



UNIVERSITY OF BERGEN

Department of Government

AORG350

Master's Thesis in Administration and Organizational Science

SPRING 2023

**[TOWARDS A WORKING MODEL FOR THE EFFECTIVE
PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN NATIONAL POLITICS
IN ZIMBABWE]**

[NATHAN DUMBA

Abstract

The introduction of the legislative quotas has been a landmark development towards the improvement of women in political participation, power structures, political representation, and decision-making across the globe. Zimbabwe has made significant strides through the introduction of legislative quotas among other various frameworks and systems to promote gender parity in political participation. This has significantly improved women's representation in the political process since it acted as a counterbalance to the traditional constituency-based electoral systems under which women fail to effectively participate due to the fierce power struggles and competition from their male counterparts. Notwithstanding the significant gains in the participation of women in political spheres in Zimbabwe, the participation of women in the political processes continue to be marginal. The study used a qualitative research methodology to understand the state and effectiveness of the legal frameworks for the participation of women in politics, the challenges associated with the participation of women and the legal frameworks that support the participation of women in politics. Using this approach, the study used key informant interviews and documentary review as data sources for the study. Data were analysed through thematic-content analysis. The study made a revelation that the Constitution of Zimbabwe, the National Gender Policy and other international Conventions where Zimbabwe is party to are the major frameworks that support the participation of women in the Zimbabwean political context. The study revealed that despite having the adequate frameworks, participation of women still remains marginal due to the gendered violence against women, heckling of women in political spaces, lack of effective government support and lack of confidence in some women. To this end, the study recommends that there is a need for government support to female political actors, there is a need for strong feminist movements to support women, stronger media coverage on the need to support women and need for the enforcement of laws that protect women from political violence and abuse.

Acknowledgements

This master thesis is dedicated to the entire Zimbabwean populace, it is my strong belief that the findings in this study would go a long way in providing a starting point/ solid base for the realisation of an equitable political participation across gender in Zimbabwe. It would be an honour and a privilege to see the culmination of the dedication and commitment given to compile this thesis into something that can pragmatically be applied to solve the problem of passive participation of women in politics in Zimbabwe.

I am greatly indebted to all the participants who gave me an opportunity to share their insights about the aspect under study in this research thesis, your precious time and information was of paramount importance to the study.

I would also like to thank the University of Bergen, particularly the department of Organizational theory in the Social Science faculty for affording me the opportunity to study at this prestigious institution.

Not forgetting, SAIH and the STAR program, the initiative has greatly enabled me to study hustle free without fear of political persecution or prosecution. The opportunity you afforded me wholesomely changed my world.

To my supervisor Dr Fabian Hatke, your guidance and supervision during this journey has been of valuable importance to me and this research paper

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	2
Acknowledgements	3
TABLE OF CONTENTS	4
Table 2:1 Women in higher political leadership globally	20 7
Table 4.1 Demographic Profiles of the Participants.....	44 7
ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS	8
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION	9
1.0 Introduction	9
1.1 Background of the Study	9
1.2 Statement of the problem	12
1.3 Research Questions	13
1.4 Motivation for the Study:	14
1.5 Structure for the Rest of the Study:	14
1.6 Chapter Summary	15
CHAPTER TWO	16
LITERATURE REVIEW	16
2.1 Overview	16
2.2 Conceptual Underpinnings	16
2.2.1 Conceptualizing politics	16
2.2.2 Conceptualizing political participation	17
2.2.3 The Interplay between the Concepts	18
2.3 Theoretical Framework	18
2.3.1 Liberal feminism theory	18
2.4 The Impact of legal and Institutional Systems on Women’s Political Participation	20
2.5 Levels of Participation by Women in Political Leadership	21
2.6 Barriers to Women’s Participation in Political Leadership Positions	25
2.6.1 Traditional Gender Roles and Societal Expectations	25
2.6.2 Financial Constraints	28
2.6.3 Organizational Systems	29
2.6.4 Lack of Opportunities and Discrimination	29
2.7 Case Studies	31
2.7.1 Malawi	31
2.7.2 Italy	32
2.8 Conclusion	33
CHAPTER THREE	35

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	35
3.0 Introduction	35
3.1 Research Philosophy	35
3.1.1 Research Philosophy	35
3.1.2 Research Approach	36
3.2 Case study Research Design	37
3.3 Data Collection Methods	37
3.3.1 Key Informant Interviews	37
3.3.2 In-depth Interviews	38
3.3.3 Documentary Review	39
3.4 Data Analysis Method	40
3.4.1 Content Analysis	40
3.4.2 Thematic Analysis	41
3.5 Trustworthiness of the study	43
3.6 Ethical Considerations	44
3.7 Conclusion	44
CHAPTER FOUR	46
PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF FINDINGS	46
4.0 Introduction	46
4.1 Research Experience	46
4.2 The demographic data of the Key informants	47
4.3 Research Findings and Analysis	48
4.3.1 Legislative Systems Fostering the Participation of Women in Politics	49
4.3.1.1 Constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment (20) Act 2013	49
4.3.1.2 National Gender Policy	54
4.4 Current Levels of Women Participation in Politics in Zimbabwe	57
4.5 Legal Gaps in Zimbabwe Militating the Participation of Women in Politics	61
4.5.1 Gendered Political Violence against Women	61
4.5.2 Heckling of Women in Political Engagements	63
4.6 Discussion	70
4.7 Chapter Summary	71
CHAPTER FIVE	73
SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	73
5.0 Introduction	73
5.1 Summary of the Study	73
5.3 Conclusions	74
5.3.1 Legislative frameworks that facilitate the participation of women in politics	74

5.3.2 State and Effectiveness of the Legislative Frameworks for the Participation of Women in Zimbabwean Politics	74
5.3.3 Challenges Affecting the Participation of women in Politics	74
5.3.3.1 Gendered Political Violence	74
5.3.3.2 Heckling of women in parliament and other political spaces	75
5.4 Recommendations	75
5.4.1 Need for Strong Autonomous Feminist Movements	75
5.4.2 Government Support to Female Politicians	76
5.4.3 Develop Competency of Women Candidates	76
5.4.4 Voter Education	76
5.4.5 Media Coverage	77
5.5 Areas for further Research	77
5.6 Conclusion	77
BIBLIOGRAPHY	78
APPENDIX ONE: KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDE	88

LIST OF TABLES

Table 2:1 Women in higher political leadership globally20

Table 4.1 Demographic Profiles of the Participants.....44

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

MDGs.....	Millennium Development Goals
SDGs.....	Sustainable Development Goals
WPP.....	Women's Political Participation
SADC.....	Southern Africa Development Committee
CEDAW.....	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
AWRO.....	African Women's Rights Observatory
ZESN.....	Zimbabwe Election Support Network
WCOZ.....	Women's Coalition of Zimbabwe
UNDP.....	United Nations Development Programme

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

The study seeks to develop a working model for effective participation of women in politics. The study was motivated by the lacuna in the body of knowledge on the gap that continues to widen in the participation of women in political processes. The introduction of the legislative quotas has been a landmark development towards the improvement of women in political participation, power structures, political representation, and decision-making across the globe. Zimbabwe has made significant strides through the introduction of legislative quotas among other various frameworks and systems to promote gender parity in political participation. This has significantly improved women's representation in the political process since it acted as a counterbalance to the traditional constituency-based electoral systems under which women fail to effectively participate due to the fierce power struggles and competition from their male counterparts. Notwithstanding the significant gains in the participation of women in political spheres in Zimbabwe, the participation of women in the political processes continue to be marginal. The study argues that women's participation in Zimbabwe's political processes is seemingly very low despite their high demographic profile. The study aims to report on the impact of women's legal and political rights on the participation of women in politics. It seeks to assess how the legislative and institutional arrangements shape the inclusion of women in politics together with potential limitations. Taken together, it offers an opportunity to come up with a contextually attuned model to strengthen the entry of women into Zimbabwe's political space.

1.1 Background of the Study

Mainstreaming gender in social systems has gained renewed attention in the 21st century. It has been viewed as a building block for sustainable social change and a pillar for economic development (Chandah 2013; Zvobgo 2014; Mendum 2018). The transition from the Millennium Development Goals to the Sustainable Development Goals has set a new tone for

the recognition of women in the development of communities and the nations at large. The policies at the global level emphasize the need to ensure that there are systems at the global, regional, and national levels to push toward gender parity through the inclusion and involvement of women in key decision-making positions. One question that needs to be asked, however, is whether women have been able to effectively participate in political circles to date.

Sustainable Development Goal number 5 emphasizes the need to ensure gender equality and the empowerment of all women and girls (United Nations Sustainable Development Goals, 2015). This implies that the need to recognize women's human rights and address gender inequality has been repeatedly recognized in international law and by researchers, unions, and civil society. From the Beijing Platform for Action to the Human Rights Council, treaty bodies, and UN Resolutions, member states and experts have repeatedly recognized that there is an urgent need to recognize and protect the rights of women in the development matrix (Oakley 2000; Mendum 2018).

Notwithstanding the frameworks that support actioning of women's participation in the political space, data from Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) reveals that in 2019, less than 10% of world leaders were women and only 20.7% of government ministers were women. In European countries, about 25 countries still have a gender-related pay gap of 15% in hourly earnings between similarly qualified women and men (Kuagbedzi et al. 2022; University World News 2022). Globally, there are 27 states under which women do not constitute 10% of the parliamentarians (World Economic Forum Gender Gap Report, 2021). Women hold only 26.1% of parliamentary seats and 22.6% as ministers across the globe and across 133 countries, women constitute 2.18 million (36%) of the elected members in local authorities. Given that this trend continues, the political gender gap might take more than 145 years to be addressed (African Barometer 2021; World Economic Forum Gender Gap Report, 2021). To this end, all the studies reviewed so far, however, suffer from the fact that despite the provision of

solutions on how to improve the participation of women in politics, few studies have been able to develop a model from empirical data as an innovative strategy to improve the representation and participation of women in the political arena. Existing accounts fail to address this gap in literature towards an innovative model to improve the participation of women in politics.

Continentially, Agenda 2063 provides a commitment to improving the participation of women in politics through aspiration number three. The aspiration is primarily meant to address the historical imbalances between men and women in political participation. According to the first Women's Political Participation (WPP) Africa Barometer (2021), women constitute 24% of the 12,113 parliamentarians in Africa - 25% in the lower houses, and 20% in the upper houses of parliament. While local government is often hailed as a training ground for women in politics, women constitute a mere 21% of councilors in the 19 countries for which complete data could be obtained. Interestingly, numerous frameworks at the global level have been put in place to promote full access of women in politics but decades of patriarchal continuities have exacerbated the protracted exclusion of women in politics (Bhatasara and Chiweshe, 2021; Hamandishe, 2018). It appears that, among other barriers, the deeply entrenched patriarchal African systems have posed barriers to the entry of women into the political space. It can be noted that the participation of women has remained marginal disproportionately with the global population.

Zimbabwe is one of the countries in the Southern African continent that is leading in terms of the commitment to ensure the protection and the promotion of gender parity (Hlatywayo, Hlatywayo, and Muranda 2014, Shava and Chasokela, 2021). The country has made strides toward the ratification of different policies and international conventions to protect and improve the position of women globally. Zimbabwe has numerous policy frameworks to facilitate the development and participation of women in key leadership and decision-making positions. For instance, the Constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment 20 Act 2013 provides the

frameworks for equality and non-discrimination between men and women, the frameworks for the empowerment and protection of women. For instance, section 80 states that women have full and equal dignity with men, and this includes equal opportunities in political, social, and economic activities. In 2016, the National Gender policy came into action to strengthen the mainstreaming of gender in key leadership and decision-making positions. Zimbabwe is a signatory to the Southern Africa Development Committee (SADC) which targets at least 30 % of women in political decision-making under the Gender and Development Protocol.

According to Shaba (2011), under an inclusive government women occupied 8 out of 50 cabinet posts (16%); 30 out of 210 seats in parliament (14%), and 20 out of 210 seats in the senate (33%). This however shows the low influence of women in decision-making on pertinent issues affecting the nation. Marginalization of women in the GNU was not an accident but rather a continuation of the process that was already entrenched in Zimbabwe's political system as noted by Banda and Masuka (2013). Dhliwayo (2020) notes that in 2018 out of the 47 political parties that fielded candidates in the National Assembly only 27 fielded at least one woman candidate, approximately 15%. One question that needs to be asked, concerns the reasons for the enormity of the gender gap in political participation. The study aims to take stock of why women in Zimbabwe continue to be invisible in the political spaces despite the availability of the legislative and institutional systems that support the inclusion of women in all political and decision-making processes.

1.2 Statement of the problem

The study aims to develop a working model to improve the participation of women in politics. Currently, Zimbabwean Parliament only has 33.2% female representation, and it makes the 50-50 representation a dream as reality is still dire. The Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC) reported fewer female candidates than their male counterparts. At the Local Authority level, female candidates obtained 15.5 % against 85.5 % attained by male politicians. At the National

Assembly female candidates obtained 21.4 % against 78.6 % attained by male politicians. Kwekwe Central and Epworth are some of the areas where female candidates won greatly (Zungura and Nyemba 2013). All things considered, we still know surprisingly little about (1), the necessary legal and institutional systems that should be in place for the effective participation of women in politics, (2), the challenges undermining the effective participation of women in Zimbabwean politics, and (3) the practical and relevant solutions to address the surprisingly low representation of women in politics. The attainment of Vision 2030 aspirations in Zimbabwe remains a distant dream of the systems and structures to facilitate the effective entry of women into politics. It would be ideal to develop a working model for cultivating an enabling ground for the effective participation of women in politics. Against this background, the study seeks to develop a working model for the effective entry of women into the political processes in Zimbabwe.

1.3 Research Questions

- What are the legislative systems on fostering the participation of women in politics?
- How effective are the legislative systems on fostering the participation of women in politics?
- What are the current levels of participation by women in Zimbabwe's political processes?
- What are the legislative gaps or obstacles that impedes women's entry into politics in Zimbabwe?
- Which working model can be adopted to improve the participation of women in politics?

