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**ZAMBIAN WOMEN IN POLITICS:
AN ASSESSMENT OF CHANGES RESULTING FROM
THE 1991 POLITICAL TRANSITION**

by
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with
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INTRODUCTION

Studies of the gender dimensions of democratization in Africa join literature from Latin America and more recent studies of Eastern Europe which raise questions concerning the degree to which women have benefitted from processes of political democratization. In many countries, women have played an active part in the demise of one-party states and military regimes, carrying out protests against human rights violations and other abuses of power, campaigning and working as election monitors and voting in high numbers. However, in most cases, during periods of political consolidation following these regime changes they have found themselves peripheral to formal politics. Indeed, the most recent report by the Inter-Parliamentary Union, "Women in Parliaments 1945-95: A World Statistical Survey" indicates that, despite the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe and the resurgence of democracy there and in Africa, the number of women elected to national legislatures worldwide has dropped by nearly a quarter in the last seven years (Crossette 1995:7).

This study examines how women have fared in politics and government in Zambia since 1991, the year when the single-party state headed by the country's nationalist founder, Kenneth Kaunda, was replaced by a multiparty system. The objectives of the study are to:

- Describe the population of women in government in Zambia. What kinds of women are entering politics and government now as compared to the past?
- Examine what the movement from a one-party to a multi-party state has meant for women active in politics. Have more women been elected to office since 1991? Are their interests represented more effectively in the new government?
- Identify the problems women in the new government confront in running for office, and, once there, in performing their duties.
- Investigate the issue of gender awareness in policy formation. How aware are elected officials of the gender dimensions of various government policies, especially those related to Zambia's economic crisis and the resulting structural adjustment program?
- Examine the relationships that exist between women in government and their constituencies, their political parties and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) promoting women's increased political participation.

The study is divided into three parts. The first presents a brief history of women's roles in Zambian politics from the pre-colonial period to the present. It sets the stage for the body of the report by examining processes of continuity and change in women's relations with the state. Part II presents the results of two pilot surveys: one of seventeen women in high office in national government and another with thirty-two men and women members of local government. Part III contains a summary and analysis of the findings from the two surveys and identifies future directions for research.

PART I. WOMEN, THE STATE AND THE TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY IN ZAMBIA

Women's election to office and the representation of their interests in government are emerging concerns of a new generation of African women activists and scholars. Until recently, however, many women pursued a different strategy. During the 1970s and 1980s, they retreated from politics, preferring, in the words of Jane Parpart: "to avoid the increasingly rapacious, badly run African bureaucracies by withdrawing from politics and concentrating instead on the more immediate issue of survival (1988: 221)". This disengagement has been interpreted as a conscious strategy rather than a form of political apathy (Parpart, 1988, Tripp 1994b, Geisler 1994, Chazan 1988). It reflects "the experience that women enter politics on terms set by the male elite who use women's political energies for their own ends" (Geisler 1994:1). The current trend to engage the state thus marks an important shift in African women's relationship to the state.

Women's participation in politics in Zambia is chronicled in studies carried out by Ilsa Schuster (1979, 1983, 1985) of the first decade (1964-74) of independence and by Gisela Geisler (1987) of women and politics in the mid-1980s.¹ These investigations provide rich accounts of women's political organization and participation at two points in time roughly ten years apart. Their findings also provide a baseline for comparison with the results of this study.

In "Constraints and Opportunities in Political Participation: The Case of Zambian Women," Schuster (1983) notes that when indirect rule was imposed in the colonial period, women lost access to positions which they traditionally had held in chiefly and chiefless societies. Only "female chieftaincies that were firmly fixed by traditional rules of succession survived. More commonly, however, rule by chiefs and headmen became gender specific, limited to males" (Schuster 1979:13).² The emerging political-institutional structures excluded women from direct participation in the formal political process at the state and local levels.

The "maleness of the new political process" was paralleled by developments in the economic sphere, including the promotion of men's cash crops and wage labor, processes which further reduced women's economic alternatives and decreased their autonomy. Thus, women were economically and politically marginalized by British colonial authorities and by the rule of African male elders and leaders.³

This experience shaped the nature of women's participation in the future independent government. Chris Allen (1991) and Schuster (1983) describe a period when women took an active part in the movement for independence. Schuster recounts the activities of four women prominent in this struggle: Foster Mubanga, Julia "Chikamoneka" Mulenga, Princess Nakatindi Yeta III and Zeniah Ndhlovu. Drawn from the full spectrum of social classes at the time, these women assumed active roles as political organizers; roles which challenged prevailing gender ideology and which frequently earned them the enmity of both men and women.

Allen (1991) discusses the forms that women's local-level participation assumed in the independence struggle. Women were active in popular confrontations with the colonial government. They organized and took part in demonstrations, raised funds and ran local branches of the party, especially when male leaders were in jail. Bratton (1980), too, describes the United National Independence Party's (UNIP) identification with the underprivileged and disenfranchised in rural society - particularly youth and women - and their initial ascent into local party branch offices.

From early on, however, the form women's activism took was shaped by the party. The UNIP Women's Brigade was the means developed to incorporate women into the independence movement and later into the newly-independent state. It was conceived as an auxiliary to the men's nationalist movement: "Men created the Brigade, directed its organization, policies and activities and appointed its officials" (Schuster 1983:17).

While membership in the Brigade legitimized women's political participation and helped gain them the right to vote at the same time as men did, it also shaped the nature of their political engagement: "Working within the Brigade bound and limited its members to supportive roles. In contrast to UNIP men, Brigade members were not intended to seek power for themselves ... Women's political role was 'backstage' and this was 'natural'..." (Schuster 1983:19).

With independence in 1964, and later with the consolidation of the one-party state, the UNIP government employed a number of strategies to attain the cooperation of women citizens. These included appointing outstanding women to positions of national prominence in the party and the state, promoting a small number of these women to high diplomatic positions, and encouraging women to run for local government and to join the Women's Brigade (Schuster 1983). Despite appointments to high office, however, women continued to have little political influence. In fact, little progress was made in the first decade after independence in gaining them equal rights under the law despite the efforts of women politicians such as Lombe Chibesakunda and Princess Nakatindi Yeta III (Schuster 1985).⁴

The failure to enact reforms which would address the legacy of women's disadvantage in pre-colonial and colonial times, and which would assure them equal rights and access to resources under the law, resulted in many women losing interest in politics (Schuster 1983:30). Many also did not identify with the issues championed by the Brigade. It emphasized support for the ruling party and respect for tradition, morality and motherhood. It was concerned more with banning the miniskirts and wigs popular at the time than with the conditions of poor women. It supported the prosecution of unlicensed traders even though this was the only occupation available to many poor, urban women. Further, the Brigade adopted a watchdog role, reporting on anti-UNIP activities and harassing those who engaged in them (Schuster 1983:25). As a consequence of the image of women projected by the party and the state, many young, urban women felt attacked and vilified. Alienated from the political process, they came to believe that politics belonged to men: "They would not stand for political office. They mocked the Women's Brigade. They self-consciously left politics to men... They correctly perceived that their interests were not represented, and that election of individuals to office would not change this pattern" (Schuster 1983:29-30).

In 1975, the Women's Brigade was reorganized into the structure which it retained until UNIP lost power in 1991. While previously the Brigade had been subsumed under the party, as the League it was given its own constitution and an Executive Secretary, appointed by the President (Geisler 1987:45-46). However, while these structural changes may have strengthened the League's position within UNIP and the government, they also further entrenched directions which Schuster (1983) had identified earlier. League membership continued to be drawn from a small segment of Zambian society. Most of the members were better-off urban dwellers - usually older, often poorly educated women traders or wives of politicians who, according to Geisler, used the League to lobby for their own interests (1987:46). The image of women promoted by the League, as well as the issues it advanced, increasingly alienated many women. In particular, the growing numbers of young, single, independent women in the urban areas who did not adhere to the League's image of women as wives and mothers and the helpers of political men, were portrayed as prostitutes - images which then were politicized and presented as causes for Zambia's economic underdevelopment (Geisler 1987:48).

Women's existing rights were infringed upon with tacit approval of the League. For example, a powerful head of the League strongly supported the proposal, revived in the Copperbelt and Lusaka in 1984, to restrict women's movements by banning those without male escorts from hotel and bar premises after 7 p.m. The League also showed itself to be out of touch with the experiences and needs of rural women. It proposed that rural women carry the burden of feeding the nation while dodging the fact that they already performed many of these functions despite an agricultural policy which provided them with little access to credit, improved seed or other necessary resources (Geisler 1987:54).

As was the case with the Brigade, men continued to have a determining say in the League. Geisler reports that in 1986 only two of five *ad hoc* committees formed by the Women's Affairs Committee were headed by women, and these were directed by long-time women supporters of the President. Few women were elected or appointed to government or party positions.⁵ In 1984-85, for example, there were only two women Ministers of State and two Members of Parliament (MPs) out of a total of 135 members of the National Assembly. Only four of the twenty-five members of the Central Committee were women (Geisler 1987:60). Harrison (1994:np) reports that in 1988 only five percent of the Parliamentarians were women. The net result of these practices was that rather than representing the interests of a wide spectrum of Zambian women, the League deepened and broadened existing differences among them, and it further entrenched women's subordinate political roles (Geisler 1987:44). By 1987, membership in the League had begun to decline, reflecting these divisions and women's alienation from the party and the state.⁶

The increasing number of semi-professional and professional women were especially distanced from the League. Some, whose independent lifestyles were reviled by the League, had begun to develop other arenas in which to express their concerns. These included an emerging non-governmental sector (NGO) composed of women's research, professional and church organizations such as the Catholic Women's League, Young Women's Christian Association, Zambia Association for Research and Development, International Federation of Business and Professional Women, and Media and Women's Development Network.⁷ In the mid-1980s, membership in these organizations was small. For example, writing in 1984, Bonnie Keller (1984:12) estimated that there were no more than 100 women involved in the major women's groups. While not all of these NGOs promoted women's rights, some did provide an opportunity to address these and other issues the League had ignored. Indeed, while ostensibly non-partisan, this emerging NGO sector provided a context in which a growing opposition to UNIP could organize. Women alienated by the League began joining these organizations in growing numbers. As a consequence, formal politics remained a domain peopled largely by men. Women who did participate accommodated their interests to those of the male leadership, while many younger, educated women, as well as rural women, increasingly withdrew.

Building on this background, Part II examines how women have fared in Zambia's most recent political transition which began in 1991.

PART II. WOMEN IN GOVERNMENT IN THE THIRD REPUBLIC

In October 1991, multiparty elections brought an end to the Second Republic and the single-party state founded and headed by Kenneth Kaunda, the country's nationalist founder and President since 1964. Using the slogan "The Hour Has Come," the opposition alliance, the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD), won the election by a large margin, thus inaugurating Zambia's Third Republic.

Women were active in this political transition. In the early stages, they organized and took part in demonstrations against the single-party state, especially those against economic austerity measures which undermined their families' welfare. Interviews with women in government conducted as part of this study indicate that they also played a role in the early stages of the formation of MMD, that they participated in key public meetings launching the new party and that some were large financial supporters of this party.

In the 1991 political campaign itself, UNIP and MMD presented voters with different planks on women's issues. Although UNIP promised to "campaign strongly to increase further the rights and opportunities for women," Longwe and Clarke (1992) argue that the party's past performance in this area was weak and that the UNIP Party Manifesto made little reference to women's rights. Indeed, the section on "Our Fundamental Freedoms" mentioned women only as members of socially vulnerable groups. It promised that special attention would be given to safeguarding the weaker members of society, including the infirm, the widow, the orphan and the aged.

