

**WOMEN IN LAW AND DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA  
(WILDAF) ZAMBIA**

**PRELIMINARY INTERIM REPORT ON BASELINE SURVEY CONDUCTED  
BY WILDAF ON ISSUES RELATED TO WOMEN PARTICIPATION IN  
ELECTORAL PROCESSES**

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## **FOREWORD**

WiLDAF Zambia undertook some advocacy activities on increasing the participation of women in the electoral process in Zambia's 2006 Presidential, Parliamentary and Local Government elections, with emphasis of attaining the SADC Declaration on equal representation of men and women in decision making structures at all levels. The activities aimed at promoting enhanced citizen participation in the democratic process and the promotion of a democratic culture in Zambia included

- Increasing voter confidence for women councilor candidates by providing a platform for the women to engage in issue based debates at ward level.
- Establishing local support groups for women and strengthening their capacity to carryout an effective advocacy for the support of women candidates in the 2006 elections by engaging the political parties to adopt women candidates, providing moral support to women candidates and building public support for the women candidates
- Mobilizing public support for women candidates by undertaking public awareness activities through community radio stations and popular education and the production of information materials on supporting women candidates
- Gathering baseline information on issues related to women participation in the electoral process as candidates for further advocacy for the implementation of electoral laws that will increase women participation

This is therefore, a preliminary report on the baseline survey conducted.

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## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

WiLDAF Zambia would like to extend their sincere gratitude to Irish Aid for supporting the advocacy activities on increasing the participation of women in the electoral process in Zambia's 2006 Presidential, Parliamentary and Local Government elections, with emphasis of attaining the SADC Declaration on equal representation of men and women in decision making structures at all levels.

WiLDAF Zambia would also like to thank the members of the working groups formed in the districts to facilitate district activities as well as administer questionnaires to the general public, women candidates and political parties.

We also acknowledge the WiLDAF network members and the NGOCC provincial structures for their support in the implementation of the WiLDAF activities on advocating for increased women participation.

## 1. BACKGROUND & CONTEXT

Enhancing the participation of women in democratic transitions remains a major challenge for African countries emerging from crises or conflicts and authoritarian rule. Indeed despite official pronouncements in favor of scaled-up women participation in political governance processes, it is worrying that countries like Zambia, which despite not experiencing violent political upheavals detrimental to increased women's participation in political and governance processes, still consistently fail to meet benchmarks outlined in international and regional conventions such as the SADC Protocol on 30% representation of women in decision making positions.

The September 28 polls (2006), which were won by the ruling Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) have been described by various observer missions as having being "free and fair". This has been the consistent assessment of most observer teams which observed the polls such as the Commonwealth observer group<sup>1</sup>. Though this assessment may hold true across the board, Zambia's electoral regime could be faulted for a gender bias, which systematically constrains women from effectively participating in elections at Presidential, parliamentary and local government levels. Can an electoral regime which has 'built in' obstacles which hinder the meaningful participation of women be credibly characterized as "free and fair"? It is worth noting that whereas two of the eleven presidential aspirants were women in the 2001 elections, none of the five Presidential candidates in the 2006 tripartite elections was a woman<sup>2</sup>. Thus, despite being the majority, women once again failed the political gender test in the 2006 tripartite elections. The failure in Zambia was even more puzzling because apart from the fact that they had numerical advantage at the voting roll, women were prominent and active in the campaigns.

It is against this inauspicious background that this preliminary report seeks to present a general profile of the experiences and performance of women candidates in the just ended elections.

To begin with, the experiences of women candidates in the adoption processes in political parties and campaign processes will be considered, followed by the general public's perceptions of women candidates. The level of political party support for women candidates is another angle from which to gauge Zambia's progress in increasing representation of women in positions of decision making. Lastly an evaluation of the existing policies and legal framework that facilitate women participation – their efficacy and relevance, especially regarding the 2006 general elections is undertaken. In summary a table showing the performance of Women in Law and Development (WILDAF) in equipping women with the necessary capacities to compete in elections will be presented.