1.4 Motivation for the Study:

The issue of women's participation in politics has been the top issue globally. Inequality in terms of gender participation is noticed globally. As a way of rectifying these incongruities, several international and regional declarations or conventions have been crafted to aid the participation of women in the political process. These include the Beijing Declaration of 1995, the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), the African Women's Rights Observatory (OWRO), and the SADC Gender Protocol amongst others. All these were aimed at bringing the perceptions, experience, knowledge, and interests of women as well as men to bear on policymaking, planning, and decision-making, (Pateman 1970). A considerable amount of literature has been published on the participation of women in politics and governance in Zimbabwe (Kurebwa 2014, Dube 2013). Nevertheless, there is a dearth of literature that analyses the innovative strategies needed to enhance women's participation in politics in Zimbabwe. More specifically, research on a working model that can be adopted to improve the involvement of women in politics in Zimbabwe. This study seeks to address this lacuna in the body of knowledge. The study highlights that whilst there have been some moves in making women have influential political positions, there remain many challenges when it comes to how far women can be at the top of the political ladder and it provides strategies needed to put in place to enhance massive women participation in politics

1.5 Structure for the Rest of the Study:

The research is structured into five chapters. This first one presents the introduction, background of the study, statement of the problem, research questions, motivation of the study, and the structure of the rest of the study. Chapter two presents a review of the literature on the participation of women in politics in Zimbabwe. Chapter four provides the presentation of the research findings and a discussion of the findings in relation to the research questions. Chapter five presents the major findings and recommendations. The last chapter presents the

conclusions and recommendations as it concludes the research and makes suggestions for further study.

1.6 Chapter Summary

The chapter presented the background to the study, the research problem statement, research objectives and the motivation for the study. The chapter sets the tone for understanding the participation of women in Zimbabwe's political space and the challenges associated therewith.

The next chapter reviews literature on the problem at hand.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Overview

The previous chapter sought to introduce the study on a working model for effective participation of women in politics in Zimbabwe. The focus of this chapter centres around a critical review of literature on the possible barriers for women's entry in politics, the levels of participation by women in political processes, and the impact of different legislative and institutional systems on the participation of women in politics. The review comes from the background that regardless of the different levels of participation by many African women in political processes, previous studies have not adequately dealt with a critical analysis of the different levels of participation and the barriers to entry for women in politics. Secondly, a critical review of the impact of different legislative and institutional systems towards the participation of women in politics has not gained much attention from previous scholars. To this end, this chapter seeks to find out more about the different levels of participation and the barrier for entry to women from a global, regional and national context. Further, the chapter also presents a critical review of the weaknesses of previous studies on the same topic. It is justified to expose the gaps in literature towards the development of a model for effective women's participation in the political processes.

2.2 Conceptual Underpinnings

2.2.1 Conceptualizing politics

Politics is conceptualized as the art of government. Heywood (1997:98) argue that politics is not a science but an art. Thus politics can be conceptualized as the study of the state, its aims and purposes. In other words it can be argued that politics is associated with the activities of political parties and politicians. Miller (1962:234) conceptualized politics as public affairs thus politics is an essential public activity and does not take place in private spheres of life. It does not have the right to infringe upon private affairs and institutions. Politics can be

conceptualized as the study of power. Dowse and Hughes (1972) argue that politics is about power. They argue that politics occur when there are differentials in power. Haralambos and Holbon (1995:90) view politics as being linked to power. They argue that power is the ability to make people do whatever you want either by theft, sanctions or manipulation. Politics is in essence power, the ability to achieve desired outcome through whatever means. Aristotle declared that man is by nature a political animal, by which he meant that it is only within a political community that human beings can live the good life. From this view politics is an ethical activity concerned with creating a just society and it is what Aristotle called a master of science. Verba (1995:78) concluded that nobody can tell us with complete certainty what politics is because of the wide range of meanings attributed to this concept.

2.2.2 Conceptualizing political participation

Verba et al (1995:85) perceive political participation as any activity that has the intent of influencing government actions either by directly affecting the making or implementation of public policy or indirectly by influencing the selection of people who make the policies. Barri (2005:233) took a closer look at Verba et al conceptualization and came to a conclusion that all individuals ought to have an equal opportunity to influence decision making processes. Studies have shown that women's participation in formal political structure and processes is significant. According to Arstein (1969:218) there are different levels of participation ranging from manipulation at the bottom of the ladder to consultation in the middle of the ladder to citizen control at the apex. Buttod (1999:90) observes that there are different types of participation. Functional participation occurs when people take part in decision making processes and are likely to contribute directly to decision making processes via negotiation procedures. Passive participation occurs when people are not involved in the decision-making process but are merely informed of decisions. In the light of this conceptual framing of participation the present study examines the conceptual and material bases of women exclusion

from the mainstream political structures and seeks to provide the innovative strategies needed to enhance women participation in politics. Whilst the study recognises the broad nature of political participation and its multidimensionality, it however restricts its analysis to selected cases involving women involvement in the legislature and executive.

2.2.3 The Interplay between the Concepts

Political participation is more than just numerical presence in decision making forums. Braton (2002:67) argues that it is about articulation of issues that matter to women and men and the ability to influence and monitor policies. Women are to be encouraged not just to be participants but to be involved in decision making processes as well. As politics has become more personalized, individual characteristics of politicians for example their values, their personality traits and appearance have a greater impact than in the past and the role of mass media has become more fundamental in drawing attention to the personal characteristics of politicians. The fact that participation in politics is interfering in the private affairs of women, new ideas are to be employed to help women to balance politics and their private lives hence making the three concepts to be integrated.

2.3 Theoretical Framework

2.3.1 Liberal feminism theory

This study can best be explained by the liberal feminism theory. The theory was propounded by Saulnier (1996). He argues that liberal feminism focuses on rights of women as in access to education, rights to vote, citizenship and other issues of equality. It is interdisciplinary and reflects the diversity of feminism and the full range of feminist political and theoretical stances. Rich (1986:74) is of the view that feminism reflects a world view that values women and that confronts systemic injustices based on gender. It shifts its assumption, analytical lens and focus away from male viewpoint and experience towards that of women. According to Flax (1999:09), liberal feminism is a systematic analytic approach to everyday experiences and it is

done unconsciously hence to theorize then is to bring this unconscious process to a conscious level so that it can be developed and refined. The theory shines light on social problems, trends and issues that are misidentified by the historically dominant male perspective within society. The theory focuses on power and oppression of women. To this end, the study would want to find out if the barriers to women participation and the levels of women participation can be best understood using the liberal feminist theory.

What makes the theory creative and inclusive is that it often considers how systems of power and oppression interact as noted by Hesser-Biber (2002:789). Creation of equal opportunities is the main aim of liberal feminism theory. The theory argues that women have the same capacity as men for moral reasoning and agency because patriarchy, particularly sexist division of labour has historically denied women the opportunity to express and practice this reasoning. Eisenstein (1981:267) reports that liberal feminist theory exists to rectify sexual inequalities, although strategies for social change vary enormously. Socialization into gender roles has loopholes as it produces inflexible and rigid expectations of women. Discrimination prevents women from having equal opportunities between male and females. The theory seeks for changes to take place within existing structures. Hence in exploring innovative strategies to enhance women participation in politics the theory argues that existing structures are to be renewed to include women in politics. Moss et al (1977:789) concluded that liberal feminist theory took the weapons of the civil rights movement, anti-discrimination legislation and affirmative action and used them to fight gender inequality. The theory has been successful in proving that even if women are different from men, they are not inferior.

The theory has its own loopholes. Eisenstein (1981:67) argues that it does not adequately address private issues such as childcare and poverty which can be a barrier to effective women participation in politics. It also fails to overcome the prevailing belief that women and men are

intrinsically different and patriarchal society has hindered the innovative strategies needed to enhance women participation in politics.

2.4 The Impact of legal and Institutional Systems on Women's Political Participation

This section presents a review of literature on the impact of the legislative systems on women's participation in political processes. It seeks to address the research question: what the impact of the institutional and legislative systems on women's political participation is.

Over the years, in its constant commitment to remove of all forms of sex discrimination in the society, the government has alluded to several national and international gender declarations and conventions. Among these are the 1965 Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination (CERD); and the 1979 United Nations Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) (National Gender Policy, 2004). In the process, many policies were put in place to advance gender equality for example the Equal Pay Regulation Act of 1980 which permitted women to enjoy equal pay as their male counterparts for performing the same job, the Gender inequality 237 Labour Relations Act was introduced in 1985. It states that, “no employer must discriminate against any employee on the basis of race, tribe or place of origin, political opinion, colour, belief or gender.” The gender affirmative action policy of 1992, the 1999 Nziramasanga Commission, and the National Gender Policy of 2004 are demonstrative. The Zimbabwean government launched the National Gender Policy in March 2004 whose goal was “to eradicate all negative cultural, economic, social and political policies and religious practices that hinder parity and equity of sexes” (National Gender Policy, 2004). One of the aims of the policy is “to endorse equal opportunities for men and women in decision making in all areas of influence and all levels” (National Gender Policy, 2004). In response to the policy above, the Public Service Commission published a circular, referenced G/46/200 dated 30 April 2004, to all the government ministries requesting their input as to how best gender balance could be attained in their respective

ministries. This was done as an attempt to address the gender equality problem in Zimbabwe thereby initiating the gender mainstreaming initiatives through public policies in which the government's departments are supposed to adhere, hence motivating female workers.

Over the preceding few decades, women have accomplished educational levels comparable to those of the males (Wirth 2001). Despite the females attaining educational requirements, most women still work in the low paying jobs with poor predictions for upward mobility (ILO 2000). Wirth (2001) further argues that the qualified and competent females look up through the “glass ceiling” and see what they are capable of accomplishing, but the invisible barriers block them from breaking through. “Glass ceiling”, according to Wirth (2001), is a term created in the 1970s in the United States to define the invisible false barriers formed by attitudinal and administrative preconceptions which block females from working to their potential. McElwee et al. (2003) proclaim that whilst involvement of men in all areas of influence, be it political, economic or social, is unquestioned, the involvement of women in the labour force is complex because females are subject to a number of coded and unwritten social traditions in a patriarchal and men dominant society that has customarily restricted women’s capability to perform well at the workplace. Such negative attitudes infuse invisibly into the employment arena thus making it difficult for women to perform well and without proper information about this, employers might tend to ignore gender inequality issues and this will be a drawback on employee motivation hence the need to initiate gender mainstreaming initiatives to motivate women in the employment field.

2.5 Levels of Participation by Women in Political Leadership

This section presents a review of literature in line with the research question: What are the current levels of participation by women in the political processes? Globally, the Global Gender Gap Index (2021) reports that the gender gap globally has been closed from 68.1%-68% by the end of 2021. Further, they have slightly increased in terms of the women’s share

in national parliaments from 2015 to date as in 2015 they were 22.4% but in 2022 were at 26.2% (UN 2022). According to the World Economic Forum Report (2022), the political empowerment gender index indicates that there is a slight change in the gender gap index in countries in the South Asian region. For instance, few countries have gained a higher rate of gender parity in the political participation index like Moldova (41.2%), Georgia (24.8%), Belarus (21.6%). Nevertheless, it is also interesting to indicate that countries like Turkey (12.3%), Azerbaijan (6.9%), and Kyrgyzstan (12.4%) were below the regional average. This evidence suggests that despite a seemingly slow progress in the improving of gender parity in political participation, there have been significant gains in the past few years in the improvement of women's political participation.

Although no country has yet achieved full gender parity, the top 10 economies have closed at least 80% of their gender gaps, with Iceland (90.8%) leading the global ranking. Iceland remains the only economy to have closed more than 90% of its gender gap. Other Scandinavian countries such as Finland (86%, 2nd), Norway (84.5%, 3rd) and Sweden (82.2%, 5th) feature in the top 5, with additional European countries such as Ireland (80.4%) and Germany (80.1%) in 9th and 10th positions, respectively. Sub-Saharan African countries Rwanda (81.1%, 6th) and Namibia (80.7%, 8th), along with one Latin American country, Nicaragua (81%, 7th), and one country from East Asia and the Pacific, New Zealand (84.1%, 4th), also take positions in the top 10. Nicaragua and Germany are the new entrants in the top 10 in 2022, while Lithuania (79.9%, 11th) and Switzerland (79.5%, 13th) (WEF, Report 2022). These results were taken from a sample of 102 countries across the globe. It can therefore be noted that there is an improvement in the participation of women in political processes across the globe.

Nevertheless, data from Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) reveals that in 2019, less than 10% of world leaders were women and only 20.7% of government ministers were women. In European countries, about 25 countries still have a gender-related pay gap of 15% in hourly

earnings between similarly qualified women and men (Kuagbedzi et al. 2022; University World News 2022). Evidence from a global perspective still highlights that women are still lagging behind in terms of assuming key leadership positions as compared to their male counterparts. Interestingly, research evidence shows that a significant number of women are qualified for different leadership positions in different political processes just like their male counterparts. It can be noted that by 2017, women have earned more degrees than men in about 25 European countries.

The China Women's University is one of the leading Universities in developing the role of women in leadership systems. The University started as a vocational training center where the institution sought to develop the skills of women so that they become economically empowered for them to take part in economic and political conditions. In 2013, the percentage of female fellows in the Chinese universities was 53.2% as compared to men with 47.7% and there were about 714 000 female teachers. However, the percentage of women in top-level political participation was considerably low where a study by Liu (2018) revealed in China, there were only 349 females in senior political positions which was 18.63% of the top participants in political roles (Lu 2020). This logically follows that the role of women taking part in top political positions have been increasing in recent years but not significant enough to ensure that there is full and effective participation of women in political processes. The gap to be filled by this study concerns an analysis of the different levels of political participation between men and women especially in developing countries like Zimbabwe.

Table 1:1 below shows the statistics of women participation at different levels in higher political positions in different countries across the globe.

Table 1:1 Women in higher political leadership globally

Region / Country	Year	Percentage of Female Leaders In Politics		
		Women in local authorities and councils (%)	Women in National Parliaments (%)	Women in Senate and senior political leadership (%)
Australia	2016	25	34	34
China	2019	4.8	2.7	18
Latin America	2020	18	5.9	21
Pacific Rim	2018		21	25
United Kingdom	2018	29	37	31
United States	2016	30.1	33	39

Source: Cheung (2021)

Table 1.1 above shows the statistics of the representation of women in political systems in leadership roles across different continents. From the table, it can be noted that, in 2016, 25% and 30.1% of the political leaders in Australia and the United States were women respectively. Between 2018 and 2020, it can be noted that the role of women in political leadership in Europe was better as compared to China and the Arab League. As shown in table 1.1, the role of women in political processes leaders has remained high in European countries with 34% in Australia, 31% in the United States, and 25% in the United Kingdom. This shows that in the European continent, women's participation in top political positions has considerable gains over other continents. The implication is that data on the role of women in political leadership in African countries remain sparse in academic literature, the gap the study seeks to address.

Although the World Economic Forum's 2021 report notes some progress in education and health, there are several sobering statistics relating to higher economic hurdles, declining political participation, and workplace challenges, exacerbated by the COVID-19 pandemic. With women holding only 26.1% of parliamentary seats and 22.6% of ministerial positions worldwide, the political gender gap is expected to take more than 145 years to close if it remains on its current trajectory. According to the United Nations Women (2022), in 133 countries, women occupy about 2.18 million (36%) of the elected members in national parliament or senate positions. Across the globe, 18 countries have more than 40% of the women in either local government or national assembly. This implies that, globally, there is still a gap in achieving gender parity in political participation as well as to meet the internationally agreed targets like the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action which stipulates that there is a need to meet the gender parity by (50-50). This implies that intervention strategies are required to ensure that the gender gap in political participation has been addressed. Therefore, the focus of this study is to find an alternate working model for effective and sustainable participation of women in political processes in developing countries especially in Zimbabwe.