In contrast to UNIP, MMD pledged to accord women full and equal rights with men, to accept the principle of affirmative action and to review all discriminatory laws against women:

The MMD fully recognizes the specific oppression which Zambian women have continued to suffer. The MMD government will accord full and equal rights to women in all aspects of national life and accepts the principle of affirmative action on gender issues... The MMD will review all discriminatory laws against women in all social and economic fields... will remove all discriminatory practices and will fight the present prejudices against women in financial institutions (Longwe and Clarke 1992:12)

Despite these promises, women's rights did not occupy a prominent place in the election debate nor in candidates' campaign speeches. Relying on a survey of national newspapers published during October 1991, Longwe and Clarke (1992:17) found that only 7% of the news articles mentioned women's issues. Most of these focused on welfare rather than on rights issues, and most only mentioned women among other topics discussed. While coverage of women candidates running for Parliament was slightly greater (7%) than the percentage of women running for these posts (5%), no interest was shown in the fact that women were competing for these posts.⁸

Longwe and Clarke (1992) discuss some of the problems involved in determining the gender distribution of voting in the 1991 election. The voting figures from the National Elections office cannot be disaggregated by gender. These authors (1992:17) report that a study which matched information on the voters' register with information from national registration showed that slightly more women (52%) than men (48%) were registered to vote. However, they also note that since voter turnout in the 1991 election was only 45%, it is possible that the proportion of women to men who actually voted was different from that on the voters' register. Indeed, the results of a baseline survey of political behavior and attitudes carried out by Bratton and Katundu (1993:16) indicate that somewhat more men than women stated that they voted in the 1991 elections.⁹

The 1991 political transition initiated changes which reached well beyond the national level. The distribution of powers between central and local government has changed markedly, at least in principle, since 1991. The local government elections, which took place in 1992, were held under the Local Government Act of 1991. This act replaced the Local Administration Act of 1980, which was established by the UNIP government and used to "underpin the power of the ruling party at the local level" (Tordoff and Young 1994:287). It had resulted in a highly centralized government

structure tightly constraining the authority and effectiveness of local government, rendering it, for the most part, a vehicle for patronage political relations. The 1991 Act, in contrast, was intended to decentralize government and defuse decision-making authority. As will be discussed below, the government took further steps in this direction by initiating an ambitious Public Sector Reform Program in March 1993.

This study asks the following questions. What kinds of women are entering politics and government at the national and local levels? What routes are they using to gain office? What problems have they encountered, and how have these changed from those reported in earlier studies? Whose interests do they represent, and how aware are they of the gender implications of major policy initiatives in the new government?

Two pilot surveys carried out in 1994 provide some initial answers to these questions. The first is a survey of women in high office in national government and the second a survey of men and women in local government. Information from these surveys was supplemented by interviews conducted with the heads or key members of a number of prominent Zambian organizations promoting civic education, women's rights and their access to political office. These included the National Women's Lobby Group, Zambia Association for Research and Development (ZARD), Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), Women for Change, Foundation for Democratic Process, Women's Media Association, and the Zambia Civic Education Association.

Survey Methods

In the national government survey, in-depth interviews were carried out with seventeen women in high public office between January and July 1994.¹⁰ No men were interviewed in this portion of the investigation as information on their political attitudes and behaviors is being collected as part of a related study.¹¹ The survey instrument included open-ended questions and statements designed to elicit degrees of agreement or disagreement. Following these interviews, in September 1994, a pilot survey of thirty-two men and women Local Councilors (LCs) was conducted. Because this was the sole opportunity to gather information on men, both women and men LCs were interviewed. Although separate survey instruments were used in the two studies, they contained many identical questions and were aimed at generating comparable data.

A major objective of both surveys was to learn about how women's issues were being represented in the new government. For the purposes of this study, the term "women's issues or interests" is used principally to refer to women's rights and to those concerns related to the gender division of labor in society. In Zambia, women often are responsible for family food provisioning. In addition, they commonly bear responsibility for family and child welfare, health care, education and income-generation. Equal access to credit and other economic resources, protection against violence and equal rights under the constitution and the law are also of critical concern to many women.¹²

The National Government Survey:

Thirteen of the seventeen women in the national survey held elected or appointed positions under the MMD government. They included one Minister, one Deputy Minister, six Parliamentarians (MPs) (one of whom was an ex-Minister), two Permanent Secretaries (PSs), one High Court Judge, one woman appointed by the President to the Constitutional Review Commission and another to the Human Rights Commission. These two commissions were selected for study because of their recent formation and their national prominence. To represent a full spectrum of political views, interviews

also were conducted with four prominent UNIP women politicians who no longer were in office. Included in the sample were the heads of the Women's Wings of MMD and UNIP.

For the purposes of analysis and discussion, the sample is divided into three categories:

- 1) Members of Parliament (MPs): This category consists of Ministers, Deputy Ministers and back-benchers, and totals eight individuals,¹³
- 2) Women in appointed positions: Included here are five women appointed to Presidential Commissions, serving as Permanent Secretaries or as Judges,
- 3) UNIP women no longer in government: Four prominent UNIP members no longer in government, but active in their party, are included in this category.

Collectively, categories 1 and 2 are referred to as "women in government." "The total sample" refers to all seventeen women interviewed.¹⁴

Although the number of women interviewed was small, they constituted nearly half of the universe of women in the upper echelons of Zambian national government at the time of the study. Between January and July 1994 when the interviewing took place, a total of three women served as Cabinet Ministers, two as Deputy Ministers and six as back-bench Parliamentarians.¹⁵ There were eight women Permanent Secretaries, two serving in acting capacities. Zambia had only one woman High Court Judge in 1994. One woman served on the seven-member Human Rights Commission, and four were on of the twenty-four member Constitutional Review Commission.

Local Councilor Survey:

This pilot survey involved thirty-two LCs who resided in Lusaka, Copperbelt and Luapula Provinces. Eleven were women and twenty-one were men (see Appendix, Table 1). This group of Local Councilors, while not statistically representative of the population, nevertheless embodied a broad spectrum of demographic groups. Provinces exemplifying the three major geographic sectors in Zambia - urban, peri-urban and rural - were selected for study. These included Lusaka Province, a largely urban area; Copperbelt Province which included both urban and peri-urban areas; and three rural districts, Mansa, Kawambwa and Nchelenge, in Luapula Province.

In 1994, even though just over half (50.8%) of the Zambian population were women, they comprised only 4.3% of LCs.¹⁶ In the three provinces surveyed, their representation was slightly higher than the national average. There were twenty-three women LCs in these provinces, accounting for 6% of the total LCs (see Appendix, Table 2). Thus, although the number of women interviewed was small, totalling only eleven, it represented almost half of the universe of women LCs in the provinces surveyed.

Two strands are woven through the report which follows. One explores similarities and differences between women and men LCs with regard to their socioeconomic and political backgrounds, political attitudes and knowledge, awareness of the gender dimensions of major government policies and their relationships with different constituencies. Using these same dimensions, the second thread compares the experiences of women in local government with those in national government.

Socioeconomic Profile of Women in Government

The 1991 elections resulted in little change in the number of women elected or appointed to high positions in national government. Longwe and Clarke (1992) provide information in Table 3 (see Appendix) which compares the number of women in these positions immediately preceding and following the 1991 election. In fact, when the new government was initially formed, no woman was appointed to the Cabinet and only one was appointed as a Deputy Minister; a situation which rankled many MMD supporters. However, by 1994 this had changed somewhat, in part due to women's lobbying efforts.¹⁷ For example, in February 1994 a total of two Ministers, two Deputy Ministers and six Parliamentarians (MPs) held office, totaling 6.6 percent of the 150 Members of Parliament.

While headed in a positive direction, this level of representation is not significantly different from that found in the Second Republic. Unfortunately, it is not possible to determine if more women are running for and gaining posts as LCs under the Third than the Second Republic, as little published information exists on women's representation in local government in Zambia.

The eight women MPs belonged to different political parties. One was a member of UNIP. The other seven initially had run for office on the MMD ticket, but, by 1994, three either had joined, or were in the process of joining the newly-formed National Party.¹⁸ In contrast to the national level where a significant number of women MPs had broken away from the MMD, 94% (29) of the LCs were MMD members. One (3%) was a member of the United Democratic Party and one (3%) claimed independent status. No differences were noted between men and women LCs with regard to political party affiliation.

The ethnic affiliations of the women in the total sample at the national level were diverse, with more than eight different tribes mentioned. However, most of the women in government identified themselves as either Bemba (46%) or Lozi (38%). Of those remaining, one (8%) was Chewa and the other (8%) was Chikunda. Table 4 (see Appendix) presents information on the ethnic distribution of the Zambian population. It is clear that there were significantly more Bemba and Lozi in government than was the case for the population as a whole.¹⁹

Women at both levels of government were highly educated and most held well-paying jobs compared to the general population. Of the eight MPs, 25% (2) had professional occupations, 25% (2) were wealthy businesswomen and 50% (4) previously held clerical or social service jobs as accountants, nurses, teachers, or, in one case, an officer in the military. Fifty percent (4) of the MPs had completed secondary school while the remainder had university or post graduate degrees. The five women holding appointed positions in national government were lawyers, university professors or held other professional occupations. All had university or post graduate degrees.

The occupations reported by LCs differed from those held by women in national government in that LCs were more likely to be engaged in farming and few held professional positions. Overall, 38% (12) of the LCs stated that they normally earned their living by trading or engaging in business, while 25% (8) were farmers and 25% (8) held civil servant jobs as teachers and clerical-technical workers. Twelve percent earned their living either as professionals (1) or domestic workers (2) or were unemployed (1). Little difference existed in the occupations of women and men LCs. In addition, women and men LCs had received approximately the same amount of formal education. The average number of years of schooling for men was 12.4 years, whereas women had received an average of 12 years. Fifty percent (5) of the women and 25% (5) of the men LCs had completed secondary school, and 33% (3) of the women and 33% (6) of the men held university degrees. Of the remaining two

women, one had received some secondary education while the other had never attended secondary school. All nine of the remaining men had received at least some secondary education.

Overall, as the information presented in Table 5 (see Appendix) indicates, those interviewed in national and local government exhibited significantly higher levels of education compared to the population at large. Women LCs, in particular, were well-educated compared to the general population. Eighty-three percent (8) had completed secondary school, compared to the national figures of 4.8% in rural areas and 23.4% in urban ones.

The average age of the women in national government was forty-five years, while that of the LCs was slightly younger at 43.5 years. However, women LCs were significantly younger than their male counterparts as well as the women in national government. Their average age was only 38.5 years while the average age of the men LCs was 46.1 years.

Sixty-one percent (8) of the women in national government were divorced or single with children, while 31% (4) were married and 8% (1) was widowed.²⁰ Most of those who were divorced or single reported that they depended solely on their government salaries to support themselves and their children. These women had an average of only 3.2 children, well below 7.2, the average number of live births to Zambia women between the ages of 15 and 49 years (Women and Men in Zambia: 1991:13). At the local level, many women LCs also were divorced or single with children. In addition, they were more likely to be so than were men LCs. While 96% (20) of the men were married at the time of the interview, only 45% (5) of the women were. Men also had larger families than did women LCs. The average number of children born to women LCs was only 2.8, while men had an average of 5.9 children each, perhaps reflecting their differences in average age. Table 6 (see Appendix) presents information on marital status of the population twelve years and older in Zambia. When compared to the figures presented above, it is clear that the number of women in national and local government who were separated or divorced was significantly higher than the national average of approximately 8%. The high rate of marital instability among women in government is similar to that reported two decades earlier by Schuster (1979) for women holding professional and semi-professional occupations in Lusaka. More will be said below about the causes of this instability.