## 2. EXPERIENCES OF WOMEN CANDIDATES IN THE ADOPTION PROCESSES IN POLITICAL PARTIES AND CAMPAIGN PROCESSES

### 2.1. Preliminary Empirical Evidence

The Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ) recorded 3,940,053 eligible voters for 2006 general elections, 52.02% were female and 47.98% were male<sup>3</sup>. The distribution of parliamentary candidates by gender shows 106 female candidates and 603 male candidates, bringing the total number of parliamentary candidates to 709.<sup>4</sup> Out of this total number of parliamentary candidates 27 were independents while their male counterparts were 130.<sup>5</sup> For Local Government participation the gender distribution was as follows 17 female candidates contesting as independents against 317 male candidates. From those who stood on party tickets 370 were female candidates, while there were 3,391 male candidates, bringing the total up to 4,095 participants for local government. In the 2001 tripartite elections, out of a total number of 1,198 Parliamentary candidates, only 202 of these were women, representing a 16% participation stake.<sup>6</sup> Ultimately the 2001 elections brought forth a heavily male dominated Parliament that had only 12% female showing.<sup>7</sup> The difference in the 2006 Tripartite elections is only marginal but nevertheless important, according to Times of Zambia<sup>8</sup> ... the 22 elected members of Parliament (MPs) this year showed that there was an increase of a marginal two per cent compared to the 2001 elections which had 19 women MPs. This cursory empirical

evidence is as a result of a number of underlying socio-economic, cultural factors, which we shall now turn our attention to.

## 2.2.Challenges women have encountered

The challenges that women have encountered can be classified in three. First and foremost women are limited by scarcity of resources; these include financial resources, logistical support, training and information. Secondly women lack educational qualifications while some are crippled by illiteracy. Thirdly, political socialization of women and men, public perceptions and stereotypes of politics have posed a tremendous challenge for women. Lastly and more importantly political parties failure and reluctance to adopt aspiring candidates, and the lack of a leveled the playing field which particularly disadvantages aspiring women candidates. These factors have diminished only in lesser degrees for the last (2006) general elections. Women were still faced with these major hurdles in their efforts to join decision making processes.

### 2.2.1. Financial Resource Constraints

The financial challenge looms high under resource constraint, women are not hindered in offering themselves to play a larger role in politics, however failure to purchase basic needs and put aside finances which help build their political careers was considered to be difficult. This factor has been described as malleable in the sense that numerous organizations governmental and non-governmental including political parties are willing and able to source and mobilize funds to support women. Furthermore incremental social economic development tends to mitigate the setback of financial constrains. By and large women, in the WILDAF questionnaires examined, expressly stated how they were handicapped by lack of financial support.

### 2.2.2. Educational Inadequacy

Another factor inhibiting enhanced women participation is limited education, empirical evidence surveys show that women immensely appreciate the ability to express themselves assertively in English. By and large workshops and training conducted by various organizations, for instance the Foundation for Democratic Process (FODEP) and Zambia National Women's Lobby (ZNWL) show an impartation of leadership skills

which have helped bridge the gap in equipping women with knowledge where there was none. Ballington and Matland<sup>9</sup> have observed that an argument that is sometimes used by political parties is that there are not enough women willing to stand for elections as they lack experience and confidence to stand, which may be true to some extent. WILDAF's Progress Report on Facilitation of Women's Effective Participation in the Electoral Process-2006 Project states that a number of women wishing to stand as MPs were limited in terms of the education qualification requirement for MPs. Moreover high illiteracy rates among women only fuel arguments about their lack of qualifications. This argument is somewhat related to the level of development – with development comes increased resources and ambition, which established democracies have shown lead to a greater willingness to accept women as candidates by the parties and the general electorate<sup>10</sup>.

#### 2.2.3. Social/Family responsibilities

Other barriers cited in questionnaire responses examined included social and family responsibilities. The full participation of women in political campaign processes has not been easy due to this responsibility. Active campaigning demands time and flexibility which few people, particularly women with families, can afford. In many families, women assume primary parenting responsibilities which are often extremely difficult to combine with long hours of campaigning, consequently political parties were not eager to engage women because they were fully aware of how this factor could hinder their entire campaign process.

#### 2.2.4. The adoption and campaign processes

Political parties' failure to fund female candidates was also regarded as leaving women to fend for themselves – The Board Secretary of ZNWL commented that “ Considering that most women are economically disadvantaged, the decision to fund their own campaigns was another way of vetoing some candidates, adoption must be done well in advance”.

