

CHALLENGES

FOR WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION AND PROMOTION

IN POLITICAL PARTIES
IN UGANDA AND ZAMBIA



PROGRAM FOR YOUNG POLITICIANS IN AFRICA

FEBRUARY 2020

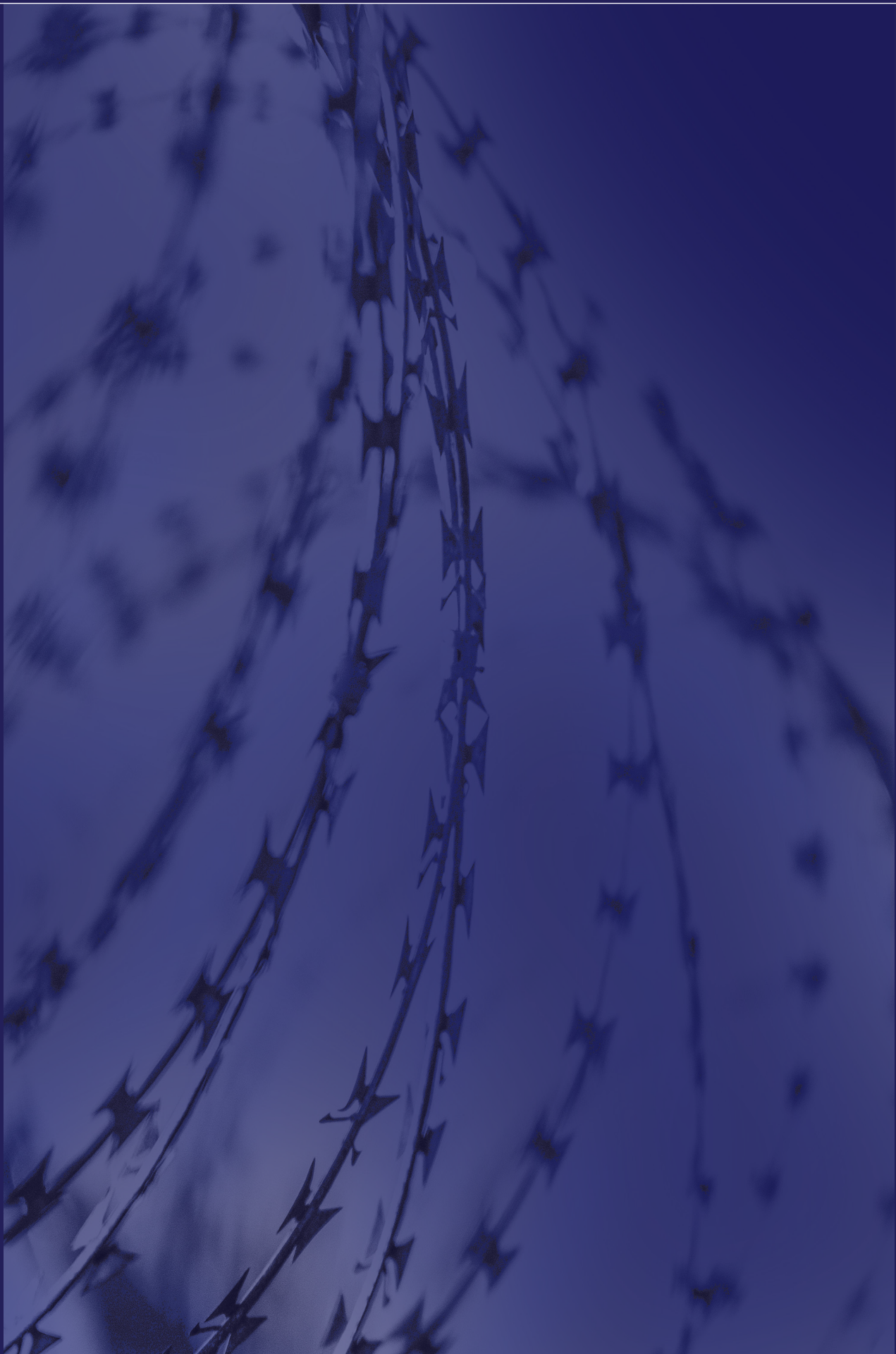


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ZAMBIA
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United Party for National
Development (UPND)
Movement for Multiparty
Development (MMD)

ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

CSO

Civil society organization

DP

Democratic Party

FDC

Forum for Democratic Change

FGD

Focus Group Discussion

KI

Key informant

KII

Key informant interviews

KIC

Kristdemokratiskt
Internationellt Center

NDC

National Delegates
Conference

NRM

National Resistance
Movement

MP

Member of Parliament

PF

Patriotic Front

PYPA

Program for Young
Politicians in Africa

UPND

United Party for
National Development

WDN-U

Women's Democracy
Network, Uganda Chapter

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

1. BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Kristdemokratiskt Internationellt Center (KIC) contracted Women's Democracy Network-Uganda Chapter (WDN-U) to conduct a study on *Challenges for Women's Participation and Promotion in Political Parties in Uganda and Zambia*.

KIC runs the "Program for Young Politicians in Africa" (PYPA). PYPA is a multiparty, transnational African capacity-strengthening program targeting young Africans engaged in political parties. The program aims to increase young people's political participation and thus contribute to a more democratic, representative, and non-discriminatory political system in the program countries.

During the course of the PYPA program, female participants have time and again expressed various challenges that hamper the participation and promotion of women in political parties.

It has also become clear in the external evaluation of the program that female participants are less likely to be given responsibility or be consulted by seniors in the parties. Realising that there is lack of data on this important subject KIC commissioned a gender study to first highlight these challenges and then to use the findings from this study to guide KIC's future program planning in the region.

2. OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The objectives of the study were to:

- Advance knowledge of the scope and effects of challenges for women's participation in political parties in Uganda and Zambia.
- Advance knowledge and understanding of strategies used by female politicians or their parties to overcome existing challenges.
- Present policy suggestions directed towards political parties.

3. METHODOLOGY

The study mainly relied on primary data, collected in the form of Face to Face Interviews/ surveys, Key Informant Interviews (KII) and Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) along with a literature review.

In total, six political parties were chosen for this study. These included the ruling party, followed by two opposition parties from Uganda and Zambia respectively. In Uganda, National resistance Movement (NRM), Forum for Democratic Change (FDC) and Democratic Party (DP) were chosen, while, in Zambia, Patriotic Front (PF), United Party for National Development (UPND) and Movement for Multiparty Development (MMD) were chosen.

FORMS OF DATA COLLECTION

FACE TO FACE INTERVIEWS/SURVEYS		KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEWS (KIIs)	FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS (FGDs)
Uganda	120	Key informant interviews were conducted with specific national party leaders, regional leaders and political party technical staff.	Separate focus group discussions were conducted for male and female respondents in Uganda and Zambia, comprising of 8-11 key individuals per group
Zambia	91		
TOTAL	211		

4. FINDINGS FROM THE STUDY

4.1 RESPONDENT CHARACTERISTICS

A total of 211 respondents were covered by the study. In terms of gender, 63% were female while 37% were male. Majority of the respondents were women. In terms of age, 40 of the respondents were above 41 years of age while the rest were below 40 years of age.

In terms of political party representation, the highest number of respondents came from DP and FDC in Uganda with a representation of 22%; while NRM, PF, UPND and MMD had a representation of 14%.

With regard to official membership within the political parties, 89% were officially registered in their respective political parties with membership cards.

Further, a majority of the respondents had been members of their political parties for a period of between 0-5 years where most of these were females (45).

A majority of the people interviewed (34.3%) were political party leaders at the sub-national level. The second dominant category was party supporters at 29.4%. 8.3% of the participants in the survey were national-level party leaders.

As shown in Table 3, poverty among women (55.9%); lack of solidarity among women (50.7%) and lack of civic education within the citizenry about women's leadership (40.8%) were among the top barriers affecting women's participation in political parties.

Poverty, lack of solidarity among women, and lack of civic education about women's leadership were among the top barriers affecting women's participation in political parties

4.2 UNDERSTANDING OF GENDER-RELATED CHALLENGES TO WOMEN WITHIN POLITICAL PARTIES

Concerning awareness of the existence of a political party gender policy, 83.9% of the respondents reported to be aware of an existing gender policy in their political parties.

Further, findings reveal that of those that are aware of the existence of a gender policy in their political parties 82.8 % had knowledge of the provisions of their political parties' gender policies. Results reveal that most of the respondents got to know about the gender policies of their political parties through workshops and training (38.2%).

However, during the KIIs, all the national party leaders interviewed in Uganda and Zambia stated that there was no gender policy in their respective political parties. However, parties like DP in Uganda have developed a draft gender policy, which is yet to be discussed within the party

organs prior to its passage. A NRM national leader in Uganda stated that the NRM party gender policy is still on the table. There are some gender responsive provisions in some of the party constitutions, for example, in NRM and FDC party constitutions 40% of all leadership positions in the party should be occupied by women.

Section 42(1) of the NRM Constitution states that:

"In electing the leadership of the organs of NRM, 40% of the positions shall be reserved for women, except in cases where it is impracticable to do so".

Section 9(1) of the FDC Constitution states that:

"In order to ensure that women are adequately represented in all decision making structures, the party shall implement a program of affirmative action of at least 40% in all structures".

The FDC Constitution in Section 9(2) and 9(3) states that:

"Implementation of Section 9 (1) shall be detailed in all party Guidelines and Platform and Manifesto."

"Two years ago we started working on a gender policy, which we look forward to launch before we go to the general conference set for this year."

- National leader, UPND Party, Zambia

Despite this provision, one of the challenges (mentioned by a FDC national woman leader) for women in political parties is failure to implement the 40% representation for women at all levels within the party structures.

MOST REPORTED INCENTIVES FOR WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

The results reveal that the most reported incentives for women's political participation in political parties include:

- The establishment of women's leagues (29.3%)
- Quotas for women (18.3%)
- Capacity building of women leaders (8.4%)

In addition, a national woman leader in FDC party in Uganda revealed that:

"The party prints 1 000 posters for female MP candidates. FDC party provides modest funds to female candidates."

4.3 BARRIERS TO WOMEN'S REPRESENTATION AND MEANINGFUL POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

As reported, the biggest social-cultural barriers to women's participation in politics were:

- The domestic role of women (52.1%)
- Feminisation of poverty, or vulnerability of women to poverty (46.4%);
- Cultural norms and stereotypes about women in society (40.3%)

The main institutional barriers to women's participation in politics were also largely reported to be:

- A lack of campaign funds (52.1%)
- The failure of male incumbents to groom female candidates to succeed them (44.5%)
- The preference of political parties for male candidates for open seats at all levels in general elections (43.1%)

With regard to political infrastructure, it was reported that the most significant political party infrastructure barriers to meaningful representation and participation of women in politics were a lack of:

- Campaign funds for women (47.4%)
- Women's capacity building and mentoring (42.2%)
- Gender equality in the selection of campaign agents for political party structures (34.1%)

4.4 SEXUAL HARASSMENT

There appeared to be some confusion about an actual policy against sexual harassment.

EXISTENCE OF A SEXUAL HARASSMENT POLICY

With regard to the existence of a policy against sexual harassment in the parties, 51% of the respondents reported in the affirmative.

But, during the KIIs, the national political leaders revealed that *none of the political parties in both Zambia and Uganda have a policy against sexual harassment.*

Parties like Patriotic Front in Zambia have a code of ethics, and some respondents may therefore have confused the code of ethics (which guides members on different matters, including sexual harassment) with the existence of a stand-alone policy on sexual harassment.

For instance, a national leader from Patriotic Front in Zambia on the issue of lack of a policy on sexual harassment stated that:

"We have strong code of ethics which addresses issues of sexual harassment among members – and according to the Constitution of Zambia, sexual harassment is a very serious crime that, if found guilty, one can go to prison."

The results also revealed that the respondents reported their understanding of sexual harassment to be:

- High (29.7%)
- Very high (29.7%)

With regard to the existing forms of sexual harassment in political parties, the most reported was unwanted sexual advances (27.1%) and hostile work environment or harassment (11.9%).

