MIXED MEMBER ELECTORAL SYSTEM COMMUNICATIONS TOOLKIT
**ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS**

**CSOs**.........................Civil Society Organizations

**CYLA-ZAMBIA**...................... Center for Young Leaders in Africa

**FPTPS**..................First-Past-the-Post-System

**MMES**..................Mixed Member Electoral System

**MMPS**..................Mixed Member Proportion System

**MP**..................Member of Parliament

**PR**....................Proportional Representation

**PwDs**.....................People with Disabilities

**ZAFOD**..................Zambia Federation of Disability Organizations

**ZMW**..................Zambian Kwacha

**ZNWL**..................Zambia National Women’s Lobby
PARTNERS

Center for Young Leaders in Africa - CYLA
CYLA is a non-profit young political leader’s volunteer organization established in Zambia in 2017. The Center is a platform that brings together young people from different political parties and other diverse backgrounds, to build capacity through interactive skill sharing in different aspects of life so that they can work together for a common purpose. CYLA’s vision is to see a Zambia in which empowered young political leaders, advance social transformation, peaceful coexistence and the consolidation of a multiparty democracy.

Zambia National Women’s Lobby – ZNWL
ZNWL is a membership non-partisan, non-governmental organization advocating for mainstreaming gender in all endeavors of national development and particularly advocating for increased women and girls’ participation and representation at all levels of political decision making. ZNWL’s mission is “to support Zambian women and girls to proactively take up leadership roles and actively participate in the development of the nation, through capacity building, policy advocacy and lobbying.”

Zambia Federation of Persons with Disabilities – ZAFOD
ZAFOD is a legally constituted national umbrella organization for disability organizations in Zambia and has a long history of work in the legal reform and human rights sector. With a membership of 12 organizations, the primary goal of the organization is to advocate for the promotion and protection of the rights of persons with disabilities. It has a vision of a society where persons with disabilities enjoy equal rights and opportunities and are necessary for the fundamental development of every human being.
“Alone you can do so little, together we can do so much” - Helen Keller
Leading Zambia Together is a campaign aiming at increasing the representation of marginalized groups of the Zambian society in the country’s current political space. The campaign is being undertaken on the canvas of low numbers in political positions of power by women, youth and persons with disabilities.

The approach is based on a vision to see a collectively led Zambia. Which, from the beginning of the campaign, will draw on in-depth conversations with duty-bearers and, who can change the laws governing our current election model from the First-Past-The-Post to a more inclusive system with the Mixed Member Electoral System that increases the chances of different marginalized groupings. Whilst our campaign primarily focuses on equal male and female representation, we also consider the wider context of persons with disabilities, youth, and women to inform our analysis.
OUR AIM

Raise Awareness and Sensitize stakeholders on MMES and its benefits.

To unify information on the proposed MMES model in Zambia.

Creating collaborative partnerships with key stakeholders to support an electoral system which provides for fair representation of all groups in Zambia.
ABOUT THIS TOOLKIT

This toolkit aims to provide essential guidance and ideas to its user to advocate for stronger political inclusion and representation of marginalized groups, i.e. women, youth and persons with disabilities, within Zambia’s electoral system.

The campaign focuses on raising awareness among primary and secondary target groups, and key stakeholders on the benefits of MMES to address the electoral system that does not adequately provide for the inclusion of young people, women and persons with disabilities in governance structures.

*This toolkit is to be used hand-in-hand with the key considerations in the position paper*
“I learned a long time ago the wisest thing I can do is be on my own side, be an advocate for myself and others like me.” - Maya Angelou.
UNDERSTAND IT
THE PROBLEM

Although there are provisions that ensure the political inclusion of marginalized groups in the Constitution, they are minimal, poorly implemented and not enforced. Specifically, women, youth and persons with disabilities (PWDs) have been excluded from politics in Zambia.

CONSEQUENCES

The lack of political representation, exclusion from political decision-making and limited influence in policy-making processes has led marginalized groups to being mis- and underrepresented. This misrepresentation is not only of their political needs, which directly impacts the quality of their livelihoods, but is also a democratic deficit.

