ways as western interest groups when they attempted to influence policy out comes. Interest groups were engaged as stakeholders, consultants, lobbyists, networkers and challengers. Interest groups began as participants invited by government, later deciding whether further engagement was needed to achieve specific policy goals. If they decided in the affirmative, they would then commence *lobbying* and/or changing government officials. Most of these organizations also choose to form coalitions to strengthen their policy positions. The lesson leant from this study is that interest groups are capable of forming coalitions as a way of speaking with one voice to strengthen their policy position. However, the weakness of this study is that it is not mentioning the target group in society being assisted through the influence of policy.

The study conducted by Trip (2003) focusing on women in movement especially transformations in African political landscape, finds that the emergence of women organizations in the mid-1980s and after 1990s provided a platform through which women could push for their interest. This helped women to start organizing locally and internationally demanding for their rights in the areas of land, inheritance and associational autonomy through the courts. Through the same women organizations, women stated challenging laws and constitutions that did not uphold gender equality. Through their effort, women are now steadily participating in government, political parties, NGOs and other leadership positions where they faced serious exclusion in the past. Through this study, it has been leant that women organizations help women to organize locally and internationally. The weakness associated with this study is that it is a general study focusing on Africa and such studies are likely to leave out certain vital information.

Anderson (2010) conducted a study focusing on Policy-Making process and interest groups: How do local Government Associations influence policy out come in Brazil and the

Netherlands? The study finds that interest groups are very important in society because they provide an effective opportunity for participation in the process of decision making. To understand the role of interest groups, the study involved local government associations in Brazil and the Netherlands because of the growing importance of municipalities in policy development. Further, the study found that local government associations in Brazil and the Netherlands do matter and are responsible for enhancing to some extent the managerial conditions of municipalities and consequently, the quality of life of the population. Through this study, it has been learnt that interest groups create an opportunity for participation in decision making. The weakness associated with this study is that, it only focused on local government associations as the groups influencing policy in municipalities leaving out other associations that may be also influencing policy in municipalities.

According to the study conducted by Strolovitch (2007) entitled Affirmative Advocacy: Race, class and Gender in interest group politics. The study finds that, the United States of America boasts of scores of organizations that offer crucial representation in society. Further, the author finds that groups too often prioritize the interest of their most advantaged members such as male rather than the female, racial minorities etc. The lesson leant is that, USA has a number of interest groups that provide crucial representation in society. The weakness with the study is that, it focused on gender imbalance within the groups leaving out institutions outside the parameters of the interest groups. Furthermore, the author provided a general statement regarding interest groups as he could not mention the specific interest groups under consideration.

2.3 Women participation

Chikwanda (2017) in her MA dissertation conducted a study entitled Female political representation in Zambia: A study of four political party policies and perspectives on party gender quotas and reserved seats adoption. The focus was Patriotic Front (PF), United Party for National Development (UPND), Rainbow and Forum for Democracy and Development (FDD) with regards to women representation as well as adoption. The study found that, all the four political parties have women wings whose mandate is to promote women participation in political activities. All the four political parties committed themselves to the attainment of 50/50 gender equality through nominations. Unfortunately, none of them could live up to their commitment. The lesson learnt from this study is that, political parties have put in measures to encourage women participation through women wings and attainment of 50/50 gender equality especially in the area of nomination of candidates. However, its weakness is that it focuses

more on women participation in national elections such as local government and parliamentary elections leaving out the participation of women in intra-party competitions or elections.

According to the study conducted by H.M Consultancy (2005) entitled Zambia country profile revealed that, the status of women in Zambia is very low and this makes them more vulnerable to poverty, social, economic and cultural disadvantages compounded by gender imbalances. The study also finds that, available information indicates that gender-based disparities persist in favour of males in education, decision making, health and many other areas. Despite women comprising 51% of the population, under representation of women in all spheres of development is still a serious challenge. This is the reason why government is considering *women empowerment* as one of the ways to helping women participate effectively in national development at all levels. The lesson learnt from this study is that gender imbalance does exist in all spheres of development. The weakness of this study is that, it only talks about women under representation without any statistic to back such claims.

Kalinda and Chirwa (2015) conducted a study entitled women participation in key decision making institutions in Zambia: case of three arms of government: legislature, executive and judiciary. The study justifies the inclusion of women in decision making bodies and at the same time finds that, the majority of the Zambian population is female. Further, it found that women have been in the periphery when it comes to influencing policy in the country particularly in decision making in both public and private sector. In line with the achievement of 50% representation of women, NGOs have come on board advocating for women promotion to key decision making positions in government as well as the private sector. The lesson learnt is that women face exclusion when it comes to influencing public policy in decision making processes in private and public sectors. The weakness of this study is that, the focus is more on the public sector where the area of concentration is mentioned clearly as three arms of government compared to the private sector where it is just mentioned as a general statement.

According to the study by Sampa (2010) in her MA dissertation focusing on the election of women to the Zambian parliament. Her study analyses the under-representation of women in the 2001 and 2006 parliamentary elections. The study found that Zambian women continue to lag behind in politics and face difficulties to access parliament. The study further shows that out of 1, 298 parliamentary candidates that aspired for adoption in the 2001 elections, only 204 were women. Out of 204 women that aspired for adoptions, only 197 were adopted by their political parties while seven stood as independents and only nineteen were elected to

parliament. In 2006, out of 691 parliamentary candidates, ninety-four were women. Out of these, twenty-seven stood as independents while sixty-seven stood on political party tickets. Only twenty-two women were elected to parliament. The lesson learnt from this study is that, to a lesser extent Women are being adopted as candidates to participate in national elections. This study however, is biased because the concentration is based on women participation in parliamentary elections leaving out other areas such as intra-party competitions and local government elections.

Women's empowerment link (2013) conducted a study entitled Young women's political participation in Kenya. The study reveals that women's political participation in Kenya especially among young women, has been one of the key areas of interest for women's rights organizations. Politics plays a vital role in influencing policy making process and as such, the absence of significant numbers of women in positions of influence denies them a chance to influence decision and impact of policy making. Although the population of women and men at all levels is almost equally matched; political, economic and cultural representation is heavily skewed in favor of men. For instance, between 2008 and 2013 women made up barely 9.8% of the members of the 10^{th} parliament. This compares poorly with the global average of 18.8% and critical mass threshold of 33%. The lesson leant is that, women play an important role when it comes to influencing public policy and their absence in the front line denies them that opportunity. The weakness of this study is that, it concentrated much on young women leaving out the elderly women.

Policy and Legal Advocacy Center (2008) conducted a study focusing on women's representation in Nigeria. The study finds that the past two decades have witnessed an impressive rise in women's political representation around the world. The global average in the share of women in national parliaments doubled during this period and all regions making substantial progress towards the global requirement of 50% women representation in decision making. It further finds that, while the rate of increase in political representation of women in four African countries such as Rwanda, Seychelles, Senegal and South Africa; Nigeria has achieved little progress in this regard. The lesson leant is that women participation in decision making in some countries is improving and gave examples of South Africa, Seychelles, Senegal and Rwanda. The weakness of this study is that, it talks about improvement in women participation in countries like South Africa, Seychelles and Senegal without statistical support to that effect.

Bauer (2009) conducted a study in his article which explains how women in Eastern and Southern Africa are using gender-based electoral quotas to take a "fast track" to equal legislative representation. According to Bauer, as of mid-2006, countries like Burundi, Rwanda, Uganda, Tanzania, Mozambique, Namibia, Seychelles and South Africa where the gender-based electoral quota was used, women occupied 25 to nearly 50 per cent seats in parliament. The study further noted that in countries such as Zambia where the quota system was not used, women's representation in parliament was below the world average of 17 per cent. Bauer states that the use of quotas across Africa reflects a renewed interest in formal politics and political institutions among African women's movements. The lesson leant is that the countries where electoral quotas have been applied, women participation has increased steadily. The weakness of this study is that it is only mentioning four (04) countries in Africa to have benefited from electoral quotas.

A study conducted by Shamsul (2003) focusing on citizen participation in governance through representation issue of gender in East Asia. The study reveals that, although East Asia represents some of the most successful economies such as Japan, Taiwan, Hong Kong, South Korea and now China the level of political and administrative development in the region remains controversial. One of the major indicators of such politico-administrative development is the extent of citizen participation in governance through various democratic means such as formation and expression of public opinion, people's involvement in government decisions and deliberations as well as direct representation in governing institutions. Although the representation of women in these governing institutions has gained global significance, it still remains relatively weak in most East Asian cases. The lesson leant is that, women in Asia also suffer serious exclusion leading to gender inequality despite some success economically. The weakness of the study is that, it only focused on participation of women in the public sector leaving out the private sector.

Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (2011) conducted a study entitled the road to substantive democracy: Women's participation in the Americas. The organization consistently advocated for the appropriate participation and representation of women at all levels of government. This was considered to be a necessary condition for strengthening democracy in the Americas. The Inter-American Commission of Human Rights stresses that, in order to achieve this goal, states will need to implement a series of interventions to promote respect for,

safe guard the exercise of and women's political rights. The human rights organization underscores the fact that women continue to face a number of obstacles in accessing positions of power. This is evident owing to their under representation at different levels of government in Americas. The lesson leant is that, participation and representation of women at all levels of government is a condition for strengthening democracy. The weakness of this study is that, it has focused on a general statement such as Americas without mentioning the specific state of focus and such studies leaves out vital information.

The major lesson learnt from literature reviewed is that, interest groups create a platform through which women participate in governance, politics, public as well as private policy. However, the gaps or weaknesses identified from the reviewed literature are that very little is mentioned with regards to specific roles being undertaken by interest groups in promoting women participation. Therefore, this research will be attempting to fill this gap by examining interest groups' interventions in promoting women participation in Zambia's political processes focusing on ZNWL.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research methodology

Research methodology shows various ways in which a research unfolds and the steps utilized to collect and analyze data. According to Polit and Hungler (2004), Methodology refers to ways of obtaining, organizing and analyzing data. Research methodology contains among others the following components: Type of research, scope of the research, limitations encountered during research, research design, sources of data, sample size, sampling methods, methods of data collection, reliability of data, validity of data, methods of data analysis and research ethics (Kothari, 2004; Creswell, 2009). The methodology that was used in this research is presented below.

3.2 Type of research

The type of research conducted was looked at from three angles. The first one based on the purpose of the research. In this case, the type of research that was adopted is an evaluative study because the researcher was trying to examine ZNWL's interventions and in the process make a judgement regarding its contribution in promoting women participation in decision making. Mcdonough (1997) states that an evaluative study involves the researcher making a judgement about a phenomena based on the data collected. The explanation provided by Mcdonough helped the researcher to come up with a decision to conduct an evaluative study. Kothari (2004a) also confirms the decision made by the researcher by stating that the purpose of an evaluative research is to make judgements about a programme or phenomenon to ascertain its effectiveness. This involves collecting and analysing information about a programme or phenomenon's activities, characteristics and outcomes.

The second angle was based on the number of cases investigated and in this scenario a case study was adopted. A case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real life context based on a limited number of events or conditions (Yin, 1984; Shuttleworth, 2008). Stake (1995) also argues that, an intrinsic case study enables the researcher to archive a comprehensive understanding of a particular individual case. The explanations provided by two authors above, helped the researcher to adopt a case study because the study's focus is a single event or phenomenon namely examining ZNWL's interventions in promoting women participation in political processes. Further, a case study was chosen because it allows a lot of details to be collected that would not normally be obtained by other research designs. Additionally, a case study narrows down a very broad field of

research into one easily researchable topic and is considered useful when not much is known about a particular phenomenon. Finally, a case study is less costly in terms of time and finances.

The third angle was based on the time-frame within which the research would be conducted. In this regard, the research was a one–time research. A one–time research is a research which is conducted at a single point in time. The point in time that this research was conducted is between 20th August, 2019 and 21st August, 2020. A one-time research was selected because it is less costly and also the academic paper was to be completed within a specified period. In this case this research was to be completed within the period stated above (Yin, 1984a).

3.3 Scope of the research

This research was confined to Lusaka City and four other selected provincial capitals namely Choma, Kabwe, Ndola and Solwezi. Lusaka was chosen because it is the capital city of Zambia and one of the fastest growing cities in Southern Africa. It is situated in Lusaka Province and houses the headquarters of all government Ministries and all Diplomatic Missions accredited to Zambia. It also houses the secretariat of Zambia National Women's Lobby and headquarters of political parties under consideration in this study. Lusaka has a population of 1,747,152 in which 860,424 are males and 886,728 are females (CSO, 2010). The governance or administrative system in Zambia is a top-down approach where decisions are made or directed from an authoritative core at strategic level of government. The starting point is an authoritative decision where centrally located actors are seen as the most relevant to producing desired effects. In the Zambian context, this means that all policies and decisions are centrally made in Lusaka and there after rolled out to various Ministries and Departments for implementation all over the Country. Lusaka being a center of activity in terms of decision making and policy formulation, it has attracted a number of interest groups among them ZNWL to set their headquarters or secretariat (Matland, 1995).

The other provincial towns mentioned above, were chosen because they are among the provincial cities and towns which houses ZNWL's regional branches or chapters as well as provincial headquarters of political parties being considered in this study. Choma town has the population of 244, 180 of which 125,694 are females whereas 118,486 are males and is situated in Southern Province. Kabwe town has the population of 202,914 of which 103,353 are females while 99,561 are males and is situated in Central Province. Ndola city has the population of 455,194 of which 224,271 are females and 230, 923 are males. The town is situated on the Copperbelt Province. Choma, Kabwe and Ndola were chosen because it is less costly to reach

them as they are all along the line of rail and full of socio-economic and political activities. Solwezi town was chosen because of an increase in socio-economic and political activities attributed to newly opened mine namely Kansashi copper and gold mine. Solwezi town is situated in North Western Province and has the population of 239,051 where 121,326 are females and 117,725 are males (CSO, 2010a).

3.4 Research design

A research design is a blue print for conducting a study with maximum control over factors that may interfere with the validity of the findings (Burns and Grove, 2003). The purpose of a good research design is to provide research findings that are credible and universally acceptable. A mixed methods research design mixes both qualitative and quantitative research designs in collecting and analysing data as a way to comprehending a particular research problem (Creswell and Clark, 2011). Qualitative data is concerned with understanding a phenomenon from the informant's perspective and focuses on collecting in-depth information about the issue under investigation. On the other hand, quantitative data assumes a fixed and measurable reality and is concerned with issues that can be quantified or turned into statistics or numbers (McLeod, 2008).

The explanation provided by both Creswell & Clark and McLeod inspired the researcher to pick on the mixed methods approach. This is because the approach was the most appropriate when it came to examining ZNWL's interventions in promoting women participation in political processes. The same approach enabled the researcher to collect qualitative data from officials that were sampled as informants from selected institutions. Further, it also helped in the collection and analysis of quantitative data from individual women in decision making positions from selected institutions in the political arena, public and private sectors. Above all, the combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches (mixed methods) in this research helped to complement the inadequacies attributed to each design in data collection, analysis and reporting.

3.5 Sources of data

The researcher collected data from two sources namely primary and secondary sources. Primary data refers to undocumented data that is obtained from individuals with different portfolios in life. Primary data provided a better understanding of a research problem because it came from concerned and reliable respondents as well as informants as original data (Kothari, 2004a). The source of this type of data included officials from Zambia National Women's Lobby as well as Ministry of Gender and Child Development. Others include officials from

PF, UPND, MMD and FDD whose selection was based on having representation in both the Parliament and Councils. Furthermore, data was also collected from women in decision making positions both in the public and private sectors including those that hold and/or held positions in political parties as well as representation in Parliament and Councils. The rationale behind the collection of this type of data was to examine the role of ZNWL's interventions in promoting women participation in political processes.

Secondary data on the other hand is data that has been documented and was obtained from sources such as books, research reports, seminar presentations, conference papers, working papers, among others which were accessed from individuals, libraries and the internet. This type of data was collected in order to gain insights into what is written by others regarding women participation in Political Processes as promoted by interest groups (Surbhi, 2016).

3.6 Sample size

In this study, a sample is a subset of a statistical population whose characteristics are studied to obtain information about the entire population (Kothari, 2004b). Data in this study was collected from a sample of **194**. The sample comprised of five (05) officials from ZNWL, five (05) officials from UPND, five (05) officials from PF, four (04) officials from MMD, four (04) officials from FDD and one (01) official from the Ministry of Gender and Child Development summing up to **24** informants for the purpose of extracting qualitative data. These officials were selected from Lusaka, Choma, Kabwe, Ndola and Solwezi being among the Provincial Cities and towns where the mentioned institutions have branches or representation. Individual women as respondents for the purpose of collecting data that was later quantified were also selected as follows; 50 women in decision making positions in the public sector and 30 women in decision making positions in the private sector. Others were **90** women that hold and/or held elective positions in political parties captured in this study and stratified as follows 25 from PF, 25 from UPND, 20 from MMD and 20 from FDD drawn from the provincial towns/cites mentioned above. This means 5 were sampled from each Province. This covered female candidates that were adopted to contest but failed to make it, those that have retired and/or currently serving as Councillors, Council Chairpersons, Mayors and Members of Parliament as well as those that took part in intra-party competitions. The total sample of individual women as respondents comes to **170** women.

3.7 Sampling Methods

Sampling in this research refers to a process of selecting a subset of the population of interest so as to make observations and statistical inferences about that population (Bhattacherjee,

2012). To arrive at the sample size, non-probability sampling technique was adopted. Bernard (2002) describes purposive sampling under non-probability technique as a deliberate choice of an informant due to qualities he/she possesses. The researcher through his/her judgement decides what needs to be known in terms of information and thereafter, sets out to find who could be willing to provide the information or data by virtue of their experience or knowledge. Basing on Bernard's explanation, the researcher was prompted to adopt purposive sampling technique in this study because it is in line with what the researcher was trying to do in terms of selecting the informants. This is because the researcher used his judgement to select institutions that provided credible information regarding ZNWL's interventions in promoting women participation in Zambia's political processes. In turn leaders in the identified institutions helped in the selection of actual individual officials as informants who were interviewed in line with the subject under consideration in this study. The researcher did not only pick on purposive sampling but Heterogeneous purposive sampling because the elements of the sample comprised of different characteristics. Institutions that provided officials as informants include the following; Zambia National Women's Lobby (ZNWL), Ministry of Gender and Child development (MGCD). Others include political parties such as UPND, PF, MMD and FDD which happen to have representation in both the Council and Parliament. After the identification of the informants, the researcher administered interview guides in person to extract qualitative data.

Etikan et al, (2016) explains that convenience sampling also Haphazard sampling or accidental sampling is a type of non-probability sampling. This is where members of the target population that meet certain criteria such as easy accessibility, geographic proximity, availability at a given time or the willingness to participate are included for the purpose of the study. Upon understanding the explanation provided by Etikan et al, the researcher decided to adopt convenience sampling as well in the area of selecting individual women that might have benefited from ZNWL's interventions as it promoted women participation in political processes. Targeted individual women comprised of women holding decision making positions in the public as well as private sectors. Others include women holding and/or held elective positions in UPND, PF, MMD and FDD drawn from Lusaka, Choma, Kabwe, Ndola and Solwezi. This covered women that took part in intra-party competitions and inter party elections.

Convenience and purposive sampling were adopted because it was difficult to come up with a complete list in the selection of individual women that were targeted in the study. The

researcher visited selected government Ministries and private Institutions to access women holding decision making positions. The researcher also visited political parties mentioned above to find women holding elective positions such as female Councilors, Mayors, Council Chairpersons and Members of Parliament as well as those occupying positions within party structures. All these individual women were drawn for the purpose of finding out if at all they had interacted with ZNWL in one way or another as it promotes women participation in decision making in Zambia's political processes.

The technique of snowball sampling involves a researcher asking the initial subject to nominate another person with the same trait. The researcher then observes or interviews the nominated subject leading to another viable subject to be interviewed. In other words, it entails a researcher choosing one or two persons first and then asks them to start nominating others they think could provide the required information in line with the study (Msabila and Nalaila, 2013). The explanation provided by Msabila and Nalaila, prompted the researcher to adopt snowball sampling technique as well because there was another category of women which held elective positions in the past and were required to be incorporated in the sample. This category of women included those that participated in national elections and intra-party competitions in UPND, PF, MMD and FDD and have since retired from active politics. The researcher first targeted a few who were known by administering questionnaires to them and thereafter, they were asked if they knew others they had worked with during their time. This sampling technique worked well because the researcher managed to identify hidden respondents who were later incorporated in the sample. Snowball sampling technique was adopted because it was difficult to come up with a complete list of individual women who were no longer involved in active politics.

The combination of qualitative and quantitative data that was collected using three mentioned sampling techniques above confirms a mixed method design on sampling.

3.8 Methods of data collection

A semi-structured interview is a data collection tool in which the researcher asks the informants a series of predetermined but open ended questions (Given, 2008). The explanation provided by Given, motivated the researcher to adopt semi-structured interviews. The reason being that, the researcher really wanted to provide the informants with an opportunity to express themselves and not only to be restricted to predetermined questions. The researcher himself administered the interview guides or schedule containing predetermined but open ended

questions to selected informants. This helped the researcher to clarify certain responses which eventually led the collection of quality data. The said informants were selected through the help of their leaders that is from ZNWL, political parties such as UPND, PF, MMD and FDD. Others include Ministry of Gender and Child Development (MGCD). The data that was collected through this method was qualitative in nature meant to gain insight on the phenomena of women participation in political processes as promoted by ZNWL. The adoption of semi-structured interviews was echoed by Cook (2008) who argued that semi-structured interviews are preferred because the researcher always have more guidance over the direction of the conversation and discussed content compared to unstructured interviews.

According to Kombo and Tromp (2006), a questionnaire is a research instrument that gathers quantifiable data over a large sample through a systematic set of questions. The researcher made the decision to use questionnaires following Kombo and tromp (2006)'s explanation as it was in line with the large sample selected in this study for the purpose of collecting quantifiable data. In this case, the total sample of individual women that were captured is 170 selected from Lusaka, Ndola, Choma and Kabwe. Looking at the number of individual women and distances between the towns and/or cities, the most appropriate instrument of data collection to be used were questionnaires. In this study, questionnaires were used to obtain quantitative data from women in decision making positions in both the public and private sectors, and those that hold and/or held elective positions after taking part in Intra-party competitions, Local Government and Parliamentary elections. Questionnaires helped the researcher to obtain quantifiable information regarding ZNWL's interventions in promoting women participation in Zambia's political processes. Questionnaires as method of data collection were administered by the researcher himself because it was discovered that certain category of women had low literacy levels especially political party cadres which needed further explanation. On the other hand, secondary data was collected through reading and analysing documents such as books, journals, conference papers, dissertations, working papers among them that were obtained from individuals, libraries and internet. The analysis of documents was based on women participation in Zambia's political processes as promoted by interest groups (ZNWL). The use of interview guides to collect qualitative data and questionnaires to collect quantitative data confirms a mixed method design on data collection.

3.9 Reliability of data

Reliability refers to the degree to which a particular measurement technique can be depended upon to secure consistent results upon repeated application (Jonathan 2007). This study used

internal consistency as a method of assessing reliability. Internal consistency indicates whether items on a test that are intended to measure the same construct produce consistent scores. For example, if ten items were designed to measure the same construct, an individual should answer these items in the same way, which should suggest that the test has internal consistency (Tang, et al, 2014). To achieve this goal, the research instruments were designed in such a way that the questions were logically related. After data collection, the responses from each respondent were checked for logical relationship and this relates to quantitative data. In cases where the respondent was found to be contradictory in his/her responses, such data was rejected forth with and only consistent responses were taken on as reliable data. This is the data that was analysed and presented in this research.

Internal consistence of responses in the questionnaires were tested using Cronbach's Alpha test. According to Cronbach's Alpha test, when the consistence level reaches above 0.7 or 70 percent it means that the responses are highly consistent. If the response level is below 70 percent, it shows that the consistent levels are below acceptable reliability. A reliability analysis was carried out on the perceived task value scale using three categories of questionnaires as follows; 19 questions in the questionnaire administered to women in the public sector and later correlated to 16 items by SPSS, 19 questions in the questionnaire administered to women in the private sector and correlated to 13 items by SPSS and 22 questions in the questionnaire administered to women from selected political parties which were later correlated to 20 items by SPSS. The results of reliability test using Cronbach's alpha are shown in tables below;

Internal Consistence of questionnaire administered to individual women as respondents in the public sector

Table 3.1 showing results of case processing summary

Case Processing Summary

		N	%
Cases	Valid	27	54.0
	Excluded[a]	23	46.0
	Total	50	100.0

a. Listwise deletion based on all variables in the procedure.

Table 3.2 showing results of reliability statistics of Cronbach's Alpha

Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Alpha Based on Standardized Items	N of Items
.716	.800	16

Table 3.3 showing results of scale statistics

Scale Statistics

Mean	Variance	Std. Deviation	N of Items
29.7407	10.815	3.28859	16

The table of interest here is table 3.2 which shows Cronbach's Alpha test results. According to Cronbach's Alpha test results, the questionnaire administered to respondents drawn from selected institutions in the public sector reached the Cronbach's Alpha coefficient of .716 or 72 percent. This means that the responses in the questionnaire satisfied the acceptable reliability in terms of consistence of above .7 or 70 percent alpha coefficient.

Internal consistence of questionnaire administered to individual women as respondents in the private sector.

Table 3.4 showing results of case processing summary

Case Processing Summary

		N	%
Cases	Valid	5	16.7
	Excluded[a]	25	83.3
	Total	30	100.0

a. Listwise deletion based on all variables in the procedure.

Table 3.5 showing results of reliability statistics Cronbach's Alpha

Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Alpha Based on Standardized Items	N of Items
.764	.807	13

Table 3.6 showing results of scale statistics

Scale Statistics

Mean	Variance	Std. Deviation	N of Items
28.8000	21.700	4.65833	13

The table of interest here is table 3.5 which shows Cronbach's Alpha test results. According to Cronbach's Alpha test results, the questionnaire administered to respondents drawn from selected institutions in the private sector reached the Cronbach's Alpha coefficient in terms of consistence of .764 or 76 percent. This implies that responses in the questionnaire satisfied the acceptable reliability of above .7 or 70 percent alpha Coefficient.

Internal consistence of the questionnaire administered to individual women as respondents from selected political parties

Table 3.7 showing the results of case processing summary

Case Processing Summary

		N	%
Cases	Valid	81	90.0
	Excluded[a]	9	10.0
	Total	90	100.0

a. Listwise deletion based on all variables in the procedure.

Table 3.8 showing reliability statics of the Cronbach's alpha

Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Alpha Based on Standardized Items	N of Items
.717	.776	20

Table 3.9 showing results of scale statistics

Scale Statistics

Mean	Variance	Std. Deviation	N of Items
36.1481	41.903	6.47324	20

The table of interest here is table 3.8 which shows Cronbach's Alpha test results. According to Cronbach's Alpha test results, the questionnaire administered to respondents drawn from selected political parties reached the Cronbach's Alpha coefficient in terms of consistence of .717 or 71 percent. This means that the questionnaire satisfied the acceptable reliability of above .7 or 70 percent alpha coefficient.

3.10 Validity of the data

Validity refers to the degree to which any measurement approach or instrument succeeds in describing or quantifying what it is designed to measure (Jonathan, 2007). This study used content validity to assess the validity of data and this is in relation to qualitative data. Content validity involves the use of a research instrument that is representative of the full content of the subject under investigation (Bless and Achola, 1988). The research instruments were structured in such a way that they cover all aspects of the phenomena under investigation. In this research, the content of participation in Zambia's political processes comprised of formulation, implementation and evaluation of policies aimed at finding a lasting solution to the problem of women exclusion in decision making processes. On the other hand, interest groups (ZNWL) comprise of their formation, funding, as well as their interventions in promoting women participation in Zambia's political processes. The reason for using content validity in this research was to ensure that all the elements of the research subject are taken into consideration thereby making the collected data valid.