The most harassed members of the political parties that participated in the study were female youth (55.4%), and women (19.8%). Others experiencing this nature of harassment are male youth (5%).

5% of male youth reported that they had been sexually harassed – compared with 55.4% of female youth

The results also show that 58% of the respondents reported that sexual harassment was a problem in their political parties.

The findings reveal that 72.5% of the respondents had not personally experienced sexual harassment, compared with 27.5% who had individually experienced the vice.

4.5 SATISFACTION WITH CURRENT REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN POLITICAL PARTIES

45% of the respondents are not satisfied with the current level of women's representation. Also, 47.4% reported that party leaders within their communities should work toward the development of women and the promotion of women's rights in their parties.

Concerning the action of female political leaders in addressing challenges facing women, it was reported that women leaders:

- Empower women's leagues to nurture women leaders (37.1%)
- Actively participate in women's leagues and party decision-making structures (15.5%)

Promotion of women's participation in politics

It was reported that political parties have:

- adopted quotas to increase women's participation in leadership (25.4%)
- adopted a gender policy (16.6%) and provided training for women candidates among others.

As mentioned earlier, some respondents confused the existence of quotas in their party's constitutions with an actual policy on gender equality.

5. MAJOR RECOMMENDATIONS

The recommendations are clustered into: political party; CSOs; women leaders and other stakeholders' recommendations.

5.1 POLITICAL PARTY RECOMMENDATIONS

Political parties should:

- a) Establish and ensure effective functioning of gender equality mechanisms like committees on gender equity and develop research and gender equity data collection tools.
- b) Establish and ensure a gender sensitive working environment and work towards gender sensitive policies.
- c) Develop and implement policies against sexual harassment. The findings revealed that a majority of the parties that participated in the study do not have policies against sexual harassment.
- d) Develop and implement a gender policy in their respective parties and create a fund for women candidates to contest in elections.
- e) Develop programs to deliberately recruit women into the political parties.

Specific intentional steps should be taken to conduct outreaches to recruit young women in institutions of higher learning and those outside institutions of higher learning. The young women recruited into the political parties should be oriented on the party, the mandate of the youth and women's league and the role of members and leaders in the party. The political parties, together with

the women and youth leagues, should deliberately mentor and build the capacity of young women especially on political skills; negotiation skills; lobbying; how to deal with emerging challenges as one aspires for leadership; confidence building and public speaking; campaign skills; income generation, and work, and balancing political life with private life.

- f) Prioritize engagement with media houses to ensure that media propaganda against female candidates is addressed. This should go hand in hand with political parties deliberating undertaking programs to educate citizens about the civil and political rights of women and the importance of women's participation in politics and decision making.
- g) Strengthen the women leagues through funding, technical support and mainstreaming the participation of the leaders of the league into decision making in the mainstream party structures. This will partly enable the league to fulfill its mandate as enshrined in the party constitution and league constitution.
- h) Convene political meetings at convenient times and places to suit both the male and female members, unlike the trend where meetings are held at awkward hours which disadvantages females by making it difficult for them to participate.
- i) Integrate political education in their plans, budgets and programs to address stereotypes, especially against

women and to enhance knowledge, discipline and loyalty among members.

5.2 CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATION RECOMMENDATIONS

Civil society organisations should:

- Encourage women to enter politics and advance their careers, they should also work with political parties to support women candidates and shape positive public attitudes towards women in politics.
- Support and nurture a strong, coordinated women's movement that may to some degree mitigate the lack of party effectiveness in increasing women's political participation. Such a movement could work to recruit more women as candidates, put pressure on elected officials (both male and female), speak for women as a group, and push for policy to continue progress toward gender equality. The movement should include a large cross-section of women of all ages, races, religions, professions, and beliefs.
- Support political parties to develop a gender policy and a policy against sexual harassment.
- Build capacity of political party leaders on gender and women leagues to enable them to perform their mandate.
- Conduct public awareness campaigns to address stereotypes against women in politics and on the benefits of women's representation and meaningful political participation in partnership with political parties, media and the Electoral Commission.

5.3 WOMEN LEADERS RECOMMENDATIONS

Women leaders should:

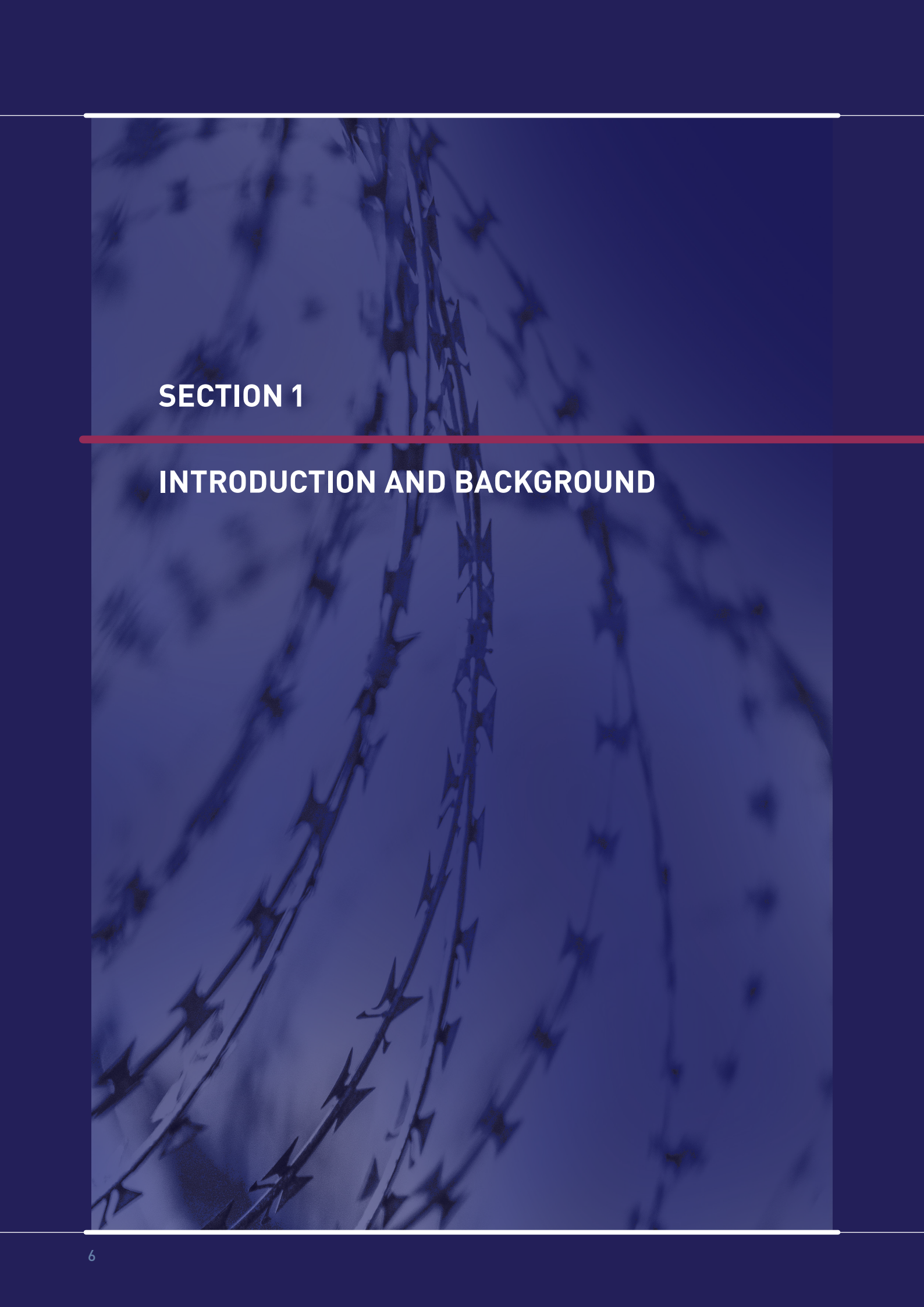
- Build partnerships with other women in political parties to act collectively on issues of concern.
- Plan their own political careers and learn to promote themselves through political party ranks.
- Build partnerships with women in CSOs to collectively advocate for women's rights and gender issues in politics.

5.4 OTHER STAKEHOLDERS

Recommendations for what other key stakeholders should do:

- Parliament should legislate for campaign finance reform. Initial steps should begin by laying legal groundwork toward a law on campaign financing.
- The Executive and Parliament should review and adopt an electoral system of proportional representation in Uganda and Zambia instead of First-Past-the-Post. This will guarantee an increment of women in political leadership.
- Political will and commitment from the party leadership should be encouraged by all partners of political parties to ensure that female candidates and elected women politicians are fully supported in the entire election process and after the election respectively.
- Lastly, governments should promote the economic emancipation of women.

Women leaders should build partnerships with other women in political parties to act collectively on issues of concern.



SECTION 1

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

The goal of achieving gender equality in politics remains elusive in the twenty-first century.

Women comprise more than half the population of most countries in the world — and vote in elections.

Yet, women continue to lag behind men as elected leaders in their political parties: as presidents, as members of parliament and as local councillors in government.

The majority of the political parties in Uganda and Zambia have established women leagues, among others, to enhance women's participation in political parties. Despite this, the number of women in leadership positions in the mainstream party is low. Most women are relegated to leadership positions in the women leagues. During elections, women aspiring candidates and campaign agents are fewer than men. This situation persists despite the fact that equal rights for women, including the rights to citizenship and suffrage are guaranteed in the Constitutions of Uganda and Zambia respectively.

This disparity between theory and practice raises questions of social justice when women are the majority of the electorate and yet few of the elected leaders. It also has negative effects on future generations, as ongoing imbalances in opportunities can affect the prospects for social and economic development in the longer term¹.

The study enumerates the challenges for women's participation and promotion in political parties in Uganda and Zambia; and strategies for redress. It draws on the experiences of women and men (especially female and male youth), party leaders and members from the ruling party and two major opposition political parties in Uganda and Zambia. Political parties remain a focus for women's participation and promotion in politics because they are the major means through which leaders are elected to govern in most parts of the world.

From some feminist perspectives political parties are often viewed as principal instruments of patriarchy, marginalizing women in politics and government. This is because political parties generally continue to be spaces for male dominance, where women continue to face serious obstacles². Nonetheless, political parties remain necessary; women have to devise ways to engage effectively and strategically from

within them in order to transform them and maximize their chances for greater political influence over policy processes and decisions to improve the position of women in society, politics and government³.

In order to understand the challenges for women's participation and promotion in political parties in Uganda and Zambia a study was conducted from 10 January – 10 February 2020. The objectives of the study were to:

- Advance knowledge and understanding of the scope and effects of challenges for women's participation and promotion in political parties in Zambia and Uganda.
- Advance knowledge and understanding of strategies used by female members of political parties and/or their parties to overcome existing challenges.
- Present policy suggestions directed towards political parties or to KIC for future program planning in regards to the research topic.

¹ OSCE/ODIHR 2014

² Heywood, A. 1997. Politics. Houndmills: Palgrave

³ Ahikire Josephine (2004) Women's engagement with political parties in contemporary Africa: Reflections on Uganda's experience. Policy brief 65

1.1 STUDY METHODOLOGY

The study covered six political parties, including the ruling party and two major opposition political parties in Uganda and Zambia respectively.

The political parties for the Uganda study included opposition political parties, Democratic Party (DP) and Forum for Democratic Change (FDC); and the ruling party, National Resistance Movement (NRM).

In Zambia, the political parties for the study included the ruling party, Patriotic Front (PF); and opposition political parties, United Party for National Development (UPND) and Movement for Multiparty Development (MMD).

In total 211 respondents were covered. The study mainly relied on literature review, primary interviews and key informant interviews.

In terms of content scope, the study focused on:

- Understanding gender-related challenges to women within political parties.
- Barriers to women's representation and meaningful political participation.
- Knowledge and understanding of strategies used by female members of political parties and/or their parties to overcome existing challenges.
- Policy suggestions for future programming.

