

Zambia 2016 Elections

**MONITORING FROM A GENDER PERSPECTIVE
PRE-ELECTION, ELECTION AND POST ELECTION PERIODS**

Prepared for // **Hivos**

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1.0 Introduction

Hivos is an international organisation that seeks new solutions to persistent global issues. With smart projects in the right places, Hivos opposes discrimination, inequality, abuse of power and the unsustainable use of our planet's resources. Against this background, Hivos is implementing a programme "Women Empowered for Leadership" in six countries to promote women leadership at the political level, in public administration and civic organisation. The programme also connects with (Social) media and creative sector as demonstrated in its support to the Zambia Elections Information Centre (ZEIC) Project.

ZEIC is a multi-stakeholder platform that brings together key elections stakeholders drawn from civil society, independent management bodies, church mother bodies, development partners and political parties to work together on elections observation, monitoring, rapid response and proactive advocacy ahead of the general elections in Zambia. The platform is funded by the Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa (OSISA) and Hivos Foundation. ZEIC has an executive made up of representatives from seven civil society organisations working on elections in Zambia. These include Foundation for Democratic Process (FODEP), Southern African Centre for Constructive Resolution of Disputes (SACCORD), Transparency International Zambia (TIZ), Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA), Non-Governmental Organizations Coordinating Council (NGOCC), Zambia National Women's Lobby (ZNWL) and the Law Association of Zambia (LAZ).

1.1 The assignment objectives

The overall objectives of the assignment were as follows:

1. To provide a situation analysis with focus on media of women's equal participation and representation on party lists and platforms, women who stood as election candidates as councilor, mayor/council chair, parliamentary, presidential and political party as well as women citizen participation in elections.
2. Provide situation analysis in pre-election, Election Day and post-election activities and incidents.

1.2 Assignment deliverables

These were planned to include:

1. Production of pre-election period, election period and post-election detailed analytical report based on data collected by the ZEIC team with a focus on gender in Zambia's Tripartite Elections of 2016
2. Making at least two presentations to the ZEIC task force on key issues identified through analysis of data and information.

1.3 Report structure

The following is a report covering the pre-election, election-day and post-election analysis of women's participation in Zambia's 2016 elections. The report is structured around these three main topics and provides some analysis of the legislative and policy environment, the actual incidents where any were recorded through ZEIC, limitations experienced in trying to undertake the analysis and recommendations for consideration by civil society organisation (CSOs), Cooperating Partners (CPs) and Government.

2.0 Pre-election analysis of women's participation in the 2016 elections

2.1 Background

2.1.1 Zambia's Gender Inequality Index (GII)

Zambia's progress on gender equality can be analysed by looking at one international level index, the Gender inequality index (GII). The Index measures women's disadvantages in three dimensions namely, reproductive health; empowerment; and the labour market. It ranges from 0 which means that men and women are equally treated to 1 which means women fare poorly. According to the Human Development Report 2015, Zambia had a GII value of 0.587, ranking it 132 out of 155 countries in the 2014 index. According to the Human Development Report 2013, Zambia had a GII value of 0.623, ranking it 136 out of 148 countries in the 2012 index. In 2011, Zambia had a GII of 0.627 and was ranked 131 out of 146 countries. In 2010, this stood at 0.623.¹

2.1.2 Women's participation in politics (Members of Parliament) – past trends

The table below shows the number of women MPs between 2011 and 2015. Trends clearly show that in as far as women's representation in decision making particularly for MPs is concerned, Zambia continues to fall below the SADC Gender Protocol which advocates for 50% representation in decision making positions.

Table1: Numbers of male and female MPs 2011 - 2015

Year	Male		Female		Total
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
2011	140	88.6%	18	11.4%	158
2012	139	88.5%	18	11.5%	157
2013	134	88.1%	18	11.8%	152
2014	130	86.7%	20	13.3%	150
2015	136	86.1%	22	13.9%	158

Source: Cabinet Office

The obstacles to women's participation in politics are many and are both at the level of the women themselves, at the level of the political parties they try to be a part of and the society they try to gain acceptance and a vote from. At the individual level, issues such as women's low levels of education e.g. in 2015, 25.8 % of adult women had reached at least a secondary level of education compared to 44.0% of their male counterparts, lack of financial and other resources all impact on the women's ability to engage at different levels both as actual candidates and as voters. At the level of the political parties, the absence of quota systems means the political parties are not obliged to have women represented on their party structures or to support them. This has meant that women generally lack support from the political parties both before and during the election periods. At the level of the society, stereotypes against women including cultural norms impact negatively on the capacity of the women to gain acceptance and actually garner votes for themselves, whereas violence against women before and during the elections has tended to create a fear among the women to even stand as potential candidates.

¹ UNDP, Human Development Report, The Rise of the South: Human Progress in a Diverse World, 2013

2.1.3 Legislation in support of women

Overall, the legislative and policy framework in support for women's participation in politics both as voters and actual candidates is in place in Zambia and can be used as a basis for having women claim their rights both as voters and as political candidates. Legislation and policies include:

The Constitution: Article 45 (1) of the new constitution stipulates that Zambia's electoral system for the election of President, Member of Parliament or Councilor must ensure fair representation of the various interest groups in society and that there should be gender equity in the National Assembly or Council. Furthermore, Article 231 provides for the long sought after Gender Equity and Equality Commission whose role will be to (a) monitor, investigate, research, educate, advise and report on issues concerning gender equality; (b) ensure institutions comply with legal requirements and other standards relating to gender equality; (c) take steps to secure appropriate redress to complaints relating to gender inequality, as prescribed; and (d) perform such other functions as prescribed.