3.11 Methods of data analysis

Data analysis is the process of separating data into smaller and manageable parts with the intention of finding meaningful answers to the research questions and objectives leading to the

determination of the findings. The main purpose of analysing data is to obtain usable and useful information (Polit and Beck, 2008). It is also said to be the process of inspecting, cleaning, transforming and modelling data with the goal of highlighting conclusions as well as supporting decision making (Tambachnick and Fidell, 2007). The methods of data analysis the study used are Statistical Package of Social Sciences (SPSS) and Content analysis. Quantitative data was analysed using SPSS because it is user friendly and can help to generate percentages, tables and frequencies among others for quantifiable data. On the other hand, qualitative data was analysed using content analysis based on themes or thematically in relation to research objectives. Content analysis involved the researcher searching for structures and patterns in the text which were later broken down into controllable categories or themes. Thereafter, logically drawing inferences based on the available evidence and intensity with which certain words were used (Mwanje, 2001). This study created the following categories or themes; (i) Promotion of women participation in decision making; (ii) Promotion of women participation in intra-party competitions and (iii) enhancing capacities of female candidates adopted and elected after inter party elections. The fact that both quantitative and qualitative data were analyzed, it confirms a mixed method design in data analysis as well.

3.12 Limitations

In the process of data collection, the researcher was made to pay K70 to distribute questionnaires to women in decision making positions at Lusaka City Council which added to the costs incurred. Responses from individual women in terms of returning questionnaires especially cadres took so long and this made the researcher to incur extra costs that were not planned. Some political parties dragged their feet to provide the researcher with an opportunity to conduct interviews, this consumed a lot of time because it forced the researcher to frequent their secretariat several times for them to give in. In Choma, MMD structures were not found and the same applied to Solwezi where FDD structures were not found. This means that the researcher was unable to collect data from MMD in Choma and FDD in Solwezi. However, the researcher made an effort to visit the national secretariats of MMD and FDD in Lusaka and the required information was provided. In addition, the findings of this study can be generalized and still apply to other provincial towns not reached because it provides the general picture of what ZNWL and other women organizations do in terms of interventions as they promote women participation in politics, public and private sectors. In the private sector, the researcher found it difficult to get responses from a number of corporations or companies despite being written to on time. Only a few responded and allowed the researcher to conduct

interviews. Some corporations openly told the researcher that they could not allow any interview because there hasn't been any memorandum of understanding with the University of Zambia.

3.13 Research ethics

Creswell (2009) argues that ethical issues need to be anticipated and dealt with by the researcher conducting the research process. It is therefore important to emphasize taking into considerations all ethical issues when a research is being conducted either with human or animal subjects. Researchers need to take the responsibility to secure the actual permission, interests and rights of people in the study including their privacy and sensitivity. All these ethics must be honored unless there are other special reasons of doing so.

The current study was conducted in accordance with the recommendation and approval of the research ethics committee at the University of Zambia (HSSREC). Permission to collect data was sought in writing from Zambia National Women's Lobby (ZNWL) and the Ministry of Gender and Child Development (MGCD) as well as political parties such as UPND, PF, MMD, FDD and other institutions that provided data. Full details of the research were also explained to all the participants and allowed them to ask questions where they needed clarification regarding the research. All participants provided verbal consent and were informed that participation was on voluntary basis. Furthermore, participants were informed of their right to decline to answer questions which they felt uncomfortable during data collection. Confidentiality was assured to participants after agreeing to participate and further informed them that the information provided was specifically for academic research. There was also an assurance that the recordings done during research would be destroyed when done with the research process. Anonymity was also assured by keeping their names undisclosed during and after the research (Field and Morse,1992). The principle of anonymity as pointed out by Trochim (2006) essentially means that the participants remain anonymous throughout the study. Anonymous standard is stronger guarantee of privacy and is very necessary and as such, withholding the identity of participants ensured their safety. Therefore, officials from institutions in this research were referred to by their titles and in some cases allocated codes. Individual women from political parties, public as well as private sectors were referred to as respondents and not by name.

Organization of the Dissertation

The dissertation consists of Seven chapters. Chapter one introduces the study and presents various sections that go with the introduction. Chapter Two presents the literature review. Chapter Three presents the methodology of the study. Chapter Four presents the historical perspective of women participation and the role of interest groups in Zambia. Chapter Five analyzes the interventions of Zambia National Women's Lobby (ZNWL) in promoting women participation in decision making in private and public sectors. Chapter Six analyzes the interventions of ZNWL in promoting women participation in Intra-Party competitions. Chapter Seven analyzes the interventions of ZNWL in enhancing capacities of adopted and elected female candidates in Inter-Party Elections and finally, Chapter Eight presents the conclusion and recommendations of the study.

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CHAPTER FOUR
HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE OF WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN POLITICAL PROCESSES AND THE ROLE OF INTEREST GROUPS IN ZAMBIA

4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides the historic perspective of how women have fared in terms of participating in decision making processes from the first to the third republic and role of interest groups in Zambia. This discussion is not only meant to discuss the roles played by interest groups in promoting women participation in decision making processes but other important issues as well such as corruption, elections, human rights, dispute or conflict resolution among others. This discussion provides the basis on which ZNWL's interventions in promoting women participation in Zambia's political processes can be understood in the subsequent chapters (chapter five, six, seven and eight). This chapter begins with a discussion on the marginalization or exclusion of women in decision making processes in the first, second and third republics of Zambia as well as the effort made by government in trying to address the said problem. Thereafter, the context of interest groups will also be discussed. This will cover what constitute interest groups and their categorization. Further, the role played by interest groups in Zambia will also be discussed and thereafter focus on Zambia National Women's Lobby as the subject of interest in this study. The last but not the least, a conclusion will be drawn based on the discussion.

4.2 Representation of women in decision making processes in Zambia's first and second republic under UNIP administration

The marginalization of women in politics and lack of explicit national policy to foster women participation in decision making processes, galvanized them into action to address the problem by forming women's organizations. However, women's organizations have had limited successes in the promotion of gender equality in the political arena (Gordon, 1992). This has been the case in the entire United Independence Party (UNIP)'s rule in both the first and second republic. The first republic under UNIP covered the period between 1964 and 1972 when multi-party system was embraced immediately after gaining independence. During this period no woman ascended to decision making position and this was attributed to a number of policies that did not provide such opportunities for women. The second republic covered the period between 1973 and 1990 when UNIP made a paradigm shift from multi-party system to one party participatory system. The same trend in terms of policies that hindered women from ascending to decision making positions continued even in the second republic. In 1975 the male

leadership of UNIP created the women's league primarily to mobilize and politically educate women to support male politicians without challenging their dominance in decision making structures of the party and government. In an attempt to promote women participation in politics, the women's league made a proposal of establishing a Ministry of Women Affairs. The proposal was rejected by the Cabinet then because it was seen as a way of bringing women closer to the reigns of authority which the male dominated Cabinet was against. Instead, the Cabinet formed a women's unit that was situated at the National Commission for Development Planning (NCDP) in 1984 (Munachonga, 1989).

In 1985, the women's league requested for the establishment of a special women commission to identify laws that discriminated against women on the basis of sex so that they could demand for 50/50 representation in Parliament as well as the Central Committee. This request from the league was received with mixed feelings and was rejected by the party leadership. In 1986, only two of the five ad-hoc Committees of the Women's Affairs Committee of the Central Committee were headed by women (Geisler, 1987). The low numbers of women elected and appointed to positions of authority continued in Parliament, Cabinet and Civil Service. For instance, during the entire rule of UNIP from 1964 to 1991 women parliamentarian were represented as shown in table 4.1 below.

Table 4.1 showing the distribution of Members of Parliament (MPs) by gender from 1964 to 1991

Year	Female MPs	Percentage	Male MPs	Percentage	Total Seats
1964-1968	5	6.7	70	93.3	75
1968-1972	2	1.9	103	98.1	105
1973-1978	7	5.6	118	94.4	125
1978-1983	6	4.8	119	95.2	125
1983-1988	4	3.2	121	96.8	125
1988-1991	6	4.8	119	95.2	125

NB: The statistics does not include nominated members of parliament but elected ones only.

Source: GRZ,1991

In 1964 only 5 women representing 6.67 percent were elected compared to 70 male MPs representing 93.3 percent. In 1968, 2 women MPs representing 1.9 percent were elected compared to 103 male MPs representing 98.1 percent. In 1973, 7 female MPs representing 5.6 percent were elected compared to 118 male MPs representing 94.4 percent. In 1978, 6 female MPs representing 4.8 percent made it to Parliament compared to 119 male MPs representing 95.2 percent. In 1983, 4 female MPs also made it to Parliament representing 3.2 percent compared to 121 male MPs representing 96.8 percent and in 1988 only 6 female MPs were elected representing 4.8 percent compared to 119 male MPs representing 95.2 percent (Ferguson and Ludwig, 1995).

Furthermore, in 1988 the UNIP government appointed 5 female Members of the Central Committee compared to 63 males that were appointed in the same positions and only 2 Cabinet Ministers compared to 16 males that were appointed. During the same period, Dr. Kenneth Kaunda as president appointed 3 female Permanent Secretaries compared to 31 males that were appointed to take up the same positions. From the total number of Ministers of State only 1 woman was appointed and the remaining 20 positions were given to men (GRZ, 1994).

4.3 Representation of women in decision making processes in Zambia's third republic under MMD and PF administration

The third republic covers the period between 1991 to date when Zambia's political system changed from one party participatory political system to multi-party system. In the third republic, women made up 5 percent of all elected MPs after the 1991 elections. This means that, political liberalization following the 1991 general elections did not provide any solution to womens' under representation in Parliament, Cabinet and Local Government because the same trend continued. President Chiluba like his predecessor never utilized his power of nomination to increase the number of women to National Assembly as he only nominated one female Member of Parliament. The representation of women in Parliament in Zambia's third republic is shown in table 4.2 below.

Table 4.2 showing the distribution of Members of Parliament (MPs) by gender from 1991 to 2021

Year	Female MPs	Percentage	Male MPs	Percentage	Total seats
1991-1996	6	4.8	119	95.2	125
1996-2001	16	10.6	134	89.4	150
2001-2006	19	12.6	131	87.4	150
2006-2011	22	14.6	128	85.4	150
2011-2016	26	16.7	130	93.3	156
2016-2021	30	19.2	126	90.8	156

NB: The statistics does not include nominated Members of Parliament (MPs) but elected ones.

Source: GRZ, 2016.

In 1991, 6 female MPs were elected representing 4.8 percent compared to 119 male MPs representing 95.2 percent. In 1996, 16 female MPs were elected representing 10.6 percent compared to 134 male MPs representing 89.4 percent. In 2001, 19 female MPs were elected representing 12.6 percent compared to 131 male MPs representing 87.4 percent. In 2006, 22 female MPs representing 14.6 percent were elected compared to 128 male MPs representing 85.4 percent. In 2011, 26 female MPs representing 16.7 percent were elected compared to 130 male MPs representing 93.3 percent and in 2016, 30 female MPs representing 19.2 percent were elected compared to 126 male MPs representing 90.8 percent (GRZ, 2016).

After 1991 elections, President Chiluba did not appoint any woman to the position of Cabinet Minister but only appointed 4 women Deputy Ministers. Due to pressure from women's organizations, president Chiluba was forced to conduct a Cabinet reshuffle in 1993 where three female Deputy Ministers were elevated to full Cabinet Ministers from the total of 23 leaving only 1 Deputy Minister from the total of 32. Additionally, President Chiluba appointed 5 women to positions of Permanent Secretary (NGOCC, 1995). In 2006, President Mwanawasa under MMD in his new deal administration maintained the appointment of 5 female Cabinet Ministers from the total of 21 and after his death his successor President Banda appointed 4

female Cabinet Ministers. The PF administration under Sata appointed 2 female Cabinet Ministers in 2011 from the total of 17. In 2012, President Sata increased the number of Cabinet Ministers to 20 and increased the number of female Cabinet Ministers to 4 up to 2014 when he died. After the 2015 presidential by-election, president Lungu became the president and maintained the number of female Cabinet Ministers to 4 and later increased it to 6 when he was re-elected as president in 2016 after a general election.

Table 4.3 showing the distribution of Cabinet Ministers by gender from 2011 to 2016.

Year	Female	Percent	Male	Percent	Total
2011	2	12	15	88	17
2012	4	20	16	80	20
2013	4	20	16	80	20
2014	4	20	16	80	20
2015	4	21	15	79	19
2016	6	25	19	75	24

Source: National Assembly, 2015.

The representation of women in 2018 in public and political administration has continued to be very low. This scenario has persisted despite a number of stake holders including the government staging a fight against women exclusion in decision making processes at all levels of national development. The table below shows the representation of women and men in public and political administration.

Table 4.4 showing representation of women and men in public and political administration

Decision making position	Female	Percentage	Male	Percentage	Total position holders
President	Nil	Nil	1	100	1
Vice president	1	100	Nil	Nil	1
Cabinet ministers	8	28	21	72	29
Permanent secretaries	13	25	40	75	53
Provincial ministers	Nil	Nil	10	100	10
Directors- line ministries	58	30	133	70	191
Heads of department	383	28	999	72	1382

Source: PSMD,2018

The table above clearly shows that the problem of women exclusion in public and political administration is still a serious problem which requires consented effort from all stake holders. The breakdown of statics is shown as follows: out of the total number of 29 Ministers only 8 representing 28 percent are females while 21 representing 72 percent are males. Coming to Permanent Secretaries, out the total of 53 Permanent Secretaries 13 representing 25 percent are female and 40 representing 75 percent are males. While from the total of 10 Provincial Ministers none is female and out the total of 191 directors in line Ministries 58 representing 30 percent are females whereas 133 representing 70 percent are males. Further, out of the total of 1382 heads of department only 383 representing 28 percent are females and 999 representing 72 percent are males (PSMD, 2018).

The Local Government at all levels of leadership positions is also not spared from women under representation. The table below shows how women have continued to face marginalization in the midst of men.

Table 4.5 Showing the representation of women and men at Local Government level

Position	Number of Females	Percentage	Number of Males	Percentage	Total Position Holders
Councilors	216	8	1,516	92	1,642
Mayors	2	12	15	88	17
Deputy mayors/Council Chairpersons	16	14	111	86	117
Town clerks	4	20	16	80	20
Council Secretaries	18	19	78	81	96

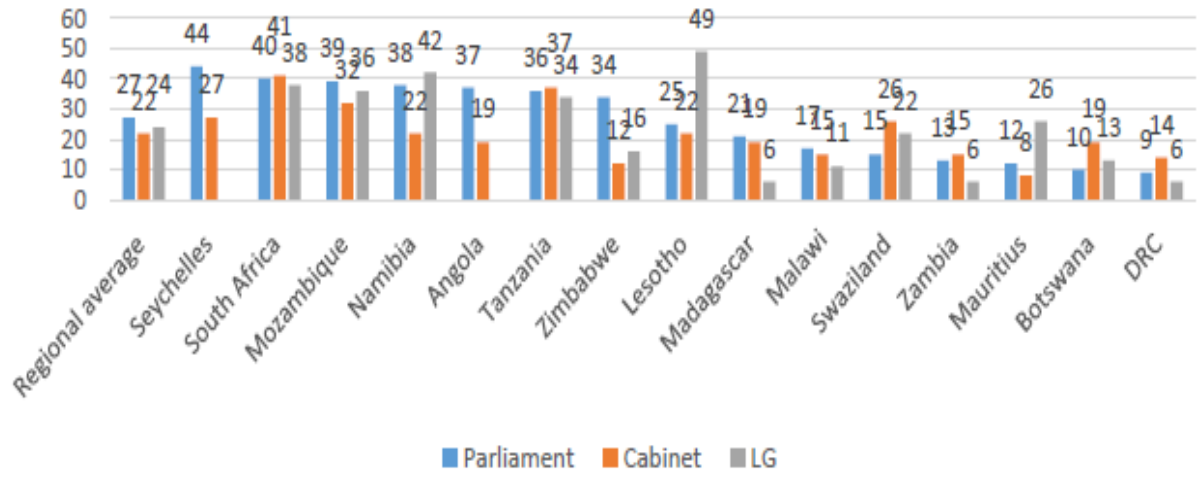
Source: ZNWL, 2018

Table 4.5 above clearly shows how men have dominated the leadership positions in Local Government at the expense of women. Out of the total of 1,642 positions of Councilors, females only accounted for 126 representing 8 percent while men accounted for 1,516 representing 92 percent of the positions. There are only 2 female Mayors out of 17 positions representing 12 percent compared to 15 men holding the same positions representing 88 percent. Furthermore, women hold 7 positions which represents 7 percent at Council Chairperson levels compared to 93 positions translating 93 percent of the positions held by men. Out of 117 positions at Deputy Mayor/Council Chairperson level, women only hold 16 which represents 14 percent of the positions compared to 111 translating 86 percent positions held by men. Only 4 out of a total of 20 Town Clerks are women representing 20 percent of Town clerks while 16 of the positions representing 80 percent are held by men. Additionally, women only hold 18 positions translating 19 percent of the positions of Council Secretaries while men hold 78 positions representing 81 percent of the positions (ZNWL, 2018). This situation is far below 50 percent women representation being pronounced by international bodies such as SADC, AU and the UN. The adoption of the quota system is the most appropriate remedy that could help women reach the 50 percent representation because women will be assured of occupying positions reserved for them (Gender Status Report, 2014).

The figure below shows the performance of Countries in the SADC region in the area of promoting women's ascendance to elective positions. The 2015 SADC Gender Protocol

Barometer as shown in figure 4.1 below clearly shows that, Zambia is at the lowest end in the SADC region when it comes to women participating in politics.

Figure 4.1 showing the representation of women Parliament, Cabinet and Local Government in SADC region



Source: Southern Africa Gender Barometer 2015

This sector depicts one of Zambia's glaring gender inequalities in leadership and decision making. Zambia is ranked as low as number 12 out of 15 countries surveyed among the Southern African Development Community (SADC) member Countries. Most of the Countries that are doing fine in the area of promoting women participation in politics have adopted the quota system. The quota system is helping a lot of women to ascend to elective positions in Local Government, Parliament and appointments to Cabinet. The illustration further confirms that the quota system is the most appropriate way to go if more women were to take part in decision making processes at all levels of national development (SADC, 2015). This revelation is in agreement with Bauer (2009) who states that, in Countries where the gender-based electoral quota system was used, women occupied 25 to 50 percent seats in Parliament and gave an example of Rwanda, South Africa, Burundi etc. The author further stated that in Countries like Zambia where the gender-electoral quota system is not used, women's representation in Parliament is below the recommended world average.

According to the Common Wealth Secretariat (2015a), the female executive leadership in the private sector in Zambia stands at 17 percent while that of their male counter parts stands at 83 percent. The similar situation applies to the female board members where they stand at 23

percent while their male counter parts stands at 77 percent. This was also supported by the UNDP which conducted a study in 2017 and found that the Gender Inequality Index (GII) value for Zambia is 0.517. This finding placed the Country on number 125 out of 160 Countries. The marginalization of women does not only affect the civil service and the political arena but the private sector as well. Hence the need to fight the scourge by all stake holders. It is from this back ground that the government of the republic of Zambia and interest groups among them Zambia National Women's lobby came on the scenes to fight the marginalization or exclusion of women in the political arena, public as well as the private sectors.

4.4 Efforts made by government in promoting women participation in decision making processes over time

In the early 1980s, the Government of the republic of Zambia realized that the participation of women in national development was very cardinal. This realization prompted Government to start fighting the exclusion or marginalization of women in national development through the establishment of gender institutions such as the Gender in Development Division (GIDD). The GIDD began as a women's desk prior to 1984 and later became a unit in the Secretarial Planning Development at the former National Commissioner for Development Planning (NCDP). The unit was later transformed into a section with the department and consequently raised into Women in Development Department (WIDD) in 1991. The WIDD was given the status of national women's machinery to uplift the status of women in Zambia (GRZ, 2000). Later in 1996 through the Cabinet Office circular No.6, the WIDD was upgraded to Gender in Development Division (GIDD) and was positioned at Cabinet Office under the office of the president. The main objective of the GIDD was to coordinate, monitor, as well as to evaluate the implementation of gender policies and programmes to ensure gender responsiveness. In a further attempt to promote women participation in decision making process, the government of the republic of Zambia through the GIDD formulated and later adopted the National Gender Policy (NGP) on 6th March, 2000. The overall goal of the policy is to facilitate the effective and equitable participation of both men and women in national development. The adoption of the National Gender Policy was followed by the introduction of the Gender Action Plan of 2004 all aimed at improving women participation in decision making processes. It was also involved in facilitating research and resource mobilization for the implementation of gender and development programmes (GRZ, 2000a).

In the process of implementing its mandate, the GIDD became over whelmed with gender issues and was seen as if it was not doing much to address the problem of women exclusion in

decision making processes. This prompted women organizations and other political actors to start advocating for the establishment of the Ministry of Gender and Child Development (MGCD). Among the women organizations that advocated for the formation of the Ministry of Gender and Child Development is Zambia National Women's Lobby (ZNWL). They argued that, if women were to enjoy their right to participate in the formulation of public and private policy, there was need for them to have access to positions of power and decision making. This was supported by Kalinda and Chikwanda (2015) who argued that women have been in the periphery when it comes to influencing policy in the country. Particularly in decision making positions in both the public and private sector, hence the need for all stakeholders to come on board and advocate for women ascending to key decision making positions. According to the advocates, this could only be achieved if the government established the Ministry to specifically deal with issues affecting women as they endeavor to participate in decision making processes (GRZ, 2000b).

The Ministry of Gender and Child Development (MGCD) was established through a presidential directive on 12th March, 2012 after pressure from stakeholders and women organizations. This came into being after the Government of the republic of Zambia merged the Gender in Development Division (GIDD) and the Child Development Division which came from the Ministry of Community Development and Social Welfare (Auditor General Report,2012). In an effort to consolidate its mandate, the Ministry of Gender and Child development (MGCD) revised the National Gender Policy of 2000. The revision process gave birth to the revised National Gender Policy of 2014 which took into account emerging gender issues. The main objective of the revised gender policy is to ensure that gender is mainstreamed throughout Government operations as well as the private sector. It also sets prompt areas of action at National, Provincial and District levels in terms of planning, resource allocation and implementation of development programmes to promote gender equity and equality. Later in 2015, the Government of the republic of Zambia through the Ministry of Gender and Child Development enacted the Gender Equity and Equality Act of 2015 (GRZ, 2014: GRZ, 2015).

The Ministry of Gender and Child Development was established to meet specific objectives in line with the advancement of women and strengthening their capacity to influence decision making at highest levels on matters pertaining to gender equity and equality. The specific objectives are attained as the Ministry undertakes its functions of coordinating and monitoring the implementation of the National Gender Policy of 2000 as well as its revised version of 2014 and the Gender Equity and Equality Act of 2015. The Ministry of Gender and Child

Development sets the standards in terms of programming and there after begin to monitor the implementation of such programmes. All the programmes are implemented in conjunction with stakeholders through training, advocacy and capacity building. The effort from the Ministry of Gender and Child Development helps women to develop confidence to participate in decision making processes (interview with the Coordinator Gender Affairs Ministry of Gender and Child Development on 11th June, 2019).

According to the coordinator gender affairs Ministry of Gender and Child Development (MGCD), lack of women participation in decision making processes is a very serious problem. She argued that, if women fail to participate in decision making processes it means that men will always pass decisions on their behalf. It is a known fact that, men do not understand the problems women are going through and if allowed to hijack the decision making process, they are likely to come up with policies that disadvantages women. In trying to address the problem of women exclusion or marginalization in decision making processes, the Ministry works with key stake holders among them Zambia National Women's Lobby (ZNWL). These organizations take the leading role while the Ministry sets the standard and monitors the implementation part of gender policies and laws that support women participation in decision making. When stake holders need technical support or help, the Ministry provides staff to help them implement their programmes effectively. Apart from working with women organizations as part of stake holders, the Ministry also works with gender focal persons in Government Ministries and private Institutions. The Ministry enjoys cordial relationship with all the stake holders involved in the fight against gender inequality as it can be attested through interactions that exists between the parties.

In the quest to strengthening this relationship, the Ministry organizes meetings with stake holders when need arises to discuss issues that affect women. On issues of policy, the Ministry takes a multi-sectoral approach where stake holders among them Zambia National Women's Lobby are invited to add their voice on specific issues under deliberation especially those bordering on women exclusion. Thereafter, it uses their inputs to come up with policies that would provide solutions to the problem of women exclusion in decision making processes. However, the gender focal point persons in government Ministries and private Institutions have proved to be inactive in that they take too long to submit reports to the Ministry regarding their gender activities. This makes it difficult for the Ministry to monitor gender activities taking place in government and private sector. The situation is made worse when the gender focal point person is transferred to another place or Ministry without any replacement because it

takes long for the institutions to make such replacements (interview with the Coordinator Gender Affairs in the Ministry of Gender and Child Development on 19th June, 2019). If the role played by ZNWL in promoting women participation in political processes is to be understood, it is important to understand the context and the role of interest groups in Zambia.

4.5 Interest groups in political systems

Throughout history, human beings have had a strong tradition of voluntarily banding together for the purpose of enforcing their rights, supporting a particular cause or even for economic gain. This act of solidarity to achieve a shared goal has occurred in all types of political systems in form of interest groups. Interest groups are associations of individuals or organizations usually organized on the basis of one or more shared concerns in an attempt to influence both public and private policy in their favour or the people they represent. Their goal could be a policy that exclusively benefits group members or one segment of society such as fighting for women's rights, government subsidies for farmers etc. Interest groups could also push for a policy that advances a broader public purpose such as improving air quality, fighting climate change etc. They attempt to achieve their goals by lobbying as a way of mounting pressure on policy makers to formulate policies that could favour their members and the people they represent in society (Thomas, 2004).

Delbashzade, et al (2015) argues that Interest groups whether in a democratic or authoritarian political systems provide power and expertise to make Governments more receptive to their citizens. They mobilize citizens into larger groups led by professional representatives who have the knowledge to transverse structures of government and private institutions more effectively than a single person could do. They engage Government through the legislature by providing policy makers with information that is essential to making laws. They also engage other stakeholders in the area of providing education to the members so that they develop the confidence and interest to participate in decision making processes. Sometimes they actively recruit candidates for public office with the hope that, once elected these individuals will support their cause. In some democracies, interest groups happen to be a source of financial support for election campaigns. Interest groups are categorized based on their activities and purpose.

Interest groups are classified into four (04) categories namely: institutional, anomic, non-associational and associational interest groups. Institutional interest groups are closely associated with various institutions such as legislatures, bureaucracies, churches, corporations

and even armed forces. They are very active in the bureaucracy because that's where decisions are made. They form part of the highly organized structure but this structure is created for purposes other than they are supposed to articulate. Anomic interest groups are more or less spontaneous penetrations into socio-economic and political processes in society and they are not formerly organized. These groups often appear when normal means of expressing dissatisfaction prove ineffective and usually violent. Non-associational interest groups are based on factors like kinship, ethnicity, status and religion. These groups are not formerly organized and their articulation of interests is informal and irregular. Associational interest groups are associated with formerly organized institutions. They articulate interests of specific groups or segments of people in society. This is the category where all associations including professional ones and cause groups belong. (Almond, 1958). Interest groups play very important roles when it comes to helping marginalized groups or individuals in society.

4.5.1 The Role of interest groups in Zambia

In Zambia, interest groups have shown the potential to contribute considerably to human, socio-economic and political development. Most of the interest groups that are in existence today were established in the early 1990s following the introduction of multi-party politics in Zambia. The composition of interest groups in Zambia includes the following; Faith based organizations, Trade unions, Women organizations, Student or youth organizations, Professional organizations, Business organizations and Associations (Mutesa, 2006).

Interest groups in Zambia are well organized and most of them are affiliated members of federations and umbrella groups or support networks. The most prominent umbrella organizations include the following; The Civil Society for Poverty Reduction (CSPR) whose member organizations provide input and participate in poverty reduction interventions. Non-Governmental Organizations Coordinating Committee (NGOCC) and Women for Change (WfC) whose member organizations promote gender equality and advance women's issues in development. The Children in Need Net-work (CHIN) whose member organizations promotes children's affairs. The Zambia Land Alliance which happen to be a network organized to promote access and control of land resources to marginalized and disadvantaged groups in society. The Zambia National AIDS Network (ZNAN) and the Churches Association of Zambia (CHAZ) whose member organizations collaborate and coordinate HIV/AIDS and other health related activities. The Zambia National Education Coalition (ZANEC) whose member organizations promote issues to do with education. The Zambia Civic Education Association (ZCEA) promotes civic education in the country (Mumba and Mumba, 2010).