2.6 Barriers to Women's Participation in Political Leadership Positions

The major question being asked is that are women uninterested, unwilling or uncertain to participate in politics? Women contemplating to run for office are strongly affected by the costs and benefits they anticipate from a candidacy. The road conditions appear to differ for women, the road on which men travel to higher office have fewer potholes and roadblocks than those navigated by women.

2.6.1 Traditional Gender Roles and Societal Expectations

It will be mere praxis to ignore traditional gender roles as a factor that affect women's rise in political positions (Oakley 2000; Mendum 2018; Elliot 2022). Even in the case of a strong-willed woman who may try to ignore traditional stereotypes, they just found themselves

fulfilling the traditional roles of gender. The stereotype that men work more than women and thus they should receive higher wages than women is still very alive (Zvobgo 2014; Moodly 2021; Shava and Chasokela 2021). Stern and hard-working women who are very ambitious in society are often labeled as greedy and selfish. In extreme cases they are regarded as whores who rise in the ladder of success by manipulation of men through sex (Mendum 2018; Moodly 2021).

Research points to cultural values and beliefs as one of the major ecological dynamics that affects effective representation of women in key leadership positions (Moodly and Toni 2017; Moodly 2021; Mankayi and Cheteni 2021). Further, women have over time been discriminated against by both prevalent beliefs and social systems that favour men in terms of opportunities for participation in the economic and socio-political spheres. This has mainly been due to cultural cleavages of patriarchy that have existed over time. Women constitute more than half of the world population, yet their participation remains low. Women have been sold on as political dummies where through a raft of cosmetic measures they have been given the impression that they are equal in politics yet on the other hand recent political developments reveal equity in governance remains a mirage for them (Shava and Chasokela 2021). Wirth (2001) further argues that qualified and competent females look up through the “glass ceiling” and see what they are capable of accomplishing, but the invisible barriers block them from breaking through. “Glass ceiling”, according to Wirth (2001), is a term created in the 1970s in the United States to define the invisible false barriers formed by attitudinal and administrative preconceptions which block females from working to their potential. What remains unknown is how these different barriers undermine the participation of women in political positions in the Zimbabwean context.

Society has labelled some professions as men and others as women. For instance, at tertiary institutions, programs such as humanity and social work are merely regarded as female careers while men occupy natural sciences, engineering, and other complex programs. In any organization, women have to prove their prowess more than men and they are easily judged over petty issues (Oakley 2000; Mendum 2018). Society has general standard rules that men should lead while women follow the set standards. For instance, in many cultural settings, men gather to discuss issues pertaining to women in the absence of women. Being socialized to this for a long time, women themselves are hesitant to take leadership roles in the presence of men. This gender division has also affected the education field, especially the universities noted by Smith et al. (2006). However, according to Catalyst research (2011) in recent years, gender stereotypes have declined especially in developed countries due to women empowerment programs that have been carried out extensively in these countries.

Culture of patriarchy in Zimbabwe makes it harder for women to compete for power. Banda and Masuka (2013) notes that women who run for power attract inappropriate attention and are viewed as loose and immoral. Women are seen as belonging to the private sphere. These private spheres include child birth and doing house chores. Uneven distribution of family care responsibilities means that women spend more time than men in home and child care. Women pay a motherhood penalty across fields relating not just to time, effort and medical care of pregnancy and childbirth. Women face tough time constraints navigating between family responsibilities and a political position because the work is rarely equally shared hence women are more disadvantaged. Only women with supportive families are privileged to run for political office, whereas men are more likely to run in spite of discouragement from their families.

However, the advent of globalization witnessed the closure of an epoch and the opening of another. In the 21st century most organizations prefer to employ women than men; this is slowly

affecting a change of roles in societies. According to a study by Catalyst (2013) in developed countries, given that a man and a woman have the same qualifications and they had applied for the same job, there is a high probability that a woman will be hired more than a man. However, despite different authors writing about the same topic on the barriers for effective participation of women in political processes, there is still a dearth in the body of knowledge on the contextual barriers that affect the participation of women in the political processes in Zimbabwe. The generalizability of much published research on this issue is problematic since it doesn't effectively focus on contextually attuned issues that affect the participation of women in political processes in different countries. Research on the subject has been mostly restricted to limited comparisons of the political participation of women from different continents rather than a deep critical analysis of the issues that affect the participation of women in political leadership from Zimbabwe which could be different from other developed countries. To this end, the study seeks to address this gap in literature.

2.6.2 Financial Constraints

Women are far less likely than men to be in the social and business networks that pour money in the political campaign. Generally when money dominates politics, women lose out. For women to be actively involved in politics there is need for funding at each and every stage. McDonagh (2009:78) postulates that it is increasingly difficult for poor women to win even at primary level because of the stiff competition for seats. During primaries, the campaign team needs among others transport, food, regalia and insignia which profile the candidate. The cost of t-shirts, pens, caps and other accessories have escalated in Zimbabwe's hyperinflation environment. Running a campaign in the rural constituencies is very expensive since these constituencies are huge and not well served by roads, telephone, electricity and other infrastructure as urban constituencies. Travelling distances to meetings, rallies and other campaign related activities therefore takes long and exhausts the candidates. Women

candidates running these campaigns and at the same time shouldering domestic responsibilities are particularly overworked and likely to burn out in addition to spending large sums of money to fund their campaigns.

2.6.3 Organizational Systems

An organization plays an important role in the promotion of women's welfare. It depends on the policies of an organization pertaining to how they perceive women, noted Oakley (2000). The perception that an organization has about women determines whether they will hire women or not. However, in most cases where jobs have been advertised, managers have opted for men with less qualifications than men arguing that men are easier to maintain than women. Men seem to be content as long as they receive their salaries in time and their welfare is catered for. For some men, the presence of a woman as a leader means a threat rather than a compliment. The organizational culture affects the attitude and perception of all workers in the organization. The culture of an organization can be feminine or masculine. According to the Corporate Gender Gap Report in Finland (2010), masculinity is a factor that militates the rise of women in leadership. Men are more prone to help other men in their career than women. The basic reason for that is that women have been socialized to believe that they cannot do anything well, hence when they see another woman trying they look down on her and see her as an ill-nurtured woman. The discussion is that it is easier for a man to help a woman than for a woman to help another woman. Most women are affected by inferiority complexities, not because of choice but rather because they are mere victims of circumstances.

2.6.4 Lack of Opportunities and Discrimination

In the old times businesses of any sort were not a place for women; their place was the kitchen and making children. However, that notion has changed over time but its ripple effects are still vivid in this era. Coming from a background where women were confined to the kitchen they are regarded as lacking the expertise and experience needed to take leadership roles hence, they

are relegated to less demanding positions. The structures of some organizations, even universities, are designed for male candidates only (Oakley 2000). Even the management of any organization prefers to take experienced workers than those they must teach and due to past economic trends, men tend to have the required experiences. For instance, despite the word "man" being regarded as unisex it had strong connotations towards men noted Lahti (2013). This means that to say faculty chairman and department chairman mean that the jobs were initially designed to be filled by men. Even during recruitment women are asked questions that relate to their personal lives such as their plans for marriage, and the number of kids they would want to have. All these factors are considered in the recruitment process. It has been argued that the rationale for all that questioning is to establish maternity leave as well as salaries.

The major challenge facing women in China on accessing higher leadership positions has been the issue of Confucianism. Confucianism has presented a major barrier towards the participation of women in higher education leadership (Zhao and Jones 2017; Zhang 2015; Cheng 2008). Women in China are expected to be subordinate to men because of the Confucianism tradition under which women are expected to obey three issues-the need to obey their fathers before they are married, to respect their husbands when they get married and to respect their sons when they get widowed (Cheng, 2008; Zhao and Jones 2017). This reflects the underlying patriarchal system or tradition that could be one of the barriers towards effective participation of women in leadership positions. Despite the issue of patriarchy being a common barrier across many countries or traditions, it appears that China exhibits a distinct form of patriarchy which favours the subordination of women in leadership systems.

2.7 Case Studies

2.7.1 Malawi

Women in Malawi are less likely to be involved in political discussion as well as interest in public affairs as compared to men. A great proportion of Malawians believe that women should have the same chances as men for leadership positions. Afro Barometer survey of (2014) indicated that women's percentage of political participation has reduced from 78% in 2012 to 61% in 2014. Despite Malawi being a signatory to regional and international protocols encouraging gender equality for example SADC protocol on Gender and Development there seem to be no significant headway towards improving women participation and activism in politics. Mafao (2015:87) reports that in Southern Africa Malawi has had the first female president from May 2012 to May 2014. This is a major achievement of women who participate in politics. However, it must be noted that in the same period that there was a female president, women representation in parliament drastically went down in 2014. It can be argued that it is possible that the performance of the first female president might have been deemed as unsatisfactory hence affecting the electoral performance of all female parliamentary candidates in 2014 elections. 2014 elections exposed a major setback in women representation in parliament.

Barriers that affect women participation in politics in Malawi include hostile political environments. Most insidious forms of violence against women include verbal, emotional and psychological abuse. Sadly, because misogyny is so normalised in many of the societies much of these violence goes unnoticed, unreported and unsanctioned, Afro Barometer (2021). Cultural traditions and religious barriers and social norms make it more difficult for women to leave their traditional domestic roles for more public roles outside the home. Burden of household chores and limited equitable access to higher education also limit women's ability to enjoy the opportunities and benefits of citizenship as men on an equal footing in the political

sphere. Lack of funding for campaigning during elections limits participation. Due to Covid 19 pandemic public gatherings were either halted or limited to online campaigning. Online politics need good technological infrastructure. The digital gender divide prevailed which is a concept that denotes the inequality in women access to digital technologies including smartphones, computers and internet as well as proficiency in the use thereof. According to the World Wide Web Foundation (2019), men remain 21 % more likely to be online than women, rising to 52 % in the world's least developed countries.

Braton (2002:78) notes that innovative strategies to be employed in Malawi include gender awareness electoral laws, policies and processes, levelling a playing field on many fronts, effective support for women political participation by political parties and civil society, cross generation engagement and nurturing a new cadre of young women leaders.

2.7.2 Italy

The Italian government was amazed by the results of the 2013 elections. Mark (2014:78) notes that the rate of women in the Italian parliament reached 31.3 % and this move was welcomed as a promising step towards greater gender equality in Italian politics. The quota system introduced women to obtain 47.7 % of the seats in the House of Deputies. In spite of political battles and legislation put in place there is persistent under-representation of women in legislative bodies with only 23.8% in 2018. Female politicians face obstacles and the situation is not only peculiar to Africa only. McDonagh (2018:67) reports that Italian female politicians face mainly external obstacles all along the political path. Female politicians are more open to change and less conservation oriented. Research in Italy has shown that women under representation in politics might be related to their past lower social status, lower levels of education, lower control of financial capitals and few work occasions.

After the amendment of the Italian constitution in 2003, several positive actions were adopted to facilitate women's political representation, and this facilitated a rise in the participation of

women in politics in 2013. Although the 2013 election showed the rise of female parliamentarians, it is however sad that the 50% threshold of gender equality remains a dream in Europe.

Women underrepresentation in politics is not only peculiar to African countries. The 50% threshold on gender equality is not yet realised in the world. This shows that the Sustainable Development Goal on gender equality might not be achieved by 2030. Barriers to effective women participation in politics are similar across the world. These barriers include hostile political environment, patriarchal society, poor funding, psychological barriers and constraints of family duties. Innovative strategies can help to increase women's political participation as shown by the case studies. These strategies include funding women political activities, autonomous feminist movement, periodic training, laws and policies that protect women in politics and transform society to support women in politics and government will to support women from any form of abuse by society. It must be noted that these strategies need the will of policy makers and women in particular to be realized.

2.8 Conclusion

The chapter reviewed literature on the political participation of women in different political processes across the globe. The chapter examined the different levels of political participation from the global, regional and the local perspective. What can be gleaned from the review of literature is that despite the presence of different legal and institutional systems that support gender parity in political participation, gender gap is still there and it could take more than 130 years to close the gap given that the progress maintains the current speed (UN Women, 2022, UN Gender Spanshot, 2022). The study uncovered numerous gaps in the body of knowledge—the lacuna on evidence in the different levels of participation in political processes by Zimbabwean women, the evidence and population gap on the impact of the legal and institutional systems towards gender parity in political participation on Zimbabwe, and the gap

on the barriers towards the challenges hampering effective participation of women in different political processes. The study, therefore, aims to address these gaps. The next chapter presents the research methodology that was used in carrying out this study.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter serves to present the research methodology that was used to conduct the study on a working model for the effective participation of women in national politics in Zimbabwe. The study adopted a qualitative research approach in understanding the research problem. The chapter presents qualitative research design, qualitative research approach and data the collection methods that were used in the collection, analysis and presentation of data on the working model for the effective participation of women in national politics in Zimbabwe. The chapter describes how data were collected, coded, transcribed, analysed and presented in the quest to identify the challenges or gaps in the legal systems that facilitate the participation of women in politics.

3.1 Research Philosophy

3.1.1 Research Philosophy

The study is guided by the non-positivist research philosophy which was propounded by Creswell (2013; 2014). The non-positivist research paradigm was selected so as to have a holistic and diverse understanding of a working model for the effective participation of women in national politics in Zimbabwe. Creswell (2014) proposes that the qualitative research approach seeks to understand the phenomena from a balanced and less biased perspective to what is best attainable by the researcher. As such, the study sought to understand how the legal systems are supporting effective participation of women in politics, the gaps embedded in the legal systems for the participation of women in politics in Zimbabwe (Creswell 2014; Sharma 2017). Malina et al (2011) note that the non-positivist paradigm provides the best way to answer the research questions of the study the choice of the paradigm was also influenced by the need to ensure that the research best answers the research questions from a subjective point of view on the challenge associated with Zimbabwe's legal systems on enhancing the

participation of women in politics (2010). This further means that the approach employed seeks to use the interpretive paradigms to create the best approach in answering the research questions. In other words, opinions and perceptions from the interpretive paradigm are important to provide detailed explanations of how people like women in politics, men in politics and other political analysis may perceive the role, challenges and what can be done on the legal systems in enhancing the participation of women in politics.

