

**FEMALE POLITICAL REPRESENTATION IN ZAMBIA: A STUDY OF
FOUR POLITICAL PARTIES' POLICIES AND PERSPECTIVES ON
PARTY GENDER QUOTAS AND RESERVED SEATS ADOPTION.**

BY

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A dissertation submitted to the University of Zambia in partial fulfilment of the
requirement of the Degree of Master of Arts in Gender Studies.

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I, Chikwanda Naomi Katongo, declare that this dissertation:

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APPROVAL

This dissertation of Chikwanda Naomi Katongo is approved as fulfilling the partial requirement for the award of the Degree of Master of Arts in Gender Studies by the University of Zambia.

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ABSTRACT

The Zambia MDGs progress report 2013 indicates that Zambia has continued to perform poorly with respect to female political representation. Women in 2015 held a low proportion of seats in both local councils (6.3 percent) and parliament (13.9 percent) and have continued to do so even after the 2016 General Elections. The study aims at finding out Patriotic Front, United Party for National Development, Rainbow and Forum for Democracy and Development parties' policies and perspectives on the adoption of a gender quota and reserved seats in Zambia and proposes a working mechanism for increasing female political representation.

The study is qualitative. Data was collected through in-depth interviews with six party officials in the National Executive Committees and five from the Election Committees, two officials from the Ministry of Gender and Zambia National Women's Lobby (ZNWL). Data was also collected through a total of seven focus group discussions with the Zambian Parliamentary Caucus for Women, and voters (male and female) from the Munali, Kabwata and Mandevu Constituencies. The samples were drawn using purposive and random sampling for party officials and voters respectively.

Data from the interviews and focus group discussions was analysed using themes based on the objectives. Additional data was collected through document reviews from the Ministry of Gender and Zambia National Women's Lobby. The following were the research specific objectives; i) To find out measures that have been put in place by political parties to promote gender equality in national decision making positions (legislature). ii) Investigate the criteria used in the party nominations for candidates for parliamentary elections. iii) Determine whether there is a link between the presence of women in party leadership positions and their numeric presence both in elected and appointed offices of the government. iv) Examine party leaders' views on gender quota and reserved seats adoption in Zambia.

The research found that all the four political parties have been structured in such a way that they have a women's wing which should bring out women in numbers to participate and be heard. All four parties committed themselves to the attainment of 50/50 gender equality through nominations for the 2016 General Elections. Unfortunately none of them could live up to their commitment. The study also revealed that the criteria for nominating candidate for parliamentary elections is not discriminatory but disadvantages a woman more as compared to a man. In trying to determine the link between the presence of women in party leadership positions and their numeric presence both in elected and appointed offices of the government, most of the interviewed officials admitted the fact that there is a link though it cannot be clearly established. Almost all respondents feel quotas are one clear affirmative action that would make a difference in women's political representation. They argue that the low female political representation is due to the fact that there has been no working mechanism implemented in Zambia such as quotas and reserved seats. Lack of political will which is evident in the failure to domesticate international and regional protocols on female political representation has also contributed. The study also reveals that the idea of Mixed Member Proportional Representation clause in the draft Constitution was going to deal with issues of women, youths and the disabled that are marginalized with the use of party lists that would allocate 35, 2 and 3 seats respectively. Political parties would have been legally obliged to comply with these quotas. Of the four political parties under study, only United Party for National Development has adopted a party gender quota. The study recommends for the establishment of a Political Party Commission.

DEDICATION

This paper is dedicated to my son Ashley Bufwayo, remembering when I was first accepted to come and pursue my Masters, I was struggling with early pregnancy complications and had to withdraw. After his birth, I was inspired even the more to study and make a better future for my son. Having weaned him at exactly one year old is something I could turn back the hand of time for if I could, it was not easy at all for the both of us but a woman got to do what she has to do. I remember writing the dissertation with him on my laps and instead of feeling burdened, he gave me hope and strength and immediately, the thought of not letting the moment pass me by without dedicating this to him came and I started writing. There is no better person I could ever think of dedicating this to in the whole entire universe than you my son, you were there from the very start and together we have achieved this success, thank you sonny, I love you so much! To mum Mrs Elizabeth Chikwanda, May your Soul Rest in Perfect Peace till we meet again, because of you I know what it means to be a mother and sad you went too early to witness the fruits of your love. To my father Mr Pius Chikwanda, it is my deepest desire to make you proud every step of my life, may God grant you long life and richly bless you.

.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ADD- Alliance for Democracy and Development

APC- All People Congress Party

CDP- Citizens Democratic Party

ERTC- Electoral Reform Technical Committee

FDD- Forum for Democracy and Development

FEDEPA- Federal Democratic Party

FODEP- Foundation for Democratic Process

FPTP- First Past The Post

HP- Heritage Party

IND- Independents

MDGs- Millenium Development Goals

MMD- Movement for Multiparty Democracy

MPs- Members of Parliament

NAREP- National Restoration Party

NEC- National Executive Committee

NGP- New Generation Party

NGOCC- Non Governmental Organizations' Coordinating Council

NMP- National Movement for Progress

NP- National Party

NRP- National Revolution Party

PF- Patriotic Front

SADC- Southern African Development Community

ULP- United Liberal Party

UNIP- United National Independence Party

UNDP- United Nations Development Programme

UPDD- Unified Party for Democracy and Development

UPND- United Party for National Development

ZCID- Zambia Centre for Inter Party Dialogue

ZCP- Zambia Conservative Party

ZED- Zambians for Empowerment and Development

ZDDM- Zambia Direct Democracy Movement

ZNWL- Zambia National Women's Lobby

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CHAPTER ONE

1.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter gives the background to the study and discusses the role women have played in the fight towards gender equality from a global perspective all the way down to the Zambian situation. This chapter will also give the statement of the problem, general and specific objectives, research questions, the rationale and operational definitions of the study, respectively.

1.1.0 Background to the Study

Before the 18th century, women around the world were restricted to the private domain while the public domain (which included political activities) was left for men. However, the coming of the French Revolution brought with it a new wave of opportunities for women. According to Fraisse and Perrot (1993), “this new era saw the birth of feminism and an unprecedented emergence of women as a collective force in the political arena.” It was during an Anti-Slavery Convention in London in 1840 when Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott were denied the opportunity to speak that the oppression of women was felt in its extreme and thus prompted the declaration of sentiments at the first women’s right convention held at Seneca Falls in 1848. Eighteen (18) grievances and eleven (11) resolutions demanding the recognition of women as equal members of society were listed by Stanton. The ninth resolution, which argued for "elective franchise," proved to be the most radical. Stanton saw clearly that the power to make the laws was the right through which all other rights could be secured (History Net, 2016). Following this convention, women world over became aware of the need to fight for their public rights and realised that politics were crucial to the attainment of other rights.

Women's suffrage (the right to vote) began in Sweden, Iceland, Finland and some Australian colonies at the close of the 19th century, with South Australia as well as the self-governing colonies of New Zealand granting women the right to vote in 1893. This was followed by Australia granting female suffrage in 1902 (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 1889). In Britain, the Suffragettes (militant) and the Suffragists (non-militant) campaigned for the women's vote, and in 1918 the Representation of the People Act was passed granting the vote to women over the age of 30 who owned property. In 1928 this was extended to all women over 21 years of age. Unlike other countries that were first subjected to male only suffrage, Zambian women achieved

the right to vote at the same time as men due to the country's subsequent independence from Britain in 1964.

Unfortunately, it should be noted that despite women gaining the right to vote around the world, the struggle for political equality still continued. Although liberal feminism had brought with it some form of gender equality in the public sphere, it did not give women an equal standing in the political environment. Even though they (women) could vote, the level at which they could actively participate in politics was still the same; the political world was still very much a man's world. In the 1920s and 1930s, women started exerting pressure on the League of Nations and later on the United Nations and the principle of equality was recognised in the United Nations Charter of 1945. Two of the fundamental rights of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 are the right to vote and stand for elections without distinction as to sex, race or status. It was this realization that women still lacked real equality that brought about the second wave of feminism that was to change the focus of the fight towards equality.

Whereas first-wave feminism focused on attaining women's suffrage, the second wave widened the scope of the fight by bringing on the issues not only about educational or political equality, but also developmental issues pertaining to the well-being of a woman as well. Some of these issues were; sexuality, reproductive rights, equality in the workplace, domestic violence as well as marital rape. A gender comprehensive approach towards social, political as well as economic development was very essential and needed to be recognized especially for countries operating or adopting democratic kind of governments. Article 21 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights recognizes the right of every person to take part in the government of his or her country. It states, "Equal access of men and women to power, decision-making and leadership at all levels is a necessary precondition for the proper functioning of democracy." The United Nations Advancement of Women (2005) asserts that "equal participation of men and women in political affairs makes governments more representative of the composition of society; it makes them more accountable and transparent, and ensures that the interests of women are taken into account in policy-making."

This new wave of feminism gained momentum through a series of International Women's Conferences; the first being held in 1975 in Mexico declaring 1975 a women's year and decade up to 1985. This conference led to the adoption of the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) an International Bill of Rights for Women which received endorsement almost universally, including Zambia. Political participation was one of the key areas identified as an objective of the conference.

The second World Conference was held in Copenhagen in 1980 to assess the progress of the decade for women for five years had elapsed. The most notable achievement was that women associations and movements in many countries became proactive in improving political representation of women. In 1985, the third conference was held in Nairobi to mark the end of the women's decade. The United Nations adopted the Forward Looking Strategy whose goals were; Equality, Development and Peace. In 1995, a major International Women's Conference was held in Beijing where the Beijing Platform for Action which recognized women's unequal share of power and decision-making as one of the twelve critical areas of concern was adopted. "The Platform for Action outlined concrete actions to ensure women's equal access to, and full participation in, power structures (Strategic Objective G.1), and to increase women's capacity to participate in decision-making and leadership (Strategic Objective G.2)," (Division for the Advancement of Women, 2005). According to Geisler (2004), "A notable success of the Beijing conference was the SADC Gender Declaration of 2007." This is because the SADC Gender Declaration of 2007 provided a framework for achieving gender parity in political and decision making positions by 2015. Article 12 of the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development (2008) requires that, "State Parties shall endeavour that, by 2015, at least fifty percent of decision-making positions in the public and private sectors are held by women including the use of affirmative action measures as provided for in Article 5," (Southern African Development Community, 2012).

Despite Zambia's democratic advancement from a one party to a multi-party government system, the country still lags behind many of its neighbours with regards to female representation in Legislatures. Despite the formation of the Women's Lobby in 1991, the creation of the Ministry of Gender and Child Development, the commission to ensure and spearhead women's representation at all levels of decision making and other spheres of life, as well as the signing to commit itself to the attainment of SADC and United Nation Millennium Goals of Gender Representation, Zambia still has a long way to go before it can achieve gender equality in its legislative representation. Zambia had 12% women in parliament in 2006, 15% in 2008, 13% in 2010 and 13.9% in 2016 which is well below the sub-Saharan average of 20%. It is behind Rwanda (63.8%), South Africa (41.9%), Angola (36.8%), Mozambique (39.6%), and Zimbabwe (31.5%). All over the world, female representation is on the increase but Zambia ranks number 105 on the Global Gender Gap Index with Jamaica and Djibouti as of the situation of September 2015. Across the continent, female representation is on the increase — of the 50 countries in the world with the highest percentage of women in parliament, 13 of these are in Africa but Zambia is bucking this trend.

In 2006 for example, the nominations were 106 (15%) women of 709 total nominations and this trend of adopting more men than women has continued. “A total of 113 women out of 762 candidates representing only 15% were adopted by political parties as parliamentary candidates in 2011 tripartite elections despite having over 300 women trained by ZNWL who indicated interest to be nominated by political parties and contest in the elections (Zambia National Women's Lobby, 2011, p. 16). Out of 138 female candidates who successfully filled in their nominations in the 2011 tripartite elections, 25 stood as independent candidates. These numbers can only mean a further drop in women representatives in the forthcoming parliaments if no practical mechanism is adopted to close up the gender gap in the National Assembly. We can therefore, conclude that Zambia had not even come close to meeting its MDG target of 30% women in parliament by the year 2015, let alone its AU/SADC target of 50% by the same year.

Scholars of feminism and gender equality have long argued that women’s ability to make an impact in male-dominated institutions will be limited until they are represented in numbers large enough to have a collective voice. The justification for this, Kanter (1977, p.966) argues that “the numerically many – or ‘dominants’ will control the group and its culture, while the numerically few – or ‘tokens’– will only be reduced to symbolic representatives of their social category.” Based on political theory and investigation, most activists have settled on 30% as the minimum necessary for critical mass. The call for women’s participation at the level of 30% was made two decades ago in the United Nations Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action and has been embraced rhetorically, if not in practice, by many international and national bodies to which Zambia is a party. However, Zambia, in spite of having a female Vice President after the 2016 Presidential Elections still records a low female Parliamentary representation with only 27 plus 3 nominated out of 166 parliamentarians.

Many reasons have been advanced to explain why Zambia is lagging behind its African peers in its parliamentary female representation. Lack of financial backing for most of the female candidates has been employed as one of the major reasons behind this disparity as well as the inability by party nominating committees to place their confidence in women as winning candidates (Wignaraja & Morgan, 2011). There is also a need to recognize that fear and uncertainty sometimes drives the choices of voters who might prefer supporting an already known male candidate rather than a new and unfamiliar female candidate they might have never heard about. Still, others have argued, according to Wignaraja and Morgan (2011), “that women are just not tough enough to make it through what is considered a hostile political race or that many highly capable women leaders prefer leadership roles in the private sector and non-

government arena to those in politics. Variations of these issues are faced by women in politics the world over; therefore, it would be safe to hypothesize that it is because Zambia has not yet fully implemented a working mechanism to increase female political representation in the face of the above mentioned barriers that it is still experiencing low female political representation.

Taking it up from Sampa Monica's research on the election of women to the Zambian parliament: an analysis of the underrepresentation of women in the 2001 and 2006 parliamentary elections, who suggests that further research has to be carried out to find out if her recommendations are considered and implemented, this research aimed at fulfilling her wish and it took a slightly different direction by finding out where the four political parties' stand in terms of their policies concerning the adoption and implementation of party gender quotas and reserved seats in Zambia. The research focuses on the period 2011 to 2016.

1.1.1 Stepping Up For Gender Equality

The reasons that are advanced in an attempt to explain the situation of low female political representation in Zambia are far reaching. However, many countries have stepped-up to put in place measures that break through these structural, cultural and other barriers to increase women's representation in political office. If indeed Zambia is to prosper socially, economically and politically, there is need for equal representation of both genders in leadership positions so as to effect change from a balanced point of view rather than keeping women away and limiting their political and policy making contributions. To ensure the full political role and contribution of over half of its population, the country could consider a more favourable political structure and legislative action, as tried and tested positively by others:

First: affirmative action has been used as a necessary tool to initiate and maintain a given number of seats for women in local councils and in national parliaments. Most countries that have achieved significant increases in women's political participation have done so through the use of such quota systems. Quotas aim at ensuring that women constitute at least a large minority of 20, 30 or 40 percent, or even to ensure full gender parity at 50-50 percent. In some countries quotas are applied as a temporal measure, until the barriers to women's entry into politics are truly removed. Recently, Rwanda became number one in the world in terms of women's parliamentary representation with 63.8 percent women through the use of a constitutional quota.

There are three types of gender quotas used in politics: reserved parliamentary seats as defined by the constitution; legislatively determined political party candidate quotas; and voluntary but

publicly monitored political party quotas (Wignaraja & Morgan, 2011). Reserved seats are those set aside and made eligible for women only to compete for them. Party quotas are political party specific made by members to determine the proportion of women to stand for political office at a given time whereas Legislative quotas are mandatory for all political parties determining the proportion of women standing for political office. Studies confirm that quotas do fast track women's representation, for example, Rwanda and South Africa in Africa and Sweden in Europe (Dahlerup & Freidavall, 2003; Devlin & Robert, 2008; Goetz, 1998). It should be noted, however, that the introduction of such quotas can be contentious and comes up against resistance, especially by those who benefit from the status quo. As rightly put by the Speaker of South African Parliament that, "in any society and situation, it is those most affected who must bring about change. Those who are privileged benefit even unconsciously from a system that marginalises others. Hence they cannot be depended upon to make the changes that will remove their privileged status," (Mutume, 2004). It should therefore be a well thought out, locally contextualized and a publicly debated policy choice, prior to implementation in any country.

One might argue that reserved seats should not be counted among electoral quotas. However, reserved seats today come in many different types, some excluding, others including, the election of women, rather than appointment, to fill these seats. In Uganda 39 seats, one elected in each district by a special electorate, are reserved for women. In Rwanda, 30 percent of the seats, elected by a special procedure, are reserved for women according to the constitution. In Tanzania 20 percent of the seats are reserved for women and allocated to the political parties in proportion to the number of parliamentary seats won in an election. Reserved seats can also be filled by appointment, as in Kenya and some Arab states (Bratton & Walle, 1997; Powley, 2005; Tamale, 2004).

Secondly: A political party commission is another measure that has helped South African increased female political representation (Goetz, 1998). In order for Zambia to bridge its gender disparity in parliamentary representations, it could do well to adopt and closely monitor a political party commission that supports and regulates the role and functioning of political parties, including setting standards for internal democracy, transparency and inclusivity. The set up standards could include *specific gender considerations in party structures and operations* and this may be comprised of measures that ensure women candidates get a fair share of the party nominations; establishing rules-of-the-game for campaign financing that also supports the less well-off candidates; and ensuring a broader party commitment to support aspiring female candidates.

Another strategy that the country could use is party gender quotas. Party gender quotas work well under proportional representation electoral system like the one used in South Africa. Refer to the case of South Africa under Literature Review.

In the draft Constitution of Zambia, the Mixed Member Proportional Representation Electoral System consisting of a First-Past-The-Post System and Party List System in accordance with article 47 (2), 68 and 69 (The National Assembly of Zambia, 2015) which was recommended by the Electoral Reform Technical Committee (ERTC) in 2003 was being debated by parliament in 2015 but could not be passed in the 2016 amended Constitution. The Mixed Member Proportional Representation article recommended for 35 seats to be reserved for women in the Legislature. Proportional Representation (*PR*) characterizes electoral systems by which divisions in an electorate are reflected proportionately in the elected body. If 30% of the electorate support a particular political party, then roughly 30% of seats will be won by that party, to imply that if 50% female candidates and 50% male candidates are well distributed on a party list and 30% seats are won in an election, 15% elected officials will be female and 15% will be men.

The essence of such systems is that all votes contribute to the result: not just a plurality of them. Proportional representation requires the use of multiple-member voting districts (also called super-districts); it is not possible using single-member districts alone. Zambia on the other hand, for the past 52 years of independence has been using first-past –the-post (FPTP), also known as the single member plurality, simple majority voting, or plurality voting. Under FPTP, voting takes place in single constituencies that select single members of parliaments. The candidates with the most votes win the elections and any other votes go to waste or simply amount to nothing. Therefore Mixed Member Proportional Representation means the use of both First Past the Post and Proportional Representation. United Kingdom is an example of a European country that used First-past-the-post electoral system (although it was abandoned in 2010) with voluntary party gender quotas, by the Labour party to be specific which saw female representation at 22.5 % in 2010.

1.1.2 Tested Measures towards Gender Equality in Zambia

In 1980, Zambia signed to the 1979 Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and ratified it in 1985 but this discrimination seems to exclude representation of women in the legislature. Article 4 of CEDAW says that, States

should adopt temporary measures to accelerate the equal participation of women in political, economic, social, cultural, and civil spheres. Nevertheless, no concrete measures have been adopted for this purpose. Zambia went on and promptly ratified the Beijing Declaration and Platform for action which advocated for 30% female representation in decision making positions at international level, at regional level, in 1997, the Southern African Development Committee (SADC) declaration of 30% in decision making positions was also adopted by the SADC Heads of States to which Zambia is a member. In 1997, the female Members of Parliament established the Parliamentary Caucus for the purpose of advancing the status of women in politics. On the 8th of March, 2012, The Ministry of Gender and Child Development was created and in 2014, three powerful instruments were launched. Among them was; The Strategic Plan 2014-2016, the “2014-2016 Count Her In” Campaign Strategy and the 2014 National Gender Policy which revised the 2000 National Gender Policy alongside with the National Gender Policy Implementation Plan.

On affirmative action; the National Gender Policy acknowledges that special measures (legislative and/ otherwise), are necessary for the advancement of those who are disadvantaged due to gender discrimination. And in line with this, the objective under decision making is to increase the participation of women in decision making at all levels of development in the public and private sectors and one of the measures identified under creation of platforms for women’s participation in decision making is to lobby for a quota system of allocation of seats during local and parliamentary elections (Ministry of gender and child development, 2014, pp. 21-24). The preamble of *The National Assembly of Zambia* (2015) reads; “We the people of Zambia: Confirm the equal worth of women and men and their right to freely participate in, determine and build a sustainable political, legal, economic and social order.” Part V, article 45 (d) of *The Republic of Zambia* (2016) also states; ‘gender equity in the National Assembly or council.’ The pending question however is; how is this equity going to be implemented and sustained? And among other things in the draft constitution was the establishment of the Gender Commission, the Mixed Member Representation Electoral System that allows for the use of party lists which would have been a good chance for the adoption of Party Gender Quotas. To most Zambians, it was surprising that the amended and signed Constitution by his Excellency Edgar Changwa Lungu on the 5th of January 2016 omitted the articles that gave hope for gender equity in the National Assembly. The Mixed Member Proportional Representation could not be passed in the amended Constitution, the First Past the Post Electoral System was maintained instead (*The Republic of Zambia*, 2016).

The newly amended Constitution is silent on gender quotas and reserved seats adoption in Zambia. Zambia committed itself to creating a mechanism to facilitate the active participation of women at all levels of the political process including the implementation of affirmative action, but this is just on paper, the truth is that Zambia has a low female political representation up until now because there is no practical nor working mechanism to increase female representation in legislature. The low representation of women in the Zambian parliament poses a threat to sustainable development because of lack of women's useful skills, knowledge and participation in decision making. For policy makers and political party leadership, it is a problem that has received no practical strategies for intervention.

1.1.3 The Zambian Parliament

The Zambian parliament is unicameral; Members of Parliament (MPs) are selected through the first past the post. Currently, the house representation of 166 Members of Parliament is as follows; 89 Members of Parliament are from the ruling party (PF), 63 Members of Parliament are from the opposition parties and 14 Members of Parliament are independents. Of the 166 Members of Parliament, 158 are voted for and 8 Members of Parliament are nominated by the President of the Republic of Zambia. Party representation is also as follows; Patriotic Front (PF) as the ruling party has 53.6% (89), Movement for Multi- Party Democracy (MMD) has 2.4% (4), United Party for National Democracy (UPND) has 34.9%(58), Forum for Democracy and Development (FDD) has 0.6% (1) and Independent candidates composing of 8.4%(14). Gender representation is as follows; 18.1% (30) female representation and 81.9 % (136) male representation. Of the 27 plus 3 nominated adding up to 30 female Members of Parliament, 16 female Members of Parliament are from PF, 1 nominated Member of Parliament is from MMD, 10 Members of Parliament are from UPND, 1 Member of Parliament is from FDD and 2 Members of Parliament are independent candidates, a slight improvement from the 2011 Parliamentary elections where no one as an independent female candidate was elected. The sad development however was that one of the independent female candidate's elections had to be nullified and the case was taken to court where a determined young Honourable woman appealed.