The roles of interest groups in Zambia are many and among them include; The fight against corruption. Corruption is viewed as one of the major factors that grade good governance and Transparency International Zambia (TIZ) is the organization that has exclusive focus on corruption in Zambia. The good governance programme in its second phase that is from 2009 to 2012 provided interest groups with the platform to participate in the fight against corruption. The main focus of this programme was to provide checks and balances in the public domain meant to promote good governance as well as to fight corruption in the electoral process. Interest groups listed below participated in this programme of good governance. Ant-voter Apathy Project (AVAP), Civil Society for Poverty Reduction (CSPR), Caritas Zambia, Foundation for Democratic Process (FODEP) and the Jesuit Centre for Theoretical Reflection (JCTR) (Mzyece, 2010).

Interest groups play an important role when it comes to elections as well. Elections are important in democratic systems and to ensure that they are held in a democratic manner, individuals as well as organizations need to monitor the practice of elections. It is for this reason that eight (08) interest groups in 2011 formed a coalition whose many objective was to encourage pro-active citizen participation against electoral malpractices such as election related corruption, bribery and vote buying. This was also meant to enhance popular participation, voter education and dispute resolutions arising from the practice of elections. Further, interest groups play the role of monitoring elections by ensuring integrity in the political process through the protection of individual rights in making choices and to freely express them. This coalition comprised of the following interest groups; Ant-voter Apathy(AVAP), Caritas Zambia, Foundation for Democratic Process (FODEP), Operational Young Vote (OPV), Southern African Centre for Constructive Resolution of Disputes (SACCORD), Transparency International Zambia (TIZ), Young Women in Action (YWA) and Zambia National Women's Lobby (ZNWL) (Civil Society election coalition report, 2011).

Apart from making coalitions, interest groups engage in a number of activities in communities as individual organizations. For instance, the Southern Centre for Constructive Resolution of Disputes (SACCORD) is the main organization that is involved in conflict resolution. SACCORD is involved in promoting dialogue, conflict management, generating and facilitating the dissemination of information on peace building as well as raising awareness among the people in Zambia regarding the danger of indulging themselves in conflicts. Further, it is involved in advocating for political culture that embraces tolerance and peace, promoting the construction of peace constituencies that contribute towards maintaining and sustaining

peace in Zambia. The organization also works with the media in playing the vital role in conflict management by increasing dialogue forums through the media information sharing with other partners (SACCORD, 2010). Ant-Voter Apathy Project (AVAP) among others, is another organization that is involved in dispute resolution. It focuses on prevention as well as mediation when conflicts arise among political opponents and takes a neutral position to bring harmony and peace (Mzyece, 2010a).

Additionally, interest groups play a role of promoting human rights in Zambia. Despite the introduction of multi-party system in 1991, the rule of law with regards to human rights is still a serious problem. In trying to fight for human rights in Zambia, interest groups conduct a lot of activities such as civic education. For example, the Zambia Civic Education Association conducts community civic education to help citizens especially those that are at a high risk of having their rights violated. They also engage in public awareness campaigns that aim at sensitizing people in society about their rights (Momba, 2004).

Interest groups in Zambia also play a significant role in promoting women's rights. Women organizations such as Women for Change (WfC), Young Women in Action (YWA), Zambia National Women's Lobby (ZNWL) and Non-Governmental Coordinating Committee (NGOCC) have been actively involved in promoting women's interests. Their main focus is to reduce poverty levels among women, curb gender based violence, reduce HIV/AIDS infections among women and to increase women participation in decision making. Young Women in Action for instance, aims at empowering young women through encouraging them to contribute positively to women's movement and national development. It creates an enabling environment in which young women in Zambia contributes towards their own empowerment and development process through leadership development, gender advocacy, networking and capacity building (Mwale, 2012). On the other hand, Zambia National Women's Lobby aims to promote the representation and participation of women at all levels of national development through advocacy, lobbying and capacity building of women as a way to enabling them influence decisions on developmental issues. Women for change as an organization is involved in promoting increased participation of women and youth in leadership and decision making at house hold, community and national levels meant to eradicate all forms of poverty affecting young women and youths in communities. Non-Governmental Organizations Coordinating Committee advocates for issues that affects women and girls in Zambia because of the vulnerability levels of women in the country. The organization works with government through making submissions to parliament on various policies and legislature that affects women and

girls in Zambia (Mwale, 2012a). For the purpose of this study, Zambia National Women's Lobby as the subject of focus is singled out from other women organizations (interest groups) that exist in Zambia with a view to understanding how it was established, its membership and what it does in terms of interventions in promoting women participation in Zambia's socio-economic and political processes.

4.6 Zambia National Women's Lobby as the subject of focus

Zambia National Women's Lobby (ZNWL) is a non-partisan, non-profit making and membership driven non-governmental organization (NGO) committed to equal representation as well as participation of women in decision making at all levels. This organization was founded in 1991 with the core responsibility of addressing the continued exclusion of women from decision making processes leading to gender imbalances biased against women in government departments, political arena and the private sector. The organization also promotes women participation in decision making at all levels of national development through advocacy, lobbying and capacity building. Through such interventions, women are prepared to influence policy formulation and consequently encouraging more of them to participate effectively in decision making processes (ZNWL, 2003).

In terms of membership, ZNWL has over 5000 registered members Country wide who are 18 years and above. Ninety-five percent (95%) of the members are female while five percent (5%) are male. This organization is headed by a 16-member national board consisting of six (06) executive board members and one representative from each Province making a total of 10 Provincial board members. The national board is elected at the general assembly every after four years. The national office which is the secretariat is run by the executive director, the programmes officer, finance and administrative staff as well as support staff. Initially the organization was ear marked to have only women staff being a women organization but men are also included. The secretariat has the establishment of 18 staff of which 03 are in management. Out of the 03 members of staff in management, 02 are females and 01 is male. In an effort to extend its membership, ZNWL introduced chapters in all the 10 provinces called regional and district chapters. This initiative is aimed at providing an opportunity for women in rural communities to take part in activities being spearheaded by ZNWL. These chapters are headed by Provincial and District Executive Committees where membership is open to all women as well as men. The men network also happens to be the members of these Provincial and District Chapters (ZNWL, 2003a).

4.7 Conclusion

This chapter concludes that, the marginalization or exclusion of women in decision making processes has not started in the third republic instead it has been in existence in the first and second republic as well. Barriers that hinders women participation include cultural practices, gender stereotype, lack of economic power, institutional barriers, disproportionate access to quality education, restrictive laws, men's resistance to accept women in decision making positions and time factor. The seriousness of the problem, prompted the government of the republic of Zambia to set up gender institutions such as the GIDD, WIDD and the MGCD to fight women exclusion at all levels of national development. In the same vain, the Government adopted the National Gender Policy of 2000 which was later revised in 2014 by the Ministry of Gender and Child Development (MGCD). The gender equity and equality Act of 2015 was also enacted for the same purpose. Interest groups including ZNWL also came on board to compliment government effort in the fight against women exclusion in decision making processes at all levels of national development through their interventions.

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CHAPTER FIVE

ZNWL'S INTERVENTIONS IN PROMOTING WOMEN PARTICIPATION IN DECISION MAKING IN PRIVATE AND PUBLIC SECTOR

5.1 Introduction

This chapter sort to investigate ZNWL's interventions in promoting women participation in decision making. It has been noted that, the inclusion of women in decision making at all levels contributes greatly to the enhancement of National Development. This is the reason why Government and other stake holders including interest groups have come on board through various interventions to fight for women inclusion in decision making processes. To understand such interventions, this chapter focuses on ZNWL's interventions in promoting women participation in decision making in both public and private sectors. In the quest to upholding anonymity on the part of the respondents/informants, codes have been provided as follows; ZNWL-IF 1 for National Board Chairperson, ZNWL-IF 2 for the Information Officer at ZNWL Secretariat, ZNWL-IF 3 for the Programmes Officer at ZNWL Secretariat and ZNWL-RP 4 for the Chairperson North Western Chapter. ZNWL stands for Zambia National Women Lobby while IF stands for Informant. Five sections have been outlined to tackle this subject of which the first section is the introduction. The second section will look at ZNWL's interventions in promoting women participation in decision making processes in the public sector. The third section will be looking at ZNWL's interventions in promoting women participation in decision making processes in the private sector. The fourth section will cover challenges encountered by ZNWL in administering the said interventions. Thereafter, a conclusion will be passed based on the discussion.

5.2 ZNWL's interventions in promoting women participation in decision making processes in the public sector

According to 2019 Central Statistics population estimates, the Zambian population is estimated to be 17.86 million where the population of females stands at 9.02 million representing 51 percent while that of males stands at 8.84 million representing 49 percent. However, H.M Consultancy (2005a) argues that despite women comprising 51 percent of the population, representation in decision making processes is still a serious challenge. This exclusion creates a serious problem on the part of women because they have no say or representation when policies are being formulated. To address this anomaly, more women should be allowed to take part in decision making process so that they could suggest solutions to challenges affecting them. According to ZNWL-RP 2, the incorporation of women in decision making processes in

the public sector, would help them influence policy formulation that will in turn provide solutions to their problems. Once women take part in decision making processes, they will be able to fight for their share from public resources and be able to address their challenges in the community. For instance, issues of water and sanitation at local government level directly affects women in society. Therefore, matters that affect women in society can only be solved effectively if women themselves are involved at the planning level. Hence ZNWL coming on board to help women participate in decision making processes through its interventions which will be discussed in details here under (interview with ZNWL-IF 2 on 13th May, 2019).

5.2.1 Gender Audits

ZNWL conducts gender audits every after four years and later published for the purpose of alerting those in authority about the level of women exclusion in decision making processes. This idea began in 2011 and the first Gender Audit conducted by the organization covered the period between 2011 and 2014. The second one covered the period between 2015 and 2018. The findings of the first and second Gender Audits are similar because nothing has changed. All the two Gender Audits conducted so far highlights three key revelations. Firstly, although progress has taken place in terms of increasing the number of women in decision making in certain sectors, this change is painfully slow and not translating into significant changes in terms of gender balance and equity. Secondly, men have continued to dominate the development and governance spheres of the Country. This is contrary to the Country's quest of leaving no one behind. The third key revelation is the failure to close the existing gender gaps in leadership and decision making which is detrimental to democratic governance. Gender Audits help ZNWL with information on which to base their arguments as they lobby for women inclusion in decision making from those in authority. The specific cases where ZNWL has lobbied for women inclusion in decision making positions using gender audits' findings are shown in the next paragraph which explains activities of lobbying (interview with ZNWL-IF 3 on 20th September, 2019).

5.2.2 Lobbying

ZNWL uses lobbying as one of the strategies or interventions to fostering women inclusion in decision making processes in the public sector. The organization engages the top leadership either in writing or face to face by way of lobbying for the formulation and implementation of policies within institutions which favours women participation in decision making processes. According ZNWL-RP 1, in its lobbying activities the organization targets the top leadership in the public sector urging them to create an enabling environment for women to ascend to

decision making positions and eventually participate in decision making processes. The leaders being engaged among them include the Vice President, Ministers, Secretary to the Cabinet to mention a few. Whenever there was a new appointment to the office of the Secretary to the Cabinet, ZNWL has always been engaging the newly appointed Secretary to the Cabinet on gender matters when need arises since 1991. This was done to enlighten the newly appointed office bearer on the problem of women exclusion in decision making processes in the public sector. Such engagements always culminated into lobbying for women inclusion in decision making processes. The Secretary to the Cabinet has always been the target because the office has always been in charge of gender matters through the GIDD up to 2012 when the Ministry of Gender and Child Development was established. Individual Secretaries to the Cabinet that were engaged in lobbying activities for women inclusion in decision making processes since 1991 include the following; Andric Adamson and Lezily Mbula who served between 1991 and 2001 under President Chiluba's administration, Joshua Kanganja and Evans Chibiliti who served between 2001 and 2008 under president Mwanawasa's administration as well as Roland Msiska who served between 2011 and 2019 under President Sata/Lungu's administration. Such engagements have contributed to an increase in the number of women ascending to decision making positions in the public sector though at a very slow pace (interview with ZNWL-IF 1 on 19th June, 2019).

ZNWL-IF 1 further stated that, when gender matters were transferred to the Ministry of Gender and Child Development, ZNWL also extended its lobbying activities to newly appointed Ministers in the Ministry and also when need arises during their term of office. According to ZNWL-IF 1, whenever the new Minister of Gender was appointed ZNWL engaged the said Ministers on a number of issues that hinder women participation in decision making processes. Among the issues the Ministers of Gender are engaged on include the following; lack of support from male counter parts, accusation of women indulging themselves in sexual activities to gain favours from the appointing authority, enforcement of laws that support women participation in decision making processes, consideration of women in education programmes through scholarships and lack of acceptance by men to be led by women. All this effort is meant to lobby for the Ministry of Gender's interventions to addressing such challenges so that women are helped to ascend to decision making processes. The Ministers engaged by ZNWL during lobbying activities since the Ministry was established in 2012 include the following; Inonge Mutukwa Wina who served between 2012 and 2015 under President Sata, Nkandu Luo who served between 2015 and 2016, Victoria Kalima who served between 2016 and 2018 all under

President Lungu's administration. Currently the Ministry is being headed by Elizabeth Phiri since 2018 after the demise of Victoria Kalima. Additionally, the engagements mentioned above also prompted the vice president Inonge Mutukwa Wina to be hosted on Millennium radio on 10th March, 2017 on a programme entitled women's launch. On this programme the Vice President stated that President Lungu exercises the open door policy for women to ascend to decision making positions and participate in decision making processes. Further, she encouraged women to work hard and fight for their rights because their progress will not come on the silver plate.

The organization also lobbies for women inclusion in all the educational programmes or scholarships that are being implemented in various institutions because education is regarded as the best equalizer at places of work. Institutions are also urged to fight the barriers which hinders women from ascending to decision making positions such as intimidation and name calling emanating from their male counter parts. Further, it urges those in leadership to be gender sensitive when making appointments to decision making positions in various institutions in the public sector. For instance, through its ongoing lobbying activities in the public sector in Solwezi, Mrs. Kamalonga was appointed District Commissioner for Solwezi District. Further, some female teachers in the Ministry of Education in Solwezi were also elevated to positions of head teacher after being excluded for a long time despite possessing the required qualifications (interview with ZNWL-IF 4 on 5th July, 2019).

5.2.3 Advocacy activities

The organization also uses advocacy as part of its interventions to promote women participation in decision making processes at all levels in the public sector. According to ZNWL-IF 1, the organization packages information in form of women's rights to participate in decision making, benefits associated with women participating in decision making and the existing legislation which support women participation in decision making processes such as National Gender Policy of 2000 as well as Gender Equity and Equality Act of 2015. Thereafter, both print and electronic media is used to disseminate the said information to women in the public sector as well as members of the community. For example, on 22nd July, 1991 women and the community at large were enlightened on existing legislation that support women participation in decision making. Further, on 13th April, 1992 ZNWL used the Times of Zambia to disseminate information to do with women's rights with regards to participating in decision making. Public discussions also help ZNWL to share gender information with women in the public sector. The organization has also been advocating for gender mainstreaming

mechanisms aimed at drafting, promoting and monitoring laws as well as policies to ensuring that gender equality issues are taken into account in national policies. Such mechanisms can be formal in form of a commission such as the Gender Commission waiting to be operational upon evocation of article 321 of the Zambian Constitution and can also be informal in form of a caucus such as the Zambia Women Parliamentarians Caucus comprising of female MPs in Parliament. For instance, ZNWL is currently advocating for the full operational of the Gender Commission which is provided for under article 321 of the Constitution. This is done through public gatherings where senior government officials are in attendance as well as holding meetings with the Ministry of Gender and Child Development. For example, an advocacy was done On 8th March, 2018 women's day where ZNWL-IF 1 appealed to the government to consider operationalizing the Gender Commission for the purpose of spear heading gender main streaming and this was carried live on ZNBC TV and radio. Further, ZNWL and other women organizations advocated for the establishment of the Zambia Women Parliamentarians Caucus (ZWPC). This led to the establishment of ZWPC following the SADC seminar held in Windhoek Namibia in 1997 under the theme "Practical Gender Equality from dialogue to action" and this comprise of all female Members of Parliament. This was established for the purpose of influencing the formulation and enactment of laws as well as policies meant to spearhead gender mainstreaming in Zambia (interview with ZNWL-IF 1 on 19th June, 2019).

Furthermore, ZNWL played a significant role by advocating that the Gender Office situated at Cabinet Office then was over whelmed with gender matters hence leading to high levels of women exclusion in decision making processes. This eventually led to the establishment of the Ministry of Gender and Child Development after the presidential directive on 12th March, 2012. This happened when ZNWL with other women organizations came together to influence government. Through advocacy, ZNWL facilitates an enabling environment for women to participate in decision making through engaging government, policy makers and some stake holders to implement laws, policies, treaties and conventions which promote the interest of women. For example, in an attempt to raising awareness regarding the Act and Constitution Amendment on gender, ZNWL held a sensitization workshop on Gender Equity and Equality Act number 22 of 2015 as well as the Constitutional Amendment Act number 2 of 2016 on 14th October, 2018 in Lusaka. During this workshop, women were enlightened on legal provisions in the Constitution which allows them to participate in decision making and further encouraged them to make themselves available because the Constitution provides for that. Furthermore, women were encouraged to exercise their gender rights fully and always endeavour to

participate in decision making processes. Such advocacy helps women to develop self-confidence when it comes to participating in decision making processes (interview with ZNWL-IF on 19th June, 2019).

5.2.4 Capacity Building programmes

Additionally, ZNWL provide knowledge to individual women through capacity building programmes meant to help them ascend to decision making positions and eventually participate in decision making processes. Through workshops, Individual women receive training in areas of leadership skills and also educated on their importance to participate in decision making processes. Such workshops help women to develop the confidence to compete with their male counter parts when it comes to ascending to decision making positions. Further, the same workshops create a platform through which the organization encourages women already in decision making positions to work extra hard if they are to maintain their positions and also support other women who are still struggling to find their way to decision making positions. Since its inception in the early 1990s ZNWL has been conducting workshops meant to capacity build women in the area of participation in decision making processes. For example, on 18th September,1991 ZNWL organized a workshop in Lusaka at Mulungushi Conference Centre where women were invited and enlightened on their importance to participate in decision making processes as well as laws that support women participation in decision making. This trend of having workshops also continued in the late 1990s where ZNWL conducted a work on 8th June, 1998 in Kitwe on the Copper belt targeting leaders in top management from various institutions in the public sector. This workshop educated leaders on women's rights with regards to participating in decision making processes and how to create an enabling environment for fellow women to ascend to decision making positions. ZNWL has also continued with the idea of conducting workshops in 2000 up to now. This assertion is supported by a workshop that was conducted by ZNWL in Livingstone on 30th May, 2018 meant to capacity build media personnel on how to cover women in leadership so that other women could be motivated upon seeing success attained by fellow women (interview with ZNWL-IF 2 on 13th May, 2019).

Information provided by officials from ZNWL show that the organization has been striving to help women participate in decision making processes in the public sector. This effort from ZNWL is in agreement with Anderson, 2010 who states that, interest groups are very important because they provide an opportunity through which marginalized groups in society such as women participate in decision making processes. This is true in that, ZNWL through its

interventions is helping women to develop confidence to compete with men for decision making positions in the public sector and thereafter take part in decision making processes. This was also echoed by one of the respondents from the public sector (public media) who confirmed having benefited from ZNWL's workshops meant to capacity build media personnel on how to cover matters of gender, womens' rights and legislation that supports women participation in decision making processes.

Gender Audits have not been working well because those in authority don't take the findings of the Audits seriously. Immediately after the launch, the copies of the Gender Audits begin to accumulate dust on shelves. This does not help in any way because the intended objective is not being met. This was confirmed by ZNWL-IF 3 who stated that Gender Audits being prepared by ZNWL should be taken seriously by those in authority regardless of the sector because they contain information that can contribute greatly in the fight against gender inequality in the public sector.

It is argued that women lack information of the existence of interest groups that help women to pursue their interests especially in the area of promoting women participation in decision making. Hence finding it difficult to access support as they endeavor to ascend to decision making positions and consequently take part in decision making processes. In the quest to finding out the level of understanding about the existence of interest groups in this case women organizations, women were interviewed with regards to what they know about the existence of ZNWL and its roles. Table 5.1 below shows how individual women (respondents) responded after the interview.

Table 5.1 showing women's responses regarding the knowledge of ZNWL and its role

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Knowledge of ZNWL and its role	44	88.0	88.0	88.0
	Lack of knowledge of ZNWL and its role	6	12.0	12.0	100.0
	Total	50	100.0	100.0	

Source: Primary data

In this study, Table 5.1 revealed that out of the sample of 50 women in decision making positions 44 women representing 88 percent managed to define ZNWL and its roles correctly meaning they really understood what the organization is all about. Only 06 women representing 12 percent showed some ignorance regarding the existence of ZNWL. Since the majority women understood what the organization was all about, it means that they were also better placed to explain their interactions with ZNWL on matters of gender support (Data from respondents in the public sector).

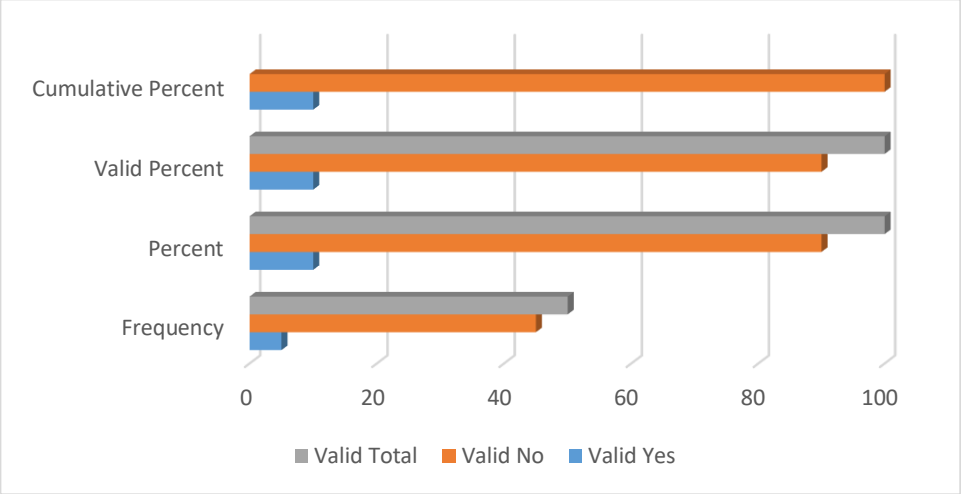
Among the respondents that confirmed having known ZNWL and its roles said, "*I know ZNWL as a women organization that helps women to fight for their rights in terms of participating in decision making and other matters associated with gender*." (13th July,2019).

On the other hand, one of the women that indicated to have had no idea regarding the existence of ZNWL said, "*For me, am not aware of such an organization and what it does in communities."* (3rd July, 2019).

Most of the women that were interviewed demonstrated that they had full knowledge of what ZNWL is and what is expected from the organization in terms its interventions. To show that respondents had knowledge of ZNWL and its roles, one of respondents defined it as a women organization that helps women to fight for their rights in terms of participating in decision making processes. This revelation from the respondents made sense on the part of the researcher to go ahead and ask the respondents regarding ZNWL's interventions as it promotes women participation in the public sector

ZNWL promotes women participation in the public sector through engaging the leaders of various institutions by way of lobbying for women inclusion in decision making positions and consequently take part in decision making processes. The organization also urges leaders of various institutions to be gender sensitive when making appointments to decision making positons in the public sector. This is meant to create an avenue through which women could be considered for participation in decision making processes. This in line with ZNWL (2003)'s assertion that it creates opportunities or avenues through which women participate in decision making processes. To confirm ZNWL's assertions, respondents were asked if at all ZNWL engages their leaders in various institutions on gender matters for the purpose of promoting women participation in decision making processes and responded as shown in Figure 5.1 below.

Figure 5.1 showing women's responses regarding ZNWL engaging their leaders on gender matters



Source: primary data

The study revealed that out of the sample of 50 women in decision making positions selected from the public sector and later asked if ZNWL engages their leaders on matters of women inclusion, 45 women representing 90 percent denied having seen or heard the organization engaging their leaders in various institutions. Only 5 women translating 10 percent acknowledged having seen ZNWL engaging their leaders on gender matters and these were mostly from the public media.

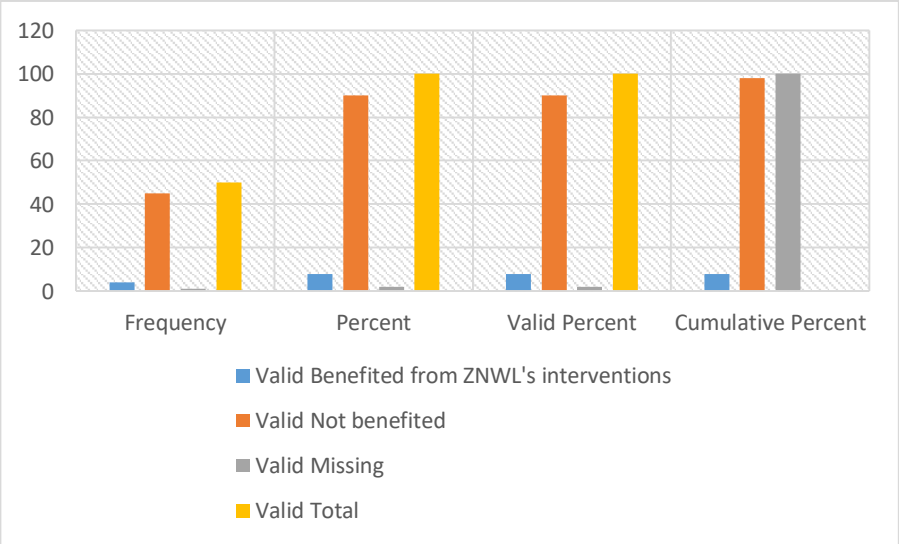
One of the respondents that denied ZNWL engaging their leaders from Provincial administration in Ndola said, "*There is no single day where I have seen or heard ZNWL discussing issues of gender, women's rights and lobbying for women inclusion in decision making. Thereafter such knowledge reaching individual women in various Government Departments within Provincial administration*." (18th July, 2019).

On the other hand, among the respondents mostly from the public media houses that confirmed having seen their leaders being engaged by ZNWL when seeking for coverage of its programmes as well as organizing workshops for media personnel said, "*For me, I have witnessed ZNWL engaging management in our institution for the purpose of organizing workshops meant to capacity build media personnel on how to cover matters of gender, women's rights and legislation that supports women participation in decision making processes. In the process I have also benefited from such important knowledge*." (14th May, 2019).

Evidence adduced shows that ZNWL's interventions with regards to engaging leaders of various institutions in the public sector on gender matters are limited. This in itself deprives women an opportunity to develop that confidence to ascend to decision making positons and consequently take part in decision making processes. This situation is contrary to Anderson, 2010 who stated that interest groups are very important because they provide an opportunity for marginalized groups in society such as women to participate in decision making processes. The reason being that ZNWL is not doing much to stand by its objective of promoting women participation in the public sector. This was confirmed by 45 women representing 90 percent being the majority on the part of respondents who among them is a respondent from Provincial Administration in Ndola. A respondent from Ndola hinted that, there is no single day where she saw or heard ZNWL discussing with leaders at Provincial level on issues of gender, women's rights and lobbying for women inclusion in decision making processes and consequently such information reaching individual women in various government departments in the Province.

Interest Groups especially women organizations play an important role when it comes to promoting women participation in decision making processes. ZNWL being one of the women organizations administers its interventions to women in form of capacity building, lobbying for women inclusion as well as raising awareness through advocacy about the importance of women participation in decision making processes. In trying to find out if women in the public sector benefit from ZNWL's interventions, they were asked if at all they have benefited from such interventions and responded as shown in figure 5.2 below.

