Zambia Council for Social Development

Promoting CSO Vibrancy and Independence

GENDER AUDIT REPORT

HIGHLIGHTING PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN GOVERNANCE AND ELECTIONS INFORMATION WITH A FOCUS ON FIVE POLITICAL PARTIES IN ZAMBIA

May 2021

(Study supported by The Carter Center)



ABSTRACT

This report contains findings of a gender audit commissioned by the Zambia Council for Social Development (ZCSD) and undertaken between January and April 2021. The report presents a detailed exploration of the gender equality situation of five political parties in Zambia.

Zambia continues to lag behind on its national, regional and international gender quality obligations. This is despite the positive and progressive policy achievements that Zambia has adopted starting from a national constitution that acknowledges the need for gender equality, protocols under the SADC, African Union and United Nations under provisions such as the International Covenant of Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), SADC Gender Protocol and the African Charter on People and Human Rights.

This study sought to understand why this is so and provides recommendations for addressing this continued disparity.

Leah D Mitaba
Executive Director
Zambia Council For Social Development

CONTENTS

Acronyms 3
Executive Summar 4

Introduction 12
- Why focus on political parties 13
- Why promote women's political participation and representation 14
- Structure of this report 15

Methodology 17
- Document Review 17
- Semi-structured Questionnaire 17
- In-Depth Interviews (IDIs 18
- Gender Audit Framework 18
- Key Gender Audit Questions 19
- Study Limitations 20

Chapter 1: National Framework for Promoting Gender equality provisions in Political Parties 21

Chapter 2: Participation 23
- Gender of Party Leadership over time 23
- Women in elected position 23
- Membership procedures and recruitment of women 26

Chapter 3: Access and Support 28
- Nominations, Appointments and Selection Body 28
- Special measures and Quotas 29
- Women's wing 31

Chapter 4: Internal Policies 33
- Gender equality as a value or principle in Key Party Documents 33
- Working Environment 34
- Capacity Building 34
- Gender Action Plan 35

Chapter 5: Promoting Gender Equality 37
- Party Messaging 37
- Leadership Commitment 37
- Party initiatives in promotion of and / or defence of gender 38
- Use of Gender Sensitive Language 38
- Cooperation with strategic partners 40

Conclusions and recommendations 41
- Key conclusions 41
- Recommendations 43

ACRONYMS

AAZ	Action Aid Zambia
CEDAW	Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
COVID	Corona Virus Disease
ECZ	Electoral Commission of Zambia
FAWEZA	Forum for African Women Educationalists of Zambia
FDD	Forum for Democracy and Development
GBV	Gender Based Violence
GEEA	Gender Equity and Equality Act
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
ICESCR	International Covenant on Economic Social and Cultural Rights
IDIs	In-Depth Interviews
ISPA	Institute for Social Policy in Africa
MISA	Media Institute for Southern Africa
MMD	Movement For National Development
MPs	Members Of Parliament
NDC	National Democratic Congress
NDI	National Democratic Institute.
NEC	National Executive Committee.
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NGOCC	Non-Governmental Organisations Coordinating Council
ODIHR	Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PF	Patriotic Front
SADC	Southern Africa Development Community
SG	Secretary General
TCC	The Carter Centre
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UPND	United Party for National Development
WILSA	Women in Law in Southern Africa
ZCSD	Zambia Council For Social Development
ZNWL	Zambia National Women's Lobby

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The gender audit analysed party structures, documents and procedures to try and establish the extent to which political parties in Zambia are making explicit commitments to promote gender equality and the equal participation and representation of men and women in politics.

Among the main indicators of a party's commitment to gender equality are the number of women in its leadership structures, the initiatives it undertakes to increase the presence and influence of women in different spheres of political decision-making, and the degree to which it pursues gender equality initiatives in its policy proposals and political activities (Sacchet, 2005)[1].

Undertaking this audit opens up a conversation around the role of women in political parties and the systemic and structural issues that keep women from participating in political parties or where women participate meaningfully, reveal good practice examples that enable women's participation in partisan politics.

Methodology

The audit focused on key party documents including constitutions, manifestos and strategic documents and interviews with the parties to analyse the extent to which the party culture, structures and processes were gender sensitive. Party documents were accessed through the parties' secretariats or offices, via elected members of the political parties, national electoral management bodies and political parties' websites and the National Assembly Website where available. However, the access to and availability of political parties' policy documents varied from party to party. Where available, party documents were sourced from the secretariats or offices of the parties, via delegated members of the political parties, by the Party Secretary Generals. The main methods used to collect data included document analysis, use of semi-structured questionnaires and in-depth interviews.

Gender Audit Framework

The ODIHR Gender Audit for political parties formed the primary framework to undertake the Gender Audit. It was selected for its rigour in addressing internal political party functions, structures, processes and barriers to gender equality. The framework was considered to be best because of its specific design for use by political parties and the opportunity to provide you comparable results across different users of the tool as a benchmark for own performance or internal party introspection. The methodology also promotes awareness of gender at the party level as well as it leads to the identification and implementation of innovative measures or practices and eventually result in achievement of the ultimate gender equality objective.

Overarching components to understanding gender within the political parties included individual level focus, system level focus, organizational level focus and enabling environment level focus.

The results produced from undertaking the gender audit support political parties in identifying their strengths and areas of development as well as provide good practices to enhance gender equality. Typically, they serve as a road-map for development of gender equality within the party. ODIHR developed the comprehensive gender audit methodology for political parties to increase women's political participation. Although their framework was specific to OSCE (Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe) countries, it was judged to provide a useful framework for this audit of Zambian Political parties.

Study Limitations

The study limitations included varying access to and availability of political parties' policy documents, timing of the data collection which coincided with a period of by-elections, COVID-19 regulations which restricted movement and gathering size and limitations in getting access to women political party members.

Chapter 1: National Framework for Promoting Gender equality provisions in Political Parties

Zambia's constitutional provisions and recent amendments related to gender equality have tried to increase both formal and substantive equality between women and men. Explicit provisions for gender equality in political life, are contained in article 45 of the constitution which articulates issues of fair representation and gender equity in the electoral system. One of the most progressive outcomes, of the amended constitution, for gender equity is the establishment of the Gender Equity and Equality Commission provided for in article 231 of the constitution. Article 60 of the constitution, which covers political parties, however, fails to capitalize on gender equality. The article remains

1 Sacchet T, 2005, *Political Parties: When do they work for Women?* United Nations, Retrieved from https://www.un.org/women-watch/daw/egm/eql-men/docs/EP.10_rev.pdf

silent on gender representation in political parties.

The enacted 2015 Gender Equity and Equality Act (GEEA) seeks to domesticate some of the women's rights and gender provisions in regional, continental and international instruments to which Zambia is party.

As far as international conventions, Zambia has ratified most of the International Conventions and human rights instruments, generally without reservations. Some of the key conventions include the Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR)

Zambia has a broad collection of laws enshrining gender equality, from the 2011 Act against Gender Based Violence (GBV) to the Gender Equity and Equality Rights Bill have been enacted. However, the dual structure of statutory law and customary law could stifle these ambitions. Under Zambia's constitution (Article 23) statutory (national) law and customary (traditional/ local) law are given equal primacy. The dual structure of statutory law and customary law, has perpetuated gender inequality.

The National Gender Policy has a clear objective to increase the participation of women in decision making at all levels of development in the public and private sectors. However, political parties still need to take up affirmative action measures to ensure that more women are incorporated at all levels of political party decision making levels and adopted in various disciplines.

Chapter 2: Participation

Gender of Party Leadership over Time

In relation to the five parties in the audit, the female leadership result was 20 percent with one out of the five parties in the audit having a female party president.

Women in Elected Positions

Of the total women parliamentarians, only the parties in the audit actually had female candidates with the PF having the highest number of female parliamentarians at 15, followed by the UPND at 9 and one each for the FDD and MMD.

An interesting picture emerges when you consider proportionality as almost consistently the proportion of female parliamentarians representing the parties is in the 16 percent region, for parties with multiple Members of Parliament, with the PF and MMD female parliamentarians being 16.67 percent of the total party MPs, while the UPND has 16.36, only marginally lower than the PF and the MMD. The female led party's sole MP is female while the male led party sole MP is male.

For the independent MPs, the picture is not too different although the proportion of female MPs is a percentage point lower than Party affiliated MPs (female independent MPs making up 15.38 percent of the total number of independent MPs).

In terms of intra-party gender representation, the MMD had the highest number of women in leadership in the highest decision making organ of the party at 67 percent, followed by both the UPND and the FDD at 40 percent and lastly the NDC at 20 percent.

Membership Procedures and Recruitment of Women

All the parties in the audit had publicly accessible membership procedures. However, there were a number of weaknesses identified in how these were communicated and made available to the public.

Regarding a recruitment strategy for women, parties were at different levels. The UPND did have a recruitment strategy for women candidates and youth with a 20 percent deduction in nomination fees for female candidates in the women's wing of the party.

While three out of the four parties did not have written strategies for recruitment of women, it was evident that there was some effort to recruit women with the MMD using a quota system to recruit more women while the FDD did not have a recruitment strategy for women candidates at any level, although they indicated intention to develop a recruitment strategy. For the NDC, the party did not have a recruitment strategy for women essentially because the party felt that they could not establish regulations prioritizing female participation, because adoption and party leadership selection criteria was based on capability and marketability of the individual.

The low level of institutionalized gender-responsive measures to increase entry into and access to leadership positions by women in political parties is very telling of parties' commitment to greater gender equality in political parties.

Chapter 3 - Access and Support

Nominations, Appointments and Selection Body

Political parties practice different placement rules, spoken or written, that can reinforce patriarchy in the parties. Proactively providing for women through supportive nomination and appointment rules can facilitate women's candidacy more equally in "winnable" positions.

In the UPND, nomination and appointment to leadership structures is done by a dedicated party body using written rules in the party constitution. The written nomination and appointment rules were seen to be exclusionary to women, as the qualification requirements favoured men more than it did women.

For the FDD too, members were nominated or appointed to the leadership structures of the party by a dedicated party body according to written rules at all party levels. If there was a vacancy, then an appointment was made by the party National Secretariat. For the NDC, the picture was more concerning particularly because although the party did have a dedicated party body in charge of selection, the nomination and appointment decisions of the NDC leaders were currently done solely by men. This was the case primarily because nomination and appointment powers had been vested in the provincial coordinators all of whom were men. In the MMD nomination or adoption to leadership positions is governed by written rules, made mandatory by the Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ).

Special Measures and Quotas

Gender-specific quotas aimed at ensuring equality in partisan politics are a fundamental support mechanism that increase the participation of under-represented genders within political parties and in their opportunity to seek public office.

The UPND had a quota system to ensure equal participation of women and men in the party's leadership structures. Measures included the deliberate placement of women in leadership and an alternating system between male and female. Similarly, the FDD had a quota system in place to ensure equal participation of women and men in the party's leadership structures. Special measures included a party policy alternate genders in leadership positions. Also, the party had ensured that women were free to contest for any party position. In practice, the party had both a policy and a culture that backed any woman that voluntarily put themselves up for nomination and was ready to contest. The NDC indicated a bias towards merit-based placement at the expense of gender equality saying that despite the party's belief and support for gender equality, it had not established mandatory quotas for female positions or participation, because the party believed that leadership roles and positions must be filled on merit. The MMD reiterated the introduction of the quota system alluded to previously, which sets aside a 30 percent quota in both the main body and youth committee for women. Each of the organs including the two wings or structures of the party provide for the 30 percent allocation to women. The main gap identified with the MMD was the lack of quota/s for adoption of women in winnable positions.

Women's Wing

All four parties have formally established women's and youth wing at national and sub-national level. All four parties, except the NDCs had the women's wings' vote in the party's highest decision-making body. However, in terms of candidate selection procedures, only the UPND and the FDD women's wings were involved.