There is no doubt therefore that political parties play a critical role in the democratisation process. It is also incontrovertible that political parties are keys to institutionalisation and consolidation of democracy. Thus sustainable democracy is dependent upon well functioning

and effective political parties. “Each country contexts suggest vibrant and robust political parties are crucial actors in articulating and aggregating diverse interests, providing visionary political leadership, recruiting and presenting candidates and developing competing political and policy programmes upon which the electorate base their choice during elections,” (Momba, 2005, p. vii).

1.1.4 Zambian Political Parties under Study

This section gives brief histories of the political parties under study.

The Patriotic Front (PF) was formed as a political party in 2001 by Micheal Chilufya Sata, breaking off from the then ruling party MMD, when he felt disappointed because the late Fredrick Chiluba endorsed the late Levy Mwanawasa and not him as a Presidential candidate in the 2001 election following failure to bid for a third term. Ten years down the line on the 23rd September of 2011, Michael Sata was announced and declared winner following the tripartite elections that took place and in the 20th January 2015 elections, Edgar Lungu of the PF succeeded Sata as President of the Republic of Zambia after his death. In August 2016, His Excellency Edgar Changwa Lungu under the same PF ticket emerged winner of the Presidential Elections for another five years tenure of office.

The party with the second largest number of seats in the National Assembly, the United Party for National Development (UPND), was formed in Lusaka in 1998 and was registered on the 2nd December 1998 with late Anderson Mazoka as the party president. Its leaders say that UPND is a pragmatic party governed by liberal democratic principles. Founders claim UPND was formed because there was a vacuum in the political sphere, and therefore a need arose for a political party with ideas and policies that would move Zambia out of the general decline in democracy that the country had been experiencing. The idea of forming the party was also to bring in new people who had not been involved in politics before, as viable alternative to what already existed. It is the goal of UPND to improve the welfare of the marginalised groups in Zambia such as working class and peasants. The party is supported by professional and economic groups such as academics, business groups, industrialists and farmers (Momba, 2005, p. 16). Currently, the party president is Hichilema Hakainde.

Forum for Democracy and Development (FDD) was formed in 2001 as an opposition to the Movement for Multi-party Democracy (MMD's) attempt to mutilate the constitution and attempt

a third term for Fredrick Chiluba as president. It was seen as an alternative to the MMD, as the only party that was going to spearhead democracy and development in the country, centred on the principle of decentralisation and individual development. The party president for FDD is Edith Nawakwi a woman and has for this reason received support from the NGOCC. “The Non-Governmental Organisations Coordinating Council (NGOCC) during the 18th General Assembly unanimously resolved to support the only female candidate Edith Nawakwi in the forthcoming presidential elections slated for January 20, 2015,” (Non Governmental Organizations'Co-ordinating Council, 2014).

Lastly but not the least is the Rainbow Party. The former Patriotic Front Secretary General Wynter Kabimba launched a new political party which he called the Rainbow Party during a press briefing which he addressed on the 16th November 2014 at Mulungushi International Conference Centre in Lusaka, where he strongly attacked his former party and said that his party would abstain from violence. Kabimba said the party was formed with the aim of contesting the 2016 general elections. He also said that the new Rainbow Party will be formed under the slogan ‘United We Can’.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The low representation of women in decision making positions is a worldwide concern. Why is there more emphasis on the demand for an agreement for the equal participation of women than there is for equal representation? After all it is the equal representation that effects equal participation. The fact that women all over the world have been excluded from representation must be taken as the starting point, not the abstract principles of representation. The problem lies in the misunderstanding that women want to be led as opposed to lead and therefore shun political positions.

The Constitution of Zambia guarantees that every person in the country shall enjoy certain rights and freedoms, irrespective of sex, race, creed, colour, religious or political opinions, but makes no categorical provisions to enhance the representation of women in national, political or local publicly elected bodies. The tested measures towards gender equality in Zambia have therefore proven ineffective and are a clear indication of government inaction. The problem therefore is that, if political parties are the sole gate keepers to political office why are they not utilising their powers to create enabling political environments that would support increased female political representation as opposed to leaving it up to government? In addition, though political parties are key players in the situation of low female political representation, little research has been

done to investigate their policies in explaining why few women are in the legislature and assess their attitudes on gender quotas and reserved seats adoption in Zambia for increased female political representation.

1.3 General Objective

To find out Patriotic Front (PF), United Party for National Development (UPND), Rainbow and Forum for Democracy and Development (FDD) parties' policies and perspectives on the adoption of a gender quota and reserved seats in Zambian politics.

1.4 Specific Objectives

The following are the research objectives;

- i. To find out measures that have been put in place by political parties to promote gender equality in national decision making positions (legislature).
- ii. Investigate the criteria used in the party nominations for candidates for parliamentary elections.
- iii. Determine whether there is a link between the presence of women in party leadership positions and their numeric presence both in elected and appointed offices of the government.
- iv. Examine party leaders' views on gender quota and reserved seats adoption in Zambia.

1.5 Research Questions

The following were the research Questions;

- i. What measures have been put in place by political parties to promote gender equality?
- ii. What criteria are used by election committees of political parties to select candidates for parliamentary elections?
- iii. Is there a link between the presence of women in party leadership positions and their numeric presence both in elected and appointed offices of the government?
- iv. What are party leaders' views on the adoption of party quotas and reserved seats in Zambia?

1.6 Significance of the Study/ Rationale

Scholars around the world agree that it is of utmost importance to have equal numbers of women and men in political office. Gender equity is an essential building block in sustainable development which requires the full and equal participation of women and men at all levels. The huge gender gap in decision making in Zambia specifically is of great concern both nationally (specifically by the civil society) and internationally by international movements and organizations like the United Nations. This study bases its rationale on the following arguments;

Justice – women account for approximately half the population and therefore have the right to be represented. Zambia has a population of thirteen million, forty six thousand, five hundred and eight (13,046,508) people out of which six million, six hundred and fifty two thousand and fifty three (6,652,053) are females making up 51 percent of the total population as compared to six million three hundred and ninety four thousand, four hundred and fifty five (6, 394,455) males. This is according to the 2010 Central Statistics Office's Census Report. Though women constitute almost 51 percent of the Zambian population, and are the majority voters because they turn up in large numbers (50.14% of who were women and 49.86% were men in the 2011 tripartite elections), they are underrepresented in many areas of socio-economic and political activities. "Available statistics on leadership and decision making indicate that despite women being in the majority, their representation and participation in decision making positions is relatively low in all institutions covering the executive, legislature and judiciary, local government, political parties, the private sector, religious bodies and traditional establishments," (Zambia National Women's Lobby, 2015, p. 1).

Experience – women's experiences are different from men's and need to be represented in discussions that result in policy-making and implementation. These different experiences mean that women 'do politics' differently from men. In general, women and men have different tasks which they perform and so live in the same society but in different economic and social conditions. Therefore, women can be prime actors in promoting gender sensitive governance that addresses the interest of men, women and children as observed in Rwanda and Uganda. It is also important to note that the absence of women in decision making positions may to a large extent, contribute to the country's underdevelopment because one section of the population that represents the majority citizens is not involved in the development process of the country.

Interest – the interests of men and women are different and even conflicting and therefore women are needed in representative institutions to articulate the interests of women. Women

have a natural concern for social issues such as food security, water and means of survival and this concern needs to be considered and be represented by a large mass of women.

Critical mass – women are able to achieve solidarity of purpose to represent women's interests when they achieve certain levels of representation. As the president of Chile rightly put it that when one woman becomes a leader, it changes her and when more women become leaders, it changes politics and policies.

Symbolic - women are attracted to political life if they have role models in the arena. The presence of many women in elected offices motivates even the younger generation to venture into politics despite all challenges that might be faced during nominations and elections. Low female political representation intimidates women to even stand for elections; they would rather support men and be led by them (Division for the Advancement of Women, 2005, p. 9).

Democracy – the equal representation of women and men enhances democratization of governance in both transitional and consolidated democracies. Good governance refers to all processes of governing and includes a bottom- up process and gender equality of participation in decision making. It becomes meaningful as a system operating on democratic principles with values and practices that stress people's empowerment and participation, gender equality, legitimacy, transparency, accountability and effectiveness. *“The achievement of democracy presupposes a genuine partnership between men and women in the conduct of affairs of society in which they work in equality and complementarities, drawing mutual enrichment from their differences,”* (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 1999). However, governance and democracy in Zambia has for a long time excluded gender equality.

Based on these arguments, it is therefore important that female political representation be improved through gender awareness. This study explores gender dynamics in political parties which are the building blocks of the political system, and the possibility of introducing a quota system. It is hoped that the study can be used to inform party programs and policies and in the long run contribute to elevating women from subordinate positions to equal partners in governance. Mixed Member Proportional Representation electoral system allows for the use of party lists which could be a better opportunity to impose a certain percentage of seats allocated to women for the purpose of gender equity and equality.

1.7 Definition of Terms

Affirmative Action- Special measures aimed at creating state of equality between females and males through implementation of deliberate strategies aimed at elevating the status of the disadvantaged.

Gender- Referring to the attributes and opportunities associated with being male and female, and the socio- cultural relationships between women and men, and girls and boys, as well as, the relations between different groups of women and different groups of men. These attributes, opportunities and relationships are socially constructed and learned through socialization processes.

Gender Analysis- is the systematic gathering and examination of information on gender differences and social relations in order to identify, understand and redress inequities based on gender.

Gender Awareness- is being conscious of the fact that men, women, boys and girls have different roles, responsibilities and needs.

Gender Biased- is when socio-cultural beliefs favour specifically men, women, boys, girls only.

Gender Blindness- is inability to perceive that there are different gender roles, needs, responsibilities of men, women, boys and girls and as a result failure to realise that policies, programmes and projects can have different impacts on women, men, girls and boys.

Gender Equality- Gender equality denotes women having the same opportunities in life as men, including the ability to participate in the public sphere.

Gender Equity- is the equivalence in life outcomes for women and men, recognising their different needs and interests, and requiring a redistribution of power and resources.

Gender Gap- refers to the disparities between women and men in terms of their levels of participation, access to resources, rights, remuneration, benefits etc

Gender Imbalances- are inequalities which exist between females and males and are not related to sex roles.

Gender Inequality- is the disparity that exists between individuals due to gender.

Gender Mainstreaming- Gender Mainstreaming ensures women, men, girls and boys benefit equally from the development process by highlighting the impacts of policies, programs and laws on the real situation of women, men, girls and boys.

National Assembly- Elected and nominated Members of Parliament.

Parliament- President and the National Assembly.

Parliamentary Caucus for Women- Committee for female Member of Parliament for the advancement of women in politics.

Quota System- Ensures a certain number or percentage in this case of women in the membership of any body. Quotas are used as a measure to increase the representation of historically excluded or under-represented groups in politics.

Reserved Seats- Politico-constitutional arrangements that use reserved political positions in an endeavour to ensure the rights of the minorities or preserving a political balance of power. The arrangement can distort the democratic principle of one person- one vote in order to address special circumstances. Reserved seats for women, minorities or other segments of the society are examples.

Reserved seats for women- Certain constituencies reserved for women to compete among themselves.

Uni-cameral Parliament- Single housed parliament.

This chapter has given an introduction to the study by giving the background to the study, the statement of the problem and the significance of the study. This is a necessary research to undertake in the face of low female political representation and the pursuit for a working political representation in Zambia.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

Female political representation in national parliaments worldwide stands at 22.6% as of 2015 (Report on women in parliament by the Inter-Parliamentary Union- IPU). The Year in Review released ahead of International Women's Day on 8th March 2016, showed that for the second year in a row, the number of women Members of Parliament (MPs) across the world rose by a worryingly low 0.5 percentage point, a setback from the 1.5 percent point increase witnessed in 2013. Given the slow speed at which the number of women in politics is growing, with the percentage of women MPs in the world growing by just 6.4 points in the past 10 years, different policy measures are being introduced to reach gender balance in political institutions. Quotas present one such mechanism to increase, and safeguard women's presence in parliaments and have been used all over the world since the 1990's. What are the arguments for and against the use of quotas? What types of quota have led to substantial increase in women's political representation in practice? Which quotas work best in different electoral systems and how can they be effectively enforced? These are some of the issues covered in the literature discussed in this chapter.

2.1 Quotas Discussed

A number of scholars worldwide such as Dahlerup (2007), Krook (2007), and Paxton and others (2009) have written on quotas, with Drude Dahlerup having written the major chunk of the work. Dahlerup's focus has been on the use of quotas as a mechanism to obtain equal political citizenship for women. Quotas for women entail that women must constitute a certain number or percentage of the members of a body, whether it is a candidate list, a parliamentary assembly, a committee or a government with the aim of increasing women's representation in these public or political institutions. The main reasons highlighted for women's underrepresentation are the exclusionary practices of the political parties, electorate and the political institutions at large. Therefore, the use of Quotas in these commercialised politics is intended to relieve women of the trouble they will have to go through to secure party nominations, thus placing the burden of candidate recruitment on those who control the recruitment process; first and foremost the political parties, those who nominate and select to ensure that they recruit women and give women equal opportunities which currently they do not have in most parts of the world (Inter-parliamentary Union, 1999).

2.1.1 Concepts of Equality

In general, quotas for women represent a shift from one concept of equality to another. Dahlerup (2007) and Squires (2003) have presented debates on different concepts of equality. The classic liberal notion of equality was a notion of 'equal opportunity' or 'competitive equality;' such as the belief that the removal of formal barriers that enabled women to vote was sufficient enough without considering other inequalities that prevented women from actively participating in politics or seeking public office. The exclusion of women from the political sphere is shown clearly by Nelson and Najman as they state that, "The major finding of the research comes as no surprise: in no country do women have political status, access, or influence equal to men's," (Nelson & Najma, 1994, p. 3). The point is that even if women enjoy political power, they do so only in a particular arena different from that of men. Even though women have proven themselves to be better mobilizers of voters than men and their activism more distinct and unopposed, they are still considered subordinate to men in the political arena. Furthermore, even if not all women experience their subordinate political status in the same way, in most cultures there is a complex matrix of political power composed of many social hierarchies, of which gender is a major a component and other social hierarchies such as class and education following. According to Nelson and Najma (1994), this explains why women's political status, access and influence cannot amount to that of men.

Following strong feminist pressure in the last few decades, a second concept of equality has gained increased relevance and support. This is the notion of 'equality of result', a shift from the concentration on formal barriers that focused on 'equal opportunities.' There have been arguments that the eradication of formal barriers caused by socio-economic and cultural factors cannot produce real equal opportunity. Women for example have been empowered with education and financial resources but still find it difficult to penetrate through the patriarchal political systems. Direct discrimination, as well as a complex pattern of hidden barriers, prevent women from getting their share of political influence, rendering 'equal opportunities' unpractical and almost impossible and this is where the notion of equal results comes in. The second concept acknowledges the barriers and seeks to address them the best way possible so that results may prove equal. Quotas and other forms of active equality measures such as reserved seats are thus a means towards equality of result. "The argument is based on the experience that equality as a goal cannot be reached by formal equal treatment as a means. If barriers exist, it is argued, compensatory measures must be introduced as a means to reach equality of result," (Dahlerup, 2005, p. 145).

Squires' survey on gender quotas in Britain has found that political parties that adopt a conception of equality as equality of outcome (results) have been more willing to adopt gender quotas, and have embraced a 'faster track' to gender equality in the political sphere than those parties that embrace the conception of equality as equality of opportunity. Even so, there is a gap in relating equality of opportunity with equality of results. Dahlerup has stated that the relation between the two concepts can be seen as the implication of different quota regimes, "defined as the combination of the electoral system and the quota type applied. It is concluded that, contrary to what is commonly believed – electoral gender quotas come closer to providing real equality of opportunity than equality of result," (Dahlerup, 2007). This is so because even countries that have adopted gender quotas of various forms are still experiencing low female political representation as opposed to producing equality of results such as Belgium (Socialist Party). For countries like Rwanda and Uganda where equality of results have been noted reserved seats have been applied. Squires' survey also suggests a third conception of equality at play in relation to debates about women's representation; equality as gender mainstreaming, meaning; "the adoption of this conception of equality in relation to women's political representation does not necessarily entail the adoption of gender quotas, but may well have facilitated high levels of women's representation through governmental affirmative actions or measures," (Squires, 2003, p. 3).

2.1.2 Types of Quotas

There are three main quota systems; these are constitutional, election law and party quotas (Norris & Krook, 2001, p. 28). The constitutional quotas have provisions of reserving seats in parliament for women and has become an increasingly popular means of addressing women political under-representation among nations such as Burkina Faso, Rwanda and Uganda. However, for countries experiencing equality of opportunities as opposed to equality of results, Meryl Kenny (2015) explains that those constitutional quotas can only be effective as long as they have teeth, meaning, they need to be well-designed and effectively implemented if they are to produce results. In political party quotas, parties adopt internal rules to include a certain percentage of women as candidates for elections as is the case in South Africa and Mozambique. Different countries use Election law quotas depending on their electoral system where provisions are written into their National legislation, as in the case of Argentina whose electoral law establishes a compulsory 30% quota for women candidates in elective posts. (Ballington & Karam, 2005).

While considerable attention has been devoted to classifying types of quotas, explaining why they were adopted and investigating which quota provisions are most effective, except for literature on South Africa, little is known about the actual implementation of political party gender quotas. Davidson's (2006), article on evidence from the Germany Lander 1990-2000 becomes very useful for this research because he takes up the first step in explaining when parties live up to their promises to promote women's representation and when they fail to do so. He argues that while structural factors such as the electoral and party systems as well as the supply and demand of female candidates are not unimportant, cultural variables of stereotyping best explain whether or not parties actually comply with their own quotas. This argument is vital for understanding why UPND party has failed to comply with its quota.

2.1.3 Arguments against Quotas

Opponents of quotas argue that they are discriminatory, interventionist and fundamentally undemocratic. Andrew Coyne for example argued that the Trudeau cabinet should be based on merit and not gender; he described how unfair gender quotas are to men and how they put representation before ability (The National Post, 2015). In January 1996, the Industrial Tribunal in the United Kingdom overturned the Labour Party's all-female shortlists on grounds of the Sex Discrimination Act of 1975 and it was only in 2001 when an additional law allowing for political parties to use affirmative action that there was an increase in women's share of elected positions (Paxton & Hughes, 2007, p. 165). Other scholars like Verma (2012) have criticised gender quotas for being discriminatory against other underrepresented groups in society like the youths and disabled with the argument that; if women are represented through quotas, why shouldn't other groups be similarly represented? Moreover, it has been claimed that passing a constitutional amendment would be a permanent rather than a temporary measure to compensate for the lack of women in elective bodies.

On the argument of quotas being discriminatory, Murray (2015) responds that, not as much as the status quo discriminates against women. Quotas never give more than half of opportunities to women. That leaves at least half the opportunities for men. That doesn't seem like such a raw deal. Murray further states that the argument that gender quotas violate meritocracy is based on fallacies and in defence of this statement she explains that recruitment without gender quotas is not meritocratic. Rather, it is based on (male) gender, privilege, and an uneven playing field. She further argues;

It is rather insulting actually to suggest that the reason why elite, wealthy, middle-aged white dominate politics and other echelons of power is because they deserve to – because of their greater merit, (Murray, 2015).

This suggests, by inference, that under-represented groups, including women, ethnic minorities and people from less privileged backgrounds, are relatively absent from politics because they don't deserve to be there. The criteria that we use to determine merit are problematic; we don't really know what the criteria are. Looking at the academic definitions of candidate merit, you get yet another definition. The focus usually is on objective criteria such as education, income and prior political experience. In as much as education and income may be measures of achievement, they may also be markers of social privilege. Women tend to be at least as well educated as men, but earn lower salaries on average as a result of discrimination in the workplace. Salaries are therefore not a good indicator of merit. Prior political experience can be an indicator of know-how, but it may also reflect privileged access to lower levels of politics (Murray, 2015).

Another argument against quotas is that even though their intentions are aimed at bridging the equality gap that exists against women, it is sometimes at the expense of well qualified and experienced politicians as this excerpt from the Swedish Inter-parliamentary Union on discussing the appraisal of quotas demonstrates;

Yes, the quota system has facilitated women's access, not only in parties applying quotas but also in other parties. Quotas, once established, are not questioned but introducing exact quotas can create turbulence: throwing out well established politicians for the benefit of less experienced women can be felt unfair. (1997:75).

Opponents of quotas have also argued that quotas cannot be seen as being a complete solution to female under representation in public life. The use of quotas has to be accompanied by other measures as evidenced by the Belgian Socialist Party, who, despite the application of a one third quota to the electoral law, have fewer than a third of their elected candidates as women because the quota does not affect the places of female candidates on the party list, and they are often near the bottom (Directorate- General for Research, March 1997).

Other measures needed include heightened publicity to encourage more women to stand (so increasing the range of candidates and competency from which to select), placing more women in visible political positions and having more family friendly work practices within parliaments (Directorate- General for Research, March 1997). Because of all such measures, opponents argue that legislated and more especially constitutional quotas are very difficult to pass.

2.1.4 Importance of Quotas

Dahlerup made the following observation;

Quotas in politics may be seen as an expression of a growing impatience among the supporters of equal political and social citizenship for women, since quotas can lead to a quantitative jump and empowerment of women if implemented. (2002:3).

Dahlerup (2007), Krook (2007), and Davidson (2006) have written on how increasingly numbers of countries are introducing various types of gender quotas for public elections. They have also pointed out that, in fact, half of the countries of the world today use some types of electoral quota for parliament in an attempt to reach parliamentary parity. These articles are used in this research as an aid to understanding why Zambia as a democratic country has not implemented quotas to its gender imbalanced parliament when half of the countries are doing so.

There is a clear consensus amongst comparative studies Dahlerup (2002) and Squires (2003) of the representation of women in parliament that quotas make a positive impact on the numbers of women represented. The use of quotas is increasingly being influenced by international recommendations and cross-country inspiration. In this regard, Dahlerup sought to establish whether the precise form and perceived efficacy of quotas that meet very different contexts in individual countries depends on the nature of citizenship at a discursive level, and the nature of the political system at an institutional level. A long history of mobilization of women and of women's integration into the labour market and political life holds the background for introducing quotas to the Nordic countries. Nonetheless, for most African countries, women no longer want to wait for 80 years or so to achieve parliamentary parity hence the urgency for quota adoption and implementation. Quotas represent a change in public equality policy, from “equal opportunities” to “equality of results.”

Regarding increased representation due to quotas, Hanna Pitkin (1995) argues that there is no common understanding about the nature of representation and about what fair representation is. She however provides perhaps one of the most self explanatory definition of political representation, “as political representation occurring when political actors speak, advocate, symbolise, and act on behalf of others in the political arena,” (Kurebwa, 2015, p. 50). In the distinction between representations of ideas versus social representation, quotas for women represent the second. But social representation may lead to representation of ideas via ‘critical mass’ as argued by Rosabeth Moss Kanter and Drude Dahlerup (Childs & Krook, 2008). Anne Phillip on the other hand advocates for gender quotas in a system that combines politics of ideas

with politics of presence (Phillips, 1995, p. 96). In spite of the many arguments against quotas, feminist Anne Phillip asks why everybody agrees on the demand for the equal participation of women only when it concerns voting, but not for equal political representation that calls for even enhanced and broadened political participation.