BENEFITS

• Supports channels for strengthening of political party policies for inclusion, such as quotas

• Creates a platform for mentorship and coaching of aspiring young people, women and persons with disabilities for office

• Brings Zambia closer to achieving a better standard of democracy.
DEFINING MMES

An electoral system that is a combination and has characteristics of two or more electoral systems. Electoral systems that combine elements of different electoral systems. These combine a plurality/majoritarian voting system with an element of proportional representation. MMES in Zambia is a combination of FPTP and Parallel proportional representation system.

CURRENT PARLIAMENTARY SEATS (FPTP)

Has a Total of 167 Seats

• 156 are through a general election.
• 8 are by Presidential Appointment.
• 3 are ex-officio members. (Speaker/1st Deputy Speaker/Vice President).

PROPOSED NEW PARLIAMENTARY SEATS (MMES)

26 Youths

Will Have a Total of 227 Seats

• 3 are ex-official members.
• 8 are by Presidential Appointment
• 156 are through the Vote.
• Additional 60 PPr seats.

24 Women

10 PWDs
Below are provincial boundaries where MPs under PR will be drawn from

**Candidate Selection**
The process equally applies to persons with disabilities through organisations for persons with disabilities that exist in the provinces.

*The process equally applies to persons with disabilities through organizations for persons with disabilities that exist in the provinces*

**Electoral Districts Size**
Below are provincial boundaries where MPs under PR will be drawn from
KEY CHARACTERISTICS

THE MIX

A. An electoral system combination of Majoritarian/Plurality and Proportional representation.

B. Main features of the PR are those of a parallel system

C. A parliament where 40% of seats are secured through Proportional Representation Election system and 60% through First-Past-The-Post Election system

D. Election Results of PR election and FPTP election are not linked

E. PR and FPTP election to run side by side in a General election, using two separate types of ballots.

SEAT CATEGORIES

A. Constituency seats as guaranteed by the constitution

B. Proportional seats are in two tiers

- **Tier 1:** Elected Provincial Seats

- **Tier 2:** Appointed National Seats using the Largest Remainder Allocation Method, using the Hare Quota system of calculation and a 5% electoral threshold or the equivalent of the total number of registered voters in the smallest constituency to qualify to be considered for seat allocation.
POLITICAL PARTY AND ORGANIZATION OBLIGATIONS/REQUIREMENTS

A. Political Parties will develop and present a closed provincial list of youth and women candidates and a combined national list to the EMB

B. Parties mandated to put forward female and male youth

C. Organisations for Persons with disabilities will develop and present a Provincial and National list of candidates to the EMB.

D. Provide reasonable financing for the target groups to conduct election

STATE OBLIGATIONS/REQUIREMENTS

A. A constitution that creates the MMES

B. Subsidiary legislation that outlines the MMES framework
A ballot is a device used to cast votes in an election. Each voter uses one or more ballots which cannot be shared and can only be transferred through prescribed approval procedures. Governmental elections for elected representatives generally use pre printed ballots to protect the secrecy of the votes.

### BALLOT PAPER

**BALLOT PAPER (WOMEN PR ELECTION)**

**Instructions:** Mark your ballot with a pen. Follow the instructions on your ballot which tells you to mark your choices clearly with an “X” or fill in the oval with blue or black ink.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CANDIDATE IMAGE</th>
<th>CANDIDATE NAME</th>
<th>PARTY LOGO</th>
<th>NAME OF POLITICAL PARTY</th>
<th>MARK YOUR CHOICE “X”</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><img src="image" alt="Kiwi Lime" /></td>
<td>Kiwi Lime</td>
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<td>GRAPE PARTY</td>
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<td><img src="image" alt="Olive Peach" /></td>
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<td><img src="image" alt="Llama Calendula" /></td>
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<td>Lily Carnation</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Pineapple" /></td>
<td>PINEAPPLE PARTY</td>
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</table>
BALLOT PAPER
YOUTH PR ELECTION