3.1.2 Research Approach

The researcher used a qualitative research approach. According to Keegan (2003), qualitative research is used to describe what is seen locally and sometimes to come up with or generate hypotheses. It is normally used when there is limitation of knowledge or phenomenon and when one wants to discover and learn more. Moyo (1992) argues that a qualitative approach is an approach that examines the experience of people whilst using various research methods. It does not deal only with what people think about, it also deals with answering why they think so. It allows for in depth analysis into the perspectives on the gap in the legal systems that foster the participation of women in politics. This implies that a qualitative research approach was used to explore the current levels of participation by women in politics in Zimbabwe, the challenges or gaps in the legal systems for the participation of women and what can be done to improve the participation of women in politics. Advantages of the qualitative research approach in this study is that it offers more descriptive, and the inferences can be drawn easily, it makes use of documentary evidence that is available as information sources. A qualitative approach was used in this study to explore innovative strategies needed to enhance women participation in politics in Zimbabwe.

3.2 Case study Research Design

The study used a case study research design. Yin (1984) defines a case study as an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context. Also, case studies involve well developed characters that will instill deep learning and provide opportunities for testing theory and practice Kunovich (2007).

The design was used to produce high descriptions on women political participation from a case study point of view as enunciated by Etikan et al. (2016).

3.3 Data Collection Methods

A qualitative research methodology was used for data collection from a sample size of six participants. In addition to primary sources of data, secondary sources such as journals, research on the subject under study were also consulted. Data collection methods that were used to collect data for this study are presented below:

3.3.1 Key Informant Interviews

According to Henn et al. (2006) in-depth interviews are open ended, use schedules or aid memoires which helps to capture the point of view of the respondent. Conducting the interviews one-on-one enhances the likelihood that the participant will be more honest as there will be no one to hear their views and opinions. This allowed further probing or rephrasing questions to get clear responses. Scholars have argued that qualitative research studies can produce biased results and are weak on collecting sensitive information. To minimize the impact of these weaknesses, documentary searches were adopted for triangulation.

The study used key informant interviews to collect primary data on the levels of participation by women in political processes in Zimbabwe, the challenges associated with the legal systems in enhancing political participation and the ways that can be taken to strengthen the legal frameworks for improved participation of women in political processes. The study conducted ten (10) key informant interviews. This comprises three (women in politics) and these

individuals constituted the key informants for the study since they directly participate in the political processes where women are included. The study selected three women in politics, specifically two members of parliament, and one senate member in Zimbabwe's parliament. These were deemed to have the necessary information on the research questions as they actively participate in politics as women. The key informant interviews also constituted three (men in politics), and four (4) political party spokespersons. These were also considered to be the key informants as they actively participate in different political processes where women are available. Their involvement was meant to provide deeper insights on the gaps in the legal frameworks that support the participation of women in political processes. The study managed to get different insights from the participation of women in Zimbabwe's political processes.

3.3.2 In-depth Interviews

In-depth interviews are defined by (Barbie 2010: 142) as qualitative data collection tools that provide a flexible way of interacting with the research participants and gaining in-depth knowledge on the topic under study. In-depth interviews are helpful providing through direct engagement with the participants, in-depth interviews offer more opportunities to ask follow-up questions, probe for additional information and circle back to key research questions later in a bid to generate a rich understanding of perceptions and attitudes (Babbie 2010). The study conducted in-depth interviews with 3 (three) political analysts, 2 (two) representatives from the Civil Society Organisations –Zimbabwe Election Support Network (ZESN) and Women's Coalition of Zimbabwe (WCOZ), and one representative from the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). These were necessary as they are special groups that interact with the key informants hence were useful by providing their perspectives on the challenges in the legal systems that facilitate the participation of women in political processes. However, interviews are more costly and tiresome to conduct as compared to questionnaires since they involve traveling (Denscombe, 2001). Interviews also allow bias from the eagerness

of some interviewees to please the interviewer while sometimes the interviewer seeks answers that support his or her preconceived notions (Creswell, 2007). They also lack anonymity hence respondents feel threatened especially when the topic is sensitive (Cohen et al, 2006). To address these limitations, the study used documentary review to supplement the findings to improve the credibility and richness of the research findings.

3.3.3 Documentary Review

The section presents a qualitative documentary review that was used in exploring the innovative strategies needed to enhance women political participation in Zimbabwe. According to Creswell (2009: 173) documents act as rich sources of information in qualitative studies. The study adopted the technique to examine documents that focused on public participation in political processes and gender representation. Some of the documents that were used included journals and other studies on the subject under investigation. Creswell (2009) believes that documents are an unobtrusive source of information that can be accessed any time. Documents represent rich sources of information in that data which are thoughtful in that participants have given attention to compiling them.

According to Stake (1995), documentary review is an intensive study producing a rich description of a single phenomenon, event or program. This is the method where the researcher relies on interpretations and descriptions rather than using raw data for analysis. Like other analytical methods in qualitative research, documentary analysis requires that data be examined and interpreted to elicit meaning, gain understanding and develop empirical knowledge, Carbin and Strauss (2008). Atkinson (1997) notes that documents are socially made facts which are used in organised social ways. The researcher reviewed available documents as part of the study and incorporated the information in the research. Documents of all types can help the researcher to uncover meaning, develop understanding and discover insights relevant to the research problem reported by Merriam (1988:118).

Advantages of documentary review are that it is less time consuming. Merriam (1988) argues that there is stability with documentary review because the investigator's presence does not alter what is studied. Yin (1994) argues that there is wide coverage when using documentary review. Documentary review covers a long period of time and events that occurred. However, documentary reviews have a loophole because documents are not only produced for the sake of research, but they are also created independent of a researcher agenda. Hence the researcher is to first consider the original purpose of the document before using it.

3.4 Data Analysis Method

This section presents content analysis techniques as used in the analysis of data on the innovative strategies needed to enhance women participation in politics in Zimbabwe.

3.4.1 Content Analysis

Content analysis is a tool that is used to outline the presence of themes and words in qualitative data. Hansen (1982) defines content analysis as any technique for making inferences by systematically and objectively identifying special characteristics of messages. By using content analysis, the researcher can analyse meanings and relationships of words. Language is analysed within texts to search for bias or partiality. This study analysed various forms of texts in its analysis in relation to the participation of women in political processes. Content analysis reduces text to categories in what the researcher must focus on to inform the research questions. Advantages of content analysis are that it directly examines communication using text. Busha and Stephen (1980:45) notes that it outlines historical and cultural practices over time. It offers insight into complex thoughts of humans and used language over time. It is readily understood and an inexpensive research method. The major drawback of content analysis is that it is more descriptive to produce the innovative strategies needed to enhance women political participation in Zimbabwe hence in-depth knowledge was limited.

3.4.2 Thematic Analysis

Data collected through key informant interviews and in-depth interviews were analyzed using thematic analysis. The method entailed searching across a set of data and then identifying, analyzing and reporting repeated patterns and themes emerging. According to Ndlovu et al. (2017) data analysis in qualitative research is a continuous process whereby masses of data are reduced into smaller chunks for analysis. During the thematic analysis process six steps that were developed by Braun and Clarke (2006) as cited in (Kiger and Varpio2020: 4-5) were followed. The steps included familiarizing with the data collected, generating initial codes, searching for emerging themes, reviewing themes, defining and naming the themes and producing the report. This method enabled the researcher to use both narrative descriptions and representative data extracts. The process is explained below:

Stage 1: Data Preparation

The researcher prepared the data through printing the transcripts of the interview that were undertaken on the target population concerning the participation of women in the political processes in Zimbabwe. During this first stage, the researcher also managed to gather the necessary documents that had relevant information about the topic under study so that it was able to be analysed and the findings can be generalized to the entire population.

Stage 2: Reviewing and exploring the data

The researcher reviewed and explored the data that were collected in the research so that the researcher would get the sense of what that collected data means and to get to understand the meaning, values and ideas that are embedded in the data that has been collected on the different levels of participation by women in Zimbabwe's political processes. The researcher did this to ensure that there is an understanding of the collected data to come up solutions to the challenges or loopholes ingrained in the legal and institutional systems that facilitate the participation of women in different political processes in Zimbabwe.

Stage 3: Coding

The researcher created codes that were coming out of the data that was collected by the researcher. The process of coding data ensures that data has been categorised in different key words and phrases that could be used. The codes were also derived from a review of literature on the different levels of participation by women in Zimbabwe's political processes. This process helped the researcher in coming up with the codes that were combined and analysed into themes as shown below.

Stage 4: Combining codes into themes

The researcher proceeded to revise the codes that had been created and arranged those codes into themes that could be used in the research for understanding of the research problem. This process also involves putting these themes into different categories of themes that are similar as has been given by the participants and the codes combined were used to understand different research questions of the study.

Step 5: Developing keywords

The researcher went further from combining the codes into key themes by developing the key works which helped in the identification of key themes of the study. Development of themes helped the researcher in the display and identification of data for analysis. This was noted by Flick (2014) as a good way to display qualitative data for easy identification of themes for analysis.

Step 6: Present themes in a cohesive manner

The last stage that was used by the researcher in the analysis of data was presenting the data in a cohesive manner for effective meaning and answering of the research problem. At this stage the researcher developed and presented the research findings in different themes which

answered on the levels of participation, the challenges in the legal frameworks and the innovative strategies that can be adopted to improve the participation of women in the political processes in Zimbabwe.

3.5 Trustworthiness of the study

It refers to the degree of confidence in data interpretation and methods used to ensure the quality of the study as argued by Maphosa (2014). Researchers agree that trustworthiness is necessary, debates have been waged in the literature as to what constitutes trustworthiness, Eisner (1991:54). In qualitative research the concept is more obscure because it is put in different terms since qualitative researchers do not use instruments. Trustworthiness includes credibility, transferability, conformability and dependability.

Yin (1984) argues that credibility is how confident the researcher is in trusting the findings. The researcher in this study was very confident because she used verified sources of information. Transferability is how the researcher justifies that the research findings can be applied in other contexts. Other contexts can mean similar situations, population or phenomena, Denzin (1970). In this case the researcher used other country experiences to prove that the research is applicable in other contexts. Eisner (1991) noted that conformability refers to the neutrality of the researcher in his or her findings. In this study the researcher made sure that there is no room for bias or personal motivations. Lastly dependability is defined by Merriam (1988) as the extent that the study could be repeated by other researchers so that the findings could be consistent. Inquiry audit can be used to establish dependability to prove that the findings could be repeated. By the use of verified documents like parliamentary reports, hansards, publications from reputable organizations like the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the researcher was certain that dependability was achieved.

3.6 Ethical Considerations

Ethics are a set of principles that guide research design and practice. Researcher is to adhere to certain code of conduct when collecting data. The study ensured that there was no falsification of data and there was acknowledgement of the sources of data in the collection and analysis of the research findings as provided by Ryan-Nicholls (2009). This was done to ensure that there was no plagiarism in the research process as well as to establish credibility of the research findings. Research ethics are very important for the credibility of the research findings. The research ensured that informed consent was obtained, confidentiality of the data and anonymity of the names of the participants was also guaranteed in the research process. According to Fouka and Mantzorou (2011) in research, there is a need to ensure that the researcher obtains informed consent from the research participants. This means that researchers should ask for permission from the participants to take part in the research process and they can withdraw at any given point. Hennick et al. (2010) further explained the important considerations to research which include; informed consent which is the process whereby individuals are provided sufficient information about the research in a format that is comprehensive to them, and they make a voluntary decision whether to participate in the research. The researcher ensured that the respondents agreed to participate in the study to obtain informed consent and they were free to withdraw from the study at any point. In addition, anonymity is of paramount importance as the researcher should always protect the identity of the participants. The researcher also ensured that the names of the research participants were not taken to protect anonymity of the identities of the researchers and the data from the research process was not disclosed to anyone to ensure that there is confidentiality of data. These ethical principles were taken heed of in the research process.

3.7 Conclusion

The chapter presented research methodology that was used in conducting the study. The chapter presented the qualitative research approach and the interpretive research philosophy

that informed the researcher's lens in carrying out the study. The chapter further outlined a qualitative research design that is used in the collection, analysis and presentation of the research findings. The chapter further presented the data collection methods, data analysis, ethical considerations and trustworthiness of the study. The next chapter discusses the major findings of the study.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF FINDINGS

4.0 Introduction

The last chapter presented the research methodology that was used in exploring the innovative strategies needed to enhance women political participation in Zimbabwe. Based on documentary review, key informant interviews and in-depth interviews, this chapter presents the research findings in line with the research objectives. The chapter presents the levels of participation in the political process by women, the challenges in the legal and institutional systems and the innovative strategies that can be adopted towards strengthening the participation of women in political processes. Data were analysed to assess if truly the presence of women influenced the outcome on gender equality. The chapter proceeds to provide a critical interrogation on the strategies that have been implemented to enhance gender equality in Zimbabwe towards the development of a working model for effective women's participation in political processes. The chapter ends by discussing the implications of the research findings in relation to the working model for enhancing the participation of women in the political processes.

4.1 Research Experience

The researcher carried out the study in finding out the role of chiefs in the contemporary governance system. The researcher first sought consent or approval to collect data from the key informants who were, 3 (three) women in politics, 3 (three) men in politics, and four (4) political party spokespersons. The study also sought consent from 3 (three) political analysts, 2 (two) representatives from the Civil Society Organisations –Zimbabwe Election Support Network (ZESN) and Women's Coalition of Zimbabwe (WCOZ), and one representative from the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). Despite the sensitivity of the topic, the researcher managed to get clearance from the Zimbabwe Republic Police to carry out the study and the researcher managed to collect data with the help of three research assistants.

4.2 The demographic data of the Key informants

The study sampled 3 (three) women in politics, 3 (three) men in politics, and four (4) political party spokespersons. The study also selected 3 (three) political analysts, 2 (two) representatives from the Civil Society Organisations –Zimbabwe Election Support Network (ZESN) and Women’s Coalition of Zimbabwe (WCOZ), and one representative from the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP).

Table 4.1 Demographic Profiles of the Participants

Participants	Code used in the study	Age	Experience	Level of education
Women in Politics 1	WIP 1	55	7	Degree
Women in Politics 2	WIP 2	50	3	Diploma level
Women in Politics 3	WIP 3	61	11	Degree
Men in Politics 1	MIP 1	74	15	A level
Men in Politics 2	MIP 2	45	4	Degree
Men in Politics 3	MIP 3	49	6	A level
Civil Society Organisations 1	CSO 1	35	5	Diploma
Civil Society Organisations 2	CSO 2	44	4	A-Level
UNDP	UNDP	45	3	A-Level

Political Party spokespersons 1	PPS 1	39	6	Diploma
Political Party spokespersons 2	PPS 2	45	10	Degree
Political Party spokespersons 3	PPS 3	37	12	Degree
Political Party spokespersons 4	PPS 4	56	15	Diploma

Source: Own Data

The table above provides the bio data of key informants in the study. The table showed that the chiefs in the study were all versed with the trends and developments in women’s political participation as most of them have over three years’ experience. The sampled participants all managed to attain basic education with the least participants ending at ordinary level and the most at diploma level which implies that the participants had enough literacy expertise to be able to effectively respond to the interview questions appropriately. Codes were attached to the key informants so that responses would be contextualised and linked to the bio-data provided.