The limited information available on the social class backgrounds of women in national and local government during the Second Republic makes comparisons between women then and women in the new government problematic. Some information can be assembled on the class status of women in national government in the Second Republic by considering the backgrounds of UNIP women in the national level sample. Twenty-nine percent (5) of the seventeen women were UNIP members who had served in Parliament or in other elected or appointed capacities in national government under the Second Republic.²¹ At the time of their appointment or election, all had worked in social service occupations requiring relatively little education. Of the seven women MMD Parliamentarians in this study, 43% (3) held similar kinds of occupations while 57% (4) were either wealthy business owners or university lecturers. Thus, there is some indication that, at the national level at least, MMD may be expanding opportunities for women in business and for those with professional training to participate in government.

Political Background of Women in Government

Many of those in government came from political families. Eighty-five percent (11) of the women in national government had relatives who had been or currently were active in politics at the national, local or party levels. In addition, 69% (9) had relatives who were Chiefs or Chieftainesses. Among

the LCs the findings were similar: 59% (19) had relatives who were or had been in government or politics while 69% (22) had relatives who were traditional leaders.²² Overall, this information on family background suggests that, even though multiparty elections have allowed for new representation in government, the pool that these leaders are drawn from is restricted and, in some cases, has a source in traditional authority.

Although there were specific motivating factors in each case, this family background was a principal inspiration for women's involvement in national government. When asked to identify their role models, 46% (6) mentioned their father or another male relative, 23% (3) referred to Mrs. Kankasa (the long-time head of the UNIP Women's League) and 15% (2) identified President Chiluba.²³ Only 31% (4) reported being encouraged by teachers at school or the university to enter politics or government, and most of these were spurred to aim for civil servant jobs in nursing or teaching.²⁴ In contrast, when asked if they had role models for their engagement in politics, 45% (5) of the women LCs responded negatively. Most described themselves as self-motivated. Those (6 or 55%) who did have role models identified either a Zambian or a non-African politician. The Zambian politicians were almost all men, while two of the three non-Zambians were women.²⁵ Men were much more likely than women LCs to report having role models, with 81% (17) reporting such models. With the exception of Margaret Thatcher, who was mentioned three times, all the role models were men.²⁶

The seventeen women in the national sample were asked to identify their major sources of moral and financial support at the time they made the decision to enter politics or government. Fifty-nine percent (10) identified relatives, principally husbands, brothers and sisters as their major sources of moral support. Twenty-three percent (4) were inspired only by their belief in themselves or by a strong belief in God, while the remainder (18%) mentioned friends, their political party and the women's wing of the political party. In comparison, women in local government reported that their families, especially their spouse, were not supportive of their position as LCs. Sixty percent (3) of married women reported that they encountered problems with their husbands being jealous, worried or generally not supportive of their work. Only one asserted that her husband had urged her to stand for office, while one other maintained that her husband was "very supportive." In contrast, among the married men, only 35% (7) had unsympathetic families. Of the remaining 65% (13), four remarked that, in fact, their wives were very supportive.

While women LCs garnered less support for their political activities from their families than did women MPs, they received strong support from community groups. Ninety percent (9) of the women LCs reported that these organizations were a primary source of encouragement for their political activity. Churches and their allied women's groups were a particularly strong base of support. Forty percent (4) of the women LCs identified these organizations as their principal source of encouragement.

When asked to identify the principal sources of financial support for their first political campaign, 57% (8) of the fourteen women in national government who had run for office said they had relied mainly on their own funds. Fifteen percent (2) identified friends as their principal backers, 7% (1) named her husband and 7% (1) identified "five MMD Ministers" who made personal contributions to her campaign. Only one (7%) mentioned her political party as a source of funds.

When the MPs were asked what kinds of support their party provided their last campaign, limited resources in the form of food, fuel, posters and public address systems were mentioned five times. One MMD MP had been given K50,000 to spend as she saw fit on the campaign. Another belonged

to the newly-formed National Party which lacked resources to support candidates. Two other MPs claimed that rather than receiving money, they were major financial backers of their parties! One sold three valuable pieces of real estate and loaned the party more than a dozen vehicles for the 1991 campaign, noting in addition that "a lot of Fanta and beer" had to be purchased for rallies.

In a similar fashion, LCs noted that their party provided only a small proportion of the financial support needed in their last election campaign. Seventy-three percent (8) of women LCs relied almost entirely on their own resources. The remaining 27% (3) identified their spouse as their main source of funding. None reported that their party had been the most important source of funds, and only 18% (2) stated that it had been their second source of funding. A slightly higher percentage of men LCs, 81% (17), relied principally on their own resources to support their campaign. However, 14% (3) identified their party as their first source of funding, while 58% (12) stated that it had been their second or third source of support. This suggests that while the political party is not the major source of financial support for either men or women LCs, men may acquire more support from it than women do. The issue of gender differences in campaign financing at both the national and local levels needs further study.

The political backgrounds of the LCs and MPs were similar. Overall, they represented a new pool of political office holders, having relatively little previous experience in politics or government. Only one of the MPs was in Parliament under the single-party state; the others were elected or appointed in 1991 or later. In fact, when they took office, all eight MPs were political novices. None had previous experience in elected posts in either national or local government, and only a few had held party positions. Three of the five women in appointed positions in national government also were new to office since 1991, while two had held posts prior to that date.

Among the LCs, only one (3%), a man, had served as an LC prior to 1992. Ninety-seven percent (31) were first elected to their posts in 1992. Compared to their counterparts at the national level, however, LCs had more previous political experience on which to draw. Fifty-five percent (6) of the women and 43% (9) of the men LCs previously had occupied an elected or appointed post in national or local government. An even larger number of LCs (21 or 66%) had held party appointments.²⁷ Seventy-one percent (15) of the men compared to 55% (6) of the women previously had occupied such positions.

In addition, many of the LCs (38% or 12) had stood for office and lost prior to 1992. Women were more likely than their male counterparts to have done so: 45% (5) of them had lost a previous election compared to 33% (7) of the men. This information suggests that many women who do run for local council are not successful. Additional support for this finding comes from an analysis of the 1992 election results in the three provinces where the local government study was conducted. A total of fifty-seven women ran for the 356 council seats in Lusaka, Copperbelt and Luapula Provinces. Thus, less than 16% of the seats were even contested by a woman candidate.²⁸ Of those who ran, only 40% (23) were successful.

At the national level, it also appears that relatively few women have been willing to stand for office as MPs. For example, in an interview with a spokesperson for the MMD Secretariat, Mr. Mwela, carried out by Longwe and Clarke (1992:14) shortly after the 1991 election, they report that few women applied to be considered as candidates for Parliament. Of a total of 900 applicants, only ten were women. Of these, seven were selected to run for office and five ultimately won (Longwe and Clarke 1992:14). In a similar fashion, Aldefer (1995 personal communication) reports that, when soliciting candidates for Parliamentary seats at the Mulungushi Convention, the MMD Elections

Committee Chairman, Mr. V.J. Mwaanga, found that nearly all of the seventy women who initially volunteered to be considered later withdrew their names.

What explains women's reticence to stand for office at both levels of government and, at the local level especially, what accounts for their relative lack of success at the polls?

Experiences with Gender Discrimination

While poverty and lack of education are powerful factors which prevent many women from running for political office, they do not explain middle and upper class women's reluctance to do so. To better understand this reticence, those interviewed were asked several questions regarding their perceptions of biases against women in politics and government.

Women in the national level survey were asked if they thought being a woman was an advantage in politics and government. Only 24% (4) of the seventeen said yes. Those who did contended that they could raise issues that otherwise would be ignored, that the present government was gender sensitive so that being a woman was beneficial, that men were generally sympathetic to women or that women had special strengths that men lacked. However, 76% believed that being a woman in politics and government was a distinct disadvantage because they had to work harder than men to be respected and to advance in their careers. Many shared the opinion of the woman who remarked: "You have to do double what a man does." Others drew attention to biases against women: "It is not an advantage in that men are still biased against women. They feel that a woman cannot lead. So women who excel have to struggle." A recurrent theme was: "Men support men and women also support men."

Among the LCs, responses to the question of whether it was better to be a man or a woman in government clustered into two groups. Women who answered "men" provided comments indicating that the question was interpreted as "Which gender has an easier time in politics?" Women in this group made comments such as: "Women aren't accepted in politics;" "Men usually take up the high posts;" and "It's mostly men who benefit because women also have to look after children and, especially if married, they cannot easily leave the home and a woman cannot easily move along far distances alone, she will be harassed." Women who answered "women" or "both" gave responses which indicated that the question was interpreted as: "Is it better to have women or men in government?" Responses in this group included: "Women's participation in politics is very important as they tend to have a fresh and original input to decision-making and policy formulation;" and "Both - the two need to complement each other."

Men LCs gave somewhat different responses to this question. Most did not regard gender as a salient factor in politics and government. Sixty-five percent (13) answered "both sexes." Representative comments included: "[Gender] does not make a difference;" "We need both to present their views in order for development to take place;" and "We are all human beings, we are equal, we all have human rights." None of the men answered that it was better to be a woman in government. Indeed, 29% (6 of 21) replied that it was preferable to be a man. Reasons ranged from the recognition that "men do not have to fight prejudices as women do..." to more conditional responses such as: "The cultural background is important here; if a woman can balance the demands of her family then there's nothing wrong with her being in government..."

Other statements made by men LCs revealed overt prejudice against women in politics: "In African politics, men feel that a woman's place is in the kitchen, women don't make good politicians;" and

"Women are unpredictable creatures, they are moved by anything, very few are able to stand their ground."

In addition to believing that their gender was a disadvantage, women drew attention to the personal and social hardships they experienced as a result of their involvement in politics and government. For example, one stated: "It is a great disadvantage because you are on your own and there are financial constraints and no logistical support. For women, politics is an isolating life." Another remarked: "You can be misunderstood socially. Career women are misunderstood. None keep husbands." Along these lines, 71% (12) of the total sample of women in national government agreed with the statement: "Most women who become active in politics experience marital problems," noting that, in one case: "Most men cannot stomach their women getting involved in politics," and in another: "It's because the man is rebelling. He thinks you are paying attention to something else and he can't stand it."

Men and women LCs gave different evaluations of the effects of their political involvement on their marital relationships. More men than women thought that political involvement adversely affected a women's marriage: while 60% (12) of the men felt this way only 30% (3) of the women agreed with the statement. This suggests that although more women than men believed that their marital relationships could weather their political commitments, men were not so optimistic!

One woman LC who disagreed with the statement that women in politics have marital difficulties placed the onus for problems on women themselves, asserting: "Women should explain and make their husbands understand the need for them to be in politics." Men, however, were not likely to be easily convinced. Many made statements to the effect that: "It depends on whether the man has agreed to allow his wife to be in politics." One man's comments were particularly indicative of the double standards that women in government faced:

I personally wouldn't allow my wife to get into politics as I assume that she may behave the way I do - if she did, I would get annoyed. If a man misbehaves, it is okay according to the Zambian society, but if a woman does, people will urge the husband to divorce her... And anyway, you can't trust a woman when she is alone.

