RAPID NEEDS ASSESSMENT REPORT

Rapid Needs Assessment for Newly Elected Women Parliamentarians and Councillors

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

CONTENTS

ACRONYMS

ADC	Area Development Committee
AFIDEP	African Institute of Development Policy
CDF	Constituency Development Fund
COVID19	the novel Corona Virus Disease of 2019
CSO	Civil Society Organisations
CVSU	Community Victim Support Unit
DPP	Democratic People's Party
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GBV	Gender-Based Violence
GJU	Gender and Justice Unit
ICT	Information, Communication and Technology
ID	Identification
IPU	Inter-Parliamentary Union
KII	Key Informant Interviews
MALGA	Malawi Local Government Association
MCP	Malawi Congress Party
MEC	Malawi Electoral Commission
MGDS	Malawi Growth Development Strategy
MP	Member of Parliament
NDI	National Democratic Institute
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NICE	National Initiative for Civic Education
ODI	Overseas Development Institute
PWC	Parliamentary Women Caucus
SRH	Sexual and Reproductive Health
UDF	United Democratic Front
WASH	Water Sanitation and Hygiene
WC	Woman Councillor
WCC	Women Councillors Caucus

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Parliament and district councils are spaces that reflect the interests and views of society. These spaces further shape socio-economic and the political structures which exist across societies. Societies can be deemed equitable and inclusive if women are involved and given spaces for participation in both socio-economic and political spaces.

Historically women have been underrepresented, side-lined, and their efforts undermined in the political spaces. Therefore, GJU conducted the needs assessment of women Parliamentarians and Councillors to explore their needs which could help promote their effective representation and participation for equitable and inclusive political spaces.

The needs were explored through the women councillors and parliamentarians' voices as well as stakeholders which support the leadership of these women. The methodology employed was mixed quantitative and qualitative; however, with the COVID19; measures were put in place to minimise contact as most of the interviews were through phone calls and emails. Similarly, women were assessed on the needs for COVID19 response considering that pandemics worsen gender inequalities, and women and young girls are the most affected. With schools being closed to COVID19, the findings highlighted girls are at risk of dropping out of school, vulnerable to early marriages and pregnancies which would further widen the education and

income inequalities. The long impact would be less women participating in socio-political spaces.

Through the assessment, proposed solutions to identified gaps and needs have been provided. These proposed solutions are believed to empower women leadership and representation across all levels of their engagement.

Key findings

The findings revealed both women councillors and Parliamentarians are aware of the implications of their role as representatives of their constituents. The findings clearly indicate women are more interested and influential on social issues such as Sexual and Reproductive Health(SRH); Water Sanitation and Hygiene(WASH); Gender Based Violence(GBV); youth and women empowerment. Similarly, it was clearly stipulated their challenges are similar in nature as the findings highlighted the political spaces are male dominant across all levels of engagement.

Further respondents perceived limited resources from the national budgets to district councils affect their execution of duties. Coupled with limited knowledge and capacity to critique and analyse the budgets were perceived to be challenges when they are representing the communities. Such limitations were also mentioned to contribute to under-representation of

women issues as participants believe they do not have adequate capacity and space to ensure the budgets, bills or policies are gender responsive enough.

The participants were also of the view that socio-cultural perceptions about women socio-norms and their limited economic incomes are significant barriers to attain and retain political platforms. It was highlighted, they are unfairly judged and labelled as failures as they are compared to their male counterparts who have more resources and networks to influence resource mobilisation. Through such limited influence in resource mobilisation, the respondents perceived they lack a strong connection with the communities as they believe grassroot engagement through projects is ideal which would promote performance-based appraisals.

On the other hand, the assessment further finds the participants have various opportunities through existing structures such as Women caucuses; Civil Society Organisations(CSO); Media; political parties, that would empower them.

Political Parties were highlighted to be the platform to enhance their agendas and leadership roles. Despite the participants highlighting gender mainstreamed policies and policies within parties; most of them indicated poor implementation of such policies. For example, with the party leadership being male dominant and influential in decision making; participants highlighted women are undermined to take

up leadership roles, and men are preferred for such roles as they are perceived to be too influential and ambitious than women.

Both councillors and the parliamentarians have women caucuses as structures to support their roles. However few individuals believed these spaces are effective. Participants highlighted the need to strengthen the functions of these structures as they believe the caucuses have the opportunity to bring together women despite their differences in political ideologies. Participants recommended they be supported though these structures through mentorship.

Furthermore, the findings revealed poor coordination between the CSO and the women leaders as the respondents reported usually the CSO's work in solo and in most cases shun away from politicians. On the contrary others said CSO prefer working with parliamentarians that are in ruling parties as in supporting the government. The participants emphasised the need for CSO support at grassroot as they suggested this would promote their representation and advocacy skills.

Respondents identify four suggestions that if addressed would contribute to their effective representation at all levels.
1. It was emphasised the need to strengthen the capacity of WCC and PWC through

which WC and MPs can be mentored and trained in several skills including networking and advocacy: Information, Communication and Technology and proposal writing. Additionally, the forums were suggested to be spaces for learning from each other and that CSO as GJU can leverage to support the women leaders through its activities.

2. They strongly suggested support on community mobilisation and engagement through various development activities including citizen education on roles of politicians. Through such, participants believe they will gain trust and will be given an equal platform with men for performance measurement, Participants were of the view that apart from the capacity building most CSO engage them with; CSO as GJU should also invest their resources with grassroot activities. They believe they have high chances of retaining their positions if issues affecting their communities are being addressed.

3. It was further recommended the women leaders need support on COVID19 response through capacity building; resource mobilisation; community sensitisation strategies as well as GBV mitigation measures. GJU can leverage in on its expertise on gender mainstreaming and scale up its activities through these women leaders.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

This report details the findings of the needs assessment conducted with newly elected Women Parliamentarians and Women Councillors for Gender and Justice Unit. The findings aim to serve as a guiding tool for the implementation of a project; aiming at building capacity of women parliamentarians and women councillors. The report outlines the contextual background of the study, its purpose, the study design (population sample, data collection tools, and analysis of the data). It will also highlight all ethical research procedures and limitations of the study. The final chapter highlights the findings analysed from the data collected and recommendations. The recommendations are an integral part of project implementation by GJU.

1.1 Contextual Background

Women empowerment has transpired as an important trend and component in public and private spheres or management reforms. Several studies done on gender and politics offers numerous notions useful to understand dynamics and factors which shape women's opportunities for leadership and political empowerment[1]. It is believed that Women's active involvement in state politics is an essential element in filling the

1   https://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/2496/Increasing_the_Civil_and_Political_Participation_of_Women_-_Understanding_the_Risk_of_Strong_Resistance.pdf

Definition of Empowerment

The term empowerment has different meanings in different sociocultural and political contexts, and does not translate easily into all languages. An exploration of local terms associated with empowerment around the world always leads to lively discussion. These terms include self-strength, control, self-power, self-reliance, own choice, life of dignity in accordance with one's values, capable of fighting for one's rights, independence, own decision making, being free, awakening, and capability—to mention only a few. These definitions are embedded in local value and belief systems https://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTEMPOWERMENT/Resources/486312-1095094954594/draft2.pdf

GEA is a tool for mainstreaming gender into the Malawian public sector. The GEA seeks to achieve full participation of both women and men in the development process at all levels in order to ensure sustainable development and attainment of equality and equity and further seeks to remove gender disparities that place a greater weight of poverty on women.
https://womeninleadership.hivos.org/country/malawi/

gap between women's and men's social and economic positions in Malawian society[2].

This follows the belief that when women analyse and develop an understanding of their problems, they are able to gain ownership over the process of change, as they take control of their lives as well as those that they are representing[3]. The Women Empowerment paradigm in Malawi is promoted through **the Gender Equality Act (GEA) enacted in 2013.**

Over the years, the literature indicates an increase of women representatives in political spaces. Despite improvements in women participation in politics since multiparty; It is widely evident that a limited number of women have access to effective political spaces. This is bounded by several factors including socio-economic status (education status, career and exposure); social expectations (gender roles, or marital status) and religious beliefs[4].
Culturally women are known to lead their communities through participation in politics with men; however, they are limited on what they can do. It is argued that politics is male dominant and only a small fraction of women are able to find space within this masculine domain[5].

Further arguments indicate a stronger representation of women in parliaments

2 Kamlongera, A. (2008). Malawian Women's Participation in State Politics: What Are the Constraints? Gender and Development,16(3), 471-480. Retrieved April 23, 2020, from www.jstor.org/stable/20461296
3 Kamlongera, A. (2008). Malawian Women's Participation in State Politics: What Are the Constraints? Gender and Development,16(3), 471-480. Retrieved April 23, 2020, from www.jstor.org/stable/20461296
4 https://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/10289.pdf
5 Kamlongera, A. (2008). Malawian Women's Participation in State Politics: What Are the Constraints? Gender and Development,16(3), 471-480. Retrieved April 23, 2020, from www.jstor.org/stable/20461296

or councils will enable new concerns on political agendas to be highlighted. Thus, implying Women empowerment resonates with overall societal development and contributes to improved and effective governance[6] . Thus, signifies the role of institutional or legal or constitutional frameworks plays in promoting women empowerment. However, the Overseas Development Institute(ODI) report on women representation in Parliament highlighted that Malawi's state government, which is male dominant, has minimally addressed women's political and economic exclusion. Statics shows fewer women independent organisations; the rural politicians being most disadvantaged[7].

Therefore, it can be argued that the effectiveness of women in politics can be determined in various means. For instance, their political power and will; decision making and their organisational capacity and influence in diverse spaces such as in parliament and district councils. If they have an effective voice in such spaces, it would simply mean women politicians are empowered and the political spaces are gender-sensitive.

1.2. Women in active politics; access to political power

Access to spaces or opportunities is regarded as the key empowerment domain. Historically women have been underrepresented in socio-political structures which govern the legislative and political priorities[8].

6 http://archive.ipu.org/pdf/publications/equality08-e.pdf
7 https://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/10289.pdf
8 http://archive.ipu.org/pdf/publications/equality08-e.pdf

A survey done by Inter-Parliamentary Union(IPU) in 2008 which assessed equality in politics globally, revealed an increase of women parliamentarians around the globe[9]. This correlates to trends in Malawi which shows an improvement in women's participation in political lens since multiparty. For example, following the elections in 2019, for the first time in Malawi's history, a female Speaker of Parliament was elected. At the local level, six female mayors and chairpersons in 33 councils were elected, including the first female mayor of the capital Lilongwe[10].