The Gender Equity and Equality Act: The Act outline the roles of public institutions in promoting gender equity and equality and specifically notes that this shall be done by: Changing the conditions and circumstances which hinder achievements of sustainable and substantive gender equity and equality; mainstreaming gender in all strategies, policies programmes and budgets so as to empower and benefit both sexes and ensuring the accommodation of the needs and interests of both sexes. Article 29 (1) clearly notes that the woman has equal basis as a man to among other things: (a) vote in elections and referendums and to be eligible for election to publicly elected bodies, (b) participate in public decision making and formulate and implement Government policies and programmes, (c) hold public office and perform public functions at all levels of Government.

The National Gender Policy: This 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. Measures include a) Strengthen capacities of women and men to take up leadership roles i) Train women and girls in leadership. ii) Develop mentorship programmes for girls and young women. iii) Organise training for women and men to participate effectively in local governance. b) Advocate for increased participation of women in decision making i) Undertake sensitisation campaigns for women to participate in decision making. ii) Lobby for women's participation with selected stake holders through meetings, letters, press statements, focussed group discussions and role modelling. c) Create platforms for women's participation in decision making i) Review the electoral system to ensure participation of women. ii) Review and revise Political Party Manifestos to promote adoption of women candidate. iii) Lobby for a quota system of allocation of seats during local and parliamentary elections.

Unfortunately, without any further elaboration of policies at the level of the political parties obliging them to actually implement what the policies and legislation have outlines, it can be expected that although there may be changes in the numbers of women that actually get into the political decision making positions, these changes will be slow and dependent on the goodwill of the political parties and the women's persistent individual fight to claim their rights.

2.2 Preparing women as voters and as candidates

Several interventions were undertaken by CSOs to prepare women both as voters and as political candidates. Interventions targeted key stakeholders critical in supporting women aspirants including the Adoption Committees of political parties, media houses, the women themselves and the community. They included among others:

1. Capacity building of potential aspirants at provincial and district level. This has included candidate coaching and mentoring.
2. Extensive civic and voter education campaigns including adverts encouraging the citizens to vote for women.
3. Engaging the Adoption Committees to jointly reach consensus on how political parties could work strategically to ensure more women were adopted.
4. Engagement of the media to enhance their understanding of what role they could play in supporting women aspirants.
5. Providing technical support to the women by providing them with posters and fliers (only for those identified as vulnerable); buying of airtime for the women on radio,

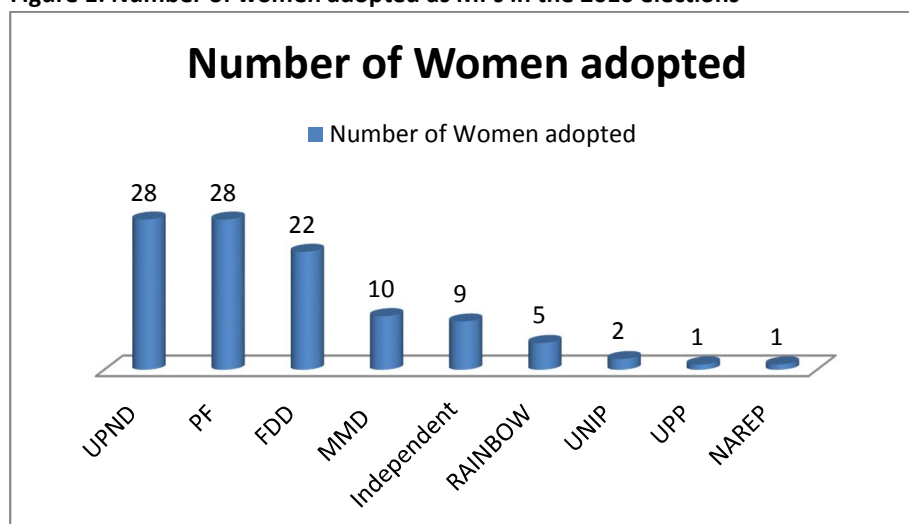
2.3 Number of women registered voters

The current Register of Voters certified on 31st July, 2016 has a total of **6,698,372** voters. Women will in the 2016 elections constitute the majority (3,372,935) of voters compared to men (3,325,437).

2.4 Women's adoption by political parties

According to a report by the ZNWL, information from political parties indicates that fewer women were adopted to contest in the 2016 elections as compared to 2011, especially at parliamentary level. In 2011, 138 women were adopted, however for the 2016 elections, only 106 women were adopted across the political parties. The Parties with the highest numbers of women adopted are the ruling party Patriotic Front (PF) and the United Party for National Democracy (UPND). This is depicted in the figure below.

Figure 1: Number of women adopted as MPs in the 2016 elections



Source: ECZ data

At councillor level, there was an improvement in women adopted as 425 women were adopted in the 2016 elections as compared to 350 in 2011.