Chapter 4 - Internal Policies

Gender equality as a Value or Principle in Key Party Documents[2]

On the question[3] of gender equality being a value or principle in party document, the UPND reported that party documents did regard gender equality as a central value and principle in all its key party documents. The party reported that both the party manifesto and the party constitution recognised gender equality as central values and principles for the party.

Similarly, the FDD party documents, both the party manifesto and the party constitution, did champion gender equality and have always included gender equality as a value or principle. For the NDC, existing internal policies did espouse gender equality as a key value and principle and also had gone a gender pillar and a gender policy to ensure that gender equality was well mainstreamed in the party. Lastly, the MMD had in place a gender policy which demonstrated the party's regard for gender equality as a fundamental value and principle.

Working Environment

In terms of ensuring the working environment for the party was conducive to both women and men, the UPND measures included condemning and sanctioning sexual harassment and a 50/50 representation policy that promoted gender and disability inclusiveness. The FDD had introduced a code of conduct containing rules that regulated the conduct of the party members. The MMD, had a zero tolerance to sexual harassment, and gender based violence or abuse, cemented in their gender equality and sensitivity regulations.

Capacity Building

For capacity building, the different parties in this audit reported a number of initiatives put in place to build the capacity of members and activists in order to achieve gender equality within the parties.

The UPND's range of capacity building efforts included holding of NGO sponsored workshops, candidate skills development training, also aimed at building awareness on gender equality issues; and specifically targeted capacity building and mentoring programmes for female candidates. The FDD reported holding lectures and seminars to build capacities for party members and

2 Please refer to the annex for details of party documents.

3

activists. NGO sponsored workshops were another way in which the party built the capacity of its members in gender equality. The NDC had instituted capacity building programmes for party members and had developed a capacity building policy with the intention of ensuring members deliberately employed a gender lens in their design/development of essential party documents, programs, etc. The MMD also had a number of capacity building programs that include raising gender sensitivity. Some of these included the already existing pre-membership leadership education class as well as the political school called the New Hope institute, that the party was in the process of opening.

Gender Action Plans

The importance of Gender Action Plans is that they help give a scheduled pathway for rectifying traditional gender inequalities by providing guidance on gender mainstreaming. The audit found that none of the parties in the audit had gender action plans although the UPND and the FDD had strategic documents aiming to institutionalize gender equality in the party. The MMD were in the process of completing their 5-year strategic plan that would address empowerment of party members and protection measures against gender based violence. The NDC acknowledged the lack of a deliberate Gender Action Plan or other strategic document for mainstreaming gender equality in the party as a major gap. The party attributed this lack of an officially endorsed document to their infancy.

Chapter 5 – Promoting Gender Equality

Party Messaging

This area of enquiry focused on specific gender equality and women's empowerment messages that were included in the party's electoral platform in past elections.

The UPND pointed to the ten-point plan which was used in the previous general election campaign. Central to the ten-point plan was women's economic empowerment messaging. The women specific issues that the party championed included land ownership by women as one way to foster their economic empowerment.

For the FDD, it did not appear that they did have a strong gender equality message as this was not made explicit during the audit. This may be due to the party being run by the only female president in the last general election and therefore letting that symbolise the importance of gender equality in politics. However, the message of women's political participation was paramount in their communication on different platforms that they accessed.

The NDC having been a recently formed party did not have many examples of how they had crafted specific messaging. However, they did report having women economic empowerment and gender equality in leadership as some of the messaging they had championed and carried in different engagements and in by-elections.

The MMD pointed out that in crafting their gender equality messaging, they were only translating their gender policy through some practical efforts. According to the party, they were strong proponents of the initiative to establish women's and youth banks.

Leadership Commitment

Under leadership commitment, the audit sought to understand whether the party leadership was seen as promoting gender equality as a party value or principle.

All the parties in the enquiry pointed out that the party leadership did show commitment to gender equality and this was reflected in the decisions made to establish women's wings in the parties, including gender in key party documents and ensuring their inclusion in decision making spaces and positions in the parties using different means. Examples such as the party leaderships' decision to develop a gender policy were a recurring example and showed how the party leadership was demonstrating commitment to increasing women's participation and representation in the parties and in decision-making positions.

Party Initiatives in Promotion of and/or Defence of Gender

In terms of initiatives taken by the party to promote gender equality, the enquiry, firstly, delved into the commemoration of symbolic days, such as International Women's Day (8 March) or take part in the 16 Days of Activism against Violence campaign (25 November – 10 December). Other than that, questions of whether the party organised public events, such as debate, rallies, round tables or lectures, to promote women's rights and/or gender equality and if and how the party had publicly reacted to sexist remarks, gender-based threats directed online or offline at women party members previously formed the second part of the enquiry on party initiatives.

Overall, all the parties in the audit reported commemorating and celebrating symbolic days in recognition of gender and this was both the International Women's Day (8 March) and the 16 Days of Activism against Violence campaign on an annual basis. Similarly, the confirmed holding of public events, such as debate, rallies, round tables or lectures, to promote women's rights and/or gender equality. However, none of the parties supplied any evidence or offered examples of their assertions.

Use of Gender Sensitive Language

Under gender sensitive language, the gender auditors sought to understand how gender-sensitive the party language was in both their written and spoken language. The audit found that the four parties that participated in the audit were using gender sensitive language. The only exception found was an exception of preference in the UPND where the female chairperson of the Women's Wing insisted on being addressed as Madam Chairman. However, the UPND constitution did contain gender sensitive language in reference to chairperson, for instance. Compared to the PF Constitution (the audit was unable to access the constitutions of the FDD, NDC and MMD) whose language demonstrated a lack of gender consciousness, referring to chair positions as chairman in their constitution.

Cooperation with Strategic Partners

The final part of this area of enquiry focused on cooperation with strategic partners and the nature of the cooperation. The enquiry sought to establish if the party cooperated with civil society organisations and with international organisations or foundations that work on gender equality and women's rights; whether such co-operation was ad-hoc or strategic.

For local NGOs, a total of seven were pointed out for their collaboration with the political parties. These included Action Aid, National Democratic Institute, MISA, National Women's Lobby, NGOCC, FAWEZA, WILSA. Of the local NGOs, the audit established that the party with the most collaborative relations with NGOs was the UPND.

Regarding international partners, the audit found that UPND and FDD each had collaboration with international partners. In this area, the FDD had the most number of international partners. NDC and MMD did not report collaboration with strategic international partners or foundations, with the MMD explicitly saying it did not have any co-operation with any international partners or foundations promoting human rights and gender equality.

Conclusions and Recommendations

Key Conclusions

Following the audit undertaken and the analysis performed, the following key conclusions have been drawn: Political parties in Zambia especially the four dominant ones; UPND, FDD, NDC, and the MMD all exhibited some level of gender awareness as was evident in their structures with the formation of the women's wing in all of the parties; the use of gender sensitive language in their documentation, the implementation of measures to promote women's access to elective positions and positions of leadership, putting in place of gender policies as well as cooperation with strategic partners for capacity building and other support to enhance gender equality in the parties.

However, the parties are still a long way from being fully gender transformative with nearly all four parties somewhat understanding the root causes of women's lack of participation and the barriers that keep them locked out of leadership without necessarily taking proactive steps to eliminate these barriers and propel women into positions of leadership within the parties and in elective positions.

Recommendations

The recommendations are presented to speak to the role that stakeholders should play in their respective capacities and portfolio in order to help enhance gender equality in political parties. The recommendations are classified as recommendations to political parties, to government, to civil society organisations and recommendations for future research.

Recommendations to political parties are focused on standardisation of founding and policy documents, repositioning and strengthening of women's wings within the political parties to make them more influential within the decision making corridors of the parties, making deliberate effort to "sell" women candidates outside the party and devolving women's participation in elective and Administrative party positions to the provincial, district and sub-district levels.

Recommendations to government centred on providing consistent, relevant and context responsive support to women based on research, establishing a Women in Politics fund administered by an independent organisation, autonomous of government, investing in consistent, regular and accessible capacity building for gender, targeting both women and men in politics, conducting gender analyses to establish and compile gender dis-aggregated data on party membership, participation, representation and influence and ensuring the application of the SADC 50/50 gender representation requirement in political parties from inception.

Recommendations to civil society organisations were predominantly about developing a systematic approach to providing this support to political parties as well as supporting the parties in developing Gender Action Plans for the efficient and full realisation of gender equality ambitions of the parties and the women in politics.

Recommendations for future research were mostly pushing for further exploration in the nuances within the gender dynamic such as examining inclusion of women in relation to their financial capacities, auditing women on women support in politics and disaggregated gender dynamics by age in order to understand the different circumstances of women in politics at different ages.

INTRODUCTION

The report herein contains the gender audit findings of five political parties in Zambia. The audit was commissioned by the Zambia Council for Social Development (ZCSD) with support from the Carter Centre. The focus of the audit was to establish the extent to which political parties in Zambia were Gender Sensitive and whether elective and administrative structures of the political parties were fully gender representative.

The gender audit analysed party structures, documents and procedures to try and establish the extent to which political parties in Zambia are making explicit commitments to promote gender equality and the equal participation and representation of men and women in politics. The basis for the audit is that Zambia has ascribed to key international normative and legal instruments such as the International Convention on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) among whose provisions is to see equitable representation of women and youth in political office.

Low levels of female political representation, in Zambia, are considered to undermine the quality of the country's democracy. Political parties are central to modern representative democracies, such as the one in Zambia, as they purport to represent the people. Other than that, they are the most common vehicle for accessing political authority and voice in governmental decision-making.

Ensuring genuine representation of the views, interests and needs of all citizens—both women and men—is crucial to the effective functioning of political parties and for their legitimacy and representativeness. As is widely acknowledged, the failure to include women and their perspectives in political decision making, weakens the legitimacy of democratically elected institutions and deprives women—half of the population of Zambia—of their right to participate effectively in the country's governance. As some studies have found, women's political participation in Zambia is thwarted by a range of historical, economic, socio-cultural and political factors along with specific factors in rural and urban areas such as long work hours, the informal economy and lack of family support. Without deliberate efforts to understand the systemic constraints and barriers to women's participation for both elective and appointive positions, the system, legal and policy frameworks will remain unchanged and the practice will continue to exclude women and youth from equal and meaningful participation in partisan politics.

Among the main indicators of a party's commitment to gender equality are the number of women in its leadership structures, the initiatives it undertakes to increase the presence and influence of women in different spheres of political decision-making, and the degree to which it pursues gender equality initiatives in its policy proposals and political activities (Sacchet, 2005)[4].

This understanding, is the basis upon which this Gender Audit was conceived. Undertaking this audit opens up a conversation around the role of women in political parties and the systemic and structural issues that keep women from participating in political parties or where women participate meaningfully, reveal good practice examples that enable women's participation in partisan politics.

The central question for the analysis was: Do political parties' policies, structures and procedures reflect their commitments to gender equality and women's representation and political empowerment? Political parties are the 'real gatekeepers' to women's access to

The primary data sources were five purposively selected political parties as follows:

Criteria for Selection	Party name	Justification
Major Parties	Patriotic Front (PF)	Current Ruling Party
	United Party for National Development (UPND)	Major Opposition Party
Female led	Forum for Democracy and Development (FDD)	A female led party that has participated in the general elections
Long standing	Movement for Multi Part Democracy (MMD)	Long standing and active in current politics
Emerging	National Democratic Congress (NDC)	Most visible emerging party (Using media activity as a gauge)

4 Sacchet T, 2005, *Political Parties: When do they work for Women?* United Nations, Retrieved from https://www.un.org/women-watch/daw/egm/eql-men/docs/EP.10_rev.pdf

positions of power and decision making (International IDEA, 2008)[5]. Creating an enabling environment for the meaningful participation and representation of both men and women in political parties, as institutions that can support democracy building, is therefore a democratic imperative.