Despite such increase in women Parliament, the figures are not satisfactory as ODI report indicates Malawi is still not faring well compared to other sub-Saharan African

Fact sheet

1. **45 of 193(23%) are women MPs 13 retained seats and 31 are new, elected in 2019**
2. **64 (14.5%) are women Councilors 12 % of WC in 2014 ODI report-2016**

countries[11]. Therefore, it is still arguable to question if these women representation in political space is effective enough. Similarly, other questions have risen if numbers of women in politics really matter? The IPU through its survey on parliamentarians showed the number of women in parliament matter because; the more the women in Parliament; the easier it gets in addressing issues affecting women and changing the gender dynamics in the political space. The report further revealed that the increased number of women would directly improve influence of women on policies and priorities[12]. Such effective representation can be determined if these women are participating or are included in decision making roles within the political spaces.

1.3. Participation and social inclusion

Participation and social inclusion are regarded a second element within the empowerment domain. Considering that the political space is male dominant, there is need to evaluate level of influence

"Social inclusion is a process by which efforts are made to ensure equal opportunities for all. The multi-dimensional process aimed at creating conditions which enable full and active participation of every member of the society in all aspects of life, including civic, social, economic, and political activities, as well as participation in decision making processes"
Source: https://www.igi-global.com/dictionary/independent-living-support-disabled-elderly/27360

9 http://archive.ipu.org/pdf/publications/equality08-e.pdf
10 https://mw.one.un.org/increasing-womens-political-partici-pation-in-malawi/

11 https://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publi-cations-opinion-files/10289.pdf
12 http://archive.ipu.org/pdf/publications/equality08-e.pdf

political representation is the activity of making citizens' voices, opinions, and perspectives "present" in public policy making processes

Hanna Pitkin (1967)

or association of women politicians in decision-making spaces across all political arena. "There is a huge gender gap between women and men in the political, social, and economic spheres and, overall, the representation of women in key decision-making bodies remains low"[13]. The current cabinet has 13% of women ministers in three ministries of Gender, Child and community development; Labour and skills and development; population planning and social welfare. This is a downturn from previous cabinets. For instance, 20% of women were in 2008 cabinet; whilst 23.9% of women represented women in the 2009 cabinet. It was this period that Malawi performed above average regarding women representation in the cabinet[14].

On the other hand, some thoughts argue that that priorities of women politicians would differ from those of men; with findings

revealing that women parliamentarians advocate and advance issues of social and gender issues; child welfare and sexual health. Such inability to influence state decision making on various issues despite being in the relevant political spaces relates to the notion that women are affected by traditional gender norms[15].

The IPU study highlighted key factors which are instrumental in creating a gender sensitive and inclusive political space. Such factors are Ruling party support. This implies certain positions especially in state affairs such as ministerial positions would be determined if you belong to the ruling party regardless of expertise or experience.

Such statistics of low women representation in political spaces confirms the notion that women may have less power to influence other legislative calls which are determined by such state hierarchy. Additionally, as these positions are appointed by the state; questions should be the means or criteria of appointing women in such positions, or the capacity of women to handle various roles in leadership positions. This confirms claims role the gender norms play in determining women roles even in political spheres.

13 Amundsen, I., & Kayuni, H. (2016). Women in politics in Malawi. Chr. Michelsen Institute (CMI), Department of Political and Admininstrative Studies (PAS).
14 Amundsen, I., & Kayuni, H. (2016). Women in politics in Malawi. Chr. Michelsen Institute (CMI), Department of Political and Admininstrative Studies (PAS).

15 rayan, D. (Ed.). (2002). Empowerment and poverty reduction: A sourcebook. The World Bank.

Inclusive political environment can also be determined through the Work of parliamentary committees. Studies have shown that women are mostly concentrated in Parliamentary committees or positions to deal with socio-cultural issues, health and family affairs. Such issues are of national importance; however, it means women are side-lined from debating other human development issues as the economy and foreign affairs[16]. Malawian Parliament has 19 committees inclusive of PWC; Out of those Only PWC is chaired by a woman.

Therefore, it may be concluded that women have inadequate political power or are excluded in determining state economic priorities and shaping the national agendas[17]. As it is argued "Democracy means interests of groups across the society; women inclusive are reflected in decision making[18]. One would question if women in political spaces dominated by men have the capacity to demand equal representation in decision-making processes. Holding a parliamentary position or a council position will not be enough if these women are side-lined across main decision-making positions.

It is widely known that decision-making bodies such as cabinet and parliamentarian committees are very instrumental; however, women continue to be underrepresented in such groups[19]. Others have recommended that in Malawi, efforts to promote participation and inclusion of women in political processes should be seen in the institutional context and political uncertainty.

16 http://archive.ipu.org/pdf/publications/equality08-e.pdf
17 http://archive.ipu.org/pdf/publications/equality08-e.pdf

18 http://archive.ipu.org/pdf/publications/equality08-e.pdf
19 https://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publi-cations-opinion-files/10289.pdf

1.4. Organisational Capacity

It has been argued that empowerment has substantial value and is significant both at the individual and collective level. Further several schools of thoughts have indicated the concept can be used to describe relations between people and other state actors[20]. This implies women being representatives or actors of the society or their voters in the constituencies.

Hanna Pitkin described political representation is visible when the political actors "*speak, advocate, symbolise, and act on the behalf of others in the political arena*"[21]. Similarly, the IPU report revealed that women parliamentarians are the most enthusiastic women supporters and have reassessed legislative priorities to incorporate women's affairs and perspectives[22]. Such representation requires capacity on how to advocate. One can argue that Networks within political spaces may promote women's capacity to represent the society effectively. The Women's Caucus is the primary vehicle for women to interact across party lines and their ability to work together across party lines is critical to reform discriminatory or gender blind laws and policy (and push for implementation)[23].

However, the ODI report highlighted that women politicians in Malawi are disadvantaged because they have fewer financial resources as compared to their male counterparts, and they have limited access to male-dominated clientelist networks[24]. On the other hand, there is a notion that women politicians' capabilities; experience, motivations and networks are very diverse[25] It was further argued that an enhanced understanding of such distinctions would help explain disparities in their performance, views on gender, equity and women's rights and their motivations that they will effectively represent others[26].

A report on performance assessment of councillors in 2014 elections highlighted limited knowledge and capacity to respond to various issues such as policy formulation; identification and selection of development projects; and allocation of financial and human resources. The contributing factors being low education status; poor working relationships with fellow councillors or MPs[27].

Similarly, the MALGA conference Report on women councillors in 2019 indicated councillors are not effective as most legal frameworks are in the English language.

20 Rayan, D. (Ed.). (2002). Empowerment and poverty reduction: A sourcebook. The World Bank.
21 Pitkin, H. F. (1967). The concept of representation (Vol. 75). Univ of California Press.
22 h ttp://archive.ipu.org/pdf/publications/equality08-e.pdf
23 https://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/2496/Increasing_the_Civil_and_Political_Participation_of_Women_-_Understanding_the_Risk_of_Strong_Resistance.pdf
24 https://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/10289.pdf
25 https://mw.one.un.org/increasing-womens-political-participation-in-malawi/
26 https://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/10289.pdf
27 A Report on the Comprehensive Performance Assessment of Councilors and councils

"Information is power. Informed citizens are better equipped to take advantage of opportunities, Laws about rights to information and freedom of the press, particularly local press in local languages, provide the enabling environment for the emergence of informed citizen action".

Rayan, D. (Ed.). (2002). Empowerment and poverty reduction: A sourcebook. The World Bank

experience and performance once elected, including their substantive representation of other women and their interests. Meanwhile, surveys of parliamentarians or councillors are rare, and longitudinal panel surveys even more so.

A review by USAID indicated that women's agency should be respected from all spheres promoting women influence in line with women's goals and initiatives which aim at ending women's subordination.

Further, the report highlighted that women councillors feel they are not respected enough or taken seriously especially when they do hold positions in political spaces.

To date, research and advocacy in Malawi have paid more attention to women's descriptive representation – that is, numbers of women elected rather than their

The review further recommended that researchers or gender activists should be sensitive enough to diversity in women's experience across the globe or within the developing world[28].

28 https://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/2496/ Increasing_the_Civil_and_Political_Participation_of_Women_-_ Understanding_the_Risk_of_Strong_Resistance.pdf

The ODI report (2016) further argued that the political insight as well as knowledge of the formal and informal rule of the game, both in and out of the Parliament, are equally important. However, the challenge is known to be that most women MPs hardly emanate from ranks of their political parties, which limits their visibility. Efforts supporting women empowerment in the political spaces

1.5. Background to the study

The Gender and Justice Unit (GJU) is a Non-Governmental Organisation that hones in on legal empowerment as one of the most powerful catalyst of gender equality and social justice through; strategic litigation, legal research, mobilisation through strategic partnerships and strengthening access to justice through pro bono legal representation, research and advocacy. With funding from Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa (OSISA); GJU is to implement a two-year project "The Leadership and Legal Empowerment for Newly Elected Female Parliamentarians and Councillors in Malawi" Project goal is to strengthen women's participation in political, public and decision-making spaces in Malawi. The project is aligned with women's rights strategic pillar on enhancing women's

participation in public and civic spaces.

Specifically, the project strives following four objectives:

- Strengthen the capacity of female parliamentarians and councillors to ensure they actively participate in policy formulation processes at both parliamentary and local government level.
- Influence the development and rollout of key gender-related policies and laws to achieve gender justice.
- Nurture young women leaders through ongoing mentorship and structured attachments at GJU; and
- Strengthen the institutional capacity of GJU.

Therefore, it is with this background that GJU conducted the needs assessment as the basis of understanding the knowledge and capacity gaps among the women parliamentarians and the councillors. The study findings will help GJU determine and design its project so that it achieves its set goal and objectives to promote and empower these women in their leadership roles at all levels.

CHAPTER 2: METHODOLOGY

2.0. Purpose of the study

GJU utilises the law as a tool for gender equality and social justice and the effective means of ensuring women are effectively empowered; through the in-cooperation of their voice in the implementation of the project to be done. Thus, assessing their needs and responding and addressing their needs in the most effective means of project implementation.

