



# **SUSTAINING WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IN MALAWI:**

**POST ELECTION COLLABORATION OF THE WOMEN'S  
PARLIAMENTARY CAUCUS, CSO'S AND GRASSROOTS  
WOMEN'S GROUPS**

**INTERIM REPORT MAY 2019—JUNE 2020**



# INTRODUCTION

Since 2014, Oxfam has been working with the Women's Caucus of the Malawi Parliament in championing gender related laws and women's rights issues. Following the partnership, Oxfam has from 2017 been supporting the 50:50 campaign to promote women's political transformational leadership. Leading up to the May 21, 2019 Tripartite Elections, Oxfam with support from Irish Aid, Oxfam Ireland, Electric Aid and Oxfam US ran a 50:50 ELECT HER media and constituency-based campaign that targeted all the 32 women MPs (2014-2019 Parliament) with various forms of support, the campaign also reached out to some aspiring women MPs. Of the sitting 32 Women MPs, 14 retained their parliamentary seats – beating previous retention records and the total number of female parliamentarians rose to 45, representing a 37.5 percentage increase from the previous election – a highest record since the advent of multiparty democracy in the country.

In line with the electoral cycle approach, Oxfam and its partners embarked on a **RETAIN HER** campaign to ensure that as many women MPs as possible can maintain their seats in the next general election. As part of this process, in July 2019, Oxfam convened a working breakfast meeting to celebrate the 45 elected MPs (14 retained and 31 newly elected) and to provide a platform for Oxfam, its partners and the female parliamentarians to discuss areas of collaboration and map a way forward on support needed to strengthen their roles as MPs and collectively as the Women's Caucus for the next five years. The co-creation meeting identified short- and medium-term areas to work on (2019- 2022) and long term/pre-election support (2023- 2024).

Following the breakfast meeting with women MPs, Oxfam in Malawi is implementing twin campaigns on Ending Violence Against Women and Girls (EVAWG) and the 50:50 Elect Her and Retain Her campaign which seeks to promote women's agency and women's political leadership. The constituency-based twin campaigns are promoting movement building for women's rights through constituency and grassroots mobilization. This is being done through interface meetings between women parliamentarians and grassroots structures.



## PROJECT INFORMATION

### KEY DONORS:

Irish Aid, Oxfam Ireland, Oxfam US, Oxfam Great Britain  
Electric Aid and RTE

### OXFAM PARTNERS IN WOMEN'S RIGHTS WORK:

Girls Empowerment Network (GENET); Centre for Alternatives for Victimized Women and Children (CAVWOC); Family Planning Association of Malawi (FPAM); Network for Youth Development (NFYD); Women's Legal Resources Centre (WOLREC); NGO-Gender Coordination Network; IPAS; Christian Aid; PACENET; Rural Women's Assembly; Plan International; Westminster Foundation for Democracy

These engagements achieved the following:

- Increased awareness of women's rights at grassroots level especially ending gender-based violence, promoting girl's education and sexual and reproductive health rights for young people through the various forms of media
- Improved connections between grassroots women's organizations and duty bearers promoting accountability through the interface meetings. This strengthened women's movement at grassroots level through dissemination of the Women's Manifesto and creation of linkages among women's groups
- Female parliamentarians increased capacity in women's rights issues through the sensitizations done through the EVAWG campaigns.

This interim report highlights key achievements in post-electoral support to the Women's Caucus, following the May 2019 elections.

## KEY HIGHLIGHTS



**110,000** women, men, girls and boys (at least 2,500 per constituency) directly or indirectly benefited from the constituency engagements. 60% of these beneficiaries were rural based women and girls.



**225** teen mothers provided with a bicycle, solar lamp for reading and a school bag to support their continued attendance in school



**82%** **37** out of **45** female parliamentarians' constituencies reached—representing 82% reach\*



**740** village chiefs and other local leaders recognized as EVAWG champions to carry and sustain the campaign at community level

\*Due to COVID-19 the scheduled campaigns in the 8 remaining constituencies were cancelled after Malawi Government banned any public gathering exceeding 100 people. Some MPs have received materials which they distributed in smaller gathering and other MPs will schedule their campaigns later.