The parties included in the analysis are the Patriotic Front, the United Party for National Development, National Democratic Congress, Movement for Multiparty Democracy and the Forum for Democracy and Development.

Outside the political parties, the audit covered institutions and documents that informed the legal and policy framework within which political parties operate. These included traditional authorities and civil society organisations.

Why Focus on Political Parties?

Over the past two decades, recognition of the centrality of political parties to the achievement of gender parity in politics and decision making has increased and is now widely acknowledged by gender equality advocates and policymakers. Furthermore, progress has been made in the articulation of international norms and global commitments to redress gender imbalances in politics and positions of power and decision making.

Comprehensive frameworks such as the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), the Beijing Declaration and Platform of Action, and the Millennium Development Goals (especially Goal 3)[6] as well as other instruments on civil and political rights express these global commitments. In Africa, these commitments are reinforced by the adoption of frameworks such as the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (2003) and the African Union Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance (2007). Given the importance of political parties as institutions as conduits for promoting gender equality in democracy building, political parties are increasingly becoming an integral part of national and international gender-responsive initiatives.

Therefore, the need for alignment between national and global commitments that countries have made on gender equality in politics, public leadership and decision making and commitments at the political party level cannot be overemphasized. It is at the political party level where access to political power, leadership and decision making typically begins. Since the adoption of the Beijing Declaration and Platform of Action in 1995, there has been a positive trend on the part of national, regional and international gender equality advocates to focus on political parties' performance in promoting gender equality and women's political empowerment.

At the international level, there is a general consensus that political parties cannot be neglected in the pursuit of healthy democracies. The role of political parties has long been essential to the functioning of modern representative democracy as they are seen to be among the key institutions for inclusive participation and accountable representation (International IDEA 2012)[7]. In general, people get involved in public life via political parties and support candidates and parties that reflect their views and interests.

While the debate over whether political parties make democracy more democratic continues, in most countries political parties are identified as instrumental in the recruitment, nomination and election of candidates for public office, socialisation of prospective political representatives and leaders, disseminating political information and exposing citizens to democratic politics (Kandawasvika-Nhundu R, 2013)[8].

Although it is widely accepted that in most countries political parties are central to representative democracy and to the process of democratisation, they are also perceived to be increasingly weak and have numerous imperfections in performing the functions that are essential to a healthy democracy. These include institutional, structural and ideological values and cultures which can cause parties to act in ways contrary to democracy. Specifically, political parties are challenged with regard to their performance on representative functions pertaining to the equal participation and representation of women and men in decision making. Given that political party systems are often defined as 'democratic' even when the female half of the population is substantially under-represented, this is an obvious contradiction—in almost all countries of the world, women continue to be under-represented at all levels of decision making, including within political parties.

Why Promote Women's Political Participation and Representation?

Across the world, women continue to encounter significant discrimination in fully exercising their right to participate and still face significant barriers to accessing positions of power at all levels of decision making, even though they constitute half of the world's population.

5 Kandawasvika-Nhundu R, 2008, *Political Parties in Africa through a Gender Lens,* International IDEA, Retrieved from *https://www.idea.int/sites/default/files/publications/political-parties-in-africa-through-a-gender-lens.pdf*

6 MDG number 3: 'Ensure healthy lives and promote well-being for all at all ages', sdgs.un.org/goals/goal3

7 International IDEA, 2012 International IDEA Strategy 2012–2017, Retrieved from Assistancehttps://www.idea.int/sites/default/files/reference_docs/International-IDEA-Strategy-2012-2017.pdf

8 Kandawasvika-Nhundu R, 2013, *Political Parties in Africa through a Gender Lens,* International IDEA, Retrieved from *https://www.idea.int/sites/default/files/publications/political-parties-in-africa-through-a-gender-lens.pdf*

Women are clearly entitled to participate and represent themselves in processes and institutions where decisions that affect their lives are made.

The under-representation of women is evident in the predominance of men among parliamentarians, cabinet ministers, members of the judiciary, local and regional authorities, heads of state and government and private sector executives. Since the adoption of the Beijing Platform of Action, some notable qualitative and quantitative progress towards increasing women's participation and representation has been made, especially at the legislative level, although this progress is slow and uneven across the regions of the world. There are significant barriers to women's participation in public and political life that stem from economic, social and cultural issues, as well as from negative stereotypes about women and entrenched gender roles. The public sphere has traditionally been a domain for men, who 'across virtually all cultures, are socialized to see politics as a legitimate sphere for them to act in' (Kandawasvika-Nhundu R, 2013)[9].

The principles of the right to equality and the prohibition of discrimination, which are the basis of gender equality and women's political participation and representation in politics and decision making, are enshrined in the United Nations Charter, the Preamble of which states that there is a need 'to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women'. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), which forms the basis of bills of rights included in many national constitutions, also enshrines the entitlement of all persons to non-discrimination, including on the basis of sex (Articles 1 and 2). Two instruments coming out of the UDHR, the 1966 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and the 1966 International Covenant on Economic Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) contain specific provisions on the right to equality between men and women in public and political life and the General Comments of their respective treaty-monitoring bodies have actively promoted women's participation in public and political life. In particular, the ICCPR states:

Every citizen shall have the right and the opportunity, without any of the distinctions mentioned in article 2 and without reasonable restrictions:

a) To take part in the conduct of public affairs, directly or through freely chosen representatives;

b) To vote and to be elected at genuine periodic elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret ballot, guaranteeing the free expression of the will of the electors;

c) To have access, on general terms of equality, to public service in his country (Article 25).

CEDAW is a comprehensive instrument to address women's human rights. By ratifying CEDAW, countries have an obligation to eradicate all forms of discrimination against women by adopting measures to respect, protect and fulfil all of the rights contained in CEDAW at the national level (Articles 1 and 2). The definition of discrimination contained in Article 1 of CEDAW encompasses any difference in treatment made on the basis of sex which intentionally or in practice places women in a disadvantaged position and impairs the full recognition of their rights in the public and private spheres. This prohibition of discrimination extends to domains that limit the full exercise of women's rights to participate in public and political life. Article 7 is particularly relevant to the rights of women in the field of political participation, including their right to be elected to public office, to fully participate in the public functions and service of their countries and the right to vote:

States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the political and public life of the country and, in particular, shall give women, on equal terms with men, the right:

a) To vote in all elections and public referendums and to be eligible for election to all public elected bodies;

b) To participate in the formulation of government policy and the implementation thereof and to hold public office and perform all public functions at all levels of government;

c) To participate in non-governmental organisations and associations concerned with the public and political life of the country (CEDAW, Article 7).

Structure of this Report

This report is divided into five main sections. Chapter 1 outlines the National Frameworks for promoting gender equality provisions in political parties. Chapter 2 details gender equality provisions in participation within political parties looking at leadership, elected positions membership and sex-disaggregated databases. Chapter 3 explores access and support covering aspects related to nominations, appointments and composition of selection bodies as well as special measures and quotas put in place to increase gender equality. Chapter 4 focuses on internal policies while Chapter 5 zeros in on promoting gender equality. Following these discussions, the report draws some pertinent conclusions drawn from the analysis, ending with a section on conclusions and recommendations.

9 Kandawasvika-Nhundu R, 2013, *Political Parties in Africa through a Gender Lens,* International IDEA, Retrieved from *https://www.idea.int/sites/default/files/publications/political-parties-in-africa-through-a-gender-lens.pdf*

METHODOLOGY

Between January 2021 and April 2021, ZCSD with support from the Carter Centre (TCC) commissioned a gender audit of political parties' in Zambia. The audit focused on key party documents including constitutions, manifestos and strategic documents and interviews with the parties to analyse the extent to which the party culture, structures and processes were gender sensitive. The primary method of data collection was interviews and literature review. Literature review involved a content analysis of the provisions contained in the above-mentioned political party documents. In most of the parties, interviews with political party representatives were also conducted with the exception of the Patriotic Front which did not respond to the request for interviews.

Party documents were accessed through the parties' secretariats or offices, via elected members of the political parties, national electoral management bodies and political parties' websites and the National Assembly Website where available. However, the access to and availability of political parties' policy documents varied from party to party.

Primarily, the methodology used to conduct the assignment was qualitative. In this regard, therefore, the instruments used to complete the audit included an extensive document review, and administration of a structured questionnaire with members of political parties. The techniques used are detailed below:

Document Review

The document review included a look at a selection of documents of the parties, media articles and social media posts on the parties' official social media pages. Where available, party documents were sourced from the secretariats or offices of the parties, via delegated members of the political parties, by the Party Secretary Generals. Other documents were sourced through web searches or accessed from websites of the political parties (for those with established domains). Searches on the Parliament website also offered helpful results while the Electoral Commission of Zambia did not provide useful party related results.

The document analysis focused on the following: party policy and procedures documents, party constitutions, manifestos, party rules and regulations, strategy documents on gender equality and measures on women's political empowerment (Gender Policies, Gender Action Plans, etc) and other relevant documentation.

Semi-Structured Questionnaire

A standard structured questionnaire developed under the broader ODIHR methodology for political parties was adapted for purposes of this assessment to make it semi structured and allow respondents to provide nuanced responses to the questions asked. The tool was administered to female and male political party members and leadership at national level to obtain their views on participation, Access and Support, Internal Policies and promotion of Gender Equality by and within political parties.

In-Depth Interviews (IDIs)

Utilising the structured questionnaire, the study team administered the questionnaire covering the core questions to guide the individual interviews. The semi-structured tool provided the opportunity to explore individual perceptions in a safe space and to gather data which complemented findings from the desk review.

Gender Audit Framework

The ODIHR Gender Audit for political parties formed the primary framework to undertake the Gender Audit. It was selected for its rigour in addressing internal political party functions, structures, processes and barriers to gender equality. The framework was considered to be best because of its specific design for use by political

	Available (A), Evidenced (E), Not Available (N/A), Unverified (U/V)						
	Policy and procedures documents	party constitutions	Party manifestos	party rules and regulations	Gender Policy	Gender Action Plan	Other
PF	(U/V)	(E)	(E)	(U/V)	(U/V)	(U/V)	(U/V)
UPND	(A)	(E)	(E)	(E)	(A)	(A)	(U/V)
FDD	(A)	(A)	(A)	(A)	(U/V)	(A)	(N/A)
NDC	(A)	(A)	(U/V)	(A)	(A)	(N/A)	(E)
MMD	(A)	(U/V)	(U/V)	(E)	(E)	(N/A)	(E)

parties and the opportunity to provide you comparable results across different users of the tool as a benchmark for own performance or internal party introspection. The methodology also promotes awareness of gender at the party level as well as it leads to the identification and implementation of innovative measures or practices and eventually result in achievement of the ultimate gender equality objective.

Overarching components to understanding gender within the political parties included individual level focus, system level focus, organizational level focus and enabling environment level focus. This is depicted in the figure below:

The results produced from undertaking the gender audit support political parties in identifying their strengths and areas of development as well as provide good practices to enhance gender equality. Typically, they serve as a road-map for development of gender equality within the party. ODIHR developed the comprehensive gender audit methodology for political parties to increase women's political participation. Although their framework was specific to OSCE (Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe) countries, it was judged to provide a useful framework



for this audit of Zambian Political parties.