4.3 Research Findings and Analysis

The study sought to assess the legislative systems that foster the participation of women in politics in Zimbabwe. The section below discusses the various legislative systems that enhance the participation of women in the political systems. Some of the legislative systems include the National Gender Policy of 2017, the Constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment 20 Act 2013, the National Gender Commission, and the quota system to mention but a few. The section below discusses in detail these legislative systems and their effectiveness in promoting the participation of women in politics.

4.3.1 Legislative Systems Fostering the Participation of Women in Politics

4.3.1.1 Constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment (20) Act 2013

The Constitution has provided a number of economic, political, cultural and social changes including the upliftment of rights of women, empowerment in economic activities and the inclusion of women in decision making processes. Under Chapter 4 Section (80) states that women have equal opportunities just like men and are free to participate in political, social and economic activities. This is also supported by Section (67) (7) which guarantees that female workers have the right to maternity leave and on full payment of at least 90 days. This provision enhances equality in dignity of women to participate in social, economic and political activity. However, regarding this provision the Constitution is not in line with the Labour Act. Maternity provision in the Labour Act has not been amended since the passage of the 2013 Constitution. Hence this implies that the Labour Act is now unconstitutional and a violation of Section (65) (7) as it limits the availability and frequency of maternity leave.

In 2013, Zimbabwe enacted a new Constitution, which places a strong emphasis on strengthening the rights of women and girls in all areas of life, including the political, social, and economic ones. The following clauses in the Constitution demonstrate the values and guiding principles that guarantee women the same rights and opportunities as men: "The State must promote full gender balance in Zimbabwean society and in particular, the State must promote the full participation of women in all spheres of Zimbabwean society on the basis of equality with men." -Section 17 *"Every woman has full and equal dignity of the person with men and this includes equal opportunities."* - Section 80 states that "an additional sixty women shall be elected under a party-list system of proportional representation based on votes cast for political party candidates for the next two terms of the National Assembly (beginning in 2013)." Clause 12. Section (80) (1) states that women have the ability to participate in political activities. This is supported by Section (17) (b) which states that women are to be represented

in all government institutions equally just like men at every level. Section (104) (4) requires that the President is to follow the stipulations in the constitution and ensure gender balance in selecting Ministers and Deputy Ministers. Through the key informant interviews, PPS1 noted that:

“The promulgation of the 2013 Constitution was a milestone achievement in pushing for the rights of women to be recognised which is a key anchor towards the upliftment of women in top leadership positions. The rights of women remain central if recognised by the laws of the country in developing female leaders.” In line with this, WIP1 also noted that, *“the participation of many women in Zimbabwean politics is attributed to the inclusion of the rights that protect women in the Constitution.”*

Election turnout increased from 14% to 32% in Parliament and from 33% to 48% in the Senate in 2013. This was explained by the use of the new quota system. In 2018 there was a decline in the representation of women in the Senate and national assemblies. Women made up 31% of the Parliament and 44% of the Senate. Women made up 31% of the National Assembly thanks to the quota. In actuality, 16% of voters were women. Political parties are relegating women to the 60 designated seats as a result of the quota system, which has a detrimental overall impact. The number of women serving in municipal government has likewise fallen. Women's participation peaked in 2013 at 16% but fell to 14% in 2018 (Gender Links, 2018). In addition to promoting gender-neutral social policies, this hinders the ability of female citizens to demand accountability, justice, and equity in the provision of services because they must approach male Councillors who frequently are not aware of the gendered realities that influence women at that level. At this level, no affirmative measures, such as the quota system or the zebra system, are being taken to promote the participation of women.

For participation to be effective, it must be meaningful. All five stages of involvement-information consultation, collaborative development, communal decision-making, and supporting-must be used for meaningful participation, according to Baicchio (2003). The activity is inclusive of all voices in society, particularly when making decisions. The majority of voters, rally goers, event organizers, and support staff tend to be women on a regular basis. Rather than including their voices and so receiving approbation, women are invited to engage as a tool of representation. This window dressing strategy has been used by Zimbabwean presidents at lower levels of decision-making. Women rise through the ranks, starting with provincial ministers and ending with councilors.

From permanent secretaries to support personnel in government offices, and from magistrates to court clerks in the judiciary. In the private sector, deputy directors are becoming less common. The deputization of women to ensure women's participation in decision-making is the second trend. Joyce Mujuru, who was chosen vice president by the country's then-president RG Mugabe, held the position as the highest level a woman had ever gained in Zimbabwe. That in no way made it more equal for women in politics. Women continue to participate at the lowest rate. Women are viewed as being rebellious and ungovernable, and measures must be done to bring them under control. Women candidates were frequently labeled as "sex workers" or "hure." These verbal and psychological abuse attacks on women's moral standing try to undermine their self-assurance and sense of worth. Physical violence has replaced verbal abuse, where women are now battered, kidnapped, and vanished for expressing their political views and opposing men in positions of authority. Other instances of what is known as sextortion involve asking women to perform sexual favors in exchange for employment, positions, medical treatment, services, and contracts (TIZ, 2019).

CSO 1 indicated that: *"The Zimbabwean constitution has fundamental human rights which are a birth right of every Zimbabwean regardless of gender or sex thus numerous sections in the*

constitution provide for the support of women in the political space.” This is consistent with section 3 of the Constitution of Zimbabwe which notes that Zimbabwe was built on the acceptance of certain values and concepts, including the acknowledgement of the inherent worth and dignity of every human being, the equality of all people, and gender equality. The paragraph further indicates that respect for women's rights is one of the core principles of good governance that unites the State and all other institutions and agencies of government.

Furthermore, section 17 clearly states that the State shall support complete gender equality and, in particular, must support women's full involvement in all aspects of Zimbabwean society on an equal footing with men. At every level of government, both genders should be equally represented in all institutions and agencies. Women and men have the right to equal treatment, including the right to equal chances in political, economic, cultural, and social arenas, according to Section 56(2) of the Declaration of Rights. In accordance with Section 80 of the Declaration of Rights, every woman is entitled to the same complete and equal dignity as males, including the same possibilities in political, economic, and social spheres. It can be coined that the constitution attempts to provide a fair grounding for both males and females in the political space-it emphasises the need for fairness, equality and rule of law when it comes to the participation of both men and women in the political space. Nevertheless, it should be noted that equality presented in section 56 may not be sufficient enough to encourage the participation of the previously disadvantaged group (women) where patriarchal continuities have been the centre of determination in the political space. Rather, legislation should put more effort in enhancing equity rather than equality in the political space.

In pursuant to equity rather than equality in political representation, PPS1 noted that: *“Women are given special representation in the Senate and National Assembly under Sections 120 and 124 as revised in 2021. In order to ensure that more or less equal numbers of men and women are elected to the Senate, party lists for candidates must alternately list men and women*

(section 120), and sixty women must be elected to the National Assembly on party lists at each general election (section 124)." This was supported by PPS 4 who indicated that: *"The Constitution and the Electoral Act provides for the election of the party-list women to the National Assembly and the Senate but does not yet provide for the election of women to provincial and metropolitan councils and local authority councils in terms of sections 268 and 277 of the Constitution."*

The provisions in the Zimbabwean Constitution anchor well with international instruments like the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights where Article 1 of the Covenant states that: "All peoples have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status". Women are included in this statement because article 3 of the Covenant goes on to say: "States Parties to the present Covenant undertake to ensure the equal right of men and women to the enjoyment of all civil and political rights set forth in the present Covenant".

From the above discussion, it can be gleaned that, the passage of the laws in the Zimbabwean constitution presented an opportunity for women to feel supported and protected by the law to push towards the participation in the political space which is cardinal towards the effective participation of women in the political space. According to section 67 Constitution of Zimbabwe, every Zimbabwean citizen has the right to form political parties to form, to join and to participate in the activities of a political party or organisation of their choice. They also have the right to campaign freely and peacefully for a political party or cause. This is one of the pillars that anchors the effective participation of women in the political space. It ensures that political participation is gender-blind and seeks to give the platform to participation between men and women.

4.3.1.2 National Gender Policy

The old National Gender Policy was legalised in 2004. It provided parameters for gender equality in all development programs, projects and policies in all sectors. It must be noted that the National Gender Policy had positive social, economic and political outcomes. Its major achievement was the creation of focal persons in nearly all ministries, departments and agencies. These gender focal persons are responsible for assessing if there is gender equality in all policies, programs and projects in different sectors and it has helped for the massive recognition of women in all sectors. The new National Gender Policy was revised in 2016 as it prioritised areas like education, information communication technology, training of women, issues on gender based violence, environment and the media coverage on gender equality issues. It is supported by the National Development Strategy 1 and it seeks to provide a 100 % internet penetration throughout the country.

WIP 2 noted that: *“On gender and education, women and girls are notably being trained in universities and there has been a notable rise of girls and women in tertiary institution through the provisions of the National Gender Policy”*

UNDP indicated that: *“The National Gender Policy opened up for a more inclusive and equitable society for women through initiatives such as the National Financial Inclusion Strategy was introduced by the central bank which is the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe and aims at increasing the access of women to affordable financial services.”*

It should be noted that the strategy aims to include women, youths and the disadvantaged groups. Mago and Hofisi (2014:20) notes that Financial Inclusion Strategy has increased women's access to bank credit and has improved women access on direct loans and saw an increase to above 40% to date. In Zimbabwe banks have established women's desks units and the provision is tailor made to provide products and services that meet the needs of female clients. The Central Bank has licensed the country's first women dedicated bank. It is a big

step because women need funding to participate in politics and for recognition. The NFIS has provided programs that help in financial literacy and this has helped in financial technology and providing a means of innovation through social media platforms.

However, WIP 1 noted that: *“despite the progress made in the modification of women's economic empowerment, financial inclusion of women in Zimbabwe remains low and there is much to be done.”* This was supported by WIP 2 and WIP 3 who agreed on the view that Women still face barriers to full access and use of bank facilities and these include collateral issues, financial literacy and patriarchal practices that leave women at a comparative disadvantage. This proves that more women are to be sensitized to use these financial services to attain power to participate in social, economic and political activities. Taken together, it can be noted that despite the provisions of the national gender policy, women have not fully realised the reality of the policy prescriptions in pursuant of gender equality in societies.

4.3.1.3 Quota System

Under the Sustainable Development Goal (5) it targets to increase the proportional seats held by women in national parliament. Zimbabwe is a signatory to the Southern Africa Development Committee (SADC) which targets at least 30 % under the Gender and Development Protocol. The Zimbabwe Constitution on Section (124) supports the quota system. The parliament has been making steady progress towards this goal. Dianna (2016) argues that quota systems only afford more opportunities for women participation, but contagion is more likely to occur in a proportional representation system than plurality or majority system.

CSO 2 indicated that: *“The quota system in Zimbabwe has been a best tool to enhance and increase the number of women in politics. However, the system is likely to end in 2023 and there is a need to draft another Act for it to increase its time frame. There is hope that*

proportional representation can be revised and its life span can be extended and make the system permanent before the next election in 2023.”

The quota system prescribes that 60 seats are set aside for proportional representation of women in parliament. Masarira (2022) reported that there has been an increase in the number of women in parliament from 16% to 34%. It is a good development as it has upheld ambitions of becoming parliamentarians. CSO 1 noted that: *“female parliamentarians can advocate for legislation that can provide significant benefits to their constituencies. Quota system is designed perfectly and can be effective in increasing women's access to power and political leadership.”* This agrees well with Nwakuya (2019) who posits that quotas can be adapted to fit a variety of political systems, structures and context and may work in every situation. Quota system is very helpful in countries that are not conducive for equal participation, and they can be helpful in addressing these institutional barriers.

PPS 2 however noted that: *“the effectiveness of the system depends on power holders and legal frameworks in the country rather than placing the opportunity on individual women to succeed.”* Taken briefly, the research findings generally point out to the point that frameworks and systems do not matter but their operationalization is key to realise the intended outputs. Otherwise, the frameworks remain a paper-affair without meaningful change for the empowerment of women in Zimbabwe’s political space.

The above findings suggest that female participation in politics is still low, despite efforts to promote equality and increase women's participation in national decision-making platforms through the use of quota systems. This is due to a number of prejudices have been exploited to impugn their abilities to participate in politics.

4.4 Current Levels of Women Participation in Politics in Zimbabwe

The study found that most women that participate in politics occupied the ward councillor's seats. PPS 1 noted that: *“women occupied the councillor's seats in Zimbabwe the most because the registration of councillor's candidates is for free. The challenge with other political posts such as of the presidency requires a candidate to pay 20 000 US dollars while members of parliament must pay 5000 United States dollars. This created a challenge that most women lack the funds for vying for these posts which require money.”*

In another interview, MIP 2 revealed that: *“political participation requires funds to campaign that is to print out fliers, posters and regalia which most women lack. In Zimbabwe most women that have managed to climb the political ladders have been backed by their male counterparts. For instance, Mai Mliswa, Oppah Muchinguri and Joyce Mujuru to mention a few. These women had political backing from the men that supported them financially and physically. This protected the women from abuse in the political arena.”*

From this discussion one can deduce that only those women who had managed to climb up the ladder with support from men have managed to sustain that power, however, in the case of Zimbabwe few women have managed to climb up the ladder hence the number of women occupying top political posts have remained low. Only 31% of women were elected to the Parliament and 14% to local government in the most recent elections (2018), which was well below the constitutional requirement, according to a report from the Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency.