Women interviewed at the national level were asked if they thought they had experienced greater difficulties in their political and governmental careers than had their male colleagues. Sixty-five percent (11) of the total sample contended this was the case. Some pointed to the difficulties involved in combining work and home responsibilities: "You are a leader and a mother so you have no time to rest. You are overworked." Others commented on how they were treated by their colleagues in government: "You have to elbow yourself forward. I was the first woman Cabinet Member. You say something and they (male Cabinet members) laugh." Yet others noted that men usually received better treatment than women did: "Men are generally accepted wherever they go, but women aren't," and: "A male Minister's office secretary will frustrate you, thinking that you are the girlfriend."

When asked to identify what problems, if any, they faced in the positions they held, women in national government most frequently mentioned economic constraints (11 responses), requests from the constituency (9), social problems (8) and personal and family problems (7).

The most often mentioned financial problem was low government salary. Many depended almost entirely on this salaried income, struggling to cover their living expenses and, in some instances, to repay the vehicle loans they had obtained from the government. Requests for financial assistance from constituents was also identified as a major problem, as will be discussed below.

The most frequently identified social problem was discrimination against women, amply described above. This was followed by sexual harassment. Most MPs reported they had confronted this problem, although they said that they were able to deal with it by being "firm." One woman MP brought the issue to the floor of the National Assembly where she accused her male colleagues of being harassers. Reportedly, the Speaker of the House rebuked her sweeping statement, demanding that she alter it before it entered the official record. Apparently, however, the practices that motivated her to speak received no official reprimand.

The most commonly identified personal and family problems were husbands' lack of support for women's careers, often resulting in unstable or broken relationships, and inadequate time spent with children and other family members. Apparently some spouses who originally had been sympathetic to their wife's political aspirations did not remain so for long.

LCs also were asked to identify the major problems they faced in their work. Especially reflective of men's and women's different perceptions of biases against women were responses to the question, "Have you had any problems being involved with local government?" Here, 70% (7 of 10) of the women claimed that one of their biggest problems was that they were not treated as equals by the men LCs. In contrast, 80% (16) of the men responded that equal treatment of women LCs was not a concern of theirs, with half of them noting that there were no women LCs in their districts! One of the men LCs who recognized that unequal treatment of women councilors was a problem remarked: "I myself like to treat women as equals but others do not."

Overall, more women than men LCs responded that loss of personal income and other financial hardships were serious problems that they experienced as a result of their election. Both men and women LCs unanimously agreed that demands from the electorate were a concern. While 50% (5 women, 10 men) of each group responded that this was the most serious problem they confronted, women expressed concern about requests to act that they could not fulfill in twice the proportion (45% to 23%) than did men.

Like their counterparts in national government, many LCs reported that sexual harassment of women was a problem. Sixty-seven percent (14) of the men and 73% (8) of the women identified this as an issue. A prevailing viewpoint was: "Generally in Zambia, this is a real problem... Men have always thought that they can push and intimidate women even just by the way they speak to the women."

Unequal treatment, sexual harassment and financial problems were not the only obstacles women in local government encountered. Those interviewed were presented with a series of questions regarding women's political participation, ranging from voting rights through rights to become Vice President and President of the nation. Although women are constitutionally guaranteed the right to hold the full range of public offices in Zambia, men LCs' support for this right exhibited a steady decline as the office gained power and prestige. As Table 7 (see Appendix) demonstrates, while all but one man agreed that women should be permitted to be active in a political party, by the time the office of the presidency was reached, 33% (7) expressed reservations about women's qualifications.

Taken as a whole, the information presented here suggests that women who become involved in politics and government are exceptional individuals who are willing to brave discrimination and social approbation. This non-supportive environment contributes to women's reluctance to run for office in the Third Republic. In this respect, it appears that relatively little has changed since independence in Zambia. The experiences of these contemporary women echo those described in studies of earlier

periods of Zambian history by Schuster (1979, 1983), Geisler (1987) and Allen (1991). Despite this, two women interviewed in the study remained sufficiently undaunted by their experiences to aspire to be Zambia's first woman President!

Government Structure and Functioning

Perspectives on National Government:

Although most of the women in national government had not held office under the single-party state, they had been political observers and many had opinions on changes which had occurred in the government since 1991. In their view, little alteration had taken place in the locus of power since the political transition. Sixty-two percent (8) identified the executive as the most powerful branch of government under the single-party state while an even greater percentage, 77% (10), stated that this was the most powerful branch under the multiparty state.²⁹ Fifteen percent (2) identified the National Assembly, and 8% (1) believed that the Judiciary was the most powerful branch of government under MMD.

While in the eyes of women in national government, the center of power may not have shifted in the political transition, most did see changes in the role of the National Assembly. When asked to identify the major functions of this body under the UNIP government, there was strong agreement that it initiated little or nothing on its own, and acted instead as "a rubber stamp" for the president and the party. When queried regarding the major functions of the National Assembly under the multiparty state, the most frequent responses given were to create laws (6 responses), followed by acting as a check and balance to other branches (3). Other answers included being supportive of the executive and educating the people.

Three women in national government contended that the National Assembly's legislative functions were being undermined by the Executive branch. The following statement was representative of this opinion: "[The major function of the National Assembly is] Making laws, but this function is actually being carried out by the executive. You are supposed to accept what the Ministers bring to Parliament so back-benchers have little to say." As this quote indicates, Ministers were viewed by some as the voice of the executive in Parliament. Although President Chiluba had promised a lean government, he nevertheless appointed more than sixty Ministers, making them a numerically strong voice in the National Assembly. Some MPs reported that MMD back-benchers frequently joined the opposition, suggesting that a rift existed between Ministers and back-benchers within the MMD.

Local Councilors mostly agreed with their national counterparts concerning the major functions of the National Assembly. Sixty-five percent (13) of the men and 50% (5) of the women LCs believed that its principal duty was to make laws and budgets. Overall, support for the National Assembly was high, although a greater percentage of men (90% or 18) than women (60% or 6) gave it a high approval rating.

When LCs were asked to identify what the major job of the Members of Parliament was, 85% (17) of the men and 90% (9) of the women stated that MPs should represent the people to the government. However, only 35% (7) of the men and 30% (3) of the women believed that their MP was fulfilling this role. Both women and men LCs commented that the problem was that MPs "do not live with the people they represent... They are always in Lusaka and so they do not know our problems."

Perspectives on Local Government:

Evaluating local government functions proved more difficult, as there have been important recent changes in its structure. The Local Government Act of 1991, intended to decentralize government and disperse decision-making authority, took a number of additional steps in this direction in March 1993 when the MMD government committed itself to an ambitious program of further decentralization under the Public Sector Reform Program. It pledged to transfer certain functions previously performed by the national government to the provinces and local authorities and to strengthen the management capacities of these local units of government (Tordoff and Young 1994:285). At the district level, the result has been that central government funding has been virtually cut off, despite the fact that the capacity to raise adequate resources for public services has not yet been attained by local councils (Tordoff and Young 1994:294).

The survey results indicate that the rapid changes in local government, combined with the economic crisis and the sudden collapse in funds available for the provision of services, has generated considerable frustration among the LCs. Reflecting the bewilderingly rapid and recent changes in the functioning of local government, one LC remarked that: "the local government is not up to date, because councils are still not autonomous, there is too much interference." Another emphasized: "Central government should let councils be autonomous." At the same time, almost all of the LCs reported that their council was not fulfilling its most important functions due to lack of resources and limited administrative capacity.

The ambiguities in the role and responsibilities of local government were apparent in LCs' responses to the question: "What are the most important jobs of a Local Councilor?" Ten percent (3) replied that providing services to the people was most important, while 23% (7) claimed that making policy or implementing projects was the LCs' principal job. Fifty percent (15) answered: "To represent the people." Of the remaining five, two mentioned keeping in touch with the people. There were some differences in responses by gender. Both of the respondents who replied the LC's most important function was to keep in touch with the people were women. Men were more likely to identify "making policy" as an LC's most important job. Twenty percent (4 of 20) of the men, compared to only one woman, responded in this fashion.

Local Councilors' identification of which branch of government held responsibility for "development" also reflected recent changes in the structure of local government. Fifty percent (15) stated that "development" meant improving people's standard of living. Providing infrastructure and services was also a popular response (30% or 9). Many LCs reported that the demands on them from their electorate included these tasks, and half stated that providing basic needs and infrastructure was the most important function of a District Council.

Yet when asked who was most responsible for "bringing development to the people," 45% (9) of the men and 60% (6) of the women LCs identified the national government. Only 20% (2) of the women and 25% (5) of the men stated that this responsibility rested with local government. Strikingly, only 27% (8) claimed that the people in the wards themselves were the ones accountable. Twenty percent (2) of the women and 30% (6) of men the felt this way. None maintained that development was the responsibility of NGOs, churches or donors.

Perhaps because of this ambiguity of expectations, many of those interviewed were not pleased with the performance of their District Council. For example, most LCs thought that the principal job of the District Council was to provide basic needs and infrastructure (50% or 10 men and 50% or 5

women), but only 35% (7) of the men and 30% (3) of the women gave a positive appraisal of their District Council's performance in this regard.

Nonetheless, most LCs did concur that multiparty politics had changed how their District Council operated. Twenty percent (6) remarked that there was a wider redistribution of authority in the new as compared to the old system. Thirteen percent (4) stated that under the new system the autonomy of the District Councils had increased, while 17% (5) remarked that multiparty politics had resulted in more as well as different voices being represented in government. The remaining LCs gave a variety of responses, some noting that the powers exercised by local government had increased while those of the executive authority had declined. Commonly expressed views indicated that multiparty politics has resulted in: "the delinking of government and party resources. Councils were used (during the Second Republic) as institutions to sustain the Party, now they provide services." Other comments included: "Now views from councilors are given freely, without fear of reprimand;" and "In the single-party there was no proper accountability and there was a gross misuse of funds and government. Now there is control." However, not all LCs agreed that there had been a significant change in the way District Council operated. For example, one remarked: "I haven't seen any change, as the District Council is now 100% MMD just as it was 100% UNIP during the Second Republic."

Perspectives on the Political Opposition:

One of the key institutions that accompanies the development of multiparty politics is an official opposition to the political party in power. Those interviewed at the national and local levels identified a variety of roles an opposition party should play in a democracy: acting as a watchdog checking the power and policies of the ruling party (4 responses), proposing alternative directions and policies (4), educating the public so that they understood the issues (3) and serving as the voice of the people (3).³⁰ Many felt that the present opposition, however, was weak and had no clearly articulated agenda.³¹

Yet despite this perceived weakness, 38% (3) of the women MPs either had joined or were considering becoming members of the newly-formed National Party at the time of the interviews, moves which eventually cost two of them their seats in Parliament. These women attributed their disillusionment with the MMD to the following factors: the President's decision to invoke the state of emergency and Law of Public Order in 1993, which two of the three MPs characterized as violations of human rights; the belief that MMD was imposing candidates on the people rather than supporting open primary elections; the existence of little room for a loyal opposition within MMD; and growing graft, corruption and reputed drug dealing among high-ranking MMD MPs. One woman described MMD as: "Like putting together sardines, *buka buka* - all different kinds of fish. This was right for the times [1991], but not now."

Perspectives on Voting Rights in the Third Republic:

Although the Zambian constitution guarantees the right to vote to all citizens over the age of eighteen, those interviewed in national and local government were uncertain about who should have voting rights. For example, 46% (6) of the women in national government, 60% (6) of the women LCs, and 55% (11 of 20) of the men LCs disagreed with the statement: "People should be permitted to vote even if they do not fully understand all the issues." These views were well expressed in the words of one MP: "You can't vote for things you don't understand. People need to be educated." Many LCs concurred, remarking that it was necessary for people to be informed or educated as to

what the issues were prior to voting. In addition, a number of those who supported people's right to vote vacillated, remarking in one case that: "It's their right to vote, but a right exercised wrongly may turn out negative." Only one woman, a member of the Human Rights Commission, astutely inquired: "Who understands all the issues?"³²

Relationships with Constituencies:

MPs were asked to identify what difficulties, if any, they had in communicating with their constituencies. Two (25%) said they had none because their districts were urban. The most frequently mentioned issues were inadequate government fuel allowances (4 responses), large amount of time spent in reaching the district (2) and roads in bad repair (2).