The Zambia National Women's Lobby (ZNWL) has reiterated the need for President Mwanawasa to use his prerogative and appoint many women to bridge the gap between men and women. This was stated in the wake of the nation failing to attain the 30% women representation. This failure is seen to be the major factor inhibiting a more rigorous approach by political parties in the adoption processes of women candidates. As of now political parties support for female candidates is largely lukewarm. The women's lobby observed that late adoptions and lack of resources greatly affected the number of women who intended to contest because they had little time to conduct their campaigns. Where adoption was effected there is a perception that a tendency exists to adopt women on the basis of "her bank account, social prestige or party service rendered by a deceased husband" or alternatively because it enhanced the political party's general outlook to the electorate.

There is a general perception that Zambians are not ready to devolve high level leadership roles to women. Many hold the view that this perception is not only predominant in men but more so in women. The argument is that women constitute a larger percentage of the population but still prefer to give their vote to male candidates thus political parties have not been anxious to engage female candidates that do not possess a compelling profile.

### 3. PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS OF WOMEN CANDIDATES

Politics have been traditionally viewed as a male dominated, competitive and confrontational environment. Zambia is still predominantly traditional; perceptions of women have remained unchanged for decades by men and women themselves. These perceptions are deeply ingrained within the broader society, and are mainly a fusion of cultural, social and religious factors. The cultural context usually influences the perception of how friendly the political environment will be to women standing for election and the likelihood of winning. In highly patriarchal and traditional societies, women seeking leadership positions are often discriminated against and view politics as hostile and aggressive<sup>11</sup>. Customary law often asserts that males are often heads of



households and are better equipped to deal with decision-making, especially in rural areas.

Women had to face such opinions. Further these opinions often reinforce negative psychological barrier in the minds of women who have not gained confidence or are relatively new to the system. Ballington and Matland<sup>12</sup> contend that gender socialization remains a barrier for some women, particularly in traditional, patriarchal societies where men have traditionally been positioned as “breadwinners” and accustomed to raising money for their own use. Where women are traditionally relegated to the private sphere, they are not typically accustomed to raising funds or even considering candidacy as a personal opinion.

All in all, these perceptions tend to prove to be more rigid and less likely to change in the short term. As alluded to resource constraint is more receptive to alteration and can be largely eliminated hence malleable, unlike the attitudes and beliefs of the wider community. Thus; responses in the questionnaires like women being branded as ‘prostitutes’ as ‘promiscuous’ because they desire to spend more time in male dominated positions tend to deter women from participating more meaningfully in politics.

#### 4. LEVEL OF POLITICAL PARTY SUPPORT FOR WOMEN CANDIDATES

Political parties are entrusted with perhaps the most strategic responsibility in democracy – to prepare and select candidates for election and to support them in positions of leadership and governance.<sup>13</sup> Research reveals that most political parties’ assistance to female aspiring candidates ranges from moral encouragement to financial help in form of nomination fees. The total amount of support offered by parties tends to be inconsequential, items like bicycles, chitenge material, food stuffs do little in building capacity, thus the general perception by most women rights advocacy groups is the importance of lobbying government to adopt the recommendation of the Electoral Reform Technical Committee(ERTC) recommendations of “a quota system obliging political parties to provide at least 30% women candidates for the constituency based seats in order to qualify for the proportional representation system.”<sup>14</sup>

A number of political parties have partnered with women's movements in an effort to support women candidates. WILDAF has convened provincial forums on the ERTC and Mungomba Constitutional Review Commission (CRC) proposed Electoral Reforms aimed at increasing women participation in political governance. Their objectives were: first to create awareness of the ERTC and CRC proposed reforms to increase women's participation, and secondly to galvanize community support for the implementation of these proposed reforms.

The number of potential women candidates has been greatly increased by the presence of WILDAF, women's rights advocacy groups, and international organizations that have been involved in encouraging, preparing and training women for election. In collaboration with these partners, WILDAF has been instrumental in encouraging women to contest elections, often working directly in partnership with political parties themselves.

Although most of the political party Manifestos have some provisions ensuring that women are included and catered for in the developmental process, non of them have clearly articulated policies and benchmarks aimed at raising the profile of women in their governance and decision-making mechanisms. None have any affirmative action measures to encourage women participation in recognition of the many hindrances and obstacles that women face. Non have training and other capacity building mechanisms in place to ensure effective women participation. Non seem to recognize the special needs of women as a disadvantaged group.

