WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN LOCAL POLITICS IN ZIMBABWE.THE

CASE OF CHIWUNDURA OF MIDLANDS PROVINCE, 2000-2018.

BY

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R0724126K

A Dissertation Submitted to the Department of Development Studies of the Midlands State University in Partial Fulfiment of the Requirements for the Master of Arts Degree in Development Studies.

SUPERVISOR; DOCTOR I. MUDEKA

DECEMBER 2018

APPROVAL FORM

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DECLARATION

I Fadzai Gijima declare that **Women's participation in local politics in Zimbabwe .The case of Chiwundura of Midlands Province, 2000-2018** is my own work and that all sources used have been acknowledged.

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Signature   **Date**

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my parents Elliot and Vee.

ACKNOWLEGEMENTS

I wish to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor, Doctor Mudeka for the guidance, assistance and constructive criticism that shaped the dissertation. I would also like to thank my sister Tevedzerai for the encouragement and assistance she offered during the writing of the dissertation. Special appreciation goes to my siblings Tendai, Edson, Isheanesu and Nyasha. To my friend Beatrice thank you for the moral support. I also want to salute my parents for being there all the way. Last but not least I would love to thank God who has always been my strength and guide.

ABSTRACT

The study is a qualitative exposition of women participation in local politics in Zimbabwe. The study examines the efforts made to promote the participation of women in local politics in Chiwundura, the status of women and the challenges that militate against women participation. The case for the study is Chiwundura a rural area in the Midlands Province. The study covers the period 2000-2018. Qualitative data collection methods which include interviews and questionnaires were used. The study is guided by the radical feminist theory which purports that woman problems are caused by men. The study revealed that intervention programmes have been done to promote women participation in local politics. However it has been ascertained that the efforts have not yielded much because of the socio-cultural factors that shape the attitudes of people towards politics. The study has identified patriarchy, lack of financial resources, and lack of education, marriage, religious beliefs, and stereotypes among others as factors that militate against women participation in politics. Consequently the research revealed that whilst it is advantageous to have women in politics for sustainable development the number of women in politics in Chiwundura has remained minimal. The research recommends women to form pressure groups to educate women on ways used by men to oppress them and find ways to resist male dominance through inculcating an understanding of gender parity. It also recommends women to form their political parties and compete with men for political posts in their communities.

ABBREVIATIONS

ACHPR - African Charter on Human and People's Rights

AU - African Union

CEDAW - Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against women

GNU - Government of National Unity

MDC-A - Movement for Democratic Change –Alliance

NGO - Non-Governmental Organisation

NGP - National Gender Policy

RAU - Research and Advocacy Unit

SADC - Southern African Development Community

SDGs - Sustainable Development Goals

UDHR - Universal Declaration of Human Rights

UN - United Nations

WIPSUZ - Women in Politics Support Unit of Zimbabwe

WLLA - Women Land and Leadership in Zimbabwe

WOZA - Women in Zimbabwe Arise

ZANLA - Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army

ZANU-PF - Zimbabwe African National Union –Patriotic Front

ZHRC - Zimbabwe Human Rights Commission

ZIMRIGHTS - Zimbabwe Human Rights Association

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CHAPTER 1
THE PROBLEM AND ITS SETTING

1.1 Introduction

 The study is set within the context where very few women are in political positions in Zimbabwe and the world, which is a cause of concern. It thus seeks to examine how this phenomenon is reflected at local level by establishing women's status at the local level of politics in Chiwundura area of Midlands Province. It particularly seeks to understand gender relations in general and in the political sphere by assessing women's status at the level of local politics. This chapter introduces the study and sets the background of the study, research objectives and questions, significance of the study, delimitations and limitations, among others.

1.2 Background of the study

The idea of gender equality is a common phenomenon in the entire world and has become very common in the media today. Worldwide, women are marginalized and sidelined as they are seen as inferior and too incompetent to play roles that have a bearing on the economic, political and social wellbeing of the people. It is against this background that all leadership posts in the economic, social and political field are occupied by men. Though there are improvements in gender relations, power, achievement and progress are still defined as masculine and as such, women are still mistrusted in taking leadership positions in various fields. There are very few women compared to men in political positions such as heads of states, governors, and ministers. Despite the effort that has been made by different nations, the position of women in the political field is still at the periphery. The political field is still a masculine sphere given that it is dominated by men. The history of the low status of women as compared to the dominance of men is universal throughout the world. It can be traced back to the period before the outbreak of the First World War in 1914. Society represented women as people of little importance, who could not stand on their own without the support of men. Women were domesticated and confined in the private sphere of life, that is, the home