A number of other factors inhibited communication between MPs and their home districts. First, three of the eight MPs were not from and had never lived in their constituency and, therefore, had little first-hand experience with the problems of the residents. Second, given their other obligations, Ministers and Deputy Ministers had little time to visit their constituencies on a regular basis. In fact, almost everyone interviewed stated that, in their opinion, Ministers and Deputy Ministers were more answerable to their Ministry and to the Executive branch than they were to their districts. Given the large number of Ministers and Deputy Ministers in the new government, this suggests that the interests of many districts may be poorly represented in Parliament. Third, it was clear from many of the discussions that lack of state funds for development initiatives limited what MPs were able to deliver to their constituents and sometimes reduced their willingness to visit the area. This was especially the case for those in opposition parties.³³

At the local level, constituency relationships take place in a different context. Unlike MPs, LCs are directly elected by and live among the people in the wards they represent.³⁴ LCs communicated with their constituencies in the following ways: holding public meetings (70% or 7 women; 40% or 8 men) and paying personal visits and making other direct contacts (30% or 3 women; 35% or 7 men). The remaining 25% (5 of 20) of the men communicated with the people in their wards "through branch leaders". None of the women mentioned using this tactic.

MPs were also asked about the types of requests they received from their constituents. Many reported that they were expected to deliver development in the form of roads, schools, clinics and hammer mills. As government funds were insufficient, they used a number of creative strategies to meet these expectations. In some cases, they relied on their own monies. For example, to deal with the poor economic climate, one MP used her own funds as seed money to get local businesses started. As noted above, however, many MPs were almost entirely dependent on their government salaries for their living, and, thus, had few resources to use in this way. Another strategy was to establish grassroots NGOs to improve access to credit and other resources. Two MPs reported petitioning and obtaining funds from international donor organizations to carry out such programs.

MPs also described being besieged by requests from people from their districts for funds to cover bus fares and other transportation costs, meals, small loans, medical care and funerals. One MP remarked:

They want everything. To be elected, you have to pay back. You are paying a debt to them for their vote. Work needs to be done in the area of civic education to correct this belief.

At the local level, many LCs reported similar requests from their constituents. Both men and women noted that their constituents expected them to provide money for funerals (especially prevalent in Lusaka), transportation, hospital fees and food. One woman LC commented that the requests from her electorate included "... finance demands, but I explain to them the difference between the old government and the new," while another maintained: "People expect money from me for a lot of things. It is unfortunate that the concept of Councilor has never been clarified to the people." When asked what could be done to address such problems, 33% (6) of the men responded: "more budget aid from the government." The most common response (40% or 4) from women LCs, in contrast, was "civic education."

Gender Awareness in Policy Formulation

In addition to examining what changes had occurred in government functioning, information was collected on awareness of the gender dimensions of major policies initiatives undertaken by the new government, particularly Zambia's ambitious Structural Adjustment Program (SAP).

Initially, women in the national government survey were asked whether women's interests should be subordinated to wider public interests. All disagreed, most of them strongly, with the statement that: "In government, because MPs serve the interests of all citizens, women's problems must take a back seat." "What would be the national interest that would leave women behind?" one woman queried. While women's concerns were considered as part and parcel of national interests, those interviewed felt that women bore the major responsibility for articulating these interests in debates and policy formulation. In part, this was because they perceived that men were not likely to do so. For example, 85% (11) agreed with the statement that: "Women have more responsibility than men do to represent women's issues in policy formulation," while all except one (92%) agreed with the assertion: "Men in elected posts generally do not take women's issues seriously when they are brought up for debate."³⁵ In fact, one of the most vocal supporters of women's interests and rights in Parliament was nicknamed "Women and Children" by her male colleagues as a disparaging comment on her proclivity to speak for women.

Like their counterparts in national government, most LCs - 85% (17) of the men and 90% (9) of the women - did not believe that women's interests should take a back seat to wider public concerns. Nevertheless, men and women were divided in their opinions of who had responsibility for voicing these interests. Seventy percent (7) of the women supported the statement that women are more responsible than men for doing so. One emphasized: "It is women who experience the same problems as other women (who are) in a better position to represent women." In contrast, 71% (15) of the men disagreed with this statement. Women and men LCs also split in their responses to the assertion that men in local government do not take women's issues seriously when they are brought up for debate. Seventy percent (7) of the women agreed whereas 65% (13) of the men disagreed with the statement. One man candidly noted: "...There hasn't been any case that I can remember where women's issues were discussed."

Many women in national office pointed out that mechanisms through which women's issues could be represented effectively in the new government currently did not exist. The Women in Development Unit in the National Commission for Development Planning was by-passed in most policy formulation and coordination efforts, and it lacked powers of implementation and enforcement. The establishment of either a Women's Ministry or Bureau in the Office of the President which would have these powers was one of the anticipated results of MMD's election. Subsequent to the election, representatives from several women's NGOs have met on a number of occasions with the President to

discuss the topic. To date, however, little has been achieved. Indeed, the newly-organized Policy Analysis and Coordination Division (PAC) in the Executive branch, created to provide professionally sound analysis and advice to the Cabinet, would appear to present an opportunity to integrate a gender analysis into policy formation. Yet there is little to suggest that this is taking place.

Given the salience of SAPs in government policy and the literature indicating their negative impact on women and the poor, one objective of this study was to gauge how supportive office-holders at both levels of government were of this program.³⁶ In particular, efforts were made to examine the level of support for the following major planks of the SAPs: market liberalization, removal of subsidies on basic services and commodities, civil service retrenchment and privatization.

Most women in national government indicated strong support for these measures. For example, 62% (8) favored the statement that it is better to have goods in the market even though the prices are high, over having low prices even if there are shortages of goods. One woman expressed the sentiments of others when she noted: "Under UNIP the idea of subsidies spoiled people and discouraged production. People could buy mealie meal using coupons. People were not encouraged to produce but to be dependent on the government." Sixty-two percent (8) thought it was better to raise educational standards even if school fees had to be paid rather than to maintain universal, free but low quality schooling. An even higher percentage (85% or 11) supported the assertion that the government could not afford so many public employees and should lay some of them off, over the notion that it should provide government jobs even if this were costly to the country. A representative comment was: "The government should provide job opportunities, not jobs." Finally, there was strong support for private as opposed to state ownership of businesses. Seventy-seven percent (10) endorsed the statement that private rather than government ownership of factories, businesses and farms should be expanded. Typical of those supporting privatization was the comment: "Government shouldn't be involved in business but should establish the conditions for private enterprise."

Similar to those at the national level, women in local government expressed strong support for the major planks of SAPs. All were in accord with the statement that having goods in the market, even at high prices, was better than having a shortage of merchandise. One woman commented: "People now don't have to queue." Similarly, there was strong backing for the notion that educational standards need to be improved even if this meant paying school fees. One LC noted: "Even in colonial times that's how schools were maintained." In like fashion, all women LCs supported the idea that the government could no longer afford so many civil servants. One remarked: "In the UNIP era there was over-employment and this brought about laziness... It's better that people become self-reliant." Finally, there was unanimous support among women LCs for the expansion of private ownership of factories, businesses and farms. Among men LCs, backing for these propositions was equally strong. In only one area was there noted disagreement between men and women. On the subject of government provision of jobs, 20% (5) of the men contended that the government should provide jobs for the population, even if this proved costly to the country. Support for this SAP measure may reflect that more men than women held, and were at risk of losing, civil servant positions.

Although there was strong support for SAPs, women, especially, were aware of these programs' differential gender and class impacts, particularly their negative effects on poor women. For example, when asked to identify the most important problems currently facing Zambians, the issue most frequently mentioned (7 responses) by those in national government was economic, encompassing growing hunger, malnutrition, declines in health and medical care and poor

employment opportunities brought about by the economic crisis and the structural adjustment program.³⁷

In addition to recognizing their negative effects on the poor, almost all of those in national government were aware that SAPs had different impact on men and women. In particular, most expressed concern that women bore the brunt of providing for their families during these difficult economic times. For example, 85% (11) agreed with the statement that policies of economic liberalization - including civil service retrenchment and removal of subsidies from maize meal, health care, education and other public services - affected men and women differently. In the words of one MP: "Women are the ones doing most of the structural adjustment. They work extra hard but with very little profit." Others maintained that women were more likely to be disadvantaged by these policies because: "Men and women have different roles in society and some are better cushioned. The playing field is not level;" and "Men don't get the responsibility for the family but women have to struggle to supplement the men."

The local government study permitted comparisons to be drawn between men and women LCs' perceptions of problems their constituents faced and their awareness of the gender and class dimensions of SAPs. When asked to identify the most pressing problems in their wards, 70% (21) of the LCs reported that the lack of adequate food, clean water and housing were the most serious problems. Sixty percent (12) of the men and 90% (9) of the women voiced these concerns. Twenty-three percent (7) - all men - identified health and other social problems as the most serious problem. The most frequently mentioned issues were diseases (mostly AIDs), alcohol abuse and child delinquency. Political apathy and animosity between opposing parties were identified as the most serious problem by 7% (2) of the LCs.

When questioned if SAPs affected men and women differently, all of the women LCs agreed but only 53% (11) of the men LCs did likewise. Women's comments were similar to those provided by the MPs: "Women are more affected as they are responsible for finding food and generally looking after the family," replied one. Men LCs who agreed that SAPs had different impacts on men and women made the following kinds of statements: "Men have lost jobs because of [SAPs]... but women suffer more because most of them depend on men and they are the ones who care for the family..." Those who disagreed with the statement noted either that men and women were affected equally, or that men were affected more because they were, to quote three LCs, the "breadwinners."

Despite recognition of SAPs' differential class and gender impacts, there was strong support for the major planks of this program.³⁸ This support deserves more detailed study. It is difficult to reconcile with the literature on the impacts of these measures on the population and especially on poor women. It is also difficult to harmonize with women in government's own statements regarding the impact of SAPs on women. Does this support reflect lack of knowledge of alternative policies which could be pursued? Does it stem from the privileged social class positions of women in government compared to the population at large, or are there other factors which account for this strong support?

Relations with Women's Wings of Political Parties and Women's Organizations

Women's Wings of Political Parties:

Under the UNIP government, the Women's League played a major role in identifying and articulating those women's interests which were addressed by government. At the same time, it functioned as a

powerful gate-keeper, in many cases limiting access to politics to certain groups of women and circumscribing their actions (Schuster 1979, 1983; Geisler 1987, Tranberg-Hansen and Ashbaugh 1991). Do these practices persist? How have these organizations changed with the movement from a single to a multiparty state?

It appears that, initially at least, at the national level women's wings of political parties have lost their gate-keeping and agenda-setting monopoly. In 1994, the MMD Women's Wing had limited presence beyond major urban centers, while membership in the UNIP Women's League had plummeted. The newly-formed National Party was in the early stages of organizing a women's wing. The activities these organizations undertook were little changed from those carried out by the UNIP Women's League in the single-party state. Many were of a charitable and voluntary nature, perpetuating the image of women as mothers and helpers. Interviews with the heads of the MMD and UNIP Women's Wings suggested that these organizations were searching for new directions in the changed political scene. Both expressed their belief that, given the state of the Zambian economy, their organizations needed to expand their focus to include more attention to economic and community development.