Key Gender Audit Questions

The adapted data collection tools are annexed to this report. The tool contained a series of questions segmented in five sections including: (i) participation, (ii) access and support, (iii) internal policies, (iv) promoting Gender Equality and (v) partnerships. The table below covers the questions covered in the questionnaire:

PARTICIPATION	
• Percentage of women members in the party • Information about the party's member database: availability of information disaggregated by sex • Information on public availability and clarity of recruitment procedures for party members • Number of women party leaders • Percentage of women in the party's highest decision-making bodies.	• Number of women as presidential candidates • Percentage of women candidates in the most recent parliamentary elections • Percentage of women candidates in the most recent local elections • Percentage of women MPs from the party in the national parliament • Percentage of women from the party as mayors. • Availability of a strategy for recruitment of women candidates
ACCESS AND SUPPORT	**INTERNAL POLICIES**
• Procedures for appointment to the party's leadership structures • Percentage of women in the party's body responsible for the selection of party leaders • Availability of voluntary party quotas • Availability of a women's wing in the party and its role in the party • Availability of funds allocated for the women's wing from the party's budget • Information on the distribution of funds or in-kind support from a gender perspective	• Information on any reference to gender equality as a principle in the party's statute or declaration • Availability of measures promoting gender-sensitive working environment in the party • Party's capacity-building programmes from a gender perspective • Availability of a strategic gender equality document and its implementation
PROMOTING GENDER EQUALITY	**PARTNERSHIPS**
• Information on whether gender equality is an advocacy issue for the party • How the party marks symbolic dates (International Women's Day, 16 Days of Activism Against Gender-Based Violence, etc.) • Information on the organization of events promoting gender equality • Public reactions by the party to sexist remarks and gender-based threats • Use of gender-sensitive language in the party. • Attention given to gender-balanced representation of party officials in the media.	• Co-operation with women/human rights organisations • Co-operation with international organisations promoting human rights and/or gender equality and types of activities

Study Limitations

LIMITATION	MITIGATION MEASURE
Access to and availability of political parties' policy documents varied from party to party: *The consultants managed to get some of the literature for review but could not access some of the key documents to verify following some assertions by respondents.*	*The consultants sought assistance with this from ZCSD and used alternative means of accessing the documents including online searches and searches through other key websites.*
Inconvenient timing to conduct interviews: *The interview phase of the audit coincided with a busy period for political parties who were having by-elections and preparations for up-coming elections which forced the party SGs to only make available fewer members to participate in the interviews.*	*The consultants asked for a staggered period to complete the interviews although the parties were not forthcoming in providing more members as they believed the selected members were able to provide the audit sufficient information*
The COVID-19 regulations restricted movements and gathering size*: which caused minimal interaction with the respondents.*	*The consultants attempted the use of virtual engagement with little success. The interviews were thus carried out with fewer members of political parties considering their strategic roles in the political parties.*
Limitations in getting access to women political party members.	*The team was patient and flexible with time of setting up and conducting the interviews. However, it still remained difficult to interview women party members.*

Chapter 1

NATIONAL FRAMEWORK FOR PROMOTING GENDER EQUALITY PROVISIONS IN POLITICAL PARTIES

The principles and rights articulated in international and national legal instruments have a bearing on how the country realizes equality between women and men. The foundation for Zambia is the national constitution. In general terms, Zambia's constitutional provisions and recent amendments related to gender equality have tried to increase both formal and substantive equality between women and men. In the preamble, the constitution recognises the equal worth of men and women in their rights to participate, and freely determine and build a political, economic and social system of their own free choice.

Explicit provisions for gender equality in political life, are contained in article 45 of the constitution which articulates issues of fair representation and gender equity in the electoral system. According to the constitution, Zambia's electoral system for the election of President, Member of Parliament or Councillor must ensure fair representation of the various interest groups in society. It also stipulates that there should be gender equity in the National Assembly or Council. With these two provisions, the constitution raises consciousness of the importance of equality between the sexes in the political life of the nation.

Article 60 of the constitution, which covers political parties, however, fails to capitalise on gender equality. The article remains silent on gender representation in political parties. Considering that political parties are the primary gatekeepers for political representation, this is a huge missed opportunity. The language in all four sections of article 60 remains gender neutral, although it does call on political parties to uphold the values and principles specified in the Constitution, which arguably could mean gender equity is implied.

One of the most progressive outcomes, of the amended constitution, for gender equity is the establishment of the Gender Equity and Equality Commission provided for in article 231 of the constitution. The enacted 2015 Gender Equity and Equality Act (GEEA) seeks to domesticate some of the women's rights and gender provisions in regional, continental and international instruments to which Zambia is party.

As far as international conventions, Zambia has ratified most of the International Conventions and human rights instruments, generally without reservations. Some of the key conventions include the Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

The National Gender Policy has a clear objective that states: To increase the participation of women in decision making at all levels of development in the public and private sectors. However, political parties still need to take up affirmative action measures to ensure that more women are incorporated at all levels of political party decision making levels and adopted in various disciplines.

Zambia has a broad collection of laws enshrining gender equality, from the 2011 Act against Gender Based Violence (GBV) to the Gender Equity and Equality Rights Bill have been enacted. However, a range of social and economic mores and the dual structure of statutory law and customary law could stifle these ambitions.

Under Zambia's constitution (Article 23) statutory (national) law and customary (traditional/local) law are given equal primacy. The dual structure of statutory law and customary law, has perpetuated gender inequality. Rights which are supposed to be protected under statutory law, are not necessarily observed and women endure unfair treatment under the customary law.

Provisions related to non-discrimination, while essential to achieve substantive equality, are primarily aimed at creating equal opportunities for women and men. Provisions that address substantive equality, such as those that specifically mention the concept of equality or parity and positive discrimination, seek to go beyond equality of opportunity in order to achieve the conditions for equality of outcome. The inclusion of substantive equality provisions is a recognition that unequal power relations in society can result in further imbalances as a result of merely formal equality.

Chapter 2

PARTICIPATION

In analysing political party participation, the audit attempted to establish the percentage of women in the party as well as the systems in place for promoting women's political participation and representation. The questions were centred on gender of party leadership over time, ownership of a sex-disaggregated member database, women in elected positions, membership procedures and recruitment of women.

Gender of Party Leadership over Time

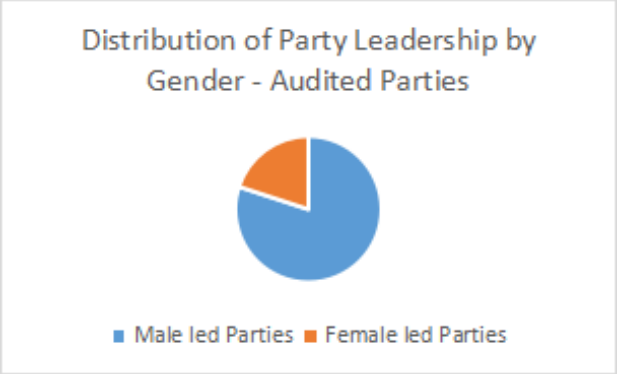
In general, there was a low representation of women at party president level among the parties in the audit. Of the five parties, only one was led by a female president. This was also pointed out by the participant from the UNDP who confirmed that the number of women led parties over the past 10 years in Zambia was two with the New Heritage Party becoming the second female led party only in 2021. The other female led party is the Forum for Democracy and Development.

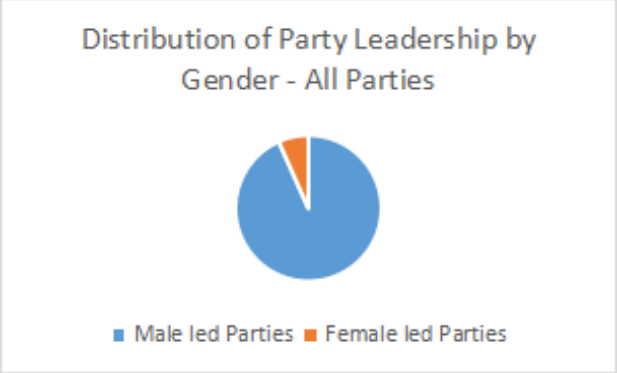
Zambia has about 30 registered parties and all but two are male led parties. With only two female led parties out of the 30, female leadership of political parties is at 7 percent. However, in relation to the five parties in the audit, the female leadership result was 20 percent with one out of the five parties in the audit having a female party president.

The current leader of the Patriotic Front is male, Mr. Edgar Lungu similar to the UPND leader Mr. Hakainde Hichilema. The other male led parties are the MMD with Mr. Nevers Mumba and the NDC with Mr. Chishimba Kambwili. The female led party is the FDD with Ms. Edith Nawakwi being party president.

Women in Elected Positions

In this analysis, we considered elected positions within the parties and elected offices seeking public office at both national assembly level as well as local government level. The motivation and commitment of political parties to adopt positive measures to promote women's political participation and representation will only find expression in increased representation of women in elected office. We therefore considered three parameters here including participation of women in the highest decision-making bodies of the parties, in general and parliamentary elections and in local government positions of mayor.

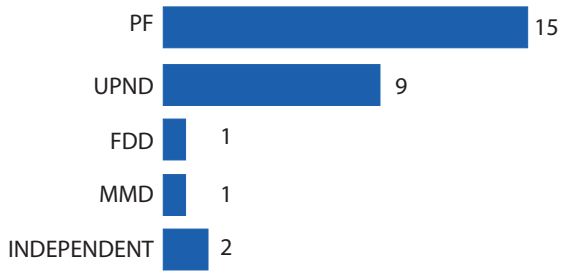




For parliamentary office, the audit showed that there were very few women representing their parties at parliamentary level. In total, the number of women Parliamentarians in Zambia is 28 out of a total of

Party	Party Leader	Sex	History
PF	Mr. Edgar Lungu	Male	Has never fielded a female president
UPND	Mr. Hakainde Hichilema	Male	Has never fielded a female president
MMD	Mr. Nevers Mumba	Male	Has never fielded a female president
NDC	Mr. Chishimba Kambwili	Male	Has only had one president (relatively new party)
FDD	Ms. Edith Nawakwi	Female	Has had one male and one female president from inception

165members of parliament, representing 17 percent of the total parliamentarians. Of the total women parliamentarians, only the parties in the audit actually had female candidates with the PF having the highest number of female parliamentarians at 15, followed by the UPND at 9 and one each for the FDD and MMD. The only other two women parliamentarians are two independent Members of Parliament, meaning they are not affiliated to any political party in their candidacy. The graph below depicts this.



To put this in perspective, a further analysis was done on how these numbers translate proportionally when considered against male representation at party level. Although the gender audit focuses on the five political parties, we have included here the independent MPs as it paints a more elaborate picture of the situation. An interesting picture emerges when you consider proportionality as almost consistently the proportion of female parliamentarians representing the parties is in the 16 percent region, for parties with multiple Members of Parliament, with the PF and MMD female parliamentarians being 16.67 percent of the total party MPs, while the UPND has 16.36, only marginally lower than the PF and the MMD. For the independent MPs, the picture is not too different although the proportion of female MPs is a percentage point lower than the Party affiliated MPs (female independent MPs making up 15.38 percent of the total number of independent MPs). Another interesting picture is that of the single MP parties, both the FDD and NDC which are female and male led respectively. The female led party's sole MP is female while the male led party sole MP is male. This could suggest that possibly, having more female led parties could open up space for female participation in the political space.