Figure 5.2 showing women's response regarding their benefit from ZNWL's interventions



Analyzed data in Figure 5.2 above shows clearly that from the total sample of 50 women only 04 representing 8 percent confirmed having benefited from ZNWL's interventions. 45 women representing 90 percent confirmed having not benefited from such interventions and 01 woman representing 2 percent decided to remain silent by not stating her views.

Among the women that confirmed having benefited from ZNWL's interventions had this to say to justify their position.

One of the respondents from the public media said, "*I have received training through a workshop from ZNWL on how to cover women in decision making positions and also how to effectively disseminate gender information through the media. The interaction with ZNWL has really helped me to acquire knowledge on gender issues especially at individual level."* (14th May, 2019).

Another respondent from the Ministry of Local Government Headquarters said, *"ZNWL is actively involved in promoting women participation in decision making processes and I do remember having listened to their programmes on radio where they advocated for women inclusion in decision making positions. This really helped me to understand women's rights and the legislation that support women participation in decision making processes such as the National Gender Policy of 2000 as well as the Gender Equity and Equality Act of 2015. However, the organization need to do more to engage individual women in the public sector than relying on the media as the medium of communication.*" (16th May, 2019).

On the other hand, among the women that denied having benefited from ZNWL's interventions made their position clear by stating the following;

One of the respondents from the Ministry of Home Affairs Headquarters said, *"ZNWL does not provide any support to women in the public service because the organization seem to be more concerned with political players. For me, I have never had any interaction with ZNWL and am not aware of any awareness programme conducted in the Ministry by ZNWL. If its presence is to be felt, ZNWL needs to do more in terms of its interventions so that more women can be reached in the public sector.*" (21st May, 2019).

Another respondent from one of the Government Departments in Kabwe said, "*for me I would say ZNWL is not involved in helping women ascend to decision making positions in government especially in Kabwe. The invisibility of ZNWL in terms of its activities in the District denies a lot of women in the public sector from accessing their services."* (30th June, 2019).

A respondent from one of the Government Departments in Solwezi said, "*I know that ZNWL exists in Solwezi but I have not seen some sensitization programmes from the organization in the District. The only time I have heard ZNWL speak is when a woman is reported abused in the media. Am in a decision making position by appointment based on merit and not through ZNWL's interventions.*" (10th July, 2019).

Adduced data clearly indicates that ZNWL's interventions in whatever form, are not being felt by the majority women in the public sector as shown in figure 5.2 where 45 women from the sample of 50 confirmed having not benefited from ZNWL's interventions. This means that ZNWL's interventions are limited leading to the majority 45 women being left out. Further, 4 women that benefited from the organization's interventions as shown in figure 5.2 as well may not have a significant impact at all because the percentage is too small to change the general picture of women's representation in decision making in the public sector. This finding is contrary to ZNWL (2003) 's assertions that to a larger extent it promotes women participation in decision making in the public sector through lobbying, advocacy and capacity building. The information obtained suggests that ZNWL's interventions are limited when it comes to administering them in the public sector. This scenario was supported by one the respondents from the Ministry of Home Affairs Headquarters who added her voice by indicating that ZNWL is not doing much to support women in the public sector (government) because the organization seem to be more concerned with political players. Further, she argued that herself never had any interaction with ZNWL and was not aware of any awareness programme conducted by the organization in the Ministry of Home Affairs.

Furthermore, women as respondents were interviewed if they knew other women that had benefited from ZNWL as it promotes women participation through capacity building, lobbying and advocacy. During the said interview, women responded as shown in Table 5.2 below.

Table 5.2 showing women's responses regarding their knowledge of other women benefiting from ZNWL's interventions

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	4	8.0	8.0	8.0
	No	46	92.0	92.0	100.0
	Total	50	100.0	100.0	

Source: primary data

Statistics in Table 5.2 clearly indicates that, out of the total sample of 50 women 46 of them representing 92 percent denied having known any woman benefiting from ZNWL's interventions while 4 women representing 8 percent confirmed having known other women that have benefited from ZNWL's interventions especially from the public media.

Among the 46 women that denied having known other women from the public sector that benefited from ZNWL's interventions supported their position as shown below.

One of the respondents from Lusaka City Council said, "*Am one of the directors at Lusaka City Council (LCC) and I have not heard ZNWL engaging management for the purpose of conducting gender awareness or training programmes meant to promote women participation in decision making. It is from this back ground that I have not heard anyone benefiting from ZNWL's interventions.*" (18th May, 2019).

Another respondent from one of the Government Departments in Choma said, "*I know that ZNWL advocates for women's participation in leadership but I have not seen them undertaking such activities within Government Departments here in Choma. Through my observation, I have come to conclude that ZNWL does not exist in Choma and it is very difficult for me to know if at all there are other women that have benefited from its interventions*." (23rd June, 2019).

On the other hand, among the 4 women that agreed having known other women that had benefited from ZNWL's interventions had this to say;

A respondent from one of the public media houses said, "*I really appreciate what ZNWL is doing in promoting women participation in the public sector through training and advocacy. Personally, I have benefited from ZNWL's training programmes and acquired knowledge in form of women's rights and some existing legislation that support women participation in decision making processes. Including how to disseminate the same information or knowledge acquired to women through the media. It is through this training programmes that I know fellow female media personnel that have benefited from the same interventions being administered by ZNWL.*" (15th May, 2019).

Another respondent from Provincial Administration in Ndola said, "*I have listened to ZNWL's advocacy programmes on television and radio enlightening women on their rights, gender matters and legislation in existence which support women participation in decision making processes. After listening to the programme, I tried to find out if other women had also listened*

to the same advocacy programme and one woman confirmed having done so. It is from this point that I can rightly state that I know one woman that benefited from ZNWL's interventions as it promotes women participation in decision making." (19th July, 2019).

The study also revealed that ZNWL is not doing much in terms of lobbying for women inclusion in decision making and building capacities through training so that they could be helped to ascend to decision making positions in the public sector. All they (women in the public sector) hear is the organization carrying out some training and sensitization programmes meant to capacity build women in the political arena as they endeavor to participate in politics. One of the directors from Cabinet Office argued that, it seems ZNWL is more concerned with helping women participate in politics as opposed to helping them take up leadership roles in government or public sector. Therefore, the organization is seen not to be active in the public sector because its interventions are not being felt by women in the Civil Service, Local Government and Parastatals (quasi-government).

ZNWL rarely address challenges faced by women as they endeavor to ascend to decision making positions and eventually take part in decision making processes. This statement was supported by Inter-American Commission of Human rights (2011)'s assertions that, the participation and representation of women at all different levels of government is a condition for strengthening democracy and governance. However, women continue to face a number of challenges in accessing positions of power. Among the challenges faced by women include; men finding it difficult to believe that women can also be leaders in various institutions and this makes them to start intimidating them as a way to frustrating their effort in terms of work. This is done to make sure that women are labeled to be failures and take advantage of the situation to vie for the same position when a woman is relieved of her duties. This was confirmed by one of the heads of Government Department in Kabwe who stated that men have not been supportive to her office and all they are interested in is to see her down fall. Some women are accused of having had carnal knowledge (sex) with their supervisors to acquire the positions they are currently occupying. Such accusations make other women that are observing such attacks to shun decision making positions.

Furthermore, women stated that time factor was another obstacle which hinders women to ascend to decision making positions because they are also occupied with house chores. This consumes much of their time and in the process they are seen to be inactive at their places of work leading to them being labeled to be weaker vessels and in the process risk their positions

regardless of qualifications. When women go through all these negative attacks from their male counter parts, ZNWL hardly come to their aid. This finding was echoed by Clark (2016) who stated that in rich and poor Countries, women carry a disproportionate burden of unpaid work. For instance, women care for the young, elderly, the sick, disabled family members as well as obtaining and preparing food. These tasks do not only demand time and energy but also prevent women from fulfilling their aspirations. In the process deprive economies of women's talents and contributions. Women as respondents were asked if ZNWL helps them to address challenges they go through as they endeavor to participate in decision making processes and they responded as shown in Table 5.3 below.

Table 5.3 showing how women responded when asked if ZNWL addresses their challenges

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not doing much to address challenges	40	80.0	83.3	83.3
	Intervened to address challenges	8	16.0	16.7	100.0
	Total	48	96.0	100.0	
	Remained silent	2	4.0		
Total		50	100.0		

Source: Primary data

Analyzed data in Table 5.3 indicates that out the sample of 50 women, 8 representing 16 percent acknowledged that ZNWL intervened to address their challenges in the public sector. On the other hand, 40 women representing 80 percent totally denied having interacted with ZNWL during the time of their challenges and 2 representing 4 percent decided to remain silent as they didn't write anything in response to the question that was posed.

Some of the respondents that confirmed having benefited from ZNWL's interventions in the midst of their challenges had this to say in support of their position;

A respondent from the Ministry of Home Affairs Headquarters said, "*In my Department there has been a growing tendency of not recognizing women for promotions or appointments despite possessing the required qualifications. This matter was brought to the attention of ZNWL who*

later engaged the authorities at the Cabinet Office. Thereafter, we started seeing women being appointed to decision making positions of which am also a beneficiary. This turn of events was attributed to ZNWL's intervention to lobby on our behalf as women." (23rd May, 2019).

Another respondent from one of the Government Departments in Solwezi said, "*ZNWL has been carrying out some advocacy programmes in the media regarding the importance of women taking part in decision making positions. Before such programmes were intensified, we had very few women in decision making positions. Due to ZNWL and other women organizations' interventions, the number of women ascending to decision making positions is increasing though at a snail pace and I happen to be one of the beneficiaries.*" (11th July, 2019).

On the other hand, some of the women that totally denied having interacted with ZNWL in the midst of their challenges justified their argument as shown here under;

One of the directors from Cabinet Office (PSMD) had this to say, "*Recommendations on the part of women take too long to be considered by male officers responsible for promotions and appointments. It is even worse because no feedback is given even after several follow ups. In such challenges ZNWL has played no role because it does not make follow ups on women's issues in the Civil Service.*" (13th May, 2019).

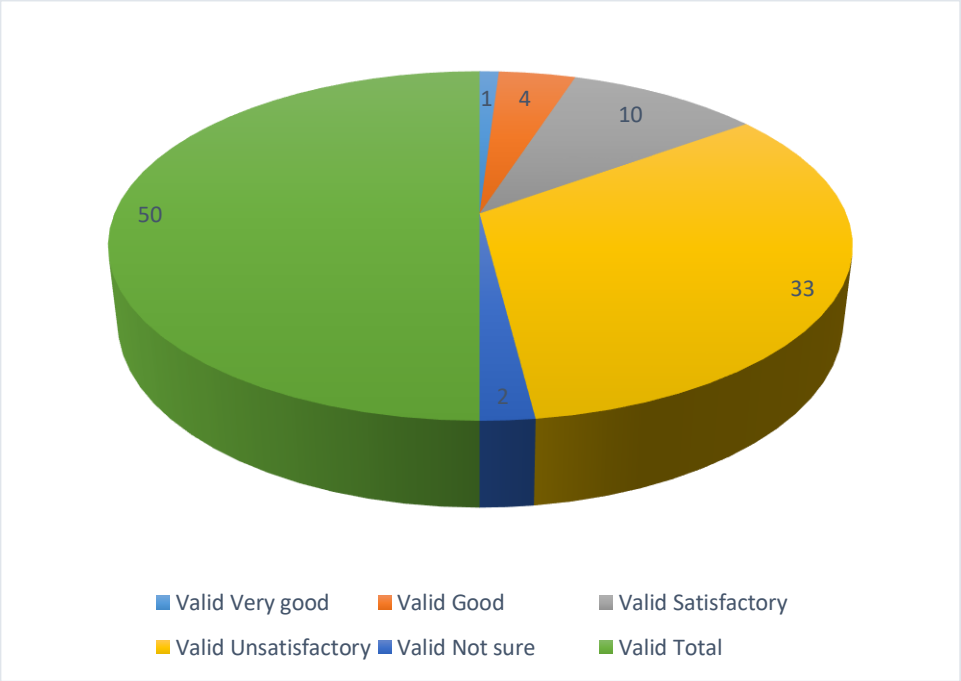
Another respondent from one of the Government Departments in Kabwe said, "*As women we are viewed as incompetent and not capable to run offices. When a woman is appointed to decision making position, such a one is accused of having had sex with the appointing authority to gain favours. Intimidation from men is also the order of the day. In line with the mentioned challenges, I have not heard or seen ZNWL helping women to overcome such challenges.*" (1st July, 2019).

Statistics adduced show that ZNWL is not doing much to help women in the public sector to address challenges they encounter as they struggle to ascend to decision making positions. Therefore, the observation made contributes greatly to reduced confidence of women when it comes to participating in decision making processes because they are not being helped to overcome barriers. This was supported by one of the directors from Cabinet Office (PSMD) who argued that, recommendations on the part of women take too long to be considered by male officers responsible for promotions and appointments. It is even worse because no feedback is given even after several follow ups. In such challenges ZNWL has not played any

role because the organization is not visible to make such follow ups on issues affecting women in the Civil Service.

Further, following their encounter with ZNWL, women were given an opportunity to rate the performance of ZNWL with regards to promoting women participation in decision making processes in the Civil Service, Local Government and Parastatals or Quasi-government. Their responses were recorded as shown in figure 5.3 below.

Figure 5.3 showing women's ratings regarding ZNWL's performance in the public sector



Source: Primary data

In Figure 5.3, the study revealed that out 50 women that were sampled as respondents, only 01 woman representing 2 percent from one the public media houses rated ZNWL's performance in terms interventions very good. 04 women representing 8 percent rated the organization's performance to be good. 10 women representing 20 percent rated ZNWL's performance to be satisfactory and 33 women representing 66 percent rated the performance of ZNWL to be unsatisfactory while 02 women representing 4 percent were not sure of what to say with regards to the performance of ZNWL and didn't provide any response.

A respondent from one of the Public Media Houses that rated ZNWL's performance to be very good said, "*My knowledge on matters of gender, women's rights, legislation that supports women participation has really been enhanced. This is because of the workshops I have*

attended organized by ZNWL through our management and this prompted me to rate the organization's performance very good," (16th May, 2019).

On the other hand, a respondent from among the 4 women that rated ZNWL's performance good said, "*I happen to be one of the beneficiaries of ZNWL's interventions as a media personnel and I also participated in disseminating the same information through the media for the benefit of other women in society. The benefit I attained from ZNWL made me rate ZNWL's performance good*." (13th May, 2019).

Further, one respondent among the 10 women that rated ZNWL's performance to be satisfactory said the following;

A respondent from one of the Government Departments in Ndola said, "*For me, I have listened to ZNWL's advocacy programmes only once on TV. I hoped their advocacy programmes were on going but to my surprise I never heard anything of that nature again. Basing on that programme that I listened to at some point, I can rate the organization's performance to be satisfactory. Going forward, ZNWL needs to do more to address gender challenges women are going through.*" (20th July, 2019).

Furthermore, some of the respondents from 33 women that rated ZNWL's performance to be unsatisfactory supported their arguments as follows;

One of the respondents from Cabinet Office said, "*When ZNWL was just established in the early 90s it was seriously involved in advocating and lobbying for women participation in decision making processes in the public sector. But now, the organization seem to have relaxed and literally doing nothing in terms of promoting women participation in the public sector. Hence rating its performance to be unsatisfactory in the public sector.*" (24th May, 2019).

One of the directors from the Ministry of Local Government Headquarters said, "*For me I have not seen ZNWL officials organizing women in our Ministry either directly or indirectly through management for the purpose of educating them on gender matters. This observation prompted me to rate the organization's performance in terms of its activities unsatisfactory. In other words, let me simply say ZNWL's interventions in the public sector are not visible*." (17th May, 2019).

Empirical evidence gathered, clearly shows that ZNWL's performance in terms of administering its interventions in the public sector is rated to be very low and concentrated

much on satisfactory as well as unsatisfactory. Most of the respondents that rated ZNWL's performance to be very good and good came from the public media. This means that the organization's interventions are more restricted to the public media as opposed to other institutions in the Civil Service, Local Government and other Parastatal Organizations. As such one can rightly say that, not much is being done by ZNWL in the area of promoting women participation in the public sector. This is in agreement with the argument put forward earlier by the respondents that such interventions are not being felt by most women in the public sector. One of the directors from the Ministry of Local Government Headquarters added her voice as well to the effect that she had not seen ZNWL officials organizing women in her Ministry either indirectly or directly through management for the purpose of educating them on gender matters. This observation prompted her to rate ZNWL's performance in terms of interventions unsatisfactory.

5.3 Chi-Square Test

The Chi-Square test of associations was also used to determine whether there is an association or relationship between the two categorical variables namely ZNWL's interventions and women as respondents. During this test, there are two hypotheses which were supposed to be tested namely research hypothesis and null hypothesis. The research hypothesis states that the two variables are dependent or related to each other and the null hypothesis states that the two variables are independent of each other or there is no association. According to the chi-square test of association, if the probability of the test statistic is less than or equal to the probability of the alpha error rate of 0.05, then the null hypothesis is rejected and conclude that the data supports the research hypothesis. This means that there is an association or relationship between the variables or the variables are dependent on each other to attain the desired results. On the other hand, if the probability of the test statistic is greater than the probability of alpha error rate of 0.05, the null hypothesis is retained. This entails that there isn't enough evidence to suggest the existence of the relationship or association between the two variables. This means that none of the variables is influencing the other to attain the desired results (Gardner, 2000).

Table 5.4 shows the results of the case processing summary and Table 5.5 shows the results of the Chi-square test. Further, Table 5.6 shows the results the symmetric measures. Data in all the mentioned tables explains the results of the Chi-square test results that were conducted to ascertain the relationship between ZNWL's interventions and women as beneficiaries.

Table 5.4 showing the results of the case processing summary

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Respondent * How have such interventions helped you as an individual to effectively participate in decision making processes in your organization	45	90.0%	5	10.0%	50	100.0%

Table 5.5 showing the results of the Chi-square tests

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1.708[a]	3	.635
Likelihood Ratio	2.261	3	.520
Linear-by-Linear Association	.264	1	.607
N of Valid Cases	45		

a. 6 cells (75.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .13.

Table 5.6 showing the results of the symmetric measures

Symmetric Measures

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.195	.635
	Cramer's V	.195	.635
N of Valid Cases		45	

a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

The table of interest here is the Chi-square Test Table labeled 5.5 with the main focus on the Pearson Chi-square row. This row shows the value of the Chi-square test statistic as 1.708 and the Pearson or P value at the far end as 0.635. The other area of interest is the footnote of the

Pearson Chi-Square table, the footnote pertains to the expected cell count assumption (i.e expected cell counts are all greater than 5): no cell had an expected count less than 5, so this assumption was met. Since the P value is greater than the chosen significance level of 0.05, the null hypothesis was not rejected but rather show that there isn't enough evidence to suggest an association between the two variables.

The results of the Chi-Square Test reveal that the relationship between ZNWL and women as beneficiaries is statistically insignificant. This means that the two variables are independent of each other as satisfied by the null hypothesis and we can rightly say, the majority women that ascend to decision making positions and take part in decision making processes in the public sector do so out of their personal effort and not through ZNWL's interventions. Further, it has to be noted that the Chi-square does not measure the strength of the relationship or association of the two variables under consideration but instead it is done by Phi and Crema's V as shown in the symmetric measures Table 5.6. According to Phi and Crema's V measure, the association or relationship between ZNWL's interventions and the respondents as beneficiaries in the public sector is very weak as 0.195 in both tests (Phi and Crema's V). This means that, not much is being done by ZNWL to help women in the public sector ascend to decision making positions and eventually take part in decision making processes. Leading to women in the public sector relying on their personal effort and not ZNWL's interventions when taking part in decision making processes.

5.4 ZNWL's interventions in promoting women participation in decision making processes in the private sector

5.4.1 Gender Audits

ZNWL conducts research to ascertain the level of women exclusion in decision making processes in the private sector as well. The data collected through research enables the organization to compile Gender Audit reports which are later published for the purpose of alerting those in authority about the levels of women exclusion in decision making processes in the private sector. Data obtained through Gender Audits is not only used by ZNWL but also other organizations that are involved in advocacy and lobbying activities in an effort to helping women participate in decision making processes in the private sector. The organization conducts gender audits every after four years of which the first of its kind covered the period between 2011and 2014 and the second one covered the period between 2015 and 2018. The findings of the two gender audits carried out so far, show that women participation in decision

making processes in the private sector is very low to an extent that the gender gap between men and women has continued to widen (interview with ZNWL-IF 3 on 20th September, 2019).

5.4.2 Lobbying

In the private sector, under representation of women in decision making processes is attributed to the environment which is not easily accommodative when it comes to promoting women participation in decision making through lobbying and capacity building. This situation is worse in the manufacturing sector. Rigidity on the part of institutions in the private sector is associated with the key objective of profit maximization for their survival based on continuous production without any interruption. This was confirmed on 26th September, 2019 by ZNWL-IF 3 who stated that institutions in the private sector are very difficult to penetrate when administering interventions in terms of lobbying for women inclusion and sited Trade Kings, Zambia Breweries, Pamalat Zambia as one of them. ZNWL (2018) revealed that institutions that are a bit flexible when it comes to lobbying for women inclusion in decision making processes among them include the following; Under Banking and Financial sector; Stanbic Bank, ZANACO, Barclays Bank, Cavmont Bank, Invest trust Bank, Atlasmara Bank, Eco Bank, Standard Chartered Bank, Finca Bank, Bayport financial services and Unity Finance. Universities; Rusangu University, Apex University, Lusaka University, Open University and Copperstone University. Radio Stations; QFM radio, Yastan radio, Power FM radio, Radio phoenix, Sky FM, Millennium radio and Komboni radio. Print media; Mast newspaper and News diggers. Telecommunication companies; MTN and Airtel. Television stations; Muvi TV, Diamond TV and prime TV. Therefore, it can be noted that none of the institutions mentioned above is coming from the manufacturing industry and this clearly shows how difficult it is to penetrate the manufacturing industry.

5.4.3 Capacity building

However, it has to be noted that it is only in the private media where ZNWL is able to engage management easily for the purpose of organizing capacity building workshops for media personnel especially women. This has been happening since its inception in the early 1990s. For example, on 2nd April, 1992 ZNWL organized a workshop for media personnel in Livingstone with the agenda of imparting knowledge on media personnel on how to investigate and expose gender inequalities so that those in authority could be made aware of the true reflection on the ground. Workshops organized by ZNWL continued even in the late 1990s where a workshop was conducted on 1st January, 1999 in Lusaka. This was for the purpose of educating media personnel on how to disseminate gender information such women's rights to

participate in decision making and the laws that support women participation in decision making processes. Another good example of such workshops is one which was organized by ZNWL on 18th July, 2018 in Northern Province meant to capacity build media personnel on how to cover women leaders so that they could become role models to other women, the important role the media plays in promoting gender equality and were also provided with materials to enhance their skills when it comes to fair coverage of women and men. This workshop was also attended by managers from various media houses heading departments. Managers assured ZNWL that they were going to work hand in with media personnel to see to it that women out there benefit from the information acquired (interview with ZNWL-IF 4 on 5th July, 2019).

5.4.4 Advocacy

Advocacy through the media is mostly used by ZNWL when reaching out to individual women in the private sector. Through advocacy programmes, ZNWL packages information in form of women's rights, the benefit and importance of women participating in decision making processes as well as the existing legislature such as the National Gender Policy of 2000 as well as the Gender Equity and Equality Act of 2015 which supports women participation in decision making. Thereafter, the packaged information is disseminated or shared through the media (electronic and print media). Such advocacy has been taking place since 1991 when the organization was established. For instance, on 18th September, 2003 ZNWL advocated for women's rights and legislation in existence that support women participation in decision making processes and this was carried live on ZNBC. The organization also carried a story in the post newspaper on 10th March, 2008 where it encouraged women to fight for their rights and encouraged them to make themselves available when it comes to women participation in decision making processes. Advocacy talk engaging groups also plays an important role because it creates an opportunity through which women could be enlightened on a number of gender issues such as women's rights, legislation that support women participation in decision making and the benefits associated with women's participation in decision making processes. Among such advocacy talks conducted by ZNWL is a public discussion held on 16th August, 2005 and covered by the post newspaper then. Another one was conducted on 18th June,1995 in Kitwe as a public forum (interview with ZNWL-IF 1 on 19th June, 2019).

All the efforts being under taken by ZNWL to help women participate in decision making processes in the private sector through lobbying, advocacy and capacity building is in agreement with Anderson 2010. Anderson states that interest groups play a significant role in

creating opportunities or platforms through which marginalized groups in the community such as women could participate in decision making processes. Therefore, women's equality at work places in the private sector is a critical component of gender equality and sustainable development. Clark (2016) argued that, if the exclusion of women from participating in economic activities is not checked, may result in a serious economic cost or loss. This was confirmed by the study conducted by the UNDP entitled African Human Development report in 2006 which revealed that, about $95 billion per year since 2010 is recorded as economic loss due to gender inequality in the Sub-Sahara Africa. This clearly shows how the exclusion of women can negatively affect the economies of the Sub-Sahara Africa Zambia inclusive.

ZNWL-IF 1 further argued that, if economic loss is to be reduced in the Country, women need to be embraced at all levels of decision making in the private sector. This was also echoed by UN's focus on the post 2015 development goals which strongly aligns women's empowerment under gender equality with women's leadership in economic development. The same position was also affirmed by Xu (2015) who stated that it is generally recognized that women contribute to the improvement as well as change and at the same time the best driving force for economic growth when they are given an opportunity to take up leadership roles.

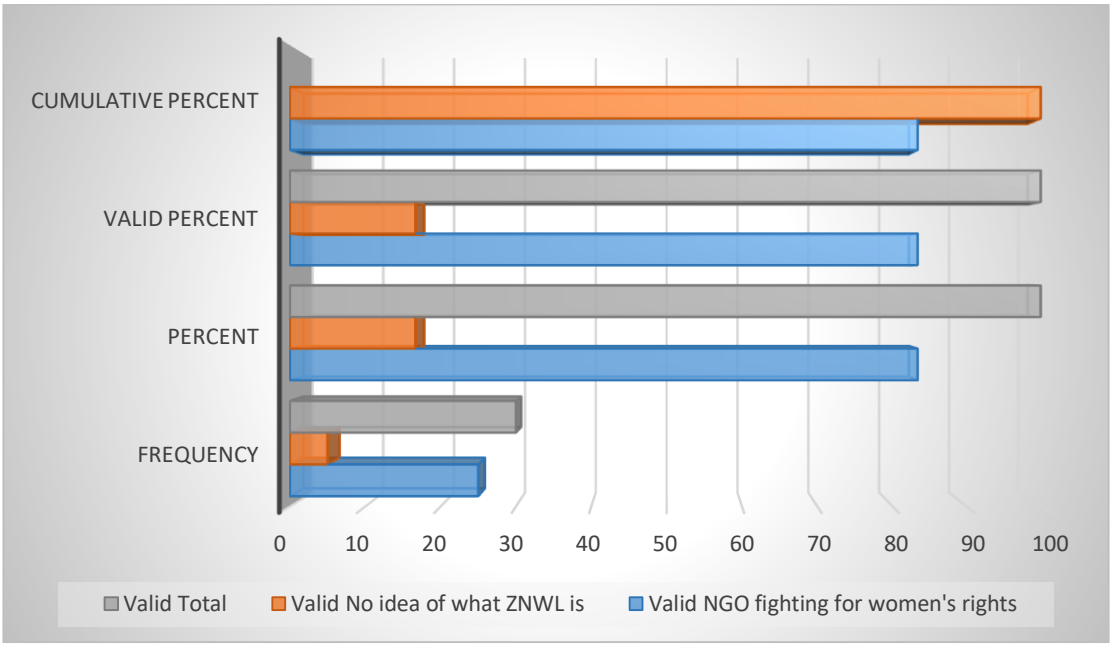
In the area of ZNWL engaging the board of directors and management with a view to lobbying for women inclusion in decision making processes in the private sector, it came to light that most of the women in the private sector have not experienced such. The reason being that such interventions are so limited because of the hostile environment that exist in the private sector. This emanates from the situation where those in management creates barriers for ZNWL's interventions to reach individual women. It can therefore be noted that, ZNWL's strategy of engaging the board of directors and management in the private sector through lobbying urging them to be gender sensitive when making appointments and enlightening them on the importance of women to participate in decision making processes, does not help much. The reason being that, it ends as a mere academic exercise because such interventions don't reach individual women who happen to be the beneficiaries. This was echoed by one of the respondents from the banking sector who stated that she has never seen or heard ZNWL discussing with management on issues to do with promoting women participation in decision making processes and there after such information reaching female employees.