Significantly, only three (23%) of the women in national government belonged to women's wings, and, of these, one was the head of one of the groups. Three others stated that women's wings marginalized women and their interests. In the words of one MP: "If there is a women's wing, then you are relegated to cooking and dancing. You are excluded from leadership. Women's wings totally marginalize women." Two argued that these groups should be abolished, one contending: "They are the biggest single obstacle to women's political participation." Seven thought that women's wings should focus on economic and community development especially with regard to poor, rural women. Other functions that were identified included organizing to motivate and unite women and working for their political empowerment and participation.

With the exception of the heads of the two organizations, none of those interviewed believed that women's wings currently were functioning effectively or fulfilling their proper roles. Typical reactions were: "Women's wings and women's groups don't reach women in rural areas. Instead only Lusaka women benefit from donations and development projects;" and "They aren't bringing up people and preparing them to enter politics.

In contrast to those in national government, women in local government were much more likely to be members of these groups, although support and membership varied from area to area. Overall, 70% (7) of women LCs were members of the MMD Women's Wing at the time of their election in 1992.³⁹ Although membership was high, little consensus existed among women LCs regarding the role of women's wings. Opinions varied from functions nearly identical to those of the UNIP Women's League to more activist roles promoting women as independent actors and politicians in their own right. This range is reflected in the following comments: "[The women's wing] should teach fellow women how to look after their homes and families", and: "[It should] encourage women's political participation and income-generating activities to benefit women, which will encourage them to greater political activity." Nevertheless, like women in national government, most members were dissatisfied with the role that these organizations were currently performing. This suggests that efforts are being made from within to transform women's wings from organizations largely supportive of male politicians into ones which promotes women's active political participation.

Among men LCs, while opinions about the role of women's wings varied somewhat, nearly half (43% or 9) believed that they should, in the words of one man: "... concentrate on women's affairs such as cooking, keeping chicken runs and sewing," or, as more generally stated by another: "bring

development to the country." A small number (19% or 4) thought that women's wings should, in the words of one LC: "... educate women on their rights. They should be made to know that they also have a say." However, an equal percentage (19% or 4) did not see a need for women's wings at all, arguing that women were equal to men. One commented: "There shouldn't even be these women's wings anymore, as awareness is already there... Women should just try to be on the same level as men."

Other Women's Organizations:

While women's wings have declined in importance, new groups have emerged and others have expanded their functions to include emphasis on women's rights and civic education. The NGO sector, described by Geisler in 1987, has mushroomed. For example, a total of twenty-three women's groups were listed as participants in the conference on constitutional reform, "The Constitution and Me. Inequality is Unfair," held at the Mulungushi Conference Center in Lusaka in February 1994.⁴⁰ Older organizations like the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) and Zambia Association for Research and Development (ZARD) have taken on added roles in the areas of women's rights and civic education. New groups promoting women's political participation, such as the National Women's Lobby Group, have formed.

As a vibrant civil society composed of diverse civic groups is thought to promote democratic government, one goal of the study was gather information on membership in such organizations. In particular, what kinds of organizations did women in government belong to, and what were their relationships with the growing number of NGOs promoting women's rights and increased political participation?

At the time of their election to office, MPs were members of an average of 1.75 organizations each; the range was from one to four groups. Eighty-eight percent (7) were members of a church or women's church group, 25% (2) belonged to professional organizations and 50% (4) belonged to NGOs. Thirty-eight percent (3) reported receiving assistance from these organizations when they ran for office, most of which was in the form of prayers, moral support and offers to speak to the group.

The Local Councilor survey established that, even more so than their counterparts at the nation level, LCs were joiners.⁴¹ They belonged to an average of 3.3 community groups each, with the range being from one to six. Ninety percent (28) were members of a church, while 52% (16) were involved with educational groups such as the local Parent Teacher Association. LCs also belonged to organizations related to their occupations, including cooperatives, service organizations, professional organizations and NGO's. Women were members of an average of 4.3 groups, whereas men belonged to an average of 2.9 groups (see Appendix, Table 8).

In addition, information was gathered on grassroots women's organizations active in the LCs' constituencies. Ninety percent (27) reported that these groups were present in their ward. However, their numbers differed by province and within them. LCs in the Copperbelt and Lusaka Provinces gave widely varying responses regarding the number of groups that were active. A few stated that there were no groups present, while others identified numerous income-generating and other community groups. LCs in rural Luapula Province, in contrast, identified large numbers of women's organizations. For example, one woman listed sixteen groups in her area.

Men and women LCs held different opinions regarding the major functions of these bodies. Men were likely to state that they had social and economic but not political objectives. In fact, 90% (9) of

the men LCs who reported knowledge of these groups identified their roles as "the development of women" or the promotion of income-generating activities (such as sewing, knitting or gardening) which had no political significance. In the words of one man: "They try to help women develop themselves in activities such as cooking, sewing, ... but are not there to encourage women to participate in politics." In contrast, several women LCs remarked that even if their principal function was income-generation, most groups also encouraged women to vote and to take an active part in politics and government. In one's words: "(They) encourage women to be able to stand up with men and not to back out."

Finally, information was collected on LCs and MPs membership in or familiarity with five Lusaka-based NGOs which have played active roles in promoting women's political participation: Zambia Association for Research and Development (ZARD), National Women's Lobby Group (Women's Lobby Group), Women for Change, the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) and the Foundation for Democratic Process (FODEP). All are non-partisan groups which focus, at least in part, on furthering women's rights and political participation. Women's Lobby Group and FODEP concentrate primarily on civic education and the promotion of women to elected office. ZARD is a broad-based research and development network. The YWCA sponsors an array of programs including literacy training, efforts to reduce domestic and other forms of violence against women and income-generation projects. Women for Change is a new NGO organized in 1992 whose mandate is to improve the conditions of women in rural areas.

Thirty-eight percent (5) of the women in national government belonged to ZARD, 23% (3) were members of the Women's Lobby Group, 15% (2) were active in the YWCA and 15% (2) participated in FODEP. Not surprisingly because of its recent formation, only 23% (3) had heard of Women for Change, and none belonged to it. When only the eight MPs are considered, half belonged to these organizations, two of them stating that they were not active members.

In comparison, memberships in these types of NGOs was much lower among the LCs, although some were widely recognized. Among women LCs, the YWCA was the best known, with all having heard of it and 18% (2) active in it. Ninety-one percent (10) had heard of the Women's Lobby Group, and 36% (4) belonged to it. Fifty-five percent (6) were familiar with FODEP, but none were active in it. The same was the case with Zambia Civic Education Association, where 64% (7) had heard of it, but none were members.⁴² Thirty-six percent (4) were familiar with Women for Change, but no one was a member. In contrast, among men LCs, none belonged to any of these organizations. The most widely recognized was the YWCA (90% or 19), followed by the Women's Lobby Group (71% of 15), FODEP (67% or 14), Zambia Civic Education Association (67% or 14) and Women for Change (24% or 5).⁴³ This information suggests that more needs to be done to strengthen these Lusaka-based NGOs' outreach capabilities.

Of equal consequence, the national level interviews revealed that a wide rift existed between women in government and these organizations. Almost all those interviewed bemoaned the relationships between these groups and themselves.⁴⁴ Only 8% (1) of the thirteen women in national government, and only 12% (2) of the entire sample of seventeen, thought that these groups were supportive of women in politics and government. Most said that they were rarely, if ever, invited to group functions. Equally important, many MPs felt that these NGOs had not bolstered them when important issues were being debated in Parliament. For example, one noted that when she was working on a bill against rape, women's groups did not come out in support of her even though she was being attacked by men and by many members of her own party. A woman holding high rank in a Ministry remarked that all the women's organizations did when she was appointed to her post was to

congratulate her. They never commented on the measures she proposed to Parliament nor tried to suggest other ones to her.

A commonly held sentiment was expressed by one woman in national government who stated: "Women's groups have isolated themselves from other women, even MPs." Others held more extreme views. For example, one referred to these groups as "an NGO ghetto bent on advancing themselves," arguing that they represented an obstacle to women's political integration and participation.

While most women in national government placed the onus for poor communication on women's organizations, others believed that they shared part of the responsibility. For example, one woman commented:

When Inonge Lewanika ran for the head of the National Party, no one really supported her. Women in politics don't maintain links with the women who put them there. Women have to see that they aren't going to get anywhere unless they are pulled up by other women. You can't be afraid of those behind and ahead of you. We don't have effective networks and we have defined our own place.

Women in Government Evaluate Their Progress in the Third Republic

Unquestionably, much remains to be done to promote women's rights and their access to political office in the Third Republic. Women in national government were requested to respond to a series of statements concerning their progress in the Third Republic. Asked if they agreed or disagreed that there are more women in politics under the MMD government than there were under the UNIP government, 82% (14) disagreed. Queried if the multiparty state had allowed them a greater political voice than had the single-party state, 47% (8) said that it had, while the remainder (12% or 2) stated that the verdict was still out or that the change to multi-parties had made no difference (41% or 7). Questioned if women's issues were better represented in the MMD government than they were under the UNIP government, 76% (13) again disagreed. Asked to respond to the statement that women and their issues were better represented in the media under the new than they were under the old government, 59% (10) disagreed. Queried if violence against them had decreased since the political transition, 65% (11) again disagreed. Little consensus was apparent when women were asked if the judiciary was taking women's rights more seriously in the Third than it had in the Second Republic. Thirty-eight percent (5) agreed while 46% (6) said they saw little evidence of improvement and 15% (2) were undecided.

Women LCs expressed similar reservations regarding the effects of the transition on their political participation and the representation of their interests in government. Their responses differed significantly in this regard from those of their male colleagues. Sixty-seven percent (6) of the women disagreed with the statement that there are more women in politics under the current MMD government than there were under the UNIP government, while only 35% (7) of the men held similar opinions. The same distinction was evident in LCs' responses to the statement that women's concerns are better represented under the MMD government than they were under the UNIP government. Women were divided in their opinion, with 40% (4) agreeing, 40% (4) disagreeing and 20% (2) undecided. However, 80% (16) of the men were in accord with the statement. These findings and others presented earlier point to a significant gender divide in perceptions of women's status and their progress in the new government.

Although most women saw little or no change in these basic indicators, many pointed to positive developments in other areas resulting from the political transition which may have implications for women's status in the long run. Many women LCs made reference to the freedom of expression and choice which existed under the new government. More directly related to women's political status, one of those interviewed in national government drew attention to the new space available to organize and to promote women's interests and rights: "We now have political pressure groups outside of the party context. This is a good space. Women now need to focus and to use the momentum." Several of the women LCs also commented favorably on the demise of the Women's League cultural objectives, contending in one case: "We now have women who can do something to assist in development, not merely sing."

At the same time that this political space has opened, this study and research by Geisler (1987, 1994) indicate that many of those most concerned with women's representation in government have, in effect, opted out of direct involvement in politics by joining the growing number of non-partisan NGOs advocating women's rights. The words of one woman reflect this dilemma: "NGO women don't become involved in politics."⁴⁵ Another observed: "Now none of the NGO women are politically active themselves. We need to start creating women Parliamentarians from within these organizations." At this point in time, it is not clear whether NGOs will serve as bases for women's more direct political engagement in the future.

PART III. CONCLUSIONS

Zambia's transition to democracy is recent and on-going. Thus, this study captures processes of change at only one point in time in a rapidly evolving context. The major findings presented below may inform policy initiatives as well as serve as benchmarks for future research and evaluation.