1.2 DATA COLLECTION METHODS

A combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches was used. These included:

a) Document Review

This focused on analyzing the existing legal and policy framework on gender and women's participation in political parties in Uganda and Zambia. For Uganda the period covered is between 2005 to date; while for Zambia the period covered is from 2001 to date.

b) Focus Group Discussions (FGDs)

Two FGDs per party (women only and men only groups) were conducted in each political party. Each FGD consisted of 8-11 people. A total of 12 FGDs were conducted in Uganda and Zambia.

c) Key Informant Interviews (KIIs)

These were held with key actors and decision makers in the political parties including:

- National Party Chairpersons
- Party Presidents
- Secretary Generals and National Secretaries
- National Treasurers
- National Youth League Chairpersons
- National Women League Chairpersons
- Youth Executive Committee Members
- National Executive Committee Members

- Information and Media Relations Officers
- Chief Administrative Officers.

d) Face to Face Interviews (Survey)

A short survey was conducted for 211 respondents to capture the challenges for women's participation in political parties and strategies to overcome the challenges. A total of 120 interviews were conducted in Uganda and 91 in Zambia. Individual interviews were conducted with purposively selected party members in both countries to respond to structured questionnaires

1.3 TOOLS USED

A structured questionnaire and a focus group discussion guide were major tools used in data collection. Trained and experienced research assistants in both countries administered these tools.

1.4 DATA ANALYSIS

Quantitative data entry was done using Epidata and analyzed using SPSS 19. Qualitative data was analysed using Atlas.ti.

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

1

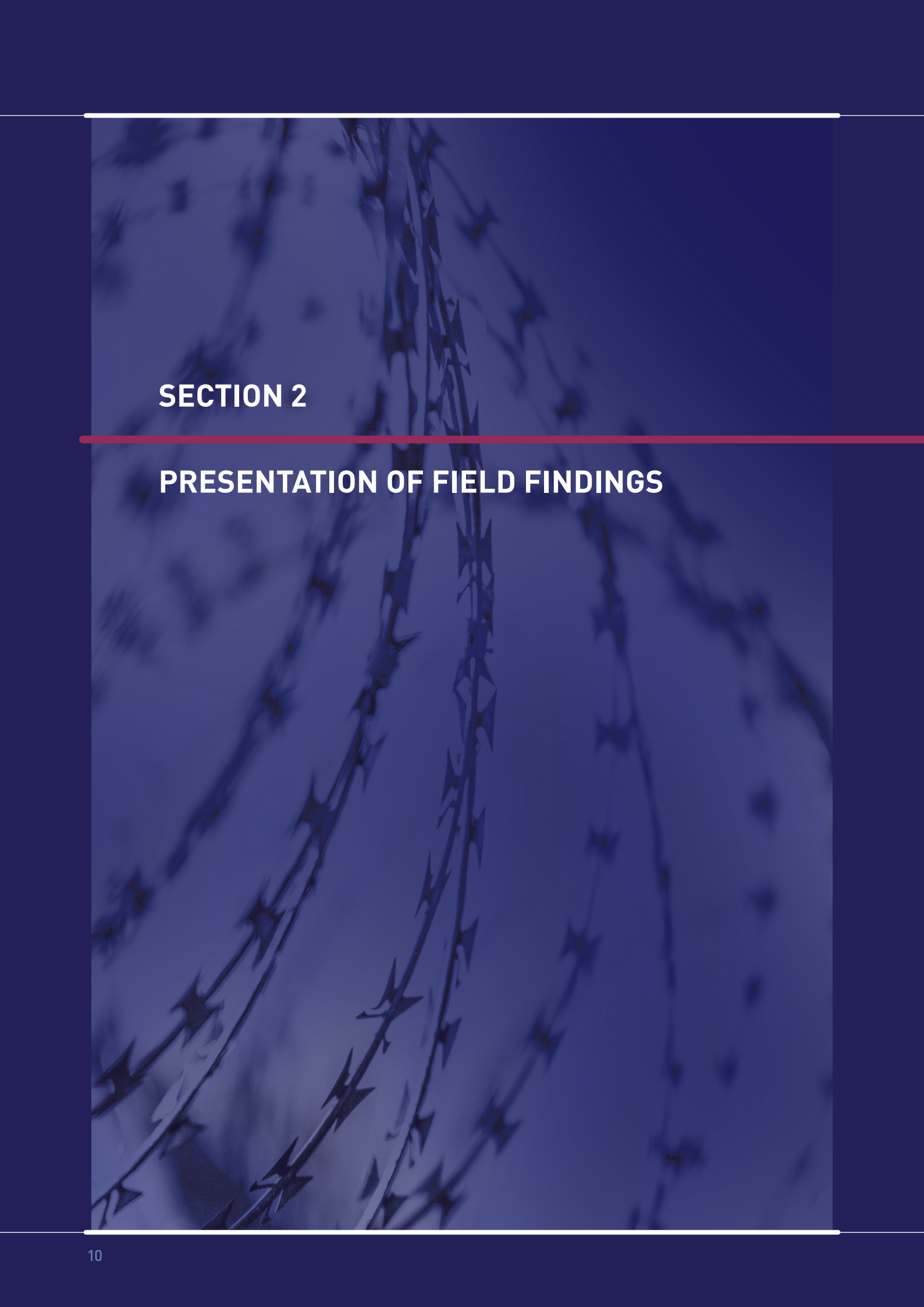
Some key informants were difficult to access within the initially scheduled timeframe for data collection. This delayed the remittance of data for analysis.

2

NRM in Uganda held its National Delegates Conference (NDC) during part of the time-frame allocated to data collection. Party leaders were therefore busy organising the NDC. This delayed KIIs and FGDs and ultimately affected the timeframe for remittance of data for analysis.

3

Some of the political parties did not have gender disaggregated data on leaders within the leadership structures in their respective parties.



SECTION 2

PRESENTATION OF FIELD FINDINGS

The analysis of the data focused on:

- Understanding respondents' characteristics
- Understanding of gender-related challenges to women with in the political parties
- Barriers to women's representation and meaningful political participation
- Knowledge and strategies used by female members overcome challenges in their political parties

2.1 RESPONDENTS' CHARACTERISTICS

A total of 211 respondents were covered by the study. In terms of gender, 63% was female, while 37% was male.

In terms of age, forty of the respondents were 41 years of age and above, while the rest were below 40 years of age. Figure 1 presents the details of respondents by gender and age.

According to Figure 1, most of the respondents were within the age group of 21-25, with

50 participants in the study. Within this same age group 29 were female, while 21 were male. It should also be noted that women dominated all the age groups participating in the study.

2.1.1 RESPONDENTS BY POLITICAL PARTY

As previously mentioned, respondents from six political parties both in Uganda and Zambia participated in this

study, as shown in Figure 1. In terms of political party representation, the highest number of respondents (22%) came from DP and FDC in Uganda; while NRM, PF, UPND and MMD from Zambia had a 14% representation.

With regard to official membership within the political parties, 89% of the respondents were registered, card-carryng members of their respective political parties.

FIGURE 1: DISAGGREGATION OF RESPONDENTS BY GENDER AND AGE GROUP

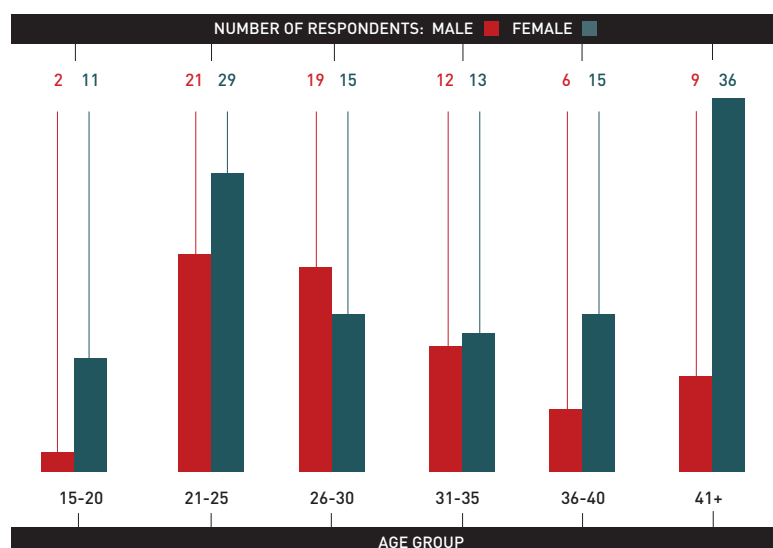
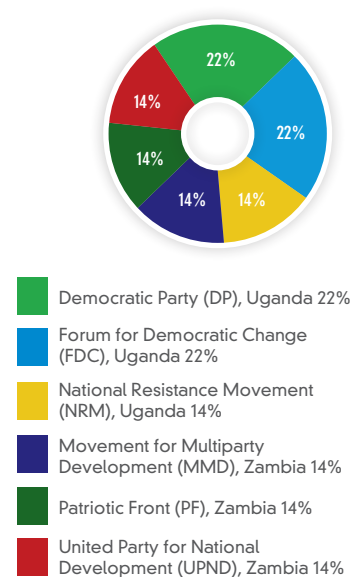


FIGURE 2: RESPONDENTS BY POLITICAL PARTY



2.1.2 TIME SPENT IN THE POLITICAL PARTY

Respondents were also asked about the time they have spent in their respective political parties. The findings are presented in Figure 3.

Further, the majority of the respondents (69) had been members of their political parties for a period of between 0-5 years, where most of these were females (45). In addition, 41 respondents had spent between 6-10 years. There were also 8 other respondents who had spent 31 years and above as members of their political parties.

2.1.3 REPRESENTATION OF ROLES IN THE PARTY BY GENDER

Data was disaggregated according to the respondents' gender and roles that they played in their respective political parties.

Figure 4 shows that the majority of those interviewed (34.3%) were political party leaders at sub-national level. The second dominant category was for party supporters at 29.4%, while 8.3% of respondents were leaders at national level. The study therefore endeavoured to capture views from almost all the categories of party members.

2.2 UNDERSTANDING OF GENDER-RELATED CHALLENGES TO WOMEN WITHIN POLITICAL PARTIES

2.2.1 AWARENESS OF EXISTENCE OF A PARTY GENDER POLICY

83.9% of the respondents reported to be aware of an existing gender policy in their respective political parties.

Findings reveal that of those that were aware of the existence of a gender policy in their political parties, 82.8 % had knowledge of the provisions of their political parties' gender policies. Yet, during the KIIs, all the national party leaders interviewed in Uganda and Zambia stated that there was no gender policy in their respective political parties.

However, parties like DP have developed a draft gender policy, which is yet to be discussed within the party organs prior to its passage. A NRM national leader in Uganda stated that the NRM party gender policy is still on the table:

"Two years ago we started working on a gender policy which we look forward to launch before we go to the general conference set for this year"

There are some gender-responsive provisions in some of the party constitutions. For example, in NRM⁴ and FDC⁵ party constitutions, 40% of all leadership positions in the party should be occupied by women.