Gender Audits being conducted by ZNWL provides information regarding the extent to which women face exclusion in the private sector. This is intended to help those in authority come up

with viable policies that could help women ascend to decision making positions and eventually take part in decision making processes. To the contrary, ZNWL's objectives through the Gender Audits are not being met because those in management don't take the content of the Gender Audits seriously. In the process maintain the status of women being excluded from participating in decision making processes. All this is emanating from the situation where institutions in the private sector are so rigid when it comes to accommodating women organizations administering interventions meant to help women participate in decision making processes. This was confirmed by ZNWL-IF 3 who stated that institutions in the private sector are very difficult to penetrate when it comes to administering interventions aimed at promoting women participation in the sector.

Advocacy especially through the media serves as the most effective tool being used by ZNWL in the area of disseminating gender information aimed at helping women in the private sector to participate in decision making processes. However, women in the private sector do not get much help from such interventions and their argument is based on the following reasons; In the first place, advocacy does not provide women listening or reading the content of the programme an opportunity to clarify certain matters arising from such advocacy. Respondents further stated that, in situations where they get gender information through advocacy, such information is kept to themselves because no one can allow them to start fighting for their rights within the premises of the corporation at the expense of maximizing profit through production. Further, most of ZNWL's programmes in the media especially electronic pops up abruptly without any advert to attract the attention of women leading to most of them in the private sector missing their gender programmes. As it is very difficult for women in the private sector to access information regarding ZNWL's activities meant to help them participate in decision making processes. Women in decision making positions in the private sector were interviewed if at all they have knowledge of ZNWL as well as what it does in terms of interventions and responded as shown in figure 5.4 below.

Figure 5.4 showing women's responses regarding the knowledge of ZNWL and its role in the private sector



Source: primary data

Analyzed data regarding women's knowledge of ZNWL revealed that out of the sample of 30 women, 25 women representing 83.3 percent had full knowledge of what ZNWL is and what it does while the remaining 5 representing 16.7 percent had no idea what so ever regarding the existence of ZNWL. This entails that, the majority women from the sample even understood what was expected from ZNWL in terms of interventions meant to promote women participation in decision making processes (Data from respondents).

One among the 25 women that had full knowledge of ZNWL substantiated her position as follows; A respondent from one of the Insurance Companies said, "*I know ZNWL to be a Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) which helps women to fight for their rights especially in the area of promoting women participation in decision making processes*."

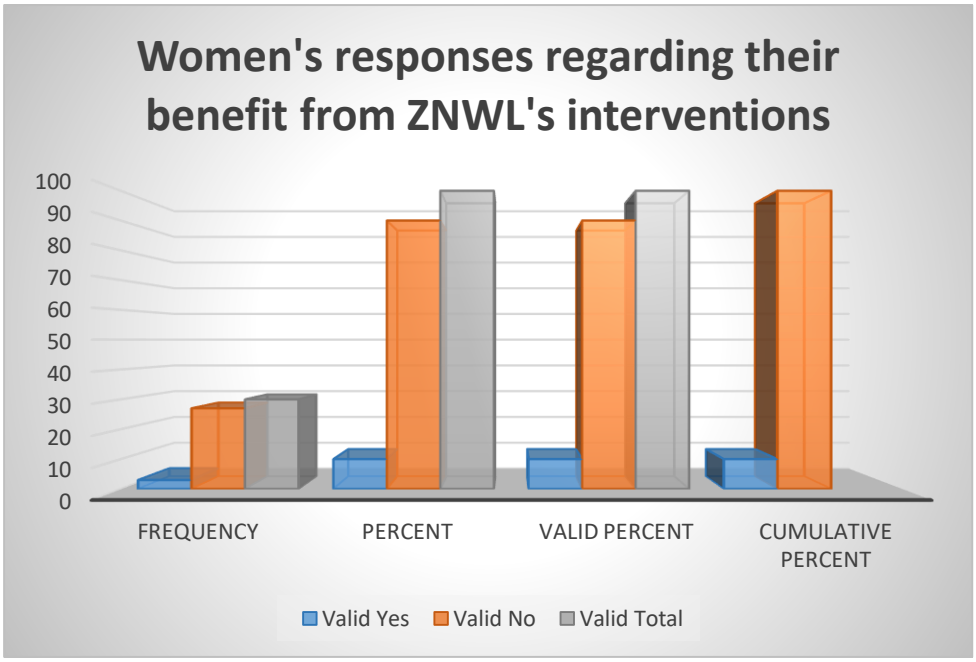
Another respondent from one of the banks said, "*ZNWL is an organization which promotes or increase women participation in decision making*." (25th May, 2019).

On the other hand, one respondent among 5 women that had no idea regarding the existence of ZNWL from one of the manufacturing industries said, "*I have no idea regarding the existence of ZNWL and what it does in communities*." (26th May, 2019).

Most of the women interviewed in the private sector indicated that, they had full knowledge of ZNWL and what it does in terms of its interventions. One of the respondents defined ZNWL as a Non-Governmental Organization that fights for women's rights especially in area of promoting women participation in decision making processes.

Benefiting from ZNWL's interventions as it promotes women participation in the private sector is almost a night mare. This is attributed to rigidity being portrayed by most institutions in the private sector. Women organizations are rarely allowed by those in management of various institutions to get in touch with individual women for the purpose of disseminating gender information. Hence creating a serious barrier between women organizations and women in the private sector. This was confirmed by one of the senior officials (ZNWL-IF 3) from ZNWL who stated that institutions in the private sector are very difficult to penetrate when administering interventions meant to help women develop the confidence to ascend to decision making positions and consequently participate in decision making processes. In an attempt to confirm if women in the private sector benefit from ZNWL's interventions, respondents were asked if at all they have benefited from ZNWL's interventions in terms of lobbying, advocacy as well as capacity building and responded as shown in Figure 5.5 below.

Figure 5.5 showing women's responses regarding their benefit from ZNWL's interventions in the private sector



Source: Primary Data

Statistics in Figure 5.5 show that, out of the sample of 30 women as respondents, 27 women representing 90 percent categorically denied having benefited from ZNWL's interventions as it promotes women participation in decision making processes. This category of women is mostly from the financial and manufacturing sectors. 03 women representing 10 percent of the sample accepted having benefited from ZNWL's interventions through workshops. This category of women came from the private media (Data from respondents in the private sector).

Some respondents from among 27 women mostly from the Manufacturing, Financial and Insurance sectors that denied having benefited from ZNWL's interventions had this to say in their justification;

A respondent from one the banks said, "*I have not seen or heard ZNWL discussing with management on issues to do with promoting women participation in decision making processes and there after such information reaching female employees as beneficiaries."* (28th July, 2019).

Another respondent from one of the Insurance Companies said*, "for me I would say since ZNWL's presence is not visible, I even doubt if it really discusses matters of promoting women participation in decision making processes because if they did so, actions were going to speak on their behalf*." (28th May, 2019).

On the other hand, some respondents from among those that accepted having benefited from ZNWL's interventions mostly from the private media had this to say to substantiate their position.

A respondent from one of the private media houses said, "*Being one of the women in management position, I have attended few workshops in which media personnel were trained on how to disseminate gender equality information and also encouraged women to develop the confidence to speak in public meetings. Before interactions with the organization, I was a leader that took a back seat to male led meetings and workshops. Today, thanks to ZNWL am one of the key speakers*." (28th May, 2019).

Another respondent from the private media houses said*, "ZNWL is really striving to promote women participation in decision making processes. I have covered ZNWL's programmes on TV such as building capacities of women in leadership skills, women's rights, legislation that support women participation in decision making to mention a few. Through the same*

programmes I have benefited at personal level in terms of knowledge which has helped me enhance my performance at my place of work as a woman." (28th May, 2019).

Information adduced show that women in the private sector hardly benefit from ZNWL's interventions in terms of capacity building. This is evident from the total sample of 30 women where 27 of them denied having benefited from ZNWL's interventions meant to promote women participation in decision making processes as shown in Figure 5.5. It can therefore be confirmed that, to a larger extent ZNWL's interventions in the private sector are not visible. This revelation is contrary to Gelsler (2006) who asserted that interest groups create an avenue through which women could participate in decision making processes. This is true because very limited effort is being done by ZNWL to create avenues through which women could be assisted to participate in decision making in the private sector. A respondent from one the Insurance Companies added her voice to the effect that ZNWL is not visible in the private sector and further argued that she even doubts if really the organization discusses matters of helping women to participate in decision making because if it did so, actions were going to speak on behalf of the organization.

Women argued that, in situations where they get gender information through advocacy, such information is kept to themselves because no one could allow them start fighting for their rights within the premises of the corporation at the expense of maximizing profit through production. If ZNWL cannot be allowed to engage individual women in the private sector on matters of gender, what of an individual woman who is merely an employee of that particular corporation or company. Further, most of ZNWL's programmes in the media especially electronic pops up abruptly without any advert to attract the attention of women leading to most of them in the private sector missing their gender programmes (data from respondents in the private sector).

Further, it came to light that ZNWL rarely help women in the private sector to address challenges that hinders their participation in decision making processes. Some of the challenges women go through include the following; Lack of economic resources, restrictive laws, disproportionate access to quality education, cultural practices, Intimidation and name calling from men which happens to be the order of the day in the private sector. When a woman is appointed to decision making position, men always associate such appointment with the exchange of sex with those in management. Further, women are regarded to be weaker vessels who do not deserve promotion or appointments. As a result of such frustrations, a lot of women

have lost interest to vie for decision making positions. This was supported by a respondent from one of the banks who confirmed that she is a victim of name calling, intimidation coupled with not being considered for promotion despite up grading her qualifications. According to her, all this emanates from women being considered to be none performers by management dominated by men and this behavior frustrates a lot of women in various organizations. Respondents were asked if at all ZNWL comes to their aid in terms of addressing challenges they go through and responded as shown in Table 5.7 below.

Table 5.7 showing how women responded when asked if ZNWL addresses challenges they encounter in the private sector

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Never address challenges	27	90.0	90.0	90.0
	Administers interventions to address challenges	2	6.7	6.7	96.7
	Not sure	1	3.3	3.3	100.0
	Total	30	100.0	100.0	

Source: Primary Data.

Data analyzed show that out the total sample of 30 women interviewed as respondents, 27 women representing 90 percent denied having seen or heard ZNWL addressing challenges faced by women in the private sector. 02 women representing 6.7 percent agreed having received some help from ZNWL in terms of addressing their challenges and 01 woman representing 3.3 percent was not sure of what to say and failed to provide any response.

Some of the respondents among 27 women that denied having seen or heard ZNWL addressing challenges faced by women in the private sector justified their position as follows;

A respondent from one of the Manufacturing Industries said, "*In the private sector, women face serious intimidation and lack of support from men because men find it difficult to accept that they are being led by a woman. Such challenges are solved within the organization without the involvement of ZNWL and some die a natural death*." (11th May, 2019).

Another respondent from one of the banks said, "*I happen to be one of the victims of name calling, intimidation coupled with not being considered for promotion despite up grading my qualifications. All this is emanating from women being considered to be non-performers by management which is dominated by men and this behavior frustrates a lot of women in various organizations. The mentioned challenges remain un attended to by both management and women organizations such as ZNWL. This means that, women are left in the cold to deal with their own challenges which is not easy especially in the midst of men."* (14th May, 2019).

On the other hand, one among 02 respondents that agreed having received some help from ZNWL in terms of addressing their challenges had this to say;

A respondent from one of the private media houses said, "*In our organization, there has been a lot of complaints regarding intimidation, accusation of sex scandals and name calling coming from men. Upon realizing that the male dominated management was not doing anything to address the problem, the matter was reported secretly to ZNWL and other women organizations. Thereafter, management was engaged by these women organizations among them ZNWL to deal with challenges faced by women in the organization. Despite these organizations coming in to help, they take too long to respond and they deal with matters in general terms which eventually comprise the impact of their interventions*." (19th May, 2019).

Statistics suggests that ZNWL's presence in terms of its interventions in the private sector is very limited. Hence denying individual women an opportunity to have their challenges addressed in the private sector. This is contrary to Gelsler (2006)'s assertion that interest groups create an avenue through which women could participate in decision making processes. This is true because there isn't much avenue being created by ZNWL to address challenges faced by women as they endeavour to participate in decision making processes in the private sector. This is confirmed by the majority 27 women translating 90 percent from the total sample of 30 women as shown in Table 5.7 who confirmed having not received any help from ZNWL in the midst of their challenges. Therefore, it can be noted that not much is being done by ZNWL to help women ascend to decision making positions and take part in decision making processes in the private sector.

Thereafter, respondents were given chance to rate the performance of ZNWL in the private sector as it promotes women participation in decision making processes, their responses were captured as shown in table 5.8 below.

Table 5.8 showing how women responded when asked to rate the performance of ZNWL in the private sector

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Good	1	3.3	3.4	3.4
	Satisfactory	4	13.3	13.8	17.2
	Unsatisfactory	24	80.0	82.8	100.0
	Total	29	96.7	100.0	
	Not sure	1	3.3		
Total		30	100.0		

Source: Primary data

Interpreted data in Table 5.8 revealed that, out of the total sample of 30 women selected from the private sector, 01 woman representing 3.3 percent rated ZNWL's performance as good and this came from one of the media houses. 04 women representing 13.3 percent rated the organization's performance to be satisfactory and 24 women representing 80 percent rated ZNWL's performance unsatisfactory and 01 woman representing 3.3 percent decided not to respond because he was not sure of what to say.

A respondent from one of the private media houses that rated ZNWL's performance in promoting women participation in the private sector to be good said, "*I happen to be one of the beneficiaries of ZNWL's interventions in terms of capacity building where I have attended some workshops on women's rights, existing laws that support women participation in decision making processes including the importance of women to participate in decision making processes. At the same time, I was also one of the media personnel that were given the mandate to disseminate the same acquired knowledge through advocacy in the media on behalf of ZNWL. All these benefits made me rate ZNWL's performance to be good*." (19th May, 2019).

Another respondent from among 4 women that rated ZNWL's performance in promoting women participation in the private sector to be satisfactory supported her position as follows;

A respondent from one of the Insurance Companies said, "*I have heard ZNWL officials advocating for women's rights on radio and this programme made me learn a few things to do with gender though it came once. It is from this back ground that I am able to rate the organization's performance satisfactory*," (28th May, 2019).

On the other hand, some respondents from among 24 women that rated ZNWL's performance in fostering women participation in the private sector to be unsatisfactory justified their position as follows;

A respondent from one of the Manufacturing Industries said, "*I have not heard much about ZNWL's activities in terms of helping women to participate in decision making processes in the private sector. It is from this observation that I rated ZNWL's performance in the private sector to be unsatisfactory*," (11th May, 2019).

Another respondent from one of the Banks said, "*For me I have no idea of what ZNWL is and what it is involved in. This shows that the organization is not active in the private sector and that's the reason why its existence is questionable on my part. Whatever it does if there is any in the private sector in terms of interventions is unsatisfactory because there is literally no evidence to point at.*" (14th May, 2019).

Data analyzed show that women in the private sector receive very little help from ZNWL in terms of interventions. This can be confirmed by 24 women representing 80 percent who rated ZNWL's performance unsatisfactory. This means that, the majority have not received help from ZNWL hence rating the organization's performance unsatisfactory. This was also echoed by one of the respondents from the manufacturing industry who said she had not heard much about ZNWL's activities in terms of helping women to participate in decision making processes in the private sector. Hence rating ZNWL's performance in the private sector to be unsatisfactory.

5.5 Chi-Square Test

The Chi-Square test of associations was used to determine whether there is an association or relationship between the two categorical variables namely ZNWL's interventions and respondents as beneficiaries. During this test, there are two hypotheses which were supposed to be tested namely research hypothesis and null hypothesis. The research hypothesis states that the two variables are dependent or related to each other and the null hypothesis states that the two variables are independent of each other or there is no association. According to the chi-square test of association, if the probability of the test statistic is less than or equal to the probability of the alpha error rate of 0.05, then the null hypothesis is rejected and confirm that the data supports the research hypothesis. This means that there is an association or relationship between the variables or the variables are dependent of each other to attain the desired results. On the other hand, if the probability of the test statistic is greater than the probability of alpha

error rate of 0.05, the null hypothesis is retained. This entails that there isn't enough evidence to suggest the existence of the relationship or association between the two variables (Gardner, 2000a).

Table 5.9 shows the results of the Case processing summary whereas Table 5.10 shows the results of the Chi-square test and Table 5.11 shows the results of the Symmetric measures. All the tables mentioned provide vital information regarding the results of the Chi-square Test conducted to measure the relationship between ZNWL's interventions and women in the private sector as beneficiaries

Table 5.9 showing results of the Case processing summary

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Respondent * How have such interventions helped you as an individual woman to effectively participate in decision making processes in your organization	29	96.7%	1	3.3%	30	100.0%

Table 5.10 showing the results of the Chi-square tests

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.967[a]	2	.617
Likelihood Ratio	1.283	2	.526
Linear-by-Linear Association	.933	1	.334
N of Valid Cases	29		

a. 5 cells (83.3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .41.

Table 5.11 showing the results of the Symmetric measures

Symmetric Measures

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.183	.617
	Cramer's V	.183	.617
N of Valid Cases		29	

a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

The Chi-Square results in the private sector have also similar results as obtained in the public sector. Here also the table of interest is the Chi-square Test Table 5.10 with the main focus on the Pearson chi-square row. This row shows the value of the Chi-square test statistic as 0.967 and the Pearson or P value at the far end as 0.617. The other area of interest is the footnote of the Pearson chi-square table, the footnote relates to the expected cell count assumption (i.e. expected cell counts are all greater than 5): no cell had an expected count less than 5, so this assumption was met. Since the P value is greater than the chosen significant level of 0.05, the null hypothesis was not rejected but retained and confirm that there isn't enough evidence to suggest an association between the two variables. Implying that the relationship or association between ZNWL's interventions and respondents as beneficiaries in the private sector is statistically insignificant. However, it has to be noted that the chi-square does not measure the strength of the relationship or association between the two variables under consideration but instead it is done by Phi and Crema's V as shown in the Symmetric Measures Table 5.11. According to Phi and Crema's V measure, the association or relationship between ZNWL's interventions and the respondents as beneficiaries in the private sector is very weak at 0.183 in both tests (Phi and Crema's V).

5.6 Challenges encountered by ZNWL in promoting women participation in decision making in private and public sectors

Interventions being under taken by ZNWL in most cases are donor funded and as such, the owners of the money dictate the areas on which their money should be spent on. For instance, the donors may decide to fund the promotion of women participation in politics. This means that other sectors such as the civil service and the private sector may suffer the consequences. ZNWL always suffers some setbacks with regards to Gender Audits. Despite the organization spending huge sums of money coming up with Gender Audits, those in authority tend to put a blind eye on the content of the document. In other words, Gender Audits are not being utilized

by leaders of various institutions hence rendering them irrelevant. In the private sector especially manufacturing industry, ZNWL finds it difficult to penetrate when it comes administering interventions meant to help women ascend to decision making positions and eventually take part in decision making processes. This is as a result of rigidity being portrayed by various institutions to an extent of not allowing ZNWL and other women organizations to interact with individual women in their institutions on gender matters. Further, when administering advocacy through the media ZNWL finds it difficult to receive feedback because it takes too long and sometimes never received at all.

5.7 Conclusion

ZNWL promotes women participation in decision making through lobbying for women inclusion in decision making processes from leaders of various institutions in both the public and private sectors. The organization also raises awareness through advocacy about the importance of women participation in decision making and also trains women on gender issues preparing them to take up roles in decision making. However, the interventions being administered by ZNWL in terms of promoting women participation in decision making are limited. The reason being that not much is being done by ZNWL to help women participate in decision making processes in both the public and private sectors. This means that, women are denied the opportunity to benefit from such interventions. Hence making ZNWL's interventions in promoting women participation in decision making ineffective.

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CHAPTER SIX

ZNWL'S INTERVENTIONS IN PROMOTING WOMEN PARTICIPATION IN INTRA-PARTY COMPETITIONS

6.1 Introduction

This chapter will discuss ZNWL's interventions in promoting women participation in intra-party competitions. The participation of women in intra-party competitions is very important in that it strengthens women's positions as they endeavor to participate in governance and leadership. It also encourages political parties to consider more women for inter party elections. In this chapter anonymity of people interviewed is critical and as such informants will be assigned codes and individual women from various political parties will be referred as respondents. ZNWL-IF 1 for National Board Chairperson, ZNWL-IF 5 for Chairperson ZNWL Central Province Chapter and ZNWL-IF 2 for Information Officer ZNWL Secretariat. ZNWL stands for Zambia National Women Lobby while IF stands for Informant. This discussion will be divided into five (05) sections as follows; the first section is the introduction. The second section will be looking at ZNWL's interventions in promoting women participation in competing for party positions. The third section will cover ZNWL's interventions in promoting women participation in party nominations for inter party elections. The fourth section will be challenges faced by ZNWL in promoting women participation in intra-party competitions. Thereafter, a conclusion will be made based on the discussion.

6.2 ZNWL's interventions in promoting women participation in competing for party positions

Competition for party positions in this study is looked at as an election that is held within a political party to fill elective position. This is regraded to be the first phase of ZNWL's interventions in the quest to fostering women participation in competing for party positions. In trying to promote women participation, Zambia National Women's Lobby intervenes through lobbying, advocacy and capacity building. All these interventions will be discussed in details as the discussion progresses.

6.2.1 Lobbying

According to ZNWL-IF 2, the organization has been conducting meetings with party leaders mostly Secretary Generals of active political parties such as PF, UPND, MMD, FDD and NDC for the purpose of lobbying for women inclusion during competitions for party positions within political parties. These meetings have always been taking place prior to every general election from 1991 to date. The details of these meetings have always been to lobby from Secretary

Generals of political parties to provide opportunities or creating an enabling environment for women to participate in competitions for party positions within political parties, to lobby for the actualization of clauses in party constitutions of various political parties that support women participation in politics as well as lobbying for male support when it comes to women participation in politics. The Secretary Generals engaged by ZNWL through lobbying activities since 1991 general elections include the following; Nathan Mulonga under FDD, Wynter Kabimba, Edgar Lungu and Davis Mwila all under PF, Steven Katuka under UPND, Newstead Zimba, Micheal Sata, Katele Kalumba and Mwansa Mbulakulima all under MMD and Mwenya Musenge under NDC then. The rationale behind organizing such meetings is to make the party leadership of various political parties to understand that women are also viable to take up leadership roles in political parties. The effort being made by ZNWL to lobby for women participation in competing for party positions is as a result of having very few women ascending to elective positions in various political parties. The outcome of these meetings are that they have greatly contributed to the increase of women participating in politics though it is happening at very snail pace.

6.2.2 Advocacy

ZNWL-IF 1 stated that, the organization also advocates for women participation in intra-party competitions through the media and sometimes political platforms. For example, on 8th August, 2018 the National Women in Politics Platform chairperson Ms Saboi Emboela was hosted on Muvi Television discussing the role of the platform. In her submission, Ms Emboela informed women that the platform was formed as an initiative from ZNWL for the purpose of addressing challenges faced by women regardless of political affiliation in the area of political participation. Further, she encouraged women to rise up and be part of this platform so that they could be assisted with knowledge to drive their desire to aspire for political positions within their political parties. Ms Emboela also encouraged women to unite regardless of political affiliation and support fellow women that have the interest to participate in politics as they compete for party positions. Through such advocacy programmes, the organization encourages women in political parties to develop interest to compete for party positions so that they could be part of the decision making body within political parties and consequently have an opportunity to push for their interests and of other women in political parties. Further, ZNWL makes women to understand that competition for party positions serves as the grass root or foundation for political advancement in any political party.

Further, it is argued that for a long time women have been used as entertainment providers by men in various political parties but now ZNWL is trying to change their mind set through advocacy programmes using the media as well as encouraging them through Women Wings to be more involved in party and community activities. This is the only way women could attract party leadership to support them during competitions for party positions leading to adoptions for inter-party elections. Furthermore, women in political parties are enlightened through their Women Wings on their rights to participate in politics and the existing legislation that support women participation in decision making processes such as the National Gender Policy of 2000 and the Gender Equity and Equality Act of 2015 (interview with ZNWL-IF 1 on 19th June, 2019).

6.2.3 Capacity building programmes

In order to strengthen women's chances of being considered for party positions by their respective political parties, ZNWL provides some capacity building and mentorship programmes through workshops to Women Wings of various political parties among them PF, UPND, FDD and MMD. These workshops have been taking place prior to every general election since 1991 when multiparty system was introduced in Zambia. For instance, in the month of April, 1991 ZNWL organized a workshop in Lusaka for Women Wings. Another example was the other workshop held in the month of May, 1996 in Kabwe. In the month of July, 2016 prior to the general elections another workshop was held in Lusaka. During all the workshops, Women Wings of various political parties are capacity built in women and community mobilization, leadership skills, public speaking, importance of women participation in politics, the importance of women engaging in community activities and campaign strategies which in turn help them to effectively inspire more women to participate in competitions for party positions within political parties. Women Wings always work hand in hand with ZNWL and other women organizations especially on matters that affects women. On issues that they feel hand tied to involve party leadership, Women Wings in various political parties always invites women organizations among them ZNWL to help in addressing such huddles with the party leadership. Especially where the top party leadership become so rigid to help women. ZNWL-IF 5 argued that, the relationship that exists between Women Wings of various political parties and ZNWL plays a very significant role in uniting Women Wings regardless of their political party affiliation to stand as one to support fellow women that show interest to participate in politics. Women are also urged to corporate among themselves because

if they failed to do so, men will always take advantage of their divisions and rise to the occasion (interview with ZNWL- IF 5 on 30th June, 2019).

Furthermore, Women in Politics Platform helps women regardless of party affiliation to discuss a number of issues such as supporting one another during competitions for party positions. For instance, on 5th September, 2019 ZNWL together with its partners Demo Finland and the Finish Embassy in Zambia facilitated a mentoring session between National Women in Politics Platform (NWIP) and NYTKIS of Finland an organization of women association of all political parties with representation in Parliament. The mentoring session was conducted via skype at the Finish Embassy in Zambia and provided a platform for peer learning and experience sharing on challenges faced by women to participate in politics in Zambia and Finland. Further, it provided best practices to promote and enhance women's participation in political processes especially those aspiring to compete for party positions. The initiative by ZNWL to have women work collectively through the WIPs to address their political challenges is in agreement with Lubosi (2012) who argued that women organizations help Zambian women to have an alternative public sphere to participate as collective political actors (interview with ZNWL-IF 1 on 19th June, 2019).

Table 6.1 showing how women are underrepresented in positions of influence (Executive level) in selected political parties.

Political party	Female	Percentage	Male	Percentage
PF	3	38	5	62
UPND	2	25	6	75
MMD	2	25	6	75
FDD	2	25	6	75
NDC	2	25	6	75

Source: Gender Audit Report, 2018

After 2016 general elections, from a total of 8 National Executive Members in PF women stood at 3 representing 38 percent while men stood at 5 representing 62 percent. In UPND, from the total of 8 National Executive Members, women stood at 2 representing 25 percent and men stood at 6 representing 75 percent. From the total of 8 National Executive Members in MMD,

women occupied 2 positions representing 25 percent while that of men stood at 6 representing 75 percent. FDD also from the total of 8 National Executive Members had 2 women representing 25 percent while men were at 6 representing 75 percent. The same applied to NDC which had 2 women from the total of 8 representing 25 percent and men 6 representing 75 percent. Five political parties in the table above were selected on the basis of having representation in Parliament. These statistics from the selected political parties clearly shows that, a lot needs to be done in terms of fostering women participation in intra-party competitions especially in the area of financial and material support. This has to be done the same way those participating in national elections are being supported (Gender Audit Report, 2018).