The objective of the assignment was to assess the training and capacity needs of the 45 female parliamentarians and 67 female councillors. Considering the COVID19 pandemic, the study also assessed the COVID19 response needs among the women leaders as it has distorted the leadership and socio-economic norms. It is thus essential to align any socio-economic activity with the dynamics of COVID19 effects.

Specifically, the rapid needs assessment:

- Assessed capacity gaps on key areas that hinder their effective engagement and contribution to national development at the local and national level, Parliament, constituency and local government level.

- Assessed their technical support needs and provided solutions or suggestions.

- Identify mentorship and training needs for female parliamentarians and councillors for effective contribution to national development.

- Recommend a practical approach for building a robust internship scheme for young women leaders.

- Based on findings, identify gaps, challenges and provide recommendations on capacity building priorities for effective contribution to national development and a unified women workforce.

2.0.1. Research questions

- What are knowledge and capacity gaps of female parliamentarians and councillors related to their roles?

- To what extent do the female

parliamentarians and councillors have access to technical support needs?

• What are the barriers in accessing or assuming leadership spaces in political environment?

• What are their (female parliamentarians and councillors) training needs related to their roles?

• How has COVID19 affected their leadership roles and their needs on COVID19 response?

2.1. Study Design & Methodology

The study employed both qualitative and quantitative methodologies of data collection. For the qualitative methodology, the study used in-depth interviews and focus group discussion (FGD). The quantitative methodology the respondents responded to a questionnaire through a phone call or self-filling questionnaire. The data collection methodology was pivoted in response to COVID19. While quantitative data assessed the proportion of the target population with knowledge and capacity, the qualitative data assessed the perceptions and opinions of the group on the values of leadership the project intends to address.

2.2. Study population/sampling

The study used a cross-sectional method: data was collected from a population which was a representative subset. The population sample for the survey comprised twenty-three (25) WCs and fifteen (15) female MPs for the quantitative and in-depth interviews. The group was randomly sampled from all districts to ensure all parties are represented. All women councillors and MPs were given space to participate in FGD through PWC (face FGD) and WCC

(through WhatsApp FGD). The data was complemented with interviews done to some partners who are already supporting the work of WCC and MPs.

2.3. Mapping Capacity and Funding Gaps

The study generated information on the existing capacity of the target group. A review of the literature and official publications helped to establish the standard requirements (in terms of knowledge and capacity) of the parliamentarians and councillors for them to perform their duties effectively. The interviews/self-filling questionnaire, on the other hand, established the existing knowledge and capacity of the target group about their roles. Thus, setting the benchmark for determining capacity and training needs for the target group.

2.4 Ethical Considerations

2.4.1. Confidentiality

All respondents were guaranteed confidentiality. To ensure confidentiality, names were not recorded anywhere in discussion notes; instead, all groups of respondents and/or individuals' respondents were assigned ID Numbers, which were

recorded in the interview notes. All interviews were saved in files with only the ID numbers assigned to them to ensure confidentiality further and stored in a password-protected file. Further, no names were mentioned in quotes or voices in this report.

2.4.2.Seeking Consent

The research sought consent before commencing discussions or interviews. With consideration to COVID19, verbal consent was sought for each participant.

2.5. Data management and analysis

The consultant collected both quantitative and qualitative data by either phone or email (where respondents or researcher a self-fill in the questionnaire. Qualitative (interview) data were recorded into Word for coding and analysis. Thereafter the research coded the transcripts into themes and sub-themes for analysis for common themes and patterns. The consultant then entered the data into a database, cleaned and analysed it using statistical packages (SPSS) to determine the proportions for each tracked indicator.

2.6. Limitations

Due to the Covid-19, the research was mainly conducted through phone calls. This measure was to minimise physical contact between the consultant and the respondent. However, the process was delayed as the phone conversations depended on the availability of participants. Most participants were found to be engaged in meetings; and in such cases researchers had to reschedule the meetings. On the other hand, FGD with PWC was physical with COVID19 response measures taken into consideration.

CHAPTER 3: PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

3.0. Introduction

This section presents and discusses the results collected from the study. The results are presented per thematic areas drawn from the analysis and following the research objectives. There are graphics and tables used to present and illustrate the results. The findings were analysed from the perspective of empowerment framework (the box below).

economic and political capabilities would be enhanced. The human and economic capabilities includes expanding the knowledge in various skills to improve their livelihoods and of those surrounding them; while the social capabilities involve empowering the women's capacity to lead or engage. The political capacity implies these women leaders are able to represent at individual level or through collective voice. The women leaders need self-confidence to exercise or express their capabilities across all spaces of engagement. Therefore, Gender and Justice Unit through its project, has the mandate to promote and ensure women leaders are included and participating in decision making across all level. This inclusion can be perpetuated through improved leadership knowledge; building networking and advocacy skills which would enhance the participation of women within the decision making spaces. Such skills gained through
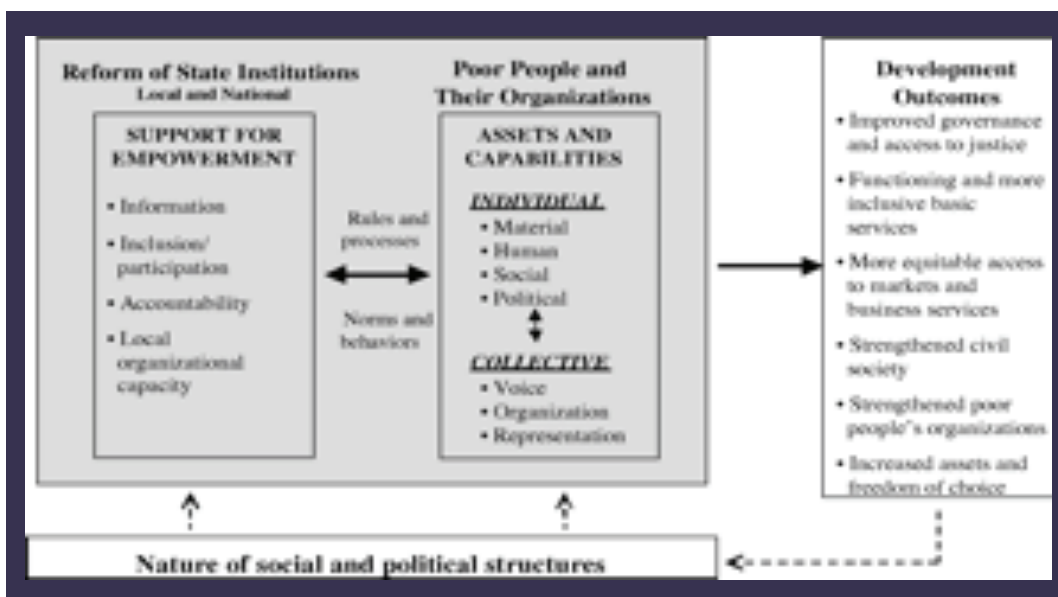
Empowerment framework[29]

The assessment was done with an intended aim to identify the women MP's and WC capacity gaps and needs, if those needs are met; the women leaders human, socio-

29 adopted from https://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTEM-POWERMENT/Resources/486312-1095094954594/draft2.pdf

capacity building or networking would lift the barriers women face within socio-political spaces implying improved inclusive spaces for citizen voice through the representation of the women for improved governance.

3.1. Demographic data for the respondents

For both quantitative and qualitative questionnaires, fifteen (15), representing 34% of the respondents were female MPs, and twenty-five (25), representing 38% were WCs. All WCs and MPs were given spaces for FGD through their causes. The findings deep-rooted the existing evidence that women are underrepresented across all sectors. Through their voices, participants strongly believe being women leaders have a positive impact on the development of society.

3.1.1. Political Party Affiliation.

The respondents were from the following parties: Democratic People's Party(DPP), Malawi Congress Party(MCP), United Democratic Front(UDF), United Transformation Movement(UTM) and independent. The two pie charts below illustrate the distribution of the respondents by the parties they represent. Political party affiliation has an impact on the effectiveness of women's participation in political spaces; as discussed in some sections below; those WCs serving communities as independents highlighted challenges to access public resources as MPs are directly controlling such resources.
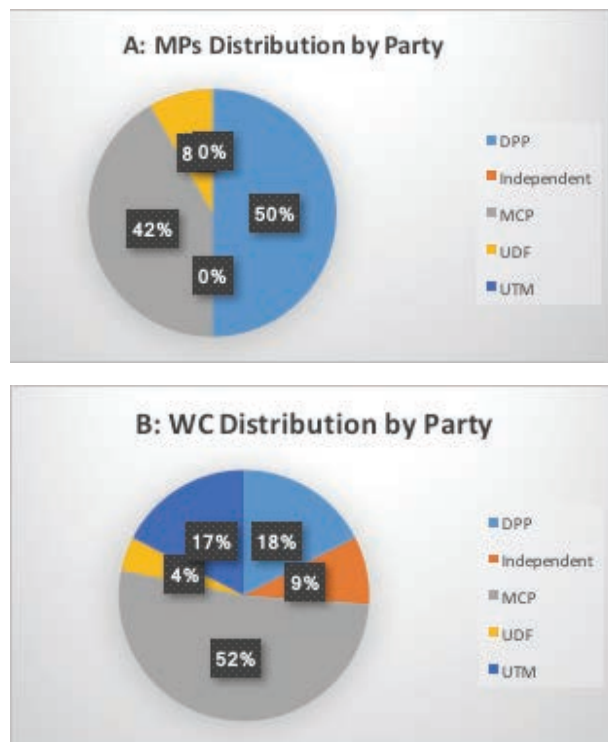
Figure 1: Pie Charts A and B: Distribution of the MPs and WCs respectively among the political parties

3.1.2. Education Status

The pie chart below illustrates the levels of education for the participants in the study. Majority of the councillor participants were MSCE holders (59%) seconded by tertiary (23%); 14% had Junior Certificate (JCE) and 4% Primary School Leaving Certificate (PSLC). All MPs who responded to the questions indicated they had attained tertiary education (100%) except three who did not indicate their educational status.
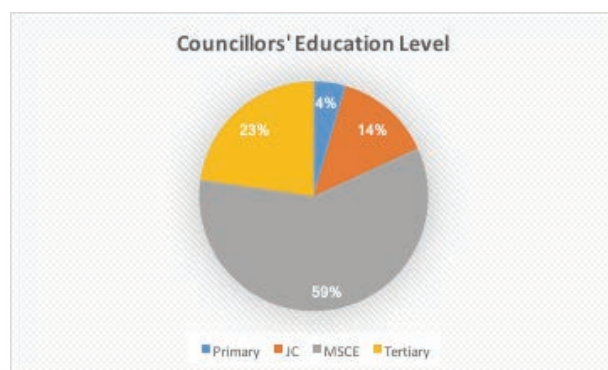
Figure 3: Pie Chart illustrating the Education Levels of the Respondents

The education status of women leaders has a direct impact on the quality of their representation and participation in political spaces. As discussed later in this report, participants highlighted their minimal understanding of their roles and inability to critique issues both at district and national level. With the COVID19 pandemic, education inequalities are to increase as young girls, especially in rural areas, are at risk of dropping out or delaying in completion of studies. Thus, further affecting the representation of women across all levels.