According to Delys, “Political participation is broadly divided into three segments: the right to choose political leadership, the right to participate in political leadership and gender-sensitive political decision-making mechanisms,” (2014, p. 15). All these three segments are vital for political participation, thus, if they are to be successfully implemented, rather than focusing on abstract principles of representations, there is a dire need to recognize that women all over the world have been excluded from representation and this is a means of bringing about equality. Bratton and Walle (1997) have further defended gender quotas stating that even though quotas for women are looked at with suspicion, all electoral systems include some kind of quotas. They give an example of geographical based quotas, “where more densely populated areas are given a disproportional number of seats in parliament to increase political representation.” If such a thing can be done in other areas to bring about equality, then surely the same thing can be done to bring about the much needed gender equality.

Quotas touch upon the discussion of why women's representation is important and it is from this that the question of whether the use of quotas is enough to bring about a comprehensive representation of women arises. This comprehensive representation refers to both descriptive and substantive representation; where the former seeks to account for “cross-national variations in women’s access to political office” and the latter “asks whether women seek and are able to promote women’s issues once elected to political office,” (Franceschet, et al., 2012). Some arguments made today by proponents of quotas are; (a) women represent half the population and have the right to half the seats (the justice argument); (b) women have different experiences (biologically or socially constructed) that ought to be represented (the experience argument); (c) women and men have partly conflicting interests and thus men cannot represent women (the interest group argument), and (d) importance of women politicians as role models that may pave the way for other women (Phillips, 1995). Based on these arguments, it is imperative therefore, that women be as equally represented as men world over, especially in Zambia. However since women representation is a challenge, taking into consideration the socio-cultural and political barriers women face to get to political offices, quotas and reserved seats come in as remedies or elevators.

2.2 Quotas and Female Party Leadership

Party leaders are very cardinal in parliamentary democracies. Within them lies the power to make decisions and effect change within their political parties. O'brien and Rickne (2014, p.4) have elaborated that,

“Party leaders are ‘the central political figures’ in advanced parliamentary democracies. As the single most important decision makers within their parties, they shape these organizations’ vote, office, and policy-seeking aims. Leaders, for example, constitute an important reason why citizens vote for (or against) a party, they influence their parties’ policy position and make (and break) governments. Leaders also wield significant influence over their co-partisans’ career paths.”

In the political world, the idea is that most of the government leaders or legislators are generated from these very political parties to represent the interests of the public they serve through decision making, policy recommendations and changes. Unfortunately, as has already been established, there exists a very clear margin between male and female representatives in these leadership roles, a reality that begs the question; how possible is it to meet the needs or represent the interests of a gender that's not adequately represented when it makes up for more than 50% of the total population as is the case in Zambia? Therefore, given the growing power of party leaders, it should be expected that women's access to this position has important consequences for women's descriptive, substantive, as well as symbolic representation. Kiamba has also commented in addition that there is enough evidence to suggest that women lead differently from men (Kiamba, 2008, p. 9). One may argue that there have been leaders like Margaret Thatcher who did not appoint any woman to cabinet but in Thatcher's defence, The Guardian (2012) had this to say;

Women who complain that Margaret Thatcher was not a feminist because she didn't help other women or openly acknowledge her debt to feminism have a point, but they are also missing something vital. She normalised female success. She showed that although female power and masculine power may have different languages, different metaphors, different gestures, different traditions, different ways of being glamorous or nasty, they are equally strong, equally valid ... No one can ever question whether women are capable of single-minded vigour, of efficient leadership, after Margeret Thatcher. She is the great unsung heroine of British feminism, (Thursday, 5th January).

Given the importance of party leadership, O'Neil and Stewart (2009) note that "One fundamental problem facing democracies is the continued lack of gender equality in political leadership," It thus remains relatively rare for women to head governments or lead parties that might form governments despite being the majority of party membership as is the case even in Zambia. Therefore, women's inclusion in these high-profile positions promotes and serves as a marker of gender equality, and signals a broader change in political norms provided that the aim isn't just to make up numbers but that the numbers translate to policy.

Though more than 100 countries have adopted gender quotas, the impacts of these reforms on women's political leadership remain largely unknown. As these reforms have spread around the world, there is increasing interest in their broader impacts and a large body of work has explored their effectiveness in increasing women's presence in legislatures worldwide (Dahlerup & Freidenvall, 2005; Devlin & Robert, 2008; Alexander, 2012; Franceschet, et al., 2012). Concerning the impact of quotas on the representation of women's interests, O'Brien and Rickne postulate that;

Despite our growing understanding of quotas' broader impacts, in terms of their influence on representation of women's interest, symbolic effects of quotas, their impact on women's career ambitions and political participation and engagement as well as beliefs about women's ability to govern, Obrien and Rickne stress that "their effect on women's appointment to higher political office remains unknown. In particular, no study had yet considered whether quotas help or hinder women's selection to, and survival in, leadership posts within political organizations. (2014, p. 2).

Using a quasi-experiment, O'brien and Rickne (2014) examined the zipper quota imposed on the Swedish Social Democratic National Party on municipal party groups. Their aim was to examine the effect of quotas' on women's selection and retention as leaders within their parties. They found that "those municipalities where the quota had a larger impact became more likely to appoint female leaders, but not more likely to support the re-election of women to the post. Extending this analysis, demonstrated also is how the quota increased the number of qualified female candidates without increasing the diversity among women within the group. These results lend support to the notion that quotas may have an acceleration effect on women's representation in leadership posts and also help dispel the myth that quotas trade short-term gains in women's descriptive representation for long-term exclusion from political power.

O'brien and Rickne's study is very cardinal to the understanding of quotas and their effect on women representation as it established that quotas may increase the supply of women eligible for leadership posts and give them more opportunities to join forces to support other women for top office. This means that quotas could have a positive "acceleration effect" on women's access to top political posts. However, Leartherby, O'brien and Ricken have in their study also recognized that;

...both scholars and activists have linked increases in "quota women" to stigmatization and backlash effects which could mean that quotas could produce a trade-off effect in which immediate gains in women's numeric representation result in their subsequent exclusion from positions of authority (O'brien & Ricken, 2014; Leatherby, 2016).

Take for instance the case of reserved seats in Tanzania, there were concerns by the legislature about the long term impact of reserved seats that could have a crippling effect on women who could become scared of standing on their own in constituencies once they got used to affirmative action. It was also debated that, the availability of reserved seats is likely to take the pressure off political parties to nominate women in competitive constituency seats thereby running the risk of becoming a ceiling rather than the floor for emancipation. Nonetheless, this is just a concern that can be over ruled with the fact that such women who start their political career through reserved seats gain the experience to aspire for future constituency candidates, as argued by female MPs in Tanzania (Gretchen, 2009, p. 19). Tripp also argues in favour of the female MPs that, "one of the most important consequences of the reserved seats was to give women the exposure, political experience and confidence to run on their own in open electoral contests," (Tripp, 2000, p. 71).

The argument that quotas are positively associated with party's selection of female leaders was deeply emphasized by O'brien and Rickne (2014) whose research helped to dispel the myth that electoral affirmative action policies necessarily result in losses in women's access to power but that quotas are likely to facilitate the promotion of women, which can in turn have tremendous symbolic and practical consequences. By improving female politicians' access to leadership positions, quotas likely have knock-on effects related to the selection of political candidates, the appointment of ministers and the content of the policy agenda. These findings contribute to the growing work on electoral reform, political representation, gender and politics and quota impact. At first glance, it may appear that O'brien and Rickne's study is irrelevant to this study whose focus is on Zambia, a country that has not yet adopted gender quotas. However, the findings of their study are vital in informing this research which might in turn inevitably inform as well as

persuade those in political leadership to adopt quotas not just for increased female political representation but also for increased female party leadership which is very poor in Zambian political parties.

The widespread adoption of gender quotas is one of the most important political developments of the modern era. While there is so much literature on quotas, this literature is basically concentrated around the advantages and disadvantages of adopting quotas and its impact on female political representation including party leadership in countries that have already adopted them. Very little or no research has been done on investigating the policies and perspectives of party leaders on gender quotas adoption in countries that have not adopted them yet (as is the case for Zambia) and the possibility of introducing party quotas. Concerning votes for women, Bebel postulated that the fact that a leader supports a position does not necessarily mean the party adopts it. However, O'Brien & Rickne (2014) argued to the contrary when they referred to party leaders as the single most important decision makers within their parties, emphasizing that their views on certain topics are likely to influence policy. Thus, it is hoped that apart from just fulfilling its set out objectives, this study will inevitably help fill in this literature gap that has been identified regarding the case of Zambia.

2.3 The Institutional Design Perspective

When evaluating determinants of women's parliamentary representation, the Institutional Design Perspective hypothesizes that factors particular to the political environment such as measuring institutional design have to take on central relevance. Institution Design Perspective generally talks about the mediating role different aspects of political system play in supporting women's political empowerment and the actual empowerment of women in different areas of their lives that facilitate or restrict women's proportions in political office. To this end, Alexander and Welzel (n.d) postulate that specific aspects of the political environment mediate gains in women's parliamentary representation. More importantly, institutional design can take on central relevance because institutions are capable of accelerating or restricting women's parliamentary representation regardless of the developmental conditions women face in the larger social environment.

Alexander and Welzel have further argued that in their role as gatekeepers, political parties can act as mediators through which women can exercise their political ambitions through seeking and winning elective office. Other scholars like Kiamba (2008) have also highlighted the importance of party ideology and women's involvement in party leadership. The argument being

that, when the party ideology is inclusive of all genders, women will not be discriminated against and will actively participate in party politics. Secondly, women involvement in party leadership will likely translate to gender sensitive party ideology which in turn will result into increased female legislators. Alexander and Welzel have further argued that Electoral systems, political party's ideology, women political leadership, and the degree to which countries adopt gender quota systems are the aspects of political systems that can either improve or hinder women's presence in political office. These attributes have therefore been adopted in this research.

2.4 Case Studies

Five case studies have been given namely; Sweden, Rwanda, South Africa, Uganda and Mozambique to demonstrate how quotas have been implemented and how they are impacting female political representation in these countries.

2.4.1 Women Political Representation and Quotas- the Swedish case

In international literature on women in politics Dahlerup (2005); Phillips (1995; McCulloch, 2012) one finds the argument that women's political representation reached a historical and worldwide high in the Scandinavian countries - Denmark, Norway and Sweden - due to quotas. These authors have come up with several factors explaining the development of women's representation in Sweden and these other countries;

First, according to McCulloch (2012), institutional factors such as electoral systems, political party list characteristics, party ideology and party rules impact women's parliamentary participation. Secondly, socio-economic factors such as women's labour force participation, women's educational level, and the development of the welfare system have a positive effect on women's parliamentary participation. Concerning the welfare system, Freiddenvall (2003), on explaining the high level of women in Swedish parliament also agrees with McCulloch when he stresses that women's opportunity to study and gain employment, low fertility levels and secular/protestant religious affiliation are of great importance when examining the development of women's representation. Thirdly, cultural factors such as religiosity and attitudes toward gender equality are also stressed.

The research community fell short of providing an explanation for the difference in women's representation across countries and over time as Freiddenvall explains;

Why, for instance, did women's representation in Sweden increase in the 1970s, at a time when the electoral system had been intact for more than 50 years? The empirical development in Sweden and elsewhere during the last ten-fifteen years demonstrates extraordinary changes in the number of women in parliament - often in the absence of substantial changes with regard to institutional, socioeconomic and cultural changes, (2003:4).

McCulloch (2012) also observed that a continent-wide quantitative investigation of women's political representation had largely been ignored in favour of case study analyses and therefore presented a quantitative study of Europe in its entirety for the essence of region- specific factor evaluation. Her Study therefore could also answer some of those questions. Second wave feminism and the introduction of quotas in Sweden around the 1970s could also perhaps best explain the extraordinary changes in the women parliamentarians.

It has been argued however, by Freidenvall (2003), that Swedish political parties are involved in a competition on women in parliament, and in this competition they put forward various strategies to increase the number of women parliamentarians. Paxton and others have also stated on this competition that, "Even when only a subset of parties adopt quotas, diffusion may lead other parties to increase their percent of female candidates and representatives," (Paxton, et al., 2009, p. 6). Instead of just copying strategies that seem to be effective in order to increase the number of women in parliament, they come up with solutions depending on how the issue of women's representation is framed, such as; is the question of women's representation important at all to begin with, and on what grounds should women be included or not, and what should or shouldn't be done? Parties thus translate ideas of gender equality and women's representation and internalize them into their own ideological contexts. Actors are then constrained by (gender) ideological structures. According to the theories of new institutionalism, Krook (2004) contends that actors and structures operate at distinct and independent levels, but are implicitly interwoven since each incorporates the capacity to promote both continuity and change.

Freidenvall's study in a similar manner like this research aimed at identifying various strategies the Swedish political parties have adopted to increase the number of women in politics and to analyze the parties' views on women's representation and quotas. His study also deals with political party quota provisions as one of the strategies for increased women's representation as adopted and being implemented by the Swedish political parties.

Freidenvall (2003) has distinguished different forms of political party quotas across political parties in Sweden. First, political party quotas may be phrased in various ways (gender neutral – not being specific on the gender for instance 50/50 representation, or gender specific – specifying the gender to promote for instance 20% reserved seats for women), and sometimes just establishing the minimum or maximum representation of women or of either sex. Secondly, party targets are closely related to party quotas, but they differ mainly by not abiding to the mandatory character of political party quota. Usually party targets function as recommendations, establishing a goal, with specific targets in percentage, proportion or minimum representation, and sometimes also with a specific time schedule for its completion. Goals, thirdly, are defined as parties' commitment to recruiting more women, but without any explicit suggestions of how, when and to what extent this will take place. Because people generally do not distinguish these categories from the other and just refer them to as quotas, Paxton (2009) has therefore concluded that, "Not all quotas are effective in achieving stated goals." Non-action, finally, is defined as parties' lack of any of the strategies mentioned. In contrast to the Zambian situation where political parties are not in a competition on women in parliament, all parties in Sweden have undertaken some kind of promotional activity to increase the number of women in parliament. Momba, who reported on political parties he surveyed in Zambia, had this to say about them;

"They did not provide any quotas for women or youth candidates for parliamentary or local government elections and generally political parties have no quotas to ensure the representation of women in leadership positions within party structures," (2005, p. 27).

Therefore, while Zambian political parties are non-action, no party in Sweden has refrained from developing strategies, which strengthens the notion that action matters because results are shown in increased female political representation.

Freidenvall has also written a detailed background of quota implementations by parties to the left, middle and right of the ideological spectrum in Sweden from 1972 to 1993 and how these quota forms have devolved over time:

"While goals and party targets were preferred in the 1970s, the 1980s demonstrates an increase in party targets and quotas, at the expense of goals. In the 1990s, finally, quotas have been the preferred strategy. Thus, there has been a radicalization over time with regard to adopting special measures to recruit women candidates," (2003, p. 14).

Highlighted also is the fact that parties have adopted strategies continuously throughout this forty four-year period. Freidenvall points out that the Christian Democratic Party might have

been an exception in terms of strategies to improving the number of women in parliament, but here it is also important to note that this party did not receive a seat in parliament until 1991 largely due to lack of strategies on inclusion of women.

Compared with national parliaments worldwide, Sweden like Rwanda also enjoys one of the highest proportions of women parliamentarians. In the latest General elections in Sweden, “candidate lists for the main parties in the 2014 Riksdag election range from 30% to 53% female, with 45% of all candidates being women, and party manifestos promote women’s issues to varying degrees. The elections returned 197 men and 152 women (44%), making a small reduction of the proportion of women from the previous mandate (45%),” (Potter, 2014, p. 1).

2.4.2 Adoption of Quotas in African Countries

Countries like Kenya, Lesotho, Sudan, South Sudan and Zimbabwe and, for the first time, a wave of Francophone/West African countries such as Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Senegal and Togo have adopted some kind of electoral gender quota, or are considering doing so such as Liberia. Gretchen (2013) has observed that in countries where gender quotas haven’t yet been adopted but are being considered for adoption, mobilized national women’s movements have decided to work in close collaboration with regional, continental or international organizations like the African Union or UN Women in their resolve to effectively call for the adoption of new constitutions or new electoral laws. An example of Sierra Leone has been pointed out where Local Government Act in 2004 created new local councils and Women’s groups were in the fore front advocating for special seats in the local councils, but the proposal did not succeed. Nonetheless, equal representation for women was granted at the lower level, for the Ward Development Committees, elected at town meetings of which out of 10 members, 5 must be women (Article 95 (2:c) of the 2004 Local Government Act). There are also countries like Botswana and Malawi with voluntary political party quotas (IDEA, et al., 2016). Gretchen (2013) has also observed that those Sub Saharan Africa (SSA) countries that have not yet adopted a legislated quota or meaningful voluntary party quota are mostly Anglophone countries with plurality majority (first-past-the-post) electoral systems such as Nigeria, and Zambia.

Gretchen (2013) has argued that two features of the use of electoral gender quotas in sub-Saharan Africa stand out. Firstly, across the continent, a range of creative and innovative designs have been used in adopting and implementing electoral gender quotas for parliaments. Of 48 SSA countries, 12 use reserved seats (almost always with a first-past-the-post electoral system); these are usually additional geographically-based seats for which women-only elections are held

by universal franchise, though there are variations. Another 12 countries use legislated candidate or voluntary party quotas with proportional representation electoral systems. In the former set of countries women candidates may, and do, stand for ‘non-quota’ seats and so quota targets may be exceeded; in the latter countries there are usually formal or informal placement mandates so that women’s names are every second or third name on party lists. Seven more SSA countries use legislated candidate or voluntary party quotas with first-past-the-post electoral systems; these are potentially meaningless quotas because the outcome is highly uncertain.

Secondly, electoral gender quotas in Sub-Saharan Africa usually ‘work’ in ways that they do not always in other places. For instance, Gretchen (2013) notes that in France, political parties may choose to pay a fine rather than implement a gender quota while in Senegal, a new parity law resulted in 44 per cent women elected to the National Assembly at its first use in 2012. She further asserts that women’s organizations in Senegal, seeking to do even better, are pushing to make sure that women occupy the ‘odd’ rather than ‘even’ numbers of party lists for the next election. By and large, there has also been no turning back; in those countries in which meaningful quotas have been used in successive election cycles, the percentage of women has risen steadily. The target is also moving forward; Senegal has enshrined parity (rather than say 20 or 30 per cent) in law, and South Africa and Tanzania are moving in that direction.

Gretchen’s article is useful in understanding the best type of a quota system to adopt under a particular electoral system. This brings us yet to another understanding that with the current first- past- the –post electoral system in Zambia, party quotas cannot work well for equality of results unless the electoral system is changed to Proportional Representation. Nevertheless, reserved seats could still be adopted if the electoral system has to be maintained.

2.4.2.1 The Case of Rwanda on gender quotas in politics

Unlike in America and Europe, African women attained their political right at the same time with men following their independence from colonialism. Powley (2005) explains that Rwanda, a colony of Belgium had their women attaining their right to vote and stand for elections in 1961 with the first female parliamentarian elected in 1965 and has ever since progressed tremendously in terms of women representation in parliament especially after 1994. Today, women occupy 63.8 % of the decision making positions in parliament, achieving the AU 50% Declaration and has become number one country worldwide with regards to women representation.

Mutume (2004) also narrated that following the 1994 genocide, demographic imbalance which stood at 70% women, allowed for women massive participation in all sectors of life including

policy making. In 2003, Rwanda ratified a new constitution which created a Bi-cameral parliament with a minimum of 30% women representation in both houses; 30% of elected members of the 26-member senate must be women. In the 80-member Chamber of Deputies, twenty-four of these seats are reserved for women, elected through a joint assembly of local government officials; another three seats are reserved for youths and disabled members. Women had heavily lobbied for and helped in the drafting of the new constitution and developed guidelines that guaranteed seats for women candidates. Therefore, on top of the 30% reserved seats, women are also elected to the parliament through competitive elections in which they are equally doing so well because they have gained the confidence of the electorates.

Resulting from mechanisms such as a constitutional guarantee, a quota system, and innovative electoral structures, 45 female deputies were elected to Parliament in 2008, making the country the first and only independent country to possess a female majority in its National Legislature and these percentages have continued to grow today making it the world's top ranking country in female political representation. Pawley's case study describes those mechanisms and attempts to explain their origins, focusing in particular on the relationship between women's political representation and the organized women's movement and has also briefly introduced some of the achievements and challenges ahead for women in Rwanda's Parliament (Powley, 2005).

Another scholar by the name of Roxane Wilber has also discussed one such organized women's movement called Forum of Rwandan Women Parliamentarian (FFRP). This women's movement which came into being as a result of the realization that if women had shared challenges resulting from the genocide, they might as well devise a shared vision and in 1996 female leaders across parties came together and formulated policy priorities that amplified women's voices in a newly shared agenda. Roxanne (2011) reveals that among some of the achievement attributed to this movement is the bill on gender-based violence in 2006, health and educational policies. She reasons that Rwanda intentionally advanced women in political leadership by designing innovative mechanisms and drawing on established best practices, an achievement she attributes to the FFRP movement.

2.4.2.2 The Case of South Africa on gender quota in politics

Women in South Africa have never been docile; they were involved in the struggle against apartheid policies and passes. As early as 1918, women joined the ANC's Bantu Women's League, but were only accepted as full members in 1943, hence the formation of the African National Congress Women's Lobby. The Federation of South African Women (FSAW) was

formed in 1954 and combined with the other groups to fight for the incorporation of women into political programmes. According to Geisler;

“The Women’s Charter endorsed by the 146 delegates representing a membership of 230,000 at the first FSAW National Conference was a remarkably progressive document, far in advance of popular thinking about women and their place in society at that time. It claimed full gender equality stating that the laws and customs that hinder women’s progress hinder the whole nation,” (2004, p. 67).

However, Nelson and Najma (1994) have argued that by 1980s the situation in South Africa was still bad. Despite having a policy aimed at promoting women’s leadership, the ANC had done nothing to ensure that the policy be implemented. Thus, men continuing occupying most of the leadership positions with only three women on its 30- member National Executive Committee by 1990. Furthermore, Nelson and Najma premise that issues of women’s rights tended to be passed on to the ANC Women’s League rather than to be taken by ANC, a situation that made it very clear that women’s problems had no business being addressed by the party in general, but that they had their own place.

According to Kovacs (2013), women’s organisations were instrumental in ensuring that the needs and interests of women were part of the debates about rights. To this effect, a Women National Coalition (WNC) was formed in 1992 for the purpose of influencing the constitution making process. The 1996 Constitution enshrined gender equality and affirmative action. As a result of the WNC, a cross party women’s caucus was also formed to coordinate the women’s agenda. Because of a gender sensitive constitution and political reforms, women in 2006 won 131 seats out of 400. In 2006 ANC adopted a 50% gender quota in local elections and was extended to national elections as well in 2009. The party statute reads: "the provision of a quota of not less than fifty percent of women in all elected structures" (ANC Constitution, Article 6 [1]). Currently, ANC has won 264 seats in the national assembly, little less than two-thirds majority and female political representation stands at 41% with 163 women out of 400 parliamentary seats. Additionally, women ministers comprise of 41%, with 47% women for deputy ministers.