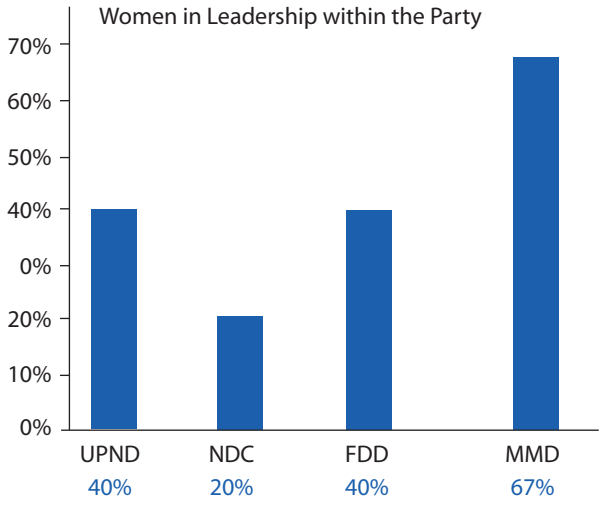
In terms of women in leadership within the political parties, the party pictures were quite diverse. According to the UPND, female representation in their top leadership totalled 40%. Of the top 5, two are women. For the UPND, the Deputy Secretary General of the party was decidedly always a woman.

For the NDC, the party acknowledged that generally they had low female participation in party leadership, as evidenced by the 8 top leadership positions held by women out of 40 leadership positions currently occupied representing 20 percent of female representation in top party leadership.

For the FDD, the percentage of women in the party's highest decision-making body amounts to over 40 percent. There is a 50/50 percent women representation policy within the National Policy Committee body. The party is currently led by a woman and also the National policy committee women chairperson is a woman. This is interesting because although the percentage of actual representation is similar to the UPND, there appears to be more opportunities for the top positions for women in the FDD compared to other parties where although there is representation, seldom do the top most ranks go to women.

With the MMD, Women's participation in leadership were impressive with women making up 67 percent of the highest governing body, the National Executive Committee (NEC). In the NEC, the position of secretary general, deputy secretary general, finance chair and party chair were all held by women. However, since inception, the party presidency has only been held by men, with no record of women ever contesting the position.

The graph below summarises the picture of women in leadership in each of the parties in the audit. However, as the PF was not available for interviews, they are not included in the analysis of the internal party picture of



	Female	% Female	Male	% Male	Total	Total %
PF	**15**	**16.67**	**75**	**83.33**	**90**	**100.00**
UPND	**9**	**16.36**	**46**	**83.64**	**55**	**100.00**
FDD	**1**	**100.00**	**0**	**0.00**	**1**	**100.00**
MMD	**1**	**16.67**	**5**	**83.33**	**6**	**100.00**
Independent	**2**	**15.38**	**11**	**84.62**	**13**	**100.00**
NDC	**0**	**0.00**	**1**	**100.00**	**1**	**100.00**
Total	***28***	***16.87***	***138***	***83.13***	***166***	***100.00***

leadership. In general, the MMD has the highest number of women in leadership of the highest decision making organ of the party at 67 percent, followed by both the UPND and the FDD at 40 percent and lastly the NDC at 20 percent.

Membership Procedures and Recruitment of Women

Deliberate interventions for affirmative action aimed at increasing the number of women in top party leadership roles and on election candidate lists generally achieve greater results and consistently show success when they have a high numerical goal that is specific, observable, and supported by steps and an action plan to actualize it. The latter is, of course, inextricably linked to the nature of the process of candidate identification, nomination and selection for electoral lists. These in turn depend on the party's electoral history, its particular strengths and weaknesses, their level of institutionalisation and the level of centralization or decentralization in decision-making processes, as well as the type of electoral system used in various electoral processes (Sacchet 2005; Norris 2004)[1].

In this section, the audit was interested to establish whether the parties were putting in place deliberate measures to ensure membership procedures were clear and accessible and that there were efforts to enhance recruitment of women. The analysis showed that while all the parties in the audit indicated that they had publicly accessible membership procedures, there were a number of weaknesses identified in how these were communicated and made available to the public.

Regarding a recruitment strategy for women, parties were at different levels. For the UPND, the party showed that they did have a recruitment strategy for women candidates and youth. An example of part of this strategy was that the party had a 20 percent deduction in nomination fees for female candidates in the women's wing of the party.

On the other hand, the FDD indicated that they did not have a recruitment strategy for women candidates at any level. However, there was indication that this was under consideration and that the party was going to adopt one at the forthcoming convention before the election.

For the NDC, the party did not have a recruitment strategy for women essentially because the party felt that they could not establish regulations prioritising female participation because, adoption and party leadership selection criteria was based on capability and marketability of the individual. The party also found that women were not very forthcoming even when opportunities were presented to them citing an example a case when only 12 women of 70 members declared interest for adoption. In response to this, the party continues to encourage women to take up leadership roles as well as seek adoption for candidacy.

In the case of the MMD, regarding a strategy for recruiting women, it was reported that women were encouraged to join, as they were found to be more loyal. While the party reported not having a strategy, there was reference to a quota system that maintained a 30 percent quota for women in the main body and the youth wing while they ensured that the women's wing maintained entirely female based membership. This may raise questions of whether having a "women only" women's wing was indeed a good thing for gender consciousness.

Overall, the analysis revealed that the parties' views on recruitment of women as a priority issue, were as diverse as the parties themselves. While three out of the four parties did not have written strategies for recruitment of women, it was evident there was some effort to recruit women with the MMD using a quota system to recruit more women while the FDD indicates intention to develop a recruitment strategy. Only the NDC deprioritised the development of a recruitment strategy, looking at general marketability and capability of candidates.

Party	Existence of a Strategy	Written or Unwritten	Current Practice
UPND	Yes	Written, Not seen	Reduced Fees for Women
FDD	No	Yet to be developed	Undisclosed
NDC	No	Not priority	Informal encouragement
MMD	No	Not written	Quota system

If political parties do not tailor any deliberate measures to increase membership 6and recruitment of women, then some good intentions by political parties will not result in greater representation of women in political parties and leadership. The need for strategies with actual rollout plans aimed at enhancing women's meaningful participation in political parties cannot be overemphasised if parties are committed to tackling women's under-representation in leadership and decision-making structures. The low level of institutionalised gender-responsive measures to increase entry into and access to leadership positions by women in political parties is very telling of parties' commitment to greater gender equality in political parties.

The importance of political parties as key structures through which people can engage in politics and seek positions of political leadership, is without question. Political parties thus, become pivotal to attaining meaningful access to leadership and decision-making roles for women. Therefore, how political parties design and execute measures to increase women's representation shows whether the inclusion of women is perfunctory or intentional.

1 Norris P, 2004, *Building political parties: Reforming legal regulations and internal rules,* International IDEA Retrieved from, https://ace-project.org/ero-en/topics/parties-and-candidates/pippa.pdf

Chapter 3

ACCESS AND SUPPORT

Understanding that some of the key barriers to women's full and meaningful political participation include internal party structural and procedural obstacles and externally the legislative environment and electoral system, it becomes important to understand how parties are enabling access for women and providing support to overcome any barriers to their full and meaningful participation in political leadership.

Without providing meaningfully in terms of access and support to advance women's political participation, there is a risk of parties and the electoral system creating or maintaining a political culture that is dominated by patriarchal norms that exclude or do not support women. Ensuring that barriers that keep women from fully engaging in political leadership, including the lack of financial resources or access to support through the provision of resources to fund campaigns, is a key measure of the extent to which political parties are committed to achieving gender equality in party politics.

This section of the analysis delved into an enquiry on access and support to women by political parties. In the analysis, we sought to establish how access and support was extended to women's participation by exploring four elements including:

1. the systems and practices around nominations, appointments and the parties' candidate selection bodies,
2. whether parties were putting in place any special measures or allocating quotas to ensure equal participation of women and men,
3. whether the parties had established functional, relevant and funded women's wings; and
4. if the electoral system and legislative environment had put in place measures to promote equality and how the party was performing.

Nominations, Appointments and Selection Body

The first area of enquiry under this section was in relation to nominations, appointments and party candidate selection bodies. The questions included how members were nominated or appointed to the leadership structures of the party, whether appointment or nomination procedures to the party's leadership structures were written down and the number of female members in dedicated bodies in charge of organising the selection of party leaders, if parties had these in place.

This was important to establish because political parties practice different placement rules, spoken or written, that can reinforce patriarchy in the parties. Proactively providing for women through supportive nomination and appointment rules can facilitate women's candidacy more equally in "winnable" positions.

For the UPND, the analysis established that in relation to nomination and appointment to leadership structures, members were nominated or appointed to the leadership structures of the party by a dedicated party body, according to written rules at all party levels. In addition, all appointment or nomination procedures to the party's leadership structures were written down in the national party constitution, which stipulated that all aspiring candidates were required to apply for their positions of interest. However, it is important to note that the written nomination and appointment rules were seen to be exclusionary to women, as the qualification requirements such as needing to have completed a certain level of education favoured men more than it did women. In addition, although the party did recognise this as a barrier for women, it had not put in place any affirmative measures to help women overcome the barrier and be able to access leadership positions.

For the FDD too, members were nominated or appointed to the leadership structures of the party by a dedicated party body according to written rules at all party levels. If there was a vacancy, then an appointment was made by the party National Secretariat. The dedicated party body was in charge of organizing the selection of party leaders and was headed by the Elections Committee Chairperson, who was female (Ms. Given Katuta). However, although the structure was female-headed, it had less than 40 percent representation of women overall.

For the NDC, the picture was more concerning particularly because although the party did have/ did not have a dedicated party body in charge of selection, the nomination and appointment decisions of the NDC leaders were currently done solely by men. This was the case primarily because nomination and appointment powers had been vested in the provincial coordinators. The provincial coordinators were responsible for nominating potential leaders for approval by the president and the party leader all of whom were men. However, the party indicated that although this was the structure for nomination and appointment, and women were currently not part of this party structure responsible for selection of party leaders, there were still women that held leadership positions, which had attained these leadership positions through the aforementioned process. These leadership roles included the 8 positions at National Executive Committee level which included the roles of Secretary General, Deputy Secretary General, Party Spokesperson, Community Development Chairperson and National Chair Person, among others). The other women held positions were those of the women's wing, which was comprised of only women. However, it is important to remember that of the five political parties in this analysis, as established in chapter one, the NDC had the lowest share of women in leadership compared to the other parties.

For the MMD although the party indicated that nomination or adoption to leadership positions in the party was governed by written rules, which had been made mandatory by the Electoral Commission Zambia (ECZ), that all parties have written electoral rules, the party appeared to have a decentralised system which operated at the devolved level at which nominations or appointments were required. According to the MMD, nomination at lowest party structures were conducted at the respective levels. Similarly, at district and provincial levels, elections were held at the respective levels and observed by the elections council/committee (of the party). However, nomination or adoption for national level positions, such as NEC membership and party presidency, were done during the party conventions. All this was implemented by the elections committee, which is the dedicated party body for nominations and appointed decentralised to operate at sub-national level. The elections committee was constituted of 10 members, 4 of whom were female.

Special Measures and Quotas

Gender-specific quotas aimed at ensuring equality in partisan politics are a fundamental support mechanism that increase the participation of under-represented genders within political parties and in their opportunity to seek public office. In considering what special measures political parties had put in place to enhance women's meaningful participation, within the parties and in public office, the audit asked four fundamental questions relating to: 1) whether the parties had a quota for the party's leadership structures to ensure equal participation of women and men, 2) what the specific voluntary party quotas were that the party had introduced, 3) the type of measures that the parties had introduced to promote participation of the underrepresented gender in the party's leadership structures, and 4) whether the parties provided both female and male candidates with the same support, financial and/or in-kind support, during election campaigns.

The UPND reported having put in place special measures as a party that would promote participation of the underrepresented gender in the party's leadership structures. The party confirmed having introduced a quota system to ensure equal participation of women and men in the party's leadership structures. Among the measures that had been introduced were the deliberate placement of women in leadership as well as an alternating system that meant that if the chairperson of a particular portfolio was male, then the deputy would have to be female. The respondents pointed out that almost all the positions in the party were headed by women. For instance, Ms. Mutale Nalumango was the national chair-lady and the current acting vice president of the party was female. As stipulated by the electoral system, the party did ensure placement of women in winnable positions on their electoral lists, an approach mandated by the law. The National Chairperson must be a woman according to their party rules. And if the chairpersons of a department are male then their deputies must be female.