3.1.3. Previous employment

The table below is an analysis of the respondents' previous employment before they entered politics. The Parliamentarians are equally distributed across civil service, the private sector, and self-employment (33.33% for each of the three). For the WCs, majority of them (56.52%) used to be self-employed; 21.74% used to work for NGOs, and 13.04% were in civil service.

is financially draining. Additionally, the prior careers before joining politics would have served as a base for exposure and improved networks; however, in the sections below; several respondents highlighted minimal networking links compared to their male counterparts.

3.2. Understanding their roles and responsibilities as MPs and WCs

Through the interviews, it was highly indicated that the MPs and councillors are well aware they are there to represent the communities that voted them into power. When asked which roles they are conversant with; MPs highlighted their legislative roles while the councillors highlighted representing the communities at ADC and district council levels. They all indicated they represent their communities as they bring grassroots issues to such forums, and both MP's and WCs interact at council level as a common ground[30]. As such participants feel they are a bridge between the communities and the councils

Table 1: Previous employment before joining politics

|	MP	WC		
	Freq	%	Freq	%
Civil Service	3	33.33	3	13.04
Private Sector (Profit making)	3	33.33	1	4.35
Non-Govt Org (Non-profit making)	0	0.00	5	21.74
Self-employed (business)	3	33.33	13	56.52
Other (specify)	0	0.00	1	4.35
Total	**9**	**100**	**23**	**100**

The above results could have a bearing on an individual's capacity to sustain their livelihood during and after this new role. As discussed in subsequent sections below, the MPs and WCs explained their experience of their new roles which they say is financially demanding as such many would quit as it

Despite such indication of knowing their roles, KII findings revealed the women leaders especially the councillors have

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30   The district councils engage both MP's and Councillors, however the leadership of the councils is through the councillors. Decisions about the Constancy Development Funds is done at council level however, the findings revealed the MP's are in control of the CDF despite the councilors being in decision making spaces at council level.

limited knowledge and understanding of operations and functions of the council which affect development activities. Most participants attributed the limited knowledge to inadequate orientation on their roles as such they said they feel side-lined in decision making spaces both at the local council and parliamentary level. Further their limited understanding of their roles could be attributed to low education status, particularly among the councillors.

3.3. Organisational capacity; leveraging on the spaces for representation within   local governance structure

3.3.1. District Level

Disparities in decision-making positions were highlighted to affect participants' leadership roles. Several participants indicated being members of one or two service committees at council level; however, it was revealed leading positions in these committees are held by men which further undermine their ideas or decision-making making spaces.

However, the KII from MALGA reported that most councillors' have limited understanding of financial management procedures at the council, as such, they have limited power to debate, or demand what is needed or to participate in deliberations. It was further highlighted that most women councillors are rarely involved in planning activities at the council level; as a result, they are not aware of some activities being carried out. Similarly, the councillors agreed to this and attributed their limited participation to lack of capacity to negotiate and critique budget or district plans.

Participants attributed their ineffective participation to non-supportive councils. They mentioned poor coordination among most councils as a barrier to executing their roles. For example, the KII indicated that planning and budget issues to be discussed are distributed late, which limits capacity and time for a thorough understanding of the issues.

Additionally, there was a consensus from both MPS and councillors that there is a

conflation of roles between the councillors and MPs, and it is not very clear of who is to do what. Some MP respondents highlighted that this could be attributed to the limited capacity of councillors to run the business of the council, as such MP's would come in which seem to conflict each others roles.

On the other hand, the participants highlighted their influence had been significantly affected by COVID19 as most councils are not meeting as usual limiting their opportunities to represent the communities.

3.3.2. National level

MP s are the cadres that operate both at the community, district and national level. The women MPs share similar challenges of being undermined even at the national level. For example, it was highlighted that men chair all the service committees at the national assembly. Furthermore, some female parliamentarians were of the view that their influence is undermined as Parliament is male dominant. So despite having a female speaker in Parliament, the findings reveal power remains firmly in the hands of men when it comes to daily business of the house.

MPs highlighted they have limited capacity to understand and argue or debate issues in the Parliament as they believe they do not have adequate knowledge of global development priorities as SDG's which bars their execution of representation duties. It was further highlighted they have limited capacity in analysing budgets and how different sectors are benefiting from such which bars their full participation. On the other hand, Other MPs were of the view that

whenever one has adequate information or capacity; space is given to engage or participate.

3.4. Capacities to fulfil the roles and responsibilities

The study sought to find out the extent to which the female MPs and WCs have capacities to carry out the responsibilities highlighted above. Mainly, the study sought from the MPs and WCs the knowledge and skills they have to enable them to achieve what is expected of them and how they can utilise any other avenues at their disposal.

3.4.1. Access to and ability to mobilise financial and other resources

The study sought to find out how the Members of Parliament (MPs) and Ward Councillors (WC) access funds to fulfil their respective agenda. Their chances to retain the office largely hinges on their ability to fulfil the promises/bring development into the constituency or ward, respectively. The study revealed that councillors get funding from the district, town or city councils while MPS have Constituency Development Fund (CDF) to facilitate development in their wards/constituencies respectively. The study further established that there is a big

"I had high expectations when I was campaigning for the councillorship for my ward. I thought the council had funds enough to help us achieve our agendas. But the reality is; what we get is too little to suffice the needs on the ground".
WC-Salima

"The CDF is controlled by the MPs which limits the capacity of WC to participate in development activities" FGD-CWC

gap between what the councillors and MPs get compared to the needs on the ground. Almost all the councillors and all MPs that were interviewed for the study indicated inadequate financial resources at the District Councils as one of the biggest challenges hindering them achieving their agenda for their wards and constituencies.

On their ability to mobilise resources to serve their agenda, the study sought from the two groups their ability and capacity to source funds through proposals and other networking. The study considered skills in proposal writing, financial management, and communication skills critical in resource mobilisation. The study sought from the MPs and WC if they felt they had these skills. The table below shows the results on this. Overall, 72.73% of MPs and WCs indicated they had good communication skills; 18.18% had budget and financial skills, and 21.21% had proposal writing skills. If the female MPs and WC could utilise the skills, they could source funding or leverage available opportunities to have some projects in their areas. One of the WC, for instance indicated in an interview that she managed to secure a borehole in her ward through her connection with Asians in her district of Mangochi.

Table 2: Proportion of MPs with particular Capacities related to Resource Mobilisation

3.4.2. Leveraging on financial institutions

Few participants in the FGDs mentioned they leverage financial institutions when they are serving their communities. Mainly participants such as councillors mentioned they sometimes engage banks to achieve their goals through loans or advocating for their Corporate Social Responsibility(CRS). On the other hand, others highlighted a lack of commitment from other institutions. For example, one councillor in Ntcheu narrated she has tried to reach out to some banks to support her activities as part of their CSR but in vain.

The findings indicate there is a gap on resource mobilisation among the female MPs and WCs. The results above mean that the majority of the MPs and WCs depend on the CDF or the council's ward funding. The scenario puts both the female MPs and WCs at risk of not fulfilling their promises made during the campaigns. The failure could put them at a disadvantage on retaining the office.

3.4.3. Visibility of the female MPs and WCs

The MP's or WC's visibility is equally important for their effective engagement and contribution to national development at the local and national level; Parliament, constituency and local government level.

	All	MP	WC			
	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%
Communication Skills	24	72.73	9	75.00	15	65.22
Budget & Financial Management	6	18.18	4	33.33	2	8.70
Proposal Writing/Resource Mobilisation	7	21.21	5	41.67	2	8.70
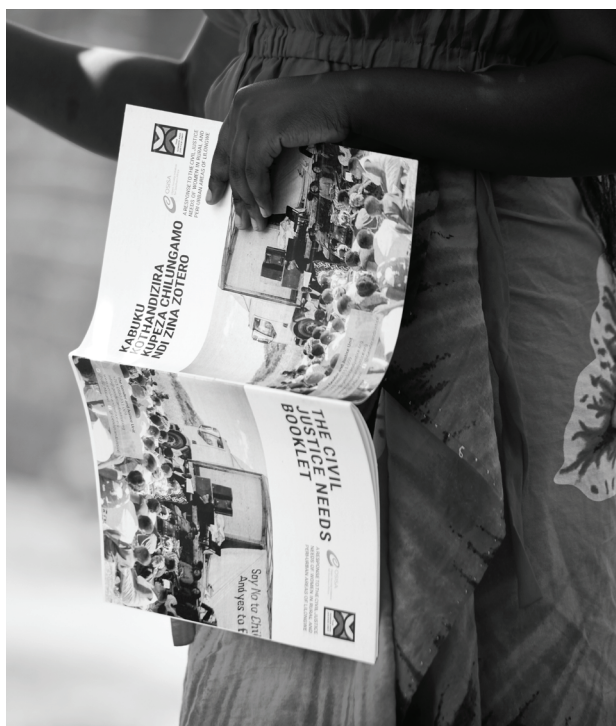
Where visibility is low, voters place less importance on social-policy issues in voting. There are a number of avenues and structures the MPs and WCs can use to make them visible vis a vis attract support from stakeholders during the campaign period. The study asked the respondents which structures and avenues they use or have to ensure they are visible. The table below shows the results of this.

Table 3: Proportion of female MPs and WCs who had used structures or avenues to increase their visibility

3.4.4. Area Development Committees

The above table indicates constituency and ward committees are the most used structure by both MPs (100%) and WCs (95.65%) followed by Area Development Committee (ADC): 83.33% and 86.96% for MPs and WCs respectively. These are the grass-root local government structures which the women MPs and WCs utilise to reach out most when they to coordinate developments. All the WCs from the rural areas especially mentioned that they link up with the chiefs before and after any council meeting.