Respondents interviewed regarding ZNWL's interventions in intra-party competitions for party positions revealed that ZNWL does not promote women participation directly by engaging individual women who happen to be the beneficiaries. Instead, ZNWL engages the party leadership through workshops and sometimes in writing urging them to inspire more women to participate in competitions for party positions. It can therefore be noted that, women aspiring to participate in competitions for party positions do not receive any direct support from ZNWL. This in itself creates a very serious problem at the foundation or grass root level of politics in the Country because it is not only information or knowledge that is required for one to participate in intra-party competitions for party positions but also material and monetary support. For instance, a woman aspiring to take part in a competition for party positions needs other people to help her campaign so that she garners support and such helpers can only be motivated to do so through material and monetary support. Without support, it is very difficult for a woman to make it in the midst of men that have all the resources required.

This eventually leads to more women shunning competitions for party positions and leave it to men to compete among themselves. As such, more women at grass root need to be supported and encouraged so that they develop interest to participate in competitions for party positions. This was supported by the key official from UPND who stated that women at grass root politics creates the basis through which political parties can adopt female candidates to participate in inter-party elections. Women are supposed to be natured by way of encouraging them to work extra hard as well as supporting them financially and materially. By so doing, they will be motivated to engage themselves in political and community activities which will eventually make them be attractive to political parties during adoption processes and competitions for party positions.

During competitions for party positions, ZNWL administers its interventions to a larger extent through political party leaders such as Secretary Generals and Chairpersons of Women Wings. This means that the organization's interventions are not directed at individual women directly who happen to be the beneficiaries. Additionally, no financial or material support comes from ZNWL to help women participate in intra-party competitions for party positions the way it is done to women adopted to contest Inter-party elections. This strategy in itself is contrary to Gelsler (2006)'s assertions that, women movements or organizations creates an avenue through which individual women could pursue their specific demands in formal politics. The reason being that, the reliance on political party leaders to disseminate information to individual women may not take place at all depending on the attitude of such leaders. Hence denying women vital information that could help them participate in intra-party competitions for party positions and consequently aspire to be part of the candidates to contest inter-party or national elections.

The current situation where women aspiring or participating in intra-party competitions are not supported directly in form of training and also not provided with finances, materials and addressing their challenges makes it difficult for them to compete effectively with their male counter parts that have all the required resources. The position taken by ZNWL with regards to providing training to party leaders as opposed to women taking part in Intra-party competitions and also not providing support to such women financially and materially is contrary to Orisadare (2019) who asserts that women's groups happen to be the strong pillar for grass root politics and a drive for more women to participate in politics. In the Zambian context this is not true because ZNWL has proved not to be a pillar of grass root politics in that it has left women to fend for themselves in terms of political information because not much trickles down to them through party leadership. Further, the organization does not provide any material and financial support to women before and during intra-party competitions. Even though ZNWL tries to urge party leadership to encourage more women to participate, it does not help because the strategy in most cases ends as a lip service. Women needs resources in order to excel in their political carrier and not only encouragements through the word of mouth. Table 6.2 below shows how the respondents responded when they were asked if at all they have benefited from ZNWL's support during competitions for party positions.

Table 6.2 showing how women responded regarding their benefit from ZNWL's interventions during competitions for party positions

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	00	00	00	00
	No	10	100	100	100
	Not sure	00	00	00	100.0
	Total	10	100.0	100.0	

Source: Primary data

All the 10 women representing 100 percent that were interviewed whether they have benefited from ZNWL's support or interventions said such interventions were not applicable to them because the organization's interest is on those women adopted to participate in national elections. A respondent from one of the political parties justified her position as follows;

A respondent from one of the Political Parties said, "*I only see ZNWL organizing capacity building workshops, providing campaign materials and financial support to women adopted by various political parties to contest as Councilors, Council Chairpersons, Mayors and Members of Parliament. I happen to be one of the women that participated in intra-party competitions for party positions (vice district secretary) and never received any support either in monetary or material form from ZNWL. This in its self discourages a lot of women to participate in intra-party competitions because they are unable to meet the costs associated with such competitions*." (10th July, 2019).

Data adduced show that women competing for party positions don't receive help from ZNWL in terms of interventions. All the 10 women interviewed representing 100 percent that took part in competitions for party positions clearly indicated that they had not received any help from ZNWL. Meaning that, any form of intervention being directed by ZNWL to individual women through the leaders does not trickle down to them. This was supported by one of the respondents from one of the political parties who said that, she had competed for the position of District Vice Secretary and never received any help from ZNWL.

Furthermore, respondents were given an opportunity to rate the performance of ZNWL in the area of promoting women participation in competing for party positions and they responded as shown in Table 6.3 below.

Table 6.3 showing how women rated the performance of ZNWL in promoting women participation in competitions for party positions

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Good	00	00	00	00
	Satisfactory	00	00	00	00
	Unsatisfactory	10	100	100	100.0
	Total	10	100.0	100.0	

Data analyzed show that all 10 respondents representing 100 percent rated ZNWL's performance in terms of administering its interventions unsatisfactory. A selected few said the following in support of their argument. One of the respondents from political parties said,

"*I happen to be one of the women that have not benefited from ZNWL's interventions during intra-party competitions for party positions but I know other women that have benefited from the organization's training programmes, financial and material support prior to national and local government elections. Hence rating ZNWL's performance unsatisfactory*." (27th June, 2019).

Another respondent said, "*I joined politics in 2011 and competed for party positions at Provincial level(treasurer) in one of the political parties in Ndola. During this competition I never heard or saw any woman receiving help from ZNWL. It is from this back ground that I rate ZNWL's performance in the political arena to be unsatisfactory*." (24th July, 2019).

When it came to rating ZNWL's performance with regards to helping or supporting women take part in party competitions for positions, all the women rated ZNWL's performance unsatisfactory. The reason being that no visible help from ZNWL is seen towards women taking part in competitions for party positions. This position was echoed by one of the respondents who stated that, she competed for party positions (treasury) at Provincial level in one of the political parties in Ndola and never heard or saw any woman receiving help from

ZNWL. As a result of her experience, decided to rate the organization's performance unsatisfactory.

6.3 ZNWL's interventions in promoting women participation in party nominations

6.3.1 Lobbying

In an attempt to strengthen women's chances of being adopted, ZNWL has always been having deliberate programmes prior to every general election since 1991 of reaching out to political party leaders at District, Provincial and National level from various political parties. The reason behind undertaking such programmes is mainly to lobby political party leaders to be gender sensitive during adoption processes when selecting or nominating candidates to contest as Councilors, Council Chairpersons, Mayors and Members of Parliament. This came about following a realization that women face serious exclusion when it came to competing for party representation in Inter-party elections. For instance, prior to 2016 general elections ZNWL organized a workshop in Kabwe where men in leadership positions at District and Provincial level from all political parties among them PF, UPND, FDD and MMD were invited to attend. During this workshop, ZNWL had to lobby participants (political party leaders) to create an enabling environment for more women to compete with men for the purpose of representing political parties during Inter-party elections. Men as leaders were targeted because they always have a negative attitude when it comes to embracing women during competitions for party nominations. Hence serving as a barrier to women being selected or adopted to contest as candidates in Inter-party elections. Similar workshops have been taking place prior to every general election since 1991 (interview with ZNWL-IF 2 on 13th May, 2019).

6.3.2 Advocacy

According to ZNWL (2017), the introduction of grade 12 certificate as the minimum qualification for one to be adopted to contest as a candidate in inter-party elections disadvantaged a lot of women during 2016 general elections. This prompted the organization to start advocating for women getting back to school through Women in Politics Forums (WIPF) so that they could start preparing to compete for party nominations towards 2021 general elections. For instance, in the month of September, 2017 ZNWL conducted an interactive forum in Solwezi where women in leadership positions and those aspiring to compete for party nominations in 2021 were invited regardless of political affiliation. Women in leadership positions were invited for the purpose of motivating those aspiring to compete for party nominations in the near future. Among the subjects discussed include the importance of women getting back to school as well as getting involved in party and community activities

early enough if they were to win support during party nominations. One of the participants an aspiring candidate for party nominations to contest as Council Chairperson for Kasempa District stated that the mentorship and interactive forum organized by ZNWL encouraged her to get back to school. Further, it also helped her to start preparing for 2021 party nominations in UPND for Council Chairperson elections in Kasempa. Such advocacy programmes have been appreciated by a lot of women because their confidence to participate in politics is being enhanced.

6.3.3 Capacity building

According to ZNWL-IF 5, Women Wings in political parties never had a voice on issues pertaining to helping fellow women compete for party nominations because they were reduced to being mere entertainment providers within party circles. For instance, whenever the head of state was scheduled to travel outside the Country, Women Wings were always called in to mobilize fellow women to provide entertainment activities in form of singing and dancing. The scenario is slowly changing because Women Wings are being capacity built by ZNWL in the area of preparing fellow women to compete for adoptions to contest as Councilors, Council Chairpersons, Mayors and Members of Parliament within political parties. This was echoed by Chikwanda (2017) who stated that political parties have Women Wings whose mandate is to promote women participation in political activities with a view to attaining 50/50 gender equality. Women in political parties are also encouraged to support fellow women that have the capacity to compete with men during the competitions for party nominations (interview with ZNWL-IF 5 on 30th June, 2019).

In an effort to helping more women participate in Intra-party politics, ZNWL created a platform called National Women in Politics (NWIPs) which helps women regardless of party affiliation to share information to do with women participation in politics and work collectively. The National Women in Politics (NWIP) comprise of the chairperson and two representatives from Women Wings of each active political parties namely PF, UPND, MMD, FDD, ADD, UNIP, NAREP, Rainbow, DP and NDC bringing the total number of members to 30. The members elect their leaders as Chairperson, Vice Chairperson, Secretary, Vice Secretary, Treasurer and four Trustees. This platform was created in 2013 by ZNWL with financial support from Demo Finland for the purpose of coordinating women in politics, building capacities of women aspiring to participate in intra-party and national elections, raising awareness regarding the importance of voting for women and increasing the number of female Councilors, Council Chairpersons, Mayors and Members of Parliament by encouraging more women to participate

in competitions for party nominations. This is regarded as the only way women could have an opportunity to represent their political parties during inter-party elections. The platform's activities since its inception have contributed greatly to the increase of Members of Parliament and Councilors though at a very snail pace. For instance, after 2011 general elections female Members of Parliament stood at 17 translating 11.4 percent and after 2016 general elections increased to 29 female Members of Parliament translating 19.2 percent. On the other hand, the number of female Councilors stood at 83 translating 6.3 percent after 2011 general elections and increased to 216 female Councilors translating 8 percent in 2016 (interview with ZNWL-IF 2 on 13th May, 2019).

ZNWL-IF 2, further stated that, this platform is not only at national level but also extends to Districts so that female leaders from various political parties are brought together as political actors in Districts as well. This initiative is really helping women to be enlightened on a number of issues that affect them as they pursue their political carrier. ZNWL through the WIPs raises awareness through the media regarding the importance of women taking part in politics. Through the same initiative, women are also encouraged to be actively involved in political and community activities. A good example of such programmes in the media is one organized by the National Women in Politics (NWIPs) on 5th March, 2018 on United Voice radio meant to raise awareness regarding women participation in politics. During this programme, women regardless of political affiliation were encouraged to be actively involved in party and community activities if they were to gain recognition during party nominations as 2021 general elections draw near. Women were further urged to unite and actively contribute in the fight against political violence and tribalism that have engulfed politics in Zambia. The discussants during this programme were women leaders from PF, NDC, UPND, MMD and FDD being active political parties with representation in Parliament.

The introduction of grade 12 certificate as a minimum qualification for one to be adopted to contest as a candidate in Inter-Party elections affected a lot of women who aspired to compete for nominations in various political parties and ended up pulling out of the race. This made ZNWL through its forum called Women In Politics Forum (WIPF) to start advocating for women to get back to school so that they could obtain a grade 12 certificate. This was supported by one of the respondents in Solwezi who confirmed having attended an interactive forum that was organized by ZNWL. According to her, she was motivated and encouraged to get back to school so that she could prepare for the competition of party nominations for the position of District Council Chairperson in Kasempa prior to 2021 general elections. This is where ZNWL

misses a point, women can be encouraged to get back to school quiet okay but not all have the resources to pay for GCE examinations and private tuitions. As such the organization need to go a little further and organize resources for women being encouraged to get back to school.

In the recent past and even now, women in political parties are reduced to be entertainment providers at the airport whenever the head of state was leaving the Country or arriving from other Countries. However, the situation is slowly changing because a number of women organizations including ZNWL have come on board to capacity build Women Wings of various political parties so that they could in turn encourage individual women to compete for nominations within political parties. This is the only way more women could participate in decision making processes through politics especially after being adopted and take part in inter-party elections. While the initiative is welcome, the strategy being used is not helpful to individual women who are not part of the membership of Women Wings. The training being provided by ZNWL is directed to Women Wings and not individual women who happen to be the beneficiaries hence denying them vital information that can help them develop the confidence to compete with men during competition for nominations within political parties. This was confirmed by one of the respondents who stated that, she competed for party nominations in one of the political parties in 2011 in Kabwe with the intention to contest Parliamentary elections and never received any help or support from ZNWL or any other women organization.

Further, ZNWL created a platform known as National Women In Politics as a strategy of helping women develop the interest to participate in grass root politics especially competition for nominations in various political parties. This strategy is helping women to come on board and compete for party nominations within political parties though it is happening at a snail pace. The snail pace is attributed to the membership of the same platform. The same platform comprises of members from Women Wings of various political parties who have lamentably failed to improve women participation at grass root politics. Women as respondents were interviewed if at all they have benefited any help or support from ZNWL's interventions during competitions for nominations within political parties and responded as shown in Table 6.4 below.

Table 6.4 showing women's responses regarding their benefit from ZNWL's interventions when competing for nominations within political parties

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	00	00	00	00
	No	20	100	100	100
	Not sure	00	00	00	100.0
	Total	20	100.0	100.0	

Data analyzed show that all the 20 women representing 100 percent that were interviewed with regards to receiving support from ZNWL as they competed for nominations in their political parties denied having benefited from such interventions. A few of them argued as follows;

A respondent from one of the Political Parties said, "*I competed for party nominations in one of the political parties in 2011 in Kabwe where i intended to contest Parliamentary elections and never received any support from ZNWL or any other women organization*." (18th May, 2019).

Another respondent said, "*I took part in the competition for nominations in one of the political parties in Ndola prior to 2016 general elections and I was adopted to contest as Mayor. During competition for nominations, I never received any support or help from ZNWL*". (2nd June, 2019).

Women that compete for nominations within political parties also don't receive any help from ZNWL like their counter parts who compete for party positions. Data analyzed in Table 6.4 show that none of the women interviewed received any support from ZNWL either in form money or materials. This was supported by one of the respondents from one of the political parties who clearly stated that, she competed for party nominations in one of the political parties in Kabwe where she intended to contest Parliamentary elections and never received any support from ZNWL or any other organization. Thereafter, women were given an opportunity to rate ZNWL's interventions with regards to supporting women competing for party nominations in various political parties and responded as shown in Table 6.5 below.

Table 6.5 showing how women rated ZNWL's performance in promoting women participation in competitions for party nominations in political parties

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Very Good	00	00	00	00
	Good	00	00	00	00
	Satisfactory	00	00	00	00
	Unsatisfactory	20	100	100	100.0
	Total	20	100.0	100.0	

Data analyzed show that all 20 women representing 100 percent that competed for nominations within their political parties rated ZNWL's performance unsatisfactory.

One of the respondents had this to say in supporting her position, "*These women organizations are just interested in supporting women that are already adopted and not those fighting for adoption within political parties. For instance, I took part in a competition for party nominations in MMD in 2001 in Lusaka with a view to contesting Local Government elections as a Councilor and never received any support from ZNWL. Hence rating the organization's performance to be unsatisfactory*." (24th May, 2019).

All the 20 women representing 100 percent that were interview in line with benefiting from ZNWL's interventions during the competitions for nominations within political parties, rated the organization's performance unsatisfactory. Their decision was based on none availability of such interventions from ZNWL during such competitions. One of the respondents came out openly and stated that ZNWL is just interested to supporting women already adopted by various political parties than those still struggling to be adopted. Further, she stated that, having participated in competitions for party nominations within MMD in 2001 with the view to contesting Local Government elections as a Councilor never received any support from ZNWL. This is what made her to rate ZNWL's performance unsatisfactory.

Women competing for nominations within political parties face serious challenges among them being lack of resources to help them compete effectively with their male counter parts. Further, competitions for party nominations in various political parties are always associated with corrupt practices mainly to entice those responsible in the final selection process. ZNWL rarely comes to the aid of women facing such challenges during competitions for nominations in

political parties. When women were asked if at all ZNWL comes to their aid to address challenges they go through, they responded as shown in table 6.6 below.

Table 6.6 showing women's responses regarding ZNWL addressing their challenges

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	very little is being done to address challenges	15	75.0	75.0	75
	Intervened to address our challenges	2	10.0	10.0	85.0
	Remained Silent	3	15	15.0	100.0
	Total	20	100.0	100.0	

Data analyzed show that out of 20 women that were sampled, 15 women representing 75 percent argued that very little is being done by ZNWL to address their challenges. 02 women representing 10 percent stated that ZNWL intervened to address some of their challenges and 03 women representing 15 percent decided to remain silent or never provided any response.

A respondent from among the 02 that confirmed having received some help from ZNWL in the midst of their challenges said, "*When we started receiving reports of corruption during the adoption process in 2011, the complaint was tabled before ZNWL and they came to engage party leadership. I remember the party leadership was urged to monitor the whole process so that women are not disadvantaged. The coming in of ZNWL at least helped in a way to reduce cases of corruption*." (3rd August, 2019).

On the other hand, one of the respondents from among 15 women who stated that very limited is being put in by ZNWL to address challenges faced by women as they endeavor to participate in competition for adoptions supported her position by saying that, " *I made an attempt to compete for party nominations but I was informed point blank by one of the party leaders that chances of me being adopted were very low because I did not have resources to use during political campaigns once adopted. I confirmed his statement to be true when I was left out.*

When this statement was issued before the competition, I reported this matter to ZNWL and other women organizations but none of them came to my aid." (7th August, 2019).

Respondents also revealed that, ZNWL's help towards addressing challenges faced by women as they endeavor to participate in politics is very limited as shown in Table 6.6 where 15 women representing 75 percent who argued that very little is being done by the organization to address their challenges. Among the challenges faced by women include; political parties allow women to contest seats outside their strong hold where victory is not guaranteed and in the process knock them out technically. Further, women are not being adopted to contest as candidates in elections because they do not have resources to support party activities especially during campaign period. For instance, on the Copperbelt in PF, out of 21 Constituencies in 2016 only one woman was adopted to contest as Member of Parliament for Kalulushi Constituency. This clearly shows that women are not given equal chance with men to participate in politics and this is contrary to the requirement of 50/50 women representation in most Constitutions of political parties.

6.4 Chi-Square Test

The Chi-square test was employed to measure the relationship between ZNWL's interventions and individual women that took part in Intra-party competitions. In the first place, the test is guided by two hypotheses namely research hypothesis and null hypothesis. Research hypothesis states that the variables are dependent on each other to attain the desired results or there exist an association between them. The null hypothesis states that there is no association between the variables or they are independent of each other. According to the Chi-Square Test, when the probability of the alpha error rate is equal or less than 0.05 or 5 percent it means that the association between the two variables is statistically significant. This Means that the association or relationship does exist between the two variables leading to the null hypothesis being rejected. On the other hand, if the probability of the alpha error rate is more than 0.05 or 5 percent it means that the association is statistically insignificant. This Means that the variables are independent of each other in line with what the null hypothesis stands for hence retaining it. The tables below show the results of the Chi-Square Test that was conducted in determining the level of relationship between ZNWL's interventions and individual women as beneficiaries (Plackett, 1983a).

Table 6.7 shows the results of the Case processing summary and Table 6.8 shows the results of the Chi-Square Test. Further, Table 6.9 shows the Symmetric Measure which brings out the

strength of the relationship between ZNWL's interventions and Women as beneficiaries. All the tables mentioned brings about the overall results of the Chi-Square Test conducted.

Table 6.7 showing the results of the case processing summary

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Respondent * Does ZNWL support women aspiring or taking part in intra-party competitions and if so, what benefit have you attained from such interventions.	20	100.0%	0	0.0%	20	100.0%

Table 6.8 showing the results of the chi-square tests

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	2.416[a]	6	.878
Likelihood Ratio	3.088	6	.798
Linear-by-Linear Association	.076	1	.783
N of Valid Cases	20		

a. 10 cells (83.3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .01.

Table 6.9 showing the results of the symmetric measures

Symmetric Measures

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error[a]	Approx. T[b]	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.164			.878
	Cramer's V	.116			.878
	Contingency Coefficient	.162			.878
Interval by Interval	Pearson's R	.029	.076	.273	.785[c]
Ordinal by Ordinal	Spearman Correlation	-.017	.099	-.157	.876[c]
N of Valid Cases		20			

a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.
b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.
c. Based on normal approximation.

The table of interest in this test is Table 6.8 which is labeled Chi-Square Test and the area of focus is the Pearson row which shows the P value. In this row, the Chi-Square Statistic measure is 2.416 and the P value is shown at the far end in the same row as 0.878. The P value in this case is greater than the alpha rate of error of 0.05 meaning the association between the two variables under consideration is statistically insignificant. This means that there isn't enough evidence to suggest the existence of a strong relationship or association between ZNWL's support in terms of interventions and the respondents being the beneficiaries. The other area of interest is the footnote of the Chi-Square Table, the footnote relates to the expected cell count assumption (i.e expected cell counts are all greater than 5): no cell had an expected count less than 5, so this assumption was met.

However, the Chi-Square Test does not measure the strength of the relationship or association but instead it is done by Phi and Cramer's V as shown in the Symmetric Measures in Table 6.9. This measurement shows that the strength of association or relationship is very weak as 0.164 and 0.116 respectively.

6.5 Challenges encountered by ZNWL in promoting women participation in intra-party competitions

Funding happens to be a major challenge because in most cases it is controlled by the funders who happen to be the donors. Donors decide the areas where their money should be spent on and this means that the funds given to ZNWL cannot be diverted outside the parameters set by the donors. Further, despite ZNWL capacity building Chairpersons of Women Wings and Secretary Generals from various political parties on matters of gender meant to help women participate in politics, such interventions don't trickle down to individual women that happen to be the beneficiaries. Advocacy that take place through the media poses a lot of challenges as well because feedback takes too long to be received and in some cases never received at all. This puts ZNWL in an awkward situation not knowing whether the information being disseminated reaches the intended beneficiaries.

6.6 Conclusion

ZNWL promotes women participation in decision making processes through politics. This is done through lobbying from leaders of various political parties such as Chairpersons of Women Wing and Secretary Generals for the purpose of encouraging more women to take part in Intra-Party competitions. Further, ZNWL raises awareness regarding the importance of women taking part in grass root politics and also capacity build the leaders of various political parties on matters meant to help women participate in Intra-party competitions. However, the strategy

being used by ZNWL to reach out to individual women aspiring or taking part in Intra-party competitions through their leaders is not working well because such interventions do not reach them. Hence making the interventions to be ineffective and limited. Consequently, women are denied vital information that could help them develop the confidence to compete with their male counter parts during Intra-party competitions. This in turn makes ZNWL's interventions in promoting women participation in Intra-party competitions not to be effective.

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CHAPTER SEVEN
ZNWL'S INTERVENTIONS IN ENHANCING CAPACITIES OF ADOPTED AND ELECTED FEMALE CANDIDATES IN INTER-PARTY ELECTIONS

7.1 Introduction

This chapter will discuss ZNWL's interventions in enhancing capacities of women adopted and elected female candidates during Inter-party elections. Women involvement in national elections is key when it comes to women ascending to decision making positions and consequently take part in decision making processes. Anonymity on the part of respondents and informants is critical in this chapter. As such, codes will be used to identify informants and individual women will be referred as respondents. In this case ZNWL-IF 1 stands for National Board Chairperson, ZNWL-IF 6 stands for ZNWL Chairperson Men's Net Work for Ndola and ZNWL-IF 4 stands for Chairperson North Western Chapter. ZNWL stands for Zambia National Women Lobby and IF stands for Informant. This discussion is divided into five (05) sections as follows; the first section being the introduction. The second section will discuss ZNWL's interventions in promoting women participation in National elections. The third section will discuss ZNWL's interventions in enhancing capacities of female candidates elected in inter-party elections. The fourth section will look at challenges encountered by ZNWL in enhancing capacities of adopted and elected female candidates during Inter-party elections. Thereafter, a conclusion will be made based on the discussion.

7.2 ZNWL's interventions in promoting women participation in national elections

In this study, national election is referred to Local Government and Parliamentary elections which are organized by the Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ). ZNWL-IF 1 argued that, despite women being the majority according to Central Statistics Estimates of 2019 standing at 9.02 million representing 51 percent and that of their male counter parts standing at 8.84 representing 49 percent, they are always the minority when it comes to participating in national elections. Hence having a small number of women participating in national elections as actors. This is in agreement with H.M Consultancy (2015) who argued that gender based disparities persist in favour of males in decision making processes. Despite women comprising 51 percent of the population, they face serious exclusion in all spheres of development including national elections. In trying to address the problem of women exclusion in national elections, ZNWL employs a number of interventions. Unlike in intra-party competitions, ZNWL interacts directly with individual women adopted to contest as candidates in Local Government and Parliamentary elections.

The promotion of women participation in national elections by ZNWL is regarded as the second phase of its activities. In the second phase, ZNWL intervenes by engaging the Adoption Committees and Women Wings of various political parties among them PF, UPND, FDD and MMD requesting them to provide names of adopted women to contest as candidates in Local Government and Parliamentary elections. The four mentioned political parties were targeted because they do have representation in Parliament and Councils. Once the names are received from various political parties, the organization begins to draw a programme to support such women through empowerment programmes (interview with ZNWL-IF 1 on 19th June, 2019). The interventions being employed by ZNWL with regards to promoting women participation in national elections are discussed in details here under.

7.2.1 Capacity building

ZNWL builds capacities of women adopted by various political parties to contest Local Government and Parliamentary elections through workshops. Women adopted to contest as Councilors, Council Chairpersons, Mayors and Members of Parliament are trained by ZNWL in campaign techniques, community mobilization, leadership skills, communication skills, fundraising techniques to mention a few. Some of the specific cases were ZNWL conducted workshops include the following; In 1992, ZNWL played an important role by touring rural areas for the purpose of conducting workshops to educate women on the importance of voting as well as participating as candidates in Local Government elections. Further, women received training in community mobilization, communication skills and fundraising techniques. This initiative led to more women developing the interest to participate in the 1992 Local Government elections. In the process ZNWL's trainers of the Local Government election workshops who participated where Sylvia Masebo who later became the Mayor of Lusaka while Eva Sanderson became the Mayor of Kitwe (ZNWL,1998). ZNWL was also instrumental towards 1996 general elections. This was during the chairmanship of Ms Gladys Mutukwa (1993 -1997) who succeeded Ms Harrison. Since the organization had grown to Provincial Centres, workshops were conducted to capacity build adopted female candidates in campaign techniques, fundraising strategies, community mobilization and leadership skills. Among those that benefited from this training programme was princes Nakatindi Wina who was adopted to contest Kanyama Constituency seat as a Member of Parliament on the MMD ticket (Mwafulilwa, 1996).

Furthermore, ZNWL-IF 6 stated that some of the female adopted candidates that benefited from the capacity building programmes of 2011, 2016 and 2019 included the following; Ms

Buumba Malambo Councilor for Magoba ward in Chiyawa area Kafue District who was adopted in 2016 on the UPND ticket, Mrs Chimwemwe Banda who was adopted to contest as District Council Chairperson in 2019 for the newly created Chasefu District on the PF ticket, Ms Jean Kapata who was adopted to contest as Member of Parliament for Mandevu Constituency for the first time in 2011 on the PF ticket, Ms Brenda Tambatamba who was adopted to contest as Member of Parliament for Kasempa Constituency on the UPND ticket in 2016, Given Katuta who was adopted to contest as Member of Parliament for Chiengi Constituency in 2016 on the FDD ticket, Ms Lucy Changwe who was adopted to contest as Member of Parliament for Mkushi North Constituency on the MMD ticket in 2006 to mention a few. The acquired skills from ZNWL's training programmes help women adopted to contest as candidates in Local Government and Parliamentary elections to mobilize their campaign activities effectively (interview with ZNWL-IF 6 on 26th July, 2019).