2.5 Retention of candidates

The ZNWL also reported that some political parties adopted some of the women that were in the previous Parliament and Councils. At Parliamentary level, 15 out of the 23 women that were in Parliament were adopted by the PF and UPND. This represents 65% of the women parliamentarians adopted from the previous parliament. In 2011 only 10% of the women in Parliament were adopted. The PF adopted 12 former MPs, while UPND adopted 3 former MPs. However at councillor level, with new criteria for applying, very few women that were in the last councils were adopted given their failure to meet the required educational qualifications.

2.6 Factors that constrained female candidates from being adopted

Corruption: Corruption was one of the major challenges faced by women vying for adoption. Party Adoption Committees were soliciting for bribes in order to have their adoptions secured.

Compromised intraparty democracy: According to a report by ZNWL, women who won the primaries at ward, constituency and district levels were not adopted at provincial level. Such inconsideration for intra party democracy led to widespread demonstrations by those affected. In other cases, women who were adopted by some political parties and awarded adoption certificates, were dropped on the very last day and replaced with men.

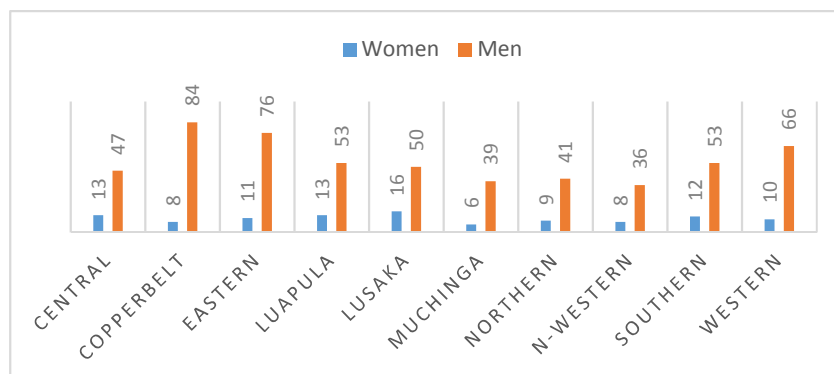
Secrecy around adoption: In some parties, adoptions were shrouded in secrecy and were conducted very close to the final days of the adoption period such that those who were not successful did not have the time to get adopted on other platforms- as independents or on other like-minded parties.

2.7 The nomination process

The filing in of nominations by candidates as declared by the Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ) was between 29th May and 3rd June 2016. With regard to Presidential and Running mate nominees, Zambia only has one female Presidential candidate out of nine candidates. This women candidate is under the Forum for Development and Democracy (FDD). There are three women running mates under the PF, Democratic Assembly (DA) and United Progressive Party (UPP) political parties.

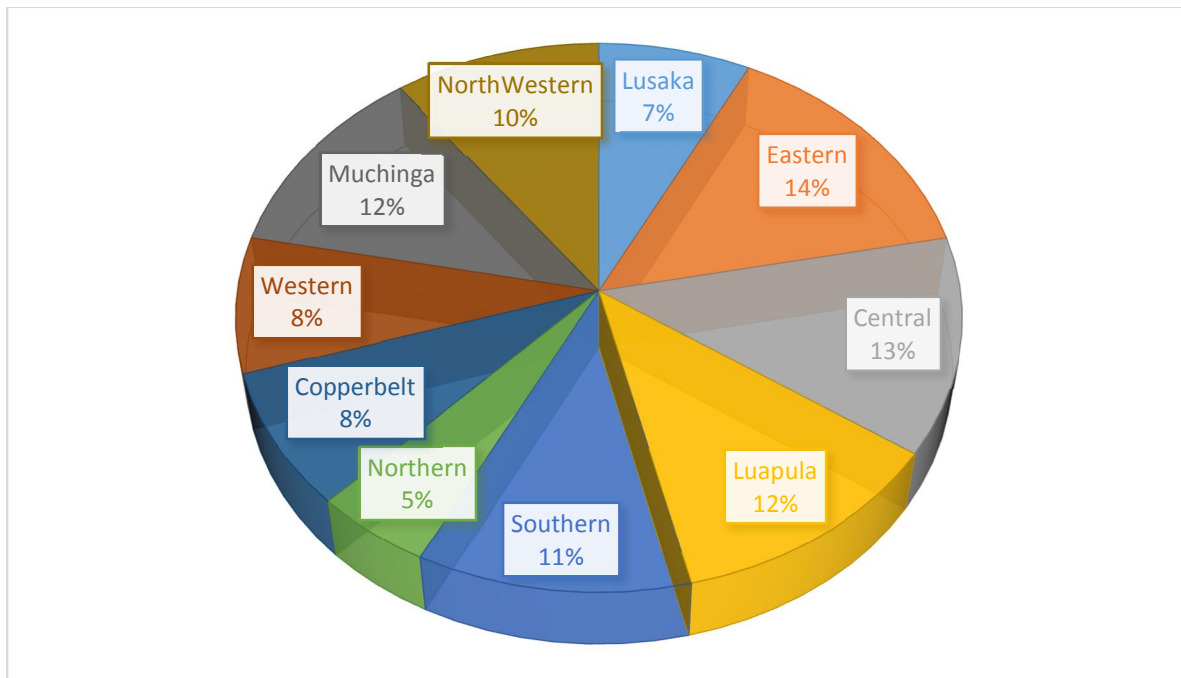
With regard to the percentage of women MPs, Lusaka has the largest number of women MPs contesting followed by Luapula and Central Province. It must be noted that although the total number of figures under ECZ data is 106, the ZNWL confirmed that there are in fact 109 women nominated but whose names were mistaken to be men's.