Through the Individual Interviews and FGD, the study sought to understand the influence these women have at the local level; and ADC was highlighted to be the significant structure for both MPs and Councillor. Even at the community level, the councillors revealed the community's leaders have less trust in them because they are women which restricts them in participating in developmental activities. It was further revealed that women are judged as failures as compared to their male counterparts. The participants attributed this to the fact that men are financially able than women which contributes to unequal distribution of decision making power and participation among them. Some participants further revealed;

	All	MP	WC			
	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%
Constituency/Ward Committee	34	97.14	15	100	22	95.65
ADC	30	85.71	10	83.33	20	86.96
Civil Society Organisations	8	22.86	5	41.67	3	13.04
Social Media	7	20.00	2	16.67	5	21.74
Media Houses	6	17.14	1	8.33	5	21.74
Constituency/Ward Office	5	14.29	2	16.67	3	13.04

"The community leaders feel more confident with men as they believe they are more capable and with more resources than their female counterparts; as such we feel side-lined." WC-Nsanje

On the other hand, WC highlighted the leadership at ADC is biased towards those affiliated to MP of that area which they say compromise their execution of roles at the community level.

3.4.5. Civil Society Organisations

Civil Society Organisations ranked third with 22.86% of the respondents having used it. More MPs (22.86%) had used CSOs than WCs (13.04%). In an interview with one of the WCs who had worked with the CSOs, she indicated that she managed to woo some organisation to help her do some advocacy. The organisation helped assess areas that needed development for possible funding and contacted the town council to assist.

Through the FGD and Individual Interviews, Participants were of the view that CSOs have the capacity to reach the magnitude of people however it was highlighted that most CSOs are non-inclusive of the councillors and MPs when delivering their services. This was drawn from their explanation that most CSO do their activities without engaging political leaders in the target areas.

"It's just few CSO's that engage us in their activities which is worrisome in our work as we need to advocate for our communities" WC-Salima.

Through the Individual interviews and FGDs, the findings further revealed limited CSO support in most areas being a challenge. It was highlighted that most of the NGO work is population/geographically targeted, especially for the rural area. As such, some participants serving urban communities lamented that they do not benefit much from these CSO even when they try to advocate for their communities. Others participants highlighted most CSOs target rural communities despite their advocacy for development support. On the contrary, other participants were of the view that those representatives serving the urban areas have high chances of engaging the CSO as CSOs mostly are operating at the urban level.

Furthermore, participants specifically MPS mentioned that some of the CSO's shun away from engaging MPs as the CSOs are apolitical and do not want to get involved with politicians. On the contrary, others mentioned that some CSOs are biased towards working with MPs from ruling parties because they want to be seen as supporting the government. Participants feel such biases affect their connection with communication as they do not have enough resources to engage with the communities.

Additionally, most of the MPs were of the view that most CSO have engaged them at classroom level through software activities as trainings/capacity building; and what they need is CSOs support in helping them connect with the communities through

various projects. As such participants through PWC FGD recommended that:

> *"CSO including GJU need to support women leaders on the ground with projects; It can be through their structured activities; and just engaging these women leaders in the execution or implementation would make a difference"-PWC FGD.*

3.4.6. Social media

Social media is one of the forms of communication which the women MPs and WCs could utilise to reach out to the society hence increase their visibility. From the table above, only 20% of both MPs and WCs had used the platform to reach out to their constituents. Today's social media has helped make a reality the idea of a "global village", first put forward by communications theorist Marshall McLuhan in the 1960s, and suggests the claims of a "flat world". Thus, the low utilisation of social media is one other missed opportunity for both the women MPs and WCs to reach out to the masses.

With reduced personal contact due to COVID19, online interaction has taken shape, and with the limited use of such spaces by these leasers, this implies women representatives' voice is limited to reach magnitude. Thus further implying the voice of the people is silenced as well.

3.4.7. Media Houses

Most voters are informed about politics through the media (Schulz, 1994), especially television (Mazzolini & Schulz, 1999). The table above further reveals that 17.14% had used the media to publicise their work (8.33% MPs and 21.74% WCs). Participants highlighted that they engage media houses to reach out to the communities through various activities. They further highlighted media houses for biases and afraid of disclosing some issues for that reason some women leaders do not engage them when need be. Most of the times, their engagement is when the media is with CSO not specifically with them. Furthermore, it was highlighted that media engagement is costly, especially when the media is asked to come to their wards or constituencies to cover some stories.

3.4.8. Women caucuses

The study revealed there are two arms of women caucuses for women MPs and WCs. The caucuses are there to empower these women leaders through engagement and promoting their visibility. Most women MPs highlighted their caucuses promotes their cohesion and unity despite coming from different political parties. Additionally, it was further revealed the PWC had promoted

visibility of women MPs as they mostly get support from different partners through this forum. On the contrary, others were of the view that the PWC does not serve its intended purposes and recommended support to strengthen its capacity.

Similarly, WC mentioned WCC needed to be more active. Others highlighted WCC were silent as it is a new aspect but recommended it should be more inclusive, and the executive committee should be engaged in capacity building to promote their leadership role and visibility. Additionally, it was highlighted the WCC has limited resources and support; hence they do not have many activities to support its members. Some KII further recommended;

"Strengthen the women councilor's caucus. This is a platform which brings all   women councillors together. This platform acts as uniting force in ensuring that the needs of women councilor's are collectively identified and addressed wholesomely"-MALGA representative

Other WC recommended lobbying for equality to empower councillors; councillors highlighted that they feel women MPs have an added advantage with different forums and laws supporting their roles, unlike councillors.

On the other hand, it was highlighted that women are also at fault as they do not uplift each other. It is like there is an infight among women leaders which affect their implementation of set goals. An example

was given of women councillors Caucus where effective ideas are shattered as some women do not support ideas of some women, *"not because ideas are not good but I feel we do not trust each other"*-WC. On the contrary, the KII feels the women leaders need to be assertive enough to achieve their goals. One KII said:

"Partially women also are not assertive enough, as such It is easier for women to be overlooked. Women need to be empowered effectively" AFIDEP Representative

3.5. Power of political party's affiliation

Diverse political affiliation was also mentioned to affect roles and development activities. Most participants highlighted they do not hold positions in their affiliated parties which they said bars their effective representation and participation. They attributed this to the fact that most of these party leadership is male-dominated, which undermine the capacity of women.

Furthermore, it was highlighted that most parties have constitutions which encompass gender equality; however, the implementation of such gender-responsive policies within parties is minimal.

Some examples were given whereby some councillors were discouraged from vouching for a chairperson position within the party as the party leadership proposed a man should attain that position with reasons that men would bring in more opportunities with expanded networks. Participants were of the view that sometimes they feel less confident within such male-dominated unequal

political spaces which discriminate against women. Several participants highlighted;

Men are biased in leadership positions or they are always in forefront of leading activities sidelining women; and they prefer all party leadership to be handled by men". WCs FGD.

There was also an indication of biases in community activities. Some councillors who won and operating as independent highlighted being side-lined in community development activities compared to their counterparts affiliated to a party. One of the councillors in Mulanje indicated that such favouritism affects her motivation to serve the community which voted her into power.

Additionally, other councillors highlighted that other MPs, primarily male MPs work more with male councillors than female councillors which limit women capacity and participation. Mostly the women councillors alluded that such disparities in decision-making spaces also affect how they influence ADC level as the leader's favour and respond more to those that are key in development activities. If they are idle; they are in-effectively serving their communities.

Through the MP's interviews, most indicated sometimes they feel side-lined in development funding if they are in opposition parties; however, it was emphasised there is uniformity in CDF funding across constituencies.

3.6 Summary of identified gaps

From the analysis above and the respondent's responses, there are some missed opportunities which both female

MPs and WCs and stakeholders could utilise to raise their resource mobilisation and visibility. There is more that ought to be done for the women MPs and WCs to improve on these two fronts.

The assessment identified the following gaps from the respondents

1. Financial Management and Budget Tracking
2. Limited ICT knowledge and capacity
3. Advocacy skills and Networking Skills
4. Connection with the people at the grassroot level
5. Civic Education

3.6.1. Financial management and budget tracking

The findings revealed both MPs and WC have limited knowledge and capacity of how to incorporate their development needs in the budget and tracking, to ensure that their area development needs are implemented upon receipt of funds from central government.

The limited knowledge and understanding of financial management and budget could be related to low education status as well as inadequate exposure to financial management. Additionally, it could also be attributed to limited leadership participation of women in service committees that tackles issues of the economy.

3.6.2. Information, Communication and Technology

The findings revealed disparities in computer knowledge. Few councillors indicated they are fluent in computer use while all the MPS indicated they are fluent. This could be

attributed to the level of education as most of the WCs only completed junior secondary education. On the contrary, most MPS are diploma or degree holders.

Despite being fluent in computer such as use of Microsoft word, MPs highlighted they have limited capacity in using digital platforms as such their visibility and influence is minimal. One MP indicated she uses social media but only to interact with family and friends; what they lack is how to influence change using such forums. Additionally, participants highlighted they lack digital knowledge such as how to do virtual meetings using ZOOM or skype which has affected their usual business especially in this COVID19 pandemic as one of the FGD participants said she missed some meetings on ZOOM.

3.6.3. Advocacy and networking skills

From the results, it is clear that majority of the women leaders indicated they did not have skills and knowledge in resource mobilisation with reference to table 2 hence leaving the women leaders with one option of funding: CDF or district/town councils. As indicated, the WCs struggle to get the funding from the councils, and some have indicated their role is in jeopardy as they were yet to fulfil the campaign promises

> Women voices on skills for advocacy
> "We are limited in public speaking, stakeholder influence and negotiation skills, which limits our representation capacity" WC-Blantyre
>
> "There is limited to access to information of what other women leaders are doing; we need to learn from other women locally and internationally"-WC-Lilongwe

whiles others have ended up using their resources to meet the same. The scenario could discourage other women aspirants to vie for such positions.

Advocacy skills could mitigate such challenges; however, it is strongly indicative that the participants have limited advocacy and networking skills. The study sought if they (women leaders) feel they have the capacity in advocacy. The results revealed that 39.39% indicated that they have advocacy skills. Out of all the MPs, 33.33% indicated they have while for the WCs, 39.13% said they had. With the impact of COVID19, advocacy skills seem to be a great need among these leaders as they have to ensure the people, they represent are resilient against the impact of COVID19.