where they performed domestic tasks. Women were also content with the status they were given. They also saw themselves as weak, fragile and emotional beings who required men's support for their general survival. As such, they mostly did not perceive that they were discriminated against. Women saw men as their protectors, saviors hence they accorded them much respect, and they worshipped men as if they were their gods. According to Gordon (1994), public statements glorifying women's roles as mothers and wives have encouraged women to stay home and raise children rather than enter the work force. The patriarchal nature of societies and religions beliefs blind folded women to the extent that their minds were colonized and they themselves believed that they could not stand on their own, but needed men's support to survive, thus creating a dependence syndrome among them. Women could not see the discrimination which they suffered; the situation which they lived in was fine for them. Salaam (2003), highlights that, patriarchy justifies the marginalization of women in education, the economy, the labour market, politics, domestic matters and inheritance. European women first liberated themselves accidentally due to the situation which pushed them into unfamiliar territory when men were diverted away from everything else to deal with war issues starting during the First World War. As men were busy in the battle field, it became clear that women could work just like men. During the course of the First World men became preoccupied by the war and the tasks that were once reserved for men were done by women. The same transpired during the Second World War of 1939 to 1945. However, even here, women's participation in politics remained subterranean in comparison to that of men. Within the Third World and in Zimbabwe particularly, the situation for women was even worse. Their low participation in politics is still a bone of contention among gender practitioners and organizations.

All this is despite the fact that after the First and Second World War, European countries went on to formulate the United Nations (UN) to prevent the recurrence of war across the globe; to encourage international cooperation; to promote peace and to protect human rights. The discrimination of people along sex lines, just like their discrimination along racial and ethnic parameters and the violations of human rights experienced during the world wars led to the enactment of international instruments to promote and protect

human rights, with women's rights being a special category of such human rights. Even though a lot has therefore been done to accommodate women in the economic, social and political positions, and to advocate for and promote their equality in these spheres with men, women still remained marginalized socially, economically and politically . While this has remained the case globally, the marginalization of women is even worse in poor economies of the Third World such as Zimbabwe.

In Zimbabwe, during the pre-colonial era, women were eliminated from the political structures. The political set up and positions were for men. The leadership set up from family level was led by men up to the highest state position. The pre-colonial states of Zimbabwe such as the Great Zimbabwe, the Rozvi state, the Mutapa state and the Ndebele state were patrilineal societies which gave men pre-eminency and much respect as compared to their female counterparts. Even in the rare cases where women held political power, they worked under the shadows of men. In the pre-colonial era of Zimbabwe there is only one woman who was assisted the King to administer the state, namely Nyamhita Nehanda who assisted his half-brother, Matope, to rule the Mutapa state. She was involved in administering the state because she had allegedly committed incest with his brother. However, she did not play a dominating role. According to Ranger (1988), she assisted the King which means she had limited power in controlling the state. The position could not easily be taken without making a covenant. However what Nyamhita Nehanda did was not mentioned or glorified meaning that she was just a place holder of little or no value, hence this also meant that her political status was not equal to that of Matope. In the political set up of pre-colonial states, at the apex was the king followed by the chief, sub-chiefs and the headman. This structure was for men only and the hereditary system followed the male line to maintain the position of men in the political field. These structures still exist in many communities today. According to Geisler (2004), in Southern Africa women could be appointed to be a village heads and chiefs on exceptional cases.

The political organisation was made in a way that there was no opportunity for women to occupy these political positions. Even the armies of pre-colonial Zimbabwean states were

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exclusively male constituted. In the social set up of these communities, women remained marginalized. They only became relatively important when it came to the time of their marriage when the family received lobola in the form of cattle. On the main, the status of women remained similar to that of children who could not survive on their own in any environment and who are limited in their mental capacity and hence are incapable of making sound or informed decisions by themselves. Women were seen as weak and therefore they were given tasks that were regarded as easier than those of men. Women took tasks as such nurturing children, agriculture, and craftwork and gathering for subsistence, whilst men took "harder" tasks such as mining, being solders, trading and hunting. It is also important to note that the tasks taken by men were more rewarding compared to the tasks that were taken by women.

It is not overstating the case to argue that women suffered a lot of injustices and were discriminated against in many ways during the pre-colonial era. To begin with, by homogenizing women as weak and unable, society justified their discrimination when it comes to significant positions such as leadership or religious participation. Women were seen as useless and even in cases of death, society gave women tasks that are emotionally hard such as living in the house where there is a corpse, whilst men will be out planning and making decisions for burial procedures and rituals. Women were not asked how they preferred things to be done but they were only informed of what should be done. Worse still, in all religious ceremonies, men led in the rituals where society confined women to brewing beer. In any case, not all women had the prerogative to undertake even this function. Only the menopausal old women brewed the beer, while all women, virgins or not, who were still experiencing the menstrual cycle were debarred from such tasks. Society regarded such women as unclean given their menstrual experience.

If the social structure and practices marginalized women during the pre-colonial era, the position of women did not get any better with colonialism. When Britain colonized Zimbabwe in 1890, the capitalist ideology concomitant with colonialism defined only men as workers who were employed on farms and mines. The system discriminated against women by confining them to the private sphere of life, in their rural homesteads.