Figure 1 Candidates nominated for the 2016 National Assembly



Source: ECZ data

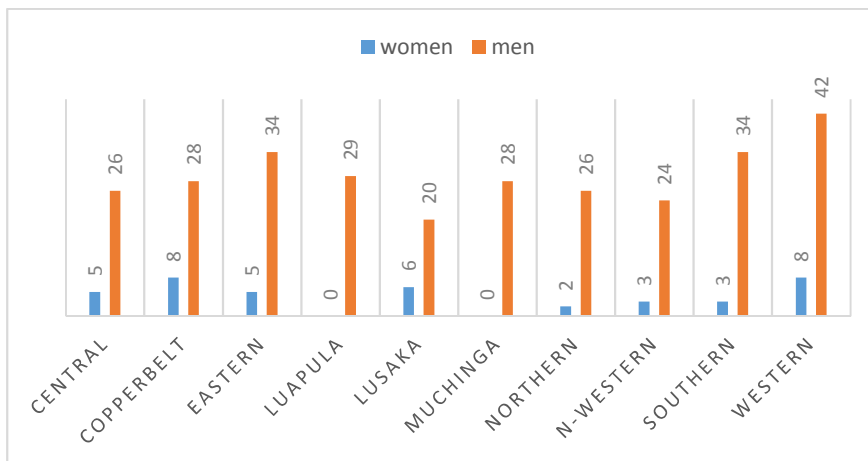
Figure 2 Percentage of women National Assembly candidates by Province



Source: ECZ data

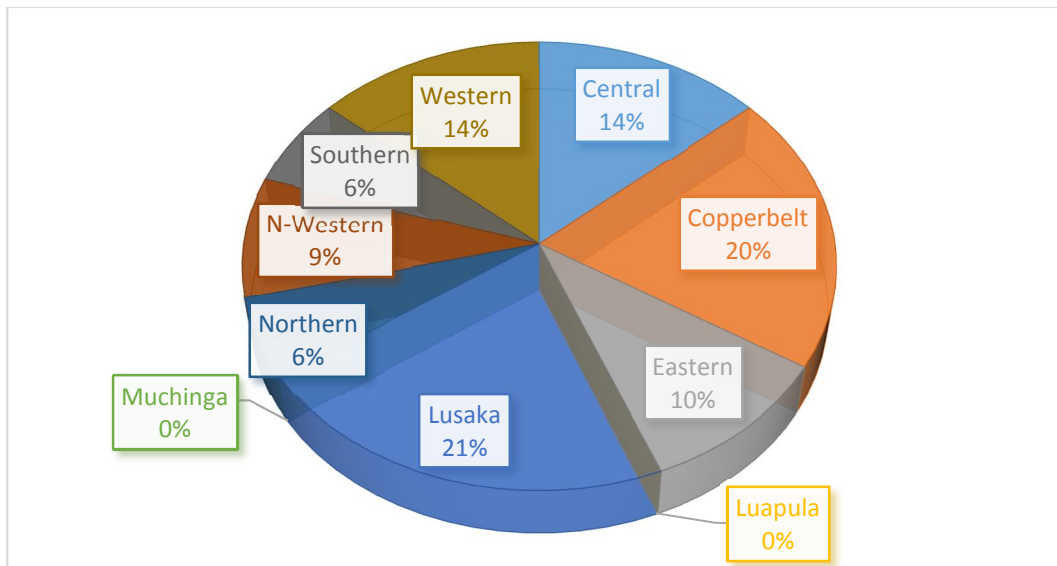
With regard to women mayors and council chairpersons that validly filed in nominations to stand in 2016 elections, the total number of candidates stood at 331 of which only 40 (9%) were female. The Copperbelt Province had the largest percentage of women followed by Central and Eastern Province respectively.

Figure 3 Nominated candidates for Mayor and Council Chairpersons



Source ECZ

Figure 4 Percentage of women Mayors and Council Chairpersons by Province



Source: ECZ data

Table 1 Candidates that validly filed in nominations as Councillors

No.	Province	Number of women	Number of men	%
1	Lusaka Province	50	333	15%
2	Eastern Province	32	495	6%
3	Central Province	37	379	10%
4	Luapula Province	34	371	11%
5	Southern Province	32	450	7%
6	Northern Province	25	408	6%
7	Copperbelt Province	86	588	15%
8	Western Province	60	459	13%
9	Muchinga Province	22	335	6%
10	North Western Province	34	347	10%
	Total	412	4165	10%

Source: ECZ data

As with the list of MPs nominated, discrepancies have been identified in the actual numbers of women standing as Councillors. According to the ZNWL, the actual number should be 425 women. Copperbelt and Lusaka Provinces have the largest percentage of female Councillors followed by Western Province.