According to Kiamba, “Some countries like South Africa have made much progress within a short period of time in their efforts towards a gender-neutral society as compared to other countries,” (Kiamba, 2008, p. 7). This achievement can be attributed to South African women’s movements. However, Moolahas made a critique of this when she stated that;

Women's organizations have traditionally operated as political resistance movements because of their understanding that the reforms desired are dependent on the restructuring of the State. As such, more than 10 years down the line, women have come to expect government (with its patriarchal system and paternalistic attitude) to address women's issues, but the mobilization of women themselves around pertinent issues is limited. (Moola, 2004).

These figures, encouraging as they may seem are not the best women can achieve. There is need to realise just how much women are disadvantaged and discriminated against in their pursuit for political office. Despite all the efforts put in by women movements, they could not attain even half of the seats as compared to the men without organisations to deliberate their inclusion and participation. Given such a scenario in a country that has a Women's Machinery to monitor gender equality, one cannot help but wonder how a country like Zambia with no quotas in place is fairing in terms of women representation in political office. The answer still remains that Zambia has a long way to go before it can achieve gender equality and increase women representation in political office.

2.4.2.3 The Case of Uganda on gender equality in politics

There are more women in politics in Uganda and South Africa today than in many countries we may refer to as more developed democracies. This significant achievement owes to explicit affirmative action interventions in political institutions and processes to favour women's participation as affirmed by Gretchen Bauer who states that, "the increased use of quotas across Africa reflects a renewed interest in formal politics and political institutions among African women's movements," (Gretchen, 2009, p. 19).

Uganda is one Nation that has fluctuated from multi- party democracy to one- party to military dictatorship to the current no- party or 'movement system' since its independence in 1962. Reserved seats for women made their debut on the Ugandan political scene in 1986. In giving the background to quotas in Ugandan politics, Tamale (2004) has written that affirmative action was introduced to Uganda through quotas by the National Resistance Movement (NRM) which also introduced the movement system as its political arrangement since it came into power.

Tamale (2004) further discusses that, following the two regimes of dictatorships; mandatory seats were given to women in councils and civil service with the coming of National Resistance

Army into power. During the National Resistance Council (NRC) in the 5th Parliament of Uganda (1989-1994) the Uganda Women's Parliamentary Association (UWOPA), which comprises of all women Members of Parliament, was established with the aim of engendering the Legislative process, creating awareness campaigns and encouraging lobbying as well as advocacy, networking, resource mobilization and information dissemination. UWOP also provides a forum for Women MPs to discuss, share experiences and support activities that would enhance women's participation, effective leadership in all dimensions of politics including socio-economics, science and technology.

In 1995, the Constitution embraced the affirmative action which states in article 33 that "*women shall have the right to affirmative action for the purpose of redressing the imbalances created by history, tradition or customs*" and article 78 (1) (b) states, "*one woman representative for every district.*" Goetz (1998), also states that, "After the year 1995, as a result of these affirmative action, politics of Uganda saw an increment in the number of women parliamentarians." Ballington and Karam (2005) have also stated that, in Uganda, a parliamentary seat from each of the thirty-nine districts is reserved for women. The rest of the women are elected on the non-gender specific reserved seats.

Tripp has made an observation that according to the 1996 Parliamentary Elections Statute, women running for the reserved seats were to be elected by the (LC2) and (LC3) councillors in the district and all the members of parliament parish and sub-county women's councils rather than by universal suffrage like other members of parliament. However, unlike other parliamentarians, the women are elected on district-wide basis, rather than in their own county, which means that their constituency is often ten or more times larger than that of other MPs (Tripp, 2000).

The ninth Parliament of Uganda comprises of 238 Constituency Representatives, 112 District Woman Representatives, 10 Uganda People's Defence Forces Representatives, 5 Representatives of the Youth, 5 Representatives of Persons with Disabilities, 5 Representatives of Workers, and 13 Ex-officio Members.

2.4.2.4 Mozambique on gender equality in politics

FRELIMO, a national liberation movement founded by Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane in 1962 transformed itself into a political party in 1977. Alcinda (2004) explains that until 1992, there

was never a formal quota system within the party despite the need to intergrate both sexes in order to confront independence challenges. Women actively participated through women's wing. By 1992, Alcinda further elaborates that when FRELIMO held its sixth Congress, a decision was made to introduce quotas to ensure female representation in all bodies. For the general elections at national and local levels, a list proportional representation electoral system is used. At governmental level, FRELIMO defined a quota of 40 percent of women in executive bodies and 30 percent female representation in local government.

FRELIMO has used gender quotas since 1994. The party's policy requires that 40% of candidates to national assembly and local government should be women. In addition, the quota system was accompanied by a commitment to balance the distribution of men and women through the list (Geisler, 2004). Currently, FRELIMO holds 191 seats of a total of 250 in the national assembly, in effect a three-fourths majority (University of Stockholm, Inter-parliamentary Union, International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2015). Currently, Mozambique uses a party list proportional representation.

2.6 The vision of the Zambian government on gender and development

Looking at Zambia's political parties across the board, few women occupy high level decision-making positions. This has a direct impact on the number of well qualified women who stand for election as professional women tend to withdraw from the race. In these political parties, there is an obligatory chairperson of women's affairs, a position that the Zambia blogger Bwalya (2011) rightly questions in her article titled *Women, Politics and Development* where she describes the position to be "just a shorter and politically correct title for chief dancer and coordinator of dancing women cadres, and not much else."

According to Sampa (2010), the opposition women face when they choose to enter politics is actually stiff. It often starts within their own homes and social groups, and extends further into political parties and among the electorate. This is characterised by media blackouts as well as hostile campaigns which are particularly demeaning and often sexist. It is not uncommon for a woman to articulate throughout her campaign how her husband supports her endeavours because anything short of that has her labelled as "untaught" or "rebellious." Pity the single woman or divorcée without a man to give his blessing. Geisler rightly put it when he said, "It is therefore unsurprising that many women especially professionals have largely withdrawn from politics "taking their grievances to the NGO sector" where their voices can be heard and are valued," (1995, p. 545).

With that said, there has been an increase in the number of organisations lobbying for women's political leadership in Zambia such as Women's Lobby, and the Young Women in Action organization. These organizations not only lobby for women's political leadership, but also for legislative and constitutional changes that are gender-sensitive as well as civic education focused on mentoring and teaching people about their rights as citizens. In the past, all too often women's mobilization was co-opted by the male elite who used women's political energy for their own ends and forced a narrow agenda such as women's morality and detracted from a much broader focus on issues that adversely affect women. However, this has been shifting, as more women realise that having a seat at the table (legislature) is the best means of having a say in development of economic and social policies (Geisler, 1995).

It is the vision of the government of Zambia on gender and development to achieve full participation of women and men in the development process at all levels in order to ensure sustainable development and attain equality and equity (Ministry of Gender and Child Development, 2014). Rather this vision is far from being attained as it is not being implemented and numbers of women in decision making positions stand far below the SADC declarations.

2.7 Conceptual Framework

A conceptual framework is an analytical tool that is used to make conceptual distinctions and organise ideas. Strong conceptual frameworks should be able to capture something real and do this in a way that is easy to remember and apply. The conceptual framework used in this study was adopted from the United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women (DAW) report from the Expert Group Meeting that took place in Addis-Ababa, Ethiopia from the 24th to the 27th of October 2005. The meeting was centered on '*Equal Participation of Women and Men in Decision-Making Processes, with Particular Emphasis on Political Participation and Leadership*.' It should be noted also that the initial version of the report was modified as the meeting progressed. The report discusses key issues that arose from theoretical and empirical insights made by scholars and activists working on issues of women's empowerment, political participation and representation. To understand equal participation of women and men in decision-making processes, the following four interrelated concepts were discussed:

Political representation consists of the articulation and presentation of political agendas of given groups by various actors in decision-making arenas and key social forums in democratic societies. A range of actors and agencies can speak for various interests and audiences, including political parties, members of parliament, social movements and groups, as well as specific state-

based agencies promoting particular interests, such as national machineries for the advancement of women. Group representation can be based on a variety of dimensions such as; constituency interests, ascribed interests such as sex, ethnicity, religion, and ideological interests – conservative, liberal or socialist. Delys has argued that, “Electing women to public office is an important first step, ensuring women have a voice once they are elected is the next necessary step,” (Delys, 2014, p. 22). And this is where women’s effective political participation comes in.

Political participation can be achieved when a considerable number of women come together and with a collective voice pressed for their interests to be heard and met. Naturally, this requires an active presence of women taking part in politics and making their voices heard through a range of activities such as discussion and debate, lobbying as well as activism in formal and informal ways. The amendment of a Constitution for example is as a result of collective political participation of various actors represented in form of political parties. Female Members of Parliament across nations have formed Inter-Party Movements for their enhanced political participation. Like in Rwanda where female leaders have formed the Forum of Rwandan Women Parliamentarians (FFRP), Zambian female Parliamentarians have equally instituted Parliamentarian Caucus to formulate policy priorities, and to amplify women’s voices in a newly shared agenda.

Political leadership cuts across both political participation and political representation by key individuals shaping political agendas, taking the lead in articulating these and participating in their translation into policy. The context in which these concepts are unfolding today also needs to be taken into account. For instance, effective political leadership translates to effective political participation and it is from the pool of active political participants that political leaders are identified and adopted.

Political accountability is the requirement for representatives and representative organizations to be responsible for their decisions and mandates as defined by their positions. It also includes representatives and leaders listening to and, when appropriate, acting upon criticisms, requirements and demands of their publics, constituencies or the electorate. Demands of the electorates such as the adoption of a quota system for increased political participation, representation and leadership of women could also fall under political accountability (Division for the Advancement of Women, 2005, p. 7).

It follows then that, all the four concepts are important each in themselves and are inter-related. It is important to have political representation of women in large numbers which in turn results

into political participation where women will be able to pass gender sensitive policies because they will be of a ‘critical mass’ with a collective voice. The two concepts are also important for the existence of political leadership and political accountability. Political representation is both a means and an end for the other three concepts; this is why it is very important to put in place a mechanism to facilitate it. Below is the flow chart based on the discussed Conceptual Framework.

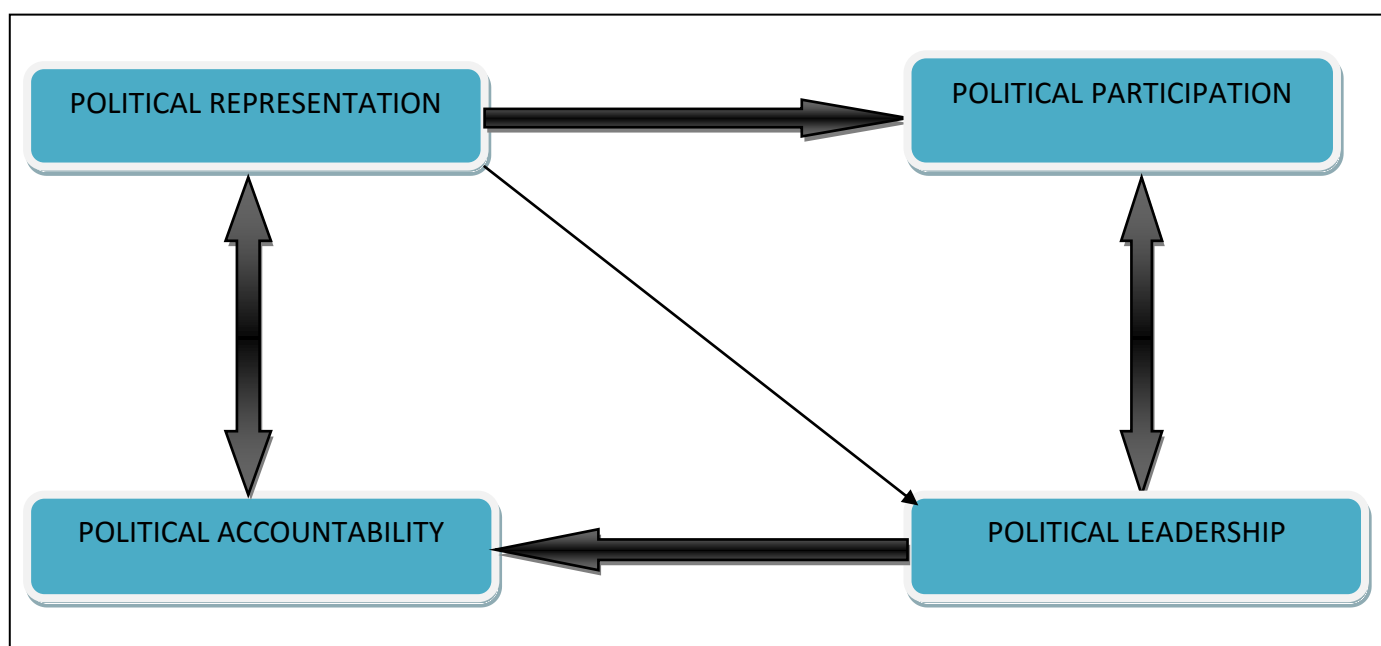


Figure 1: Flow Chart of the Conceptual Framework

In summary, this chapter has addressed female political representation in relation to quotas and reserved seats. It has gone further and looked at the following themes; Types of quotas and electoral systems, Arguments for and against quotas, Quotas and Female Party Leadership, the Institutional Design perspective, Female Political Representation and Quotas: The cases of Sweden, Rwanda, South Africa, Mozambique and Uganda. On Sweden, details of various strategies implemented by political parties to increase female political representation have also been reviewed and how these political parties view quotas. Different types of quotas have been discussed in relation to electoral system under which they work well, the literature helpful to this research in assessing which quota system could work for Zambia if the First Past the Post Electoral System has to be maintained. Scholarly arguments for and against quotas help understand the general research objective of the study. The theme on quotas and female party leadership is linked to objective three (iii) which tries to establish if there is a link between the presence of women in party leadership positions and their numeric presence in elective and

appointed offices of the government. Lastly but not the least, a conceptual framework has been given to explain the importance of more women in the legislature.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 RESEARCH METHODS

This section outlines the methods and data collection techniques used in gathering, analysing and presenting the data. These are presented as follows: study design, study site, study population, study sample, sampling methods, data collection methods and tools, and data analysis, including difficulties encountered in the field.

3.1 Study Design

The research design is basically a roadmap to achieving the intended objectives of a research or to answering the research questions. The research design for this research is a descriptive study where qualitative tools were used. The nature of the study that looked at the views of political parties' on party gender quotas and reserved seats adoption in Zambia, female members of parliament, concerned organizations and voters prompted the use of qualitative tools and quantitative on statistics of candidates.

3.2 Study site

The study was conducted in Zambia, Lusaka district in Mandevu, Munali and Kabwata constituencies. Mandevu constituency represented by Jean Kapata and Munali constituency represented by Nkandu Luo were purposively selected because they are represented by female Members of Parliament. Kabwata constituency on the other hand is represented by a male Member of Parliament Honourable Given Lubinda and was too purposively selected for comparison reasons. Munali constituency is a planned and low-density settlement. Interesting enough is the fact that the highest institution of learning (University of Zambia) is within Munali constituency. Kabwata is a medium density settlement and Mandevu on the other hand is a high density settlement all located in the capital city of Zambia.

3.3 Study population

The study population of this research comprises of; officials from the four political parties (PF,UPND,FDD and Rainbow Party), the Zambia Parliamentary Caucus for Women, Zambia National Women's Lobby, the Ministry of Gender and voters from Munali, Kabwata and Mandevu constituencies.

3.4 Study Sampling Procedures

PF was purposely selected on the basis of being the ruling party of the day and having the highest number of female Members of Parliament. Sampa has reported that, “the 30% representation of women is incorporated in the UPND constitution,” (2010, p. 47). Therefore, UPND was purposely selected more importantly for this reason and secondly because it is the largest opposition political party of the day. FDD was also purposely selected for the simple reason of having a female party president, Edith Nawakwi. Rainbow Party as the latest political party on the scene was anticipated to be concerned about gender equality because of the prevailing link between gender and development therefore curiosity prompted its inclusion in the study. Based on these reasons, the policies and perspectives of these parties were cardinal to the study.

3.4.1 Sample Size

A sample size of 38 in total was proposed, distributed as follows: 16 party officials; 4 officials from each political party, 8 officials from the election committees; 2 from each party, 10 MPs from the Parliamentary Caucus for Women (MPs from the four political parties under study), 2 officials from Zambia Women’s Lobby, 2 officials from the Ministry of Gender. However, the actual sample size became 64 as explained under sample description.

3.4.2 Description of the Sample

The study sample was meant to be 38 in total, comprising of four political parties namely; the UPND, FDD, PF and Rainbow Party. From each political party, four party officials and two from the election committee were purposively selected. The four party officials are; the Party National Chairperson, the Party Secretary General, the Chairperson for Women’s Affairs and the Chairperson for Information and Publicity. While from the Election Committee, the Chairperson Elections and Secretary for Elections were selected in this regard. Four officials from the Zambia National Women’s Lobby and Ministry of Gender, meaning two officials from each were also purposively selected. A focus group discussion of 10 female Members of Parliament from the Zambia Parliamentary Caucus for Women was a requirement too in the data collection. However, getting into the field things changed, it so happened that party officials from each party had similar information, equally from the Ministry and the ZNWL hence a total number of 22 people participated from the initial 38 proposed participates. It also became apparent that the views of the voters from Munali, Kabwata and Mandevu on their gender preferences when voting should be included, so six focus group discussions, two from each constituency were

held. In total, 64 people participated in the research. The description of the sample is as given below:

Table 1: Description of the Sample for political parties

Political Parties	Party Official	Election Committee	Total
PF	2 (1M, 1F)	1 (1 male)	3
UPND	2 (1M, 1F)	2 (Both Males)	4
FDD	1 (1Female)	1 (1 Male)	2
Rainbow Party	1 (1 Male)	1 (Male)	2

From the table above, only three women out of 11 party officials and election committee officials were interviewed. This simply indicates the gender imbalance in party leadership as will be shown and discussed under objective three (3). From PF party, interviewed were the Chairperson Information (M), the Provincial Chairperson for Lusaka (F) and an Administrative officer on behalf of the election committee (M). From the UPND party among the officials interviewed were the Deputy Information and Publicity (M), the Deputy Secretary General-Administration (F), the Deputy Chairperson for elections (M) and Secretary for elections (M). From the FDD party, officials interviewed were the Deputy National Secretary (M), Election Committee Member (M) and the Chairlady for Women's Wing (F) and finally, from the Rainbow Party, the Deputy Secretary General (M) and Party Spokesperson (M) were interviewed.

Table 2: Description of the Sample for Institutions

Institution	Officials	Total
Ministry of Gender	1(Male)	1
Zambia National Women's Lobby	1 (Male)	1

The Deputy Director from the Ministry of Gender and the Capacity Building and Leadership Development Officer from the Zambia National Women's Lobby were interviewed. It must be noted here therefore that even with the presence of women in these organizations entrusted with spearheading gender equity; men are still dominating as shown in the table above. This leaves

much to be desired. One may even wonder how gender mainstreaming can be made possible with men dominating such crucial organisations considering the experience and interest arguments under the Rationale of the study. Can men be entrusted with the task of gender equality?

Table 3: Description of the sample for Political Parties, Parliamentary Caucus and Institutions

Accademic Qualification	Age group
Grade 12 Qualification: 6, 1 male, 5 females	25-30 years: 1
Tertially Education: 10; 5 males, 5 females	35-45 years: 14
University: 6 people; 4 males, 2 females	45-55 years: 7

Table 4: Description of the sample for Focus Group Discussions

Institution	Women	Men	Total
Women Parliamentary Caucus	9	0	9
Munali Constituency	6	8	14
Madevu Constituency	6	8	14
Kabwata Constituency	7	7	14

A total number of 51 participated in the focus group discussions with 42 men and women belonging to different political parties between 20 to 40 years old held in constituencies and nine (9) female MPs.

3.4.3 Sampling Technique and Procedure

The major ways of taking a sample may be grouped into probability and non-probability techniques. Probability sampling is where each member of the study population has an equal chance of being included in the study sample where as for non-probability sampling, members are chosen depending on the nature of the study without giving each member of the study population an equal chance of being included.

28 proposed key informants were purposively sampled using the non- probability sampling and 42 voters from the three constituencies including MPs from the Parliamentary caucus for women were randomly selected using the probability sampling for qualitative data.

Purposive sampling techniques are primarily used in qualitative studies. Qualitative researchers rely almost exclusively on purposive sampling. This is because they need to work with subjects with specified characteristics. Purpose sampling also known as judgemental, selective or subjective sampling techniques, is a type of non-probability sampling technique. It is a flexible method that meets multiple needs and interests. It enables researchers to select a sample based on the purpose of the study and knowledge of the subject. In short it is easy to get a sample with specific characteristics (Punch, 2006). The 28 key informants were purposively sampled for their party positions and the data entrusted in their custody.

In statistical terms, a random sample is a set of terms that have been drawn from a population in such a way that each time an item was selected; every item in the population had an equal opportunity to appear in the sample. House numbers written on the same sizes of papers were placed in a box and mixed thoroughly. The papers were identical in every respect except for the numbers printed on them and the person selecting them was blindfolded. In order to meet the equal opportunity requirement, the sampling was done with replacements. That is each time an item was selected, it was recorded and then the item replaced in the population and was thoroughly mixed with others before the next item was drawn. This is so because if not done, the probability of the remaining items was going to be increased. From half the selected houses a male guardian was selected and female guardians were selected from the other half using simple random sampling. And in a different simple random sampling, names of female Members of Parliament were used.

3.5 Data Collection and Tools

Qualitative data was obtained with the use of in-depth interview guides for political party officials, election committee members, Zambia Women's Lobby and Ministry of Gender from a total of 11 key informants. The In-depth interview guides were in three parts, one was specifically for party officials, another one for the election committees and one for the Ministry of Gender and ZNWL. Seven focus group discussions were also held: one with MPs from the Women Parliamentary Caucus and six with men and women voters from Munali, Kabwata and Mandevu constituencies. Two focus group discussion guides were therefore used for qualitative data. All the interviews and focus group discussions were recorded and transcribed for accurate and easy data analysis. Essential also was the document review guide which provided both

qualitative as well as quantitative data. Among the documents reviewed were the Gender Analysis of the 2011 Zambian Tripartite Elections, Gender Audit Report for 2015 compiled by the Zambia National Women's Lobby, the 'count her in' campaign strategy, 2014-2016 Strategic Plan, the 2014 National Gender Policy and its implementation plan by the Ministry of Gender and also Political Parties' Constitutions.

3.6 Data Analysis and Interpretation

Coding of data was done manually. After each recorded interview, transcription was done and questions in the interview guide directly linked to objectives were grouped. Qualitative data was then analysed according to themes and research objectives were used as themes in this case.

3.7 Ethical Issues

There is a much increased and still growing concern for ethical issues in social research today, stimulated by the growth in the use of qualitative methods (Punch, 2006). Realizing that there are numerous stakeholders in my research ranging from my study population, supervisor, examiners, interviewers to be engaged and The University of Zambia, my research proposal took into consideration the following ethical issues;

Informed consent was obtained from all the participants, the people were informed on the criteria used in selecting them and why they were selected in this regard and,

Confidentiality and anonymity are essential ethical issues of any research but considering the nature of this research that seeks to bring out perspectives of political parties on reserved seats and gender quota adoption, confidentiality and anonymity however became a challenge. Subsequently, it was left up to participants to choose not to or to remain anonymous. It is in this view that those who chose to remain anonymous have their names withheld and not published.