This state of affairs overburdened women as they had to undertake tasks previously performed by men. The capitalist society widened the gap between men and women given that it put monetary value to male labor but devalued women's work. Men were separated from their families to work in faraway places. This brought a picture that wage labour was for men only, women were not capable of taking it. The system brought by the British further led to the exploitation of women, and this actually generates questions on whether the European countries genuinely pioneered the gospel of human rights even as they caused serious human rights violations and discrimination of women in Africa. The UDHR came into existence in 1948 before Zimbabwe got her independence. Colonialism empowered men giving them confidence to making decisions on political issues. It socialized women to stay at home and wait for men to bring food and all their necessities. This is the root of the dependency syndrome which gave men great authority over women. During the First Chimurenga, men dominated the fight against the colonizers and only one female figure, Mbuya Nehanda, played an important role, although she was not physically on the battle field. According to Ranger (1988), spirit mediums such as that of Nehanda organized Africans for the war and the spirit medium of Nehanda was the most powerful in Mashonaland. Nehanda and other mediums were responsible for the coordination of the war in Mashonaland and Matabeleland regions. The Shona and Ndebele respected these mediums and hence obeyed what they said. They told people that the ancestors were angry with the presence of white people and that they should fight to repel the whites form the land. Based on her spiritual authority, Mbuya Nehanda incited people to fight against the whites. She ordered people to kill the native commissioner of Mazoe, Pollard. According to Beach (1980), Nehanda was not killed for playing a part in the rising but for ordering people to kill Pollard, a white man in Mazoe. Mbuya Nehanda encouraged people to fight against the enemies, she gave Africans orders, and she played a leading role. The role played by Nehanda is a clear testimony that when given an opportunity, women can take leadership posts just like men in the political field. However, Zimbabwean people have only heard about one female figure who played an important role in the first Chimurenga.

During the 2nd Chimurenga, a number of female figures played a pivotal role and these included Joyce Mujuru, Fay Chung, Oppah Muchinguri, Margaret Dongo, Mable Chinomona, Sekai Makuvarara and Sekai Chikwinya. These women were involved in the battle field. Joyce Mujuru shot down an enemy airplane and there was a lot of bloodshed on this encounter. However, it is important to note that as compared to men, there were fewer female combatants of the 2nd Chimurenga.According to Mudeka (2014), female ZANLA recruits increased from a mere 100 in 1972/3 to between 7500 and 10 000 of total in the mid 1970s.Prior this period the forces were exclusively male. In this regard it is clear that the majority involved in the Second Liberation war were men. Few women took leadership roles during the Second Liberation Struggle, according to Mudeka (2014), women such as Joyce Mujuru rose to commanding ranks. However, most women were *chimbwidos* who played a supporting role rather than being involved in battle.

In the current era, the way in which black men were treated during the Smith regime is the same way in which Zimbabwean women are being treated today. Smith's government accommodated very few blacks. The 1969 constitution had 66 members, 50 being whites and 16 Africans. The senate had 23 people 10 of them being whites, 3 were appointed by the President 2 Europeans, one colored and 10 Africans. This set up is a reflection of what is happening in Zimbabwe where the largest populations are women but they hold few seats in the cabinet and low seats in the parliament. The problem with poor representation is that the women are overpowered by the males who dominate in the legislative assembly. Not only are the existing representatives few, but they also do not have much of a say in whatever will be taking place and in the creation of policies.

In post-colonial Zimbabwe, the position of women slightly improved. Women gained a mileage in the political field. In 1980, women had 3 representatives in the parliament and they had only one female figure in the cabinet Joyce Mujuru. However the ministry she was given was not very important, it was a female related field from the male view point which was not challenging. The post colonial era brought some steps closer to the emancipation of women. Women were recruited to serve in the army. National

instruments were drafted to compliment international instruments and to incorporate women in the political field.

Women leadership in political positions is a burning topic of a debate in the world currently. All countries have noted the injustices and discrimination against women which transpired for a long time and which requires immediate attention. Many countries have ratified and drafted instruments that have led to the incorporation of women in leadership positions in the economic, social and political fields. Most countries have ratified international conventions and protocols to ensure that there is gender parity in the world. In 1948 the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was drafted whereby all member states of the United Nations became signatories to the instrument. According to the UDHR Article 1, "all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights…..," Article 21 states that, "everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly through freely chosen representatives." These articles bring the idea that women and men are equals in the political sphere and they should participate at par. The UDHR was the first document that took the emancipatory stance for women since it stood against any form of discrimination. Zimbabwe, as a member of the UN, should also work to fulfill the UN set goals, the Millennium Development goals that ended in 2015 and the current Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), and especially SDG 5 that targets gender equality by 2030. However, the challenge is still massive because women in political leadership are not many. This raises a question whether women are not willing to take part in the political field since these various interventions are there to accommodate and correct the injustices which relegated women to the margins.

International Conventions to cater for gender equality include the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women. CEDAW's article 7 guarantees women equality in political and public life with a focus on equality in voting, participation in non-governmental organizations and associations concerned with the public and political life of the country. Article 8 of CEDAW, provides that state parties must guarantee women's equal opportunity to represent their government at the international level and to participate in the work of international organizations. This bill

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was specifically designed to boost women's position in the world. It was meant to promote the recognition of women and opening up of opportunities for them to participate in political, social and economic activities of their nations. Zimbabwe has also ratified this document and few strides have since been made to incorporate women into the political field. The question that needs to be answered is who is hampering women from taking these positions? Could it be the women themselves, the government structures, inadequate national instruments or and social structures that block women's empowerment.