### **OUTCOME 1: INCREASED AWARENESS OF WOMEN'S RIGHTS AT GRASSROOTS LEVEL ESPECIALLY ENDING GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE, PROMOTING GIRL'S EDUCATION AND SEXUAL AND REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH RIGHTS FOR YOUNG PEOPLE THROUGH THE VARIOUS FORMS OF MEDIA**

The female MPs used the campaigns to deliver development messages on gender-based violence laws, girls' education and ending violence against women and girls. Being women leaders, the community members, especially women, regarded them as change makers and challengers of negative socio norms deeply rooted in the constituencies. Community members appreciated that the Parliamentarians dedicated time for sensitizing the constituencies EVAWG on gender related laws. The female MPs supported each other in the campaigns and were role models to women who aspire towards political leadership positions in the constituency and also role models for girls. Some female MPs invited other role models to mentor girls in different professions. These were drawn from private sector, teaching, nursing and military professions.

### **OUTCOME 2: IMPROVED CONNECTIONS BETWEEN GRASSROOTS WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS AND DUTY BEARERS PROMOTING ACCOUNTABILITY THROUGH THE INTERFACE MEETINGS.**

The campaigns provided an interface between duty bearers such as the MPs and other government officials and rights holders. The female MPs used the platforms to inform the citizens on the laws passed in parliament and critically the provisions that the 2019/2020 budget has made and how this impacts their constituencies. The MPs also elaborated on the plans for the Constituency Development Fund. In all the visited constituencies, community members raised issues on critical development initiatives which they wanted the MPs to be aware of. These included water supply, especially provision of boreholes and piped water, rehabilitation of bridges, construction of safety shelters for sexual and gender based violence survivors, construction of girls' hostels and provision of beds and mattresses in secondary boarding facilities and rehabilitation of health centres. The Women MPs expressed interest to be gender responsive and support the constituencies with development projects that support women

and girls and other vulnerable groups to attain their practical and strategic needs. Oxfam and partners want to continue supporting these women MPs with linkages to support for the micro projects. At time of writing the report, Oxfam Ireland had linked two constituencies with sources of support for drilling of a borehole in each constituency to support women and households with clean and safe water.

In most constituencies, the campaigns women MPs and Oxfam held were the first time gathering that female parliamentarians interfaced with their constituents since elections in May 2019. At least 90% of the MPs stressed that these kinds of engagements are usually done during campaigns close to elections and not immediately after elections. They indicated that this engagement has raised the trust between their constituents and the MPs. The campaigns further helped in improving visibility for the female MPs especially the new ones that had been elected in May 2019 and the platforms enhanced their interface with the grassroots.

### **OUTCOME 3: FEMALE PARLIAMENTARIANS INCREASED CAPACITY IN WOMEN'S RIGHTS**

Along with the constituency campaigns where messages on GBV and girls education were shared by the MPs and their peers, one of the recommendations that emanated from the breakfast meeting was to hold a capacity development workshop for the MPs to sharpen their skills in identified areas of need. In February 2020, a consortium of 12 CSOs led by Oxfam, and comprising of WOLREC, NGO-GCN, GENET, NFYD, Christian Aid, IPAS, PACENET, Rural Women's Assembly, Plan International, CAVWOC and Westminster Foundation for Democracy organized a three-day workshop and retreat for the women's. The workshop was attended by 41 of the 45 female parliamentarians, the former Minister of Gender, Children, Disability and Social Welfare, Hon. Mary Thom Navicha, Speaker of Parliament Right Honorable Catherine Gotani Hara, 2nd Deputy Speaker Hon Aisha Adams, British High Commissioner H. E. Holly Tett, Professor of Democracy and Oxfam Great Britain Trustee, Nic Cheeseman, MP for Glasgow North East in Scotland, Anne McLaughlin, and participants from CSOs and private sector. Sessions included: the role of women MPs in Malawi's



Participants at the Parliamentary Women's Caucus Retreat held in February 2020 at Sunbird Nkopola Lodge.



democracy and governance, women's leadership, how to increase the impact of women within parliament, women leaders' resilience, wealth creation and value-based leadership, financial literacy, working with the media, working on common agendas to further gender equality and inclusion and dialogue between women's caucus and CSOs.