3.8 Limitations

The proposed number of respondents for this research could not be met, firstly, because party officials and those from the election committee claimed to be very busy as it was election campaign period (January- March) especially those from the ruling party (PF) and secondly, it became apparent that officials from the same party as well as institutions such as ZNWL and the Ministry of Gender were giving similar if not the same data, so at least two or more officials from each party were interviewed for the necessary data instead of the 6 party officials as proposed. Getting someone from the PF election committee just became impossible, the chairperson for elections Honourable Jean Kapata was contacted a number of times but in vain

and a booking for an appointment with her deputy chairperson Mr Banda (KBM) was made but they could not get back to me up-to-date. PF proved difficult maybe because most of its officials are MPs and in the cabinet.

It must be noted however that the challenge was not only with PF but also with Rainbow Party, the Ministry and the ZNWL. Introductory letters were delivered and constant follow ups were made but would take at least two weeks or more to receive a schedule for an appointment. Nevertheless responses from FDD and UPND were overwhelming though two female party officials from these parties were reluctant and could not be interviewed.

Among the four political parties that participated in the research, Rainbow Party and FDD had no female political representation in the legislature, UPND only had two and none of the two could participate in the focus group discussion due to non availability thereby making it a challenge to obtain various opinions. Therefore instead of only having female Members of Parliament from only one political party (PF), Honourable Sayifwanda from Movement for Multi- Party Democracy (MMD) was also included in the focus group discussion.

Covering only four (4) political parties instead of all the existing political parties in Zambia was a limitation because other parties' perspectives could have been very useful too but financial resources and time could not permit this possibility.

3.9 Summary

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

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

This chapter presents results and discussions of the research findings. The findings have been presented in themes according to the research objectives.

4.1 Gender Analysis of the 2011 Zambian Tripartite Elections

This research has focussed on the period 2011 to 2016 hence the need to analyse the 2011 tripartite elections as well as the 2016 General Elections.

4.1.1 Political Parties in the 2011 Elections

A total number of 20 political parties officially registered and nominated candidates for the presidential, parliamentary and local government elections in the 2011 tripartite elections. The political parties that participated were; Alliance for Democracy and Development (ADD), All People Congress Party (APC), Citizens Democratic Party (CDP), Forum for Democracy and Development (FDD), Federal Democratic Party (FEDEPA), Heritage Party (HP), Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD), National Restoration Party (NAREP), National Party (NP), New Generation Party (NGP), National Movement for Progress (NMP), National Revolution Party (NRP), Patriotic Front (PF), United Liberal Party (ULP), United National Independence Party (UNIP), Unified Party for Democracy and Development (UPDD), United Party for National Development (UPND), Zambia Conservative Party (ZCP), Zambia Direct Democracy Movement (ZDDM) and Zambians for Empowerment and Development (ZED). A significant number of candidates at parliamentary and local government level also stood as 'independent candidates'.

4.1.2 Political Party Nomination and Adoption Process

4.1.2.1 Presidential Level

Ten candidates, 9 men and 1 woman, from the following political parties successfully fielded in their nominations for the presidential elections: ADD, FDD, HP, MMD, NAREP, NMP, PF, UNIP, UPND, and ZED. The FDD was the only party that nominated and adopted a female candidate Edith Nawakwi. The last time women competed at presidential level was in 2001, when two women stood for elections, these were Gwendoline Konie on Social Democratic Party and Inonge Mbikusita-Lewanika on Agenda for Zambia Party. However, the tripartite elections that followed in 2006, had no woman standing for Presidential Elections nor did the subsequent 2008 Presidential by-elections held after the death of President Levy Mwanawasa. The

percentage of women's participation at presidential level in the 2011 tripartite elections was therefore, only 10.

4.1.2.2 Parliamentary Level

A total of 138 parliamentary female candidates successfully fielded in nominations against a total of 649 parliamentary male candidates that fielded in their nominations. The participation of women was 18% and men represented 82% of the total 762 candidates that competed for the 150 parliamentary seats. Out of 138 female candidates, 113 stood on political party tickets, while 25 stood as independent candidates.

4.1.3 Women Parliamentary Candidates by Party

A total of 113 women were adopted by political parties as parliamentary candidates despite the ZNWL training a total of over 300 aspiring female candidates who were vying to be adopted by political parties. It is reported that these women had identified the constituencies in which to stand and they had been doing a lot of ground work in those constituencies (Zambia National Women's Lobby, 2011). It was therefore so unfortunate and discouraging that only 113 women were adopted out of the 300 women that the ZNWL had prepared for Member of Parliament leadership and those that were not trained by ZNWL. The 2011 was one of the elections in which very few women were adopted by political parties. UPND, which adopted 22 women, was the political party that adopted the highest number of women who stood in the 2011 parliamentary elections. However, the 22 candidates only represented 16% of UPND's total number of candidates adopted. Despite the MMD being the party that fielded the highest number of candidates in all the 150 constituencies, it did not have the highest number of female candidate. The party that adopted the highest number of women proportionate to men participating in the parliamentary elections was ZED which fielded 10 women representing 56% of the party's total candidates.

Generally, the figures of adopted women candidates were much below that of adopted male candidates in the 2011 tripartite elections. Nominations of candidates begin at ward level where candidates are identified and presented to the Constituency Nomination Committee which does the further scrutiny and presents the nominated names to the National Nominations Committees which in most parties are called The National Election Committees (NEC). It is at this level that the final adoption of candidates for elections whether Presidential, National Assembly, Councillor and most recently due to the 2016 Amended Constitution, the Mayoral Elections is done by all political parties. Basically, the NEC bases its decisions of candidates on what the people at the ward as well as Constituency want because these are the best people to have been

able to assess the popularity of aspiring candidates. However, there are instances where the NEC impose candidates that they feel have more financial muscles or might have won their favour due to various reasons. This point was confirmed in a statement made by the Deputy Chairperson for elections UPND during an interview with him on the party criteria for adoption of candidates for elections, who stated that, “Maybe the president may be in a position to impose someone but even him or her must be able to convince the structures as to why he would want that person to be adopted.” This means that there are actually situations where nominations come from up as opposed to the bottom. The stress is however on the bottom to agree.

The adopted female candidates for National Assembly Elections including those that stood as independents only constituted 18% of the total 762 candidates who contested plus the 10% of the total 10 candidates that stood for Presidential Elections. There is no dispute to the fact that more men put themselves forward for adoption as compared to the women due to various reasons of which the symbolic argument under the rationale of the study and the lack of financial back up is of great importance. However, the proof of 300 women trained by ZNWL and their pursuit for adoption is also over whelming. This situation of political parties adopting low percentages of female candidates confirms the assertion that nomination committees have more confidence in male candidates as compared to women as explained in the background to the study that, “others blame it on party nominating committees for their perceived lack of confidence in women as ‘winning’ candidates,” and has been demonstrated in the findings under objective two (2).

Table 5: Candidates per Province and District by Gender

Province	Total No of Districts	Average No. of candidates per District	Actual No. Of Females in Province	Average No. of Females per District	Actual No. of Males in Province	Average No. of Males per District	Grand Total
CENTRAL	14	4.6	10	0.7	54	3.9	64
COPPERBELT	22	4.6	13	0.6	89	4.0	102
EASTERN	19	5.5	16	0.8	89	4.7	105
LUAPULA	14	4.1	9	0.6	49	3.5	58

LUSAKA	12	6.8	16	1.3	65	5.4	81
NORTH WESTERN	12	4.4	8	0.7	45	3.8	53
NORTHERN	21	4.4	11	0.5	82	3.9	93
SOUTHERN	19	6.1	13	0.7	103	5.4	116
WESTERN	17	5.3	17	1	73	4.3	90
9	150	5.08	113	0.75	649	4.3	762

The table above gives a more detailed account of the actual number of candidates competing per district by gender in each of the Zambian nine provinces for the 2011 General Elections. The number of adopted male candidates stood at 649 compared to 113 female. The average number of men competing per province was 72.2 compared to an average of 12.4 for women. The average number of male candidates per constituency overall was 4.3 compared to 0.75 for women. Although the highest number of women, 17, stood in Western Province, the highest number of women competing per constituency was in Lusaka Province where a total of 1.3 women stood per constituency compared to 1 per constituency in Western Province. The lowest number of female candidate activity was in Northern Province, where although there were 11 female candidates, this actually equated to 0.5 competing per constituency. The reason for this is that Northern Province has a second highest number of constituencies of 21.

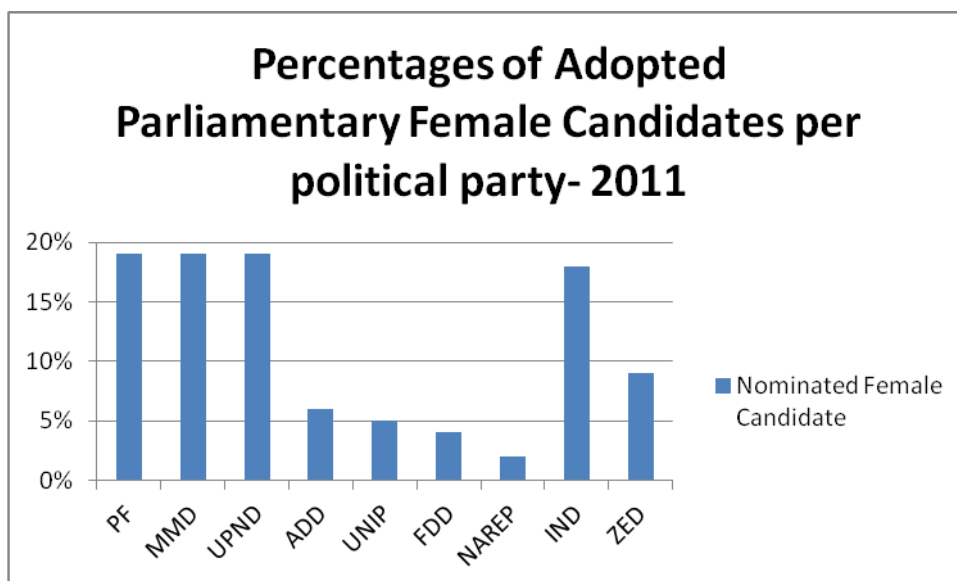


Figure 2: Percentages of Female Candidate Nominated per Political Party in the 2011 National Assembly Elections.

Figure 2 shows the spread of representation across all of the parties that fielded female candidates. The three larger parties, UPND, MMD and PF adopted more or less the similar percentage of women candidates, with a similar percentage for those who stood as independents. Out of the 20 political parties that participated in the election, 12 political parties did not adopt any of their women candidates. Most of the political parties adopted fewer women than men. The ZNWL made a follow up on the women they trained both those who were adopted and not and these women highlighted the following as the reasons to why fewer women were adopted:

Some political parties felt they had more chances to win if they adopted a male candidate because they thought the electorate still had gender stereotypes against women, this response was justified by what the Chairperson Information for PF said in an interview with him,

There are affirmative action to promote women but these are politics, if you are going to adopt a woman and lose a seat, are you going to do that? Am just trying to be honesty, no! You are not going to do that, if the one who is popular is a man and if men are the most popular in the constituencies, you will be making a foolish mistake as a party to adopt a woman when you know that you are going to lose because politics is about power, so there are certain levels where affirmative action can be implemented and more women brought on board, not politics.

The Zambian Constitution does not provide for reserved seats for women, meaning that both men and women apply for adoption under the same constituencies. The findings from all the four

political parties interviewed reveal that in most cases men are likely to be adopted as compared to women. Some reasons advanced for this preference are that sometimes a man would have been in the party for a longer time and will have more financial muscles to mount a good campaign for himself and the president. So there are all these considerations to be made, and at the end of the day even if there is no deliberate policy to discriminate against women, women end up being over shadowed by men.

In certain cases, the women candidates were adopted by lower structures of the parties; however their decision were overturned by National Executive Committees (NEC) who preferred male to female candidates like in the case of Sara Longwe who in 2011 wanted to stand on the PF ticket and in spite of having been nominated at ward and constituency levels could not pass the national nominations. Therefore, to state that nominations always begin from wards up until national nominations would be theoretical and not practical because the controlling power lies within the NEC (Longwe, 2014). This observation was also noted among the 300 women trained by ZNWL both of whom were adopted and not adopted by political parties for the 2011 tripartite elections.

Out of 762 candidates, 138 stood as independent candidates and this group represent 18% of the total number of candidates. The female independent candidates that stood for the 2011 parliamentary elections were 25 representing 18% of the 138 female candidates who stood. Most independent candidates disclosed that they decided to stand as independent candidates after they could not secure adoption from their choice of political parties.

Southern and Western Provinces, which both had 4 women candidates standing as independents, had the highest number of women that stood as independent candidates. It is noticeable also that Southern Province had the highest number of male independent candidates too (Zambia National Women's Lobby, 2011, pp. 16-18).

4.1.3 Electorates' Preferences

It was found that parties are reluctant to adopt female candidates in the anticipation that electorates have stereotypes against women. However, the focus group discussions held with voters from Munali, Mandevu and Kabwata Constituencies revealed that even if electorates still have gender stereotypes against women, voters from kabwata and mandevu indicated that they vote on partisan lines irrespective of the gender. This in a sense explains why none of the 25 women who stood as independent candidates in the 2011 tripartite elections could be elected as MPs and why the majority of the women who won come from PF, the ruling party, for a simple

reason of the party's popularity. This finding is also in accordance with the findings in Sampa (2010, p. 35) who states that, "The women gave different reasons for not being elected; they attributed their failure to people voting on party or tribal lines." Voters from Munali indicated that there is careful assessment of the manifestoes from all aspiring candidates and that they do not underestimate the capabilities of women, this is why in the previous elections, women have retained the Parliamentary seats in this constituency.

4.1.4 Lessons Learnt From 2011 Tripartite Elections

In light of what transpired in the 2011 tripartite elections where women whether at Presidential, Parliamentary and Local Government were not adopted as much as men which translated into female political under representation, a lot of stake holders have come on board to try and help increase female political representation through the engagement of political parties to adopt more female candidates. The Ministry of Gender is one such stakeholder that is engaging political parties to adopt more female candidates and has launched the "2014-2016 COUNT HER IN" CAMPAIGN STRATEGY in this regard. This campaign strategy is an initiative by the Ministry of Gender in collaboration with the UNDP and UKaid. The vision of this strategy is 'A gender sensitive governance system in Zambia', the mission was 'to ensure that at least 30 percent women occupy elective positions in the post- 2016 Tripartite Elections and finally its overall Goal is 'At least 50 percent of women to successfully contest in the 2016 Tripartite Elections.' In the attainment of this vision, mission and goal, the Deputy Director of the Ministry of Gender in an interview said,

In line with this campaign strategy, we held a workshop this year where we had engaged political parties with the huge female representation in parliament to ensure that they adopt more female candidates for the upcoming elections.

Basically the theme for the conference was 'putting women at the centre' in the 2016 electoral process and most of the commitments were undertaken by various political parties in attendance to ensure that they increase female political representation. In line with these commitments, political parties pledged to adopt a woman where there is a man and a woman with equal qualifications. There was assurance that as government (Ministry of Gender), they were doing their level best in trying to level the playing field. The Deputy Director, Ministry of Gender further pointed out that the various strategies adopted will be monitored and evaluated after the 2016 General elections.

Evaluating the 2016 General Election results, the Ministry did not monitor the strategies or rather the planning in totality was very poor and the workshop did not do much to help. This failure is yet another indication that Zambia really needs a mean (mechanism) that can not compromise the end (increased female political representation).

In order to address the gender issues related to women's poor participation in decision making and low representation at senior executive levels in various institutions, government through the Ministry of Gender pledged to undertake the following strategies:

- Promote and facilitate continuous gender orientation programmes to change people's attitudes regarding the role of women in decision making.
- Facilitate and carry out gender training and awareness programmes at places of work in public, private and in the communities.
- Create a mechanism to facilitate the active participation of women at all levels of the political process including the implementation of affirmative action.
- Encourage efforts by non-governmental organisations, trade unions and the private sector to achieve equality between men and women in their ranks including equal participation in their decision making bodies and in negotiations at all levels (Ministry of Gender and Child Development, 2014).

In assessing the government's pledges, while for bulletin 1, 2 and 4 some efforts are noted, For bulletin 3, there is no affirmative action that has been implemented so far. The assurance to level the playing field by the Ministry of gender however amounted to nothing because once again out of a total of 651 candidates adopted for the 2016 Parliamentary elections, only 105 candidates were females translating to only 16% as compared to the 18% adopted candidates for the 2011 Tripartite elections.

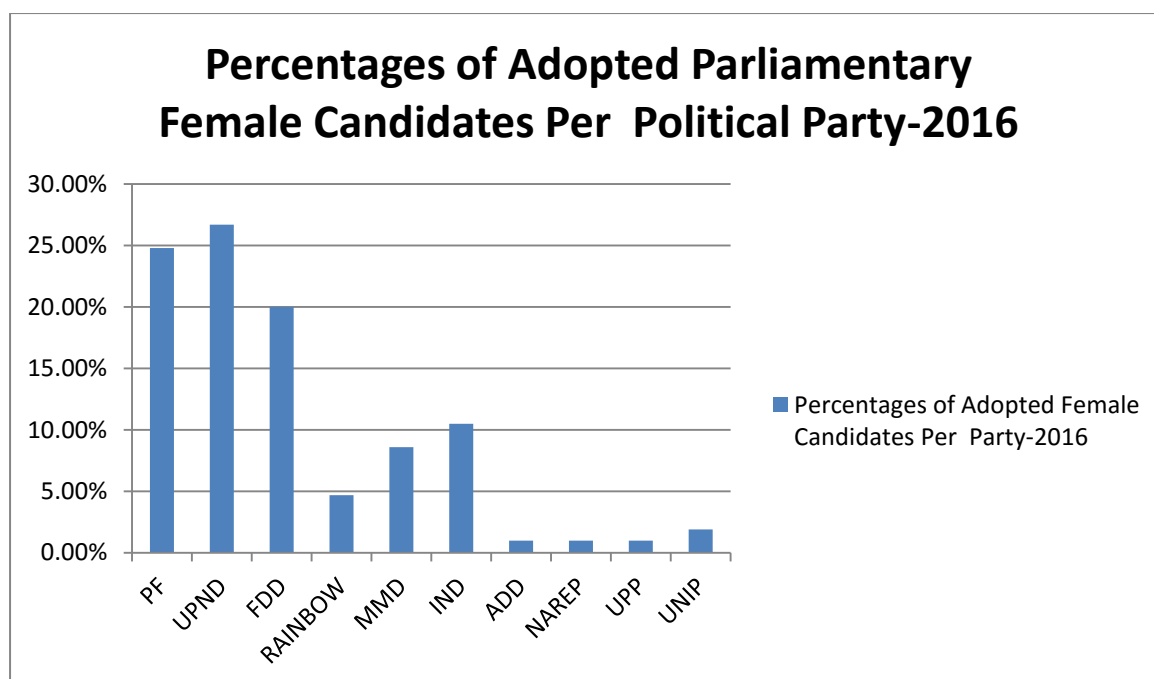


Figure 3: Percentages of Adopted Female Candidates per Political Party in the 2016 National Assembly Elections.

From the figure above, political parties seem not to have lived up to their commitments to adopt more women. Though PF, UPND and FDD improved their figures of adopted female candidates as compared to the 2011 figures, this is still worrying and the rest of the political parties have tremendously reduced including those who successfully filed in as independents. A total of 105 females candidates were adopted for the 2016 parliamentary elections indicating a further reduction from the 138 female candidates adopted for the 2011 parliamentary elections. There is hence need for the Ministry of Gender to revisit the strategies.

ZNWL stated satisfaction with the work that was still being undertaken following the 2011 tripartite elections and lessons learnt from there. In an interview with the Capacity Building and Leadership Development Officer, he made mention of the various challenges and lessons learnt from the 2011 Tripartite elections. He confessed that it was a challenge having names of the adopted candidates submitted to them very late hence engagement with those candidates became limited. The Capacity Building Development Officer confirmed that what was required of ZNWL was to engage with aspiring female candidates when there was adequate time, provide trainings and other forms of assistance but that was not the case. For this reason, ZNWL has created a strong rapport with political parties and there are projects underway. Among such projects is one where as an organization it has requested for political parties to provide them with names of those candidates aspiring at MP and councillor levels well before the campaign period is commenced. In these projects, the capacity building and development officer indicated

that resources are very crucial and therefore are still mobilizing the resources since these projects have to continue even after the 2016 General Elections.

ZNWL had another project of profiling or documenting constituencies with female Members of Parliament and councillors who will have served in those constituencies for five years up to August 2016. This is so for the purpose of show casing to the Nation how hard these women worked in those constituencies. The same has been done for female councillors, engaging with them through various platforms such as community radio programmes and forums and all these are aimed at ensuring that they have that rapport or contact with the electorates within those communities, (Kunda, 2016).

ZNWL also partnered with political parties on the retention of MPs, that all those women who served as MPs in the previous parliament be nominated and adopted for the 2016 Parliamentary and General Elections by their respective political parties. During a focus group discussion held with female MPs, they had hoped this partnership would be a success. Unfortunately, this did not happen, while some of the MPs like Hon. Nkandu Luo, Jean Kapata, and Mary Mazoka were retained by their political parties, others were not and among the focus group discussion participants was Hon. Mulasikwanda on the PF ticket for Mulobezi Constituency.

The Capacity Building and Leadership Development Officer also acknowledged what the female Members of Parliament brought out to be the weakness of the ZNWL during a focus group discussion that was held with them. He confessed that the outcome was not good enough because there was need for more ground work to be done and their work had only intensified during the election period, (Kunda, 2016). It was for this reason that the organization engaged in serious advocacy and lobbying with political parties' leaders starting from 2013 in preparation for the 2016 General Elections. In all these efforts, the Capacity Building and Leadership Development Officer also pointed out that there is actually a strong will from political parties too. Nonetheless, this effort was neither successful.

The ZNWL is committed to the work of increasing female political representation but resources limit them in executing the stated strategies. The organization might have achieved the desired outcome if resources to adequately finance the campaigns of all adopted female candidates were made available. During the focus group discussion, female Members of Parliament reported to have received very poor quality of campaigning materials like t-shirts with unclear printed names and faces when the campaigning period was almost over during the 2011 tripartite elections and this did not help in anyway.

4.2 Political parties' measures to promote female political representation

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

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

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

Politics naturally is not the arena for professional women who are able to make a living elsewhere, there is a lot of vulgar language so women who feel they can make a living away from politics do stay away hence you will only find a few skilled women in politics. Otherwise, politics are open to every woman, to participate.

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

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

When Sara states this, she is simply explaining why professional women are not in politics and disputing that far from shunning politics, professional women are just prevented from active political participation and thereby best describing the political environment as hostile to women. This point was also raised by the Chairperson for Women Parliamentary Caucus; Honourable Professor Nkandu Luo who shared her experience in the political world, the parliament to be specific as a professional woman. Honourable Professor Luo lamented that,

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

The grade 12 school certificate qualification for politicians as per requirement of the amended constitution is likely to change the political atmosphere into one more welcoming to professional women. It is also hoped that since there are women in the professional world who are earning as

much as men, the issue of quality and financial back up will have been dealt with in this manner hence no challenges to fill up the fifty percent quota under UPND should be faced.