Instructions: Mark your ballot with a pen. Follow the instructions on your ballot which tells you to mark your choices clearly with an "X" or fill in the oval with blue or black ink.

| CANDIDATE IMAGE | CANDIDATE NAME | PARTY LOGO | NAME OF POLITICAL PARTY | MARK YOUR CHOICE "X"
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<td>Indigo Lotus</td>
<td>![Grape Logo]</td>
<td>GRAPE PARTY</td>
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<tr>
<td>![Image]</td>
<td>Mabuyu Rose</td>
<td>![Orange Logo]</td>
<td>ORANGE PARTY</td>
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<td>Olive Peach</td>
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<td>LEMON PARTY</td>
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<td>PEAR PARTY</td>
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</table>
| ![Mabuyu Image](image) | **Mabuyu**  
**Mabuyu** | | |
| ![Peach Image](image) | **Peach**  
**Peach** | | |
GET INVOLVED
LEADING ZAMBIA TOGETHER
This means driving zambia’s developmental agenda forward through working side by side with all zambians without discrimination of male, female, youth, women, men and persons with disbalibilities.

ZIKO YA EQUAL
Translated to, a Nation whose citizens are equal. It strengthens our desire for a zambia that provides equal opportunities to all zambians including men, women, youth and persons with disabilities.

TONSE TILIPO CHE
translated to: all of us are just there. This means that in all sectors of our society, every interest group should be equitably represented by youth, women and persons with disabilities.
WHO DO WE NEED TO INFLUENCE

PARLIAMENTARIANS
Awareness and buy-in

WOMEN
Awareness & Sensitization

YOUTH
Awareness & Sensitization

PERSONS WITH DISABILITIES
Awareness & Sensitization

STRATEGIC PARTNERS
Alliance building and support

MEDIA
Advocacy partner

POLITICAL PARTIES
Strategic partner

STATE ACTORS (ECZ, ZLDC, MOJ)
Strategic partner
TAKE ACTION!

For each Leading Zambia together campaign demand, here are some example actions you could take

FOR ZIKO YA EQUAL YOU COULD:
- Organize a street performance or forum theatre
- Share infographics and promotional material on social media
- Rally and petition your local government (constituency office)
- Organize a workshop, event or festival for building and promoting youth leadership
- Organize a song/art/poetry competition
- Organize a march, rally or protest

FOR EQUAL REPRESENTATION YOU COULD
- Attend community engagements
- Follow these amazing people and organizations on social media
- Organize a Solidarity Walk
- Create some collective street art!
- Create traditional dance performances or circles to raise awareness

TAKE ACTION!
FOR EQUAL REPRESENTATION YOU COULD:

- Start an Instagram account that posts real-life examples of sexist gender stereotyping in adverts, film, TV etc. and encourage others to send in submissions (or join forces with someone who already does this).
- Share or create memes, videos or pictures that call out gender stereotyping in movies – use humour!
- Create a public art exhibition of marginalization stereotypes in the media, get others to add to it and engage the public
- Organize a poetry slam on Equal Representation
- Play sexist bingo with your friends and post your results online
- Petition media companies to do gender audits of their content

FOR EQUAL FREEDOM ONLINE YOU COULD:

- Organise a Twitter storm with your friends and networks on your issue
- Start an @’ing challenge on Twitter, Facebook or Instagram (@’ing friends or celebrities to get involved in your message and tag others)
- Spark a TikTok video trend and get others involved
- Engage social media gurus or influencers to speak up about Freedom Online on their channels
- Create a “day in the life of a youth activist #Freedom Online” on IGTV
- Organise peer-to-peer trainings
- Create Facebook safe spaces for youth- and young women and persons with disabilities
# Communication Channels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Secondary Target</th>
<th>Primary Target</th>
<th>Strategic Partners</th>
<th>Media</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Youth, women, persons with disabilities, state and non-state actors general public</td>
<td>Parliamentary Submissions</td>
<td>Social Media</td>
<td>Press Briefing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Media</td>
<td>Press Statement</td>
<td>Email/Newsletter</td>
<td>Workshops</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radio and Television</td>
<td>Interpersonal Communication</td>
<td>Interpersonal Communication</td>
<td>Press statement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Engagement</td>
<td>Presentations</td>
<td>Workshops</td>
<td>Radio and Television</td>
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<tr>
<td>Flyers/brochures</td>
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**Diagram:**