UNDP noted that: *“Out of 118 candidates running for 28 seats in the National Assembly, only 16 women ran in the legislative by-elections on March 26. For 118 seats in the local government, 76 female candidates ran against 291 male candidates in the elections. 18 female candidates made it to their local councils, but only five gained seats in parliament.”*

CSO 2 also noted that: *“women's representation in parliament in Zimbabwe ranged from 9 percent at the lowest point to 22 percent at the greatest. This is well below the 50 percent threshold set by the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development and Millennium Development Goal 3, as well as the 30 percent minimum stipulated in the Southern African Development Community (SADC) Declaration on Gender and Development from 1997.”*

Statistics from the 2018 harmonised elections reveal regressing low women representation with 31.5% in the National Assembly (85 women, 60 of whom entered through the quota, effectively reducing those directly elected to only 11.9%) and a meagre 13.3% in Local government (267 women against 1689 male councillors (Ndarangwa, 2022). Due to the adoption of proportional representation in a zebra arrangement, the figures for the Senate are at 48% (38 female senators versus 42 male senators). Only 6 young women under the age of 35 were elected to parliament in 2018 which is a mere 2, 85%. The results of the primary elections held by the ruling Zanu PF party recently underlined the male predominance in all of the regions. Zimbabwe will hold its harmonised elections this August. Women all over the world, and Zimbabwe in particular are not well represented in leadership positions (Dejene 2007).in Zimbabwe women are mostly assigned to service positions where they will be serving under man which has been evident in many studies that man control most of the power and resources as well, Zinyemba (2013). For example, in 2005, there were only 34 women out of 150 members of Parliament and the number continued to fall as there were only 32 in 2012, Parliamentary debates, House of Assembly report, (2012). In the bid to foster equality the Zimbabwean government adopted a constitution that advocates for gender balance in 2013. The Constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment (No. 20) of 2012 on sections 17, 56, 67, 80,104 (4), 124(1) (b) renders for the promotion of full participation of women in all sectors and spheres of the Zimbabwean society based on equality with men. It also states that the state must do all it can to ensure equality and women must constitute at least half membership of commissions and government positions. The Ministry of

Women Affairs, Gender and Community Development which was established in 2005 was also put forward as a measure to support equality in Zimbabwe and mostly to elevate the status of women in society. Its mandate was to ensure gender mainstreaming in all sector ministries (UNFPA 2011). It supported the creation of Gender Focal persons in all line ministries, departments and agencies which were put in place to foresee and mainstream gender in all government policies through capacity building programs (Tarinda, 2019)

The country also launched the Women in Decision making Strategy to promote gender equality and women's empowerment (Mutingwende Byron). The government also facilitated the opening of the women's bank which the president provisioned to women so that they will meet their needs and eventually be empowered which is a positive step towards supporting women. At a glance, the position of women in political leadership can be summarised as: Cabinet Ministers are 21 only 5 are women, Ministers of state for provincial affairs are 10 only 5 are women (Padare, 2020). The data above shows that at all levels of decision-making women are far from achieving gender equality as stipulated in Section 17 of the Constitution of Zimbabwe. The glaring under representation of women is counter democratic. In 2018, the level of women in political positions dropped dismally. The quest to increase women participation remains a topical issue.

Comparatively, Rwanda has more women in its parliament than any other country in the region, at 56.3%. South Africa trailed closely with 45% following the 2009 elections. According to data from the Inter-Parliamentary Union, given the average regional representation of women in parliaments in Sub-Saharan Africa of 17.8%, it will take around 25 years to get to a critical mass of 30%, and another 25 years to get to 50% (Ndarangwa 2022, Maposa 2023). Evidence presented indicates that the participation of women in top leadership remains very low as compared to the regional trends. This points directly to the ineffectiveness of the legal frameworks in paving the way for the participation of women in political circles. This can as

well suggest that the limited participation of women may be a result of other impediments which are not related to the legal frameworks. In other words, legal frameworks alone may not be the road to the effective participation of women in politics but rather they facilitate the participation by providing the aspirations which ought to be operationalised by resources, political will among other socio-economic factors.

However, there are many other women who have made a name for themselves amongst men and managed to scoop top leadership posts in Zimbabwe. There are numerous payoffs for inclusion of women into leadership. Additional literature (Williams, 2004; David, 2015; O'Connor et al., 2015; Stoet & Geary, 2020) reveal that gender equality, outside of being a social justice issue, also leads to economic growth and benefits. Women who stand out as influential and proved that the inclusion of women has sound positive effects include the then first lady Amai Grace Mugabe who also led the women's league for ZANU PF after Joyce Mufuru was ousted. The current First Lady Auxilia Munangagwa who has been doing a lot in development and women empowerment with her capacity building projects and many others. The Zimbabwe electoral commission chairperson Priscila Chigumba. And the Minister of defense who was the first woman to be elected to such a post, Oppah Muchinguri Kashiri (Venganai and Dube 2018), and many other ministers which include ministers Monica Mutsvangwa, Sekai Nzenza, Stembiso Nyoni, Prisca Mupfumira and Kirsty Coventry (business times 2018). All these women earned their positions by being remarkable and being good at what they do, disputing the fact put forward that women are inferior, and they can't do anything on their own. Hence female leaders are as good as men or even better. Even so, women representation in leadership positions is still low because if we look at the 2018 harmonized elections, of the 23 presidential candidates, only 4 were women and they did not gain substantial votes to be noticed. And out of 210 parliamentary seats, only 26 went to women (Bataumocho 2018).

4.5 Legal Gaps in Zimbabwe Militating the Participation of Women in Politics

This section presents the ramifications associated with the participation of women in Zimbabwean politics. The study discovered common challenges from the participants which include gendered political violence to women, heckling of women in political spaces, lack of support, limited resources and other socio-cultural challenges that continue to negatively affect the participation of women in Zimbabwean politics.

4.5.1 Gendered Political Violence against Women

The results of the study indicate that gendered political violence against women is one of the major challenges that affect effective participation of women in Zimbabwean politics. An interview with WIP 1 indicated that: *“In 2019 masked gunmen kidnapped and tortured a local comic for her political humour. The next year, while participating in a demonstration with youth activists all members of the CCC, while one was a sitting Member of Parliament, was detained and then released after two days, tortured and confused. Women are typically recognised for peace and cooperation, so when a certain area, whether it be political or domestic, turns violent, they tend to withdraw.”*

The use of political violence against women reveals resistance of the political system towards devolving political power to women who are extinct of the hegemonic male group. WIP 2 further supported the view of the WIP 1 indicating that: *“Continued gendered violence in the political system undermines the democratic quality of the country. Democratic quality refers to the ability of the political actors and the political system to tolerate the temerity of women to enter into male space.”*

Violence by its nature affects participation of women in the political landscape which is an attempt to ensure that there is a fair competition between men and women over resources and the means of production. WIP 3 noted that: *“Political violence against women is becoming a*

major debacle undermining effective governance of the economy through undermining the possibility of a fair or equal access to political and economic participation with both genders.”

The implication of increased gendered violence on women undermines policy outcomes through minimising the range of perspectives and ideas which are available for decision making. This means that when there is gendered violence against women, women’s participation in the political space is limited thus policy outcomes that determine the governance of the economy suffers from the underrepresentation of women’s ideas and perspectives which are crucial for development to be realised. CSO 1 and CSO 2 generally agreed on the view that gendered violence in the political landscape runs contrary to the call for respecting gender equality in all sectors and it exponentially compounds undermining the participation of women in governing the distribution of economic resources. There is a need for institutionalisation of strictly enforced laws that acts as a barricade against gendered violence and pushes towards equality in determining the governance process. This implies that continued harassment and violence against women in the political space induce fear in women thereby encouraging apathy towards their participation despite having the adequate laws and systems to support gender equality in the political space.

Figure: Violence against Women



Source: Election Watch (2019)

The figure above shows the law enforcement officer to the left beating one woman who was part of the people practising their right to political participation in Zimbabwe. The picture shows how women are victimised during political participation.

4.5.2 Heckling of Women in Political Engagements

The study discovered that most women shy away from participating in the political circles due to the active heckling that takes place to female members of parliament and others who are players in the political space. PPS4 noted that: *“The parliament as a deliberative body to solve the problems in communities should allow for a parliamentary discourse that moderate between rival factions and to enable them to reach an acceptable level of dialogue, so that the parliament as an institution can fulfil its formal functions.”*

It is important to note that the role of the parliamentarians as espoused by section 118 of the Constitution of Zimbabwe amendment 20 Act 2013 is to provide an oversight, representative and legislative role. The legislative role of the parliament is the lawmaking function through which it has the responsibility to craft laws and policies that determine the governance of the day. However, the continued heckling of female members in parliament with their male counterparts undermines the ability of the female Member of Parliament to democratically represent the communities they represent and be engaged in policy dialogues which have an effect on the distribution of resources and empowerment of communities.

WIP 3 revealed that: *“some men do this because there is the abuse of the Privileges, Immunities and Powers of Parliament Act where members of parliament would call out hate speech and abusive words under the wrongful guise of the immunities and privileges of Parliament impedes the democratic execution of females in taking an active part in their legislative function to be directly involved in the formulation of rules and regulation to govern the means of production and the political landscape.”* This also has a negative effect for women to participate in economic activities and empowerment programs. To this end, policy outcomes would reflect

biased views due to non-participation of women in the political discourse which determines the governance and distribution of national resources. The parliament as a legislative body should ensure that laws are strengthened to guard against impunity and discrimination in parliament to cherish the democratic participation and inclusion of women in the political and economic landscape in shaping the governance process and distribution of resources.

WIP 3 noted that: *“the legal frameworks introduced in Zimbabwe to improve women participation are far from realizing it's goals as the participation had remained dismal. For example the quota system has not Improved much in terms of the plight of women as the numbers have not increased much since the introduction of the quota system.”* From this respondent it can be deduced that the laws are not yielding much as intended. However, another respondent noted that there is no need to be too critical of the quota system, something is better than nothing. An evaluation of the participation of women in politics before the quota system and afterwards show that the quota system has increased the participation of women in politics.

CSO 2 reiterated that: *“in terms of the quota system it is not just an issue of having women occupying political posts but not vocal at all. Some women that have occupied the political posts through quota systems had never contributed anything in parliament for the entire five years. The implication of this is that women are given posts just to silence them, but they are not effective, it's just a matter of fulfilling the laws without any meaningful contribution to the state.”* CSO 3 cited that the quota system was bound to operate for ten years from 2013 hence it has already outlived its existence without achieving its intended goals. From this argument one can note that more is needed to ensure that women are empowered to participate in politics besides having the quota system.

From the foregoing discussion, it can be noted that the constitution is the supreme law of the land, but, it is not an end unto itself. It also requires other subsidiary laws and implementation

frameworks to ensure that it becomes effective, argued another respondent. This was buttressed by another respondent who cited that in Zimbabwe apart from the constitution there are numerous pieces of legislation to empower women participation in politics but the turnout had remained low. The researcher then probed why the turnout had remained low in an arena with many legislations and the respondents concurred that laws require enforcement or rather implementation for it to be effective. It's saddening that most women are not aware of laws that support or empower them to participate in politics. Hence from this discussion the laws per se are not effective in empowering women to participate in politics more must be done beyond laws to increase women participation in politics.

As stated earlier there are numerous pieces of legislation that seek to increase or rather Improve women participation in Zimbabwe. However, the respondents to the study exposed that the laws are not wholly novel since the participation of women have remained dismal. A respondent stated that; laws to empower women have existed for a long time in Zimbabwe but the participation had remained low. The laws existed on paper but in practice they are mostly wanted. This was supported by another respondent who reiterated that some of these laws exist to appease the women but in practice they are not as strong as they appear on paper, having numerous laws supporting women in Zimbabwe may be a technique to exclude women by inclusion. From the sentiments of the respondents, it can be deduced that laws to support women participation in politics existed, but they lack enforcement mechanisms which are effective. The laws existed on paper but only a few women are aware of them to the extent that they are monopolized by the few elite women.

A respondent commented that Zimbabwe has robust laws which support women, but the implementation part has remained a prerogative of some sections of the society and not everyone. This created a challenge of lack of unity, there is a need for the state and the society to have one voice in advocating for the rights of women and to encourage them to participate

in politics. This was supported by another respondent who noted that laws existed in Zimbabwe, but they lack the means of enforcement, the implementation of the laws must be made compulsory. According to Nwakuya (2019), quota systems are compulsory in all political parties in Zimbabwe, however, it is the discretion of the party to increase women members beyond those in the quotas. The implication of this is that the same number of women will be found participating in politics. The discussion is that the quota system is not an end but rather a means to an end, but in practice it has been regarded as an end leaving more to be realized.

Also, the laws to support the participation of women in politics existed in Zimbabwe, but they lack the means to achieve the goals stated in them. A respondent stated that the purposes of all laws that aim to increase women participation in Zimbabwe, however, they lack the means to achieve the goals anyone who wants to implement the laws must muddle through a lot of trial and error. Political participation is not a mere act of participating, it requires funds which in most cases women lack. According to a respondent, women are very eager to participate in politics, but they lack the finances to support them hence they are excluded from the participation because of lack of means to achieve them. For instance, for one to run for a parliamentary post, the person needs to pay 5000 United States dollars, which women without a strong financial background lack. This therefore cements the statement stated above of exclusion by inclusion.

A respondent fumed that most of us as women are relegated to councillors posts because they are free of charge, however, everything else requires money which most women lack. Just as Quota systems have been adopted, there is a need to exempt women from the nomination fees for at least two terms to encourage participation. Another respondent noted that the issue of lower participation of women in politics is beyond legal frameworks. There are other factors that militate against the participation of women in politics besides lack of funds and legal frameworks which includes patriarchal systems, low self-esteem by women, culture to mention

a few. This was cemented by another respondent who noted that the issue of low women participation goes beyond laws, for instance the patriarchal systems and culture of African people relegated women to house chores. This is further exacerbated by the notion that politics is a dirty game. Most women are scared to participate in politics and regard it as a game for men. This is further coupled by the culture factor which regards every woman that participates in politics without the support of men as a whore, thus women shun this labelling.

Women participation in leadership positions remain impeded due to parenthood responsibilities (Shava and Chasokela 2020). Traditionally women are termed mothers and are expected to act the nurturing roles, SL Katz Wise (2010) where they will be home raising kids and keeping the home as annotated in a Shona proverb, 'musha mukadzi', T Chirara (2023). They are supposed to look after the kids and their husbands. This has affected women in leadership positions and women aspiring to be in leadership positions because once a woman is married, she is required to perform her wifely duties. That means if she is a leader, it will be more like leading two lives which is exhausting, Zheng (2018) for example she will have to bear children and nurture them and at the same time report to duty. This impact of the family on advancement is widely recorded in literature. Chabaya et al 2009; Morley 2010, Newman 1995 and others purports that women in management positions have problems dealing with home and work lives and matching them with their demand on their time. Because of failure to deal with the time demands some women choose not to marry to avoid difficulties of combining a demanding career and a family. Thus, women continue to be underrepresented in leadership positions, even though today women earn most of the college and university degrees, their chances of experiencing or enjoying benefits and promotions associated with leadership are slim (Shava and Chasokela 2020).

Most African societies believed that only men make good leaders thus they continued to have many various attitudes towards female leadership roles because they do not fit the norm

Lincoln Hlatywayo et al. (2014). The male bias is reflected in the false conception of leadership as mere command or control (Burns, 1998). Historically leadership has carried the notion of masculinity and the belief that men were meant to lead and women to follow the lead (Ngcongco, 1993 in, Grant, 2005) thus female leaders were very rare and very few. Men were seen as central to the purpose of academic work and leadership and as creators of knowledge whilst women were left to more supportive private roles Martin (2011). For example, secretaries and reception jobs are more populated with women and leadership and managerial positions are relegated to men. Bargman (2005) in her research established that a major deterrent factor to women operations in leadership positions even when these are made available is a mere universal fundamental cultural bias in favour of males. It may be indeed difficult for a woman to relinquish power in the home as it is for men to assume responsibilities for domestic home activities. Ozgan (1993) observed that the main problems faced by women in management positions include isolation and marginalization. Comparing male and female support, Gourley (2013) states that men can usually rely on their wives to support them in finding the extra time entailed in holding down leadership positions while many women lack the support they need to climb the career ladder.