A recurring criticism that has been made by political commentators against Zambia's political parties is that despite their pronouncements in favor of transparency and good governance in the management of national affairs, they do not practice internal democracy themselves. The imposition of unpopular candidates on lower party organs by higher organs has been cited as a practice which undermines democratic development and constrains the evolution of a genuine culture of democracy in Zambia. In the absence of an internal culture of democracy in Zambia's political parties, it will be difficult to dismantle the cultural prejudices that disadvantage women in the process of selecting candidates at Presidential, Parliamentary and Local Government levels.

## 5. EXISTING POLICIES AND LEGAL FRAMEWORK FACILITATING WOMEN PARTICIPATION

The above arguments are clear indicators that very little legislation is in place that ensures the comprehensive and effective participation of women in decision making.

### 5.1. National Gender Policy

Zambia's National Gender Policy has been in place since March 2000. Though the policy document's central thrust is 'affirmative action' aimed at creating a 'state of equality between females and males through implementation of deliberate aimed at elevating the status of the disadvantaged'<sup>15</sup>, the document does not lay down a 'road-map' to enhance the participation of women in political governance.

Though the policy undertakes to, 'create a mechanism to facilitate the active participation of women at all levels of the political process including the implementation of affirmative action', there is no evidence to suggest that such a mechanism has been created. A major challenge such a mechanism must address is how to ensure that women's participation is enhanced in the electoral platforms of all political parties.

### 5.2. Electoral Reform Technical Committee (ERTC)

Though the current MMD government has ratified the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) to provide for the protection of women's rights, this broad policy shift is however not sufficient to significantly enhance women's participation in political governance. Women's organizations have lobbied for a more meaningful legislation that ensures through constitutional provision that women get the due representation, thus the Electoral Reform Technical Committee recommendations. This ERTC was appointed by Government to analyze and review the electoral process and make recommendations aimed at improving the current system (WILDAF Zambia: The Electoral Reforms).

The ERTC's report was submitted to the Ministry of Justice in August 2005. In the context of this preliminary report, The ERTC's most relevant recommendations were as follows:

- a. A mixed member proportional system that combines the current constituency based system with a proportional representation system. This would therefore entail a 200 member parliament, 160 of whom will be constituency based and 30 will be elected on the basis of proportional representation. 25 of the 30 proportional representation MPs will be women, 3 will be persons with disabilities and 2 youths. Further, there will be 10 nominated MPs to be nominated by the President and 30% of these would be women.

As is now common knowledge, proportional representation systems (PR) are viewed as the most 'woman-friendly'. It is no coincidence that 13 of the 15 countries with the highest representation of women use some form of proportional representation and have an average representation of 34.7 percent women in their parliaments<sup>16</sup>. At the other end of the spectrum, the 15 countries with the lowest representation of women use plurality or majority systems, averaging one percent women in their legislatures<sup>17</sup>. Zambia's method of voting falls under simple plurality or "the first past the post" system. This system has not been successful in raising the participation of women mainly because of its structural features. It is important to highlight the features of the PR that makes it desirable in

enhancement of women's participation. Ballington and Matland observe that magnitudes are essential.

'To begin with one of the important factors is that PR systems have higher district magnitudes which typically produce higher party magnitudes: the district magnitude is the number of seats per district and the party magnitude is the number of seats a party can win in a district. The magnitudes are important because they affect party strategy when choosing candidates. They argue that if district magnitude is one, as in majoritarian systems, the party can only win one seat in a district and cannot 'balance the party ticket'. Female candidates must compete directly with men, and when nominating a woman, a party must deny the aspirations of all men in that district. When district magnitude increases, the chances that a party will win several seats increases and party leaders may be more conscious of balancing its ticket. Secondly in PR systems, a party receives seats in direct proportion to their overall share of the national vote, with seats being filled from lists of candidates submitted by political parties. Most PR systems use closed lists where the political party determines the rank ordering of candidates. This system has proven to be the most beneficial for women, provided that a sufficient number of women are nominated as candidates, and placed in electable positions on party lists. Where the number of seats per district is high, parties that win a large number of seats will go deeper into their lists which results in a better chance of women being elected'.