## CHALLENGES AND SOLUTIONS MADE

Suspension of campaigns due to Covid-19. In compliance with the government directive, further constituency campaigns were halted. All materials purchased for the remaining constituencies were handed over to the MPs to distribute in line with the government regulations of meetings of no more than 100 people at any given time. MPs were asked to further scale down activities to just involve the learners to receive items and a few selected witnesses – volunteers, chiefs and parents. MPs instituted hand washing stations at the event and practiced social distancing.

## CONCLUSION

Oxfam and partners- WOLREC, NGO-GCN, Girls Empowerment Network, Network for Youth and Development, Christian Aid, IPAS, PACENET, Rural Women's Assembly, Plan International, CAVWOC and Westminster Foundation for Democracy participated in post-election support to both newly elected female members of parliament and those that retained their seats. The program revealed that Oxfam and partners were the early adopters of post-election support evidenced by the feedback from the female MPs as well as constituency members. Key findings from the project indicate that there is a great opportunity on the role female MPs play in the constituency in relation to EVAWG and girls' education. The project created demand on awareness raising as many constituency members requested holding the EVAWG campaigns in other parts of the constituency. Furthermore, the number of teen mothers in the constituencies was overwhelming compared to the five teen mothers per constituency that the programme supported. This clearly shows that there is need for further investments in EVAWG and girls'



**Top row (left to right):** Right Hon. Catherine Gotani Hara, Speaker of Malawi Parliament, making her remarks at the Parliamentary Women's Caucus (PWC) Retreat held in February 2020; Former Minister of Gender, Children, Disability and Social Welfare Hon. Mary Navicha MP giving her remarks at the retreat; Oxfam in Malawi Country Director, Lingalireni Mihowa, making her welcome remarks at the retreat **Middle row (left to right):** Cross-party panel discussion on women leaders' resilience at the retreat; EVAWG and 50:50 constituency campaigns in the constituency of 2nd Deputy Speaker of Parliament Hon. Aisha Adams; Hon Gladys Nankhumwa (wearing a school uniform) joined by fellow women MPs to promote girls' education at a grassroots level **Bottom row (left to right):** Women MPs at EVAWG 50:50 constituency campaigns in Hon Victoria Kingstone's constituency in Mangochi district; EVAWG and 50:50 campaigns in the constituency of Rachel Mazobwe Zulu, Mchinji district; Local traditional leaders champion EVAWG campaign in Hon Nancy Chaola's constituency in Ntcheu district with Oxfam EVAWG ambassador Her Royal Highness wife of Paramount Chief Gomani (back row, centre) and Oxfam Country Director, Lingalireni Mihowa (centre-left)



education projects. Though Oxfam and partners have made great gains within a year since the May 2019 tripartite elections, there is need to continue investment in the women's caucus to sustain the gains that have been made especially through community engagement with women's groups and local government women leaders.

## WAY FORWARD/ LESSONS LEARNT/ RECOMMENDATIONS

- Oxfam to continue fundraising from donors on supporting infrastructural development projects in the female MPs constituencies. There was good communication with the women caucus of parliament on the program and the caucus supported planning and delivery of the sessions. Some of the caucus members participated as panellists and moderators of some sessions which demonstrated ownership of the process.

- There are more teen mothers in the constituencies and Oxfam views this as an area to mobilise more stakeholders to support.
- Oxfam to continue fundraising donors on supporting micro development projects in the female MPs constituencies, and extend to women councillors.
- Working with Traditional Leaders as EAWG champions has proven to be a sustainable way of challenging negative socio norms which are the key drivers of gender inequalities in Malawi. Oxfam in Malawi will continue to use challenging/addressing negative socio-norms approach across its three focus areas of Ending Violence Against Women and Girls, promoting women's and girls' leadership and girls' education.

### LINKS & RESOURCES

Click here to access pictures, news articles and media links: <https://oxfam.box.com/s/25ftql2qeujupj2q96goakirj884thm0>



**Top row (left to right):** Female MPs at a study visit to Scotland in October 2019 supported by Westminster Foundation for Democracy; Oxfam engages rural women's assembly from Mulanje, Thyolo and Phalombe districts on the women's manifesto with Oxfam EAWG ambassador, Senior Chief Chikumbu; women in rural Lilongwe engage with MPs on women's manifesto; **Middle row (left to right):** Teen mothers receive their bicycles in Mangochi central; Ms Stella Wella an official from the Gender Ministry in the constituency of Hon Jean Sendeza, Lilongwe South West; Hon. Bongwe holds EAWG, 5050 campaign in Zomba Likangala; **Bottom row (left to right):** Oxfam engages with Female MPs at Parliamentary Women's Caucus meeting with women's rights stakeholders; Handover of Irrigation scheme to Cyclone Idai survivors in Phalombe district joined by Hon. Mary Mpanga; Oxfam hands over mattresses to girls hostel in Ntaja CDSS, Mchinji district in the constituency of Hon. Jolobala, with funding from Oxfam America.