In 1995, most countries all over the world attended the Beijing Platform for Action, a women's world conference that was held in China. According to Mutume (2004), the Beijing Platform for Action called for at least 30% representation of women in national governments and concerned parties were to take strategic action to address inequality between men and women in decision making positions at all levels. The Beijing Platform for Action advocated for full and equal participation in economic, social and political decision making. The platform sought to promote and protect the full enjoyment of all human rights and women's fundamental freedoms throughout their life cycle. This conference was helpful because it supported women's empowerment and participation in the political field, which was a domain for men. This was a challenge to the male dominated structures and perceptions of political participation as a male sphere. Very few women were active in the political space, in the world and in Zimbabwe in particular due cultural barriers, among other factors.

Apart from international interventions to create opportunities and an environment which allows for equality between men and women, there are regional instruments that have been drafted as well. The SADC, in which Zimbabwe is a member state, drafted some instruments for domestication by all SADC countries and these included documents relating to gender. The African Charter on Human and People's Rights was an instrument drafted by union of African countries, the then Organization of African Unity and the SADC countries were among the designers of the instrument. This shows the willingness of African countries to respect human rights. Article 18 of the African Charter on Human

and People's Rights, requires states to eliminate discrimination against women and ensure the protection of women and children as required by international instruments. Article 2 of the African Charter says, every individual shall be entitled to the enjoyment of the rights and freedoms recognized and guaranteed in the present charter without distinction of any kind such as race ,ethnicity, sex, language, religion, political or any other opinion, national and social origin, fortune, birth or any status. Article 13 stipulates that every citizen shall have the right to participate freely in the government of his country, either directly or through freely chosen representatives in accordance with the law. Article 19 outlines that, all peoples are equal, and shall enjoy the same rights. Nothing shall justify the domination of a people by another. In this regard, it means that the African countries have accepted the emancipation of women and have agreed to the concept of equality. The above articles highlight that Africa had obliged to treat men and women in the same way, meaning that they had equal rights to attain leadership in all the spheres, including the political sphere. The most interesting idea is that when these instruments were drafted, men were present supporting the idea of women empowerment. Interesting to note is the fact that heads of states that are mainly men are the ones that ratified these documents on gender equality promising that they would support the empowerment of women. The problem is that, it is no longer simple to point fingers on men as stumbling blocks to women's emancipation since they were also involved the drafting of instruments for women's liberation. The African Charter and the UDHR have been used as the basis of drafting regional and national instruments to promote gender equality. The African charter clearly states that women should not be discriminated against which means that there should be parity between men and women and there should be fair allocation and distribution of resources and justice in the decision making process. According to Geisler (2004), the SADC Declaration on Gender and Development committed its heads of states to achieve at least 30% representation of women in decision by 2015. This actually shows that SADC members had set targets to uplift women positions in their nations. In article H of the Declaration, says" the heads of state and government committed themselves and their respective countries to inter-alia (ii) ensuring the equal representation of women and men in the decision making positions of member states and SADC structures at all levels and the achievement of 30% target of

women in the political and decision making structures by the year 2005.The SADC heads of states and governments signed and adopted the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development in August 2008. According to Zungura and Nyemba (2013), Zimbabwe as part of the SADC is a signatory of the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development signed in August 2008.The document provide for the empowerment of women, through the inclusion of gender equality and equity in National constitutions, the repeal of discriminatory laws and countries to work towards the continental goal of 50/50 in political and decision making by 2015. The aim is to help member states to reach this target by providing female members of parliament and political aspirants with relevant skills, and to encourage the sharing of experiences and best practices across the region. These instruments have been put forward because the issue of gender equality was the cause of concern from national to international level.

Zimbabwe as a nation has also drafted some instruments trying to create opportunities for women to participate in politics and to be involved in decision making of the state. To add on to international and regional conventions, Zimbabwe had home grown instruments for affirmative action. These instruments were designed to enable gender equality to be practiced at national level. One of the instruments designed by Zimbabwe to promote gender equality is the Constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment (No 20) Act of 2013 which calls for equality between men and women. The constitution of Zimbabwe advocates for gender equality. On the national objectives of the new constitution of Zimbabwe of 2013 item 17(1) says:

> the state must promote full gender balance in Zimbabwean society, and in particular,
>
> (a) the state must promote the full participation of women in all spheres of Zimbabwean society on the basis of equality with men;
>
> (b) the state must take all measures, including legislative measures, needed to ensure that:
>
> (1) both genders are equally represented in all institutions and agencies of government at every level and

(2) the state must take positive measures to rectify gender discrimination and imbalances resulting from past practices and policies;

5.6(2) of the constitution says women and men have the right to equal treatment ,including the right to equal opportunities in the political, economic, cultural and social activities.

Section 80(1) also says every woman has full and equal dignity of the person with men and this includes equal opportunities in the political, economic and social activities.