- Connection
- People
- Message
- Media
## TALKING POINTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>QUESTIONS</th>
<th>RESPONSES</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>What is MMES?</td>
<td>Our election systems deal with the way we elect our political representatives. They dictate who and how our politician gets elected. Like our existing FPTP system, whoever gets the most votes wins the election in that constituency. A MMES does not change these FPTP seats, because voters are already familiar with this process. Rather, it adds additional proportional representation seats to parliament within that system, allowing for better political inclusion and representation of women, youths and Persons With Disabilities (PWD). So a MMES is a system that expands who is elected and how it combines different ways to choose politicians that represent us.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Why is MMES necessary?</td>
<td>The current FPTP system has been in use in Zambia since 1990. However, since then marginalized groups have consistently been politically excluded. Currently, only 16% of parliament consists of youth, 3% have a disability and only 16% are women. Yet women make up more than 50% of the population, as do youth and roughly 15% of the population in Zambia are PWD. This historic wrong has to be corrected. It is time that marginalized groups get a seat at the table and are included in the political decisions that affect their lives. That is why we are proposing adding extra seats that are reserved specifically for marginalized groups.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Why are you proposing a MMES? Why is a change necessary?</td>
<td>During the past decade many experts, organizations and constitutional review committees have recommended strengthening Zambia’s election system. However, unfortunately to date no improvements have been made. Marginalized groups need to have their voices heard, and are currently excluded from political decision-making. Through a MMES we can ensure their political inclusion and representation improves. - There is high public support for better inclusion and representation of marginalized groups; in a nationwide survey in July 2019, 78% of Zambians approved of providing additional seats in parliament for women, youth and persons with disabilities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How will this model work?</td>
<td>There will be 60 additional seats added in parliament for marginalized groups; 26 seats for youths, 24 for women and 10 for Persons living with disabilities. - Voters will use two ballots, one for voting for their FPTP candidate. As they currently do during elections. And another ballot will be added to vote for PR seats in each province. Each province will have two youth seats, two women seats and one seat for PWDs. - Voters will vote for the party and not an individual.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How does MMES benefit Zambians?</td>
<td>Democratic countries perform better when everyone is involved with political decision-making, both socially and economically. When people are excluded from political decision-making it deepens existing inequalities and marginalization and they risk becoming apathetic and cynical about its political process. Building resentment and frustration. When included, political decisions become more balanced, inclusive and diverse. Ensuring a seat at the table ensures that political policies, solutions and decisions are tailored to the needs and expectations of all citizens. Not just a select few.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QUESTIONS</td>
<td>RESPONSES</td>
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<tr>
<td>Elections are already expensive. Why add more seats to parliament?</td>
<td>We want to make sure that any additional costs will be reasonable. However, we have seen that marginalized groups continue to be politically excluded in the current system, which is why adding a minimum amount of seats for them is the least we can ask. Also, the benefit of including marginalized groups in political decision making is worth a minor investment from the Zambian people don't you agree? And we have also limited the number of added additional seats, to keep any additional costs reasonable.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is a MMES Bill 10 brought in differently?</td>
<td>A MMES was a very minor part of Bill 10. However, this advocacy is unrelated to Bill 10. A call for a MMES and the work many CSOs have done to improve the political participation and representation of marginalized groups long preceded Bill 10. It is a system aimed at improving the political participation and representation of marginalized groups in Zambia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Will this system work in Zambia? Is it suitable for Zambia?</td>
<td>Different types of MMESs are in use throughout the world, including in several sub-Saharan countries. We are confident it is suitable for the Zambian context. Moreover, it improves the current system without changing the entire existing election processes and infrastructure.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Why don't you force political parties to include more marginalized groups and field more candidates from those groups during elections? Rather than changing the system</td>
<td>Experience has shown that inclusion of marginalized groups is extremely difficult under the current system. The last 30 years have not led to any significant improvements of the inclusion of marginalized groups. Therefore, it is better to ensure a system that guarantees their inclusion rather than trying to tinker with marginal improvements of the existing system.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Why shouldn’t marginalized groups try and win seats under FPTP? Why do they need a separate system?</td>
<td>There are numerous challenges to marginalized groups running under FPTP seats. They are often excluded from candidate selection processes, have less access to resources necessary to run for office, and are faced with traditional beliefs and attitudes from voters. Also, experience from the past 30 years shows that marginalized groups simply are not included. Therefore, it is better to ensure a system that guarantees their inclusion rather than trying to expect the existing system to resolve the challenges.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SOCIAL MEDIA CONTENT