## ANNEX 1: KEY AGREEMENTS FROM WOMEN'S CAUCUS RETREAT



### **“WOMEN’S LEADERSHIP WITH A DIFFERENCE” KEY AGREEMENTS FROM THE RETREAT**



At least the following are the major agreements that were made during the Women’s Caucus Retreat held on 21st-23rd February 2020 at Nkopola Lodge in Magochi. Parliamentary Women’s Caucus support was agreed around the following areas:

#### **1. Consortium to support in:**

- Provisional of additional support and in-depth training in Proposal Writing
- Extensive training in engagement with and use of the media, public speaking, presentation
- Linkages to private sector – on information in Investments on the market and personal finance management.
- Additional group and one on one support for Self-care including etiquette
- Technical briefs to support women MPs on deliberations on some bills
- Lobbying on some bills and policies
- More information on Consortium Members work and collaboration

#### **2. The Ministry to provide leadership in:**

- Support to re-engage the discussion on Affirmative action, including Electoral Reforms to introduce gender quotas in order to increase more women in Parliament.
- Strategic engagement with Political Parties on women’s representation and participation, and reflections on the structure of primary elections systems in political parties

#### **3. Parliament to provide leadership in:**

- Strategic representation of Women MPs in Parliamentary Committees
- Support on Personal Development including but not limited to improving academic qualification, professional qualifications and continuing skills development.





## ANNEX 2: DETAILS OF CONSTITUENCIES REACHED TO DATE (31<sup>ST</sup> MARCH 2020)

Number	Date	Member of Parliament & Name of Constituency	Campaign venue	Guests that attended the event	Key issues that communities engaged on
1	5 <sup>th</sup> December, 2019	Balaka West: Hon Bertha Ndebele	Pitaka Court House, T/A Chanthunya	DPP Eastern region Women Director Mayi Kandewu	Support towards girl's education through construction of hostels and provision of bicycles to ease mobility
2	12 <sup>th</sup> December, 2019	Lilongwe North: Hon Monica Chayang'anamuno	Kabudula CCAP Church Hall	Hon Kathumba and Hon Chapota	- Upgrading school blocks that were constructed by community members through provision of timber and Iron sheets
3	17 <sup>th</sup> December, 2019	Lilongwe Mapuyu South: Hon Esther Kathumba	Ming'onga Health Centre	Hon Chapota & Hon. Chayang'anamuno	- Provision of water through drilling boreholes
4	18 <sup>th</sup> December, 2019	Mchinji South: Hon Agnes Nkusankhoma	Waliranji CDSS Ground	2 Female Councilors of the District	Upgrading poled bridges that were constructed by community members through provision of cement, quarry stones and steel bars
5	19 <sup>th</sup> December, 2019	Lilongwe Msozi South: Hon Liana Chapota	Khombe Primary School Ground	Hon Chayang'anamuno (LL North) and Hon. E. Kathumba (Mapuyu South)	Need to support community volunteers to tackle child marriage Construction of additional school blocks and boreholes
6	14 <sup>th</sup> January, 2020	Dowa South East, Hon Halima Daud	Chuzu Primary School ground	Hon Liana Chapota (LL Msozi South), Hon Chayang'anamuno (LL North) and T/A Chuzu	- Construction of a bridge since children are swept away when crossing during the rainy season.  - Empowerment of community volunteers
7	21 <sup>st</sup> January, 2020	Hon. Lynna Tambala, Mulanje North	Masangwani Admarc Depot	Hon Mary Mpanga (PE South) & Hon Ebbie Mathanda (MJ Pasani)	- Construction of health post in Mombezi ward as the pregnant mothers deliver at home due to difficult crossing rivers to Ngolelo Health Centre on Zomba side during rainy season.
8	22 <sup>nd</sup> January, 2020	Ntchisi North, Hon Jacqueline Chikuta	Malomo ground at T/A Headquarters	Hon. Chayang'anamuno	- Support on training community volunteers on child marriages.  - Support on construction of community halls
9	22 <sup>nd</sup> January, 2020	Mulanje South East, Hon Kilekwa	Vonken CDSS Hall	Hon. Lynna Tambala, Mulanje North	- Provision of water through drilling boreholes - Honorable member supporting girls' education through bursary scheme she initiated.
10	22 <sup>nd</sup> January, 2020	Mulanje Pasani, Hon Ebbie Mathanda	Chambe community Hall, T/A Nkanda	Hon. Lynna Tambala, Mulanje North	Construction of boreholes and gravity fed piped water.
11	23 <sup>rd</sup> January, 2020	Chikhwawa West, Hon Susan Dossi	Kakoma CDSS, T/A Chapananga	Hon Mary Mpanga (Phalombe South) & Hon Roseby Gadama (Zomba Malosa)	-Construction of a girl's hostel and school all hall at Kakoma Community day secondary
12	24 <sup>th</sup> January, 2020	Chikhwawa Nkombedzi, Hon Abida Sidik Mia	Mia's Residence	MCP District Governess Chikwawa	- Construction of safety shelters for SGBV victims