Basing on these articles on gender equality, the constitution of Zimbabwe highly emphasizes the visibility and participation of women in the governing of the state on equal terms with men. However, this exists theoretically since practically, nothing serious was done to equalize the number of men and women in the political sphere. The constitution has also embraced the quota system where some political seats of the parliament have been reserved for women to fulfill the SADC Declaration on Gender and Development which stipulated 30% seats for women by year 2005. The constitution reserves 60 seats for women to be elected through a system of proportional representation. Section 124(b) states that, "for the life of the two parliaments after the effective date, an additional and sixty women members, six from each of the provinces into which Zimbabwe is divided, elected through a system pf proportional representation based on votes cast for candidates representing political parties in the general election for the constituency members in the provinces". This is a strategy that was adopted by Zimbabwe to ensure that women are incorporated in the political field. According to Zungura and Nyemba (2013), quotas are assumed to be indisputable way of a significant increase in women representation in politics. They also argue that constitutional quota system increases the number of women in political positions due to reservation of seats specifically to be occupied by women. In Zimbabwe the quota system did not increase the number of women in the parliament as expected there was persistent inequality since there was a slight improvement of the participation of women from 9.3 % in 2000 to 16 % in 2005.According to the Chronicle of 8 August 2018, the provision of proportional representation is only valid for the first two terms of parliament, and comes to an end in 2023.What it means is that the number of women parliamentarians will decrease yet

women should be represented as they constitute the majority of the population in Zimbabwe and cannot be left out in the development processes of the nation.

Apart from the constitution, the government of Zimbabwe through the then Ministry of Women Affairs, Gender and Community Development (currently the Ministry of Women's and Youth Affairs) has drafted the National Gender policies. The first National Gender Policy was drafted in 2004 and the other in 2013. According to the National Gender policy of 2004, section 6.2.3.2.seeks to "redress the numerical gender imbalances in decision making and politics by increasing numerical representation of women to 52%". The 2004 National Gender Policy seeks to create equal opportunities for men and women in decision making in all areas and at all levels. The vision of the 2013 National Gender Policy is to create "a gender just society in which men and women enjoy equity, contribute and benefit as equal parties in development of the country and the goal of the National Gender Policy, is to eradicate gender discrimination and inequalities in all spheres of life and development." In this regard, it shows that policy wise, Zimbabwe as a nation has supported the idea of gender equality though in practical application, there are some impediments which derail the process of gender equality in the political sphere.

In addition to national instruments, the government has allowed the operation of civil society organizations that are independent that advocate for gender equality in all spheres of development. Therefore, civil society groups such as Women in Politics Support Unit (WIPSU) and the Women's Coalition in Zimbabwe have also assisted women to pursue their goal for gender equality. According to Zungura and Nyemba (2009), WIPSU have been agitating for a 30% representation of women in local leadership since the formation of the GNU. On the other hand, according to the Herald of 14 November 2017, the Women's Coalition in Zimbabwe in partnership the Research and Advocacy Unit (RAU) and the Gender and media connect launched an 18 months project running under the banner' Strengthening Women Advocacy for Inclusive Government" on 13 November 2017 .The event was anticipated to increase women participation in government issues at all levels. The other movement that supports women to stand for their rights and freedoms is the Women of Zimbabwe Arise. According to Ndlovu (2009), Women of

Zimbabwe Arise, is a social justice movement which has been in existence since 2013,"the organization encourages women to stand up for their rights and to exercise their severely circumscribed freedom of expression to demand accountability from the government ". This shows that a lot of effort is being put to uplift women in the political sphere. The problem is that with all the effort that has been put, the number of women in political positions is still low. This research will help to identify what is hampering the positive initiatives being made to address the marginalization of women, especially in politics.

According to Dziva (2013), the Government of National Unity succeeded in establishing the Zimbabwe Human Rights Commission which rekindled hope for the protection of human rights. The work of the ZHRC was to promote awareness and respect of human rights at all levels of society, to promote human freedoms, monitor and assess the observance of human rights in Zimbabwe and recommend to parliament effective measures to promote human rights in Zimbabwe. The work of ZHRC includes addressing the injustices that prevailed between men and women in all spheres of life. According to Anderson (2013), the involvement of women in social, economic, and political arenas is the key gender equality.

In the world, the number of women in political leadership is very low. According to the United Nations Women (2017) as of October 2017, 11 women were serving as heads of states and 12 were serving as heads of governments. This shows that there are very few women that are heads of states and there are reasons behind this low representation. A table in Maphosa (2015) et al reflects that in Zimbabwe, after independence in 1980, there were 40 parliamentary seats but women occupied only three. This represented merely 7.5%. According to Geisler (2004), in Zimbabwe women had fought in the liberation war as combatants, independence saw only few women in government. Women's political under representation was further revealed by the fact that only one female representative, Joyce Mujuru, was in Mugabe's cabinet. In the context of such marginalization of women therefore, female parliamentarians lacked the statistical muscle to ensure that their suggestions to improve the welfare of women would be taken

seriously given that their voices are constantly drowned by the men, who outnumber them. The same peripheral status of women was replicated in 1985, since women still constituted only 3 out of 40 parliamentarians, maintaining the same percentage as in 1980.This means that from 1980 to 1985, women experienced no improvement to their status. In 1990, even as the number of parliamentary seats increased to 150, only 7 women making up 11.3% sat in parliament. In 1995, the number of women parliamentarians increased to 21, constituting 14%. In 2000, the total number of seats was still 150, with women occupying merely 14 of them. In 2005, the total number of seats rose to 216 with only 48 women parliamentarians constituting 22.22%.