The participants revealed the skills would improve their resource mobilisation to respond and address some of the challenges their communities face as their means of networking with various stakeholders will improve. The participants further said their male counterparts have more spaces for engagement such as beer places, football games; and these are male-dominated spaces whereby women are judged if found in such places. If given the means for engagement, women would be enabled to initiate a discussion with various influential people or organisations; thus, enhancing their capabilities at all levels.

Additionally, the Participants highlighted they lack the knowledge to translate the SDGs and MGDS; with that lack of knowledge, they indicated they cannot debate or argue or analyse if the national budgets are gender-responsive enough to promote gender

equality. Further participants highlighted that it makes it even more difficult for them to advocate for resources at the district level to address socio-economic challenges affecting women.

On the other hand, other participants indicated spaces for learning and engagement among each other limited and across borders is a challenge. They emphasised mentorship could be a learning opportunity to improve on how to deliver to the community that voted them into power.

3.6.4. Grassroots connection with constituents: "the people."

Despite highlighting various challenges that they meet, the participants commonly agreed that they have minimal touch or connection with the communities. The connection was implied to be engaging the communities in various means such implementation of projects at the local level. With such engagement, the participants strongly feel the community would appreciate their work, and it could make a difference having women leaders rather than just representing these communities in parliaments or at the council level. They attributed the lack of connection to several factors, including limited resources to address or respond to the challenges their communities face and inadequate advocacy skills to mobilise resources.

Mobility was also highlighted to be a challenge in reaching out to the many groups which they represent. Councillors mentioned they were given loans for a motorbike and given MWK34,000 of fuel allowance a month; however, they indicated this is not enough to cover a month of

monitoring projects or activities. It was indicated that expenses are likely to rise as a result of COVID19. Councillors were of the view there is a considerable gap between the MPs and Councillors in terms of who controls public resources for community development. Councillors indicated MPS are in full control of CDF, which challenges the capacity of the councillors. In cases where councillors operate within women MP led constituencies, WCs highlighted challenges are the same as there is poor coordination between the MPs an WCs. Others attributes this poor coordination to different priorities among them, and they said everyone wants to score points from community members when delivering services.

3.6.5. Civic Education

The participants strongly indicated that a lack of awareness of communities on the roles of the councillors and MPs affects the execution of their duties as communities have high and often unreasonable expectations. For example, it was mentioned that usually the community do expect

Voices on the need for Civic education

" The challenge is that civic education does not provide information on roles of MPs or councillors, some are demotivated to run for office for next election. We need to work with the leaders; but we also need to work with communities"-AFIDEP representative

My husband is now discouraging me saying he doesn't see the benefits of me being a councilor as I usually use my personal resources to respond to the demands of the community"-WC Salima

"We are treated as social welfare not lawmakers, simply because the communities misconceive our roles"-MP Zomba

them to pay for funerals, hospital bills and school fees. Furthermore, it was revealed people absorb these expenses from their own pockets which discourages them from running for another term. Such expectations demotivate WCs and MPs as such demands are financially draining.

Additionally, participants highlighted there are conflicting ideas on the roles of MPS and councillors as participants were in consensus that communities do not differentiate. As such, the women

Further, it was also highlighted that communities need to be aware of the roles of the government in development to minimise politicising of development. One MP said;

"Most of the times politicians do activities for political mileage or take credits for the work they are supposed to do and mostly communities do not know that they contribute to community development through tax"-MP Machinga

Through the FGD's, MP's highlighted that sometimes they could not effectively translate the laws which affect their engagement implying there is poor communication of issues. Participants were of the view that communities do not know what the constitution

councillors mentioned they feel they bear the burden more than MPs as they reside within the communities; unlike the MPS who usually resides in the cities. Additionally, WC' feel their monthly honoraria are not adequate to cater for such expenses. On the other hand, MPs indicated that even though they reside in cities; they still respond to issues and personal demands at the district level.

or laws say about gender issues. Therefore, it was recommended that they need to have laws translated into vernacular language for easy community awareness to be in line with the global agenda of gender equality.

3.7. COVID19 and women's leadership

Just like other countries globally, Malawi has been hit with the COVID19 pandemic and is facing its implications socio-economically.

The assessment was conducted when the country and the globe have been affected by this pandemic. With its impact on socio-economic and public health status; the study methodology adapted preventive measures during data collection. Similarly, being the community representatives; the study assessed the knowledge and needs concerning COVID19.

Overall, the participants were of the view that the COVID19 affects their leadership as women as the impact of COVID has a significant impact on gender and women's issues as it has distorted socio-economic status. Participants highlighted the poorer families are likely to be hit the hardest as economic activities have reduced since most households depend on small scale business, with hand to mouth income. Additionally, it was highlighted that girls in rural areas are missing out on school with limited or no technology means to access education; coupled with existing limited health services coverage; respondents acknowledged that the risks to HIV and GBV among women and young girls is increased during this COVID 19 pandemic.

3.7.1. Knowledge about COVID19

The participants highlighted they had been oriented on this pandemic; however, disparities were noted between MPs and Councillors. Most councillors mentioned being oriented at the council level, but they said the information given was inadequate. Others said they were involved after they asked for the COVID funds usage at district councils. On the contrary, the MPS indicated they had been regularly updated at the national level from public health specialists.

3.7.2. COVID19 Response and Resource Mobilisation

The COVID19 response has been noted with common responses being improvements in sanitation and hygiene practices as hand washing. Commonly participants highlighted taking initiatives in sensitising communities in such practices. However, the information being trickled down to the community is inadequate.

Despite such initiatives, participants strongly highlighted resource limitations in district councils to ensure they are effectively promoting community awareness and behavioural change. The resource limitation was also attributed to a lack of advocacy skills to engage with influential partners. Few participants indicated taking initiatives to engage partners for resources. Others indicated they had used personal resources to secure handwashing equipment's and distribute in highly dense places such as markets. One councillor said;

"I was able to reach out to CSO through which she mobilised food relief items of 20kgs flour distributed to 3000 families: and 300 blankets given to children"- WC-Zomba

Participants revealed limited knowledge of COVID19 among communities is also affecting measures to combat the pandemic. Several participants attributed this to socio-cultural practices. For example, the FGD highlighted that most households are dense, making it difficult for social distancing. On the other hand, participants reported that most communities are not abiding by social distancing recommendations in public gathering such as churches or funerals. Communities are reluctant as they say *"Maliro nkulirana"* implying they feel if they do not attend a funeral, they have not supported their fellow community member".

Others are of the view that with the country's economic challenges, it is complicated to effect a lockdown in Malawi since many households live hand to mouth through their reliance on small scale businesses.

3.7.3. Gender and COVID19

Participants highlighted that the impact of COVID19 is significantly affecting women. The participants attributed to factors that COVID19 is affecting issues of livelihoods. It was further highlighted that women and children are also at risk of GBV during this pandemic, as the COVID19 has distorted most economic activities. Participants alluded that women are the primary caretakers in the households, and other family members look up to them for food preparations and all, and if households do not have enough food and safe water; women would be subjected to gender-based violence.

Additionally, participants indicated that women are also at risk of COVID19 transmissions, especially in cases where the COVID19 patients are hospitalised. Therefore, it was recommended that COVID19 response measures should be gender-responsive/or mainstreamed.

Women voices on gender and COVID

1. "Information is there to improve sanitation and hygienic practices especially adoption of regular handwashing. The challenge is the communities do not have access to safe water" MP Nsanje

2. Consumption of unsafe water hugely affects women; as women are responsible to ensure households have adequate or safe water"-WC "

3. Women are usually patient guardians in hospitals increasing their risk to COVID19. Measures are to be taken to protect them with awareness as well as promoting their behavioural change from community at large"-MP Machinga

3.8. Socio-cultural issues and women's representation

Evidence has widely shown that socio-cultural factors contribute significantly to the underrepresentation of women within political decision-making spaces. These are drawn from gender roles defined for women. Similarly, the respondents revealed their spaces are already predetermined because they are women as such their efforts in the political spaces is undermined. Additionally, the AFIDEP KII emphasised that it is difficult for women to be assertive within the male-dominated political environment; as such it was highlighted for the need to ensure equal socio-political spaces through women empowerment initiatives.

Furthermore, some respondents indicated that some religions such as Muslim prohibit women from speaking in public religious spaces, and in such scenarios, they would delegate to someone to represent and speak for them in such gatherings. However, the part participants highlighted that such delegation also brings other challenges as people being delegated to would have other agendas; which undermines the women's capabilities.

Another constraint noted from the participants is the stereotypes and stigma attached to women. Respondents indicated the communities are sometimes focused on how they look than what they are offering. For example, one MP mentioned that some of her constituents accused her of embezzling money simply because she appeared to look better than before she took office.

3.9. Representation of development issues

The subsection presents and discusses the women MPs' and WCs' knowledge and focus on thorny and contemporary issues that are at the policy level. The results are essential in identifying which areas of policy GJU could consider being part of its project to empower these women, so they actively participate in policy formulation and implementation at both parliamentary and local government level.

3.9.1. Women's economic empowerment

The women leaders had set women's economic empowerment as a priority to address gender issues within their communities. Others highlighted that they are engaging their female constituents in small scale business. For example, one MP mentioned she uses her resources to set up vulnerable women into business as she feels she has a bigger role to play to achieve women economic empowerment. With the shift of economic status as the impact of COVID19, empowering women in economic activities should be one of the mitigating measures to such unforeseen global pandemics.

Other participants mentioned the need for support on either grants or loans to support women in various income-generating activity. It was conclusive that if women are empowered, issues of GBV will reduce as many women face GBV simply being too dependent on their spouses.

3.9.2. Youth empowerment

Youth empowerment is one of the emerging issues in policymakers' hearts. The 2018 House and Population Census indicated that about 51% of Malawi's population is below the age of 18[31]. The study findings highlighted the extent to which some of the women leaders have addressed the needs of the youth in their agenda to promote youth development.

Several participants reported youth engagement in their activities to empower youths in becoming self-reliant. Others mentioned they are empowering the youths economically through vocational training such as tailoring, welding and carpentry; similarly, one councillor revealed she encourages the youths and women to apply to public vacancies and she was coaching youths on how to prepare for interviews when she was being interviewed. However, it was highly indicated that the demand for employment is very high; furthermore, the youths are still struggling to initiate their own businesses as the leaders have limited resources to provide starter packs for the youths to start their own businesses.