The movement from a one-party to a multiparty state has not yet conclusively improved women's access to political office, although some gains have been made. Despite MMD's stated commitment to affirmative action to increase the number of women in politics and government, as of 1994, relatively little progress had been made in this regard. Women comprised less than seven percent of the Members of Parliament and less than five percent of the Local Councilors in Zambia. Furthermore, less than half of the women in national government believed that women had a greater political voice in the Third than they did in the Second Republic. Many did not think that the image of women in the media had improved, that most discriminatory laws had been removed from the books or that violence against them had lessened. Most women in national and local government felt that SAPs, a major government policy initiative, were more detrimental to women than men.

While women in government contended that much remained to be done to strengthen their representation and to make them equal citizens under the law, they nonetheless expressed strong support for the more open political climate in the country. Some stressed that they could now organize political pressure groups outside of party contexts.

Moreover, there is indication that the political transition has opened the door for the representation of different types of women's interests. For example, many women in the new government were relative political novices, having held few, if any, political posts before their election as MPs or LCs. In addition, more business and professional women have gained entrance to politics and government, at least at the national level. While these women often bring distinguished qualifications and experience to the job, most are distanced from the life experiences of the majority of Zambian women. At the local level, it appears that a similar situation prevails. Women and men LCs are

better educated and are more affluent than the majority of the population. The implications of these marked class differences for the political representation of poor women's interests were not fully explored in this study and require further investigation.

At the national level, the powerful gate-keeping role of the women's wings of political parties had declined, at least temporarily. These organizations' ability to set policy with regard to women's issues had diminished, thus broadening the terrain for debate and opening new space for women from different backgrounds to participate in politics and government. At the local level, considerable variation in the importance of women's wings existed by province.

Women in government reported a variety of problems they confronted in running for office, and, once there, in performing their duties. For example, they identified lack of funds to underwrite the costs of campaigns and to meet requests for assistance from constituents as serious constraints to their office holding. Most said that they received little financial support from their parties for their political campaigns. In many instances, the majority of their financial support came from their own pockets or from family and friends.

Most women interviewed confronted double standards and double days. They noted that they had to work harder than men did to advance in their careers while, at the same time, they were expected to meet family obligations with no re-division of household responsibilities or labor. In fact, many were divorced while others maintained that their husbands were not supportive of their political careers.

In addition, women in government had few female role models available to them and were not encouraged by teachers and professors to pursue careers in politics or government. Most of the role models women did have were men, often male relatives who were politically active. Moral support for women's political involvement principally came from family and friends. In the case of women LCs especially, churches, church groups and other community organizations were particularly supportive.

Gender discrimination and sometimes sexual harassment continued to plague women in government. These practices and the prevalent view that politics is a male domain played major roles in middle and upper class women's reluctance to run for office. Available information at the national and local levels suggested that relatively few women were willing to accept party nominations as candidates, and, of those who did, at the local level especially, few were elected. Once in office, many reported that they were not treated as equals by their male colleagues. In many respects, unfortunately, there were striking continuities between women's status and treatment in politics described in earlier studies and their circumstances at the time of this study.

Women in government at the national and local levels viewed gender as a significant dimension in politics and policy formulation. Most did not believe that men in government would represent their interests. Women in national government and those in key positions in women's NGOs noted that little progress had been made in the new government towards providing a mechanism to represent women's interests in policy formation and coordination at the national level. Findings from the Local Councilors' survey suggested that women and men held different understandings of women's issues, and that they did not agree on who could represent women's concerns in government. Men, to a greater extent than women, believed that gender was irrelevant in policy formation, that men and women were equal and that men could speak for women's interests. In contrast, women recognized that their experiences - with gender discrimination, double standards, double days, lack of equal rights under the law and lack of equal access to resources - differentiated them in fundamental ways from men.

Women's political style was well suited to the new political system. Women LCs emphasized the importance of listening to their constituencies rather than seeking solutions principally by formulating policies for them. Many were strong supporters of civic education to increase the public's political knowledge and participation. In a similar fashion, many women in national government were willing to question party agendas. Indeed, some were leaders of or helped organize opposition parties.

Relationships between women in government and their constituencies were in a state of flux. At the local level, considerable ambiguity existed regarding what the principal responsibilities of the LCs and District Councils were and where the initiative for development should originate. While LCs and MPs were supportive of decentralization and increased local autonomy, many still saw the national government as bearing the major responsibility for development. Constituents themselves continued to place heavy demands on government representatives for funds to cover medical emergencies, funerals and transportation costs. These demands were reminiscent of the patronage-style politics of the UNIP era.

Women in national government were divided along party lines, and even within parties, significant divisions existed between Ministers and back-benchers. These divisions worked against the formation of a strong women's caucus in government. Significant divisions also existed between women in national government and national NGOs promoting women's rights and their increased political participation. Women in government claimed that they received little support from these organizations, while members of these groups maintained that once women achieved political office they cut their ties with these groups. Relationships between women in local government and grassroots NGOs did not seem to be as strained. Despite the many significant divisions among them, however, women in government showed a high degree of consensus in identifying the problems they faced and in recognizing the gender dimensions of major government policy initiatives.

In conclusion, it appears that, at least initially, the political transition from a single-party to a multiparty state has opened more space for women's political participation. Whether this is only a temporary change and whether women will be able to take advantage of it will depend, in part, on the kinds of communications and support networks that can be established among and between women at the local level, women in political office, and organizations at all levels promoting their political participation. Policy-makers are strategically placed to make a difference in these outcomes. The following recommendations emerge from the study.

- To broaden the base of women's political participation, strengthen initiatives that grant them equal rights under the law and equal opportunities in all spheres with men. Recognizing that women's lack of financial security and autonomy have political ramifications, support groups whose goals are to strengthen and empower women in the economic and social as well as the political spheres.
- To build the institutions and capacity necessary for effective representation of women's interests, support the establishment of a women's political caucus and the development of mechanisms to formally integrate gender considerations and women into powerful new institutions such as the Policy Analysis and Management Division in the Executive branch. In addition, consider backing the Parliamentary Support Committee proposed by the National Women's Lobby Group which would provide a gender analysis of issues and bills being debated in Parliament. Make this information available to the public and to government officials. Strengthen the skills and expand the number of research assistants with knowledge about gender issues who provide backstopping and support to MPs.

- To encourage women's participation as candidates in the electoral process, explore the possibility of establishing a revolving credit fund which would help underwrite the costs of women's political campaigns at the national and local levels.
- Support civic education programs which directly address the negative perceptions of women in government by compiling and disseminating information showcasing women's political contributions. Life histories of exemplary Zambian women politicians and activists could serve as effective role models for women. Support civic education programs undertaken by FODEP, YWCA, the National Women's Lobby Group and other NGOs which directly address the widespread notion that women are not capable leaders or effective elected representatives. Consider implementing a leadership training program similar to "Junior Achievement" which targets youth during a time in their lives when gender roles are malleable and which presents examples of men and women political leaders as role models.
- Support the work of groups that present women's rights as human rights and thus as essential features in any democracy, as well as organizations and efforts that educate people in all walks of life about sexual and gender harassment and that campaign against these practices.
- To take advantage of the partial breakdown of the gate-keeping functions of women's wings of political parties and of women's current willingness to engage in politics, promote groups at the national and local levels which lobby political parties to nominate women for office and which provide support and encouragement for women to stand for party nominations. Support these organizations' efforts to extend their reach to rural areas.
- To promote better understanding of the roles and responsibilities of political lobby groups vis a vis elected representatives, support short courses for these groups focusing on how to effectively lobby elected officials.
- Finally, disseminate a short version of this study to promote discussion and debate of these issues among women and men in government and among donor organizations. Engage Zambia Association for Research and Development (ZARD) or university researchers in Women's Studies to carry out follow-up investigations.

ENDNOTES

1. See Parpart (1988) and Tripp (1994b) for more general overviews of women in politics in Africa from the pre-Colonial to the contemporary period.
2. Schuster (1983) reviews ethnographic literature on chiefless, egalitarian societies like the Tonga, and more hierarchical, chiefly societies like the Bemba and Lozi. She finds that although women in some Zambian societies had access to power and leadership positions, these positions were available to only a small minority. The available ethnographic evidence thus does not support the notion of a pre-colonial gender equality. Rather, most women found their lives "dominated by the production of crops and children, and not by public affairs" (Schuster 1983:13).
3. For an overview of the economic and political effects of Colonialism on African women see Parpart (1988).
4. Many of the women's rights issues identified by delegates to the Consultation on Women's Rights in Zambia held at the Mindolo Ecumenical Foundation in November, 1970 (Schuster 1983:32, 1985) are being addressed only now with the drafting of a new constitution.
5. In fact, few women held high positions of any sort. At the time, Maria Nzomo reported that Zambia had not yet had a woman cabinet member, university professor or director of a big company (Geisler 1987:58 citing Nzomo).
6. For example, Giesler (1987:47) reports that in Lusaka Urban District where one would expect membership to be high, only sixteen out of twenty-seven wards were represented at the League's 1985 annual meeting. In the Copperbelt in 1985 only five percent of women were reported to be members.
7. These organizations' freedom of expression was curtailed by the party and the state. Under the single party state, all such groups had to be cleared by the Women's League and be affiliated with it.
8. Although women's participation as voters sparked little interest during the campaign itself, it did become an issue immediately after the election when then ex-President Kaunda suggested that one of the reasons for his defeat was that "many of our mothers" did not vote (quoted in Longwe and Clarke 1992:17).
9. The low voter turn-out in the 1991 national election and the even lower turn-out (13.9%) in the 1992 local government elections is explained in part by low voter registration (Bratton and Katundu 1993:12). While technical problems in registering may account for some of failure to vote, political apathy or uncertainty also may have played a major role. In general, Bratton and Katundu (1993: 12) found that men were more likely to have reported voting in both these elections than were women.
10. Those interviewed were guaranteed the anonymity of their responses. Anne Ferguson and Beatrice Liatto Katundu designed the survey instruments and carried out the interviews with women at the national level. Interviews with Local Councilors were carried out by a research assistant, Irene Manda, during September 1994. Data analysis and write up was conducted by Anne Ferguson and Kimberly Ludwig, with assistance from research assistants associated with the Monitoring and Evaluation Component of the Zambia Democratic Governance Project at Michigan State University.

11. Information from men MPs was gathered as part of another Special Study being carried out by Phillip Aldefer on the National Assembly. Aldefer incorporated some of the questions used in the gender study into his survey of Parliamentarians. This data has not yet been analyzed.

12. Although in this study, "women's issues" is used principally in reference to the gendered division of labor, and to women's right concerns, the term may also be used to refer to the viewpoints women hold on a wide range of other societal issues, perspectives which reflect their diverse social locations (Chowdhury and Nelson 1994:10).

13. Of the eight women MPs, seven held elected positions. One Minister was appointed by the President.

14. In most cases, the N for questions on the survey corresponds to the figures in Table 1. However, in some instances, those interviewed provided more than one response to questions. In these cases, N exceeds the number of respondents in a category. "Responses" is used in the text to indicate where the N refers to the number of responses rather than individuals in the sample.

15. Between January and July 1994, a number of changes in women's membership occurred in the Cabinet and Parliament. For example, one woman Minister was asked to resign and became a back bencher. Another woman MP was appointed to take her place as Minister. One woman Deputy Minister also resigned and became a back bencher. Ultimately, she, and one other back-bencher who joined the National Party, lost their seats in a by-election.