According to Chuma and Ncube (2010), they use the concept of 'glass ceiling'. They believe that there is an extent to which women can go when it comes to advancing upwards in management and leadership positions. The 'glass ceiling' which is a metaphor for the visible barrier that prevents women from achieving leadership positions is created by invisible forces of culture, habit and power that serve to keep women below men 'in their place'(Dale 2020). Although such gender stereotypes exist, there are examples of women who have played key leadership roles and gained respect amongst men-Mbuya Nehanda who played a big role as the medium that led the people in the second Chimurenga (Shava and Ndebele 2014).

Thus, women face a myriad of challenges that impede them from attaining leadership positions which are mostly the gendered nature of management practices which is the organizational structure, parenthood, and culture, (Shava and Chasokela 2020), these continue to thwart the growth rate of women in leadership positions. Hence making it difficult for women to rise to higher levels of leadership positions. In Zimbabwe there has never been a female president but there were efforts to equalize men and women as we once had a female vice president, Amai Joice Mujuru who held this office from 2004 to 2014 which was a big achievement as many other African countries have not yet achieved this. However her reign was short lived as she was ousted from trying for greater heights and because higher leadership positions are mostly congested with men it made it difficult for her to rise to a greater power and she ended up losing her title and power as the vice president and also as the leader of ZANU PF women's league henceforth making it difficult for women to infiltrate these positions. However, Amai Mujuru went on to form her own party where she led and campaigned for president, but she unfortunately was defeated.

4.5.3 Resources unavailability

Study findings also point to the fact that women are failing to effectively participate in political spaces due to the unavailability of the resources. Also restricted by a lack of resources is women's political participation. While the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (Zec) has raised the candidate nomination costs, many women struggle to raise the money necessary to campaign. The fees increased to US\$20,000 this year, with US\$1,000 and US\$100 for Senate and council candidates. In 2018, presidential candidates paid US\$1,000 and lawmakers paid US\$50. WALPE and other women's rights organizations that support democracy filed a petition objecting to the high nomination fees, but to no avail (Ndarangwa, 2018). This, however, does not accurately reflect the country's current economic status. Over 90% of the population is unemployed, and it looks like a lady.

4.6 Discussion

Women political empowerment and equal access to leadership are fundamental to achieve the Sustainable Development Goal and a more equitable world. A key component is active participation by women in political processes. Bari (2018:67) notes that women are estimated to make up to 49.6% of the global population in 2018 but only have 23.6% of parliamentary positions globally. Hence closing the gap in equality requires several innovative strategies and it depends on the country's policies. It must be noted that there are innovative strategies that can be implemented to enhance women participation in politics.

The study has also found that in the case of Zimbabwe it does not only require legal frameworks to empower women. This is so because women remain underrepresented in local government and Parliament notwithstanding the progressive policies that have been passed. 52% of the population of the nation is made up of women, yet despite 60 seats being set aside for women elected using a party-list system, only 48% of senators and 31.5 % of members of the national assembly were women after the 2018 general election. Only 11,9% of the National Assembly's constituency members were women. Only five women were elected to the 28 parliamentary seats that were up for election after the 2022 by-elections. Only 19 women, compared to 103 men, were elected to local government councils. Therefore, Zimbabwe has made significant efforts to enact laws promoting women's involvement in politics. But good laws alone are insufficient. Before women assume their appropriate place in the political life of the nation, the electorate and women themselves must adjust their perspectives and attitudes.

Girls and women have the right to participate in civil society, vote, run for office, serve on boards, and have their opinions heard in any process that affects them, their families and their communities. Equal representation rights and the creation of enabling and effective governance require parity at all levels of government. Ghosh (2015:300) concluded that young girls and women are to have the confidence in their ability that they can lead. It can be argued that

women firstly must believe in themselves that they can lead, and this transformative attitude is needed in Zimbabwe to increase the amount of women participation in politics.

The Zimbabwean government and private organizations have tried very much in ensuring that gender equality is attained as stated under the SDG. Women's voice and influence can be attained if the government provides innovative strategies like supporting feminist movements, voter education, and funding and media coverage. These innovative strategies help to advance women's zeal to engage in political activities. However, some respondents in the study cited that some men in the society feel threatened by the empowerment of women to the extent that they sabotage the initiatives by the government to empower women. Also, another critical observation that was observed in the study is that women do not stand up with one solid voice to fight for their rights, it's not men that are against women but women against women. This situation arises from the view that some women are not accommodating of the definition of equality by other women hence they become sworn enemies. For instance, elite women are in constant struggle with the have-nots, with the elites trying to maintain their status quo while they do not want to climb up the ladder as envisaged by Marx in his book the Political Economy pertaining to class struggles.

4.7 Chapter Summary

The chapter presented the findings in relation to the participation of women in Zimbabwean politics. The chapter assessed the effectiveness of the legislative frameworks for the participation of women in politics, the state of women's participation in politics and the challenges associated with the participation of women in politics in Zimbabwe. The chapter made several revelations on the research objectives which inculcates numerous challenges that continue to haunt the participation of women in the political field despite having different legal and institutional systems in place to support for the participation of women in the political

space. The next chapter presents the conclusions and recommendations for the study in relation to the research questions and objectives.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

The chapter presents the summary of the study, major conclusions and recommendations. It outlines the innovative strategies needed to enhance women participation in politics in Zimbabwe. This chapter concludes on the feasibility of the innovative strategies needed as recommendations. Conclusion also supports that barriers that affect women political participation are to be eliminated. Financial constraints, patriarchal society and violence against women are the major factors outlined as affecting women participation in politics. The chapter will proceed to provide the summary of the study from the first chapter to the last. It will further conclude on the research objectives raised in the study.

5.1 Summary of the Study

The major aim of the study was to explore the innovative strategies needed to enhance women participation in politics. In chapter one, the study presented the background of the study where it explained the phases from post-colonial Zimbabwe to the new dispensation. It highlighted the challenges that hindered women to engage in politics. It further discussed the problem statement highlighting that gender inequality is dominant in Zimbabwean politics. Chapter two highlighted the benefits of including women in politics. It further outlined the barriers that hinder women participation in politics. It reviewed related literature on women participation in politics from a global and regional perspective. It further reviewed empirical studies that have been conducted on women participation in different countries to put to light that innovative strategies are necessary to enhance women participation in politics. Chapter three presented the research methodology that was used in the study. The study was rooted in the interpretive research paradigm where it sought to explore innovative strategies to enhance women participation in politics. Chapter four outlined the key findings from the study.

5.3 Conclusions

5.3.1 Legislative frameworks that facilitate the participation of women in politics

The study sought to assess the various legislative frameworks that facilitate the participation of women in the political space in Zimbabwe. On this objective, the study concludes that there are various frameworks that ought to support the participation of women in politics. These include the Constitution, National Gender Policy, the Quota system and other international conventions. The study concludes that the laws or frameworks appear to be sufficient to encourage effective participation of women in Zimbabwean politics.

5.3.2 State and Effectiveness of the Legislative Frameworks for the Participation of Women in Zimbabwean Politics

The study concludes that the strategies that were implemented to enhance women's participation have been successful. The quota system has been the best tool in increasing the number of women in parliament and this has made many women have the zeal to run for political positions. Financial crisis affected many sectors in Zimbabwe. Poor funding has affected the installation of ICT gadgets country wide, and it has affected women participation in politics thereby hindering gender equality. This makes it necessary for the implementation of the innovative strategies to enhance women political participation in Zimbabwe.

5.3.3 Challenges Affecting the Participation of women in Politics

5.3.3.1 Gendered Political Violence

The study concludes that gendered political violence is one of the challenges that have pervasively undermined the effective performance of women in politics regardless of having the adequate legal and institutional systems to support their participation. Gendered political violence has been mostly prevalent in opposition political party members who often feel abused by the ruling party members, and this has a role model effect which creates empathy from participating in the political space.

5.3.3.2 Heckling of women in parliament and other political spaces

The study concludes that heckling of women in parliament and in other political spaces emerged as a major challenge affecting the participation of women in the political space. Women indicated that they feared their male counterparts when their social life, financial status and even marital status was sexualised and used to discredit their political participation. This generated lack of self-esteem on the part of women and apathy to continue participating in the political space.

5.4 Recommendations

5.4.1 Need for Strong Autonomous Feminist Movements

The study further recommends that there is a need for strong autonomous feminist movements. These movements are necessary because they provide women and girls with the platforms that can uphold their voices for participation in politics and representation. These groups are involved by the state in decision making or during policy formulation as there are important stakeholders. These movements encourage women to run for political positions. These groups push for policies that enhance gender equality. These feminist movements are needed because they recruit more women as political candidates, and this brings more progress to gender equality. Feminist movement enhances women's active participation in politics because it sensitises women on the need for active participation in politics.

Until the patriarchal nature of society is transformed so that women are no longer stereotyped and considered as inferior to males, women will not be able to play a truly equal role in political matters. Although it will probably take many years to change societal perceptions, doing so might go more quickly if women are given more access to resources and encouraged to participate in the workforce. If political parties are encouraged to nominate more women for election to local and national offices, change may happen more quickly. This might be accomplished by requiring parties receiving state financing to run a minimum number of women candidates in general elections, say 40%.

5.4.2 Government Support to Female Politicians

It is recommended that the government has to support female politicians. The government is to put in place audits in political parties to ensure that gender equality prevails. Targets are to be set for female participation in party conventions about gender equality agreements. It must be agreed within the government that on every open seat a woman can sit. Parliament is to hold political parties accountable if they fail to adapt to gender to gender targets. It is necessary for political parties to create training sites to sensitise the general populace about the need to actively participate in politics. It is the duty of government and international observers to monitor election processes to the very end. Government is to eliminate all legal obstacles that hinder women participation and hold those obstructing them accountable.

5.4.3 Develop Competency of Women Candidates

The study further recommends that political mentoring is needed as a useful initiative. Training programs empower women with the needed political skills. Consistent training of female candidates yields better results. These leadership skills provide opportunities to strengthen newly elected women and provide opportunities to foster policy dialogue. Political experiences are to be shared across all countries and regions. There is a need to ensure women visibility in the campaign by providing additional media. Political meetings are to be held at places that are convenient and friendly so that women can attend. In addition women are to be encouraged to support fellow women. If women are encouraged to continuously participate in civic education like schools, universities and civil society spaces it helps a lot in their political participation.

5.4.4 Voter Education

Political participation depends on the access to education about electoral systems. Civil society's sensitive women and voter education programs can be a good move to enhance women's active role in politics. It is recommended that education programs focus on technical aspects of the type of electoral system applicable to a particular election. If materials such as guides, toolkits and handbooks are published they modify the awareness campaign and provide

important information on political participation. Voter education empowers women on the awareness about the basic features of the political process. Voter education uncovers the realities of inequality and shows the male dominance in political settings. To discover the reality of men's domination and the necessity to impose the weight of developing gender sensitivity on both men and women, voter education is required.

5.4.5 Media Coverage

The media have an important role in contributing women to engage in politics. The media have the duty to publicise candidates and their manifestos as widely as possible. This has to be done regardless of their gender while seeking to treat women equally and impartially. Those in the media are to be advised that their stories perpetuate gender patterns which can strengthen or weaken democracy. Media coverage is recommended because it upholds democracy. They must convey democratic message which upholds gender equality.

5.5 Areas for further Research

An interesting area would be on the achievements attained by female rulers worldwide. The study will be able to offer insights on the advantages offered if women become political rulers. It will further shade the capabilities of women in politics.

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter presented the summary of the study, major conclusions and recommendations in line with the research questions and objectives. The conclusions were made from the research findings taking note of all the research objectives. The chapter also presented areas for further research.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adams, B. and Ferreira, D. (2009) "Women in the boardroom and their impact on governance and performance," *Journal of Financial Economics*, vol. 94 (2009): p. 291-309. Anderson, N. (2020) *College students want answers about fall, but schools may not have them for months*, The Washington Post.

Adams, B. and Ferreira, D. (2009) "Women in the boardroom and their impact on governance and performance," *Journal of Financial Economics*, vol. 94 (2009): p. 291-309. Anderson, N. (2020) *College students want answers about fall, but schools may not have them for months*, The Washington Post.

Arnstein, S. R. 1969. *A ladder of citizen participation*. *Journal of the American Planning Association* 35 (4): 216-224.

Atkinson, P. A. Coffey, A. 1997. *Analysing documentary realities: Qualitative research theory, method and practice*. London: SAGE Publications.

Baltodano, J. C., Carlson, S., Witcher Jackson, L., & Mitchell, W. (2012). "Networking to leadership in higher education: National and state-based programs and networks for developing women." *Advances in Developing Human Resources*, 14(1), 62-78.

Baltodano, J. C., Carlson, S., Witcher Jackson, L., & Mitchell, W. (2012). "Networking to leadership in higher education: National and state-based programs and networks for developing women." *Advances in Developing Human Resources*, 14(1), 62-78.

Banda, R. G. Masuka, T. 2013. *An analysis of the marginalisation of women in conflict resolution initiatives in Zimbabwe. The case of the Global Political Agreement in Southern Peace Review Journal*, 2 (1): 56-74.

Barns, A. 2003. *Social work, young women and feminist*. *Afflia*, 18 (2):148-164.

Bayer, L. A. Milshler, W. 2005. *An integrated model of women representative in the Journal of politics*, 67 (2): 407-428.

Bothwell, E. (2020, March 6). Female leadership in top universities advances for first time since 2017. Times Higher Ed. <https://www.timeshighereducation.com/news/female-leadership-top-universitiesadvances-first-time-2017>

Bothwell, E. (2020, March 6). Female leadership in top universities advances for first time since 2017. Times Higher Ed. <https://www.timeshighereducation.com/news/female-leadership-top-universitiesadvances-first-time-2017>

Bowen, G. A. 2005. *A substantive theory of community driven development*, *Journal of the community development society* 36 (2):73-88.

Braton, K. A. 2002. Descriptive representation: Policies outcomes and municipal day care coverage in Norway, *American Journal of Political Science*. 46(2), 45-99.

Burns, T etal. 1993. *The private roots of public action*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Busha, C. Stephen, P. 1980. *Research Methods in Librarianship: Techniques and interpretation*. New York: Academic Press.

Carbin, J. Strauss, A. 2008. *Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.