- b. A quota system obliging political parties to provide at least 30% women candidates for the constituency based seats in order to qualify for the proportional representation system.
- c. The introduction of proportional representation under which 25 of the 30 proportional representation based seats be allocated to women
- d. The appointment of a cabinet that comprises at least 30% women

With regard to this recommendation the ZNWL has already urged President Levy Mwanawasa “to use his prerogative and appoint many women to bridge the gap between men and women.”<sup>18</sup>

- e. At least 30% of nominated Members of Parliament be women

These recommendations are yet to be addressed by Government and it is therefore very important that the advocacy for these recommendations to be adopted and implemented<sup>19</sup>.

## 6. CONCLUSION AND FORWARD LOOK

### 6.1. Adoption for Parliamentary Elections of Women who benefited from WILDAF’s Capacity Building Support

The number of potential women candidates has been greatly increased by the presence of the women rights advocacy groups acting in concert with both bilateral and multilateral partners that have been involved in encouraging, preparing and training women for elections. They have been instrumental in encouraging women to contest elections, often working directly in partnership with political parties themselves. WILDAF trained a number of aspiring parliamentary candidates as shown in Table 1. At the time of preparing this preliminary report, it was not possible to establish the exact number of women who had benefited from WILDAF capacity building programme who had been adopted by political parties to stand in the tripartite elections. The successor report to this preliminary assessment must therefore establish this statistic in order to establish the extent to which political parties can ‘absorb’ and ‘deploy’ the capacity building support that WILDAF makes available in the form of trained female candidates for Parliamentary and Local Government/Municipal elections.

## 6.2. Adoption for Local Government Elections of Women who benefited from WILDAF's Capacity Building Support

Table 2 below shows that capacity building initiatives mounted by WILDAF and like minded partners will have very minimum impact if the socio-economic and cultural environment and the existing constitutional/legal framework which are essentially hostile to the cause of enhanced women's participation in political governance processes are not fundamentally reformed.

Out of a total of 438 women who benefited from WILDAF support intended to equip them with capacities to participate in the 2006 elections at local government level, only 97 or 22 % applied to be adopted. This means that the remaining 78% dropped out due to factors that have been discussed in preceding sections of the report. Ultimately 57 women candidates were adopted by political parties amounting to only 13 % of the original total number. 13% is very far from the critical threshold of 30% which has been outlined in the SADC Declaration on enhancing Women's participation in decision-making/political governance processes. Ultimately very few women out of a starting figure of 438 trained by WILDAF were elected into councilor positions. Such a profile clearly shows that good policy pronouncements in favor of increased women participation in political governance by both ruling party officials and opposition parties notwithstanding, women are being further marginalized to the outer periphery of political governance in Zambia. There is therefore need for WILDAF in collaboration with relevant stake holders and

partners to mount a concerted campaign to compel political parties to adopt more women candidates for elections at all levels of Zambia's electoral system.

TABLE : Statistics of Women Candidates for 2006 Local Government elections in the 15 Districts WILDAF Conducted Training

	District	Number of women trained	Number of women applied	Number of women adopted	Number of independent women
1	Mwinilunga	30	7	1	
2	Kasempa	30	6	0	
3	Solwezi	21	6	1	
4	Choma	36	2	2	1
5	Monze	30	8	0	
6	Livingstone	30	11	9	
7	Chadiza	29	5	4	
8	Chipata	30	9	8	
9	Katete	25	9	8	1
10	Mongu	30	8	5	
11	Sefula	39	3	1	
12	Senanga	30	5	3	
13	Kabwe	21	9	9	
14	Kapiri Mposhi	28	4	4	
15	Serenje	29	5	2	
	<b>Total</b>	<b>438</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>2</b>

Source: WILDAF Zambia Country Office

### 6.3. Inclusion of ERTC Recommendations on the Agenda of the Constitutional Assembly

As outlined at 5.2, the recommendations submitted to government by the ERTC if implemented can restructure the country's electoral regime to enhance the participation of women candidates as opposed to the status quo. Hence, as President Mwanawasa, who is in his second and final term and his government establishes the Constitutional/Constituent Assembly to draft a new basic law/constitution, that will stand the test of time, not only should WILDAF ensure that it is represented on the Civil Society delegation to the Assembly, but also that relevant ERTC recommendations are at center stage during the lengthy process of drafting the new constitution.