In 2004, Mugabe appointed Joyce Mujuru to become the first female vice president of Zimbabwe. According to Dzirutwe (2014), as Joice Mujuru served from 2004 to 2014, Zimbabwe had placed a woman in the spotlight, indicating a commendable level of respect for women's rights. However, Mujuru was denounced for allegedly plotting against the then president Robert Mugabe. Mujuru was dismissed from work and from the ZANU PF party. A closer analysis of the Mujuru case seems to indicate that women leaders in Zimbabwe are appointed to strategic positions by powerful men so that such men can keep them under their control and can use them for a good self-image locally and internationally. Following her dismissal, Joice Mujuru found her own party called the Zimbabwe People First party and encountered clashes with men who had also been dismissed from ZANU and also wanted leadership. She ended up forming yet another party. According to the Herald of 29 August 2018, Joice Mujuru contested in the 2018 presidential elections as the leader of the People,s Rainbow Coalition.

During a new government that was created in 2008, the status of women in the political sphere remained low. In 2008 Zimbabwe came under the joint government of 3 parties, the MDC-T, MDC –M and the ZANU PF, known as the Government of National Unity. According to Mukoma (2008), Government of National Unity is a coalition government designed specifically to accommodate all participating political players in the government structure. Shaba (2011) in Maphosa et al (2015) says ,under the inclusive government women occupied 8 out 50 cabinet posts constituting 16%,30 out of 210 seats in parliament constituting 14% and 20 out of 60 seats in the senate constituting 33%. In

2008, there were two women holding important positions in the cabinet, namely Vice President Joyce Mujuru of the ZANU-PF faction and Thokozani Khupe who was the deputy Prime Minister representing the MDC-T party. It was clear that Zimbabwe was following the path of women emancipation where women were included in the political sphere and given critical posts which enabled them to contribute to decisions affecting Zimbabweans however the process was half-hearted as they were very few women in the political set up of the inclusive government.

According to the Newsday of 9 September 2017, in 2013 Mugabe elected only 3 women ministers out of 26, constituting 11.5%.According to UN Women (2013), only 124 women out of a total of 350 were sworn in as new members of the parliament. Women thus constituted only 35%. The unequal distribution of power was a breach of the 2013 constitution which stresses gender equality as a national prerogative. In the new dispensation of president Mnangagwa beginning in the second half of 2017, women representation declined, with women constituting 4 out of 29 ministers, that is, merely 13% (The Zimbabwean, 10 July 2018). Replicating the prevalent situation through the history of Zimbabwe, women head non-strategic ministries as compared to men. It seems that women's posts are more about window dressing than anything else. However, suffices here to note that with women constituting far below 10% of the total political leadership globally, this under representation of women is not unique to Zimbabwe.

In the 2018 elections the outcome turned out to be same when few women were elected and appointed into political positions. According to the Herald of 14 August 2018, the 50-50 mantra the political parties and the government had been running with all these years proved to be nothing other than a wish list, after only a handful women made it into the parliament and local authourities.In the 2018 elections out of 210 parliamentary seats ,only 26 seats went to women mainly in the ruling ZANU –PF and the MDC- Alliance. According to the herald of 14 August 2018, the elections proved to be an uphill to the female presidential candidates as they garnered less than 5% of the total votes in the harmonized elections. The Herald also highlighted that the situation was no better in the local authorities elections where figures were more or the same, taking a particular

example in Masvingo there was a total of 23 women out of 242 seats voted for in the rural and urban council seats.Mnangagwa also appointed 6 female ministers in his cabinet out of 20 seats constituting 30%. The 2018 cabinet saw the appointment of Oppah Muchinguri Kashiri at a strategic position of being the Minister of Defence and War Veterans Ministry.Eventhough some women accessed strategic positions it does not cover the gap that women representation in the political field was is very low.

Nevertheless, this does not detract from the fact that some women indeed hold important posts in Zimbabwe. For instance, Charamba Charity, the National spokesperson for Zimbabwe Republic Police, holds the rank of the assistant inspector. Charamba is competent just like male inspectors and this means if women take leadership posts, they can perform their duties well. This also reflects that there are some women leaders in political field, however the question remains unanswered as to why they are few since we have women who are doing equally well in the political field. However there are some questions that may raise the eyebrows of people such as are these women placed at strategic positions so that they may be used for political benefits by those who appoint them. Is it that these women have been given these posts so to catch the eyes of the international community that they would understand that there is gender equality in Zimbabwe? Are these women being empowered or disempowered as they fail to bring what people anticipate because they are over controlled? Are they executing their duties independently and is the work done by these women beneficial to other women and the nation at large?

An analysis of the statistics of women representation in political leadership shows that there is little progress concerning women representation in the political sphere in Zimbabwe. The background shows that there are very few women that hold political positions in Zimbabwe. It has been noted that the highest number of female ministers is eight from 1980 up to the present. It is the quest of this study to understand if this is the same case with the people of Chiwundura. It seeks to trace the status of women in local politics and the factors explaining this status. Various posts that can be considered in local leadership include councilors, chiefs, and members of parliament and village heads.