Similarly, the FDD did confirm having a quota system in place that would ensure equal participation of women and men in the party's leadership structures. Several special measures had been introduced in the party to promote participation of women in key leadership

Party	Party Body	Written Nomination Rules	Number of Women
UPND	Yes	Written, Not seen	Undisclosed
FDD	Yes	Written, Not seen	40 Percent
NDC	Yes	Written, Not seen	Zero
MMD	Yes	Written, Not seen	Undisclosed

structures the party. The specific measures to have been introduced included the development of a party policy that required that departmental headship, in the head and their vice be alternate genders. Also, the party had ensured that women were free to contest for any party position. The FDD was the first party in Zambia to have a female president, Ms. Edith Nawakwi. Within the party, the election committee chairperson Given Katuta was also female. As required by Zambia's electoral system, the party did ensure placement of women in winnable positions, on their electoral lists. The FDD confirmed that the approach to placement of women in winnable positions, was in fact, mandated by the law. In practice, the party had both a policy and a culture that backed any woman that voluntarily put themselves up for nomination and was ready to contest. Whenever this was the case, the rest of the party was required to rally behind them.

Once again, the NDC indicated a bias towards merit-based placement at the expense of gender equality saying that despite the party's belief and support for gender equality, it had not established mandatory quotas for female positions or participation, because the party believed that leadership roles and positions must be filled on merit. A clear gap thus became the lack of a written policy that would encourage and secure greater participation of women in intra party leadership positions and support those that would want to vie for public office, on the basis that the party assigned these roles on merit. Regarding financial and material support to female candidates, the party respondent indicated that their policy was to provide equal support to both its male and female candidates.

The MMD reiterated the introduction of the quota system alluded to previously, which sets aside a 30 percent quota in both the main body and youth committee for women. Each of the organs including the two wings or structures of the party provide for the 30 percent allocation to women. On the topic of regulation or measures established to support women's participation in leadership, it was said that party structure of main body, women's wing and youth wing supported women's participation in leadership, through the 30% each quota, given for female membership of the youth and the main body. Also through the automatic membership of the women's wing chairperson, women's national treasurer and women's national secretary to the NEC, women participated in party leadership and decision making. However, a key concern identified and raised by the MMD was that although the women's wing contributed three positions to the NEC, it did not directly participate in selection of candidates. The only role that they could play was to engage in mobilisation of party nominations, adoptions and elections. Lastly, in relation to support of women into leadership positions, the audit established that, during national elections both male and female candidates received equal support as they run for public office. The main gap identified with the MMD was the lack of quota/s for adoption of women in winnable positions. Similar to the NDC, the MMD filled positions based on merit. The party also argued that specifying quotas was risky for the party in times when women were not willing to take up "winnable positions".

Women's Wing

One sure way of enhancing women's political participation in and through political parties would be the setting up of women's wings. Women's wings are structures within political parties that organize female party members and provide a space to identify women's issues within the party in politics in general as well as critical issues relating to party policies that affect women voters.

In many countries, political parties have established women's wings or branches to advance their political participation. Among other functions, these platforms can advocate within the party on issues of particular concern for women constituents and women party members; influence the party's policy positions; promote women's leadership at all levels within the party; lobby for and oversee gender policies; and mobilize women voters and support for the party and its candidates during elections.

The relation of women's wings to the party's power structure is mostly tailored to fit the party circumstances and is frequently addressed in the party regulations. In some cases, women's wings are represented in party leadership structures and decision-making platforms, such as executive committees and party conventions while in others they are not. Also, a certain degree of autonomy from party leadership can be desirable, to make sure women's wings are free to raise issues that may be controversial at the beginning or that may make male leadership feel uncomfortable. Women's wings require adequate funding and resources to be effective, as well as a well-established membership base. Consequently, adopting efficient fundraising and recruitment strategies can contribute significantly to their success.

Because of this, the audit was interested to find out four main things. The first was whether the party had established a women's wing/organisation, either formally or informally, the second was if the women's wing had a vote in the party's highest decision-making body, thirdly whether the women's wing was formally part of the candidate selection procedures and lastly if the women's wing was being provided a dedicated budget from the party's funds.

UPND has a formally established women's and youth

wing at national and sub national level. Equally, the women's wing did have a vote in the party's highest decision-making body and did take part in candidate selection and setting of procedures for the selection. Within the women's wing, they had authority to propose and contest from the women's wing. The women's wing does have a dedicated budget from the party's funds. Finally, the party does provide both women and men candidates with the same financial support, in terms of funds and/or in-kind support, during election campaigns. The party ensures both women and men have equal resources at their disposal for campaigning

In the case of the FDD, it was established that the party had formally established a women's wing. The women's wing also had a vote in the party's highest decision-making body. Each province sent a women's provincial chairperson to the NPC. Further, the women's wing did formally take part in the candidate selection procedures and could propose and contest from the women's wing. Other than that, the women's wing did have a dedicated budget from the party's funds, which was fixed and based on budgets and need. Finally, the party reported that it did provide both female and male candidates with the same level of support, in terms of funds and/or in-kind support, during election campaigns. The party ensures both women and men have equal resources at their disposal for campaigning

For the NDC, it was reported that the party had formally established a women's wing that was operational at all levels. However, the women's wing was not part of the appointments and nominations as in the current party arrangement, appointment and nomination of the NDC leadership was done solely by men. However, in as much as women were currently not part of party structures responsible for selection of party leaders, they did hold leadership positions. The leadership roles included the 8 positions at NEC level (Secretary General, Deputy SG, Spokesperson, community Development chair, National chairperson) and those of the women's wing that comprised only women.

The MMD does have a formally established women's wing which contributes three positions to the NEC. However, although the women's wing did contribute three positions to the NEC, it did not directly participate in selection of candidates. Nonetheless, the party reported that the women's wing was at liberty to engage in mobilisation of party nominations, adoptions and elections.

Chapter 4

INTERNAL POLICIES

Internal policies are a significant tool for regulating internal party activities, essentially because they define the nature and form of carrying out party functions. Policies also play an important role in determining the quality of a given task as they approve/disapprove who should or should not take part in a given activity or task. In the same vain, internal policies give expression to the party's guiding principles which are fundamental to executing the party mandate.

In the quest to enhance female participation and gender equality in the political sphere, internal policies are key to the fulfillment of this desired goal. For this reason, the gender audit set out to establish whether internal party policies were helping to promote women involvement in decision making bodies and participation in the party's activities and politics. The inquiry focused on four core themes, namely gender equality as a value or a principle in party documents, measures to make the working environment gender friendly, capacity building and gender action plan or other strategic document that promotes and institutionalises gender equality.

The core questions were firstly, to establish whether key party documents included gender equality as a value or principle; whether the parties had introduced any measures to ensure that the working environment in the party is friendly to both women and men as well as what these measures were; what programmes the parties had introduced to build capacities of its activists and whether these aimed at building awareness on gender equality. The final set of questions focused on whether the parties had gender action plans or some other strategic document aiming to promote and institutionalize gender equality in the party and if so whether the parties prepared reports about the implementation of such strategic document(s) on gender equality.

Gender equality as a Value or Principle in Key Party Documents.

On the question of gender equality being a value or principle in party document, the UPND reported that party documents did regard gender equality as a central value and principle in all its key party documents. As evidence, they pointed to their party manifesto as one such document that clearly demonstrated their recognition of gender as one of their party principles. The party also reported being the only party with a sexual harassment section covered in both the constitution and party manifesto.

Similarly, the FDD indicated that their party documents did champion gender equality and have always included gender equality as a value or principle. The party reported that both the party manifesto and the party constitution recognised gender equality as central values and principles for the party.

For the NDC, existing internal policies did espouse gender equality as a key value and principle and that they had gone further establish a gender pillar as well as a gender policy to ensure that gender equality was well mainstreamed in the party. According to the party, the gender pillar and the gender policy were essential to guiding matters of gender, both internally and externally.

Lastly, in the case of the MMD it was established that the party had in place a gender policy that was effective for the period 2015 to 2022. The policy demonstrated the party's regard for gender equality as a fundamental value and principle. The MMD also reported that although they did require party structures to report on implementation of gender equality measures and other such internal regulations or indeed the gender policy, the intra-party challenges and the resulting factions had resulted in not having such reports submitted. Procedurally, these reports were submitted annually by structures at all levels to the women's wing, which then was responsible for submitting it to the NEC. The audit established that the party did have in place a monitoring and evaluation mechanism for this purpose but this had been undermined by the instability within the party.

Working Environment

In terms of ensuring the working environment for the party was conducive to both women and men, the UPND pointed out a few measures that they had put in

place to achieve this. The measures that the party felt made the working environment friendly to both women and men included condemning and sanctioning sexual harassment as well as their 50/50 representation policy that not only promoted gender inclusiveness but also disability inclusiveness.

In the case of the FDD, the party had introduced measures to ensure that the working environment in the party was friendly to both women and men. It indicated that the code of conduct containing rules that regulate the conduct of the party members, was a key document for achieving this. If a member was found guilty of abrogating the rules of the code of conduct, the member was either disciplined within the party by relevant bodies or expelled from the party, depending on the gravity of the violation.

For the MMD, the audit learned that the party had adopted a zero tolerance to sexual harassment, and gender based violence or abuse position and this was cemented in their existing gender equality and sensitivity supporting regulations. According to the party, in the event that any member was found wanting, a written report would be submitted to the party chairperson, who was a woman. Disciplinary responsibilities were vested in the secretariat and took the form of suspension or expulsion. In the case of a person external to the party was reported to have been sexually inappropriate to a party member, and party members were sexually harassed by non-party members, the party would report such a matter to the police, and party lawyers were engaged to pursue necessary litigation processes.

Capacity Building.

For capacity building, the different parties in this audit reported a number of initiatives put in place to build the capacity of members and activists in order to achieve gender equality within the parties. The audit found that parties were at different levels in this regard.

The UPND range of capacity building efforts included lectures and discussions that were beyond gender equality and covered various topics and policies. Some of the reported activities included the holding of workshops sponsored by NGOs such as the Women's Lobby Group and Action Aid. The party's capacity-building programmes, such as candidate skills development training, also aimed at building awareness on gender equality issues. However, the party did not provide any evidence, by way of training report to demonstrate how such trainings had incorporated gender equality. Other than that, the party also specifically targeted female candidates for capacity building and mentoring programmes. The women targeted for such capacity building would include women candidates, female party members as well as female party activists.

Similar to the UPND, the FDD reported holding lectures and seminars to build its party capacities for party members and activists. NGO sponsored workshops were another way in which the party built the capacity of its members in gender equality. An example cited was the workshop supported by the Women's Lobby Group which also helped with the development of the party's gender policy.

The NDC, on the other hand, had not only instituted capacity building programmes for party members but also had developed a capacity building policy. The policy was developed to govern capacity building programming by and for party members. The intention was to ensure members deliberately employ a gender lens in their design/development of essential party documents, programs, etc. Other than that, the party had deliberately incorporated gender equality in their external party relations. To this effect, the party reported having engaged community members at district level in gender awareness programmes.

In terms of capacity building, the MMD had a number of capacity building programs that also included raising gender sensitivity. Some of these included the already existing pre-membership leadership education class as well as the political school called the New Hope institute, the party was in the process of opening. Through the political school, it was said that the party aimed at educating party and non-party members, on good leadership qualities and skills, which would also include gender equality.