Number	Date	Member of Parliament & Name of Constituency	Campaign venue	Guests that attended the event	Key issues that communities engaged on
13	15 <sup>th</sup> February 2020	Nsanje South West Hon Eurita Ntiza Valeta	Nsanje Boma Prison Ground	Party Director of Women for Nsanje District	Support towards girls' education through bursary scheme
14	21 <sup>st</sup> February 2020	Mangochi East Hon Francesca Masamba Theula	Kwilembe Primary School Ground, Mangochi East Constituency	Hon Anne McLaughlin: MP for Glasgow North East Anne  Pansi Katenga Country Director IPAS  Linga Mihowa, Country Director Oxfam	Support on construction of girls hotels to promote girls education
15	22 <sup>nd</sup> February 2020	Hon Victoria Kingstone Mangochi Central Constituency	Makawa Primary School Ground, Mangochi Central Constituency	Hon Martha Lunji, MP for Nkhotakota South East Constituency  Hon Nancy Chaola, MP for Ntcheu Bwanje  Hon Francesca Theula Masamba MP for Mangochi East  Hon Susan Ndalama MP for Blantyre rural east  Hon Bertha Ndebele MP for Balaka West  Hon Joyce Chitsulo MP for Mwanza West  Hon Susan Dossi, MP for Chinkhwawa West	Support on construction of girls hotels to promote girls education Construction of girls change rooms
16	19 February 2020	Hon Jean Sendeza, Lilongwe South west	Mpingu Primary School	Hon Nancy Tembo  Hon Liana Chapota  Hon Agness Nkusankhoma	Continue support of girls to go back to school through books, school uniforms Construction of school blocks
17	23 <sup>rd</sup> February 2020	Hon Aisha Adams, Mangochi Nkungulu	Nkungulu Chief's ground	Hon Naomi Kilekwa  Oxfam Country Director Ms Linga Mihowa	Construction of school blocks and wash rooms
18	10 <sup>th</sup> March 2020	Hon Olipa Chimangeni, Ntchisi North East	Chisonga Ground	MCP Regional Chairperson	Electricity at schools for students to be able to read at night Mobile phone network to enhance communication in the area
19	11 March 2020	Hon Esther Majaza, Mchinji North East	Gandali Primary School	Hon Martha Mzomera Ngwira, Deputy Minister of Education	Strengthening of police unit to respond to VAWG issues