Constraints to filling in nominations

Several constraints were experienced during the nomination process. These have been documented by the ZNWL to include:

- 1. Cumbersome and costly procedures set by ECZ for filling in nominations:** With the new Constitution, new nomination procedures have been introduced, e.g. the requirement that candidates verify their educational qualifications and get the tax clearance. This was exacerbated by the fact that the process was not decentralised and candidates had to incur the extra cost of travelling to Lusaka to undertake the process.

2. **Educational qualifications:** A number of women failed to meet the educational qualification as required by the amended Constitution of Zambia. In Article 70 (d), the Constitution provides that an aspiring Parliamentary candidate is one that has obtained, as a minimum academic qualification, a grade twelve certificate or its equivalent. Similarly, in Article 153 (4) (c) the Constitution stipulates similar academic qualifications for Councillors.
3. **High Nomination fees:** The nomination fees were increased in 2016 at both parliamentary and councillor level. Some women failed to raise this money and there were few political parties that actually paid for their candidates. The effect of this situation was threefold: i) A hike in nomination fees affected parties' mobilisation time as they had to go out to try and mobilise funds ii) A rise in nomination fees depleted the resource base for struggling small parties iii) Some parties failed to field Candidates. The indicated reduction was done following stakeholders engagement with the ECZ.

Table 2 2016 Elections nominations fees – original and final revised fees.

Category	2011 Fees (K)	2016 proposed Original Fee(K)	Reduction (K)	Final revised fee (K)	%age increase from 2011
Presidential	20,000	75,000	15,000	60,000	200%
Members of Parliament	5,000	10,000	5,000	7,500	50%
City /Municipal Councillor	100/75	2,000	1,250	750	650%/900%
Councillor	50	1,500	1, 150	400	700%
Mayor	Non applicable	10,000	5,000	5,000	N/A
Council Chairperson	-	3,500	1,500	2000	-

Source: ECZ Press release Posted May 28, 2016

- 4.
5. **Confusions in some political parties:** The alliances formed between political parties were not adequately explained to the grassroots and this left both men and women confused as aspirants did not know on which party they should then stand on. In addition, some women were asked not to file their nominations so as to allow the other party (with a candidate perceived as being stronger) to file in their nominations.

Citizen's perception on the nomination process

According to the ZEIC Weekly Report (6th June 2016 – 11th June 2016), Citizens who were engaged through the various platforms set up by ZEIC for active interaction, highlighted a number of factors that could have led to the reduction in the number of women participating in this year's election. Among others, these were;

1. The political environment in Zambia which is less than ideal due to the brutal character assassination as opposed to issue based politics.
2. There were constant sexist remarks targeted at women in politics

3. Violence associated with political parties made women vulnerable and they then desist from participating for fear of being harmed.
4. There is no political will within most political parties to empower women and let them take the lead²

2.8 The campaigning process

Issues that have affected women as they campaigned

Women, without exception went out to campaign countrywide. There are several issues that affected this campaign. Some of the issues affected both the men and the women, while others affected the women more. These include the following:

1. **Suspension period on election campaigns:** The ECZ on 9th July, 2016 imposed a 10 days suspension period on election campaigns that ended on the 18th of July, 2016. The campaigns were suspended in Namwala and Lusaka districts where there were known cases of escalating violence.
2. **Political incidences at presidential rallies and elsewhere:** Violence, and particularly the fear of violence has been one of the issues raised in past elections as affecting women. The 2016 election campaign period was marred with incidents of violence not just at political rallies but also in residential areas across different towns. Violence against women took different forms including beatings, being stripped naked when in party regalia and being shot by the police. A critical shortcoming is that reporting on violence is not disaggregated by sex. A noted phenomenon is that as in the areas of gender based violence (where women have been documented to strip fellow women for “bad dressing”), women are also notably perpetrating violence against fellow women. Basically, the views of the men that see violence as an answer to resolving issues have started to be internalised, accepted and practiced by the women.
3. **Inadequate financial support from their parties:** Women did not received financial support from their respective parties and a noted constraint was that the women were expected to make a contribution towards the production of campaign materials like posters.
4. **Coverage by print and electronic media:** Media portrayal and profiling of women has also been an issue of concern in the past with issues such as women not being able to bribe journalists to cover them; women having inadequate skills to express and sell themselves as candidates and consequently media focussing on the men because they are perceived as being easier to cover.

2.9 Women participating as potential voters

Women all have the right to vote and also have the right to access among other things civic rights education as well as information provided to citizens during campaign rallies. Access to this education and to information enhances women’s capacities to make informed decisions in the next step which is the voting stage. It can be deduced that the pre-election violence impacted on a number of women in the following ways: women bear the brunt of looking after family members and so for those that were maimed, there is a possibility that they did not actually go out to vote. Secondly, the fear of falling prey to the violence could have potentially stopped some women from going out to vote. This is potentially worse for women living with disabilities. As noted in the Disability report by Bruce Choma (Disability Rights Watch) the political environment during the official campaign period was not conducive to persons with disabilities due to the escalation of political violence and intolerance. This

² ZEIC Weekly report I - 6th June 2016 – 11th June 201

had the effect of discouraging persons with disabilities from coming out to attend political meetings including rallies where they could have accessed messages on which to base their decisions. Although this report does not provide disaggregated data, women potential voters can be assumed to have been affected.

2.10 Limitations to the analysis

A critical limitation to this analysis was that the gender monitors were only sent out into the field a week before the elections and it was therefore not possible to capture a lot of issues during the pre-election period.