Here are the important details to keep in mind:

Tag us!

@cyla_zambia

@ZambiaCyla

Cyla – Zambia

Facebook Center for Young Leaders – Zambia

When you post use the hashtag
#LeadingZambiaTogether

You can also use the secondary hashtags
#ZikoYaEqual #Pezekapo #TonseTilipo

SAMPLE POSTS

Marginalized groups in Zambia such as persons with disabilities continue to face discrimination and exclusion from political and public life. This has restricted them from participating in society on an equal basis.
#LeadingZambiaTogether #ZikoYaEqual

A mixed member electoral system electoral system that ensures better political inclusion and representation of marginalized groups.
#LeadingZambiaTogether #TonseTilipo

A mixed member electoral system that would benefit the political inclusion and representation of marginalized groups such as women, youth and persons with disabilities. This is a call to #LeadZambiaTogether

Societies cannot thrive if they structurally exclude women, youth and persons with disabilities. The only way forward is if we #LeadZambiaTogether through a mixed member electoral system. #TonseTilipo

Over 75% of Zambia’s population is made up of the under 35 years. However, they only account for a mere 1.8% of the total number of MPs. The leaders of tomorrow need to be included to #LeadZambiaTogether
MEDIA RECOMMENDATIONS

Interacting with the press and media outlets can be intimidating and a bit overwhelming if you don’t feel well-prepared. Here are some tips for your next interview. In addition to these basic guidelines, we recommend getting media training from your Press Relations or Communicationsteam.

What to do

It’s a good idea to do some prep work in advance of your interview. Try to understand what the reporter is interested in learning and writing about, so you can be prepared to answer their questions concisely and without needing to follow up. This will also lead to a better, more engaging dialogue - and as a result, a more interesting article that showcases your work effectively.

Understand what is on and off limits for you to discuss. While you’re talking to a reporter, everything you say can and may be used in their story, so make sure you aren’t revealing something that is meant to stay internal.

What NOT to do

Don’t read from a script. Be prepared with data and anecdotes to support your main points but allow the conversation to flow easily and casually. An interview and a press conference are two different things. Don’t forget that the reporter’s motives for the interview are likely different from yours. While reporters are not “out to get you,” they are looking for the most interesting angle from which to write their story. Their job and responsibility is to produce something newsworthy for their editors and audience - whether or not it benefits you.

Try not to get flustered. Have a line prepared to change the topic or move on from it if the reporter brings up a subject you were not prepared to discuss or that you are not able to talk about publicly. If you notice yourself getting nervous, just take a deep breath and try to relax. And always make sure to be polite and remain calm during interviews.
“Every great dream begins with a dreamer. Always remember, you have within you the strength, the patience and the passion to reach for the stars to change the world.” - Harriet Tubman.
Now, let’s get to work!

Share this toolkit with your friends, groups and networks!

Take action online: check out the digital toolkit here

We would like to say a BIG thank you to all the activists and political players across the country who helped to design this toolkit and have joined the fight for Ziko Ya Equal.