Gender Action Plans

A "Gender Action Plan" (GAP; or "Plan for Gender Action") is the road map for gender activities that an institution has adopted for itself. Its purpose is to make the institutions' activities "gender responsive and transformative, and thus more effective, efficient and successful" (UNCCD, 2018 as cited by Holthaus A, 2018)[1]. The importance of Gender Action Plans is that they help give a scheduled pathway for rectifying traditional gender inequalities by providing guidance on gender mainstreaming.

While the UPND did not have an actual Gender Action Plan, they reported that they did have a strategic document aiming to institutionalize gender equality in the party. In addition, the party did have regular reviews of the strategic document, doing so quarterly. As part of the components of the party's strategic document, an implementation plan is included and provides the mechanism to ensure implementation of the strategic intent. The party also reported that on a quarterly basis they did prepare a report about findings on the

1 Holthaus A, 2018, *What is a Gender Action Plan?* Gender & Chemicals, Retrieved from, http://gender-chemicals.org/what-is-a-gender-action-plan

implementation of its strategic document on gender equality although this was not made available to the auditors for verification.

The party said their gender strategic document was organised with the aim of systematically supporting female party members, candidates and elected officials who encountered or might encounter sexist remarks, gender-based threats, hate speech or shaming, online or offline. The party also had a team in place meant to address all forms of harassment. Equally, the media and the lawyers were available to respond to such demands. There is also a Disciplinary committee internally. Gender equality and/or women's empowerment policies have been included as specific topics on which the party has campaigned during last three election cycles with other extra measures meant to impact prejudice and reverse tradition that would encourage equality such as land ownership for women as well as supporting local farmers and marketeers with value addition to their products.

Likewise, the FDD did have an explicit gender mainstreaming strategy for the promotion and institutionalisation of gender equality in the party, which was reviewed quarterly. The document contained an implementation plan as a key requirement to ensure the actualization of the aspirations for gender equality. The document outlines how it supports women in the party the protection available for sexual harassment, gender-based violence and hate speech or shaming for both online and offline violence. If the offence happens internally, the party takes measures to discipline erring members to the extent of suspending or expelling such offenders. Externally, since the party president is female, she has been a victim of cyber bullying on a regular basis. In such instance, the party has reported cases to the police for protection and pressed charges as necessary. To achieve gender equality and/or women's empowerment they have included this in their policies, campaign messaging and practically introduced extra measures to enhance education and provide business support within the party and externally.

In the case of the NDC, the lack of a deliberate Gender Action Plan or other strategic document for mainstreaming gender equality in the party was found to be one of the major gaps. The party admitted that while they did, in practice support women party members and counter any gender based harassment or threats they were yet to develop a gender action plan to make this more systematic and monitor-able. The party attributed this lack of an officially endorsed document to their infancy. At present, the party reported having only drafted a document that hadn't been officially recognized. Similarly, the party did not have a Monitoring and Evaluation framework for gender mainstreaming, although they did envisage setting it up, as the party continued to grow. The party noted that steps towards this had already been set in motion, working with NGOs that supported gender mainstreaming.

The MMD did not report having a Gender Action Plan but pointed out that they were in the process of completing their 5-year strategic plan that would address empowerment of party members and protection measures against gender based violence.

Chapter 5

PROMOTING GENDER EQUALITY

One of the effective ways that a party can fulfil its commitment to gender equality is to include in the party platform permanent, specific gender equality and women's empowerment policies. This will help distinguish the party from its competitors, associate the party as a modern, progressive political force in the voters' eyes, and establish a direct channel to women voters

This is measured through party messaging, leadership commitment, recognition and celebration of symbolic days, party initiatives in promotion of or defence of gender, use of gender sensitive language, gender balanced representation and cooperation with strategic partners.

Party Messaging

To establish commitment to promoting gender equality, the first question related to specific gender equality and women's empowerment messages that were included in the party's electoral platform in past elections.

In response to this, the UPND pointed to the ten-point plan which was used as the central party message in the previous general election campaign. Central to the ten-point plan was women's economic empowerment messaging. The women specific issues that the party championed included land ownership by women as one way to foster their economic empowerment. Other than that, the party promoted value addition in agriculture, as a means to empower women economically through the value chain and lastly, free health and education were some of the specific gender equality and women's empowerment messages that the party included on their electoral platform in the last election.

For the FDD, it did not appear that they did have a strong gender equality message as this was not made explicit during the audit. This may be due to the party being run by the only female president in the last general election and therefore letting that symbolise the importance of gender equality in politics. However, the message of women's political participation was paramount in their communication on different platforms that they accessed.

The NDC having been a recently formed party did not have many examples of how they had crafted specific messaging, particularly for the previous general election. However, they did report having women economic empowerment and gender equality in leadership as some of the messaging they have championed and carried in different engagements and in by-elections.

The MMD had a similar approach to promoting gender equality through their party messages. Essentially, the party pointed out that in crafting their gender equality messaging, they were only translating their gender policy through some practical efforts. According to the party, they were strong proponents of the initiative to establish women's and youth banks. Once they identified a gender specific issue, they deliberately develop gender specific campaign agendas that they use and deliver on their electoral platform.

Leadership Commitment

For this area of enquiry, the audit sought to understand whether the party leadership was seen as promoting gender equality as a party value or principle.

All the parties in the enquiry pointed out that the party leadership did show commitment to gender equality and this was reflected in the decisions made to establish women's wings in the parties, including gender in key party documents and ensuring their inclusion in decision making spaces and positions in the parties using different means. Examples such as the party leaderships' decision to develop a gender policy were a recurring example and showed how the party leadership was demonstrating commitment to increasing women's participation and representation in the parties and in decision-making positions.

Other than that, respondents felt that because the parties were committed to gender equality, they had instituted measures to reduce or eliminate the barriers that prevented women from fully and effectively participating in politics. Some of the measures such as providing financial and other forms of support and investing in or facilitating capacity building were seen to be a reflection of the commitment by party leadership

Party Initiatives in Promotion of and/or Defence of Gender

In terms of initiatives taken by the party to promote gender equality, the enquiry, firstly, delved into the commemoration of symbolic days, such as International Women's Day (8 March) or take part in the 16 Days of Activism Against Violence campaign (25 November – 10 December). Other than that, questions of whether the party organised public events, such as debate, rallies, round tables or lectures, to promote women's rights and/or gender equality and if and how the party had publicly reacted to sexist remarks, gender-based threats directed online or offline at women party members previously formed the second part of the enquiry on party initiatives.

Overall, all the parties in the audit reported commemorating and celebrating symbolic days in recognition of gender and this was both the International Women's Day (8 March) and the 16 Days of Activism Against Violence campaign on an annual basis. However, none of the parties supplied any evidence or offered examples of their commemoration or recognition of national and/or international symbolic days for gender equality.

This was similar in the case of party responses regarding holding of public events, such as debate, rallies, round tables or lectures, to promote women's rights and/or gender equality where all parties confirmed holding public events as asked although none of them offered an example or evidence of such events.

Regarding how the party had publicly reacted to sexist remarks, gender-based threats directed online or offline at women party members previously, only the NDC and the MMD provided explicit examples of such reactions. For the NDC, it gave an example of a reaction via media statements, such as the reaction to the Times of Zambia article on the escalation of sexual harassment of women in political parties. The MMD on the other hand, cited the party president's swift action to release then party photographer from his position, following conduct that the party deemed irresponsible and against party values. The other two parties, the UPND and FDD, did not cite specific examples of how they had previously reacted to sexist remarks or gender-based threats directed online or offline at women party members.

Use of Gender Sensitive Language

Under gender sensitive language, the auditor sought to understand how gender-sensitive the party language was in both their written and spoken language. This also extended to exploring the extent to which the party paid attention to gender-balanced representation of its activists or members during election campaign on TV or radio shows, posters, social media or any other means.

The audit found that the four parties that participated in the audit were using gender sensitive language. The only exception found was an exception of preference in the UPND where the female chairperson of the Women's Wing insisted on being addressed as Madam Chairman. However, the UPND constitution did contain gender sensitive language in reference to chairperson, for instance.

Article 73 – The President
Article 74 – Functions of the President
Article 75 – Election of the Party President
Article 76 – Mode of electing the President
Article 77 – Vacancies in the office of the President
Article 78 – Qualifications of the President
Article 79 – Tenure of Office
Article 80 – The Deputy Presidency
Article 81 – The National Party Chairperson
Article 82 – The Deputy National Chairperson
Article 83 – The Secretary General
Article 84 – The Deputy Secretary General
Article 85 – The Treasurer General
Article 86 – The Deputy Treasurer General
Article 87 – Chairperson, Strategy and Mobilization
Article 88 – The Chairperson for Women Affairs
Article 89 – The Deputy Chairpersons for Women Affairs
Article 90 – The Chairperson of Youth Affairs
Article 91 – The Deputy Chairpersons of Youth Affairs
Article 92 – Trustees
Article 93 – Functions of the Chairpersons of Specialised Committees
Article 94 – Spokespersons of Specialised Committees

Compared to the PF Constitution (the audit was unable to access the constitutions of the FDD, NDC and MMD) the language demonstrated a gender consciousness by the party as the PF constitution showed use of language that was not gender sensitive referring to chair positions as chairman in their constitution.

ARTICLE 51 Central Committee

ARTICLE 52
Election of the President

ARTICLE 53
Resignation or Removal of the President

ARTICLE 54 Vice President

ARTICLE 55 National Chairman

ARTICLE 56
Secretary General of the Party

ARTICLE 57
Election of members of the Central Committee

ARTICLE 58
Powers and Functions of the Central Committee

ARTICLE 59
Committees of the Central Committee

ARTICLE 60 Committee of Chairmen

Cooperation with Strategic Partners

The final part of this area of enquiry focused on cooperation with strategic partners and the nature of the cooperation. The enquiry sought to establish if the party cooperated with civil society organisations and with international organisations or foundations that work on gender equality and women's rights; whether such co-operation was ad-hoc or strategic.

For local NGOs, a total of seven were pointed out for their collaboration with the political parties. These included Action Aid, National Democratic Institute, MISA, National Women's Lobby, NGOCC, FAWEZA, WILSA. Of the local NGOs, the audit established that the party with the most collaborative relations with NGOs was UPND, with four out of the seven NGOs cited collaborating with parties. See table below for a more in-depth breakdown of which parties were collaborating with which NGOs:

	Local NGOs						
	Action Aid	National Democratic Institute	MISA	National Women's Lobby	NGOCC	FAWEZA	WILSA
UPND							
FDD							
NDC							
MMD							

Regarding international partners, the audit found that UPND, FDD and MMD each had collaboration with international partners. The party reported having an international relations focal point for the African Liberal Network in the southern region. In this area, the FDD had the most number of international partners, lining up the Netherlands institute of Multi-Party Democracy, Scottish National Party, Democracy Works Foundation and Internal Republic. NDC and MMD did not report collaboration with strategic international partners or foundations, with the MMD explicitly saying it did not have any co-operation with any international partners or foundations promoting human rights and gender equality. See table below:

	International Partners					
	FES	African Liberal Network	Netherlands institute of Multi-party Democracy	Scottish National Party	Democracy Works Foundation	Internal Republic
UPND						
FDD						
NDC						
MMD						

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Over the last three decades, there has been increasing interest in understanding the importance of political parties in promoting gender equality and what role they can play in achieving gender equality in the political arena. The lessons over time have revealed that women are left behind for several reasons, intrinsic and extrinsic, and thus the need to fully understand the barriers that stifle women's full and effective participation in order to design and put in place measures to ensure women's access to and full participation in party elective and decision making positions.

The gender audit was undertaken for this purpose, to assess the extent to which the five main political parties in Zambia were promoting and achieving gender equality. The intention was to paint a picture of the different ways that political parties were putting in place measures to ensure women are engaged in politics and that they have access to leadership positions within the party and in national political representation.