2.11 Key recommendations for pre-election interventions

Based on the issues raised above it is recommended that:

1. In preparation for the 2021 elections, work with the women and the political parties starts immediately. This should include CSOs undertaking some advocacy to get in place a policy or piece of legislation that will oblige the political parties to adopt a quota system.
2. Awareness raising should be conducted particularly on the new requirements of the Constitution to allow the women to acquire the right education levels by the next election year.
3. The issue of how violence has impacted on the women is researched and documented and becomes an agenda item for all promoting the rights of women's participation in politics.
4. All sensitizations around violence include issues around violence being perpetrated by women and focus on the positives of maintaining cultural and moral values.
5. ZEIC partners ensure that gender monitors are sent out at the start of the campaign period with appropriate tools to collect data on issues affecting women in this period.

3.0 Election Day analysis of women’s participation in the 2016 elections

3.1 Legislation and policy pronouncements in support of women on Election Day

An election is not in compliance with international obligations and standards unless it includes the opportunity for full and equal participation by women as well as men. There are several Sections within the different pieces of Legislation as well as pronouncements by the Elections Commission of Zambia that are in support of women’s participation even as voters. These include:

Electoral Process Act 2016: People living with disability: The Electoral Commission of Zambia committed to enhance the provision of electoral services for persons with disabilities in the 2016 general elections to ensure their full inclusion in line with the High Court judgment of 2011 in which the court ruled that the ECZ was running an inaccessible and discriminatory electoral system. The Act provides various provisions in support of women and particularly people with disability, who, if they are women would meet double discrimination, as a woman and as a person living with a disability. The Act for instance provides for the assistance of people with physical disabilities. It states in part... A person may assist a voter to vote where— (a) the voter requires assistance due to a physical disability.

ECZ pronouncements on the ECZ website/Press releases: ECZ further went on to identify sections of the society that would need assistance when voting. These included: expectant mothers, persons with disabilities, the aged; and the illiterate. Expectant mothers were going to be allowed to go to the front of queue; Persons with disabilities were also to be allowed to go to the front of the queue and provided with appropriate needed assistance when entering the polling station or when voting, in particular with marking their ballot papers; The aged were also to be allowed to go to the front of the queue and those that were Illiterate were to be assisted with marking the ballot paper.

For the visually impaired, ECZ had promised to have available ballot paper jacket. The ballot paper jacket/template was aimed at ensuring that a voter makes a personal choice while maintaining the secrecy of the ballot during the voting process.

Electoral Process Act 2016: Protection of citizens from language which incites hatred or violence: Schedule (Section 107) Code Of Conduct 4 covers Obligation of Political Parties and candidates during elections(2) A member or supporter of a political party or a candidate shall not (a) use language which incites hatred or violence in any form against any person.

3.2 Voter turn-out and actual voting

The overall voter turnout is as indicated below shows that 56.45% of the registered voters actually turned out to vote. According to the Disability Rights Watch Report (2016 by Bruce Chona), the ECZ failed to avail statistics on persons with disabilities they captured during voter registration and also information on which polling stations they had targeted for provision of services for persons with visual impairments as planned. This puts a limitation on how far one can analyse the turn-out of women and men living with disabilities.

Table 2 Total number of voters and votes cast

Total number of voters	Total votes cast	Voter turn out
6,698,372	3,781,505	56.45%

Across all the polling stations, it was observed that a lot of women turned out to vote. What remains unknown is the number of women that perhaps bore the burden of looking after those that had fallen prey to the violence and that did not actually vote. It was also noted that the turnout of women was larger in the morning at several polling stations than in the afternoon, this is indicative of women's preference to vote in the morning so as to allow them to undertake other activities the rest of the day.

3.3 Polling station staff

It was noted that more than 40% of the polling staff were women with no incidents reported of the women being harassed by voters on account of them being women. This is indicative of the fact that there is recognition and acceptance on the part of ECZ and the general public that women can and should play a greater role in the governance processes.

3.4 Support to women voters at polling stations

Elderly women, pregnant and lactating mothers: The experience of assistance to elderly women was different across the polling stations. Reports from the monitors indicate that in a large number of polling stations, the elderly were being provided with assistance and were being allowed to go to the front of the queue to allow them to quickly vote. On the other hand there were reported cases at some polling stations where the elderly were not being assisted and were instead left to stand in queues for a long time. This points to the need to have ECZ polling agents better trained to look out for this category of citizens

Women living with disability: According to the Elections Report on Disability, 2016, reports from independent monitoring on Election Day showed that the ECZ had not procured any temporal ramps for polling stations that had no permanent ramps. Some polling stations had adjustments made to their physical environment including the erection of permanent ramps, a move noted as commendable. With regard to voters with visual impairments those talked to confirmed that they did not use the braille jacket meant to protect their secret ballot because they lacked awareness on how to use it and some were not braille literate. The jackets seen were only for presidential candidates and it is not clear if the ECZ produced jackets for the other four categories of candidates. In most polling stations visited the voting materials for persons with disabilities were not received and a good number of polling officers had no idea of the existence of voting facilities for persons with visual impairments and other types of disabilities.³

3.5 Issues affecting women voters

There were several women that were not able to vote. Reasons for this included:

1. Women that could not vote because they had previously lost their National Registration Cards (NRCs) and had failed to have them replaced. These were turned away from the polling stations. This questions the extent to which the sensitisation messages on re-registration actually reached the women
2. Some were underage, turning 18 later during the year but thought they could vote. Again this also questions the civic education conducted and how far the messages given were understood.
3. There were no separate queues for women and as such the queues were long and some may have left to go home. This though would have to be verified through a research.