FIGURE 3: TIME SPENT IN THE POLITICAL PARTY

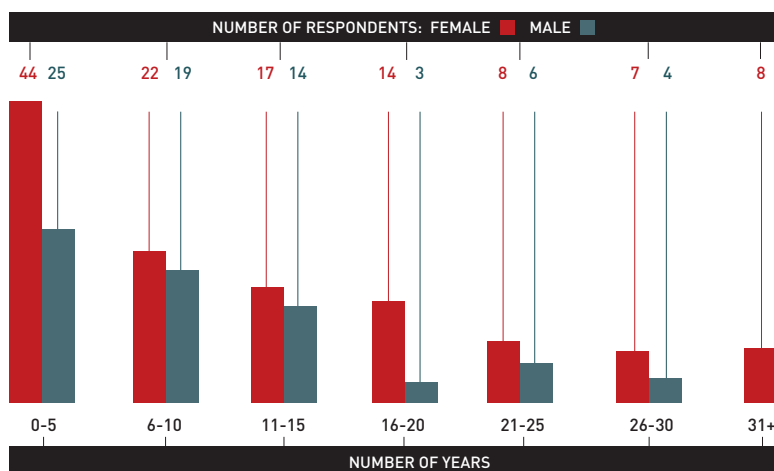
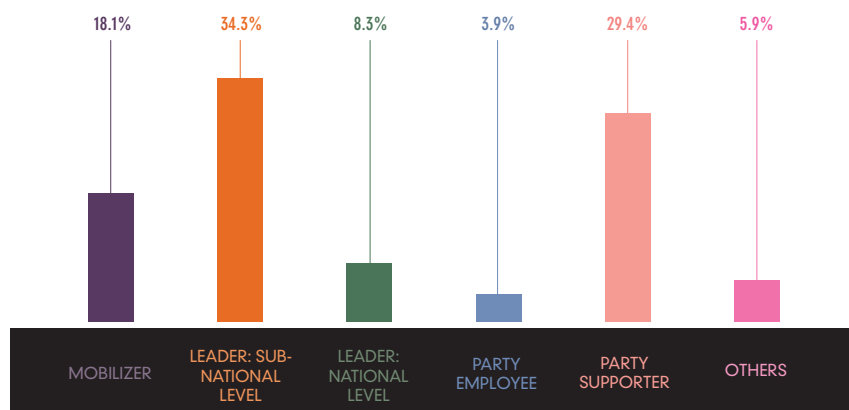


FIGURE 4: ROLES PLAYED IN THE POLITICAL PARTIES BY RESPONDENTS



⁴ Section 42(1) NRM party Constitution provides for 40% quota for women in leadership of NRM organs

⁵ Section 9(1) of FDC party Constitution provides for 40% quota for women in leadership in FDC party structures

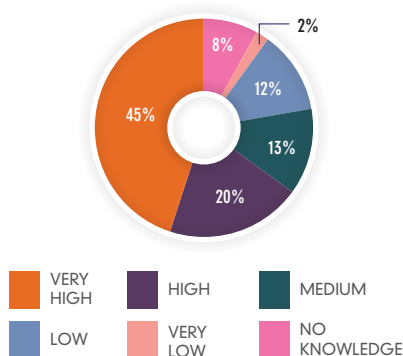
2.2.2 LEVEL OF UNDERSTANDING OF THE GENDER POLICY

The respondents who reported to be aware of the existence of a gender policy in their political parties were further asked about their level of understanding of their political parties' gender policies. The findings, as shown in Figure 5, reveal (on a scale from high to low):

- 20% reported their level of understanding of their political parties' gender policies to be high.
- 45% reported their level of understanding was medium.
- 13% reported their level of understanding to be low.
- 12% reported their levels of understanding to be very low.
- 8% had no knowledge of their parties' gender policies.

Those with low, very low or no knowledge of their parties' gender policies constitutes 33% – which is a significant proportion. Political parties should develop gender policies, popularize them and implement the provisions. A gender policy will provide guidance to political parties as they seek to enhance gender equality in policy making, planning, budget allocation, programming monitoring and evaluation, etc.

FIGURE 5: LEVEL OF UNDERSTANDING OF POLITICAL PARTIES' GENDER POLICIES



2.2.3 HOW RESPONDENTS GOT TO KNOW OF THE GENDER POLICIES

The study intended to establish the sources of information for respondents on gender policies in their political parties. The results are illustrated in Figure 6.

This reveals that most of the respondents (38.2%) got to know about the gender policies of their political parties through workshops and training.

Other major reported channels of information were:

- Youth League meetings (18.3%)

- Women's League meetings (16.2%).

90.4% of the respondents reported that their political parties were implementing gender policies. However, as noted earlier, some respondents confused the existence of quotas in their party constitutions with an actual gender policy.

2.2.4 EXISTING PARTY INCENTIVES TO PROMOTE WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS

The findings regarding incentives to promote women's participation in politics are shown in Figure 7.

FIGURE 6: SOURCE OF KNOWLEDGE ON GENDER POLICIES

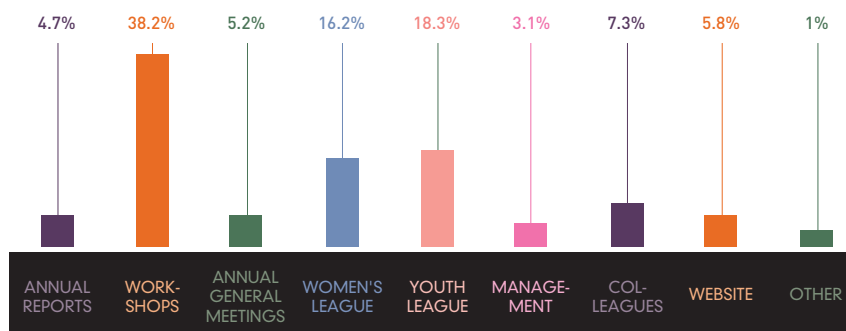


FIGURE 7: INCENTIVES TO PROMOTE WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS



The results indicate that the most reported incentives for women's political participation in politics include:

- The establishment of women's leagues (29.3%)
- Increasing quotas for women (18.3%)
- Capacity building of women (8.4%)

In addition, 72.9% of respondents indicated support for women's quotas in political parties.

These findings resonate with results of the key informant interviews. For instance, a leader from the Democratic Party (Uganda) reported that:

"In the past, it was difficult for women to compete with men and win top party positions. This was influenced by the culture in the central region, where DP is dominant – which favoured men against women for top-level leadership positions of the party. For this reason, a provision was introduced in the party constitution to provide for a quota for women's representation. According to the proposals for an amendment to the DP constitution, women will take up 30% of all leadership positions at all levels of the party."

A national party leader for NRM also noted that the party has a 40% quota for women in leadership positions within the party:

"Women hold various positions in the NRM. A quota of 40% is provided for in the party constitution to guarantee women's representation in all party leadership structures. At the national level, women hold the position of Second

National Vice Chairperson of the party, which is currently occupied by Rt. Hon. Rebecca Kadaga. This position is elective and competed for openly. The other senior positions of the party occupied by women include Secretary General, a position held by Hon. Justine Kasule Lumumba; and National Treasurer, which is held by Hon. Rose Namayanja."

It was further noted that:
"According to the NRM party constitution, women are entitled to 40% representation in every party organ.
The organs include the Branch Committee or Village Committee. This committee is made up of 30 members of a village who are elected by all those eligible to vote at the village level, whose appear in the yellow book of NRM. This structure is followed by the Parish Committee, which is elected by 30 members of the party from the village committee. These include women's Leagues, youth leagues, veteran's league, the elderly, mainstream and PWDs"
— Key Informant, national party leader, NRM (Uganda)

The study also sought to find out if there were other policies within political parties that promote women rights. The findings are presented in Figure 8.

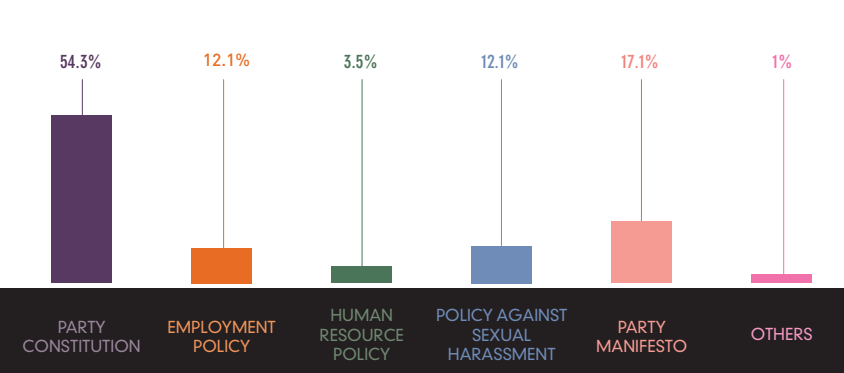
These results reveal that political party constitutions and manifestos were the most reported documents within political parties that provide for rights of women (54.3% and 17.1% respectively). Other reported documents included employment policy and policy against sexual harassment, each reported by 12.1% of the respondents.

2.3 BARRIERS TO WOMEN'S REPRESENTATION AND MEANINGFUL POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

The active participation of women, on equal terms with men, at all levels of decision-making and political involvement is essential to the achievement of equality, sustainable development, peace and democracy and the inclusion of their perspectives and experiences into the decision-making processes⁶.

⁶ Courage Mlambo, Forget Kapingura & Richard Meissner (Reviewing editor) (2019) Factors influencing women political participation: The case of the SADC region, Cogent Social Sciences, 5:1, 1681048. Available at <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311886.2019.1681048>

FIGURE 8: OTHER POLICIES THAT PROMOTE WOMEN'S RIGHTS IN THE PARTY



Literature has shown that the factors that hamper or facilitate women's political participation vary with level of socio-economic development, geography, culture, and the type of political system⁷. In Africa, for instance, women are striving to assert an influential role in determining the course of their states, but they have been faced with many challenges that have actually strengthened their resolve. Moreover, the political environment and conditions are often unfriendly or even hostile to women⁸.

This section explores the social-cultural, institutional, capacity, resource, and party infrastructure barriers that constrain women's meaningful representation and political party participation.

2.3.1 SOCIAL-CULTURAL BARRIERS

Women's ability to engage politically both within and beyond the voting booth—particularly as community organizers and elected officials—is often shaped by norms that drive wider social structures⁹. Fundamental to the constraints that women face is an entrenched patriarchal system in which family control and decision-making powers are in the hands of males. Traditional beliefs and cultural attitudes — especially regarding women's roles and status in society — remain strong, particularly in rural areas¹⁰. Women's equality in terms of political participation is partly

hindered by customs and traditions¹¹. The study endeavoured to explore the social-cultural barriers to women's effective representation and participation in their political parties.

Table 1 presents the findings; which show that the biggest social-cultural barriers to women's participation in politics are (to a large extent) :

- The domestic role of women as caretakers of their families (52.1%)
- Feminisation of poverty or vulnerability of women to poverty (46.4%)

- Cultural norms and stereotypes about women in society (40.3%)

These findings were further validated by responses from key informant interviews. For instance, it was noted that women are held back by their husbands — who do not support them to join politics, but want them to stay home and take care of their families:

"Family ties and responsibilities. Some women have been held back by their husbands who do not support them to participate in politics. Some husbands believe that their women would be involved in sexual relations

TABLE 1: SOCIAL-CULTURAL BARRIERS TO WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS

BARRIERS	SMALL EXTENT %	LARGE EXTENT %	FAIRLY %	NOT AT ALL %	I DON'T KNOW %
Cultural norms and stereotypes about women in society	22.3	40.3	19.9	10.0	2.8
Religious beliefs/interpretation about women in society	22.7	27.0	27.5	13.7	1.9
Discriminatory or sexist working culture	18	24.6	22.3	18.5	4.7
Sexual harassment	19	30.8	13.3	17.1	7.6
Women's perception of the lack of safety and respect for women in the political sphere	26.5	30.3	21.8	10	3.3
Restricted mobility of women	2.13	27	15.6	18.5	4.3
Domestic role of women as care takers of family	15.2	52.1	17.5	6.6	2.4
Lack of interest in politics	23.7	30.3	25.1	9.5	2.4
Religion	19.4	20.4	24.2	20.9	1.9
Feminisation of poverty or vulnerability of women to poverty	4.7	46.4	19.0	7.1	6.2
Reinforcing patriarchy by the media	22.7	21.3	19.0	11.4	10.4

⁷ Alzuabi, A. Z. (2016). Socio-political participation of Kuwaiti women in the development process: Current state and challenges ahead. Retrieved from <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC5062044/>

⁸ Shvedova, N. (2005). Obstacles to women's participation in parliament. Retrieved from <https://www.pdf.semanticscholar.org/d998/eb3ddb02ef10d7a1b4f1d0fd15dbc95c557f.pdf>

⁹ George, R. (2019). Gender norms and women's political participation: Global trends and findings on norm change. Retrieved from <https://www.alignplatform.org/resources/2019/02/gender-norms-and-womens-political-participation-global-trends-and-findings-norm> [Google Scholar]

¹⁰ Sadie, Y. (2005). Women in political decision-making in the SADC region. Retrieved from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/4066648.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3A3e02ca47208b5dc4c5e21bb15ee0c3cb> [Google Scholar]

¹¹ Article 32(1) of the Constitution of the Republic of Uganda recognizes the role of tradition or custom in the marginalization of women and provides for affirmative action in favor of marginalized groups for the purpose of redressing imbalances which exist against them. Affirmative Action is also provided for youth, people with disabilities and the elderly by Article 32 (1)

with top party leaders. They are quick to point at failed marriages of senior political leaders in the country to justify their refusal to support their women to engage in political contests.”