An additional constitutional innovation that WILDAF in collaboration with other partners could introduce in the Assembly is to link the registration of political parties to evidence that they have a critical mass of 30 % of women in their leadership/governance structures. Another constitutional innovation could take the form of linking state funding to political parties which provide proof of a critical mass of 30 % in their leadership/governance structures.

In short, it is of strategic importance to the cause of increased women's participation in political governance that the recommendations outlined in the ERTC's Report are incorporated in the country's constitution.

#### 6.4. Increased Women's Participation in Political Governance and the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM)

Zambia has acceded to the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM), which is a 'self administered' audit of the country's performance in the spheres of political, social, economic and corporate governance. The APRM process is designed as a mechanism whereby countries voluntarily 'open their books' to be examined within a formal structure according to New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) guidelines. WILDAF in collaboration with relevant partners and stakeholders should therefore highlight the diminished participation of women candidates in Zambia's 2006 tripartite elections as evidence of the marginalization of women in the country's political life in its submission to the APRM Country Evaluation Mission scheduled to visit Zambia early in 2007. WILDAF and its partners should assertively argue that whereas Zambia is signatory to CEDAW, SADC Protocol on 30 % Women Representation in decision making and has introduced a National Gender Policy, all these policy gestures may ultimately come to naught because of deeply entrenched socio-cultural attitudes buttressed by an constitutional /electoral regime which is essentially hostile to the cause of enhanced women's participation in political governance.

It is therefore the conclusion of this preliminary report that Zambia still has a lot of progress to make in involving women in decision making processes in the current democratic dispensation.

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7. END NOTES

<sup>1</sup> See for instance Cris Chinaka, 'Commonwealth mission endorses Zambian poll', 2006 Independent Online, [www.iol.co.za](http://www.iol.co.za), October 06 2006. Other Observer teams such as those fielded by the European Union, SADC Parliamentary Forum, the SADC Organ for Politics, Defence and Security Cooperation and COMESA arrived at a similar verdict

<sup>2</sup> Levy Patrick Mwanawasa, Movement for Multiparty Democracy(MMD), Michael Sata, for Patriotic Front(PF), Hakainde Hichilema for United Democratic Alliance(UDA), Godfrey Miyanda for Heritage Party(HP), Winright Ngondo for All Peoples Congress Party(APCP)

<sup>3</sup> Electoral Commission of Zambia, Registered Voters per Polling District 2006 publication

<sup>4</sup> Electoral Commission of Zambia, National Assembly Candidates 2006 publication

<sup>5</sup> Ibid

<sup>6</sup> Women in Law & Development in Africa (WILDAF) Zambia pamphlet on; The Electoral Reforms Technical Committee Proposed Electoral Reforms to increase women participation

<sup>7</sup> Ibid

<sup>8</sup> 'Appoint more women, lobby group tells Mwanawasa', Times of Zambia, 6 October 2006

<sup>9</sup> Julie Ballington and Richard Matland: 'Political Parties and Special Measures: Enhancing Women's Participation in Electoral Processes', UN Office of Special Advisor on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women(OSAGI), Enhancing Women's Participation in electoral Processes in Post-Conflict Countries 19-22 January 2004

<sup>10</sup> Ibid

<sup>11</sup> Op cit

<sup>12</sup> Julie Ballington and Richard Matland: 'Political Parties and Special Measures: Enhancing Women's Participation in Electoral Processes', UN Office of Special Advisor on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women(OSAGI), Enhancing Women's Participation in electoral Processes in Post-Conflict Countries' 19-22 January 2004

<sup>13</sup> Ibid

<sup>14</sup> Op cit

<sup>15</sup> Republic of Zambia, National Gender Policy, Gender in Development Division(GIDD), Cabinet Office, Lusaka, p41

<sup>16</sup> Julie Ballington and Richard Matland: 'Political Parties and Special Measures: Enhancing Women's Participation in Electoral Processes', UN Office of Special Advisor

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on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women(OSAGI), Enhancing Women's Participation in electoral Processes in Post-Conflict Countries 19-22 January 2004

<sup>17</sup> Ibid

<sup>18</sup> 'Appoint more women, lobby group tells Mwanawasa', Times of Zambia, 6 October 2006

<sup>19</sup> Women in Law & Development in Africa (WiLDAF) Zambia pamphlet on The Electoral Reforms Technical Committee Proposed Electoral Reforms to increase women participation