Girl child education was also mentioned to be an area of interest for many women leaders. It was commonly revealed that teenage pregnancies are rampant across all areas, and women leaders feel they need to put measures in addressing such a challenge. With school closures due to COVID19, some participants indicated issues of early pregnancies and marriages should not be overlooked. The participants highlighted COVID19 exacerbates the challenges young girls face when accessing

education which need concerted efforts and measures. Measures mentioned included mentorship programs to promote girl's retention in schools; as well promoting household financial capacities.

3.9.3. Early childhood education

Several councillors and MPs mentioned they want to promote early childhood education through the introduction of early childhood education centres (ECEC) within their communities. They mentioned this activity is within the priority goals of gender activities; however, due to limited public resources; the demand is still high. Other women representatives have taken initiatives to ensure such centres exist but need more support.

ONE OF THE COUNCILORS FROM MZIMBA ENCOURAGED HER FRIENDS TO ENGAGE IN RESOURCE MOBILISATION THROUGH ANY PARTNERS WHETHER INDIVIDUAL; PUBLIC OR NGOS. SHE IS CURRENTLY BEING SUPPORTED IN CONSTRUCTION OF A 12 MILLION-KWACHA ECEC (PIC BELOW) WITHIN HER WARD WHICH WILL BE HER SOLE RESPONSIBILITY TO ENSURE ITS RUNNING.

31   https://malawi.unfpa.org/en/topics/young-people-3

3.9.4. Sexual and Reproductive Health issues

Several participants indicated that women face many challenges, including limited facilities to access Sexual and Reproductive Health issues. This issue was reported from both urban and rural women representatives. For example, one MP in Blantyre indicated women in the area between Chirimba and Mbayani do not have a Maternity wing, and it is her wish to ensure one is installed before the end of her term. Participants further alluded that adequate infrastructure would minimise challenges of distance as it is a burden for women as compared to men.

As previously highlighted; with the COVID19 pandemic, women and young girls are more prone to GBV. Measures to ensure women and girls have safer access to sexual and reproductive health (SRH) services should be enhanced, and the women leaders could be the primary channels for such initiatives.

3.9.5. Water, Sanitation and Hygiene

The findings show that these women representatives acknowledge that issues of water, sanitation and hygiene (WASH) affect women the most, and many have taken initiatives to address such challenges. However, it was emphasised there is a need to do more as resources are minimally contributing to the use of unsafe water, risking their lives to diarrheal diseases. As such women are still being violated as they have to walk a long distance to access safe water. Other participants highlighted they have been engaged in installing boreholes, and others feel this is the 21st-century, implying communities need piped water. Several suggested CSOs should support

them with small grants to cater for such issues. Improved Water, Sanitation and Hygiene(WASH) initiatives could also promote community's resilience post COVID19 pandemic.

CHAPTER 4: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.0 Introduction

The findings revealed that women voices in political spaces both at district and national (Parliament) levels are ineffective for various reasons highlighted above. This implies the women in politics need to be empowered for effective representation and participation, thus promoting their organisational capacity. This chapter isolates gaps from the above analysis and provides recommendations on training needs to address the issues. It is worth noting that Participants' recommendations are incorporated in this section.

4.1. Promoting women leaders' capacity to address issues

GJU can leverage on these priority focus areas that these women leaders are trying to address through training and mentorship on advocacy skills which would enhance women's ability to mobilise resources for communities. This reflects the fact that gender stereotypes are also attributed to the levels of income as it was strongly revealed that women are less advantaged as they have fewer assets and limited networks.

Capacity building on Advocacy; Networking skills and Proposal writing could thus help the women in twofold: firstly, it could offer improved citizen engagement; and alternative source of funding for the development of their constituencies and wards respectively as well as information access to communities. Secondly, they could also seek funding for their campaign, which is resource-demanding. The women leaders also pointed out that they face stiff completion with men counterparts when it comes to funding campaigns. One WC pointed out that the 50:50 campaign promises of bank-rolling them during the campaign came very close to the voting period; hence it had little effect. Therefore, acquiring such capabilities will enable them to represent themselves and others and actively influence decision making spaces at all levels. Some participants recommended;

"Women need to be supported way before election or campaign period; thus they will be fully empowered to participate in politics"
WC-Blantyre rural

Additionally, it was reported that advanced advocacy means through resource mobilisation would assist in acquiring necessary items needed within communities. For example, in response to COVID19; people are being encouraged to wash hands with soap, but the reality is that most households cannot afford such disposable necessities. It was a plea for all stakeholders to participate in COVID19 response.

Such training should also include communication and public speaking skills (written and verbal) to enable the women leaders to become competitive on the market. They may not be the only bidders for an opening for funding. Verbal communication could leverage them to present their ideas more effectively to prospective donors.

4.2. Responding to gender issues

GJU can leverage on its expertise to improve on gender equality. Several participants indicated they would like to address issues affecting women such as SRH; WASH; GBV, Women and youth empowerment. GJU can leverage such need through partnering with these women and at the same time, scaling up its gender-related projects across the country. Coupled with their improved capacity in resource mobilisation; advocacy; these women leaders would achieve their agendas and stand out to minimise gender inequalities. Furthermore, stereotypes and gender labels that women are less effective would minimise.

Such initiatives could also be conducted by including WCs and MPs as partners in project concepts or ideas that can be adopted or adapted to fit in their constituencies. GJU should also prioritise ensuring the women representatives are aware of and understand the global agendas such as SDGs and national agendas as MGDS'. Such awareness would enhance their competencies in advocating for resources and gender-responsive policies.

4.3. Increasing the visibility of women representatives

As discussed in subsection 3.4.2 above, there is a notable gap in the utilisation of other structures and avenues which could increase the women leaders' visibility. For instance, the utilisation of social media, which is relatively cheap to other avenues was noted to be low, yet it is one such platform which is becoming increasingly popular especially in the time of COVID19 where there is a heightened use of digital communication. Additionally, access to and understanding of the digital world needs to be improved among the women leaders

especially with COVID19; women leaders need to continue engaging, and the practical means is through understanding and utilising virtual technology as ZOOM™; social media and live streaming.

The GJU project could structure training to promote the use of ICTs generally and the use of social media and media houses to increase their visibility. The influence of visibility cannot be overemphasised. It has the power to connect the women leaders to the voters as well as to donors who could fund their agendas.

4.4. Strengthening the capacity of women caucuses

GJU can leverage the opportunity of empowering the WCs and MP's through the women caucuses. The findings revealed that participants perceive Women caucuses as a strong tool which can enhance women representatives' influence and visibility. Additionally, The PWC and CWC seem to be the primary point of promoting networking among fellow WCs/MPS, and this can be a platform or spaces for knowledge sharing; mentorship and sharing of ideas. It was

strongly emphasised during the PWC FGD that they strongly need CSO support at grassroots level; thus, apart from the software or capacity building the CSO usually provide. The communities need developmental activities, and mostly such activities are dependent on CDF fund, which is inadequate to cater for all their needs. Networking is equally important here. GJU could structure the training content to include skills of networking (within their locality and outside). There are already existing CSO in their areas which they could override to achieve their agenda in their efforts to develop the communities. Additionally, the participants suggested CSO, including GJU, can forfeit some training just to support activities at the grassroots level. "Even if it is from your projects; you can just decide to go to one constituency with such activity in the escort of the MP's; through such initiatives, women leaders would be more visible and effective-FGD MPs. Such activities could also serve a purpose for learning and mentorship activities within women caucuses

4.5. Mentorship

Mentorship has the power to enhance women's capacity through which it can promote their retention in leadership positions. Participants recommended that women need to Perform according to citizen expectations arguing that would be a great measurable platform with men. Most of the participants indicated that they acknowledge the importance of serving the communities and highlighted that it is not just a woman that would serve the purpose; but everyone needs to implement what was promised during the campaign" through such proactiveness, they believe communities will have trust just like people believe more in male leadership.

GJU can facilitate mentorship programs. It was recommended that there should be mentorship programmes among fellow women leaders to learn from each other; in so doing, they will be empowered to influence decision making at all levels. Such mentorship programs can be initiated at Women caucuses and be cascaded to local communities through cross-learning visits. Others suggested learning platforms should be extended to the international level, targeting countries and women who have set good records on women leadership. One MP suggested that;

"They are more women who have served as MPs for quite some time such as Lilian Patel, Anna Kachikho; those are the right people to learn from what they have been doing"-MP Blantyre.

Additionally, the women Politicians can serve as role models through which GJU can initiate internship for young women political aspirants. Such an internship can be physical or through social media platforms. Other suggested initiating network links with countries that have a good record in women political leadership as a means of learning.

4.6. Funding interface meetings between women leaders and communities

Participants also recommended GJU and other CSOs to fund the interface meetings between legislative leaders and the citizens to discuss constitutional laws; land acts; marriage bills; HIV and more issues. They said Citizens are not aware of the laws that's why most women's rights are violated. GJU can leverage its expertise to distribute simplified and translated laws through the women councillors and MP's and enhance citizen engagement with public policies, laws, legal processes and implementation.

4.7. Promoting public access to information

Empowering the women leaders should also be in line with managing the citizen/community expectation; thus ensuring that the citizens are well aware of the roles and responsibilities of their political representatives. Therefore, there is need to lobby for Access to Information(ATI) Law which would widen stakeholders engaged in promoting information sharing to citizens. In this regard, respondents emphasised the need to promote civic education on the roles of parliamentarians and councillors to minimise misplaced expectations from communities. Additionally, access to such information would create pressure for improved accountability and transparency

for those handling public resources, therefore, becoming politically empowered. If there is that mutual understanding between constituents and women leaders; women leaders could have an equal platform as that of men, measuring their leadership without the factors of economic or gender imbalances.

GJU can lobby through partners as National Initiative for Civic Education(NICE) for improved inclusive spaces through public awareness and ensuring policy implementation is gender-responsive. Inclusive spaces will help mitigate unequal power relations within decision making spaces at all levels, which largely disadvantage women.

Additionally, improved CSO advocacy through citizen engagement would widen the network spaces for women leaders. The women leaders will be enabled to create or leverage on existing opportunities to exercise their social-political capabilities. Such capabilities may include the ability to associate with various partners at individual or institutional level; or coordinate spaces of engagement to benefit the people they represent.