— Key Informant, DP (Uganda)

A national leader of FDC further validated this by saying that:

“Marital status is a challenge. Married women are restricted — or even stopped — from being active in politics.

Women are stressed by the society in regard to where they are married; where they will get married; why they are not married; and why did they divorce, or separate from, their husbands. These questions are never asked of a man.”

A national party leader from DP said:

“Men see women as extras; this is a negative view of women that some men hold until the women prove themselves”.

Age was also considered to be an issue when it comes to discrimination against women.

“Age is an issue in DP. The Uganda Young Democrats (UYD) are discriminated against by older women in the party. The women chase away the young ladies from the Women’s League, claiming that it is not for the female youth. Beyond age 35, female youth do not belong anywhere and end up fighting the older women. The young females have the numbers, as opposed to the older ones.”

— Key Informant, national party leader, DP (Uganda)

Also, married women tend to be sidelined:

“The other one is marital status. Women who are married tend to be considered more responsible and credible to lead others, as either Women MP or directly elected MP. Those without husbands tend to be side-lined, and this also applies to young women who seek leadership in the party, or wish to run as Women Members of Parliament. They are normally pushed to affirmative action positions such as youth MP or national female youth MP,”

— Key Informant, DP (Uganda)

“The society values men and women who are married, claiming they are stable and have experience in managing a home — yet the single woman cannot be trusted since she has no experience in managing a home. The single woman will relocate to her husband’s constituency when she gets married.”

— Key Informant, national party leader, DP (Uganda)

The KILs also noted that societal attitudes towards women are harsh and thus pose a big challenge when it comes to participation in politics. One of the national political party leaders in Uganda reported that:

“Societal attitudes towards women are harsh. Society takes women to be inferior to men. Men see themselves as entitled to be on top. They are quick to point out failed marriages involving prominent women as examples to show that women cannot be good leaders. For instance, there are some female politicians in Parliament who are considered failures

because they have failed marriages, and as such, are not good examples for young women to emulate.”

— Key Informant, national party leader, NRM (Uganda)

In Zambia, the trend is the same as in Uganda:

“Marital status is a big challenge for many women in party politics. Women have to tread carefully if they are going to win an election. A married woman is not wanted as a candidate in her husband’s area because they prefer their “daughters”. The woman cannot stand for an elective office in her home area because she is not considered as part of the former home because she chose to “go away to get married”. Married women are not encouraged to participate in politics by their husbands and families because of the stereotypes.”

— Key Informant, national party leader, UPND (Zambia)

“Mostly, married women are discouraged from participating in politics by their husbands and families. As a result, you find that most women in politics are single or divorced.”

— Key Informant, youth leader at national level, PF (Zambia)

“Cultural stereotypes that women have been raised under, like: leadership is for men — and women who participate in politics are unruly and prostitutes.”

— Key Informant, national party leader, UPND (Zambia)

There were also reports of political party preferences for male candidates, which deny women a level ground on which to effectively compete for the same positions with men.

PARTY PREFERENCE FOR MALE CANDIDATES

"I wanted to stand as an MP and decided to work in the constituency for two years.

The constituency had five wards (sub-counties) and I rented an office in each ward.

I focused on building my support and mobilised for the party. I really spent a lot of money.

The party adoption process was corrupted, and a man who was close to the party vice president was preferred as a party candidate. The man came at the last minute and ran a dirty campaign against me. Bad things were crafted about me and written on the walls of my own offices. I was pushed out of the constituency for six months.

When the time for nomination came, I was called by the party to submit my papers for MP nominations because the man who was preferred by the party was not wanted by the people.

There was confusion among the voters – and both of us lost the seat to another party."

— *Key Informant, national party leader, Zambia*

The socio-economic status of women plays a significant role in enhancing their participation and representation in political decision-making bodies¹².

As the findings have revealed, women lack the resources to enhance their political participation. The lack of an economic base for women is a critical factor in their participation (or lack of it) in politics because the cost of campaigning is very high. Lack of financial resources limits participation, given the costs associated with elections¹³. Independent funding and placing limits on campaign

spending may support women in overcoming the barriers to political participation.

2.3.2 INSTITUTIONAL BARRIERS

Political Parity recently asked, "Why the scarcity of female candidates and elected officials? Are women uninterested, unwilling, or uncertain? Is the political system unresponsive and impenetrable? Ultimately, is the issue the driver or the road?"¹⁴

Table 2 presents the findings of the question of institutional barriers to women's meaningful representation and participation in political party politics.

TABLE 2: INSTITUTIONAL BARRIERS TO WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS

BARRIERS	SMALL EXTENT	LARGE EXTENT	FAIRLY	NOT AT ALL	I DON'T KNOW
Absence of gender equality policies/legal regulatory framework (constitution/election law) promoting women's participation	27.8%	34.1%	15.6%	15.6%	2.4%
Discrimination of women due to gaps in policy and practice	27%	34.6%	16.1%	13.3%	6.2%
Lack of an enabling environment for civil society	26.1%	22.7%	23.7%	7.1%	7.6%
Gender-blind institutions (governments, parliaments, political parties) and processes (elections, judicial appointments)	30.3%	25.1%	16.6%	11.4%	7.6%
Unwillingness of political parties to promote women in their leadership ranks	28.9%	25.6%	17.1%	20.4%	1.9%
Biased media coverage of women	22.7%	24.2%	14.2%	14.2%	8.1%
Political parties are not women friendly, and do not consider gender roles of women in the policies and programming	19.9%	21.3%	19.9%	26.1%	5.2%
Sexist language, like 'hairman'	17.1%	25.6%	13.3%	21.3%	10.9%
Membership fees for political parties	20.9%	32.2%	12.3%	16.6%	9%
Lack of nomination fees for candidates in elections	19%	15.2%	16.6%	31.3%	5.7%
Preference of political parties for male candidates for open seats at all levels in general elections	21.8%	43.1%	10%	9%	5.7%
Lack of campaign funds	14.7%	52.1%	6.2%	6.2%	4.7%
Failure by political parties to financially support female candidates	23.2%	40.8%	11.4%	12.8%	4.7%
Failure by male incumbents to groom female candidates to succeed them	19%	44.5%	12.3%	10%	4.7%

¹² Kassa, S. (2015). Challenges and opportunities of women political participation in Ethiopia. Retrieved from <https://www.omicsonline.org/open-access/challenges-and-opportunities-of-women-political-participation-in-ethiopia-2375-4389-1000162.php?aid=64938> [Google Scholar]

¹³ Kayuni, H. M., & Chikadza, F. K. (2016). The gatekeepers: Political participation of women in Malawi. Retrieved from <https://www.cmi.no/publications/5929-gatekeepers-political-participation-women-malawi> [Google Scholar] [semanticscholar.org/d998/eb3ddb02ef10d7a1b4f1d0fd15dbc95c557f.pdf](https://www.semanticscholar.org/d998/eb3ddb02ef10d7a1b4f1d0fd15dbc95c557f.pdf)

¹⁴ Political Parity 2014

The findings in Table 2 reveal that respondents reported the major institutional barriers to women's participation in politics to be:

- Lack of campaign funds (52.1%)
- Failure by male incumbents to groom female candidates to succeed them (44.5 %)
- Preference of political parties for male candidates for open seats at all levels in general elections (43.1%)

Also, results from KIIs and FGDs confirm the same trend. For example, it was noted by respondents in Zambia and Uganda alike that financing is a major barrier to women's participation in politics. A national party leader in the UPND Party in Zambia reported that:

"Finance constraints... politics is very much monetized, so to run for office one has to be financially able because all processes – from adoption and nomination, to campaigns – require money, so this disadvantages the women who are challenged economically compared to the men."

Another key informant from Democratic Party in Uganda also reported that:

"One of the main challenges is lack of financial resources. Most women do not have funds of their own to invest in political processes. This is further complicated by the commercialisation of politics in Uganda. Most women who have succeeded have had to solicit for support from their spouses, or they have their own savings. In addition, the women's league does not have a budget of its own."

The issue of unequal financial support to candidates by the political parties also emerged a critical barrier. For instance, it was reported that:

"Unequal financial support for women: the party only pays nomination fees and prints posters for flag bearers for the position of MP, leaving the rest of the female candidates at other levels to meet the financial costs of their own campaigns."

— Key Informant, national party leader, DP (Uganda)

There were also reported constitutional or policy limitations in the political parties for women. In Zambia, it was reported that:

"Constitutional qualifications to run for office, such as the Grade 12 School Certificate. Most women – especially from rural areas and disadvantaged backgrounds – have not attained this level of education because of a system that advantaged more boys to go to school."

— Key Informant, national party leader, UPND (Zambia)

Women also lack decision-making power within their political parties and thus cannot influence any decisions. In Uganda, a national party leader and member of the ruling party reported that:

"In NRM, it is difficult to influence anything, especially if it is not supported by the party Chairman. Women do not have a strong voice because they are overshadowed by priorities of CEC. For example, during the recent delegate's conference, several issues could have been presented for discussion to the members, but only two things featured on the agenda: the issue of sole candidate for President Yoweri Museveni and the issue of voting by lining up. Other important issues affecting the party were not considered."

2.3.3 BARRIERS RELATED TO TOOLS, CAPACITIES AND RESOURCES

The study further explored other barriers relating to tools, capacities and resources as shown in Table 3 below.

TABLE 3: BARRIERS RELATED TO TOOLS, CAPACITIES AND RESOURCES

BARRIERS	SMALL EXTENT	LARGE EXTENT	FAIRLY	NOT AT ALL	I DON'T KNOW
Lack of solidarity among women	18.5%	50.7%	12.8%	4.3%	2.4%
Poverty among women	16.1%	55.9%	10.4%	3.8%	4.3%
Lack of education and literacy among women	28.4%	36%	15.6%	8.1%	3.3%
Lack of tools (manuals and guidelines) on gender equality and women's political participation	30.8%	37.9%	16.1%	6.2%	2.4%
Lack of reliable information/research on gender equality issues, including a lack of sex-disaggregated data	25.6%	37.4%	16.6%	6.6%	6.6%
Lack of Information about Political Processes	28.9%	38.9%	15.2%	5.2%	3.3%
Lack of civic education within the citizenry about women's leadership	32.2%	40.8%	15.2%	4.3%	2.4%

Findings in Table 3 reveal poverty among women (55.9%); lack of solidarity among women (50.7%); and lack of civic education within the citizenry about women's leadership (40.8%) were among the top barriers which affect women's participation to a great extent. In Uganda, it was noted for instance that because of poverty among women, women cannot afford nomination fees. For instance, one national leader noted that:

"Most women who desire to run for political office do not have funding to support their political programs. For them to succeed, they must tag themselves to top party leaders with influence and money.

A lot of them get manipulated during times of elections. In most cases, the top party leaders take advantage of them and sexually harass them. This problem is common with young women who are fresh from university and have ambition of practicing politics. This problem is worsened by the high nominations fees charged by the party for all those seeking to run for political leadership in the party primaries. The party charges up to UGX 2,000,000 for anybody seeking the party flag. This is an exorbitant amount of money, which many youth and especially women cannot afford to pay. For example, a young woman who was promising politically and interested to run for National Female Youth MP in 2016 all of a sudden became pregnant before the election, and ended up a second wife of one of the senior leaders of the party; and that marked the end of her political career."