Number	Date	Member of Parliament & Name of Constituency	Campaign venue	Guests that attended the event	Key issues that communities engaged on
20	11 <sup>th</sup> March 2020	Hon Rachael Mazobwe Zulu, Mchinji North	Kawere school ground	Hon Jean Sendeza Hon Liana Chapota	Construction of secondary school Construction of girls hostels
21	12 <sup>th</sup> March 2020	Hon Lonnie Chijere Phiri, Zomba Chingale	Namsambo Primary School	Hon Mcheka Chilenje, Former Deputy Speaker  Hon Grace Kwelepeta, Deputy Minister of Gender  Hon Abigail Bongwe	Construction of girls hostels and school blocks Support with school fees for girls to continue with their education
22	13 <sup>th</sup> March 2020	Hon Abigail Bongwe, Zomba Likangala	Chiphoola Primary School	Hon Grace Kwelepeta, Deputy Minister of Gender  Hon Lonnie Chijere, Chairperson of Womens Caucus  Hon Roseby Gadama	Support more chiefs to champion Evawg at community level Support volunteers with required capacity and tools
23	17 <sup>th</sup> March 2020	Hon Joyce Chitsulo, Mwanza West	Thetula Primary School	Hon Lonnie Chijere Phiri, Chairperson of Women's Caucus	Support girls with school uniforms Support sports for development Support with food stocks because the area is experiencing hunger
24	21 <sup>st</sup> March 2020	Hon Gertrude Nankhumwa, Blantyre Kabula	Namatete Primary School	Hon Mcheka Chilenje, Former Deputy Speaker  Hon Eurita Valeta  Hon Abigail Bongwe	Support girls with WASH necessities to finish school Construction of youth centres
25	23 <sup>rd</sup> March 2020	Hon Mary Thom Navicha, Thyolo Thava	Thyolo Thava	Host MP	Water for health centres  Girls education bursaries
26	28 <sup>th</sup> February, 2010	Hon Nancy Tembo	Lilongwe City South West	Hon Nancy Chaola Hon. Chayang'anamuno Hon Rachel Zulu Hon Mambala Hon Jacqueline Chikuta	Anti-SGBV clubs in urban schools  Bursaries for students
27	1 <sup>st</sup> March, 2020	Hon Esther Jolobala,	Machinga East	Hon. Sendeza, Hon. Chayang'anamuno, Hon. Majaza, Hon. Chapota	Ntaja to Nauchi road Boarding facilities in Community Day Secondary School ( CDSS)
28	2 <sup>nd</sup> March, 2020	Hon Roseby Gadama, Zomba Thondwe	Mulinga Primary School	Hon. Nancy Chaola	Boarding facilities in CDSS Upgrading of bridges Projects on ending violence
29	4 <sup>th</sup> March, 2020	Hon Fyness Mangonjwa	Machinga East	Host MP	Boarding facilities for girls in CDSS Water supply project

Number	Date	Member of Parliament & Name of Constituency	Campaign venue	Guests that attended the event	Key issues that communities engaged on
30	14 <sup>th</sup> March, 2020	Hon Martha Mzomera Ngwira	Mzimba Hora, Chisengézi school	Hon. Wezi Gondwe	Water supply projects Projects on ending VAWG
31	15 <sup>th</sup> March, 2020	Hon Wezi Gondwe	Mzimba East, Ulida school	Hon. Mzomera Ngwira, Deputy Minister of Education	Water supply and rehabilitation of bridges
32	17 <sup>th</sup> March, 2020	Hon Martha Lunji Mhone	Nkhotakota South East	Hon. Mary Mpanga	Water Supply rehabilitation of bridges
33	12 <sup>th</sup> March, 2020	Hon Anna Kachikho	Phalombe North, Khongoloni School	Oxfam Country Director Linga Mihowa	Winter Cropping Inputs Girls Bicycles and bursaries
34	13 <sup>th</sup> March, 2020	Hon Nancy Chaola	Ntcheu Bwanje North	Inkosikazi Gomani ( wife of Paramount Chief) Hon. Esther Mcheka Chilenje Hon Liana Tambala Hon Rachel Mazombwe Zulu	Girls Scholarships Water Provision Training of Chiefs spouses in anti GBV campaigns
35	11 <sup>th</sup> March, 2020	Hon Grace Kwelepeteta	Zomba Malosa	Senior Chief Malemia  Hon. Nancy Chaola Hon Lonnie Chijere Phiri  Hon. Gadama	Girls Scholarships  Youth loan schemes
36	22 <sup>nd</sup> March 2020	Hon Susan Ndalama, Blantyre Rural West	Blantyre Kabula	Host MP	Maintenance of Bridges  Girls Scholarships
37	24 <sup>th</sup> March, 2020	Hon Mcheka Chilenje	Nsanje North	Host MP	Water Provision  Irrigation Schemes





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