This study will help to analyse if 50/50 representation in the local political field is being attained and if not, the challenges that deter women from such posts.

1.3 Statement of the problem

Zimbabwe has signed and ratified various conventions and protocols at international level to promote women's equality with men in all walks of life, including in politics. In addition, at national level, the 2013 constitution and other interventions have stressed the centrality of gender equality even in the political arena in efforts to realise holistic socio-economic and political progress. At the level of state politics, it appears that very little has changed in so far as female representation in politics is concerned as statistics still show the marginalization up to date. If this is the case at national level, what is the prevailing situation at level of local politics? It is with such a gendered scenario in mind that the researcher set out to investigate the status of women in local politics in rural Zimbabwe. Within a context whereby Zimbabwe has committed itself to promote gender equality in all walks of life, including politics, it is imperative to question whether there have been any improvements in women's status in the political arena at local level. It is the purpose of this study to thus examine the gendered composition of politics at local level, with particular attention to women's position in local politics in the case of Chiwundura. It also seeks to identify any interventions made to bolster women's status in politics and assess the utility of such interventions, with a view to establish women's prevailing status and to explain it.

1.4 Research Objectives

General Objective

- To examine the status of women in local politics in rural Zimbabwe, using the case study of Chiwundura area of Midlands Province.

    Specific Objectives
- To identify efforts made to promote women's political participation at local government level in Zimbabwe and in Chiwundura specifically.

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- To examine the extent of women's participation in politics at local government level in Zimbabwe and Chiwundura particularly.
- To examine the challenges faced in efforts to promote women's political participation at local government level in Chiwundura area.

1.5 General Question

- **What is the status of women in local politics in rural Zimbabwe, as represented by the case of** Chiwundura area of Midlands Province?

Specific Questions

- What efforts have been made to promote women's political participation at local government level in Zimbabwe and in Chiwundura specifically**?**
- To what extent are women participating in politics at local government level in Zimbabwe and Chiwundura particularly?
- What are the challenges being encountered in efforts to promote women's political participation at local government level in Chiwundura area?

1.6 Conceptual framework

Local politics- In this research the terms local politics and local governance are used interchangeably. Local politics is political activity at local level opposed to national politics. Kurebwa (2014) says, local governance refers to the level of government that is closest to people. Local governance is concerned with the politics of a specific local area, making a political sub-division of a nation. In the performance of its functions, it acts as a state agent. In other words, the local government is an integral part of the political mechanism for the governance in a country. Heywood (2000) has defined four types of politics. Politics as government-politics is primarily associated with the art of government and the activities of the state. Politics as public life –Politics is primarily concerned with conduct of management of community affairs. Politics as conflict resolution –politics is concerned with expression and resolution of conflicts through compromise, conciliation, negotiation and other strategies. Politics as power-the process through which the production, distribution and use of resources is determined in all areas of social existence.

In this regard this research focuses on politics as power, politics as conflict resolution and politics as public life. Therefore local politics in this research focuses on holding of political posts and the duties of political leaders. In this regard local politics simply means a system whereby community affairs are managed by its inhabitants. Aiguosatile and Uyi (2011) advance that the reason for the establishment of local government is to bring development to the people by bringing the administration closer to people. The needs of people at local level are met by a government that is close to them. In this study the local political structures that have a direct connection with the members of the community, include posts such as **village heads, chiefs, councilors, political party leaders and members of parliament**. Members of parliament represent local areas through their involvement in political parties. Traditional political posts such as chiefs and village heads are regarded in this research as part of local politics in the sense that they are affiliated to local political posts because they are compatible. The policies that are implemented in communities pass through all the local political structures, traditional political structures included and mainly at grass roots the policies are implemented and monitored by traditional political leaders the village heads. Local leaders are the people who have the mandate of administering, taking care and improving the socio-economic and political development of members of the community. Local politics is very crucial in this study because the researcher focuses on the status of women in local politics.

Status –According to Linton (1936) in Sabloff and Cragg (2015) status is a position in the society. It has to do with the position of women in local politics. Status encompasses the roles and the numbers of women in local politics. The issue of status answers the question how many women are in political leadership positions and what positions do they take.

Women Participation-According to Kurebwa (2014), participation is taking part as individuals and as a community, in decision-making in each step of development process. In support of the same opinion, Otzen (1999 in Kurebwa (2014) says participation is a process through which stakeholders influence and share control over development initiatives and the decisions and resources which affect them. It therefore means that

participation involves the idea of decision making. Khan and Fardaus (2006) say participation is a development approach, which recognizes the need to involve disadvantaged segments of the population in the design and implementation of policies concerning their well-being. Rahman (1991) in Fardaus (2006), argues that all forms of actions through which citizens take part in the operation of administration may be termed as 'participation'. In this research women participation is women political participation as leaders and decision makers in their communities. It refers to the involvement of women as elected and appointed leaders, and decision making bodies, responsible for planning, implementation and evaluation of policies in local governance. There are a number of indicators of women participation in local politics which includes women as, voters, members of political parties, candidates, elected members of local government bodies taking part in decision-making, planning, implementation and evaluation and members of women's organizations, women attending political parties and their association with voluntary organization. The table below summarises the indicators that are used in this research.