— Key Informant, national party leader, NRM (Uganda)

2.3.4 BARRIERS RELATED TO POLITICAL PARTY INFRASTRUCTURE

The barriers related to political infrastructure were also explored. The results are presented in Table 4 below.

Salient political party infrastructure barriers to meaningful representation and participation of women in politics were reported as:

- Lack of campaign money for women (47.4%)
- Lack of women's capacity-building and mentoring (42.2%)
- Lack of gender equality in selection of campaign agents for the political party structures (34.1%)

Other barriers were also reported in FGDs and KIs. For instance, there were issues of a hostile political environment and brutal police reactions; inadequate campaign agents for women; limited resources, and failure to implement party policies.

It was noted that:

"At the national level, the hostile political environment discourages women from actively participating in political processes. There is a lot of violence perpetrated against women in politics. When the police brutalizes women in parties during arrest or protest, it discourages those that would have wished to join parties and take part in political leadership."

— Key Informant, DP (Uganda)

TABLE 4: BARRIERS TO WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS RELATED TO PARTY INFRASTRUCTURE

BARRIERS	SMALL EXTENT	LARGE EXTENT	FAIRLY	NOT AT ALL	I DON'T KNOW
Failure by political parties to promote women's participation in elections	36.5%	30.3%	12.8%	10.4%	2.8%
Lack of party quotas for women	26.1%	25.6%	13.7%	18.0%	7.1%
Lack of campaign money for women	22.7%	47.4%	9%	9.0%	4.7%
Failure to promote women brands	29.9%	30.3%	15.6%	4.7%	6.6%
Lack of women's capacity building and mentoring (first time candidates) to campaign	28.9%	42.2%	10.9%	7.6%	4.7%
Lack of deliberate party programs to create visibility for women in the electoral campaign and access to the media	29.9%	30.3%	19.4%	7.6%	4.3%
Lack of a gender policy in the political party	21.8%	24.6%	16.6%	24.2%	4.3%
Lack of party programs to provide gender sensitive voter information to men and women	33.2%	29.4%	17.1%	10.4%	3.3%
Lack of gender equality in the selection of campaign agents for the political party	25.6%	36.5%	14.7%	11.8%	4.3%
Lack of participation of women in policy making of the party	26.1%	28.4%	15.6%	14.2%	6.6%
Under-representation of women in decision-making party structures	20.9%	34.1%	15.6%	11.8%	6.2%
Lack of women in candidate selection committees/Electoral Commission of the political party	27%	26.5%	19.4%	11.8%	8.5%
Lack of gender awareness training for party leaders and members	26.5%	35.1%	16.1%	10%	4.3%

On inadequate campaign agents, it was reported that:

"On election day, the party has no capacity to deploy and pay party agents at polling stations to support women candidates. In Central Region however, where the party enjoys greater support, individual party leaders or MPs facilitate their own agents to monitor the process on election day."

— Key Informants, UPND (Zambia)

Concerning lack of campaign resources:

"The most outstanding challenge is the lack of resources, during recruitment, campaigns and on election day because from the onset the adoption process is very corrupt and if you have no finances you don't stand a chance. During campaigns women are mostly undermined, and they don't have enough campaign materials as compared to men, due of lack of resources. On election day, candidates still need resources to pay monitoring agents to safeguard the vote. Most women cannot afford to do so."

— Key Informant, national party leader, UPND (Zambia)

There was reported failure by women leaders to support each other:

"After being elected to office, most women do not get support from fellow women (and society in general), which leads to most women not being able to retain their seats."

— Key Informant, national party leader, UPND (Zambia)

On the same matter, another respondent noted that:

"There is lack of support among women themselves. If women supported one another more, they would overcome most of the challenges and hold most of the key positions in their political parties."

— Key Informant, youth leader at national level, PF (Zambia)

In some political parties, it was reported that policies that would incentivise women to participate in politics are not implemented:

"The party has some policies that could address women's concerns but, unfortunately, these policies are not implemented. A very good example is the constitution of the youth league of NRM. This policy document provides for 30% women representation in the youth league leadership structure.

However, during the 2016 youth league elections, all positions were taken by men, including positions that were reserved for women because the election did not refer to the party policy. This is very embarrassing for a party that brags about accommodating women."

— Key Informant, national party leader, NRM (Uganda)

Generally, when money dominates politics, women lose out. With women having persistently lower incomes and with limited or no access to resources for many reasons, they are edged out of meaningful political participation.

2.4 SEXUAL HARASSMENT

This sub-section presents findings on the existence (or non-existence) of gender policies, policies against sexual harassment and manifestations of sexual harassment, among other things.

2.4.1 GENDER POLICY

The study was interested in finding out whether the political parties that participated in the study had gender policies in place or not.

While 85.1% of respondents reported that their political parties have gender policies, almost 15% of the respondents reported on the contrary.

All the national political party leaders from Zambia and Uganda confirmed that their political parties do not have a gender policy, for instance:

"The strategic plan and party manifesto have that on paper only. There is no gender policy. The Women's League has been inactive and should be pushing the party to act on issues that affect women. The League has no known agenda."

— Key Informant, national party leader, DP (Uganda)

"The party has no direct policy to reserve seats or leverage the political system to advance women in the party. But the party has more than 25% of female leaders at the national level, such as the deputy secretary general is female, the national chairperson and the national treasurer... these leaders serve in the national executive committee, which is the highest rank of the party."

— Key Informant, national party leader, UPND (Zambia)

A NRM national leader in Uganda stated that the NRM Party gender policy is still on table:

"Two years ago we started working on gender policy, which we look forward to launch before we go to the general conference set for this year"

It is important for political parties to develop and implement a gender policy to guide them on how to address some of the gender issues enumerated in the report.

2.4.2 EXISTENCE OF A POLICY AGAINST SEXUAL HARASSMENT IN THE PARTY

The study also sought to find out whether political parties are concerned about sexual harassment and whether they have policies in place to address this challenge.

With regard to the existence of a policy against sexual harassment in the parties, 51% of the respondents reported in the affirmative, compared with 49% who reported that their political parties have no policy against sexual harassment.

During the KIIs, the national political leaders revealed that none of the political parties —neither in Zambia or Uganda— had a policy against sexual harassment.

However, parties like Patriotic Front in Zambia have a code of ethics. Some respondents may therefore have confused the code of ethics (which guides members on different matters, including sexual harassment) with the existence of a stand-alone policy against sexual harassment. For instance, a national leader from Patriotic Front in Zambia, on

the issue of lack of a policy on sexual harassment, stated that:

"We have [a] strong code of ethics, which addresses issues of sexual harassment among members; and according to the constitution of Zambia sexual harassment is a very serious crime; that if one is found guilty, [one] can go to prison."

"The party needs a policy against sexual harassment, this will clearly show that the party is against it"

— Male youth leader, PF Party (Zambia)

"The party needs a sexual harassment policy and a committee whose membership does not come from the existing structures."

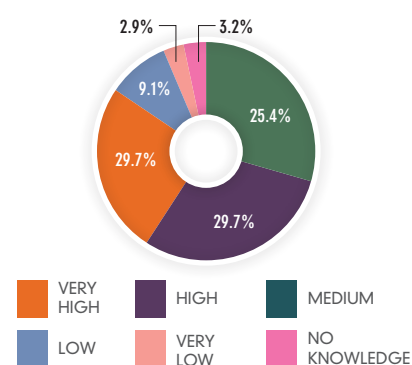
— Key Informant, national women's leader, FDC (Uganda)

2.4.3 LEVELS OF UNDERSTANDING OF SEXUAL HARASSMENT

The study also sought to establish the respondents' levels of understanding of sexual harassment. The results, as shown in Figure 9, reveal that:

- 29.7% of the respondents reported their understanding to be very high.
- 29.7 of the respondents reported their understanding to be high.
- 9.1% reported that their knowledge is low.
- 2.9% reported that their knowledge is very low.

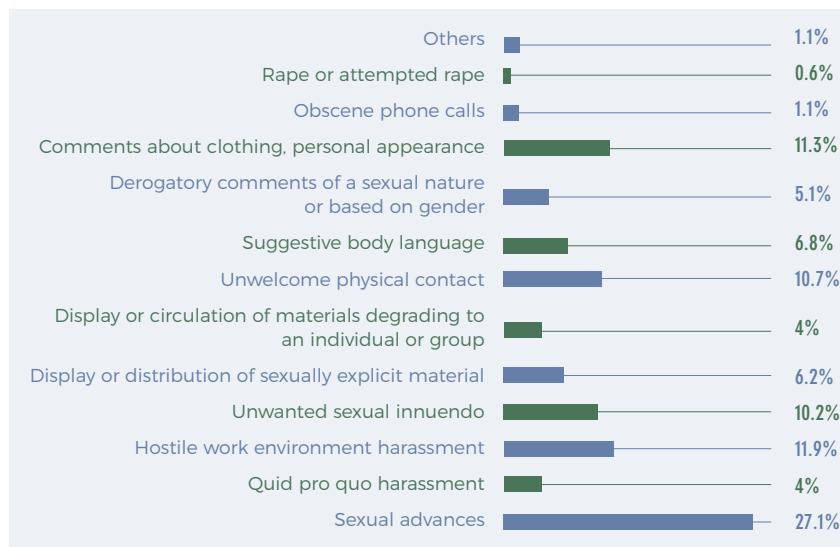
FIGURE 9: LEVELS OF UNDERSTANDING OF SEXUAL HARASSMENT



2.4.4 FORMS OF SEXUAL HARASSMENT IN POLITICAL PARTIES

The respondents were also asked about the forms of sexual harassment prevalent in their political parties. Figure 10 presents the findings.

FIGURE 10: FORMS OF SEXUAL HARASSMENT IN POLITICAL PARTIES



With regard to the existing forms of sexual harassment in political parties, the most reported were:

- Unwanted sexual advances (27.1%)
- Hostile work environment harassment (11.9%).

Key informant interviews with various stakeholders in political parties demonstrated that sexual harassment is a common vice. It was reported that:

"Sexual harassment is common when women wish to take the party flag and run for a leadership position. Some party leaders place unrealistic conditions on the women and when the women ignore them, they frustrate such women."

— Key Informant, DP (Uganda)

Also, in Zambia, national party leaders reported about the vice as follows:

"These are just rumours we hear on social media. As a political party we have just heard of these stories of sexual harassment as gossip, though nothing good has ever come out. No single members have ever come to report the matter."

— Key Informant, national party leader UPND (Zambia)

"Yes, it usually manifests through older men making advances on young women in the party using middle men — as well as asking for sexual favours in exchange for opportunities to grow in the party."

— Female Youth FGD, PF (Zambia)

"Yes, a friend who was an electoral candidate was called by a senior leader and was asked to give sexual favours in exchange for campaign funds. This young

lady got evidence of the conversations and reported to a senior female leader who did nothing much about it. The case was not well handled."

— Female Youth FGD, PF (Zambia)

In Uganda, different political party leaders also expressed themselves on sexual harassment as follows:

"There is a lot of sexual harassment in the NRM that goes unreported. It is manifested by way of sexual relationships that senior party leaders have with young women in exchange for political opportunities or preferential treatment within the party."

— Key Informant, national party leader, NRM (Uganda)

"Yes. Both men and women are being sexually harassed. It is manifested in the form of abnormal hugs; political favours in exchange for sexual relations; touching of body parts of such as breasts, bums, private parts etc."

— Key Informant, DP (Uganda)

2.4.5 MOST SEXUALLY HARASSED CATEGORIES IN THE PARTY

The study also revealed that the most harassed members of the political parties that participated in the study were female youth (55.4%), and women (19.8%).

Others experiencing this nature of harassment are male youth (5%).

Figure 11 shows the details of the findings on this aspect.

Further, various stakeholders also acknowledged that young females are the most sexually harassed in political parties. For instance, in Uganda some leaders reported that:

"Young women, particularly new arrivals on the political scene, are most vulnerable to sexual harassment. Although some young men also are being pressured by (especially) elderly women who make sexual advances at them."