³ Bruce Choma/Disability Rights Watch: Elections Report on Disability, 2016

4. Some polling agents were not aware of the fact that women did not have to remove nail varnish and had women spend a long time trying to remove the varnish with car keys among other things. This is despite the 20th of January 2015 Press Release that advised that women were not to be turned away and were to have their skin around their nails inked.
5. There was a case of a 75 year old woman that was recorded as deceased in the register and was not allowed to vote. This is in line with the Act that clearly stipulates thatA person shall not— (a) at any election, apply for a ballot paper in the name of some other person, living or dead, or of a fictitious person. A concern here would be the fact that the elderly women had not been able to verify her details.
6. At the point when the polling station had actually been shut, a woman at Nkhwazi School in Lusaka was refused exit and re-entry to the polling station when she asked to be allowed to go and nurse her crying baby.

The issues raised above point to two critical issues. The first being the extent to which women as potential voters have been able to access services and data from ECZ and the capacity of the ECZ officials to ensure that what ECZ has made pronouncements on is actually done.

3.6 Technical issues with the Referendum

The Referendum Register: The Referendum Register was not disaggregated by sex.

Missing Referendum Register: At one polling station visited, the Register had not been delivered by lunch time and it is not clear how many women turned away and did not vote.

3.7 Harassment of women

Some candidates disregarded the Electoral Code of Conduct and several incidents were recorded on the ZEIC platforms that included vote buying, presence of campaign materials at the Polling Stations and voters clashing with the police.

Specifically with regard to women, information from the ZEIC platform indicated that there had been reported intimidation of women in Kalomo Constituency at Green Acres Polling Station where suspected UPND cadres are reported to have threatened and physically harassed a group of women. The report documents that there was no action from police. Whether or not these women managed to vote is not documented. However, harassment of women has the potential to affect their voting and is against the legislative and policy frameworks in support of women and their rights to participate in elections.

3.8 Adherence to the Electoral Process Act

Corrupt and illegal practices and other election offence that were experienced was a case of impersonation which is clearly outlawed in the Code of Conduct which notes as criminal the attempt to impersonate— (i) a representative of a registered political party; (ii) a candidate in an election; (iii) a member, employee or officer of the Commission; or (iv) a person appointed by an accredited observer, or monitor. An incident registered under this category was where a woman tried to impersonate a representative from the PF when she was actually supporting an independent. Her motives for doing this were not documented.

3.9 Limitations in doing this analysis

The analysis was going to be strengthened if data had been coming through the ZEIC platforms, unfortunately, on Election Day, very little data was received from the monitors in the field through the platform and interviews had to be held with individual observers and individuals that had gone out to vote and made some observations that they were able to confirm.

The reported incidents off of the ZEIC platform were incomplete, in that the actual details of the incidents were not being narrated and as such it was difficult to analyse why certain things did in fact happen.

3.10 Key recommendations

The following are the key recommendations made based on the reported incidents.

1. There is need to review the communication methods used by ECZ to ensure that women do receive information affecting them and can make informed decisions or at least claim their rights – the case of nail varnish.
2. Too little is known about the impact that the pre-election violence had on the women. There is therefore need to commission a study on the impact of violence on women voters and also look at the role women play in perpetrating the violence, either by harbouring the male perpetrators or themselves inciting violence.
3. The case of women living with disability and their experience as they went out to vote is not documented and as such it is unclear on what basis ECZ can then base any decisions and plans to improve on what was provided to those in need. It is recommended that support is provided to the Disability Rights Watch to investigate this and produce a policy brief on the same.
4. It is also recommended that EZC reviews their training of officers to ensure that all provisions are understood particularly in relation to those that need help (the elderly, the pregnant and lactating mothers and those living with disabilities) and the waiving of specific regulations (nail varnish).
5. For the next elections, the gender monitors should be provided with specific issues to look out for and also tailor the reporting back system to ensure it allows for narratives to be given so the essence of what has been reported is captured.

4.0 Post-election analysis

4.1 Representation of women and men elected at different levels - Global trends

In 2015 parliamentary elections took place in 58 countries across the world, with regard to women's representation, some regions did better than others and a few individual countries made dramatic progress. The 2015 showed that for the second year in a row, the number of women Members of Parliament (MPs) across the world rose by a worryingly low 0.5 percentage point. Women now account for 22.6 per cent of the world's MPs. Women's parliamentary representation, seemed to plateau, increasing by only 0.5 percentage points from the previous year. The more significant gains achieved in 2013 that saw an increase of 1.5 percentage points in the global average were not repeated.