To understand this, the Gender Audit applied the ODIHR gender audit methodology to uncover specific measures that were promoting women's participation, how parties were enabling women's participation through access and special support, the extent to which internal policies were purposefully designed to promote gender equality in the party structures and elective positions and the different ways in which parties demonstrated their commitment to promoting gender equality.

With the recognition that political parties are the 'real gatekeepers' for both men's and women's access to positions of power and decision making, their role has become an area of focus in redressing gender inequalities in politics. As access to political power, leadership and decision making typically begins at the political party level, the creation of enabling environments for the meaningful participation and representation of both men and women in political parties is essential. To a certain extent, political parties possess awareness on gender issues, as shown by some of the provisions in parties' policy documents. The challenge is to move beyond this awareness and mobilize pragmatic actions that institutionalize gender equality in politics.

Key Conclusions

Following the audit undertaken and the analysis performed, the following key conclusions have been drawn:

Political parties in Zambia especially the four dominant ones; UPND, FDD, NDC, and the MMD all exhibited some level of gender awareness as was evident in their structures with the formation of the women's wing in all of the parties; the use of gender sensitive language in their documentation, the implementation of measures to promote women's access to elective positions and positions of leadership, the putting in place of gender policies as well as cooperation with strategic partners for capacity building and other support to enhance gender equality in the parties. However, the parties are still a long way from being fully gender transformative with nearly all four parties somewhat understanding the root causes of women's lack of participation and the barriers that keep them locked out of leadership without necessarily taking proactive steps to eliminate these barriers and propel women into positions of leadership within the parties and in elective positions. This is evident in the level of female representation in the National Assembly of Zambia and the share of women in leadership in majority of the parties. Other than that, although the parties have created the women's wings, the level of involvement of men in affairs related to the women's wings is minimal. This was also evident in the interviews and the reference to the women's groups which suggested that it was the business of women.

The UPND had increased female representation in their top leadership to about 40% which was composed of 5 members of the top leadership, two of whom were women. One positive affirmative measure was the guaranteeing of the position of Deputy Secretary General of the party being set aside for a woman. It is important to note that the written nomination and appointment rules were seen to be exclusionary to women, as the qualification requirements such as needing to have completed a certain level of education favoured men more than it did women. In addition, although the party did recognise this as a barrier for women, it had not put in place any affirmative measures to help women overcome the barrier and be able to access leadership positions. Currently, it is facing challenges with observing/marking symbolic days, such as International Women's Day (8 March) or take part in the 16 Days of Activism against Violence campaign (25 November – 10 December) every year and organizes public events, such as debate, rallies, round tables or lectures and road shows to promote women's rights and/or gender equality, in fear of attracting political violence with other parties.

For the FDD, the percentage of women in the party's

highest decision-making body amounts to over 40 percent. There is a 50/50 percent women representation policy within the National Policy Committee body. Both the current party and the National Policy Committee women Chairperson are women. This is interesting because although the percentage of actual representation is similar to the UPND, there appears to be more opportunities for the top positions for women in the FDD compared to other parties where although there is representation, seldom do the top most ranks go to women. The FDD indicated that they did not have a recruitment strategy for women candidates at any level. However, there was indication that this was under consideration and that the party was going to adopt one at the forthcoming convention before the election. In-spite of having a great percentage of women representation in the party, it is discomforting not to have a recruitment strategy for women. This is because the women are the most vulnerable and affected in society. They really need an upper hand for equality to be achieved.

The NDC party generally had low female participation in party leadership, as evidenced by the 8 top leadership positions held by women, out of 40 leadership positions currently occupied representing 20 percent of female representation in top party leadership. The party did not have a recruitment strategy for women essentially because the party felt that they could not establish regulations prioritizing female participation because, adoption and party leadership selection criteria was based on capability and marketability of the individual. The party also found that women were not very forthcoming even when opportunities were presented to them citing an example a case when only 12 women of 70 members declared interest for adoption. In response to this, the party continues to encourage women to take up leadership roles as well as seek adoption for candidacy. The party indicated that although this was the structure for nomination and appointment, and women were currently not part of this party structure responsible for selection of party leaders, there were still women that held leadership positions, which had attained these leadership positions. Despite the party's belief and support for gender equality, it had not established mandatory quotas for female positions or participation, because the party believed that leadership roles and positions must be filled on merit. A clear gap thus became the lack of a written policy that would encourage and secure greater participation of women in intra-party leadership positions and support those that would want to vie for public office.

The MMD Women's participation in leadership was impressive with women making up 67 percent of the highest governing body, the National Executive Committee (NEC). In the NEC, the position of secretary general, deputy secretary general, finance chair and party chair were all held by women. However, since inception, the party presidency has only been held by men, with no record of women ever contesting the position. The MMD, regarding a strategy for recruiting women, it was reported that women were encouraged to join, as they were found to be more loyal. While the party reported not having a recruitment strategy, there was reference to a quota system that maintained a 30 percent quota for women in the main body and the youth wing while they ensured that the women's wing maintained entirely female based membership. This may raise questions of whether having a "women only" women's wing was indeed a good thing for gender consciousness.

The analysis revealed that the parties' views on recruitment of women as a priority issue, were as diverse as the parties themselves. While three out of the four parties did not have written strategies for recruitment of women, it was evident of there was some effort to recruit women with the MMD using a quota system to recruit more women while the FDD indicated intention to develop a recruitment strategy. Only the NDC deprioritised the development of a recruitment strategy, looking at general marketability and capability of candidates.

Recommendations

The recommendations are presented to speak to the role that stakeholders should play in their respective capacities and portfolio in order to help enhance gender equality in political parties:

Recommendations to Political Parties:

1. The parties will need to bring to standardisation all founding and policy documents to ensure they are gender transformative and aligned. This includes political parties' constitutions, manifestos, party rules and procedures and strategy documents. This will help to create an environment and culture within the political parties that is committed to gender equality.
2. Reposition and strengthen the women's wings within the political parties to make them more influential within the decision making corridors of the parties. This can be achieved by ensuring they are well resourced and capacitated to influence strategic political decisions, within the parties and externally. This should also happen in consideration of combining the women's and youth wings in order to strengthen their voice.
3. Deliberate effort should be made to "sell" women candidates outside the party through the promotion of women utilizing national and international media agencies and social media. Exposure to such opportunities will strengthen and build the confidence of women to engage the public as competent political players. These engagements should attempt to address the negative stereotypes of women in politics and give women the voice they need to reach the masses.
4. Women participation in elective and Administrative party positions should not just be during general elections, but should begin at provincial, district and sub-district levels so that they are able to rise through the ranks. This is very key to gaining critical experience and skills needed in leadership.

Recommendations for Government

5. Undertake a needs assessment targeting women in politics in order to have a researched basis for providing consistent, relevant and context responsive support to women entering politics and those attempting to assert themselves as contenders for political office.
6. The Ministry of Gender and other partners to establish a Women in Politics fund dedicated to economic and financial support for women in politics. Such fund should provide support for women in politics to undertake economic empowerment programmes, business skills development and training programmes. This fund should be administered by an independent organisation, autonomous of government.
7. Invest in consistent, regular and accessible capacity building for gender, targeting both women and men in politics. This will be fundamental to developing gender transformative leadership skills among both women and men in political parties. The aim should be support and prepare women to present themselves confidently as contenders for leadership positions, while making men equally responsible for the achievement of women's empowerment.
8. Design and implement gender analyses to establish and compile gender disaggregated data on party membership, participation, representation and influence on party decision making and programmes. The gender-segregated data thus produced can be essential for evidence-based policy formulation by political parties.
9. The SADC 50/50 gender representation requirement should be applied as a prerequisite to the establishment and operationalisation of political parties in Zambia. One way that could be achieved is by introducing electoral education in schools in order to encourage girls to develop interest in politics at an early age
10. Government should as a matter of priority, operationalize the Gender Equality Commission and set it up under the Office of the Vice President.
11. Government should enact the Political Parties Bill to help in guiding the gender composition of political parties.

Recommendations for Civil Society

12. Recommendations for Civil Society

13. All the parties in the audit reported some form of cooperation with NGO supporting womenin political leadership and gender broadly. However, it did not appear there was a systematic approach to providing this support. As a result, the support was ad-hoc, unsystematic and irregular. ZCSD should provide a platform for collaboration bringing together all NGOs working in this area in order to maximise the impact of NGO efforts and deliver incremental and sustained results for capacitating and empowering women in politics.

14. While all the parties reported having established structures and policies to promote gender equality in the parties, none of the parties evidenced ownership of a Gender Action Plan. A Gender Action Plan is fundamental for drawing out the process and steps to be taken to roll out any gender equality actions. It is thus recommended that ZCSD support the parties in developing Gender Action Plans for the efficient and full realisation of gender equality ambitions of the parties and the women in politics. Progress toward targets for achieving `gender equality can be facilitated through a gender action plan with time-bound objectives, activities, indicators to monitor progress and build learning, and earmarked resources for implementation. Ideally, the plan should draw on a gender needs assessment in which women identify barriers and aids to their political participation and effectiveness.

Future Research

15. There is need for further research where CSOs / ZSCD must try and see the inclusion of women vs the financial capacities of many women participating in politics. Also finding the gap between genuine women support from the grassroots or communities in politics as there is this component of women failing to support fellow women in politics.

16. An age disaggregated gender survey or audit would be useful to understanding the different circumstances of women in politics at different ages. There is a likelihood that women face different challenges and enjoy different opportunities depending on age. This will enable researchers to zero in on the experiences of the female youths that are involved in governance and elections. This will also help to tailor responses that are appropriate for women in the different circumstances in politics and political parties.

REFERENCES

Holthaus Anna, 2018, What is a Gender Action Plan? Gender & Chemicals, Retrieved from, http://gender-chemicals.org/what-is-a-gender-action-plan

International IDEA, 2012 International IDEA Strategy 2012–2017. Retrieved from Assistancehttps://www.idea.int/sites/default/files/reference_docs/International-IDEA-Strategy-2012-2017.pdf

Kandawasvika-Nhundu Rumbidzai, (2008), Political Parties in Africa through a Gender Lens, International IDEA. Retrieved from https://www.idea.int/sites/default/files/publications/political-parties-in-africa-through-a-gender-lens.pdf

MMD (undated), Party Constitution, retrieved from, https://web.archive.org/web/20160327151158/http://mmdzambia.org/about-mmd/constitution/

MMD (2011), Party Manifesto 2011 – 2016. Retrieved from, https://web.archive.org/web/20160327183529/http://mmdzambia.org/about-mmd/manifesto/

Norris P, 2004, Building political parties: Reforming legal regulations and internal rules, International IDEA Retrieved from, https://aceproject.org/ero-en/topics/parties-and-candidates/pippa.pdf

Patriotic Front (Undated), PF Manifesto. retrieved from, https://patrioticfront.org

Teresa Sacchet, 2005, Political Parties: When do they work for Women? United Nations Retrieved from https://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/egm/eql-men/docs/EP.10_rev.pdf

UPND (undated), Party Manifesto Retrieved from: https://upndzambia.org/detailed-manifesto/

Vision

Improve lives for the vulnerable where people are healthy, educated, motivated and empowered to make informed choices.

Mission

To promote and facilitate sustainable, social economic development through collaboration and networking among NGOs, CBOs, partners.

Goal

To have a vibrant, independent and well coordinated civil society organisation in Zambia.

For further information on this study,

contact us:

Registered Office:
Plot No.: 19057 off Akashambatwa Road,
Olympia Park Extension,
P.O. Box 32997,
Lusaka 10101. Zambia

+260 977793130
+260978839278

Email: admin@zcsdev.org.zm
leahmitaba@gmail.com
www.zcsdev.org.zm

With Support From:

THE CARTER CENTER