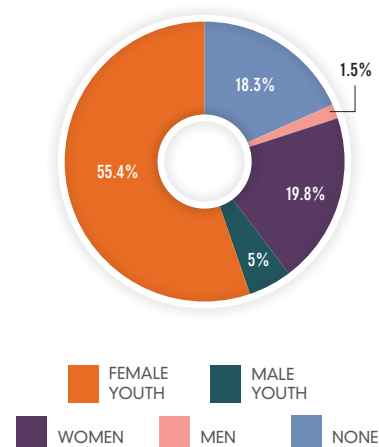
Young women are the most victims because the majority are ignorant of the procedure for advancing their leadership interests. They tend to prefer short cuts, which puts them at risk of being sexually harassed."

— FGD, male youth, DP (Uganda)

"The young females are the most vulnerable because they are young and beautiful. Some are star struck when they meet some party leaders. Some of the ladies actually want to build a career in the DP but some men would want to take advantage of them because they have no resources and need guidance."

— Key Informant, national party leader, DP (Uganda)

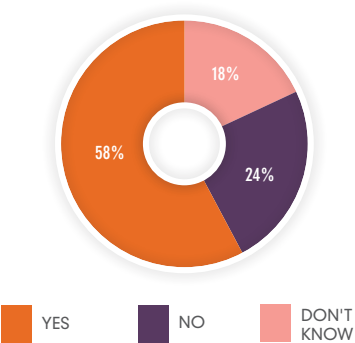
**FIGURE 11:
MOST SEXUALLY HARASSED CATEGORIES
IN THE PARTIES**



2.4.6 IS SEXUAL HARASSMENT A PROBLEM IN THE POLITICAL PARTIES?

As indicated in Figure 12, the results show that 58% of the respondents reported that sexual harassment is a problem in their political parties.

FIGURE 12: WHETHER SEXUAL HARASSMENT IN PARTIES IS A PROBLEM OR NOT



There are other revelations that demonstrate the nature and extent of this challenge:

"The party does not have a policy to guide and address sexual harassment. There are no known or formal avenues to report cases of sexual harassment in the party. This makes it difficult for those who are sexually harassed to freely speak out against the vice. In some cases, those who should be receiving the

complaints are the perpetrators themselves. Therefore, there are no incentives to report to anybody."

— Key Informant, DP (Uganda)

"There is sexual harassment in the party. Three years ago, a group of young people were invited for a meeting in Kasubi, Rubaga North, Kampala. From this meeting, women reported incidences of being harassed sexually to have their nomination forms stamped by the party officials in a hotel room. The men were demanding sex in exchange for the stamped forms. There are many stories — some crude, and others subtle. We know some perpetrators and there is evidence of text messages; and we shall expose them if they continue with the vice."

— Key Informant, national party leader, DP (Uganda)

2.4.7 HOW PEOPLE RESPOND WHEN SEXUALLY HARASSED

The respondents were asked about how they or their party members respond when they experience sexual harassment in their political parties. Figure 13 shows the results.

28.9% — the majority of the respondents — reported to party authorities, whereas 19.3% kept quiet. The key informant interviews also indicate that some victims report to party authorities, but, at times, the victims do not report cases of sexual harassment. In Zambia, some political party members reported that:

"There is sexual harassment in PF. The Minister who was harassed reported the matter to the disciplinary committee and all those who were found wanting were expelled from the party."

— Key Informant, youth leader, PF (Zambia)

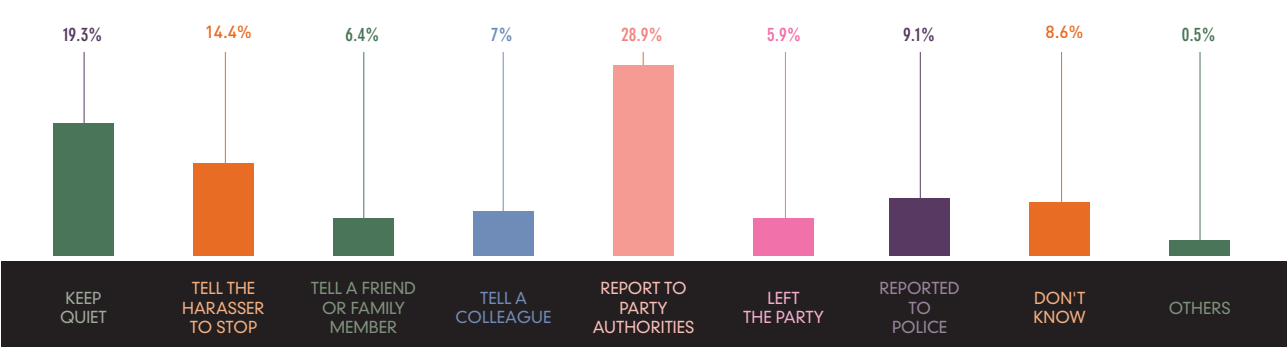
"The victims report to senior leaders who should forward the case to the disciplinary committee, although nothing much is done about it because we do not get to hear the outcomes of most of the cases."

— FGD, female youth, PF (Zambia)

In Uganda, political party leaders also reported that in a similar trend:

"Most women who face sexual harassment retreat from party activities and keep a low profile. Their involvement in party programs also becomes limited

FIGURE 13: RESPONSES TO SEXUAL HARASSMENT



or completely withers, until they end up crossing to some other parties out of frustration. Some women leaders have approached civil society organizations for support, while others seek training opportunities in order to build their capacity to lead.”

— Key Informant, DP (Uganda)

“Yes, I have heard of cases of sexual harassment. They are talked about casually with me, e.g. a female leader of the Uganda Young Democrats was told to travel to Norway as part of the delegation. A party leader told her ‘You will have to sleep with me first before you go to Norway’When women are fundraising for a cause, they are told ‘come for coffee at a hotel’There are many cases. But sexual harassment is discussed informally and not reported.”

— Key Informant, national party leader, DP (Uganda)

2.4.8 HAVE YOU EVER EXPERIENCED SEXUAL HARASSMENT?

Respondents who reported to have knowledge about the existence of sexual harassment in their political parties were further asked if they have ever experienced sexual harassment personally. The findings reveal that:

- 72.5% of the respondents had not personally experienced sexual harassment.
- 27.5% had personally experienced sexual harassment. Of these, 78.2% did not report. The reasons for not reporting are presented in Figure 14.
- 34.7% of the respondents revealed that they knew a party member who had experienced sexual harassment.

The main reason for not reporting was that the majority (18.5%) did not know where to report. The other reasons that stood out for not reporting included:

- No one would believe the victims (16.9%)
- No point in reporting as nothing would be done (16.9%)

These findings are further validated by revelations from key leaders in the political parties that participated in the study. To illustrate this, in one political party some leaders noted that:

“No, there is nowhere to report such cases. If the victim feels that it is too much, one is told that you are free to exit the party. Nobody has time to listen to such issues. This is because it involves senior party leaders who wield a lot of power and influence, and as such, it could become even dangerous for anybody to expose or report such a case.”

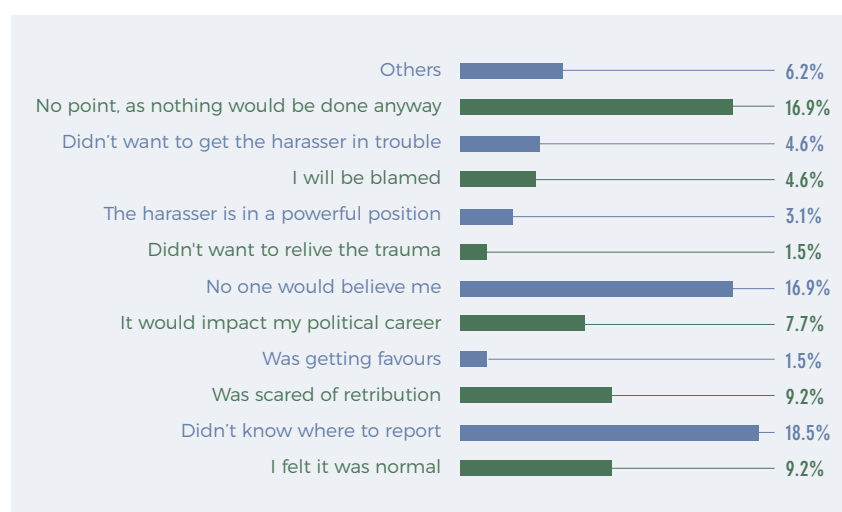
— Key Informant, national party leader, NRM (Uganda)

“There is no known mechanism for handling sexual harassment cases. The men who sexually harass the young women are in key positions in the party, so the victims keep quiet because politics is a do-or-die thing and the young ladies fear to expose the ‘big men’ because the men will kill their political careers.”

— Key Informant, national party leader, DP (Uganda)

“There are no known mechanisms for addressing or handling cases of sexual harassment in the NRM party. It is not treated as a major problem because it is taken as something that two consenting adults are involved in. Young women who wish to remain in the party — especially if they are beautiful — must know how to avoid being used or coerced into sexual relations, but again the risk of being frustrated and pulled down is very high. Majority of the top party leaders are ignorant about this issue, and also they are the main perpetrators of the vice.

FIGURE 14: REASONS FOR NOT REPORTING SEXUAL HARASSMENT



Because of this, most victims would rather keep silent about the problem because there is no one to report to."

— Key Informant, national party leader, NRM (Uganda)

"We just hear rumors about this problem, but nobody comes out to officially file a complaint with party authorities. In most cases, no body reports sexual harassment because there are no formal mechanisms within the party that victims can use to report."

— Key Informant, DP (Uganda)

"In most cases, they are not handled because nobody reports to the party leadership. Those who are affected are afraid to report because they are afraid of consequences and embarrassment. Some party members discourage victims from reporting by downplaying the issue, saying that it is not the kind of issues that should be reported to the party authorities."

— FGD, female youth, DP (Uganda)

The same trend is also observed in Zambia, where some political party members noted that:

"One lady who is working in the office reported the case of sexual harassment to colleagues in the office but she received no help. Then she decided to report it to the party Secretary General in the presence of the Deputy Secretary General. To her dismay the Secretary General laughed it off and called it something normal; she should not feel bad. She only received support from his deputy who is a lady. In fact, the Deputy SG demanded the harasser to be fired as a punishment, but the SG him-

self was defending the man asking her to forgive him. The man was summoned by the Deputy and warned never to continue. If he did she would make sure he is fired."

— FGD, female youth, UPND (Zambia)

The existence of this vice in political parties should not be taken for a given. Decisive steps ought to be taken to address this, including:

- Development and adoption of a policy against sexual harassment.
- Setting up of committee within the political party to listen to and adjudicate cases of sexual harassment.
- Education of members about sexual harassment, including its forms and its effects on members and the political party itself.
- Implementation of the provisions of the policy to act as a deterrent.

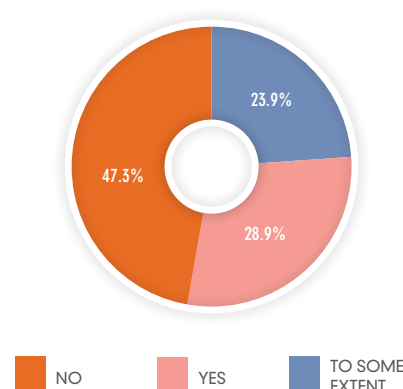
2.5 SATISFACTION WITH CURRENT REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN POLITICAL PARTIES

According to International IDEA, there is a positive and statistically significant correlation between the percentage of women serving on National Executive Committees (NECs) and the inclusion of gender equality language in party by-laws¹⁵. With regard to the current level of representation, 45% of the respondents were not satisfied with the current level of women's

representation in political parties, as presented in Figure 15.

The results also show that 97.5% of the respondents reported that their political parties have a women's league, while 84.1% reported that their parties' women's leagues are functional as expected. Also, there were pointers in the results to show that the women's leagues do not meet regularly, as indicated by low responses on the frequency of their meetings.