The civic education on electoral processes is not gender-responsive therefore Malawi Electoral Commission(MEC) and other institutions as NICE need to be lobbied for in strengthening their electoral information. GJU can assume the role of evaluating the legal frameworks and support NICE in developing civic education manuals which are gender-sensitive.

4.8. Contextualising efforts

It has been argued that contextualising socio-cultural issues is relevant in developing empowerment approaches. It is, therefore, necessary for GJU and other stakeholders to develop efforts that take into account community values and norms as well as their behaviours. However, this needs to be balanced against the reality that many cultural or contextual approaches may further oppress women as they push for higher participation and representation in socio-political spheres. Therefore, all such approaches should be gender transformative.

Such transformation approaches imply promotion of social-behavioural change through which gender norms can be challenged and power inequities being addressed through local structures. Additionally, community based initiatives should create an enabling environment through which equal participation between men and women is encouraged. On the other hand, the gender transformative approaches should also promote male inclusion especially in issues of health such as HIV, Sexual and Reproductive Health. Such approaches can be mainstreamed in the existing initiatives being/or to be implemented.

The gender transformative approaches also require dealing with women discrimination through transforming systems and structures in place. Thus, implying the leadership within district councils and political parties need to be aware of gender equality to ensure women are effectively participating.

4.9. Supporting women leaders to respond to COVID19

From the findings it is clear women are playing immense roles in covid19 response thus including being primary household caregivers; hospital patient guardians; As the cases of COVID19 are increasing in Malawi and globally, emphasis should be put to provide services that would promote dignity and wellbeing of the communities; and these women leaders can can bridge that gap of service provision.

Participants strongly recommended massive awareness campaigns, especially in semi-urban and rural areas to promote behavioural change and adoption of hygienic practices. GJU can leverage on the leaders through which its intended COVID19 response activities could be provided through them. That would also serve as a platform for enhancing advocacy skills.

Furthermore, GJU has well-structured GBV response initiatives which can be scaled up to other districts or locations; the alternative means of scaling up such impactful ideas is through the women councillors, and MPs who indicated women across the country are facing GBV exacerbated with COVID19. Some participants recommended effective use of community victim support units and means of relieving households with food items, especially those with minimal household incomes.

Additionally, GJU can leverage on this to ensure women and young girls are still accessing SRH services. it can lobby through other partners safeguarding SRH rights, and the women leaders would act as

point of contacts to access the vulnerable groups in this pandemic.

Participants in these perspectives recommended extensive use of face masks, especially among the sellers in markets. That way, participants believe there will minimise the risk of transmission. With limited resources, advocacy can be done to mobilise few resources to cover for key service providers as health workers, market sellers.

4.9.1 COVID19 and Girl Child Education

To mitigate effects of COVID19 on girls education; there is need to rethink the rights

existing programs or initiatives. Such messages should be contextualised with gender transformative ideas. Community engagement in monitoring girls access to education should be paramount as well.

Furthermore, psycho-social apsects of girls should also be prioritised, with counselling services to the victimised young girls; further measures to identify and provide support to those at risk and vulnerable to abuse, school dropouts and other issues are areas to be emphasised.

4.10. Conclusion

In summary, the findings strongly indicate the need to empower women. Firstly, their empowerment support needs include information on their roles through capacity building. The capacity building will also enhance their organisational capacity to engage; advocate; influence and participate effectively. Secondly empowering these women includes strengthening the spaces (community, district and national) of engagement to be inclusive enough. With such support in place, the women will have their individual socio-economic and political capacity enhance as enablers for effective representation.

of the children in regards to education. Strategies need to be put in place to lift financial constraints that girls face. For example access to education materials and school fees can be subsidised to improve spaces for marginalised groups. Distance learning approaches should also be considered, however they need to be more sensitive considering that most rural communities have limited access to advanced techinology. Radio programs may be a primary approach where informationn can be shared to the rural masses.

Measures to intensify community mobilisation on girl child education should be intergrated in the already

INDEX

Module A: Overview

The questions are in two sections; Section 1 highlights quantitative questions; these questions have multiple answers and you indicate your choice of the answer.

Section two is a qualitative questionnaire; these questions need your in-depth views of your understanding of various issues as an MP/or councillor. You will need to share your views by sharing those thoughts.

Informed Consent of Participants

Thank you for the opportunity to speak with you. I, _____ am working on behalf of Gender and Justice Unit (GJU) on a Project: Leadership and Legal Empowerment for Newly Elected Female Parliamentarians and Councilors in Malawi" the Open Society Initiative funds that for Southern Africa (OSISA). The aim of the Project is to strengthen women's participation in political, public and decision-making spaces in Malawi hence seeking information on the same from female parliamentarians/councilors.

This information will help GJU to plan future projects. You have been selected to participate in this study, which includes questions on topics such as leadership. These questions in total will take approximately 20 min to complete and your participation is voluntary. If you agree to participate, you can choose to stop at any time or to skip any questions you do not want to answer. We assure you that whatever information you share with us shall be treated with maximum confidentiality; we will not share information that identifies you with anyone. However, we hope that you will participate in this evaluation because your opinions are important. We will also interview other female MPs and Counselors in other parts of Malawi.

- *Please feel free to be open and honest in your responses. All information you give us is completely confidential, and we will not associate your name with anything you say during the focus group.*
- *We will be recording the interview so that we can make sure to accurately capture your thoughts, opinions, and ideas. No names will be attached to evaluation notes and the audio recordings will be destroyed once they are transcribed.*
- *You may refuse to answer any question or stop the interview at any time.*
- *If you have any questions now or after you have completed the interview, you can ask a study team member like me, or you can call GJU staff whose names and phone numbers are on the consent form.*

Please sign below to show that you have agreed to participate in the study. _____ (Date: ___/___/2020

Module B: Respondent Profile Data

Instructions: Please fill in the chart below with the required demographic information about each key informant. Use the notes section at the bottom of this page to capture any additional information.

First Name	B01: 1=Parliamentarian 2= Ward Councillor	B02: District	B03: Constituency/ Ward Name	B04: Party Representing	B05 Education Level	B06 Age (Years)	B07 Marital Status	B08 What was your employment in prior to becoming MP/Councillor

Module C: Resource Mobilisation & Networking

No.	Question	Codes	Response
C01	Which structures do you have to help you reach out to people you represent? (Select all that apply)	1= ADC 2= Constituency/Ward Committee 3= Constituency/Ward Office 4= Social Media 5= Media Houses 6= Civil Society Organisations 7= None of the above	
C02	If you have an office, where is it located?	1 = within constituency/ward 2 = outside my constituency/ward	
C03	Which of the following skills do you consider necessary for your work as MP/Councillor? (Select all that apply)	1= Good Leadership Skills 2= Communication Skills 3= Budget & Financial Management. 4= Proposal Writing/Resource Mobilisation 5= Advocacy 6= Public Speaking 7= None of the above	

C04	Out of the skills selected as necessary in **C03** above, which ones do you believe you have? (Select all that apply)	1 = Good Leadership Skills 2 = Communication Skills 3 = Budget & Financial Management. 4 = Proposal Writing/Resource Mobilisation 5 = Advocacy 6 = Public Speaking 7 = None of the above	
C05	Do you currently hold a leadership position in your party or on any of the committees in which you are involved?	0 = No 1 = YES	
C06	Have you participated in any workshops, or trainings hosted Parliament, or any other stakeholders related to your work (MP/ Councillor)? If no, skip to **C08**	0 = No 1 = YES	
C07	If Yes in **C06**, please list the themes/ information covered in these workshops. **Enter all that apply**	1 = Good Leadership Skills 2 = Communication Skills 3 = Budget & Financial Management. 4 = Proposal Writing/Resource Mobilisation 5 = Advocacy 6 = Public Speaking 7 = None of the above 8 = Other, specify_____	
C08	Agree or Disagree: I find the women caucus helpful for pro-women achievements in the legislature (bringing female legislators together, across party lines, in effective alliances around a common goal).	0 = Strongly Agree 1 = Agree 2 = Neither Agree nor Disagree 3 = Disagree 4 = Strongly Disagree 5 = No response	

Module D: Gender Enforcement

D01	**Agree or Disagree:** I believe that the people (especially women) I represent have the right to a particular thing.	0 = Strongly Agree 1 = Agree 2 = Neither Agree nor Disagree 3 = Disagree 4 = Strongly Disagree 5 = No response
D2	**Agree or Disagree:** The people I represent are priority over the party I represent in Parliament or District Council deliberations	0 = Strongly Agree 1 = Agree 2 = Neither Agree nor Disagree 3 = Disagree 4 = Strongly Disagree 5 = No response
D03	**Agree or Disagree:** My party's constitution reflects recognition of formal equality and abides by that.	0 = Strongly Agree 1 = Agree 2 = Neither Agree nor Disagree 3 = Disagree 4 = Strongly Disagree 5 = No response
D04	Agree or Disagree: I believe cultural norms and beliefs negatively influence on women's MP / chances of retaining their office.	0 = Strongly Agree 1 = Agree 2 = Neither Agree nor Disagree 3 = Disagree 4 = Strongly Disagree 5 = No response

Guide for Qualitative Interviews

SECTION 1: Overview
These in-depth interviews will gather qualitative information that will provide an enhanced understanding your understanding and views on various issues on women leadership.

Interview Questions

1. *What are your roles as an MP/Councillor? How do you make sure you achieve those roles?*

2. *What agenda as an MP/Councillor do you have for your constituency/ward? What challenges do you foresee to encounter as you pursue your agenda?*

3. *How do you prepare for a Parliamentary Seating? (How do you make sure your agenda is aligned/addressed during parliamentary deliberations?) What are most critical areas you need to know prior to a Parliamentary Seating?*

4. *How have you used the following avenues to advocate for your agenda?*

    a. *District councils/ parliament/ parliamentarian committee of PWC*

    b. *Media*

    c. *Civil Society Organisations*

    d. *Financial institutions*

5. *How well represented are women in your political party in different committees?*

6. *What do you know about Women's Parliamentary Caucus? (To what extent is it bringing female legislators together, across party lines, in effective alliances around a common goal?) [for MPs only]*

7. *What are women MP/ chances of retaining their seats?*

8. *What challenges do women face to execute their roles as MP/Councillor?*

9. *What should be done to help the new women MPs/Councillors retain their seats in the next elections?*

10. *To what extent do you feel you are effectively representing yourself, your constituencies and the national at large?*

OTHER COMMENTS AND OBSERVATIONS: