Assessing Civic Engagement Trends in Zambia

A Case Study Report

Civil Society Index: CIVICUS

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<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<td>AHD</td>
<td>Advocacy for Human Development</td>
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<td>CE</td>
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<td>CHAZ</td>
<td>Churches Health Association of Zambia</td>
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<td>CP</td>
<td>Civic Participation</td>
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<td>CSAWUZ</td>
<td>Civil Servants and Allied Workers Union of Zambia</td>
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<td>CSI</td>
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<td>CSPR</td>
<td>Civil Society for Poverty Reduction</td>
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<td>DWA</td>
<td>District Women’s Association</td>
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<td>FFTUZ</td>
<td>Federation for Free Trade Unions in Zambia</td>
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<td>FNDP</td>
<td>Fifth National Development Plan</td>
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<td>UNZALARU</td>
<td>University of Zambia Lecturers and Researchers Union</td>
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<td>ZCTU</td>
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Case Study
Relevant Dimension: Civic Engagement

1.0 Introduction

Civic engagement in Zambia has assumed a very important role in the development process of the country. This can be attributed to the realisation that, alongside the state and market, civil society is a critical factor in promoting good governance and people-centered development and determining the level, pace and equity of a country’s economic, social and political development. With this realisation, Sachikonye (1995) notes that civil society organisations (CSOs) in Zambia, and elsewhere in developing countries, have lately become more active, robust and better organised in pursuit of their own interests and those of the public. This engagement has encouraged participation by individuals, as volunteers of associations or organisations, with a civic nature and agenda.

It is worth noting that civic engagement in Zambia is not a new phenomenon, as it has a long tradition, with roots traced back to the early days of colonialism. “During the colonial era, a large number of informal groups and formal institutions such as welfare associations, churches and mining trade unions played an important social and political role at both local and national levels” (Matenga, 2010: 67). Other notable actors in the arena of civic engagement in Zambia have been political parties, trade unions, cooperatives, sports clubs, the art world, environment organisations, cultural organisations, service organisations, youth and female organisations and human rights activists, among many others.

While civic engagement in Zambia has generally progressed well, it has not been entirely ‘rosy’, due to the many challenges including; lack of recreational facilities, lack of funding and in some instances, a general lack of interest. Another notable challenge for civic engagement in Zambia is political in nature, and results from an acrimonious relationship between the state and CSOs which has inevitably resulted in civil society facing all forms of intimidation from state powers. This is because their activities are often viewed as being inimical to progress and anti-governmental. Habasonda (2010: 47) argues that Zambia’s civil society has been shaped by a history of authoritarian traditions, and that for decades CSOs have been largely restricted to activities within the agendas and control of the state.
During the leadership of the second republican president Fredrick Chiluba, Mumba (2010: 8) argues that he (Chiluba) employed Kaunda’s strategy of taming civil society using different means. One of the strategies he employed was the use of the Public Order Act in trying to curtail the freedom of assembly and association, which acts as one of the major vehicles used by CSOs in their civic duties.

Notwithstanding the challenges faced by civil society, it is still imperative to note that civic engagement, under the right conditions, has the potential to promote development and to improve the economic and social conditions of the poor. It also plays an important role in strengthening the policy-making processes at different levels in Zambia. There is therefore need to assess the trends of civic engagement in Zambia and to analyse the benefits to the development of the Zambian society.

1.2 Conceptual Definitions.

Bruyat and Julien (2006: 166) are of the opinion that good science starts with good definitions and that a minimum level consensus is needed on the definition of what the field is and is not. It is thus important to have an understanding of the main concepts used in the study. For the purposes of this study, the key terms that need to be defined are: civil society and civic engagement.

1.3 Civil Society:

White (1994: 376), highlighting the ambiguities of the term ‘civil society’, points out that "though there is now a `paradigm’ of thought and a terrain of discussion… the term means different things to different people and often degenerates into a muddled political slogan." Notwithstanding the ambiguities associated with the concept, a good number of definitions have been put forward. Rodrick (2000) argues that;

“Civil society refers to the arena of un-coerced collective action around shared interests, purposes and values. In theory, its institutional forms are distinct from those of the state, family and market; though in practice, the boundaries between state, civil society, family and market are often complex, blurred and negotiated. Civil society commonly embraces a diversity of spaces, actors and institutional forms, varying in their degree of formality, autonomy and power. Civil societies are often populated by organisations such as registered charities, development non-governmental
organisations, community groups, women's organisations, faith-based organisations, professional associations, trades unions, self-help groups, social movements, business associations, coalitions and advocacy groups”.

The Civil Society Index (2008:16) has defined the concept of civil society as “the arena, outside of the family, the state, and the market, which is created by individual and collective actions, organisations and institutions to advance shared interests.” The term ‘arena’ is used to describe the particular space in a society where people come together to debate, discuss, associate and seek to influence broader society. Another key feature is the acknowledgement of the ‘fuzziness’ of the boundaries between the spheres of civil society, the state, the market and family, since in practice, many forms of collective citizen action are difficult to categorise into a specific sphere. Here, the CSI emphasizes the function, namely collective citizen action to advance common interests, over the specific organisational form, in which the action takes place. It is worth pointing out at this stage that for purposes of this study, the CIVICUS (2008) definition of civil society is adopted because of it having an important addition of the aspect individual action which is a common characteristic in today’s civil society.

1.4 Civic Engagement

The United Nations Human Development report (UNDP, 2003), describes civic engagement as “a process, not an event that closely involves people in the economic, social, cultural and political process that affect their lives.” This implies that civic or citizen engagement is an ongoing process that requires continuous participation. Ketler et al. (2002), on the other hand, defined civic engagement as "individual and collective actions designed to identify and address issues of public concern. This action takes many forms ranging from individual volunteerism, organisational involvement and electoral participation. It can also include efforts to directly address an issue, work with others in a community to solve a problem or interact with the institutions of representative democracy” (Ketler, et al, 2002).

Aims of the study
• The aim of this study is to assess the process and trends in civic engagement in Zambia.
• The study will examine how Zambian civil society engages with the government on political and socio-economic issues.

Research Questions

1. What is the significance of citizen’s participation in various political and social activities?
2. How is the environment in which civic engagement takes place in Zambia?
3. What is the extent of people’s involvement in social and political activities?
4. What are the levels of civic engagement in terms of: gender, age, socio-economic status, ethnicity, religion and geographical region of an individual in Zambia?

HYPOTHESES

• Civic engagement in Zambia is hampered by a non-conducive environment to operate in orchestrated by the state.
• Age and gender have a significant bearing on individual’s participation in civil activities.

Literature Review

It is common knowledge that individuals, as independent elements of society or through CSOs, play many roles in the different sectors of the country’s economy at any given point in time. At whatever particular level, owing to the historical transformation and as shown in literature, CSOs have assumed a greater task in ensuring meaningful participation in national decision-making processes.

People’s engagement in various civic activities, which include social, political and economic affairs, has been viewed differently by different countries and/or societies. According to Sachikoye (1995: 93), “in the African context, the analysis of civic engagement and participation trends should be relocated historically within the broad debate on the nature of pre-colonial and colonial systems.” The years ranging from the 1920s up to the early 1960s can be best described as the years of colonial rule in Africa. The three decades thereafter have
been considered as years of independence and one-party rule or military rule. The 1990s, for Zambia, certainly will go in African history books as good years for multi-party dispensation that has provided the country with an enabling environment for civic engagement and participation in a number of crucially important areas. These periods coincided with a change in government from a socialist inclined and restrictive United National Independence Party (UNIP) government of Dr. Kenneth Kaunda, to the Movement for Multi Party Democracy (MMD) government with a more liberal and open approach which encouraged civil societies to operate due to less restrictive conditions.

Brinkerhoff and Goldsmith (2000) argued that the outcomes of such civic engagement are far reaching and these outcomes posit that inclusive participatory processes can create:

a) Better socio-macroeconomic policy content based on better information;
b) Social consensus on policy priorities because of civic involvement in the discourse;
c) A positive signaling effect to international donors and investors because of national consensus;
d) Equitable policies and distribution of benefits to the vulnerable, such as the poor;
e) Accountable and responsive government; and
f) Better implementation of policy and programmes”.

All of these are tenets that are very vital for any given society at any given stage in its development process.

Sachikoye (1995:16) contends that “one of the most significant transformations in national development in recent years has been the explosion in numbers, diversity and roles of citizens through civil society groups.” Individual citizens, either working independently or through CSOs, have become increasingly influential actors in the area of advocacy on various issues of concern through equipping people with the necessary knowledge needed to achieve many set objectives. Through this influence, many citizens have been availed opportunities to speak on matters that directly affect and concern them. Alongside the increase in the number of people engaging in civic issues has been a matched increase in number of CSOs in the recent past in Zambia. The evidence of this increase can be seen from the glaring multiplicity of CSOs in the period after 1991, with more and more players coming on the scene. Mumba (2010: 8) attests that in the period after 1991 “hundreds of new CSOs were formed in Zambia. He goes on to say that “the Registrar of Societies recorded over 1000 NGOs by 1996.” In 2003, this number grew to 10,000 CSOs (Mumba, 2010: 8). Among the growing
numbers of CSOs that have emerged, besides the traditional ones such as faith-based organisations and trade unions, are a number of advocacy groups concerned with issues of good governance, human rights and others interested in addressing cross-cutting issues such as the HIV/AIDS pandemic and the ever-increasing problems with the environment and climate change. The advocacy by these organisations and individuals alike has helped in ensuring that the right policies and actions, responsive to the needs of the people, are put in place by the government and its cooperating partners to ensure that people-centred development and an overall improvement in the living standards of the people is achieved and also to provide the people with an opportunity to realise their full potential.

One area where civic engagement has been noted with tremendous records of success in the period stretching from the late 1990s is in the labour movement. Dzimbiri (2000: 17) notes that “though labour movements have been seen to have been in existence even during the early years after Zambia’s independence, their involvement in a number of activities has continued to be noted.” The labour movement in Zambia has continued to be a very necessary threat, and holds great muscle and power for action. There are notable ones present, such as the Civil Servants and Allied Workers Union of Zambia (CSAWUZ), the University of Zambia Lecturers and Researchers Union (UNZALARU), and the Federation for Free Trade Unions (FFTUZ), to mention but a few.

Zambian citizens, through these unions, have engaged the government on a number of critical issues with regards to the plight of the Zambian workers and other issues of national interest. It is therefore not surprising to see that this vibrancy has been met by gruesome and visible hostility towards trade unionism, which was characteristic of the first republic and continued in the post 1991 period under a once vibrant trade unionist in the name of second Republican President Fredrick Chiluba. Mumba (2010: 9) observes that “although Chiluba was recruited from the ranks of the working class where he led the Zambia Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU), his manner and practice after he took office had nothing to do with the workers.” He further adds that “at one time, he even threatened to deregister ZCTU and the CSAWUZ, thereby tremendously weakening the strength and position that was once enjoyed by the trade unions in the 1970s and 1980s.” The actions of the trade unions are one clear demonstration of civic engagement as it gives people to collectively engage the powers that be on matters that directly affect and concern them.
Civic engagement in Zambia has not been with the exclusion of faith-based institutions. These institutions have played a pivotal role in this arena and their activities have had a significant impact on the social, as well as political, development. Dzimbiri (2000) narrates that in the history of Zambia, religious organisations have continued to attract more attention from different institutions in the land as a conduit for civic engagement. This has, in turn, made them a powerful force in the national development process, as well as individual development. For instance, Sichone (1996: 123) provides evidence of the significant role of the church in the last days of the Kaunda’s rule, where the churches collectively launched a human rights campaign using the English language newspaper *The National Mirror* and the Bemba Language Catholic magazine *Icengelo*. These avenues helped exposed multiple misdeeds committed by government including instilling social inequalities, government corruption and violation of citizens’ basic rights under the state of emergency.

In the most recent past, the civil society in Zambia has been engaged in a number of policy-related activities. The most salient participation being in the formulation of the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) launched in 2002, as well as the formulation of the Fifth National Development Plan (FNDP), which was launched in 2006 and was aiming to come to completion in 2010 (Sichone, 1996). Civil society has also been very instrumental in the ongoing constitutional setting process, where they have continued sensitising the masses to the importance of the process and also continued providing checks and balances to the National Constitutional Conference (NCC), a body constituted to deliberate on the constitutional agenda setting process.

Civic engagement in the area of lobbying has decreased in recent times. Lobbying is an important act engagement on the part of the individual citizens. Robert (1991), states that only a few CSOs are actively dealing with lobbying work at the national level in Zambia. A number of civil organisations deal with what they see as immediate needs and the struggle for survival of people in their country. The most burning issues are poverty, debt relief, good governance, democracy and human rights. They do, however, find it very important to deal with other issues relevant to the international scene as well, not in the least, issues related to the economic globalisation and liberalism that can allow individual citizens to participate fully in a number of possible ways at the local level.
What is also worth noting and is evident in the history of Zambia (and indeed many other countries world over) is that the relationship between the government and civil society, although rather smooth with regard to issues of service delivery, has been confrontational or fragile, at least with regard to issues of good governance, participation and the rule of law asserts Robert (1991). In most cases, when it comes to issues that have to do with civil society’s advocacy for good governance and calls on the state to uphold the rule of law in the best interest of all citizens, it has tended to lead to an acrimonious relationship and misunderstandings with the state, whereby the civil society has often been perceived to be enemies of the state, rather than as partners in the development process of the country.

Habasonda (2010: 45) argues that:

The growing influence of CSOs in Zambia has affected the public perception of their roles and legitimacy in the governance of the country. These perceptions continue to shape the relations between the state and civil society which in some cases have been acrimonious. Many of these perceptions of misunderstanding are escalated through media exchanges and images. The contest appears to be basically rooted in the struggle for justice and fair play on one hand and preservation on the other in the political space.

Against this background, the purpose of this study is to provide an assessment of the trends in civic engagement/participation in Zambia. This study is very important in that the findings will bring out a clear picture of the extent of engagement and participation where it considers individuals who are members or volunteers of organisations or associations, the depth of engagement, which looks at how frequently people engage in civil society activities as well as the inclusiveness of CSOs as a platform for individual participation.

3.0 Research Methodology

3.1. Research design

This study was qualitative in nature and in order to accomplish the stated research objectives, a case study research strategy was adopted. Yin (1989: 1) defines a case study as “an empirical inquiry that (a) investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real life context, (b) the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident and in which (c) multiple sources of evidence are used.” In order to not only make it possible for a
broader and holistic understanding of the phenomenon under investigation, but also to make it easy for plausible analytical generalizations of the result, a number of case studies were looked at. The choice of the case study strategy was with due consideration that the phenomenon under investigation has dynamic characteristics, which cannot easily be understood through observations at a distance.

### 3.2 Sampling method

Purposive sampling was used to select five researchers acting in their own capacity as citizens, while being privileged and knowledgeable in their field of research and policy processes. According to Frankfort and Nachmias (2000:168) “purposive sampling (occasionally referred to as “judgment samples”) is used when researchers use their subjective judgment and attempt to select sampling units that appear to be representative of the population.” With this sampling method, the researcher has an opportunity to select respondents judged to be more representative of the subject under study, hence the choice of this sampling procedure in this particular study. Questionnaires were administered to the selected respondents from which information was collected. In addition to the self administered questionnaires used in the study, in-depth interviews using a well constructed interview schedule were conducted. These interviews allowed the respondents to express themselves freely and also gave the interviewer an opportunity to probe deeper on issues raised by respondents, while keeping the overall research hypothesis in mind. Additionally, the study also purposively selected three CSOs from three different provinces in Zambia, namely the Eastern, Luapula and Copperbelt regions from which the program officers were selected as principle respondents. These CSOs included Petauke District Women’s Association (Petauke DWA1), Mwense District Women’s Association (Mwense DWA2) and Advocacy on Human Development (AoHD3) respectively. The rationale behind the selection of the highlighted CSOs was that they provide platforms for civic engagement and act as umbrella civic organisations in their districts.

### 3.3 Data Analysis

Data collected was analyzed and interpreted qualitatively and no statistical package was used in the analysis. The data was processed according to themes, concepts, ideas, interactions and processes that emerged from the field, as well as reviewed literature. Explanations and
interpretations were made from the resulting texts to make meanings using a combination of content and narrative analyses. Being a case study, the researchers ensured that the findings remained within the everyday language of the participants.

3.4 Limitations

The study was characterized by a number of challenges, especially in terms of time and funding. For instance, much time was spent in soliciting responses from the participating organisations and individuals. Furthermore, making appointments with a variety of sources for obtaining secondary information was not an easy task; as most organisations, and staff in some libraries, were actively engaged in numerous other activities. Additionally, some participants viewed the study suspiciously, among many other reasons, such as the fear of having their views published in the public sphere. Consequently, some participants did not offer detailed information, as would have initially been desired. Other individuals coming from organisations cited legal considerations as the reason for them not availing comprehensive information. In order to address this limitation, the respondents were assured of strict confidentiality of the responses given and they were allowed to remain anonymous that is not to disclose their identity.

3.5 Presentation of findings

3.5.1 Civic engagement in Zambia

The findings of the study revealed a glaring lack of functional independency of state institutions, such as the Auditor General, the Anti-Corruption Commission, the Electoral Commission and the Judiciary impedes efforts to improve individual participation and integrity of individual citizens. The effectiveness of individuals is further limited by political influence. Respondents also commented that the current constitution guarantees so much power to the Presidency, thereby limiting wider participation in reforms meant to inspire confidence in the citizens. The other pressing challenge for individuals who are willing to take an active role in the various activities in the social and political arena is that initiatives to sensitize people on a myriad of issues are generally highly dependent on donors who are the major funders as CSOs do not attract any funding from the government for their activities. The implication of this is that where donor funds are in short supply, the activities of the
CSOs are hampered greatly. This has, therefore ruled out the assertion by certain segments of society that civic participation has generally been accorded the favourable environment for them to flourish by the state.

A respondent from Petauke District Women’s Association (DWA) stated that in the 2006 general elections, CSOs sent volunteer electoral observers to ensure free and fair elections. This has proved that CSOs do have considerable strength and influence to inspire active citizenship participation in governance issues, as well as democratic governance in general. For instance in April 2001, a range of individuals organised themselves spontaneously under a loose alliance of the Oasis Forum, that once pressurised the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) government not to amend the constitution to allow the president to run for the third term. Political analysts have observed that the pressure of individual citizens is, at times, so strong that government has no other choice than to listen and act.

In Mwense district, a respondent from the District Women’s Association emphasised the importance of civic participation in spite of the religion, age, ethnicity or socio-economic status of an individual involved. The argument is that participation enables an individual to deepen his or her comprehension of, and appreciation for, their community and the country, thereby making the ongoing process of social and political development stronger. Civic participation also tends to be an essential element in achieving and advancing the viable social and political objectives put up by the country.

In general, the respondents interviewed were of the view that individual citizens were not fully involved by the media in issues that relate to their political, economic and social wellbeing. Given that the media has an advantage of reaching out to a wide spectrum of the Zambian society through its coverage; it also needs to be the people’s mechanism for them to voice out their concerns. The views of most of the respondents interviewed was a serious call for the media to position itself to fully encourage and involve people in creating awareness on social and political issues, especially on the important matter of sensitizing the nation to electoral malpractices and other related aspects of bad practice. This prompted some respondents to state that civic involvement is an essential building block for a sound political environment in the country. The involvement of people in the political arena is critical to a socially advanced society.
Some of the respondents indicated the need to have better policies in the political and social arenas, which are supportive of the promotion of pro-poor development. They went on to suggest the need for channelling more resources in the provision of social services, such as health and education. On the policy front, the respondents appreciated the existence of good policy options, which can possibly provide an enabling environment; however this was hindered by poor implementation. At a broader perspective, there appeared an impressive picture of having a people-driven approach, which did not comprehensively exist, at least in an implementation form, to engender an inclusive dimension to development.

Generally, however, a lot of emphasis has been placed on the demographic characteristics of individual participants who tend to associate themselves with certain political or social activities in the country. Some of these demographic factors include among others socio-economic, gender and age features. Other factors have to do with ethnicity, religion and geographical locations. For instance, gender specific issues had far reaching, yet self-reinforcing, implications on civic engagement. This could be attributed to the socio-cultural engineering that seemed to put the womenfolk, for instance, in the perfect state of domestication, regardless of place and time. Suffice to mention this also provided one of the greatest challenges to CSOs who could not penetrate to so-called ‘gate keepers.’ However, the aspect that remained was the geographical or regional dimensions to civic engagement.

The findings in this case study are in tandem with the findings of the previous CSI survey on civic engagement (Civil Society Index, 2008). This is in the context of the now increasing civic engagement. This could be attributed, as highlighted through the literature, to the transformation of Zambia, both politically and economically. This has provided, at least, a benign environment for participation, and even for CSO articulation in national and specific matters.

This, therefore, provides an impression that the trends, in terms of civic participation in the Zambian context, are relative, although a few external factors may come in to influence the level of participation and engagement. For instance, Zambia as a country does not appear to operate in isolation. Rather, it is connected and perfectly embedded into the global governance system, and prevailing situations, calls and drives at that level are likely to influence happenings at context specific level; in this case, Zambia herself. Another case in question is a situation where there has been a call for good governance approaches and since
early 1980s, most regimes have tended to drift towards that line (Chigunta, F. 2009). This has been critical towards respect for human rights and, particularly in this case, civic engagement.

4.0 Recommendations

In view of the observed trends in civic engagements in Zambia, and the myriad of challenges that characterise it, the following are the recommendations from the study for both CSOs and individuals.

- There is need to strengthen dialogue between CSOs, government and the citizens at communal, district and provincial levels. This is especially important between people at the local level and the government, in order to enhance effective participation and representation of the citizenry in local planning and decision-making. This dialogue can be enhanced through collaborative efforts like joint sensitisation workshops by the CSOs and the agents of the state. The media can also play a significant role by providing a platform for interaction by the main stakeholders; this can be through the print or electronic media.

- Strengthen the capacities of civil society organisations that operate at national level to extend their representation and meaningful participation at all levels in order to capture individual participation and engagement in civic matters. This can be achieved by periodic provision of capacity building workshops to equip the people with information and skills needed to carry out their duties.

- There is need for continuous research and sensitisation programmes on civic engagement. More research will help in providing well balanced information on the actual situation on the ground and also help in developing new strategies to ensure increased participation by the citizens. This can be achieved by more donors coming in to provide funding for such important studies and programs.

4.1 Conclusion

Civil society, as the third sector, has engrossed itself in many issues of national interest at all levels, hence its recognition both locally and internationally. Civic engagement can thus be
said to be simultaneously a goal to aim for, a means to achieve it, and a framework for engaging with each other about ends and means. The idea of civic engagement can explain a great deal about the course of politics and social change, and serve as a practical framework for finding alternative solutions to social, economic and political problems in the country. They have, for a long period of time, contributed to major positive adjustments in the social and political spheres in Zambia. As has been demonstrated in the study, where CSOs have been active in the past, they have managed to foster change. In the case of the Kaunda era, civil society, led by the faith-based organisations and trade unions, were responsible for sensitising the masses on issues that concerned them. They also engaged the state in various issues of national interest. This role continued in the Chiluba regime, as they vehemently campaigned for respect of human rights and upholding the rule of law. The CSOs have also been active participants in the formulation of national policies; notable among such policies, have been the PRSP in 2002 and the FNDP in 2006. Civic engagement should also be understood with certain factors such as sustainability of CSOs, donor conditional ties, functional and depth of engagement.
Annex .1: Questionnaire

1. What is the significance of individuals participating in various political and social activities?

2. Describe the kind of environment in which civic participation or engagement takes place in Zambia?

3. Explain the extent to which people are involved in social and political activities?

4. Explain the levels of civic participation in terms of:
   a. Gender
   b. Age
   c. Socio-economic status
   d. Ethnicity
   e. Religion and
   f. Geographical region of an individual in Zambia?

5. Describe the effectiveness of civil society organisations in promoting civic participation?
Annex .2: Brief Profile of Organisation surveyed

1. The Petauke District Women Development Association (DWDA) is a registered non-profit, non-governmental organisation with a total membership of 1936, which are organized in 124 Women Development Groups. The association was formed in 1992. Petauke DWDA's mission is to empower rural women socially, economically, culturally, politically and legally.

2. Mwense District Women Association is a registered non-governmental organisation, based in Mwense district in Luapula province. The organisation’s missions are to empower the area’s women development associations with legal education, household and food security, awareness about governance issues, and legal education among other issues.

3. AoHD was formed on 13th January 2001. It is one of the non-governmental organisations based in Mufulira district on the Copperbelt province of Zambia. The organisation was formed specifically to work with different communities and other like-minded organisations to lobby and advocate for better, more sustainable community programmes. Its mission is to advocate and lobby for human rights, and to promote human development, through poverty alleviation, education and health.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