According to the literature reviewed under the case study of Sweden, Goals as opposed to political party quotas and party targets, are defined as, “ parties’ commitment to recruiting more women, but without any explicit suggestions of how, when and to what extent this will take place,” (Freidenvall, 2003). We can therefore agree that while political parties like UPND party in Zambia has provisions in its constitution on gender equality which the party claims to be a quota, this is only a goal and neither a party target nor political party quotas, with the rest of the Zambian political parties being Non-action, so we can trace the problem of low female political representation from here being that Zambian political parties are not in a competition on women in parliament and so are not identifying various strategies to improve their numbers.

There was however another argument by UPND in defence of why the gender policy seems not to be working, besides women’s reluctance, there is also the issue of political will that lacks commitment to gender equity and equality. This information came out clearly in a statement made by the Deputy Information and Publicity Chairperson for UPND.

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

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

Financial back up is one factor causing reluctance among women to actively participate in politics since campaigns requires huge sums of money. This point also complements with views of the Parliamentary Caucus for Women who pointed out the difficulty a woman encounters in the face of commercialised politics (Female Parliamentarians, 2016). Because of this barrier,

UPND stated that in an effort to encourage women to participate and run for certain political positions, the political party also works together with organizations that are concerned with uplifting the participation of women in politics by training and providing financial resources to help in the campaign processes such as ZNWL (Wambela, 2016).

A gender sensitive party ideology is an important factor in the enhancement of female political representation. Alexander and Welzel have also noted party ideology as one of the attributes of institutional designs that may either improve or hinder women's presence in political office (Alexander & Welzel, n.d.). The measure of party ideology, one which is anchored on the principle of equity was also noted in an interview with the Deputy Secretary General for the Rainbow party. The Deputy Secretary General Mr Musomali who is also Mr Kabimba's running mate explained that,

what is most important is the ideology because gender equality is not just about having numbers in place, it is about changing the minds of people on how they relate and think about each other. This is so because even having 50/50, that does not change the mindsets, where women are oppressed as a gender, they will always remain oppressed. Not every woman who represents at the certain level is really putting the aspirations of this gender there; we have women who make decisions against the interests of fellow women just like we have few men who make decisions in the interest of women. So the issue of ideology, the norm that you would want to plant in your membership counts a lot for us. So as a party one of the measures that we put in place is to train our leaders and membership to ensure that there is proper leadership that is acquainted with the ideology and this ideology is about equity at all levels which is also equity between man and woman. There is no other party today that is working at the ideological level. Rainbow party works under the socialist ideology that upholds equality, no domination and that is why the issue of women becomes central to the Rainbow Party.

The Rainbow party prefers dealing with the real root cause of the problem that could offer a permanent solution to the problem which in this case is the ideology, rather than quotas which are perceived as an alternative solution. The Deputy Secretary General also explained that, because our society is capitalist in nature, even when you are a woman who wants to make a difference, your thinking would still be modelled in a way to suit or maintain the status quo and this is where the ideology comes in. The ideology should be able to help women liberate themselves by abolishing the patriarchal state of society. The Deputy Secretary General's argument can be backed up by Delys (2014, p. 7) who also states that, "they say that without

cultural change the institutional mechanisms are not effective as such, but merely cultural change will not close the gender gap either.” In short, ideology (cultural change) is as important as quotas (institutional mechanism) and can work hand in hand to bring about the desired change rather than independently and separately.

Interesting also was to find out how the ruling party is implementing the issue of gender equality. Father Bwalya Frank in his capacity as Chairperson Information for PF proudly informed this research that the PF Party has taken a deliberate move to ensure that there is 50/50 representations in positions where people can be appointed, he further explained that, it is a bit difficult ensuring this 50/50 representation where people have to be elected but even in that case members are encouraged to be gender sensitive and that is how come the Party President His Excellency Edgar Changwa Lungu, appointed his vice and running mate who is a woman Honourable, Her Honour Madam Inonge Wina, the first ever female Vice President of Zambia. This achievement was also pointed out by Mrs Mumba who is PF Provincial Chairperson for Lusaka Province and Capacity Building and Leadership Development Officer for ZNWL during interviews held with them. His Excellency also revealed on 22nd February 2016 that he was going to appoint a woman as his running mate in the 11th August, Presidential and Parliamentary Elections and for sure he kept his promise. He said this when he officiated at the Patriotic Front women sensitization fundraising breakfast at Lusaka's Inter Continental Hotel.

President Lungu has since urged women to rise up and make use of him as he stands ready to support them in the country. The Head of State also took time to advise women to do away with the ‘pull her down syndrome’ but should instead encourage and support each other.

Civic Education is the study of political, social, cultural and economic issues. It is also known as citizen education or democracy education that should promote demands for good governance (Mashekwa & Malitano, 2014, p. 122). Political parties are crucial stakeholders in democracy education of citizens and in line with this FDD hold seminars to encourage and sensitize women as a way to promote gender equality (Kapasa, 2016).

All the four parties seemed to be committed to gender equality specifically during the adoption process of MPs and councillors for the 2016 General Elections. Having been a frequent visitor to the four political parties’ secretariats, the atmosphere seemed promising in that a lot of women were aspiring for nominations both at parliamentary and local government levels but the reality following the post elections seems rather different and saddening at the same time because no improvement was actually recorded. PF just like during the 2011 Tripartite Elections adopted

almost the same numbers of women as UPND, with FDD improving on numbers. Therefore in as much as there were all those commitments by the political parties to adopt as many women as possible, and the women really came out of the private sectors, offered themselves up for adoption (ofcourse not as much as men did), what other excuse could political parties really give for failing to live up to their commitments? If the political parties had implemented the said measures, female political representation was going to be assured.

4.3 Criteria used by the four political parties to select candidates for parliamentary elections.

Part IV, Article 70 (1) of the Constitution of Zambia states that, subject to clause (2), a person is eligible to be elected as Member of Parliament, if that person is a citizen; is atleast twenty-one years old; is a registered voter; has obtained, as a minimum academic qualification, a grade twelve certificate or its equivalent; and declares that person's assets and liabilities as prescribed (The Republic of Zambia, 2016). With regards to the constitutional stipulations, all political parties indicated citizenship, age of 21 and a minimum academic qualification as criteria for adopting candidates for elections.

Academic qualification is an important criterion that is followed when nominating and adopting candidates for elections. The newly amended constitution stipulates that candidates should have a minimum qualification of grade 12 as opposed to the previous grade 9 school certificate qualification. With this Constitutional requirement, all the four political parties indicated that the first criterion is that of academic qualification and the rest then follow. It is assumed that with this minimum qualification, a person will be able to speak good English and articulate issues well.

Regarding the last Constitutional requirement of declaring person's assets and liabilities as prescribed, the Deputy National Secretary for FDD mentioned the requirement of candidates being responsible tax payers and being morally upright.

Today's politics are referred to as 'politics of the belly'. We have witnessed alot of defections from one political party to the other especially to the ruling party by politicians and one would wonder as to whether the party's ideologies are an important aspect when assessing the political party to which one should pledge membership to anymore. Although all political parties stated that membership is an important criterion when nominating and adopting candidates for an election, the reality seems otherwise. Except for FDD that stated that membership does not count with years, UPND, PF and Rainbow parties' membership of qualifying for nominations is

different. UPND Deputy Chairperson for elections said, “For one to qualify as an MP candidate one has to be a very loyal party member for more than two years, who has contributed to the party not just financially but also morally.” With the said qualification, one would question why Geoffrey Bwalya Mwamba (GBM) who defected from the ruling PF party in 2015 to UPND could be nominated and adopted for such a high post as running mate in less than a year of membership? GBM is not the only one; there are many more others who defected from the MMD party to PF when MMD lost elections in 2011 such as Dora Siliya, Danniel Mukombwe and Gabriel Namulambe of Mpongwe Constituency. Female Members of Parliament confirmed during a focus group discussion that political experience as well as financial back up is considered as opposed to one’s years of political membership. These attributes however favour men more than women. Party officials on the other hand could not confirm these attributes as criteria.

This brings us yet to another important criterion that is considered even if it is not echoed by political parties as important. Many scholars have pointed out the financial aspect as one obstacle to female political representation. Lovenduski has also stated that men dominate top slots leaving only a few women appearances since election campaigns can be very expensive (2016, p. 713). Sampa (2010, p.38) has also stated that among the factors preventing women from standing as parliamentary candidates in Zambia is one directly linked to financial constraints. During a discussion with an independent Member of Parliament for Chipili, Luapula Province, Honourable Jewis Chabi testified how challenging campaigning as an independent candidate can be in commercialised politics and could not help but to confess that it is more of a challenge to a woman as it is to a man. However, UPND Deputy Chairperson for elections commented that, “It is not necessary to have financial backup because the party supports its candidates, we have had people who went into campaigns without anything and the party would support them.” With this said, all political parties indicated that all applicants must be able to pay an adoption fee due to the stiff competition in the nomination process and this in a way helps to fundraise for party funds that go into campaigns. UPND indicated that the National Management Committee (NMC) is yet to decide whether the adoption fee be increased to k5,000 or be maintained at k1, 000. It is these stiff competitions that underprivilege women and tend to render them vulnerable to male politicians because those with a more financial muscle will be considered first than those without just like the PF chairperson information said, “Why adopt a woman when there is a man with a huge financial muscle to mount a good campaign for himself and the president? So there are all those considerations to be made.” Besides the adoption fee of

a K1, 000 which is paid to the UPND party, all political parties indicated a K10, 000 that is paid to the Electoral Commission by each MP candidate.

Zambia has not adopted any gender quota system; therefore besides UPND with a voluntary party quota enshrined in its constitution, no other party has made any formal commitment to promoting female political representation. PF, FDD and Rainbow party all indicated in interviews with them that they would ensure 50-50% representation of women and men in the 2016 General elections but this was nothing formal nor enshrined in their party Constitutions. Hence these parties can not even be held accountable. Women are the majority in terms of party membership but when it comes to adoption, more men comparing to women are nominated and adopted. It is for this reason that the question of gender being criterion came up. While the Rainbow party indicated proportionality that would bring in women as much as possible, UPND Deputy Chairperson for elections had the following to say;

Gender is taken into consideration but again it's not a forcing matter, just because there is no lady contesting Munali constituency, we can't just take somebody and say you go and contest Munali for the sake of gender, the women themselves must come forward. The system does not permit favouring somebody; one has to go through the adoption process which starts with wards, constituencies, provincial then finally, national election committees. With regards to the system, it is not possible to consider gender and therefore is not a criterion.

The difficulty in implementing the gender quota under UPND can therefore be traced here. If gender is not a criterion, how then can the fifty percent of the said gender quota be attained? To state that this is neither a quota nor a target but a goal would be right because explicit means of achieving the fifty percent female political representation are lacking. When the three political parties (UPND, FDD and Rainbow party) were indicating affirmative action of attaining 50/50 threshold of the SADC protocol, with PF indicating forty percent affirmative action in elective positions and fifty percent in appointive positions what criterion was going to be used if not that of gender? Lack of criterion for attaining the stated threshold explains the low female political representation even post the 2016 General Elections.

Many female politicians such as Sylvia Masebo, Dora Siliya to mention but a few have been attacked on the issue of morality by the media and fellow politicians. Such attacks have discouraged a lot of women especially those who are married from active politics for fear of being labelled 'political prostitutes' or their past mistakes brought out to light in trying to

decampaign them. This case is mostly common among women and not men. The question therefore is that, is personal background a criterion when adopting candidates for parliamentary elections? Personal background is also very important but cardinal is the relationship with the party members and party officials. In the same manner, family orientation does not apply, if a relative aspires to be elected, he/ she must begin from the grassroots, they must first apply to the constituency which will sit and consider, the National Election Committee has very little to do with adoption as stated by all political parties' officials during interviews with them. The Deputy Chairperson for Elections UPND further said, "This is why women aspiring to be nominated and adopted must begin to win the favour of the people at the ward level first before they could be adopted for elections." For a woman, this is both simple and difficult to do. Simple in that one needs to assert herself competent and win the hearts of these people but difficult at the same time because we must not forget it is a patriarchal society from which these women are coming and stereotyping is at its best.

At the same time the case of Sara Longwe and other women especially those who were trained by ZNWL but could not be adopted after being nominated by their wards however could be used to argue and oppose the earlier claim that NEC has little to do with adoption.

Common in all the responses from the four political parties is that despite all the strategies that were put in place and women being the majority in these political parties, they constituted the smallest proportion of the adopted candidates both in the 2011 Tripartite Elections as well as 2016 General Elections as table 4, figure 1 and 2 show. If the criteria for adoption as given by the respondents are not discriminatory in nature against women, why then have political parties always adopted fewer women than men except for ZED in the 2011 Tripartite Elections which adopted more women than men? Even if the criteria are not discriminatory in principle, they still favour men to women. Most respondents said women are cowards, they do not come forth and because adoption should not be a forcing matter, the women are left out (Nyambe & Bwalya, 2016). UPND for example has a party gender quota of fifty percent but this quota is just on paper and not being implemented simply because there were no women to fill up this percentage during the 2011 Tripartite Elections reported the Secretary for elections UPND. Another point that came out from the interviews was the fact that women do not know how to sell themselves properly and adequately, instead of starting to do the ground work way before election period, they come to do so very late considering their limited financial muscle and this tendency really costs them votes (Nyambe, 2016).

The female parliamentarians in a focus group discussion held with them however blamed the political parties and their criteria in selecting candidates for elections stating that they are discriminatory. Honourable Sayifwanda had the following to say on this matter,

As female politicians, we have a big problem with political parties leadership in Zambia who are busy saying we want a saleable candidate and not a woman and then you would wonder, how sellable? Just because a woman can never lie, she stands for the truth. Just because she is vulnerable, she has no resources whilst a man can move around for resources then they become sellable, making a woman not sellable. And that is why even in this parliament, we are very few, just twenty three including nominated one.

While men say women are cowards, the women themselves including those that are already MPs and have firsthand experience of politics do not feel so, rather they are just demoralised by the gender insensitive structures and practices of political parties. Women are the majority in political parties and they would want to lead but the atmosphere in political parties and the public does not permit them to do so. If the parties talk about sellable candidates and refer a man to being the sellable one, it is discrimination already and women stay away. The Parliamentary Caucus for Women outcry on political parties talking about sellable candidate was also confirmed by the Election Committee for the UPND which happens to be the only party with a quota system and the party official for the ruling PF party in a statement that, “women are not sellable candidate and the party will be making a silly mistake to adopt a female candidate over a popular male candidate.” So we can come to an agreement that women are not cowards, it is the system that is discriminatory instead. It should be noted therefore that, if the UPND has not managed to implement the party quota, the blame should not be on women but on the party’s failure to devise measures for the enhanced implementation of this quota.

In summary therefore, putting the blame on women that they are not assertive; they lack ground work in constituencies; they would rather be led by men than lead; professional women shun politics and so on, as was mostly coming out of the responses from the election committee officials is unrealistic. The blame has to be put on the political environment that has been created by gender insensitive political party structures which segregate and discriminate in political representation and participation of women and lack of National political will on female political representation. The path to political office is through an enabling political environment created by a gender sensitive political party structure. Murray has argued that the party ticket is the main criterion on which electorates base their vote and not the sex of a candidate (Murray, 2015).

4.4 Link between the presence of women in party leadership positions and their numeric presence both in elected and appointed offices of the government

The Republican President in Zambia has powers to nominate eight (8) Members of Parliament. This is provided for in the 2016 Amended Constitution of Zambia. Article 69 (1) starting that:

“The president may nominate a person referred to in article 68 (2) (b) where the president considers it necessary to enhance the representation of special interest, skills or gender in the National Assembly,” (The Republic of Zambia, 2016). However, the pattern since independence is that men are nominated the most with the highest number of women nominated being two from 1964-1967 and 2006-2008. The pattern further worsened from 1978- 2006 with no nominated woman. And out of a total 116 nominated MPs from 1964 -2016, only 11 are women.

Based on the above stated figures, women are not nominated as much as men are. Does it mean that women are absent from politics or that there are no competent women to be nominated? The Parliamentary Caucus for Women during the focus group discussion revealed that presidency is surrounded by men who they referred to as ‘layers of men’ thereby making it difficult for women to penetrate. The first layer consists of those men who want to say am here and am working and mostly these are men with a huge financial muscle and that is the reason why the nominees are mostly men. These are men who will have invested so much into the party.

Some time back we came up with a catalogue so that when the president is nominating, we can recommend names for appointments and the problem is that as women we do not push harder for this cause, reported Honourable Sayifwanda.

This report was in affirmation with what the Deputy Secretary General for FDD said, “in the nomination process, my personal opinion is that women want things on a silver platter, so instead of demanding for what they should have, they would rather go and beg.” It is clear therefore that women have not pushed the agenda harder, they need to demand that out of the eight presidential nominations of every president who comes into power, let the women get 50% of those slots. But again it is evident that all the presidents so far in Zambia have not been inclined to nominate many women to parliament because of lack of political will where gender issues are concerned.

The question of a link was prompted because looking at the prerogative of the president to nominate 8 Members of parliament, the male gender always out numbers the females as described earlier. It was also noted that men dominate political party’s decision making positions and in trying to analyse this situation, a further incidence occurred following the January 2015

Presidential election where His Excellency Edgar Changwa Lungu appointed Honourable Inonge Wina who at that time happened to be the Party Chairperson as his Vice President. A lot of Zambians had predicted this scenario way before the appointment was made because of the tremendous support Her Honour Wina rendered to His Excellency Edgar Changwa Lungu following the confusion that befell the party in electing the party president after the death of its founding father Micheal Chilufya Sata and the court cases between the two elected presidents for the same party; Miles Sampa and Edgar Changwa Lungu. The appointment of Her Excellency Inonge Wina did not take into consideration the gender but rather the loyalty and capability to execute the duties. The question therefore is that, does holding a position of power in the party guarantee appointment in both elected and appointed offices of the government? And in response, the parties had the following to say:

In the hierarchy of policy making organ of the UPND party, there are 82 in total comprising of National Executive Committee (NEC) and National Management Committee. There are about 30 women and more than 50 men so already there is that discrepancy. “Categorically, there is no link between the presence of women in party leadership positions and those in elected and appointed offices of the government,” reported Deputy Information and Publicity for UPND. Nevertheless, both the Deputy Secretary General-Administration and the Deputy Information and Publicity for UPND agreed that even if the link cannot be established, it is also true that women in party leadership positions stand a high chance to be nominated as candidates in National elections and government offices especially when the party is in power.

In response to the same question, the Deputy Secretary General of the Rainbow party said the majority in the party leadership positions are men compared to women. There are basically three structures of the party and for each section there is what is called as the core section. With 24 people; normally a third of that is a core section, a third of that are the women, a third of that are the youths. Women are within the women section and there, positions are 100% filled by women but that is only a third of the 24 which is only like 8 women in that structure. However, looking at the youths and the core sections and trying to find out how many women are there, they are only a few women so you will find that a lot of youths and core sections are taken up by men so in comparison, one finds that there could only be 40% women with 60% positions taken by men. The Deputy Secretary General also agreed that there is always a link between the presence of women in party leadership positions and their numeric presence in both elected and appointed offices of the government because if you have less of them in leadership positions, you will have less of them in government positions. He went on and added to say women are good at

mobilizing other women and having a lot of them in leadership positions would be a good move. Kunovich & Paxton (2005) have also argued in line with what the Deputy Secretary General for the Rainbow Party said, stating that, “Scholars show that more women in party leadership positions associates with the adoption of more strategies to empower women within the party and the election process.”

As for FDD, it is a requirement that both men and women nominated for National elections are knowledgeable of the party manifestos and are able to articulate issues well and this is the expertise of those in the party leadership. As long as the woman in party leadership position is interested in standing for elections, it is easy for them to be nominated because they will have already shown hard work and sold themselves out to the public as well as to the Nomination Committee than a woman in the background just as a party member. And in line with this finding, almost all the women party officials from FDD stood for Parliamentary Elections in 2016 (Musenda'Simuyemba, 2016).

PF Information Chairperson stated that it is not easy for women in the party leadership to get to parliament because even when they are adopted by the party, they still have to go out and campaign. It is tough even for women in party leadership positions because there are no reserved seats in Zambia. Women in party leadership positions are however likely to be nominated especially for the positions in government because competences can be considered in this case, so we can have more women as judges, permanent secretaries, even as ministers from among the nominated MPs. Hon. Mwanakatwe for example was nominated MP and appointed minister of Commerce in 2015. In a nutshell, the PF Information Chairperson may have had reservations towards the link between women in party leadership positions and their numeric presence in elected offices but he consents to say there is a link between women in party leadership positions and their numeric presence in appointed and nominated offices of the government.

In an interview with the PF Provincial Chairperson, she admitted that there is a clear link between the presence of women in party leadership and their numeric presence in both appointed and elected offices of the government by commenting that, “In the National wing, we have eight men, eight women and eight youths. And of course it is easy for them, actually most MPs are in the NEC like Jean Kapata , Esther Banda, Kabashi and a lot of other women.”

One challenge ZNWL faces as an organization directly dealing with female political representation is that there are few female politicians who are political party leaders. “The women who are coming from these political parties, are not coming from the executive

structures thereby making the link between women in party leadership positions and their numeric presence both in elected and appointed offices of the government difficult to be established,” observed and noted the Capacity Building and Leadership Development Officer for ZNWL, Mr Kunda. Scrutinizing most of these political parties, even at district level, the executive positions are dominated by men and women would only be relegated to positions or organs like the women’s wing which has no influence in decision making, so it all starts from there, if women are absent in these leadership positions, it will also be difficult to get women vying for national and local elections to the government and being nominated for both elected and appointed offices of the government by the president. This argument has also been discussed by Kiamba, who has stated that,

Another discrepancy in the SADC region is evident in party structures. Although women constitute the majority of voters, it has been observed that they are severely underrepresented in party structures and on party lists to the extent that while gender equality is enshrined in the party constitutions and manifestos, it is not integrated in party structures. In some cases where women serve as party executives, it is because they move in as ex officio members by virtue of their role as chairpersons of the women’s leagues, (Kiamba, 2008, p. 11).

Poor implementation of gender equality especially within the party is a hindrance to women coming out for adoption. Political parties lack background work on how to implement gender equality and do not ensure that whatever affirmations are made, are implemented because even those parties with affirmative actions have them just on paper.

Most of the interviewed officials admitted the fact that there is a link though it cannot be clearly established. O’Brien & Ricken have however commented that,

The most important government position available to the party when in office, moreover, is typically reserved for the party leaders. At the national level, for example, the leader of the largest coalition party generally serves as prime minister, (2014, p. 4).

Therefore we should also know that even with this link, few women still find themselves in party leadership positions despite being the majority members of all the four sampled political parties. The link between women in party leadership positions and their numeric presence in appointed offices of the government is clearer within the ruling party as compared to the opposition parties.

4.5 Party leaders' views on the adoption of gender quotas and reserved seats in Zambia

Despite being signatories to the SADC and UN declarations on female political representation, Zambia as compared to most of its SADC member States performs poorly. This poor performance could be attributed largely to lack of political will but also partly to parties' non-commitment to the attainment of increased female political representation. It is for this reason therefore that the views of the party leaders on gender quotas and reserved seats are investigated. Why party leaders? O'brien & Rickene (2014) have explained the importance of party leaders as 'central political figures' and key decision makers.