7.2.2 Women empowerment

Apart from ZNWL providing training through capacity building to women adopted to contest as candidates in national (local government and Parliamentary) elections, the organization also empowers them through the provision of campaign materials and financial support. This empowerment is coming from the back ground of women being vulnerable and not having the muscle to raise the required resources to meet the costs associated with political campaigns. The organization has been providing campaign materials such as Bicycles, T/shirts, Chitenge materials and Posters including Financial support ranging between K1000 and K1600 to women adopted to contest as candidates in national elections (Bull, 2012). Since ZNWL's inception in 1991, women adopted to contest as Councilors and Members of Parliament benefited from this empowerment programme that is between 1991 and 2015. After 2016 Constitutional Amendment, the benefit was extended to Council Chairpersons and Mayors who also joined the race of being elected into office by the electorates. Among the beneficiaries include Mrs Lemba who was adopted to contest as Councilor of Lukanga ward in Kabwe Central Constituency on the UPND ticket in 2001 and received K1000, Chushi C. Kasanda who was adopted to contest as Member of Parliament for Chisamba Constituency on the UPND ticket in 2016 and is currently serving as a Member of Parliament, Given Katuta who was adopted to contest as a Member of Parliament for Chiengi Constituency in 2016 on the FDD ticket and currently the serving Member of Parliament, Elizabeth Phiri who was adopted to contest as a Member of Parliament for Kanyama constituency in 2016 on the PF ticket and is also the current serving Member of Parliament just to mention a few. All the mentioned

candidates that were adopted in 2016 received K1600 each and on top of that they also received a bicycle, 15 T/shirts, 15 chitenge materials as well as few posters as part of their empowerment (interview with ZNWL-IF 6 on 19th June, 2019).

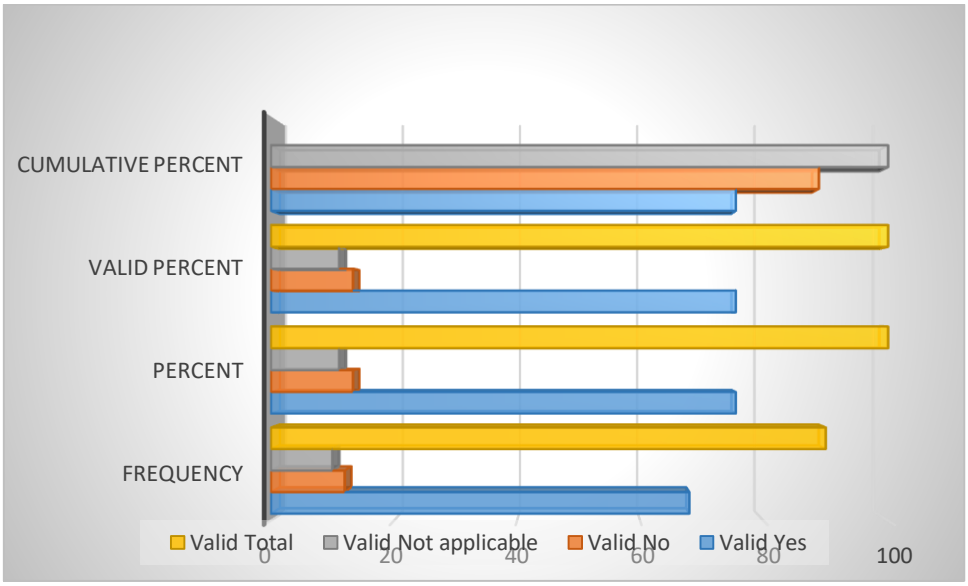
In addition to financial support and campaign materials, ZNWL-IF 4 stated that, the organization moves a step further to campaign with female candidates in the field. Whilst in the field, the organization facilitates campaign meetings by way of organizing venues and also paying for such venues. Further, during political campaigns ZNWL urges the electorates regardless of their political affiliation to support all women that are contesting in Local Government and Parliamentary elections. This support comes from the back ground of women being vulnerable. The vulnerability of women makes it difficult for them to participate because politics has become highly commercialized. In the process, women without support are excluded despite having brilliant ideas that could help in developing communities and the country as whole. Hence ZNWL coming on board to help women threatened with exclusion. Out of the female candidates that ZNWL went with in the field to campaign, a few were selected as follows; Mrs Chimwemwe Banda who was adopted to contest as Council Chairperson for the newly created Chasefu District on the PF ticket in 2018. Princes Nakatindi Wina who was adopted to contest Kanyama Constituency as Member of Parliament on the MMD ticket in 1996. Ms Rosemary Chipampe who was adopted to contest as Member of Parliament for Nchelenge Constituency on the MMD ticket in 2001. Ms Sara Saifwanada who was adopted to contest as Member of Parliament during Mwanawasa's second term in 2006. Ms Magret Miti who was adopted to contest Vubwi Constituency as Member of Parliament on PF ticket in 2011. Ms Brenda Tambatamba who was adopted to contest Kasempa Constituency as Member Parliament for UPND in 2016 (interview with ZNWL-IF 4 on 5th July, 2019).

When it came to women participating in national elections the study revealed that, women that contested as candidates in national elections did so after being inspired by various stakeholders among them ZNWL and their political parties. The respondents further stated that ZNWL plays a very important role when it comes to promoting women participation in Local Government and Parliamentary elections. According to the respondents from selected political parties, ZNWL engages the party leadership regardless of their political affiliation requesting them to provide names of female candidates adopted to contest national elections. Thereafter, the organization begins to conduct some training and awareness programmes meant to capacity build adopted women so that they could compete with men effectively during elections. This was echoed by Datta, et al (1998) who stated that women's NGOs helps women through

training and awareness to be more knowledgeable of their political rights and capabilities in politics. This was also supported by one of the respondents who added her voice that in 2006 she benefited from ZNWL's workshops where the organization educated women in leadership skills, community mobilization and to be self-reliant. One the respondents confessed that before the training, she was a very shy person who could not stand in front of people to articulate issues that affects community but now she is able to express herself freely.

The study further revealed that, during training and awareness programmes adopted women acquire knowledge directly from ZNWL in the area of leadership skills, campaign strategies, fundraising techniques, community mobilization as well as communication skills. It also came to light that, ZNWL has been promoting women participation in national elections since 1991 when it was established. The organization has also been helping adopted women contesting as candidates in Local Government and Parliamentary elections with financial and campaign material support. For instance, during 2001 campaign period, ZNWL provided K1000=00 cash to women that contested as Councilors and Members of Parliament in various wards and constituencies in the Country. During the 2016 general election campaign, the amount was increased to K1600=00 of which most of the female candidates that contested as Councilors, Mayors, Council Chairpersons as well as Members of Parliament benefited. Female candidates also received campaign materials such as Bicycles, T/shirts, few Posters and Chitenge materials. At least most of the female candidates benefited one Bicycle, 15 T/shirts, 15 Chitenge materials and a few Posters. This support was confirmed by one the respondents from MMD who said that, during 2011 general elections she contested as a Councilor in Kabwe and during campaign period she received financial support of K1000 and some campaign materials such 15 T/Shirts, 15 Chitenge materials, a Bicycle and some Posters. According to a respondent, this support helped her kick start campaign activities though not enough but unfortunately failed to make it after the elections. Thereafter, respondents were asked if they have benefited from ZNWL's interventions as it promotes women participation in national elections and responded as shown in figure 7.1 below.

Figure 7.1 showing how women responded when asked if at all they have benefited from ZNWL's interventions in national elections.



Data analyzed show that out the total sample of 90 women, 68 women translating 75.6 percent confirmed having benefited from ZNWL's interventions. 12 women representing 13.3 percent confirmed having not benefited from ZNWL's interventions and 10 women representing 11.1 percent stated that the support was not applicable to them because they only took part in intra-party competitions where ZNWL has no interest to provide direct support.

Among the women that confirmed having benefited from ZNWL's interventions a selected few had this to say in support their argument.

A respondent from one of the political parties said, "*This has been my second work shop with ZNWL and it has been an eye opener on my part. ZNWL organizes these workshops to help us women on how we can operate in our offices as civic leaders. During the workshop I learnt that we are supposed to embrace the media. Before the workshop I didn't know and some of us were even scared of journalists but now I know that am supposed to be friend the media. The media helps in informing the electorates about the developmental programmes taking place*." (14th June, 2019).

Another respondent said, "*In 2006 I benefited from ZNWL's workshops where the organization educated women in leadership skills, community mobilization and to be self-reliant. Before the training I was a very shy person to stand in front of people to articulate issues that affects the community but now am able to express myself. I really thank ZNWL for the works they are doing meant to help women participate in decision making processes*." (11th June, 2019).

On the other hand, some respondents from among the 12 women that confirmed having not benefited anything from ZNWL's support substantiated their argument as follows;

A respondent from one of the Political Parties said, "*I was approached quiet okay by ZNWL officials in Ndola who wanted to confirm if I was contesting for Mayoral elections prior to 2016 general elections as they were informed and I told them it was true. Later they left with a promise that they would come back with some campaign materials to help me during campaigns and that was the end. Their failure to honor their promise really affected my campaign preparations because I had all the hope to receive some help from ZNWL*." (21st July, 2019).

Another respondent said, "*For me, I just hear of ZNWL conducting some workshops in Lusaka and other areas for the purpose training women adopted to contest Local Government and Parliamentary elections. Here in Choma I have not seen them conduct some trainings the way it is done in other areas. This could be one of the reasons why I have not benefited from their activities*." (23rd June, 2019).

A respondent from one of the political parties also said, "*When ZNWL was just established in the early 90s, its activities in form of workshops, provision of campaign materials and financial support were visible especially prior to general elections that took place between 1991 and 2006. Coming to 2011 and 2016 general elections ZNWL's activities seem to have drastically reduced leading to some women not benefiting from such interventions and I happen to be one of those that have not benefited from such interventions*." (1st August, 2019).

Further it was revealed that, all the support being received from ZNWL in form of Training, Finances and Campaign materials provide some relief to adopted female candidates during campaign period. For instance, the knowledge that is acquired through training help female candidates to develop their confidence to compete with men effectively in the political arena. However, respondents were quick to state that the support being received is not enough to carter for all the costs incurred during the entire campaign period. Some respondents also argued that the K1000 or K1600 being given can only take them for a day or two. This amount cannot cover the cost of feeding and transportation of foot soldiers including fuel on a daily basis for a period of 90 days which is stipulated in the Constitution as the campaign period. In short, this support is considered to be helping female candidates in a small way and some said it is just a drop in the Ocean. This was also supported by one of the respondents who argued that despite ZNWL supporting women participation in national elections through Finances and Campaign

materials. Such support is not enough to alleviate challenges women go through especially during campaign period. The adopted candidate is expected to cover long distances to canvas for support as well as feeding people supporting them. When they were asked if ZNWL provides solutions to their challenges mentioned above, women responded as shown in Table 7.1 below.

Table 7.1 showing women's responses regarding ZNWL addressing their challenges during national elections

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	very little is being done to address challenges	78	86.7	86.7	86.7
	Intervened to address our challenges	9	10.0	10.0	96.7
	Not sure	3	3.3	3.3	100.0
	Total	90	100.0	100.0	

Data presented in Table 7.1 show that out of the total sample of 90 respondents, 78 women representing 86.7 stated that very little is being done by ZNWL to address challenges they go through. 09 women translating 10 percent confirmed having received some help from ZNWL in terms of addressing their challenges and 03 women representing 3.3 percent were not sure of what to say and decided not to respond to the question that was posed.

Among the respondents that confirmed having not received any help from ZNWL with regards to challenges, the selected few argued as follows: -

A respondent from one of the political parties said, "*I was adopted quiet okay to contest as a Councilor in one of the wards on the PF ticket in Solwezi but being the strong hold of UPND I couldn't make it. The problem here is that, political parties have the tendency of allowing women to contest un safe seats outside their strong holds where wining is not guaranteed. This is happening in almost all the political parties and when this was brought to the attention of ZNWL to date nothing has been done and now we are moving closer to 2021 general elections.*

Since nothing is done to address the problem, it is most likely that the same scenario will repeat. This is the right time for ZNWL to start engaging leaders of political parties to address the problem." (8th July, 2019).

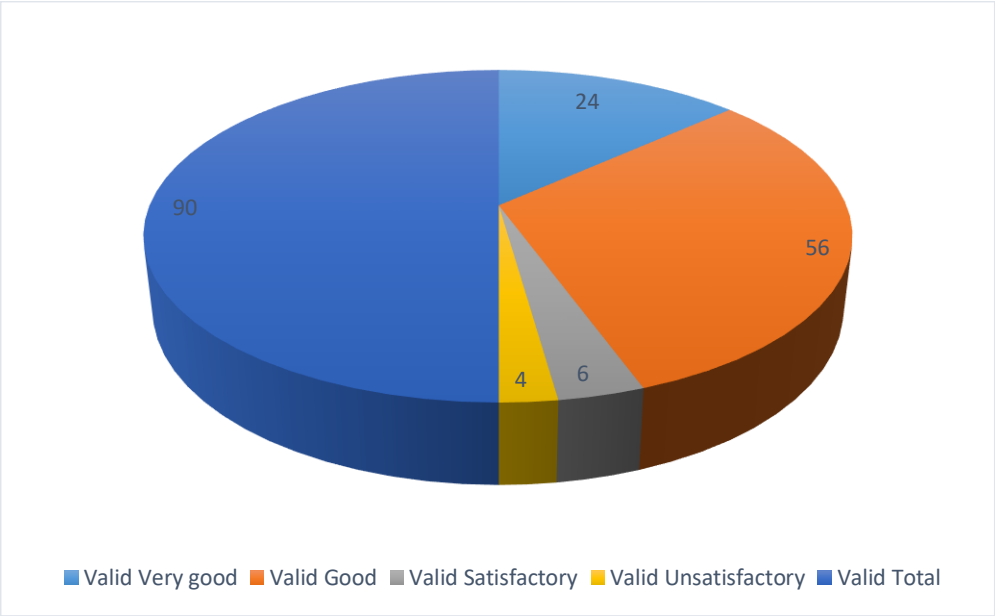
Another respondent said, "*The biggest challenge women face is lack of resources both financial and materials. Without such resources, it is very difficult for a woman who is already vulnerable to compete effectively with men in an election. During 2016 general election campaign, I was promised to be helped by ZNWL but never fulfilled their promise and this affected my campaign preparations because I was so expectant to receive some help."* (11th July, 2019).

On the other hand, some respondents from among the 9 women that confirmed having received some help from ZNWL in the midst of their challenges justified their position as follows;

One of the respondents said, "*The help that I received from ZNWL in terms of a bicycle, T/shirts, chitenge materials and some money really helped me to kick start my campaign activities though not enough it was a relief. I just want to urge ZNWL in future elections especially 2021 to increase on the support being directed towards women adopted to contest Parliamentary and Local Government elections."* (23rd June, 2019).

This data clearly shows that ZNWL's interventions are more directed to helping women in the area of Training, Financial support and Campaign materials at the expense of other challenges such as intimidation, lack of support from men, contesting unsafe seats etc. This is a serious problem on the part of ZNWL because a female candidate can be given all the support in form of Training, Finances and Campaign materials but still lose an election on the basis of contesting un safe seat outside the strong hold of a political party. This was supported by one of the respondents from political parties who argued that, she was adopted to contest Local Government elections as a Councilor in 2016 in Solwezi on a PF ticket. However, being a strong hold of UPND she could not make it after an election. The problem she raised is that, political parties have a tendency of allowing women to contest unsafe seats which are outside their strong holds where wining an election is not guaranteed. In the process women are knocked out technically from the race of participating in decision making processes through politics. Thereafter, respondents were given an opportunity to rate the performance of ZNWL in the area of promoting women participation in national elections and responded as shown in figure 7.2 below.

Figure 7.2 showing women's ratings regarding ZNWL's performance in promoting women participation in national elections



The study shows that out of the sample of 90 women, 24 representing 26.7 percent rated ZNWL's performance to be very good. 56 of them representing 62.2 percent rated the organization's performance to be good and 6 women representing 6.7 percent rated ZNWL's performance to be satisfactory. Additionally, 4 women representing 4.4 percent rated ZNWL's performance to be unsatisfactory.

A respondent from among the 24 women that rated ZNWL's performance in promoting women participation in politics to be very good said,

"*ZNWL is doing its best to help women participate in politics. I happen to be one of the beneficiaries of ZNWL's capacity building programmes during campaigns when I was adopted to contest as a Member of Parliament for Zambezi West Constituency in 2011 on the PF ticket. It is from that huge benefit that I rate ZNWL's performance in terms of helping women to participate in politics to be very good*." (5th July, 2019).

Further, a respondent from among the 56 women that rated ZNWL's performance in promoting women participation in politics to be good said,

"*In 1996 I was adopted to contest Local Government elections as a Councilor for Tuvwanganai ward in Solwezi on the MMD ticket. During political campaigns, ZNWL empowered me with*

K1000 cash, 15 T/shirts, 15 chitenge materials and some few posters. On top of that, I was trained in leadership skills, community mobilization and fundraising techniques. This empowerment from ZNWL prompted me to rate the organization's performance to be good." (7th July, 2019).

Among the 4 respondents that rated ZNWL's performance in politics to be unsatisfactory, one woman said, "*During 2016 general election campaigns, I was adopted to contest for Mayoral elections in Ndola on the UPND ticket and in the process i was promised support in form of finances and campaign materials by ZNWL officials. To my surprise, the organization failed to honor its promise and now am not even sure if really the organization provides any support to women participating in politics. Basing on what I went through, I have no choice but to rate ZNWL's performance unsatisfactory*." (18th July, 2019).

Through this study, it was learnt that most of the respondents that rated ZNWL's performance very good and good are those that participated in Local Government and Parliamentary elections. Their response is attributed to the benefits which they attained from the organization's interventions in form of capacity building through training activities and empowerment in monetary form as well as campaign materials. This was in line with one of the respondents' assertions who stated that, in 1996 she was adopted to contest Local Government elections as a Councilor for Tuvwanganai Ward in Solwezi. During political campaign, she was empowered by ZNWL in terms of K1000 cash, 15 T/Shirts, 15 Chitenge materials and some posters. On top of that, she was trained in Leadership skills, Community mobilization and Fundraising techniques. This empowerment from ZNWL prompted her to rate ZNWL's performance to be good. Others are those that did not benefit from ZNWL's interventions despite being promised and later rated the organization to be unsatisfactory. This connected well with one of the respondents' narration who said that, she was adopted to contest Mayoral elections in Ndola during 2016 general elections. In the process she was promised to receive support in form of Finances and Campaign materials by ZNWL officials. To her surprise, the organization failed to honor its promise and now the respondent is not even sure if really ZNWL provides support to women participating in politics. Basing on what she went through, the respondent had no choice but to rate ZNWL's performance unsatisfactory.

7.3 ZNWL's interventions in enhancing capacity for women elected as candidates in inter-party elections

This is regarded as the third phase through which ZNWL promotes women participation in decision making processes in the political arena. During the third phase, the organization under

takes a paradigm shift from training women adopted to contest as candidates in national elections to candidates elected as female Councilors, Council chairpersons, Mayors and Members of Parliament. Through such programmes, elected candidates receive training in public speaking to enable them articulate issues affecting members of the community effectively. Further, they are also capacity built on how best they could interact with members of the community to win support and how to attract developmental projects for communities they serve. This training is done as the term begins and after the mid-term, ZNWL conducts an evaluation to measure the performance of all trained female Councilors, Mayors, Council chairpersons and Members of Parliament in their respective Constituencies, Wards and Districts. The evaluation is based on the activities promised to be delivered in their respective communities against those delivered. For instance, in the month of July, 2019 ZNWL conducted a two-day capacity building reflection workshop in Lusaka for female Councilors drawn from Kaoma, Kapiri-mposhi and Lusaka. This workshop was meant to facilitate personal reflections among the female Councilors on their political journey since they were elected during 2016 general elections. The focus was on their achievements, challenges and lessons learnt. Further, the workshop created a platform for female Councilors to share personal experiences and also helped individuals to come up with development plans for 2021. When the evaluation process reveals that the elected female leader's performance is below average, such a one is advised forth with to improve in the remaining half of the term to avoid loss of confidence from the electorates (interview with ZNWL-IF 6 on 26th July, 2019).

7.3.1 Capacity building programmes

Further, ZNWL provides training to female Parliamentarians for the purpose of building capacity on issues to do with integration of gender and pro-poor issues in the formulation of laws. Female Parliamentarians are enlightened on their importance when it comes to influencing the introduction of bills in Parliament that support gender mainstreaming as well as encouraging their male counterparts to support such bills. They are also made to understand that women's rights can only be respected by all when they are backed by legislation. Hence joining hands to fight for the formulation and enactment of gender laws that spear head gender mainstreaming especially in the private sector where the environment is volatile. For instance, on 15th December, 2018 ZNWL held a workshop for female Members of Parliament which was meant to further strengthen women legislators' skills on integration of gender and pro-poor issues in the formulation of laws. Among those in attendance were Minister of Higher Education then and Chairperson for the Women Parliamentary Caucus Prof. Nkandu Luo,

Religious Affairs Minister Godfridah Sumaili, Brendah Mwika Tambamba Member of Parliament for Kasempa Constituency, Given Katuta Member of Parliament for Chiengi Constituency, Mbololwa Subulwa Member of Parliament for Sioma Constituency just to mention but a few (interview with ZNWL-IF 6 on 26th July, 2019).

Furthermore, ZNWL as a women organization trains serving civic leaders for the purpose of enhancing their Leadership skills and Service delivery in their respective communities. Such trainings happen to be part of the continued effort by ZNWL in the area of promoting women's effective leadership and participation in decision making processes. A good example of such training workshops was that held on 2nd September, 2018 in Lusaka for female Council Chairpersons and Mayors from all over the Country. The aim of the workshop was to strengthen the capacities of civic leaders in Local Government for effective leadership and service delivery. Among those that attended the workshop include Christine Kaumba Council Chairperson for Masiti District, Chimwemwe Banda Council Chairperson for the newly established Chasefu District, Annie Brown Council Chairperson for Chilanga District, Muyambango Sheba Council Chairperson for Lukulu District to mention but a few (interview with ZNWL-IF 5 on 30th June, 2019).

In addition, new entrants that contested as candidates in Local Government and Parliamentary elections benefited in the area of confidence building when articulating issues in Parliament, Councils and during meetings in communities. A few selected Councilors as new entrants whose confidence was enhanced by ZNWL's interventions in the area of articulating issues in Councils and Community meetings include Ms Rashida Mulenga and Ms Buumba Malambo who were elected as Kalulushi Mayor on the PF ticket and Councilor for Magoba ward on the UPND ticket respectively after 2016 general elections. Prior to the acquisition of such knowledge, some Councilors and Members of Parliament were even afraid to make contributions during Council and Parliamentary deliberations. Now they are able to express themselves with confidence in various forums. On the part of Councilors, they are now able to demand for their share from Constituency Development Fund (CDF) for the purpose of funding projects in their wards. Some even boast of holding positions to head various committees in the Councils and are doing very fine. This has helped Councilors and Members of Parliament to contribute effectively to national development and consequently meet the needs of the electorates in terms of development in their Constituencies and Wards (interview with ZNWL-IF 5 on 30th June, 2019).

The organization also organizes regional summits for Councilors meant to expose the local civic leaders on how Councilors from other Countries are running the Local Government. During such regional summits, Councilors from various Countries come together and share their experiences with regards to providing services to their respective communities. One of such regional summits organized by ZNWL took place between 3rd and 5th December, 2019 in Lusaka. This was attended by serving Councilors from Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi. The theme of this gathering was "creating regional learning networks towards achieving gender equality in Local Government." The discussion of this regional summit was based on the following; to create regional support network for female Councilors, to share strategies on effective lobbying and advocacy for 50/50 representation at Local Government level, to explore effective strategies on engaging the media and increasing recognition as well as support from the general public and to enhance capacities of female Councilors for effective participation (interview with ZNWL-IF 1 on 19th June, 2019).

All the efforts being made by ZNWL to build capacities of serving Councilors, Council Chairpersons, Mayors and Members of Parliament is in agreement with Anderson (2010)'s assertions. Anderson states that, interest groups serve as very important organizations because they create opportunities and also help marginalized groups in society such as women to ascend to decision making positons and eventually take part in decision making processes. This was also supported by Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (2000) which argued that women organizations play an important role in the area of helping women participate in politics. However, their effort is not visible enough when it comes to yielding the benefit of high women representation in politics. This can also be confirmed by the representation of women in National Assembly which stands at 18 percent and that of Local Government representation which stands at 8.3 percent.

Members of Parliament being key stakeholders in the process of formulating bills and laws, ZNWL engages them through capacity building programmes to do with integration of gender and pro-poor issues in the formulation of laws. Members of Parliament are also enlightened on their importance when it comes to influencing the introduction of bills in Parliament that support gender main streaming as well as encouraging their male counter parts to support such bills. Despite female Parliamentarians being engaged to influence such gender bills in Parliament, very little is being done on the part of enforcing such gender laws in Zambia. Zambia has enough laws that are meant to help women participate in decision making processes

but the problem is enforcement of such gender laws leading to women being underrepresented at all levels of national development.

The organization also capacity build civic leaders for the purpose of enhancing their skills in leadership and service delivery in their respective Wards and Constituencies. Most of the newly elected female candidates benefited greatly from this initiative. This was confirmed by one of the new entrants into Parliament who said that she never had full information regarding leadership and also how to serve her community diligently. Through ZNWL's workshops, she was enlightened on how to mobilize community members for the purpose of fostering development in the Constituency as well as how to provide quality leadership in the community.

ZNWL also organizes some capacity building programmes meant to help female candidates elected during Inter-Party elections on how to evaluate their performance in their respective Wards and Constituencies. This initiative always takes place when the term of service is mid-way and this helps female candidates to know how far they would have gone in terms of service delivery especially after making a number of promises during campaigns. This was echoed by one of the respondents who said that, through ZNWL's capacity building programme she came to learn how to evaluate her performance in the Ward in terms of service delivery. According to her, she also gained confidence from the electorates because she involved them in the whole evaluation process. Thereafter, the respondents were asked if at all they have benefited from ZNWL's interventions as it enhances capacities of female candidates elected after taking part in inter-party elections and responded as shown in Table 7.2 below.

Table 7.2 showing how elected candidates in inter-party elections responded regarding their benefit from ZNWL's interventions

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Benefited from ZNWL's interventions	20.0	80.0	80.0	80
	Never benefited from ZNWL	5.0	20.0	20.0	100
	Not sure	00	00	00	00
	Total	25	100.0	100.0	

Source: Primary data

Statistics in Table 7.2 show that out of 25 respondents, 20 women translating 80 percent that were elected after taking part in Inter-party elections confirmed having benefited from ZNWL's interventions as serving candidates. 05 representing 20 percent denied having benefited from ZNWL's interventions as serving candidates. A few selected serving candidates that benefited from ZNWL's interventions supported their position as follows;

One of the serving candidates said, "*Being one of the new entrants into Parliament I never had full information regarding service delivery in my Constituency but through ZNWL's workshops I came to be enlightened on how to mobilize community members for the purpose of fostering development in my constituency*." (11th May, 2019).

Another respondent said, "*Through ZNWL's empowerment programmes, I came to learn how to evaluate my performance in the ward in terms of service delivery and this really helped me to work extra hard especially in areas I was lagging behind. This helped me to win confidence from my electorates*." (8th August, 2019).

On the other hand, one of the respondents from those that confirmed having not benefited anything from ZNWL's interventions said,

One of the Councilors interviewed said, "*I have heard ZNWL organizing workshops for serving Councilors, Members of Parliament, Mayors and Council Chairpersons but i have not benefited from such workshops. When I made a follow up with ZNWL, I was told that it was not possible to carter for all because funds were limited and dictated by the donors*." (10th July, 2019).