In sub-Saharan Africa particularly, despite the violence and conflict that marred elections in a number of countries, women MPs nevertheless increased their numbers by 0.7 percentage point. With a regional average of 23.2 per cent women MPs, strongest electoral gains were made in Ethiopia and Tanzania, due mainly to quotas. In Ethiopia, the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front has a voluntary 30% candidate quota and reportedly nominated women in 40% of its lists. In addition, the National Electoral Board of Ethiopia increased its financial support from 10% at the last election to 15% in 2015 for parties that fielded women candidates. In Tanzania, 113 seats are reserved for women (allocated to political parties in proportion to their share of the electoral vote). In addition, two of the five members from Zanzibar and five of the 10 members appointed by the President must

be women. Women also contested open seats. A total of 136 women (36.6%) were elected to the National Assembly

4.2 Representation of women and men elected at different levels in Zambia

4.2.1 Presidential level

The Presidential elections were won by the Patriotic Front President, Edgar Chagwa Lungu who polled 1,860,877 votes, representing 50.3% of the votes. Out of the nine presidential candidates, the only women that stood came third in the race with 24,149 votes. The President Elects' Running Mate is a woman.

4.2.1 Parliamentary level

In Zambia, the trends indicate a percentage increase in the number of women parliamentarians between 2011 and 2015. At Parliamentary level out of the 106 women that stood, 26 women won the elections representing 25%. Out of these, the Patriotic Front which is the ruling party has the highest of women MPs followed by UPND. From a provincial perspective, Lusaka Province has the largest number of women MPs.

4.2.2 Mayor/Council Chairperson Level

Preliminary results obtained at Mayor/Council Chairperson level at Council level indicate that At Mayoral level out of the 37 women that contested elections, nine women representing 24% actually went through.

4.2.3 Council Level

Preliminary results obtained at Council level indicate that out of the 425 women that contested the 2016 General Elections, 125 emerged winners, representing 29%. The performance of women in the 2016 elections at Council level has improved when compared to the 2011 elections when only 85 women won the elections. The percentage increase of women winning elections is now at 47%. Democracy needs women in order to be truly democratic, and women need democracy if they are to change the systems and laws that preclude them and society as a whole, from attaining equality. The increase at this level of Government is encouraging and the interventions that were implemented to get to have this improvement need to be documented and replicated between now and the next elections in 2021.

4.3 Key limitations in doing this analysis

A key limitation in undertaking an analysis of the post-election period was the fact that there was no formal system in place to monitor what was actually happening across the country. As such the extent to which incidents like post-election violence impacted on women voters, candidates and those that emerged winners remains unknown.

4.4 Conclusion and recommendations

With the results showing that at all levels of Government the women that have gone through are still below 30% representation, Zambia still has a lot of work to do to reach the 50% threshold as prescribed under the SADC Gender Protocol. The political parties are not obliged to adopt women and getting them to increase the numbers by engaging them on the matter will be a very slow process. What is being recommended is that all work to promote women's increased participation in elections be based on formal policies and legislation that will oblige the political parties to comply. As such, the recommendations made below are based on a combination of two strategies

1. Promoting the implementation of equal opportunity policies

2. Developing and implementing positive action policies

It is recommended that Government implements the equal opportunity policies that are already in place. By promoting the implementation of the already set policies, Government will be “leveling the playing field” and thereby promoting gender equality. This should apply to policies promoting equal opportunities in society in general and also specifically to the process of election or appointment to legislative office.

Recommendations to Government

1. The Government calls for dramatic reform of party selection procedures and specifically clarifies what strategies will be put in place to ensure the implementation of the objectives under the National Gender Policy that call for: ii) Reviewing and revising Political Party Manifestos to promote adoption of women candidate. iii) Lobbying for a quota system of allocation of seats during local and parliamentary elections. Policies ensuring that women and men have equal legal rights as citizens, including rights to stand for elected office, to free speech, and to participate equally in political parties, organizations and groups, without fear of discrimination are in place, what needs to be ensured is their implementation.
2. Government considers expanding equal opportunities for women and men in human development, including in the spheres of primary, secondary and tertiary education, training and employment. In this regard expanding access to adult education for women should be a priority so that at least at the local level, those women that had wanted to stand in this year’s elections can actually stand in 2021 having attained the required education levels.
3. Government should consider the use of reserved legislative seats where only women can be appointed or elected. These should be established by electoral law.
4. Moving beyond numbers there is need for Government and in particular Parliament to establish a functional select committee that focuses on women’s issues and that can raise issues that are a priority for women and review how women are impacted by Government policy. If one such committee already exists, there is need to have it supported and ensure it is functional.

Recommendations for CSOs.

1. CSOs should continue to provide skills training for female candidates, elected representatives, and support staff in the techniques of political communications and media-management, election campaigning, public speaking and debate.
2. CSOs should also plan and implement programs providing direct financial aid or indirect subsidies to assist candidates pay for electoral expenses.
3. Monitoring of incidents and documentation of the same should continue past the Election Day. This should include setting a lead time by which the elected women representatives should be called together and their experiences documented and disseminated.
4. A research should be instituted that looks at the political party structures and Manifestoes and how these constrain or promote women’s participation in politics. With this analysis the general public and the political parties should be engaged on a way forward.
5. Laws formalize women’s rights and provide the framework that defines the environment in which women exercise agency. As such there will be need to ensure that the policy and legislative frameworks in all sectors are supportive of gender equality. It is recommended that a study is commissioned that analyses the legislative and policy framework and identifies areas where reviews may be required and where implementation is what needs to be promoted.

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