FIGURE 15: SATISFACTION WITH THE LEVEL OF REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN THE POLITICAL PARTY

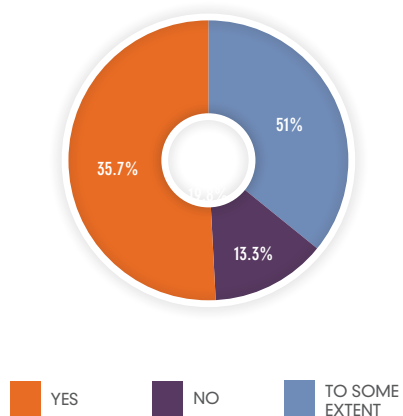


2.5.1 WORK FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF WOMEN AND THE PROMOTION OF WOMEN'S RIGHTS

The results reveal that 51% reported that party leaders work for the development of women and promotion of women's rights in their political parties as indicated in Figure 16.

On the contrary, 13.3% reported that the party leaders do not work for the development of women and promotion of women rights in their political parties.

¹⁵ International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (2013)

FIGURE 16: PARTIES' SUPPORT FOR THE PROMOTION OF WOMEN'S RIGHTS

2.5.2 REACTIONS TO CHALLENGES BY FEMALE LEADERS

The respondents were asked to mention ways in which their female party leaders react to some of the challenges they face that seem to constrain their performance in their respective political parties. The findings are presented in Table 5.

Concerning action of female political leaders in addressing challenges facing women, the most commonly reported actions were:

- Empower women leagues to nurture women leaders (37.1%)
- Actively participate in women leagues and party decision making structures (15.5%)

2.6 STRATEGIES FOR POLITICAL PARTIES

2.6.1 REACTIONS TO CHALLENGES BY FEMALE LEADERS

Table 6 presents findings on the strategies to promote meaningful representation and participation of women in political parties.

Accordingly, Table 6 shows that the majority of respondents (45.2%) reported that there is need to establish and ensure the effective functioning of gender equality mechanisms (committees on gender equality, research, gender equality data

collection tools). In addition, another significant proportion proposed that political parties should establish a gender sensitive working environment and work towards gender sensitive parties and policies.

2.6.2 STRATEGIES FOR CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS (CSOs)

Table 7 shows that with regard to CSOs, the findings reveal that 57.2% of the respondents require CSOs to encourage women to enter politics and advance their careers. It was also recommended that CSOs should work with political parties to support women candidates (21.6%).

2.6.3 STRATEGIES FOR WOMEN LEADERS

The respondents were also asked about the recommendations for women leaders on promoting their colleagues' participation and representation in political party politics and the despondences are presented in Table 8.

According to Table 8, it was revealed by 42.1% that women leaders need to build partnerships with other women in political parties to act collectively on issues of concern.

A significant proportion (28.9%) also recommended that women need to plan their own political careers and learn to promote themselves through political party ranks.

TABLE 5: REACTIONS TO CHALLENGES BY FEMALE LEADERS

REACTIONS	%
Empower women leagues to nurture women leaders	37.1
Actively participate in women leagues and party decision making structures	15.5
Establish sexual harassment policies and ensure that they are implemented	8.2
Capacity building programs for women leaders	5.7
Establish and strengthen women league structures at sub-national level	11.3
Establish inter-party advocacy mechanisms to advocate for women's rights in political parties	6.7
Building a successful career and promoting women through the ranks of politics	4.6
Co-operating with other women and acting collectively on issues of mutual concern	8.8
Institutionalizing gender equality in political party policies, processes and practices	1.5
Others	0.5

TABLE 6: STRATEGIES TO PROMOTE WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN POLITICAL PARTIES

STRATEGIES	%
Develop and adopt temporary special measures	15.2
Establish and ensure the effective functioning of gender equality mechanisms (committees on gender equality, research, gender equality data collection tools)	45.2
Ensure a gender sensitive working environment & work towards gender sensitive parties/policies	21.3
Develop and implement gender equality in processes	6.6
Take initiatives to promote better understanding of gender equality issues in society (discrimination, domestic violence, socio-cultural attitudes)	5.1
Take initiatives to combat gender stereotypes	0.5
Ensure gender equal access to resources and infrastructure	3.6
Have favourable gatekeepers e.g. top party members who make key decisions on candidate selection	1.5

TABLE 7: STRATEGIES FOR CSOs

STRATEGIES	%
Encourage women to enter politics & advance their careers	57.2
Work with political parties to support women candidates	21.6
Shape positive public attitudes towards women in politics	11.3
Work with the media to combat gender-based stereotypes	4.1
Conduct public awareness campaigns on the benefits of women's representation & meaningful political participation	23.2
Work with academia to educate and inform the public about the benefits of women's political participation	3.6
Engaging the executive and legislature to support the institutionalisation of gender equality in structural and policy frameworks	2.1

TABLE 8: STRATEGIES FOR WOMEN LEADERS

STRATEGIES	%
Plan their own political careers and learn to promote themselves through political party ranks	28.9
Build partnerships with other women in political parties to act collectively on issues of concern	42.1
Build partnerships with women in civil society organizations to collectively advocate for women's rights and gender issues in politics	16.2
Engage men as partners and gender advocates to act collectively on issues of concern	5.1
Recruit other women into politics	3
Learn to identify gender-based political manipulation	0.5
Speak up against gender discrimination in political parties	3
Stand for elective positions within the political party and participate in decision making	0.5
Engage the executive & legislative powers to support the institutionalisation of gender equality in structural and policy frameworks in political parties	0.5

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SECTION 3

RECOMMENDATIONS & CONCLUSION

The recommendations are clustered into:

- Political party
 - Civil Society Organisations (CSOs)
 - Women leaders
 - Other stakeholders' recommendations
-

3.1 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR POLITICAL PARTIES

Political parties should:

- a) Establish and ensure effective functioning of gender equality mechanisms like committees on gender equity and develop research and gender equity data collection tools.
- b) Establish and ensure a gender-sensitive working environment and work towards gender-sensitive policies.
- c) Develop and implement policies against sexual harassment. The findings revealed that a majority of the parties that participated in the study do not have policies against sexual harassment.
- d) Develop and implement a gender policy in their respective parties.
- e) Create a fund for women candidates to contest in elections. This will increase the participation of women, especially young women in politics.
- f) Develop programs to deliberately recruit women into the political parties.

Specific intentional steps should be taken to conduct outreaches to recruit young women in – and outside of – institutions of higher learning. The young women recruited into the political parties should be oriented on the party; the mandate of the youth and women's league; and the role of members and leaders in the party.

MENTORSHIP & CAPACITY BUILDING OF YOUNG WOMEN

The political parties, together with the women and youth leagues, should deliberately mentor and build the capacity of young women, especially on:

- political skills
- negotiation skills
- lobbying
- how to deal with emerging challenges as one aspires for leadership
- confidence building and public speaking
- campaign skills
- income generation
- balancing work, private and political life

- g) Prioritize engagement with media houses to ensure that media propaganda against female candidates is addressed. This should go hand in hand with political parties actively undertaking programs to educate citizens about the civil and political rights of women, and the importance of women's participation in politics and decision-making.
- h) Strengthen the women's leagues through funding and technical support, and ensure the participation of the leaders of the league into decision-making in the mainstream party structures. This will help to enable the league to fulfill its mandate as enshrined in both the parties' and leagues' constitutions.
- i) Encourage women to occupy key decision making positions in their parties.
- j) Convene political meetings at convenient times and places to suit both the male and female members, unlike the trend

where meetings are held at awkward hours, which disadvantages females by making it difficult for them to participate.

- k) Integrate political education in their plans, budgets and programs to address stereotypes against women and to enhance knowledge, discipline and loyalty among members.

3.2 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS

Civil society organisations should:

- Encourage women to enter politics and advance their careers. They should also work with political parties to support women candidates, and shape positive public attitudes towards women in politics.
- Support and nurture a strong, coordinated women's movement that may, to some degree, mitigate the lack of party effectiveness in increasing women's political participation. Such a movement could work to recruit more women as candidates, put pressure on elected officials (both male and female), speak for women as a group, and push for policy to continue progress toward gender equality. The movement should include a cross-section of women of all ages, races, religions, professions and beliefs.
- Support political parties to develop gender policies and policies against sexual harassment.
- Build capacity of political party leaders on gender and

women's leagues to enable them to perform their mandate.

- Conduct civic and voter education about the rights of women in politics and the benefits of women's representation and meaningful political participation in partnership with political parties, the media and the electoral commissions. This will contribute to changing attitudes towards women's leadership in public life.

3.3 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR WOMEN LEADERS

Women leaders should:

- Build partnerships with other women in political parties to act collectively on issues of concern.
- Plan their own political careers and learn to promote themselves through political party ranks.
- Build partnerships with women in CSOs to collectively advocate for women's rights and gender issues in politics.

3.4 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR OTHER STAKEHOLDERS

- Parliament should legislate for campaign finance reform. Initial steps should begin by laying legal ground-work towards a law on campaign financing.
- The Executive and Parliament should review and adopt an electoral system of proportional representation in Uganda and Zambia, instead of the current practice of 'First-Past-the-Post'. This will guarantee an increment of women in political leadership.

- All partners of political parties should encourage political will and commitment from the party leadership to ensure that female candidates and elected women politicians are fully supported during the entire election process – and after the election.

- Governments should promote the economic emancipation of women. When women are economically emancipated, they will be able to make their decisions independently, and this may pave the way for them to enter politics without being restricted by their male counterparts (who may be breadwinners or husbands at home).

3.5 POLICY SUGGESTIONS

Political parties need to:

- Prioritise the issue of sexual harassment.
 - Develop and implement a policy against sexual harassment.
 - Develop a gender policy for their respective parties and implement it. Currently, PF has 40% women in the party Central Committee.
- The FGD respondents of PF party in Zambia (on the issue of lack of quotas in Zambia) stated that:

"We need a Constitution that will deliberately empower women with guaranteed seats in the Central committee, because our current party which is in government right now won't be there forever to support and push for a women's agenda."

The FGD for MMD in Zambia, in this regard, stated that:

"All political parties must come forward and champion a legislation to reserve parliamentary seats and NEC positions in the party for women."

POLITICAL PARTIES

Political parties should:

- Develop and implement a fundraising policy that integrates a percentage of proceeds to the women's leagues.
- Develop and implement the party strategic plan and women's league strategic plan.
- Adopt proportional representation in the election laws as a system of election in both Uganda and Zambia. This will guarantee women more elective positions and increase the numbers of women in political leadership.
- Adopt a code of conduct and implement it to address political violence in Uganda and Zambia.
- Adopt a quota system in the Constitution of Zambia in order to increase the numbers of women in politics. A quota for women should also be adopted by political parties in all leadership positions within the party structures. Alternatively, Zambia can adopt gender parity in its constitution to guarantee men and women

50/50 representation in Parliament and other lower level elective leadership positions, in line with the Africa Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance.

- Adoption fees for women and youth should be reduced by political parties, bearing in mind gender inequality in raising resources for campaigns and polling day activities.

3.6 CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the respondents — especially those outside party leadership — have limited information on policies in their political parties. Some of the party leaders are neither conversant with party policies, nor keen to ensure that the policies that are in place are implemented. Getting gender disaggregated data in most parties is a problem. This partly shows that disaggregation of data is neither prioritized, nor being done consistently. In addition, information on the composition of party leadership is not readily available on party communication platforms e.g. party websites.

The majority of interviewees trivialised sexual harassment and did not consider it as a priority to be addressed. There was denial of the existence of sexual harassment by most party leaders. However, during the FGDs, most respondents confirmed its existence. In addition, mechanisms for addressing sexual harassment are largely non-existent.

There are similarities in some of the challenges that affect women's participation in political parties in Uganda and Zambia. For example negative cultural norms and practices; lack of gender progressive policies, lack of funding, political violence and commercialization of politics.

However, it is clear that the inclusion of a quota system in Uganda's Constitution has had an effect on women's participation in politics.

The policy gaps in political parties are clear. Apart from addressing the policy gaps, it is important to ensure that existing policies to improve the participation of women in political parties are implemented.

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