UPND is one party that is concerned about female political representation. This is evident in the 50% gender quota for women enshrined in its Constitution. The Deputy Secretary General - Administration for UPND Captain Liambela commented that the party has capable women who could serve but shun active politics because of the financial barrier faced therefore reserved seats are one window that would help women and empower them especially those without the financial muscle. UPND has already adopted political party quota system confidently said Mr Nyambe, the Deputy Chairperson for election. However he also noted that,

The challenge has been the availability of the other sex because as already alluded to, the women are cowards who want to be led rather than lead and have challenges from their families. Yes, at the party level, it has been the practice because each province needs to adopt at least a number of women as per quota base but the challenge still comes in, in trying to find women to fill up the 50% gender quota of the UPND party.

Nadezhda has however argued that it is not that women are cowards but rather it is the various obstacles they encounter in trying to enter politics which are patriarchal in nature when she states that,

Men dominate the political arena; men formulate the rules of the political game; and men define the standards for evaluation. The existence of this male dominated model results in women either rejecting politics altogether or rejecting male-style politics, (Nadezhda, 2005, p. 34).

Contrary to the responses of the Deputy Secretary General- Administration and the Deputy Chairperson- Elections, Mr Maambo in his capacity as the Secretary for election said, "There is no advantage in having reserved seats and as a party, it is something that we cannot even encourage because political seats must not be selective, people must aspire for them." Based on these different responses, there is no coherence on what the party stands for and yet it is the

party with quota system. While some will support the adoption of reserved seats and quotas, others would not support this. Out of 4 officials interviewed under the UPND, 3 said they would adopt this affirmative action and only 1 said reserved seats are something that would not be encouraged by the party and at the end of the day because the majority were in favour of the reserved seats and party quotas we can conclude therefore that UPND would adopt reserved seats just as they have adopted a quota system.

Do quotas translate to descriptive or substantive representation of women? Are advocates of quotas only interested in seeing numbers of women in parliament or real change in policies as well as in the conduct of society? Proponents of the institutional design perspective have highlighted party ideology with quotas (institutional mechanisms) as important factors leading to both substantive and descriptive representation of women (Alexander & Welzel, n.d.). The Deputy Secretary General for the Rainbow party also highlighted the outcome of a party ideology and quotas as opposed to quotas only when he commented that,

This would be a step in the right direction; we could either have reserved seats or quota system to increase female political representation. But we should not be talking about that but about the ideology. It should have been sorted out by now, we cannot have a government, parliament or council that is not 50/50, and we should be talking about the ideology instead. How we should change the patriarchy of our society, focus on what type of a society and Zambia we would want to create where man or woman will be equal, where men, women, youths and children will feel part of the society. We are late on numbers, we need to catch up on this but at the same time we need to work on the ideology so that these numbers will have more meaning better than just number.

Reviewing literature on the arguments against quotas one would confirm that the arguments have been echoed with those of the Deputy Secretary General for FDD who had a lot of reservations on reserved seats saying,

That kind of thinking is also a little bit skewed or not ok because are the voters also going to say let us reserve this constituency for female voters only? You see these candidates when campaigning and competing in an election they aim at winning the hearts of individual voters, it is that aggregate that makes them win so to me, it is not ok. What if they all don't want to vote for a woman? To me it is like you are trying to create a law that is discriminatory against the males, so what kind of gender balance is that. This is why elections should just be competed for based on merit. Merit should be the

underpinning issue, there a lot of women who merit being in those political offices so let them prove it.

He went on and added that the quota system can work like a forced balance and anything that is forced has a disadvantage. So why force? There is need therefore to just encourage and school each other into how well the women can fair given the opportunity. Important is the realization of the reality that this gender is equal to the other gender. Having brought out the ideology issue, the Deputy Secretary General for FDD also explained the disadvantages of quotas and reserved seats when he stated that,

Quotas and reserved seats have worked well for Scandinavian countries and they have done quite well on that. At first it was some forced arrangement then it went into change attitude though again i would say, it has worked to their disadvantage because the other sex has become less, they have gone into oblivion from the political scenario so if we push for this, we would be discriminating against the other gender (Musenda'Simuyemba, 2016).

An argument can be put forward however, as to what is really happening in Scandinavian countries. Statistically, female political representation is faring well in Scandinavian countries but has not reached 50/50 political representation, women are still below the 50% in the attainment of gender equality, how then have men gone into oblivion? The only country that is standing at 56% female political representation is Rwanda but still we can not conclude to say men have gone into oblivion but rather that both men and women are cooperating in politics, no one sex should be less than the other in political representation and if reserved seats and quotas are a only remedy then they would be no harm employing them.

Murray has responded to some critics of gender quotas and has argued that if quotas discriminate against men, it is not as much as the status quo discriminates against women. Because quotas do not give more than half of the opportunities to women, it leaves at least half the opportunities for men. In an ideal world, voluntary measures as opposed to coercion would be the right thing to do but because this is not the case, without a powerful catalyst such as quotas for change, women face many more years of being relegated to the sidelines. Where opponents of quotas argue that quotas work as a forced balance, Murray responds that voluntary measures also do not have the desired effects thereby making forced measures the only way to bring about change. Murray has gone further and pointed out that, “when powerful men have no choice but to appoint good women, they always manage to find them. The women were there all along – the men just

needed to be forced to look,” (Murray, 2016). Does this mean that if UPND still complains about women not coming forth to fill up the 50% gender quota, then there is just never coercion?

When Murray indicates that good women have always been there, does she also refer to merit? She has argued that recruitment without gender quotas is not meritocratic rather it is based on (male) gender, privilege, and an uneven playing field (Murray, 2015).

The PF party realises the importance of women in politics and acknowledges that the quota system would help to increase female political representation as long as qualified women can offer themselves up for active politics. This was stated in an interview with Information Chairperson for the ruling party PF who said,

Reserved seats would be a good thing to promote women participation, and women on the other hand need to know that they need to offer themselves up into politics. If we are going to adopt women without the required quality, it is going to work against women because people will ordinarily look at women as people who are not competent and all that, and politics is a tough game, the policy itself would be a good thing because it would help as much as possible to put many women in decision making positions, first as MPs then appointed as ministers. Gender quota is also a good thing, this time around; we need it to raise the numbers of women, and its one clear affirmative action that would make a difference.

While quotas have worked wonders for other countries and women in those countries have spearheaded the adoption of those quotas, this research reveals that in Zambia despite having very limited female political representation, female parliamentarians are not ready to fight for a quota system, as can be seen to have emanated from the discussion held with the Parliamentary Caucus for Women. Asked about how they felt when the clause on Mixed Member Proportional Representation could not be defended and passed, the response was that,

The article on proportional representation was not talking much about female political representation rather it was a bit fraud in that it was providing for safe spaces by getting parties to start appointing people so even parties that are in essence not big parties would be claiming for this party list. But what is important is the fact that we have been able to pass an article talking about 50/50 representation, answered the Chairperson Prof Luo.

Krook (2007) has stated that, “According to a smaller group of studies, women as a group are in fact frequently divided as to the desirability of gender quotas. Indeed, several find that some of

the strongest opposition comes from feminists, both inside and outside the political parties, who argue that quotas do not further the cause of female empowerment.” This statement is supported by what came to be revealed during the focus group discussion with female Members of Parliament who had varying opinions on quotas and the Mixed Proportional Representation to be specific. The resistance takes on a variety of different forms, ranging from limited mobilization by grassroots women’s groups to active denunciations by prominent female politicians. Therefore this resistance came as no surprise when Honourable Kazunga commented that,

the proportional representation has got its own flaws, you get even riff ruffs and those will appear in the cabinet and usually when you are in a one party, one can easily encourage the colleagues that let us break away after all, we shall manage to get some votes that will get us a certain number of seats and we shall come back into the parliament.

If the female parliamentarians had given these responses during the focus group discussion, they probably debated against it even in parliament and this is why the clause could not even pass. Zambia uses the first past the post electoral system and in this system; Members of Parliament are elected in single constituencies. The proposal in the draft constitution was that the electoral system be changed to mixed proportional representation. However, there was still a misunderstanding on how this system was going to operate as this was evident in the response by the Chairperson for the Parliamentary Caucus for women. Honourable Prof. Luo commented that,

The other thing is that there is the issue of cut and paste because you are looking at the South Africa, you just cut and paste and say party lists, the electoral system in South Africa is different from the Zambian. Party lists are possible because they campaign as a group so what happens is that ANC has a team of people and they campaign in the whole country where as in Zambia, we have the constituency system, you campaign independently, the only person you campaign for is the president. These were my arguments when you listen to the debates. We needed to repeal the constituency type of elections and adopt the South African type of elections to be able to implement that otherwise it would have been very difficult to be implemented.

In addition, Honourable Kazunga in trying to clarify how the Mixed Member Proportional Representation was going to work contributed that, “The proposals were that a certain percentage goes to the party list and a certain percent constituency level, it was discriminatory

because you waste money in the constituency while others are just coming for free through party lists, no ways!”

It is argued that when women are not cooperating on increased female political representation, quotas and reserved seats are likely to bring about hierarchies among the Members of Parliaments, between those who contest equally with men in elections and those who are elected on reserved seats or with the help of quotas as indicated in Honourable Kazunga response and the reviewed literature (Directorate- General for Research, March 1997).

Countries with reserved seats work after a long period of observing which ones are the safe seats. A party would know that year in and year out the party wins elections in a particular area for instance, Looking at the current scenario in Zambia, if the UPND had to implement reserved seats, they would know that they can get almost all the seats in Southern Province because they know that those are their safe seats and again people there vote on partisan and tribal lines so they can put more women there to contest and would be assured of winning those seats. PF would consider Northern Province as their safe seats. “It is however difficult to establish safe seats in Zambia because there have been fluctuations in the voting trends,” contributed Pro Luo.

Reserved seats are good for women added Honourable Mulasikanda and Sayifwanda, who went on and said,

If we change the electoral system in Zambia, reserved seats and quota systems are good. If we can do things like in Tanzania and Uganda where they have seats reserved for women to compete even in a district and this is exactly what we were supposed to fight for as women during the amendments because it was going to help us a lot as women but we lost out on that opportunity by removing the whole of that article, that was going to do well even with the constituency type of election but now we have lost out on that opportunity because the constitution is already amended and in place and nothing can be done about that and now we have to compete like any other male candidates because there are no reserved seats nor quotas.

When Deputy Secretary General for Rainbow Party said, not all women who are in those decision making positions are pushing the cause for women just like not all men are against gender and women issues, really, he was right because ‘critical mass’ should call for ‘critical acts’ as Dahlerup has argued that,

The specific mechanisms for change lie in ‘critical acts’, or initiatives that ‘change the position of the minority and lead to further changes’. These acts include the recruitment

of other women, the introduction of quotas for women and new equality legislation and equality institutions, and depend crucially on 'the willingness and ability of the minority to mobilize the resources of the organization or institution to improve the situation for themselves, (Dahlerup, 1988, p. 296).

Emphasizing those feminist women can have an impact above and beyond their token status if they form alliances with one another such as the parliamentary caucus for women despite their small numbers.

We have had male Members of Parliament who after being part of the crew that deliberated on the Amended Constitution felt betrayed that the grade 12 school certificate holder as part of the MP qualification was unfair since some of them did not have this qualification. Then there should be an understanding that our decision makers do not take time to understand law before it is made and implemented. To a larger extent female Members of Parliament did not take time to understand the long term effect of the clause on Mixed Member Proportional Representation and what it meant especially for women. It was assumed that the Parliamentary Caucus for women would be expressing heartfelt disappointments on the omission of this clause as a committee directly concerned with gender equality but this was not the case.

It is the mission of Zambia National Women's Lobby to support Zambian women and girls to proactively take up leadership roles and actively participate in the development of the nation through capacity building, policy, advocacy and lobbying. ZNWL continues to lobby for gender sensitive policies that would see increased female political representation in Zambia. One such policy that can produce real opportunities for women is a quota system. ZNWL through the Capacity Building and Leadership Development Officer said,

Drawing lessons from countries that have adopted the reserved seats, it is actually a progressive concept in the sense that in those countries the net effect is that we are able to see, how much these women are able to contribute and speaking out on issues that affect women in those countries like Rwanda, going beyond the AU and SADC protocol so it is an indication that when you put up those measures, the numbers of women increases in the parliament and in the long run changes people's attitudes and conception of who a woman is and what she is capable of doing, so it is unfortunate that this is not the case here in Zambia.

The government of Zambia has given the mandate to implement and mainstream gender into all other Ministries to the Ministry of Gender. The ministry acknowledges that female political

representation in Zambia is very poor and with the SADC threshold which is no longer at 30% but 50% to which Zambia is a member state, it calls for integrated efforts from all stake holders and a mechanism that would ensure equal representation in Zambia. The Assistant Director had the following comments on reserved seats and quotas,

Whether you call them quota system or reserved seats, what we desire is that the system embraces women participation and increases female political representation. The ramification of the quota system is also to ensure equal representation in parliament and as the government we are concerned and that is our objective so we would be happy. As long as it is a progressive realization of equal representation then that is fine. However, this is up to the electorates because these are decisions that are made through a referendum.

Being the Ministry mandated to mainstream gender; it should have specified goals, devised mechanism and indicators for the purpose of monitoring and evaluation. The Ministry of Gender has the Gender Policy, the ‘Count her in’ Campaign Strategy and the Strategic Plan along with its Implementation Plan and the contents of these documents are good but lack implementation. If the devised measures had been implemented, the post 2016 elections would have had a gender balanced parliament and local government.

While not everyone supported the adoption of gender quotas and reserved seats like the deputy secretary general for FDD and the UPND secretary for election, the rest of the respondents were in agreement that quotas and reserved seats could be the final answer to the continued low female political representation in Zambia. The arguments by the Deputy Secretary General for FDD are better explained in the literature reviewed by Mona Lena Krook who discusses that “In countries where quotas are framed as a means for promoting equality and fair access, for example, detractors argue against these measures on the grounds that quotas for women discriminate against men and thus are unconstitutional or illegal (Haug, 1995; Krook, 2007; Lovenduski, 1997). Respondents testified the lack of political will on female political representation in Zambia and lamented that if the Mixed Member Proportional Representation was adopted in the amended constitution, it would have meant that 35 seats were going to be reserved for women and while this was going to be a good clause worthy fighting for by the Parliamentary Caucus for women, the focus group discussion revealed that this was not the case, and instead of the caucus debating for, it was debated against. The study also revealed that MPs from the opposition parties were in favour of this clause but could not manage to pass it since the ruling party which had the majority female MPs and MPs in totality were not in favour of this

clause thereby enabling them to vote it out. This brings us yet to another conclusion that the Parliamentary caucus still works on partisan lines as opposed to how it is supposed to work because it ought to work as a unitary committee irrespective of the political parties they are coming from and support the women cause, this was also indicative in Honourable Sayifwanda's critic of the caucus from the MMD political party. Lack of affirmative action like the reserved seats in Zambia is a challenge, if Zambia was going to have a gender sensitive constitution, one that accords women equality; it was something that was going to go a long way in terms of changing the current situation of low female political representation.

While quotas remain controversial, they are frequently debated within the legislatures as was the situation of Zambia in 2015 during the constitutional amendment on the Mixed Member Proportional Representation clause. Although they have often been rejected as a way of correcting the gender imbalance within parliaments, such debates are usually useful in that they publicly highlight the existence of such inequality, bringing out the clear patriarchal picture of societies in which we live and the desire for men to keep women to the private domain while they maintain their status quo. Furthermore, it is such debates that end up in asking for practical solutions to the persisting problem of low female political representation. When quotas have finally been adopted, there has also been a 'snowball' effect as other parties realise that the selection and appointment of more women (either with or without quotas) is a way to broaden their electoral appeal to electorates.

4.6 Recommended working mechanism for increasing female political representation in The Zambian Parliament by respondents

The respondents from UPND said the Zambian government is very silent on female political representation, stating that what is being done is only lip service. The government is not just being silent but also unfair because it was going to encourage the adoption of Mixed Member Proportional Representation clause that was going to encourage more women and youths to come on board knowing they stand a chance to be nominated. As a way to increase female political representation, party officials from UPND recommended that there must be some sort of compelling laws to say 50% men, 50% women during nominations by political parties, it would help. "If UPND was to come into power, it would compel political parties by putting it into law that there must be equality in the parliament as well as political parties," commented the UPND Deputy Publicity and Information.

Countries like South Africa have legislated laws to compel political parties to consider gender equality in nominating parliamentary candidates in form of political party quotas. However,

FDD's Deputy Secretary General Mr Musenda Simuyemba who is also in the Election Committee does not support the idea of compelling political parties to do so. He made the following reservations,

The starting point should be no, because if you compel them, they will give you rubbish, and people will be choosing from the domain of rubbish. Why don't you just say political parties be encouraged to nominate more women, it is more fluid because even in these political parties there are affirmative action that are there. But to a voter, it becomes a forcing matter that do AB and C.

The Deputy Secretary General also brought out the importance of party ideology stating that what is important is to sensitize the people both in the political clubs and the voters that even women can do as equally or even more than the male gender. The problem of low female political representation is more of an attitudinal problem than a legal issue, hence the need to deal with people's perceptions and attitudes first through an ideology. He stated that,

We are aware of all the cultural barriers that women face, look at the classic America and China despite being the developed democracies; they have never had a female president. It is important that we deal with the root cause of the problem than the introduction of gender quotas. Equal opportunities are a fairer way of dealing with the issue.

Meanwhile the chair lady for Women's Wing FDD said quotas would be a welcome idea.

The PF party recommended for a gender quota system and cautioned women on the need to offer themselves up, to mobilize, to become popular on the ground and do away with the 'pull her down syndrome' so that as they undertake the adoption process, the wards, the constituencies and districts and provinces can recommend them because the central committee that makes the final decision, bases its decisions on the interviews that are done by the lower organs of the party (Bwalya, 2016).

The latest Rainbow party that was anticipated to have gender equality policies due to the rising link between modernity and gender at its formation fell into a trap of many other political parties that you allow the structures form themselves that those interested in leadership positions take up those positions but allowing that to happen, means the majority of men taking up positions. What you find is that the few bits of men with money tend to dominate those upper level structures and positions. It was noted that most women have very humble backgrounds with humble levels of education and so tend to be mere recruiters and party members

(Musumali, 2016). Mr Musumali who is Deputy Secretary General for Rainbow Party recommended that party leadership positions among women be encouraged. He said this when he commented that,

As a party we are trying as much as possible that women be pushed to positions of decision making over the next months and years because the more women in party leadership, the more women are going to be nominated for election and so this could be a good criteria for increasing female political representation. As the party, we took it for granted that what is reflected in the population will reflect in the party so we ended up with few women in these structures. There is need to do something extra like reserving seats for women because just having a section for women is not enough.

The Female Parliamentary Caucus said it is very difficult to make it in politics as a woman because political parties talk about sellable candidates who are men and not women. As women they cannot change that stereotype even when women have proved themselves effective in ministries they have administered. Going to the constituencies, the men will be surrounded by cadres and will be dashing money meant for developmental projects but for a woman whatever money is meant for development, funds will go specifically for development. Unfortunately, it is actually the dashing of money that voters like and tend to prefer the male candidates to females because there is a mistaken belief that they are benefiting from the person they elected as their representative not realising that it is not personal money but that which is meant for developmental projects, so there is actually an oversight of the real benefits to short term benefits. “We will assess the documentaries to be carried out by ZNWL and yet to be aired on television, people will be shocked, why? Because women are mothers concerned about the welfare of the people,” assured Hon Sayifwanda.

Honourable Sayifwanda also complained that in political parties, even as women they have also become enemies to themselves, for instance, a woman will see a constituency headed by a woman and would still want to go and stand there. There is need for women to consult with those women who are already MPs if they are recontesting so that a compromise may be reached and support can be accorded respective of the chances.

The caucus acknowledged that Zambia has a problem and the only solution is for the electoral system to be changed. If the situation stands, the numbers will keep on decreasing because very few female MPs were actually re-nominated for the 2016 Parliamentary Elections.

Concerning whether the Presidential prerogative to nominate eight MPs should be used to help close the gender gap in parliament by nominating the majority women, FDD stated that the clause was put there to give chance to the marginalized people like women, youths and disabled people. It is so disheartening to find that the people who get those nominations are the men who are not marginalized at all. However, to say it should be given to women only would be wrong, because there are other marginalised groups like the disabled and the youths.

In a different interview with the UPND Secretary for election on the same question of presidential prerogative he advocated for the dissolution of the presidential prerogative starting that, “nominating MPs dilutes the parliamentary strength because the nominated friends may not be able to articulate issues hence making it ineffective. They are actually a lot of disadvantages and so that prerogative should not be encouraged.”

On the presidential prerogative to nominate eight MPs, ZNWL said they would definitely recommend that,

If such a move was to be taken by the president, it would really mean a lot to women being well aware that women are not faring well in this regard especially in the National Assembly and local government so if it can be made like an affirmation, something that can be contained in the legislative documents like the constitution not just made verbally or as a pronouncement.

On the other hand, the Ministry Of Gender commented that it would love that as a guiding principle. But it is the mandate of the president and when he is making those decisions he takes into consideration things like competence and ability to execute duties and so on and so forth so it is the prerogative of the president and however he chooses to use that, the constitution gives him those powers.

The entire party officials interviewed did not agree that the president should just nominate women as is the feeling of some feminists. They were comfortable with half the number of nominated MPs being women as this will be in conformity with the 50/50 representation and should be enshrined in the Zambian Constitution than just mere talks as the respondent from ZNWL who is capacity building and leadership development officer rightly stated.

4.7 Gender preferences of the voters

From the focus group discussions held with voters from Munali, Kabwata and Mandevu Constituencies the ‘pull her down syndrome’ became most prominent especially from the women in Kabwata and to some extent those from Mandevu. All the focus group discussions

held with the men revealed that they can vote for women though those from Kabwata had some reservations. While Mandevu and Munali male and female voters do not have problems voting for a woman, Kabwata female voters have and this preference for a male candidate may to some extent suggest why Munali and Madevu constituencies have female parliamentarians and Kabwata constituency has a male MP.

Discussing gender preferences, we cannot avoid the issue of competence that was coming out from the focus group discussions. The majority voters indicated competence among women to win their votes. The fact that the issue of competence was most prominent on the part of a woman candidate means that voters lack confidence in women candidates as compared to male candidates. Taking into consideration the triple role of a woman (reproduction, production and community services), women who aspire for political offices strive hard to balance up their roles without any of those having to suffer and in the processing of balancing up these roles, women tend to be misconstrued as incompetent compared to men who do not share equally in these roles. To be a National leader means total commitment to serve the people and this comes with a lot of hard work and dedication both by men and women and women must be regarded as such.

Voters from Kabwata and Madevu also indicated that they vote on partisan lines irrespective of the gender, this in a sense explains why the 25 women who stood as independent candidates in the 2011 tripartite elections could not be elected as MPs and why the majority of the women who won come from PF the ruling party, for a simple reason of the party's popularity. It is for this reason that Murray has argued that the party ticket is the main criterion followed by voters (Murray, 2015). Popular parties can therefore be used in the attainment of gender equality in decision making positions as indicated by Dahlerup (2005, p.147) that, "nominations are the crucial stage and the power of the nominations rests with the political parties, not with the voters." A male independent candidate is more likely to be voted for by both men and women voters than a female independent candidate. It is therefore for this reason that the first step to increased female political representation begins with political parties then concludes with voters because once women begin to be adopted the most, voters will be oriented to vote for women too.