16. The figures used to calculate the percentage of women LCs are taken from "Official Election Results," Elections Office, Lusaka, which tallies the women and men who ran for office, and those who won seats, in the November 1992 elections.

17. On at least two occasions, women from government and various NGOs met with President Chiluba to discuss the low number of women in elected and appointed positions in the new government as well as the issue of establishing a Women's Bureau or Ministry.

20. Two women MPs elected on the MMD ticket who joined the National Party were subsequently made to resign from their seats. Later in the year, they ran in the by-elections and lost.

19. Because interviewing in the LC survey was carried out in only three provinces, there is no reason to compare data on ethnicity of LCs with that of the nation as a whole. Information on the ethnic composition of these provinces is not readily available.

20. In the total sample, nine (53%) women were single with children or were divorced, six (35%) were married and two (12%) were widowed.

21. One of these women was still serving in 1994 as the sole woman UNIP member of Parliament.

22. Little difference existed in the family backgrounds of men and women LCs. Fifty-seven percent (12) of the men as compared to 64% (7) of the women had close relatives who had been in politics or government while 73% (8) of the women compared to 67% (14) of the men LCs had relatives who had been traditional leaders.

23. Other role models included Indira Ghandi, African National Congress independence leaders and Margaret Thatcher. One woman reported that she was influenced by the examples of Che, Martin Luther King, Nelson and Winnie Mandela, Mahatma Ghandi, John Kennedy, Angela Davis and Corazon Aquino!

24. Reflecting on how limited their understandings were of career opportunities when they were young, three of the women commented that what initially drew them to the occupations they chose (nursing and the air force) was the attractiveness of the uniforms!

25. The Zambians mentioned were John Mususu Kalenga, former MP, member of the UNIP Central Committee and the father of one of the women interviewed; and Unia Mwila, former MP, ambassador to Japan and the paternal uncle of another woman LC. The only Zambian woman identified was Eva Sanderson of Kitwe City Council. The non-Africans named were Indira Ghandi (1), Margaret Thatcher (2) and G. Major (1).

26. Zambian politicians mentioned were Frederick Chiluba (5), Simon Kapwepwe (4), Kenneth Kaunda (1), Vernon Mwaanga (2), Gray Zulu (1), Titus Mukupo (1), Justin Chimba (1) and Valentine Kayope (1). Most of those who referred to President Chiluba qualified the statement by noting: "when he was leader of ZCTU." Other African politicians named were Kwame Nkrumah (2), Seke Toure (1), Julius Nyerere (3), Jomo Kenyatta (2), Tom Mboya (1), Samora Machel (1) and Joshua Nkomo (1). The non-Africans mentioned were John Kennedy (1), Jimmy Carter (2), Winston Churchill (1) and Nikita Khrushchev (1).

27. Fifteen of these were with MMD, one with United Democratic Party and five with both UNIP and MMD.

28. For the country as a whole, 10.9% of the council seats were contested by women in the 1992 election.

29. Four (31%) women MPs stated that the party was most powerful under the UNIP government, while one (8%) felt that the National Assembly was the strongest division of government.

30. At the local level, only slight differences by gender were noted concerning the functions of the opposition. Fifty percent (5) of the women, compared to 30% (6) of the men, felt that the role of the opposition was to provide checks and balances. One woman remarked: "The opposition's role is to challenge issues and keep the ruling party on its toes by acting as watchdogs." Women (40% or 4) also were somewhat more inclined than men LCs (30% or 6) to believe that the opposition's role was to assist or support the government in a cooperative way, a function that none of the women in national government suggested. Men LCs (7 of 20 or 35%) were more likely to respond with statements suggesting that the opposition's role was to supervise the government or to provide alternative policies.

31. At the local level, slightly more women (80% or 8) than men (65% or 13) were negative about the opposition's performance. Comments from women included: "No opposition exists outside the MMD...", "(Opposition) parties criticize without giving a solution", and: "No, (opposition parties are not fulfilling their role)... they are power hungry."

32. This finding is similar to that reported by Bratton and Liatto-Katundu (1993:17) in their study of political attitudes and behaviors among the Zambian population. They found that 60% of the 421 Zambian citizens eighteen years or older who were interviewed rejected the assertion that people should be permitted to vote even if they did not fully understand all the issues. The predilection to curb voting rights was especially strong among the most well-educated in their sample.

33. One woman member of an opposition party reported that she was embarrassed to visit her constituency and had not been there in six months because she had not been able to garner the resources necessary to keep any of her campaign promises. In her words: "I am afraid to visit my constituency. There are no roads, no hospitals, no stocked clinics..."

34. In the rural areas of Luapula Province, respondents reported that contact with their constituents was difficult due to transportation problems.

35. Women who disagreed with the last statement blamed women, saying for example: "We don't seriously bring up issues. We haven't tackled issues well. We can't articulate our issues."

36. Considerable literature exists on the gender implications and impacts of structural adjustment policies in Africa and elsewhere (see, for example, Elson 1991a, Gladwin 1991, Palmer 1991, Bakker 1994, Sparr 1994). The Zambia focused literature includes work by Geisler and Tranberg Hansen 1994; Geisler and Narrowe 1990; Geisler 1992; Deby 1989; Milimo 1990; and Mudenda 1991. Works by Geisler and Narrowe (1990), Geisler (1992) and Geisler and Tranberg Hansen (1994), in particular, draw attention to how the economic crisis and the resultant SAPs have exacerbated poor women's already heavy work burdens and restricted their access to resources.

37. Other problems facing women that were identified included discrimination and violence (4 responses) and their poor representation in politics and government due to their lack of engagement in politics, infighting and their small numbers in elected or appointed office (3).

38. The survey of political attitudes and behaviors carried out by Bratton and Liatto-Katundu (1993:23-24) revealed that support for SAPs - particularly private sector retrenchment and privatization - was not as strong among the general population as it was among those in government in this study.

39. In Lusaka, two of the three women LCs did not belong to this organization, one complaining that "even now the women's wing is not easy or open to join..." Of the two women LCs interviewed in Luapula, one reported that there was no branch in her area, while the other recounted that even though she belonged to the organization, she got no help from it in her campaign "because the office had no transport and couldn't come to campaign..." In the Copperbelt, however, the situation was different. Five of the six LCs belonged to the MMD women's wing, and all reported receiving some form of assistance from it during their campaigns.

40. These included: NGO Coordinating Committee, Zambia Association for Research and Development, Women in Law in Southern Africa, Young Women's Christian Association, Planned Parenthood Association, Zambian Nurses' Association, Zambian Association of University Women, Zambian Women's Finance Trust, Society for Women and AIDs, Women in Development, Family Trust, Women for Change, Family Life Movement, Girl Guides, HP Women, Home Economics, Women in the Media, Medical Women's Organization, Lusaka West Women's Association, Disabled Women's Association, Ngwerere Women's Group.

41. Bratton and Liatto-Katundu (1993:13) indicate that Zambians in general are joiners. In their study of political attitudes and behaviors, they report that 83% of the population belonged to community organizations such as churches, clubs, unions and cooperatives.

42. Information this group was gathered only from LCs, as it achieved national recognition only after interviews at the national level were completed. Even though it was entirely Lusaka based, it had received considerable publicity.

43. Among the LCs, recognition of these groups varied by province. The three women from Lusaka said that they were familiar with all organizations. Four of the five women from the Copperbelt had heard of four of the groups. But in rural Luapula Province, only one of the two LCs recognized the YWCA and Women's Lobby while the other was only familiar with the YWCA.

44. In addition to the rift between women in the NGO sector and those in government, a number of other equally significant divisions existed among MPs themselves which need to be taken into account in forming a women's caucus. Like their male counterparts, women MPs were separated by party lines, and, within parties themselves, by the division between Ministers and Deputy Ministers on the one hand, and back-benchers on the other, as described earlier. All these divisions hampered the development of a women's caucus within Parliament.

45. This choice to take positions with NGOs advocating women's rights and civic education rather than engaging more directly in politics may be explained by a combination of factors, including most of these women's precarious financial circumstances and the previously described overt forms of sexual, social and professional harassment those who do elect to run for office face.

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APPENDIX

Table 1. The Local Councillor Sample by Province and Gender

Province	Women LCs	Men LCs
Lusaka	3	4
Copperbelt	6	7
Luapula	2	10
Total	11	21

Table 2. Total Number of Women and Men Local Councillors in the Three Study Provinces

Province	Women LCs	Men LCs	Total LCs
Lusaka	6 (8%)	65 (92%)	71
Copperbelt	14 (8%)	171 (92%)	185
Luapula	3 (3%)	97 (97%)	100
Total	23 (6%)	333 (94%)	356

Compiled from Government of Zambia, Elections Commission, 1992

Table 3. Women in National Government Before and After the 1991 Election

Category of Position	Before Election UNIP	After Election MMD
Cabinet Ministers	5.0%	0%
Deputy Ministers (Ministers of State)	4.3%	13.9%
Executive Committee (Central Committee)	11.8%	10.5%
Members of Parliament	3.7%	4.8%

Source: Longwe and Clarke 1992:19

Table 4. Ethnic Affiliation of the Zambian Population, 1980

Ethnicity	National Population
Bemba	36.2%
Chewa-Nsenga-Ngoni	17.6%
Tonga	15.2%
Kaonde	10.2%
Lozi	9.2%
Other	11.6%

Source: Government of Zambia, Central Statistics Office 1980:4.

Table 5. Percent Distribution of Level of Education for the Zambian Population Aged 6 Years and Above by Gender in Urban and Rural Areas, 1992

Education Level	Urban		Rural	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Never Attended School	6.7%	11.5%	24.0%	36.4%
Primary Education	54.6%	64.7%	64.2%	58.4%
Secondary Education	34.2%	21.7%	10.3%	4.5%
University	3.6%	1.7%	0.9	.3%

Source: Sampule et al. 1993:20.

Table 6. Marital Status of the Zambian Population 12 Years and Above by Gender

Marital Status	National Population	
	Men	Women
Never Married	37.5%	21.0%
Married	59.2%	65.2%
Divorced/Separated	2.4%	7.8%
Widowed	1.0%	6.0%

Source: Women and Men in Zambia 1991:18

Table 7. Local Councilors' Perceptions of Women's Roles in Politics and Government by Gender

	Yes		Conditional Yes		No	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Vote	100% (21)	100% (10)				
Participate only in Women's Wing			5% (1)	10% (1)	95% (20)	90% (9)
Participate in Other Branches of Party	85% (18)	90% (9)	10% (2)		5% (1)	10.0 (1)
Hold Top Party Position	81% (17)	100% (10)	19% (4)			
Be Local Councilors	90% (19)	100% (10)	5% (1)		5% (1)	
Be District Clerks or Mayors	81% (17)	100% (10)	14% (3)		5% (1)	
Be MPs or Ministers	76% (16)	100% (10)	24% (5)			
Be Vice President or President	66% (14)	100% (10)	24% (5)		10% (2)	

Table 8. Local Councilors' Membership in Community Organizations by Gender

Type of Organization	Men Local Councilors	Women Local Councilors
Church	18 (86%)	10 (91%)
Women's Church Group		7 (64%)
Other Women's Group		6 (55%)
Trade Union	3 (14%)	3 (27%)
Cooperative	6 (29%)	4 (36%)
Service	4 (21%)	2 (18%)
PTA/Education Group	12 (60%)	4 (36%)
Professional Organization	3 (17%)	1 (9%)
Sports Club	6 (33%)	4 (36%)
NGO	4 (22%)	4 (36%)
Other	4 (22%)	2 (22%)