Information adduced show that women elected as candidates after inter-party elections receive support from ZNWL in terms of capacity building. This is line with ZNWL (2003)'s assertion that it supports women participation in decision making processes through politics. However, not all the female elected candidates benefit from such interventions. This position was confirmed by one the Councilors who confirmed having heard ZNWL organizing workshops for serving Councilors, Members of Parliament, Mayors and Council Chairpersons but never benefited from such workshops. When a follow up was made with ZNWL, the response was that it was not possible to carter for all because funds were limited and controlled by donors.

7.4 Chi-Square Test

The Chi-Square Test is meant to ascertain the existence of an association or relationship between the two variables. In this case, the variables whose relationship is being determined

include ZNWL's interventions and respondents as beneficiaries. The test is guided by two hypotheses namely research hypothesis and null hypothesis. Research hypothesis states that the variables are dependent on each other to attain the desired results or there exist an association between them. The null hypothesis states that there is no association between the variables or they are independent of each other. According to the Chi-Square Test, when the probability of the alpha error rate is equal or less than 0.05 or 5 percent it means that the association between the two variables is statistically significant. This Means that the association or relationship does exist between the two variables leading to the null hypothesis being rejected. On the other hand, if the probability of the alpha error rate is more than 0.05 or 5 percent it means that the association is statistically insignificant. This Means that the variables are independent of each other in line with what the null hypothesis stands for hence retaining it. The tables below show the results of the Chi-square test that was conducted in determining the relationship between ZNWL's interventions and individual women as beneficiaries (Plackett, 1983).

Table 7.3 shows the results of the Case processing summary while Table 7.4 shows the results of the Chi-Square test results and Table 7.5 shows the Symmetric Measures which brings out the strength of the relationship between ZNWL and respondents as beneficiaries of such interventions.

Table 7.3 showing the results of the Case processing summary

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Respondent * After you were adopted to contest as a female candidate for local government and/or parliamentary elections, did you receive any support from ZNWL to help during campaigns and enhancing capacity after being elected?	90	100.0%	0	0.0%	90	100.0%

Table 7.4 showing the results of the Chi-Square Tests

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	4.671[a]	6	.587
Likelihood Ratio	5.697	6	.458
Linear-by-Linear Association	.794	1	.373
N of Valid Cases	90		

a. 8 cells (66.7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .11.

Table 7.5 showing the results of the Symmetric Measures

Symmetric Measures

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error[a]	Approx. T[b]	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.228			.587
	Cramer's V	.161			.587
Interval by Interval	Pearson's R	-.094	.094	-.890	.376[c]
Ordinal by Ordinal	Spearman Correlation	-.123	.102	-1.158	.250[c]
N of Valid Cases		90			

a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

c. Based on normal approximation.

The table of interest in this test is Table 7.4 which is labeled Chi-Square tests and the area of focus is the Pearson row which shows the P value. In this row, the chi-square statistic measure is 4.671 and the P value is shown at the far end in the same row as 0.587. The P value in this case is greater than the alpha rate of error of 0.05 meaning the association between the two variables under consideration is statistically insignificant. This means that there isn't enough evidence to suggest the existence of a strong relationship or association between ZNWL's support in terms of interventions and the respondents being the beneficiaries. The other area of interest is the footnote of the chi-square table, the footnote relates to the expected cell count assumption (i.e expected cell counts are all greater than 5): no cell had an expected count less than 5, so this assumption was met. However, the Chi-Square Test does not measure the

strength of the relationship or association but instead it is done by Phi and Cramer's V as shown in the Symmetric Measures in Table 7.5. This measurement shows that the strength of the association is very weak as 0.228 and 0.161 respectively. This means that the association between ZNWL's interventions and Women as beneficiaries is so weak such that women receive little help from the organization in terms of interventions.

7.5 Challenges encountered by ZNWL in enhancing capacities of elected and adopted female candidates during Inter-Party elections

ZNWL spends huge sums to capacity build adopted women, provide campaign materials and finances. The challenge is that women are made to stand on un safe seats where wining an election is not guaranteed. The organization's operations in terms of interventions are mostly dictated by what the donors want to archive. If the donors decide to cover the rural elected candidates, it means that those whose wards and constituencies are located in the urban areas are left out.

7.6 Conclusion

ZNWL promotes women participation in Inter-Party elections. This is attained through capacity building programmes where women are trained in community mobilization, communication skills, leadership skills and Fundraising techniques. The organization also trains female elected candidates in public speaking, interaction with the community to win confidence and how to attract developmental projects in Wards and Constituencies. Women are also empowered in terms finances and campaign materials. However, all the support coming from ZNWL is limited in that it is not enough to meet costs associated with political campaigns. Hence making it difficult for them to effectively compete with men who already have resources. Further, the trainings being provided to elected female candidates are selective meaning that not all benefit from such interventions. Hence making ZNWL's interventions in enhancing capacities of adopted and elected female candidates in Inter-Party elections ineffective.

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CHAPTER EIGHT
CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1 Conclusions

The study sought to investigate ZNWL's interventions in promoting women participation in decision making. ZNWL promotes women participation in decision making through lobbying for women inclusion in decision making processes from leaders of various institutions in both the public and private sectors. The organization also raises awareness through advocacy about the importance of women participation in decision making and also trains women on gender issues preparing them to take up roles in decision making. However, the interventions being administered by ZNWL in terms of promoting women participation in decision making are limited. The reason being that not much is being is done by ZNWL to help women participate in decision making processes in both the public and the private sectors. Therefore, women are denied the opportunity to benefit from such interventions. Hence making ZNWL's interventions in promoting women participation in decision making ineffective.

The study also sought to examine ZNWL's interventions in promoting women participation in intra-party competitions and found that ZNWL promote women participation in decision making processes through politics. This is done through lobbying from leaders of various political parties such as Chairpersons of Women Wing and Secretary Generals for the purpose of encouraging more women to take part in intra-Party competitions. Further, ZNWL raises awareness regarding the importance of women taking part in grass root politics and also capacity build the leaders of various political parties on matters meant to help women participate in intra-party competitions. However, the strategy being used by ZNWL to reach out to individual women aspiring or taking part in intra-party competitions through their leaders is not working well because such interventions do not reach them. Hence making the interventions to be ineffective and limited. Consequently, women are denied vital information that could help them develop the confidence to compete with their male counter parts during Intra-party competitions. This in turn makes ZNWL's interventions in promoting women participation in intra-party competitions not to be effective.

The study also analyzed ZNWL's interventions in enhancing capacities of women adopted and elected during inter-party elections. ZNWL promotes women participation in inter-party elections. This is attained through capacity building programmes where women are trained in community mobilization, communication skills, leadership skills and fundraising techniques.

The organization also trains female elected candidates in public speaking, interaction with the community to win confidence and how to attract developmental projects in Wards and Constituencies. Women are also empowered in terms finances and campaign materials. However, all this support coming from ZNWL is limited in that it is not enough to meet costs associated with political campaigns. Hence making it difficult for them to effectively compete with men who already have resources. Further, the trainings being provided to elected female candidates are selective meaning that not all benefit from such interventions. Hence making ZNWL's interventions in enhancing capacities of adopted and elected female candidates in inter-party elections ineffective.

The study concludes that Interest groups' interventions in promoting women participation in Zambia's political process are limited and ineffective. The reason being that most of them in the public and private sector are administered through the leaders and fail to trickle down to individual women as beneficiaries. In some cases, especially in the private sector no attempt is made because of the volatile environment that is not accommodative. In the political arena, there are no interventions directed to individual women taking part in intra-party competitions. The support that is rendered to female candidates adopted to contest inter-party elections is not enough to help them deal with challenges associated with political campaigns. Further, training that is provided to elected female candidates is selective meaning that not all benefit from such interventions.

8.2 Recommendations

8.2.1 Policy Recommendations

When it comes to promoting women participation in decision making processes in the public and private sectors as well as intra-party competitions, the study recommends that ZNWL should be engaging individual women directly in various institutions and not indirectly through their top managements or leaders. Further, it should come up with clear awareness programmes in the media through adverts before the actual day so that more women are able to follow unlike abrupt programmes.

The study also recommends that ZNWL should also be providing Training, Financial and Material support directly to women aspiring or taking part in intra-party competitions as well.

Further, the study recommends that the trainings being provided by ZNWL meant to promote women participation in national elections should be continuous so that women are given ample

time to implement the skills learnt. Unlike the situation where such trainings only resurface towards general elections.

Training being provided to serving Civic Leaders and Members of Parliament should be received by all and not selective.

Furthermore, the organization should take lead in identifying potential candidates in communities and thereafter, empower them with resources to begin community works to enable them gain popularity and in the process attract political parties to adopt them.

Additionally, ZNWL should consider increasing amount of finances and quantity of campaign materials which are being provided to women adopted to contest as candidates in local government and parliamentary elections. By so doing, they will be helped to cover most of the costs associated with political campaigns.

Above all, ZNWL together with other women organizations should influence government to adopt the quota system and also advocate for the actualization of the Gender Commission so that women are provided with greater chances of participating in decision making processes at all levels of National Development.

8.2.2 Recommendations for Future Research

A study can be conducted to investigate ZNWL's interventions in promoting women participation in Zambia's Socio-economic processes.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 'A'

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR ZAMBIA NATIONAL WOMEN'S LOBBY OFFICIALS

Dear informant,

My name is Lubinda Conrad and I am a student at the University of Zambia. I am conducting a research on **Interest groups and the promotion of women participation in Zambia's political processes: Case of Zambia National Women's Lobby**. This is to enable me to partially fulfil the requirements of the degree of Master of Art in Political Science (MAPOL).

You have been selected as an informant and I will be very thankful if you can spare a few minutes of your time to answer a few questions. The information that you are going to provide will be confidential and is entirely for the purpose of my MAPOL dissertation. Please be as open and honest as possible in answering the questions.

PART 1. BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Date of interview:

……

Start time of interview:

……...

1. Gender:

   (i) Male [ ] (ii) Female [ ]

2. Position held in the organization:

……

PART 2. PROMOTION OF WOMEN PARTICIPATION IN PUBLIC POLICY

3. How is the inadequacy of women representation in decision making considered a problem?
4. Give details as to how the government is made aware that, the inadequacy of women in decision making is escalating?
5. What role does ZNWL play when it comes to helping women ascend to decision making Positions
6. How do knowledge and information platforms help ZNWL to promptly share information among women regarding the importance of women ascending to decision making positions and consequently participating in decision making?
7. Give details as to how such platforms have enhanced women participation in decision

Making?

8. What strategies and/or interventions does ZNWL use to engage various government institutions and departments in civil service, local government and quasi-government regarding the implementation of 30% women representation as per SADC protocol?
9. What format or medium is used by ZNWL to train women as a way to helping them compete for their space in decision making in civil service, local government and quasi-government?
10. In line with the trainings offered to women by ZNWL, give details regarding women that were trained and those who managed to ascend to decision making positions in the civil service, local government, quasi-government during MMD rule 1991-2010 and PF rule 2011-2018?
11. How have such trainings helped women to participate in decision making?
12. What has been the challenges faced by ZNWL in the process of promoting women participation in decision making in the public as well as the private sector?
13. In view of the challenges, what measures has ZNWL put in place to address such challenges?

PART 3. PROMOTING WOMEN PARTICIPATION IN INTRA-PARTY COMPETITIONS

14. What strategies does ZNWL use to engage political party leaders when it comes to inspiring more women to compete for party representation and elective positions within party structures?
15. What role does ZNWL play when it comes to training women wings in various political parties?
16. How have such trainings helped women wings in PF, UPND, MMD and FDD in the area of inspiring more women to participate in intra-party competitions within party structures?

PART 4. PROMOTING WOMEN PARTICIPATION IN NATIONAL ELECTIONS

17. What strategies does ZNWL use to engage political party leaders when it comes to promoting the adoption of more women to contest as Councilors as well as Members of Parliament?
18. What could be the reason behind ZNWL providing campaign support in form of finances and campaign materials to adopted women to contest in Local Government and Parliamentary elections by various political parties?

19. In line with such campaign support, give details regarding some women that benefited from such support in PF, UPND, MMD and FDD during 1991, 2001, 2006, 2011 and 2016 campaign period.

20. What kind of training does ZNWL provide to serving as well as adopted female Councilors and Members of Parliament?

21. In view of such trainings, give details regarding some serving female Councilors and Members of Parliament as well as those adopted to contest that have benefited from such trainings in PF, UPND, MMD, and FDD after between 1991 and 2016 general elections.

22. What is the outcome or results of ZNWL's interventions when it comes to service delivery to the electorates on the part of elected Councilors and Members of Parliament?

23. What challenges does ZNWL face when it comes to engaging political party leaders to adopt more women to contest as candidates in national elections and intra-party competitions?

25. In line with such challenges, what measures has ZNWL put in place to address them?

PART 5. RECOMMENDATIONS

26. What do you think should be done for ZNWL to effectively help women participate in public policy, intra-party competitions and national elections?

End time of interview……

Duration of interview…….

End of interview

Thank you for your time

APPENDIX 'B'

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR THE MINISTRY OF GENDER OFFICIALS

Dear informant,

My name is Lubinda Conrad and I am a student at the University of Zambia. I am conducting a research on the **Interest groups and the promotion of women participation in Zambia's political processes: Case of Zambia National Women's Lobby**. This is to enable me partially fulfil the requirements of the degree of Master of Art in Political Science (MAPOL).

You have been selected as an informant and I will be very thankful if you can spare a few minutes of your time to answer a few questions. The information you are going to provide will be confidential and is entirely for the purpose of my MAPOL dissertation. Please be as open and honest as possible in answering the questions.

PART 1. BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Date of interview:

……

Start time of interview:

……...

1. Gender:

(i) Male [ ] (ii) Female [ ]

2. Position held in the ministry:

……...

PART 2. THE ESTABLISHMENT AND ROLE OF MINISTRY OF GENDER

3. What is the main reason behind the establishment of the ministry of gender?

4. What role if any was played by ZNWL with regards to the establishment of the ministry of Gender?

5. Why does the ministry of gender consider the inadequacy of women participating in decision making in both the public and private sectors a problem?

6. What strategies are employed by ministry of gender working with ZNWL and other actors in addressing the identified problems?

PART 3. MINISTRY OF GENDER, ZNWL AND OTHER ACTORS – RELATIONSHIP

7. What is the basis of your relationship with ZNWL and other actors?

8. How do you describe this relationship when it comes to promoting women participation in decision making in both the public and private sectors, intra-party competition and national elections.

9. What kind of engagement does the ministry of gender provide to ZNWL in the area of promoting women participation in decision making in public and private sectors, intra-party competition and national elections?

10. What challenges have been faced by the ministry of gender and other actors in the area of promoting women participation in public policy, intra-party competition, national elections and the private sector?

11. What measures have been put in place to address the mentioned challenges?

PART 6. RECOMMENDATIONS

12. What do you think should be done to improve women participation in decision making, ascendance to decision making positions, intra-party competitions and national elections?

End time of interview…….

Duration of interview…….

End of interview

Thank you for your time

APPENDIX 'C'

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR POLITICAL PARTY OFFICIALS

Dear informant,

My name is Lubinda Conrad and I am a student at the University of Zambia. I am conducting a research on the **Interest groups and the promotion of women participation in Zambia's political processes: Case of Zambia National Women's Lobby**. This is to enable me to partially fulfil the requirements of the degree of Master of Art of Political Science (MAPOL).

You have been selected as an informant and I will be very thankful if you can spare a few minutes of your time to answer a few questions. The information you are going to give will be confidential and is entirely for the purpose of my MAPOL dissertation. Please be as open and honest as possible in answering the questions.

PART 1. BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Date of interview:

……

Start time of interview:

……...

1.Gender:

(i) Male [ ] (ii) Female [ ]

2. Position held in the political party.

……

PART 2. PROMOTING WOMEN PARTICIPATION IN INTRA-PARTY COMPETITIONS

3. What role does ZNWL play when engaging political parties in the area of inspiring women to compete for party representation in inter-party elections and elective positions within party structures?

4. What is the overall outcome of ZNWL and your political party's interventions in the area of promoting women participation in intra-party competitions or elections?

PART 3. PROMOTING WOMEN PARTICIPATION IN NATIONAL ELECTIONS

5. What interventions does your political party use to encourage women to participate in national elections?

6. What role if any has ZNWL played in your political party when it comes to providing campaign support to help adopted women during campaign period?

7. In line with campaign support, give details regarding the nature of support provided to women adopted to contest as candidates in Local Government and Parliamentary elections

in 1991, 1996, 2001, 2006, 2011 and 2016.

8. How has the said campaign support helped adopted female candidates during the campaign period?

9. What is the nature of training that is offered to serving Councilors and Members of parliament by ZNWL so that they could perfect on service delivery.

10. In line with such training, provide names of Councilors as well as Members of Parliament that benefited from such training after 1991, 1996, 2001, 2011 and 2016 tripartite elections?

11. What kind of training does ZNWL provide to adopted women aspiring to contest as Councilors and Members of Parliament?

12. How have such training helped women aspiring to contest as councilors as well as members of parliament during campaign period?

13. What challenges are faced by women when it comes to participating in national elections and intra-party elections?

14. What measures has ZNWL working together with political parties put in place to address the identified challenges?

PART 4. POLITICAL PARTIES AND ZNWL – RELATIONSHIP

15. What kind of relationship exist between your political party and ZNWL?

16. What is the basis of this relationship?

17. In view of this relationship, what strategies does ZNWL use to engage political party leaders as a way to helping women to participate in intra-party competitions and national elections?

18. How frequent does ZNWL engage your political party on issues of inspiring women to take part in intra-party competitions, nominations and national elections?

19. What kind of training if any is offered to women wings in your political party by ZNWL?

20. How have such trainings helped women wings to enhance women participation in intra-party competitions and national elections?

21. What challenges has your political party faced together with ZNWL in the area of enhancing women participation in politics?

22. What measures have been put in place to address such challenges?

PART 6. RECOMMENDATIONS

23. What do you think should be done for political parties and ZNWL to effectively inspire women participation in intra-party competitions and national elections End time of interview……..

Duration of interview…….

End of interview

thank you for your time

APPENDIX 'D'

QUESTIONNARE FOR WOMEN IN DECISION MAKING POSITIONS IN THE PUBLIC SECTOR

Dear respondent,

My name is Lubinda Conrad a student at the University of Zambia. I am conducting a research on the **Interest groups and the promotion women participation in Zambia's socio-economic and political processes: Case of Zambia National Women's Lobby**. This is to enable me to partially fulfil the requirements of the degree of Master of Art in political science(MAPOL).

You have been selected as a respondent and I will be thankful if you can spare a few minutes of your time to answer a few questions. The information that will be provided will be confidential and is entirely for the purpose of my dissertation. Please be as open and honest as possible in answering the questions to enable me write a good paper.

Instructions: Tick in the spaces provided or fill in the blank spaces.

PART 1 BACK GROUND INFORMATION

1. Age of respondent

(i) 18 – 30 years [ ] (ii) 31 – 45 years [ ] (iii) 46 – 60 years [ ] (iv) 61 and above [ ]

2. Highest level of education

(i) Certificate [ ] (ii) Diploma [ ] (iii) Degree [ ] (iv) Masters Degree [ ]

(v) Doctorate [ ]

PART 2 PROMOTING WOMEN PARTICIPATION IN DISCISION MAKING IN THE PUBLIC SECTOR

4. What do you know about Zambia National Women's Lobby(ZNWL) and its role?

……

……

5. Do you think ZNWL is actively concerned about promoting women participation in decision making in the public sector?

(i) Yes [ ] (ii) No [ ]

6. Whatever the answer give details to justify?

……
…

7. Does ZNWL engage leaders in your organization as a way to fostering women participation in decision making?

(i) Yes [ ] (ii) No [ ]

8. If yes, give details as to what ZNWL actually do to engage leaders in your organization and how often are such engagements done?

…….

…….

9. What kind of training or awareness does ZNWL carry out to help women understand the importance of women participation in decision making in your organization?

……..

…….

10. How have such intervention helped you as an individual to effectively participate in decision making?

……..

…….

PART 3. PROMOTING WOMEN ASCENDING TO DECISION MAKING POSITIONS – PUBLIC SECTOR

11. When ascending to your current decision making position, what role did ZNWL play?

…….

12. Do you know of other women that received help from ZNWL when ascending to decision making positions?

(i) yes [ ] (ii) No [ ]

13. If yes, give details regarding the nature of assistance received from ZNWL?

……..

14. Are there situations where women in your organization are marginalized because of being women when it came to promotions or appointments?

(i) Yes [ ] (ii) No [ ]

15. If yes, give details regarding how such situations were solved and if at all ZNWL played any

Role?

……..

……

16. What challenges do you face as women when ascending to decision making positions as well as participating in decision making process?

…….

…….

17. What role does ZNWL being a women organization play in addressing such challenges faced by women?

……..

…….

18. How do you rate the performance of ZNWL in the area of promoting women participation in decision making process in the public sector?

(i) Very good [ ] (ii) Good [ ] (iii) Satisfactory [ ] (iv) Unsatisfactory [ ]

PART 4. RECOMMENDATIONS

19. What do you think should be done for ZNWL to effectively promote women participation in decision making as well as ascension to decision making positions in the public sector?

……

……

End time of interview…….

Duration of interview…….

End of interview

Thank you for your time

APPENDIX 'E'

QUESTIONARE FOR WOMEN IN DECISION MAKING POSITIONS IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR

Dear respondent,

My name is Lubinda Conrad a student at the University of Zambia. I am conducting a research on **Interest groups and promotion of women participation in Zambia's political processes: Case of Zambia National Women Lobby**. This is to enable me to partially fulfil the requirements of the degree of Master of Art in political science (MAPOL).

You have been selected as a respondent and I will be thankful if you can spare a few minutes of your time to answer a few questions. The information that will be provided will be confidential and is entirely for the purpose of my dissertation. Please be as open and honest as possible in answering the questions to enable me write a good paper.

Instructions: Tick in the spaces provided or fill in the blank spaces.

PART 1. BACK GROUND INFORMATION

1. Age of respondent

(i) 18 – 30 years [ ] (ii) 31 – 45 years [ ] (iii) 46 – 60 years [ ] (iv) 61 and above [ ]

2. Highest level of qualification

(i) Certificate [ ] (ii) Diploma [ ] (iii) Degree [ ] (iv) Masters Degree [ ]

(v) Doctorate [ ]

PART 2 WOMEN PARTICIPATION IN DISCISSION MAKING - PRIVATE SECTOR

4. What do you know about Zambia National Women's Lobby(ZNWL) and its role in the private sector?

……

……...

5. Do you think ZNWL is actively concerned about promoting women participation in decision making in the private sector?

(i) Yes [ ] (ii) No [ ]

6. Whatever your answer give details to justify?

……..

……..
.

7. Does ZNWL engage leaders in your organization or firm in an attempt to promote women participation in decision making?

(i) Yes [ ] (ii) No. [ ]

8. If yes, give details as to what ZNWL actually do to engage leaders in your firm or organization to inspire more women to take part in decision making.

……..
.

……..
.

9. What kind of training and/or awareness if any does ZNWL carry out to help women understand their importance to participate in decision making in your organization.

…….

…….

10. How have such interventions helped you as an individual woman to effectively participate in decision making in your organization or firm?

……

……

PART 3. PROMOTING WOMEN ASCENDING TO DECISION MAKING POSITIONS IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR

11. When ascending to your current decision making position, what role did ZNWL play?

……

12. Do you know of other women that received help from ZNWL when ascending to decision making position?

(i) Yes [ ] (ii) No [ ]

13. If yes, give details regarding the nature of assistance received from ZNWL.

……

14. Are there situations where women in your firm or organization are marginalized because of being women when it came to promotion or appointments?

(i) Yes [ ] (ii) No [ ]

15. If yes, give details regarding how such situation was resolved and if at all ZNWL played any role?

…….

…….

16. What challenges do women face when it comes to participating in decision making as well as ascending to decision making position?

……...

……

17. What role does ZNWL play in addressing such challenges faced by women?

……

……

18. How do you rate the performance of ZNWL in the area of promoting women participation in decision making in the private sector?

(i) Very good [ ] (ii) Good [ ] (iii) Satisfactory [ ] (iv) Unsatisfactory [ ]

PART 4. RECOMMENDATIONS

19. What do you think should be done for ZNWL to effectively help women participate in decision making, as well as ascending to decision making positions in the private sector?

……

……

End of interview

Thank you for your time

APPENDIX 'F'
QUESTIONARE FOR WOMEN THAT ASPAIRED OR PARTICIPATED FOR ELECTIVE POSITIONS IN POLITICAL PARTIES

Dear respondent,

My name is Lubinda Conrad a student at the University of Zambia. I am conducting a research on the **Interest groups and the promotion of women participation in Zambia's political processes: Case of Zambia National Women Lobby**. This is to enable me to partially fulfil the requirements of the degree of Master of Art in political science(MAPOL).

You have been selected as a respondent and I will be thankful if you can spare a few minutes of your time to answer a few questions. The information that will be provided will be confidential and is entirely for the purpose of my dissertation. Please be as open and honest as possible in answering the questions to enable me write a good paper.

Instructions: Tick in the spaces provided or fill in the blank spaces. For those holding party positions tick on hold and those that held party positions in the past tick on held when filling part **2(a)**. Also tick on councilor or member of parliament for identity when filling part **2(b)** and **3**.

PART 1 BACK GROUND INFORMATION

1. Age of respondent

(i) 18 – 30 years [ ] (ii) 31 – 45 years [ ] (iii) 46 – 60 years [ ] (iv) 61 and above [ ]

2. Highest level of education

(i) Never been to school [ ] (ii) Primary school level [ ] (iii) Junior secondary school [ ]

(iv) Senior secondary school [ ] (v) Tertiary education [ ]

PART 2. PROMOTING WOMEN PARTICIPATION IN INTRA-PARTY COMPETITIONS

(a) Promoting women who sought to compete for elective positions within party structures

3. Have you ever participated in intra-party competitions within your party structures?

(i) Yes [ ] (ii) No [ ]

4. If yes, give details regarding the position you hold or/and held as a result of participating

in a competition for elective positions within your party structures?

……

5. Does ZNWL support women aspiring or participating in intra-party competitions within political parties?

(i) Yes [ ] (ii) No [ ]

6. If yes, give details regarding the nature of support and how they have helped you as an individual to participate in such competitions?

……

……

(b) Promotion of women competing to be adopted to contest as councilors and members of parliament within the party

7. Does ZNWL train women competing for adoptions to contest Parliamentary and Local Government elections?

(i) Yes [ ] (ii) No [ ]

8. If yes, give details regarding the nature of training offered and how?

……

……

9. How have such trainings benefited you as an individual woman during your aspirations?

……

……

10. How often are such trainings conducted by ZNWL since 1991?

……..

……..

11. Are there provisions in your party constitution that support the participation of women in politics?

(i) Yes [ ] (ii) No [ ]

12. If yes, give details regarding the role played by ZNWL to promote the implementation of such provisions by your political party?

……

……

PART 3. PROMOTING WOMEN PARTICIPATION IN NATIONAL ELECTIONS

13. After you were adopted to contest as a female Councilor and/or Member of Parliament, did you receive any support from ZNWL to help during campaigns?

(i) Yes [ ] (ii) No [ ]

14. If yes, give details regarding the nature of support or assistance received from ZNWL?

(If cash state the amount and if materials state the quantity)

…….

……

15. Are there elected female councilors and/or members of parliament trained by ZNWL in the area of enhancing service delivery in their respective constituencies and wards?

(i) Yes [ ] (ii) No [ ]

16. If yes, give details regarding the nature of training and how this training has helped you as an individual to maintain a closer relationship with the electorates?

……

……

17. Do you know of other women that were adopted and benefited from the same campaign support since 1991 to date?

(i) Yes [ ] (ii) No [ ]

18. If yes, give details regarding some of the names of those adopted to contest as Councilors and Members of Parliament that benefited from such campaign support since 1991 to date?

……

……

19. What challenges do you face as women when competing for adoptions to contest as Councilors, Members of Parliament and elective positions within the party?

……

……

20. In view of your challenges, what measures has ZNWL together with the leaders of your political party put in place to address such challenges?

……

……

PART 4. RECOMMENDATIONS

21. What do you think should be done for ZNWL and party leadership to actively promote women participation in elective positions in the party as well as adoptions to stand as candidates in national elections and intra-party competitions?

……....

……

End of interview

Thank you for your time