Carnes, W. 2013. *White collar government: The hidden role of class in economic policy making*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Carter, D. A. Simpson, W. G. 2003. *Corporate governance, broad diversity and firm value*. *Journal in the Financial Review*, 38: 33-55.

Catalyst (2004) *The Bottom Line: Connecting Corporate Performance and Gender Diversity*. Catalyst: New York. Retrieved June 12, 2015 from http://catalyst.org/system/files/The_Bottom_Line_Connecting_Corporate_Performance_and_Gender_Diversity.pdf

Catalyst (2004) *The Bottom Line: Connecting Corporate Performance and Gender Diversity*. Catalyst: New York. Retrieved June 12, 2015 from http://catalyst.org/system/files/The_Bottom_Line_Connecting_Corporate_Performance_and_Gender_Diversity.pdf

Catalyst (2011) *The Bottom Line: Corporate Performance and Women's Representation on Boards (2004-2008)*. Catalyst: New York. Retrieved June 12, 2015 from http://catalyst.org/system/files/the_bottom_line_corporate_performance_and_women%27s_representation_on_boards_%282004-2008%29.pdf

Cook, T, Bryan, L & Young, Kim (2012). *The American College President 2012*. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education.

Davis, D. R., & Maldonado, C. (2015). Shattering the glass ceiling: The leadership development of African American women in higher education. *Advancing Women in Leadership Journal*, 35, 48-64.

Denzin, N. K. 1970. *The research act: A theoretical introduction to sociological methods*. New York: Aldure Publications.

Diana, K. 2016. *Gender quotas and women political leadership*. *Journal of American Political Science Review*, 110 (1): 112-126

Dittma, K. 2018. *Perspective on why their presence matter*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Dodo, O. et al. 2012. *Four years into Zimbabwe government of National Unity: Assessing the Challenges*. *Journal of Human Rights*, 20(1): 234-278.

Domingue, A. D. (2015). "Our leaders are just we ourself": Black women college student leaders' experiences with oppression and sources of nourishment on a predominantly White college campus. *Equity & Excellence in Education*, 48(3), 454-472.

Dube, T. 2013. *Engendering politics and parliamentary representation in Zimbabwe*. International Journal of Development and Sustainability, 21: 101-1024.

Dube, T. 2013. *Engendering politics and parliamentary representation in Zimbabwe*. International Journal of Development and Sustainability, 21: 101-1024.

Dziva, C. et al. 2013. *A critique of the 2008 government of National Unity and Human Rights protection in Zimbabwe*. International Journal of Humanities and Social Science Intervention, 2 (8): 83-92.

Eisenstein, V. 1981. *The radical future of liberal Feminism*. New York: Longman.

Eisner, E. W. 1991. *The enlightened eye: Qualitative inquiry and the enhancement of educational practice*. Toronto: Collier MacMillian Canada.

Elliot, D. L. (2022). *The struggle of women for power and leadership in universities*. Prof Accred. Online at: <https://www.profaccred.com/the-struggle-of-women-for-power-and-leadership-in-universities/>

Etikan, I., Musa, S. A. and Alkassim, R. S. 2016. *Comparison of Convenience Sampling and Purpose Sampling*. American Journal of Theoretical and Applied Statistics, 5(1), 11-40.

Faludi, P 1991. *Backlash: The invisible war against American women*. New York: Crown.

First Round (2015) "*First Round Ten Year Project*." Retrieved on August 11, 2015 from <http://10years.firstround.com/>.

Forbes Insights. (2011). *Global diversity and inclusion fostering innovation through a diverse workforce*. Retrieved June 12, 2015 from http://images.forbes.com/forbesinsights/StudyPDFs/Innovation_Through_Diversity.pdf

Flax, J. 1999. *Women do theory: Women and values*. Belmont, CA: Wards work.

Ghosh, R. 2015. *Women's employment and education, Journal of policy futures in education*, 13 (3): 294-314.

- Ginsberg, B. Stone, A. 1986. *Do elections matter?* New York: Sharpe Publications.
- Guillamont, S. 2006. *Development Financier, Instability. Journal of Economic Provision 174: 87-111.*
- Hansen, L. 1982. *Hansen large sample properties of general methods of moment's estimators. Econometrica (50) 1029:1054.*
- Haralambos, P. Holbon, F. *Sociology Themes and Perspectives.* Collins educational: London.
- Hersbst, J. 1990. *State politics in Zimbabwe.* Harare: University of Zimbabwe Publications.
- Hesser-Biber, S. 2002. *Feminism and interdisciplinary women in education.* Westport, CT: Praeger.
- Heywood, A. 1997. *Politics.* London: MacMillan Press Limited.
- Hodges, C. B., Moore, S., Lockee, B. B., Trust, T and Bond, M. A. (2020) *The difference between emergency remote teaching and online learning,* EDUCAUSE Review.
- Hughes, F. 2019. *Global Gender Quota Adoption, implementation and reform.* Journal of Comparative Politics, 51 (2): 219-238.
- IDASA (2011). *Gender analysis of Zimbabwe Global Political Agreement.* Pretoria: IDASA and Feminist Institute of Southern Africa.
- Johnson, H. L. (2017). Pipelines, pathways, and institutional leadership: An update on the status of women in higher education.
- Kipruto, I. (2022). *We Must Counter Barriers to Female Leadership In Universities and Colleges.* UKFIET. Available Online at: <https://www.ukfiet.org/2022/we-must-counter-barriers-to-female-leadership-in-universities-and-colleges/>
- Kuagbedzi, F. N., Dhlamini N., and Njena, B. K. (2022). *The struggle of women for power and leadership in universities.* University World News.
- Kunovich, V. 2007. *Gender in politics. Annual Review of Sociology.*

- Kurebwa, J. 2014. *Rural women's representation and participation in local governance in the Masvingo and Mashonaland central provinces of Zimbabwe*, *Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 19 (2): 125-132.
- Kurebwa, J. 2014. Rural women's representation and participation in local governance in the Masvingo and Mashonaland central provinces of Zimbabwe, *Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 19 (2): 125-132.
- Kvale, S. 1996. *An introduction to qualitative research interview*. Thousand Oaks. CA: SAGE Publications.
- Levitt, H. M., Bamberg, M., Creswell, J. W., Frost, D. M., Josselson, R., & Suárez-Orozco, C. 2018. *Journal article reporting standards for qualitative primary, qualitative meta-analytic, and mixed methods research in psychology*: The APA Publications and Communications Board task force report. *American Psychologist*, 73(1), 26-46.
- Lisa, P. 2017. *The rights and roles of indigenous women in the climate change Regime*, *Actic Review on law and politics*, 8:193-221.
- Lodge, T. 2002. *Compendium of elections in Southern Africa*. Johannesburg: EISA.
- Lu, X. (2020). The barriers, facilitators, and solutions for women in educational leadership roles in a Chinese university. *International Journal of Chinese Education*, 9(1), 5-24.
- Mago, S. Hofisi, C. 2014. *Financial Inclusion in Zimbabwe: A contextual overview*. *Mediterranean Journal of Science*, Vol 5 (20): 19-26.
- Mangezvo, P. L. 2013. *Debating the Global Political Agreement and gender equality in Zimbabwe. A critical analysis of women access of land ownership and political decision making in Southern Africa*, *Peace Review Journal*, 2 (1): 75-96.
- Mankayi, M., & Cheteni, P. (2021). Experiences of female deans in South African universities: A phenomological study. *Cogent Education*, 8(1), 1981199.

- Maphosa, M. et al. 2015. *Participation of women in Zimbabwean Politics and the mirage of gender equity*, Journal of conflict and social transformation, 4 (2): 127-169.
- Matsa, D. A., & Miller, A. R. (2011). *Chipping Away at the Glass Ceiling. Gender Spillovers in Corporate Leadership. (Working paper WR-842)*. Retrieved from RAND Labor and Population Working Paper Series website. Retrieved from: <http://www.rand.org/>
- Lahti, E. (2013). *Women and leadership: factors that influence women's career success: female leaders' reflections on their career development and leadership*.
- Abreau, K.2010. "The Myriad Benefits of Diversity in the Workplace." Retrieved from <http://www.entrepreneur.com/article/240550>
- McDonagh, C. 2009. *The motherless state: Women's political leadership and American Democracy*. Chicago. University of Chicago.
- Merriam, S. B. 1988. *Case study research in education: A qualitative approach*. San Francisco: Jossey Bass.
- Miller, J.D. 1962. *The nature of politics*. Gereld Duckworth: London.
- Moodly, A. L., & Toni, N. M. (2017). Re-imagining higher education leadership—in conversation with South African female deputy vice-chancellors.
- Moody, A. L. (2021). Making the invisible visible: A cross-sector analysis of gender-based leadership barriers. *Human Resource Development Quarterly*, 27(2), 181-206.
- Moss, K. etal. 1977. *Men and women of the corporation*. New York: Basic Books.
- Moyo, J. N. 1992. *Voting for democracy: A study of electoral politics in Zimbabwe*. Harare: University of Zimbabwe Publications.
- Nwakuya, M. T. 2019. *Fixed effect versus random effects modelling in a panel data analysis. A consideration of economic and political indicators in six African countries*. International Journal of statistics and applications, 7 (6): 275-279.

O'Neil, T. Domingo, P. 2015. *Women and power. Overcoming barriers to leadership and influence*. London: UK.

OWD (2020) *Our World in Data* <https://ourworldindata.org/coronavirus-source-data> as on 31 July 2020. Study of Standard Chartered Bank in Nairobi.

Oakley, J. G. (2000). Gender-based barriers to senior management positions: Understanding the scarcity of female CEOs. *Journal of business ethics*, 27(4), 321-334.

Pateman, C. 1970. *Participation and democratic theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Pateman, C. 1970. *Participation and democratic theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Perlberg, H. (2012). *Stocks perform better if women are on company board. (p. 11). Bloomberg*. Retrieved from <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2012-07-31/women-as-directors-beat-men-only-boards-in-company-stock-return.html>

Ramola, R.C et.al. 2021. "Challenges and Opportunities for Higher Education amid COVID-19 Pandemic." *International Journal of Computer Engineering in Research Trends*, 8(2): pp:29-3.

Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe. 2016. *Zimbabwe National Financial Strategy*. Available at www.rbz.co.zw.

Rich, A. 1986. *Blood, bread and poverty*. New York: Norton Press.

Ries, B. and Wagner, M. (2020) *Universities begin considering the possibility of cancelling in-person classes until 2021*. Online at: www.cnn.com. Accessed 5 October 2022

Rodriguez, Salvador (2015). "SXSW: tech needs more than talk to fix dismal diversity record." *International Business Times*. March 13, 2015. from <http://www.ibtimes.com/sxsw-tech-needs-more-talk-fix-dismal-diversity-record-1846102?rel=rel2>.

Ryan-Nicholls, K., Will, C. 2009. "Rigour in *Qualitative Research: Mechanisms for Control.*" Nurse Researcher, 16(2), 70-82.

Saulnier, C. 1999. *Feminist theories and social work: Approach and application.* New York: Haworth Press.

Shaba, L. 2011. *Dreaming of equality: Time to fulfil the GPA's promise to women.* Available at [http:// www.ossisa.org/book/export/html 2547](http://www.ossisa.org/book/export/html/2547). Accessed 5 December 2021.

Shava, G.N., Chasokela, D. (2021). Women in Higher Education Leadership and Parenthood: Experiences from a University in Zimbabwe. In: Adeyemo, K.S. (eds) *The Education Systems of Africa.* Global Education Systems. Springer, Cham. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-44217-0_46

Shvevchenko, I. 2002. *Who cares about women's problems? Vol, 54 (8) 1208.*

Sithole, M. 1999. *Zimbabwe: Struggles within struggles.* Harare: Rujeko Publications.

Smith, N., Smith, V., & Verner, M. (2006). Do women in top management affect firm performance? A panel study of 2,500 Danish firms. *International Journal of productivity and Performance management*, 55(7), 569-593.

Stake, R. E. 1995. *The art of case study research.* Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.

Strauss, A. Corbin, J. 1998. *Basics of qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory.* London: SAGE Publications.

Sylvester, C. 1991. *Zimbabwe: The terrain of contradictory development.* Colorado: West View Press.

Tang, H. H. H. (2019). World-class universities and female leadership in the academic profession: case studies of East Asian higher education. In *Gender and the changing face of higher education in Asia Pacific* (pp. 41-56). Palgrave Macmillan, Cham.

- Theofanidis, D. Fountouki. A. 2018. *Limitations and Delimitations in the research process*. Perioperative nursing (GORNA), 7(3) 115-162.
- Wolfe, B. L., & Dilworth, P. P. (2015). Transitioning normalcy: Organizational culture, African American administrators, and diversity leadership in higher education. *Review of Educational Research*, 85(4), 667-697.
- Young Shin, H., & Bang, S. C. (2013). *What are the Top Factors That Prohibit Women from Advancing into Leadership Positions at the Same Rate as Men?*
- Njiru, F. (2013). *Factors Affecting Career Progression of Women in the Corporate Sector: A Case Study of Standard Chartered Bank in Nairobi*.
- Zaba, F. Ndebele, H. 2013. *Outrage over cabinet gender bias*. *Zimbabwe Independent*, 20 September.
- Zhao, J., & Jones, K. (2017). Women and leadership in higher education in China: Discourse and the discursive construction of identity. *Administrative Sciences*, 7(3), 21.
- Zungura, M. Nyemba, E. 2013. *The implications of the quota system in promoting gender equality in Zimbabwean politics*, *International Journal of Humanities* 4(6) 4-12.
- Zungura, M. Nyemba, E. 2013. *The implications of the quota system in promoting gender equality in Zimbabwean politics*, *International Journal of Humanities* 4(6) 4-12.

APPENDIX ONE: KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDE

I kindly appeal to you to participate in the research by responding to some questions I have.

The interview is going to take approximately 30-40 minutes.

1. How long have you been working in the political systems in Zimbabwe?
2. How long have you been working at a senior position in the political system?
3. In your own view, how would you describe the process for females to get appointed at the top leadership position in the political system?
4. Presently, what can you say about the systems or policies for women to get appointed in top leadership positions?
5. From your point of view, did you find it hard to get appointed or promoted to a higher leadership position?
6. As far you can judge, how effective is the country in supporting the rise of women in leadership positions?
7. As far as you can judge, what challenges, if any, are you facing as a woman to access leadership positions in the political system?
8. In your view, do you think as a female leader you are different from a male leader?
9. In your view, what is the role of the university in addressing gender disparities and promoting the participation of women in top leadership in the society?
10. As a female leader, how do you see yourself impacting change in society?

11. In sum, what do you think can be done to improve the participation of women in leadership positions?

12. Lastly, would you have anything to add to what we have talked about?

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR TIME