4.8 Analysis of the Conceptual Framework

"When one woman is a leader, it changes her. When more women are leaders, it changes politics and policies." Michelle Bachelet, President of Chile.

Based on the findings from the focused group discussions held with voters, women politicians tend to be ‘full of themselves,’ politics just seem to change them. From Michelle’s statement, it is true that politics change women because they are in the minority which is why they fail to change politics where policies are concerned. A ‘critical mass’ can affect policies as opposed to women being changed by politics.

Taking ourselves back to the conceptual framework, the Zambian parliament had 23 female elected Members of Parliament and only one female nominated MP out of a total of 158 Parliamentarians as of 2016 and following the 2011 General Elections. After the 2016 General Elections, female parliamentarians came to 30 in total including the 3 nominated female Members of Parliament out of 166 Members of parliament. When it comes to Political Representation, these parliamentarians represent their constituencies first and secondly, their gender (females). It is worthy noting that among these same female parliamentarians there are those that would not support the cause of fellow women either in the constituency or in parliament. From many interviews conducted, including those with the Information Chairperson PF, Deputy Secretary General FDD, Deputy Secretary General Rainbow party, Deputy Information and Publicity UPND, Capacity Building and Leadership Development Officer ZNWL and from the speech his Excellency Edgar Changwa Lungu gave during the PF women sensitization fundraising breakfast in Lusaka on 22/02/15, to mention but a few, the aspect of ‘pull her down syndrome’ came out resoundingly as a challenge that is threatening to compromise political representation. The Deputy Secretary General of the Rainbow party echoed this fear when he stated that, “Not every woman who represents at a certain level is really putting the aspirations of this gender there; we have women who make decisions against the interests of fellow women just like we have few men who make decisions in the interest of women.” It is therefore important that women constitute a considerable number of parliamentarians so that when there are those divisions among women, they will still remain a considerable number that will advocate for women and still be heard and able to change policies.

Where political participation is concerned, all female parliamentarians belong to the Zambia Parliamentarian Caucus for Women. Delys has recommended that, “Women’s Parliamentary Caucuses should be established and strengthened to boost women’s voices. Uniting women in office enables them to successfully shape parliamentary and legislative agendas,” (2014, p. 23). Through the caucus, which allows for political agendas to be developed by women ‘taking part in politics’ through a range of activities such as discussion and debate, lobbying and activism in formal and informal ways female parliamentarians collectively engage in political participation.

It is one thing to lobby for a certain political agenda and it is yet another thing to pass it in the parliament during debates. Considering the argument by theoreticians and practitioners that women's ability to make an impact in male-dominated parliaments like the Zambian one will be limited until they are represented in numbers large enough to have a collective voice, until they reach a 'critical mass', political participation is likely to end on lobbying and never to be able to pass policies in the parliament during debates.

Based on political theory and investigation, most activists have settled on 30% as the minimum necessary for critical mass and yet female parliamentarians in Zambia only took up 13.9% as of August 2016 and currently stands at 18% which is far below the expected standard. It follows therefore that, political participation becomes difficult if not impossible for female political representatives, just as observed by Honourable Banda during the focus group discussion when she said, "If men are over 130 and we are just 23 even if it came to voting, we will lose. If men are not in favour of what we want, the voice of men will come out strongly." During the same focus group discussion it became apparent that this generation is becoming sensitive to gender issues, a development that was applauded by Professor Honourable Luo. She said,

Wow! we have the gender equity and equality now, my own view is that the climate in the world now dictates men to support women because everywhere you go, in every conference, even Head of State's meetings, they are all saying let us focus on women so men have no choice but to support us but given a choice, they would not want to.

Political leadership, which cuts across both political participation and political representation, by key individuals shaping political agendas, taking the lead in articulating these and participating in their translation into policy is also cardinal. The IPU's women in Parliament report of 2015 echoed this explicitly: "As parliamentary leaders are among the most powerful political figures in their countries, women Speakers are not only critical role models and mentors for other women MPs, they are also vital to changing mindsets on delivering change," (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2016). Among the female parliamentarians there are females heading Ministries as Ministers and Deputy Ministers, and also various committees in parliament such as Financial Committees, Parliamentary Caucus for Women and so on and there are those MPs who are only back benchers. Ministers and chairpersons are the ones who take the lead in shaping political agendas, implementing and monitoring them.

However, before the Zambian cabinet was dissolved in April 2016, there were only 11 female parliamentarians; 1 Vice President, 4 Cabinet Ministers, 5 Deputy Ministers and 1 Provincial

Minister while the National Assembly had only two female parliamentarians holding the positions of the Clerk of National Assembly and Committee Chairperson (Zambia National Women's Lobby, 2015). The above statistics are not only a clear testimony of poor female political leadership but also of the poor female political representation in Zambia. The recommendation for this therefore would be that the clause in the new Constitution on gender equity in the National Assembly and Local Government be implemented without fail because women are as capable leaders as men. Honourable Sayifwanda brought this assertion to life when she commended the hardwork of Honourable Professor Luo stating that, “if you look at Honourable Professor Luo who is also chairperson for the Female Parliamentarian Caucus when she is debating in parliament, who can say she is a woman?”

Having established that there is a link between the numeric presence of women in party leadership positions and their numeric presence in elected as well as appointed offices of the government, gender equity measures should be addressed right within the party so that women can equally hold positions of power. All the sampled political parties confessed that the women outnumber the men in terms of party membership but are outnumbered in terms of party leadership. Therefore, for the sake of ‘justice, interest, critical mass, symbolic and most importantly, democracy’ as explained under Rationale; they should be elected to positions of power. This also goes to all the women in politics that they should never shun positions of power to be relegated to mere party members who receive the already made policies for implementation, they should never accept to be led but instead rise up to the challenge and lead.

Political accountability is the requirement for representatives and representative organizations to be responsible for their decisions and mandates as defined by their positions. It also includes representatives and leaders listening to and, when appropriate, acting upon criticisms, requirements and demands of their publics, constituencies or the electorate. It should be noted that sixteen years ago, the Government of Zambia made a commitment when adopting the National Gender Policy in 2000 that, “government will ensure equitable representation of women in decision making at all levels.” However, it is sixteen years now and women of Zambia are still waiting for government to take the lead. Does it mean that the people of Zambia (electorates) do not make their grievances heard or that they do but the Government of Zambia does not listen? If the latter is the case, then there is lack of political accountability.

Concerning political accountability, the government of Zambia in 2003 constituted the Electoral Reform Technical Committee (ERTC) which had a section in its report on ‘Gender and the Electoral Process.’ Six women and nineteen men sat on this committee appointed from various

sectors of society. Even though the chairperson for this committee was a woman, the composition of this committee did not meet the 30% SADC declaration on women representation. The six women on the committee only translated to 24%. The terms of reference of the ERTC were among others to analyse and examine legislation with regard to the electoral process and electoral system and to examine the Electoral Code of Conduct.

The 2003 report recommended that Zambia should adopt the Mixed Member Proportional Representation System (MMPR) which combines the First Past the Post (FPTP) and the Proportional Representation which was a good move to enhance representation of women in parliament. Under these systems, it was proposed to have 200 Members of parliament that is 160 Constituency based Members of Parliament and forty nominated by various political parties. In Proportional Representation, Members of Parliament will be drawn from party lists which will consist of thirty-five women; three differently disable persons and two youths. This is not the only ideal way of reaching representation, but it was going to be a step in the right direction for a start because at least it was going to help in levelling the political field for both men and women as explained by Delys (2014 p. 9),

Many studies showed that much more women are being elected under proportional party lists, in contrast to Majoritarian Single-Member Constituencies. The Proportional Representation system (PR) allows voters to cast their votes by party and in some cases by individual as well. The seats in parliament are distributed based on the votes each party receives. Such system provides an incentive for parties to broaden their appeal by adding women to their party lists. The Majoritarian Single-Member System, in contrast, usually only allows for one candidate per district to be chosen.

Table 6: Elaborates why PR systems are better for women.

HIGHER DISTRICT MAGNITUDES	CONTAGION
Has higher number of seats per district (higher district magnitude)	Party lists present greater opportunities to nominate women
Party can expect to win several seats in each district (higher party magnitude)	Greater capacity to promote women when challenged by another party (contagion)
Party more likely to balance ticket by including women (balancing)	Party does not have to pay the cost of denying a slot to an incumbent or male candidate in order to nominate a woman

Why PR systems are better for women (Source: International IDEA)

The ERTC report was under discussion at the National Constitutional Conference up until 4th January, 2016 when the amended constitution was finally signed. Unfortunately enough could not pass.

The conclusion therefore was that, the ruling party with majority MPs deliberately left this clause out for reasons we cannot advance yet. This is based on the responses that all the three opposition political parties under study (UPND, FDD and Rainbow party) and the Zambia National Women's Lobby gave and expressed disappointment over. If there was a recommendation from the constituted ERTC that saw it fit to change the electoral system and sitting allowances were spent on that committee why then should parliament rule out such an important clause that was carefully thought through and submitted to the draft constitution. It is a wonder how government can claim that the Constitution reflects the will of the people when clearly what was concluded was not a reflection of that.

When asked to account for the omission of the Mixed Member Proportional Representation clause in the newly amended Constitution of Zambia, Professor Honourable Luo had this to say;

The article on Proportional Representation was not talking much about female political representation rather it was a bit fraud in that it was providing for safe spaces by getting parties to start appointing people so even parties that are in essence not big parties, will be claiming for this party list. But what is important is the fact that we have been able to pass an article talking about 50/50 representation.

It was clear during the focus group discussion that the caucus did not advocate for Mixed Member Proportional Representation clause and were content with the clause in Chapter V, Article 45 (d) stating 'gender equity in the National Assembly or local council' of the 2016 amended Constitution without even questioning what mechanism was going to be used to reach the stated gender equity. Another point that came out from the discussion was that implementing the Mixed Member Proportional Representation was going to be impossible because Zambia has the Constituency Electoral system. From the recommendations of ERTC and as explained above it was meant to be a mixture of First Past the Post and Proportional Representation. This was in no way going to be impossible but rather it was going to be a workable system as well as a mechanism for increasing female political representation in Zambia, because we are talking about 35 seats already reserved for women, far above the current number for female parliamentarians. Lack of sensitization on this clause was evident therefore.

‘When one woman is a leader, politics change her. When more women are leaders, they change politics and policies.’ When more women become leaders, female political representation, political participation, political leadership and political accountability will be assured in Zambia. Women should not despair but stand firm and acquire assertiveness, self esteem and the desire to venture into politics so that together they can change politics as well as policies.

The chapter as discussed above forms the core of the research. Research findings have been presented and discussed based on their research objectives as stated in the introductory remarks of this chapter. The next chapter will conclude and make recommendations of the research.

CHAPTER FIVE

This chapter will give the conclusion to the findings of the study and make recommendations with regards to the findings.

5.0 CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

5.1 Conclusion

Female political representation in Zambia stands at 18% far below the AU and SADC gender protocol of 50%. This low representation of women in parliament is an indication of poor policies either by the government or political parties. With regards to objective one on political parties' measures to promote female political representation, parties lack strategies on how to inspire women to join politics. All the four political parties basically have one strategy of instituting women's wing which in essence relegates women to mere followers of men. The affirmative actions reported to have been put in place by party officials ahead of 2016 General elections were also not implemented indicating non commitment to increasing female political representation. Lack of political will on female political representation is also evident as government failed to implement the Mixed Member Proportional Representation that could have enhanced female political representation in Zambia.

The criterion used by political parties in selecting candidates for parliamentary elections is another factor that is attributed to low female political representation in Zambia. While the Constitution of Zambia is clear on who qualifies to be elected as Member of Parliament regardless being male or female, political parties have more confidence in men as sellable candidates than women. The patriarchal system which has also extended its influence even in political parties leave women with the option of supporting men as they lead as opposed to aspiring for political office. Most women who have tried to challenge the status quo have ended up being blocked before reaching the National Election Committee (NEC) since emphasis is put on beginning from wards. The process of adoption has therefore done more harm than good to women politicians who receive resistance even from fellow women, the term commonly known as 'pull her down syndrome'. It is true that women do not offer themselves up for adoption as much as men do because the political environment is hostile and even more hostile for a woman and this discourages other women from attempting to join active politics. The few women who have made it to the parliament have done so with a lot of courage and assertiveness.

Women constitute the largest proportion of party membership in all the sampled political parties but are led by the minority men. Poor female party leadership is a direct translation of poor female political representation in the National Assembly. Most women have never had the opportunity to stand in national elections because their elections end at the adoption process. This is however different for women in the party leadership with the exposure and influence they enjoy which guarantee them automatic adoption for parliamentary election should they choose to stand. The research has therefore established a link between the presence of women in party leadership positions and their numeric presence both in appointed and elected offices of the government.

In conclusion, women face cultural, social, economical and political barriers to political office and therefore quotas and reserved seats are one clear affirmative action that could help women beyond these barriers to increase female political representation in Zambia.

5.2 Recommendations

This section presents the recommendations based on the research findings. The pattern of writing is that brief explanations leading to recommendations have been given in paragraph form.

5.2.1 Research Recommendations

Zambia does not have a political party commission but there is an Inter- party dialogue which according to research is not doing much as it does not necessarily regulate the functioning of parties; however the spirit was in that direction but it has not achieved that yet. Its performance has been up to that challenge because the party in power does not adhere to its policies. Besides the Inter-party dialogue is the Electoral Commission of Zambia which is tasked with regulating party differences. However, its integrity can not go without being questioned considering that the Chairperson is appointed by the President. This raises the question of impartiality on the delivery of expectations by those in the opposition and the general populous.

- There is need therefore to establish a political party commission that will be responsible for regulating the role and functioning of political parties in Zambia, including setting and monitoring standards for internal democracy, transparency and inclusivity in the parties. These standards could then include *specific gender considerations such as quotas and ideology in party structures and operations*. This would comprise measures that ensure women candidates get a fair share of the party nominations; establishing rules-of-the-game for campaign financing that also supports the less well-off candidates; and ensuring a broader party commitment to support aspiring female candidates.

- Political parties need to have an ideology that is gender sensitive; this would help in doing away with gender inequality as is the case with the Scandinavian countries that have instituted party ideologies as part of the institutional factors in increasing female political representation.
- Gender sensitive political party structures ensure increased female political representation. According to Wikipedia, (2016), “In Canada, there is evidence that female politicians face gender stigma from male members of the political parties to which they belong which can undermine the ability of women to reach or maintain leadership roles.” For this reason therefore, the study recommends for male politicians to be gender sensitive and supportive to women politicians, because we have had observed how women politicians are attacked by male politician and the media even here in Zambia, not just in Canada.
- There is need for political parties to be sensitized and schooled into the modern and important concepts of politics. If people should advocate for certain policies, there is need that they first understand them, know how they work and their significance. Political education is therefore recommended.
- The adoption of Reserved Seats in Zambia would help nomination committees that lack confidence in women as winning candidates.
- From the voting trend and the focus group discussion with voters from three constituencies, it is clear that people vote on partisan lines therefore, there is no need for political parties to be talking about sellable candidates with a huge financial muscle to mount for themselves and the president huge campaigns instead they should be able to adopt as many women as possible especially by the bigger and popular political parties to ensure the attainment of gender equality in the National Assembly. There is need for political parties to begin motivating women not to just be good recruiters and mobilizers but to also get engaged into the actual planning of recruitment activities by holding decision making positions in these parties. Women also need to stand up and become more actively involved in politics, aspire for decision making positions and above all support each other as pointed out by His Excellency Edgar Changwa Lungu.
- Mutume (2004) quotes the speaker of the South African Parliament who said, “In any society and situation, it is those most affected who must bring about change. Those who are privileged benefit, even unconsciously from a system that marginalizes others; hence they cannot be depended upon to make the changes that will remove their privileged status quo.” It is therefore up to women because men cannot be relied upon to improve

the low female political representation in Zambia. In line with this, the Parliamentary Caucus for Women need to start working together along non-partisan lines to advance women's natural concerns and status quo since party identities play a bigger role in dividing women's loyalties as Kurebwa (2015) has agreed. Studies by Krook (2004 & 2007) have established the importance of women in mobilizing for the adoption of gender quotas to increase women's representation stating that, "even in cases where men elites are ultimately responsible for decision to establish quotas, this effort is never without the prior mobilization of women," (Krook, 2007, p. 370). If possible the caucus should advocate for the Mixed Member Proportional Representation Constitutional Clause to be revisited as promised by UPND and FDD Parties if they won the 2016 tripartite elections.

- The research proposes legislative, administrative and supportive measures and calls on the governments to monitor and evaluate the achieved progress in balanced participation. There is also need for the adoption of monitoring of gender equality policies (include the protection of equal civil and political rights, the revision of legislation), and the adoption of specific consultation methods to discover the views and needs of both women and men (gender segregated statistic) on how to improve the participation of women and men in the decision-making positions. Indicators must be drawn to monitor the progress.
- Constitutional provisions can enhance the legitimacy of rights, claims and act as an 'enabling framework' in facilitating legal change. However, a gender-sensitive constitution must analyze the entire document from a gender perspective, rather than include a narrow set of 'women's issues'. Today we have the new Zambian Constitution with a narrow clause on gender equity. With his Excellency Edgar Changwa Lungu, we have witnessed the appointment of the first ever female Vice President and running mate, it is my recommendation that further research be carried out to find out how the Constitutional gender equity is going to be attained in this government.

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7.0 APPENDICES

7.1 FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION FOR PARLIAMENTARY CAUCUS FOR WOMEN

Experience Theme

- 1) What are your experiences as Members of Parliament with regards to being nominated and elected?
- 2) What impact do you have on policies?

Reserved seats and quota system

- 3) What would be your comment on the adoption of reserved seats and party quotas in Zambia?

Political Will

- 4) Considering all the efforts and recommendations that have been put in place by Non-Governmental Organisations especially the Zambia National Women's Lobby Group and the ratified declarations by the government with regards to the female political representation, the figures are still far from gender equality, can we attribute this to lack of political will?

7.2 FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION FOR VOTERS

- 1) General Politics of the Country
- 2) Voting behavior of the Constituency
- 3) Gender preferences when voting and why

7.3 INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR THE ELECTION COMMITTEE

- 1) What requirements are needed for one to be nominated as parliamentary candidates?
 - educational background
 - political experience
 - financial back up (could it be same as for men)
 - personal background
 - family orientation
- 2) Is gender taken into consideration? If yes what mechanism is used to implement this?
- 3) How do you look at female candidates? Do you have full confidence in them that they will compete and win the elections?
 - may you assist me with statistics of women contesting/ selected and elected from the 2011 tripartite and by- elections to date.

- 4) Is your party concerned about the under representation of women in parliament? If yes what is being done about it?
- 5) In your opinion, why are so few women nominated and elected to parliament?
- 6) How can Zambia as a democratic nation benefit from a gender balanced parliament?
- 7) What is your comment on reserved seats? Do you think they should apply in Zambia?
- 8) Do you think there must be laws legislated to compel political parties to consider gender equality in nominating parliamentary candidates in form of political party quotas in Zambia?
 - Might your party introduce a quota system?
- 9) The constitution of Zambia Article 68 (1) allows for the president to nominate 8 parliamentarians, would you advise only or the majority women are nominated to help close the gender gap in terms of reserved seats?
- 10) In your opinion, would you consider the Zambian government to be silent on women representation in parliament?
- 11) The National Assembly Bill (N.A.B.) 17 of the Constitution of Zambia, as by July, 2015 under article 47 had the Mixed Member Proportional Representation kind of electoral system as submitted by the Electoral Reform Technical Committee but could not pass in the final constitution. Was this article going to help political parties implement gender equality in the adoption of parliamentary candidates?

THANK YOU FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION.

7.4 INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR THE PARTY OFFICIALS

- 1) When was the party formed?
- 2) On what principles was the party formed?
- 3) Who are the most paid up membership of the party, females or males?
 - May you kindly assist me with statistics?
- 4) In comparison between male and female party members who are the most active members?
- 5) What contributions do male and female party members make towards the growth and prosperity of the party?
- 6) In relation to decision making, the objective of the Gender policy is to achieve equality and equity in decision making at all levels in all spheres. The strategies to achieve this include:
 - *Adopt and implement special measures to put more women into decision making positions and,*
 - *Facilitate women's participation in politics*
- a) What has been done by your party to promote gender equality in decision making positions?
- b) Does the political party facilitate women's participation in politics? If yes, in what ways?
- 7) How many women and men does the National Party leadership consist of?
- 8) Is there a link between the presence of women in party leadership positions and their numeric presence both in elected and appointed offices of the government? – Do women in party leadership stand a high chance to be nominated for elections? And in the long run, do women in these leadership positions encourage other women's active involvement and participation in political parties?
- 9) What can be said about reserved seats as an individual and as a party?
- 10) The path of women to political office is through an enabling political environment created by a gender sensitive political party structure. Considering the fact that female political representation is far below 30% SADC declarations, the blame therefore would be on political parties for failing to implement the gender quota. What are the reasons for failing to do so?
 - Has your party welcomed and accepted the 30% now 50 % SADC declaration?
 - If not, why? And if yes what is being done about it?

- 11) Is there a political party commission in Zambia? If yes, does it regulate the role and functioning of the political parties in Zambia, including setting and monitoring standards for internal democracy, transparency and inclusivity in these parties?
- How does your party measure up the commission's performance?
- 12) What are your views on political party quota adoption in Zambia?

7.5 INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR THE WOMEN'S LOBBY AND MINISTRY OF GENDER

- 1) Do you think the National Gender Policy has adequately addressed the issue of women in politics and decision making?
- 2) How is government implementing the issues relating to women in politics and decision making in the National Gender Policy?
- 3) Despite Zambia being a signatory to the 50% AU and 30 % SADC declarations on women representation in parliament, apart from the mention of ensuring gender equity in the National Assembly, there is no mention of a strategy to achieve this in the Zambian Constitution, what would be your observation and comment on this silence as the ministry/ organisation directly responsible with increased female representation?
- 4) Is the Ministry and the organisation planning, monitoring and evaluating that the government is undertaking the pledged strategies in increasing female political representation?
- 5) What is your opinion on the adoption of reserved seats in Zambia?
- 6) Would you recommend that president nominates women as the majority to help close the gender gap?
- 7) What are some of the contributions and challenges faced in the previous elections in trying to promote female representation in legislature? And learning from the previous elections what would be devised to overcome the challenges?
- 8) It is the objective of women's lobby and the Ministry of Gender to increase female representation in legislature, and if political parties are the sole gate keepers to the political office, then would it make an impact to focus on increasing more women in these political parties as an entry point to the legislature?
- 9) Considering all the efforts and recommendations that have been put in place by Non-Governmental Organisations especially the Zambia National Women's Lobby Group and the ratified declarations by the government with regards to the female political representation, the figures are still far from gender equality, can we attribute this to lack of political will?
- 10) Can you comment on the gender quota adoption in Zambia?

7.6 Document Review Guide

- 1) The current situation in Zambia on gender equality in both elected and appointed offices of the government.
- 2) What the National Gender Policy says about female political representation.
- 3) Gender sensitivity of political parties' constitutions.

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