Table 1: Indicators of women participation in local politics for the current research

Women as leaders	1. Participation of women in local politics as elected leaders for example, councilors, and members of parliament, being involved in decision making processes, planning, monitoring and evaluation.
	2. Participation of women in local politics as appointed leaders in traditional leadership posts, for example ,village heads
	3.Participation of women as leaders in intra-party politics, for example as chairperson, treasurer, secretary

Kurebwa (2016), also outlines the characteristics of participation in local politics as; .
- Participation in decision making in identifying problems, formulating alternative planning activities, allocating resources among other issues

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- Participation in implementation in carrying out activities, managing and operating programmes

- Participation in economic, political, social or other benefits individually or collectively

- Participation in evaluation of the activities and its outcomes for feedback purposes.

Kurebwa (2016)'s views on participation are used in this study because it focuses on women participation in local politics as leaders and the above mentioned duties are for people that are in leadership positions. Argarwal (2000) also defines the different levels of participation as captured in the table below:

Table 2*:* **The Argarwal's six levels of participation**

Form or level of participation	Characteristics
Nominal	Being a member of a group
Passive	Being informed of decisions ex post, or attending meetings and listening in decision without speaking up
Consultative	Being asked on opinions on specific matters without guarantee of influencing decisions
Activity specific	Being asked to (or volunteering to) undertake specific decisions
Active	Expressing opinions whether of not solicited for taking initiatives of some sort
Interactive	Having voice and influence to the group's decision, holding positions as offices bearers.

Source: Agarwal (2010;172)

The table above describes the types of participation that are important to this study because women politicians use different types of participation depending on their personalities. Being part of the leadership team means women participate in decision making processes differently ie as active, interactive, activity specific etc.

1.7 Significance of the study

This study will be of great importance to various stakeholders. Gender issues are important because few people have understood and appreciated the concept of gender balance especially on political and social grounds. Most people have negative perceptions about gender equality and this is especially so for men who are influenced by religion and culture. In such a context, this study will be very significant to the following stakeholders:

- **The Community**

The study will help the community to deconstruct their limiting perceptions influenced by limiting cultural and religious understandings of politics as a male domain. The researcher hopes that the study will enlighten some significant members of the rural community in Zimbabwe and in Chiwundura specifically to embrace change and to promote gender equality in all aspects of life, local politics included. The study will help men to understand that women are equal to men and are also as capable as men in different spheres of life. It is hoped that the study will be transformative by also teaching the women themselves that they are as competent as their male counterparts since their marginalization may also be a result of their own way of perceiving power as masculine.

- **Women**

While women are part of the community, they are also a special stakeholder group who stand to benefit from this study. This study will conscientise women of their rights and will give confidence to those willing to participate in political issues. It will also help women in political leadership to remain strong no matter how hard the journey maybe in a context where people are failing to embrace change and to give women chance to show their talents. The researcher hopes that the study will make women appreciate women leadership and encourage women to vote for women to increase women representation for sustainable development.

- **The government**

The study will be of great use to the government given its commitment at both international and national level to promote gender equality and women's participation in economic, social and political arena at an equal level with men. Findings from the study will inform the government and its relevant ministries not only on what it has done well

to promote women in politics. It will help the government to appreciate the challenges deterring women from fully participating in politics. In this way, the research findings will inform the government in efforts to develop appropriate mechanisms for women empowerment.

- **The politicians**

This study is crucial to politicians because they are at the centre of this study on women's status in local politics. The politicians would create a fair ground where they would groom both women and men for them to be able to participate at par. The politicians will also draft the policies that accommodate women in the political field.

- **Researchers**

This research will be important to researchers as they will be aware of women status in politics in Chiwundura and in rural Zimbabwe, efforts made to promote women participation and challenges faced in efforts to empower women to participate in politics. This will help them to further studies on new avenues that would help people understand the importance of women participation and that would improve women's participation in local politics in different parts of Zimbabwe.

1.8 Delimitation of the study

The study is focused on the status of women in local politics in rural Zimbabwe, using the case study of Chiwundura. Chiwundura is located in the Midlands Province, north-east of Gweru town.Chiwundura rural have 8 wards ,ward 5,9,10,,12,13,16,17and 18. Chiwundura share borders with Gweru urban, Kwekwe urban, Lower Gweru, Shurugwi and Chirumanzu .This study will focus on the rural wards.Chiwundura was chosen because of the proximity of the area to the researcher. The researcher works in Chiwundura and this makes it easier for her to collect data. The other reason for focusing the research in Chiwundura is that information on women rights and empowerment is not easily accessible in rural areas.Chiwundura rural was also chosen because the research is of the opinion that the results that will be obtained will be representative of all the other rural areas in the country. The study will be carried out in ward 10, 12, and 13. Ward 10 and 12 were chosen because they have women leaders and ward 13 which do not have a woman leader was chosen for comparative purposes. Dealing with different wards would

also help the researcher to come up with clear and adequate information on the status of women in local leadership. The research will be carried out in four months that is from that is from August to November. This is a period just after elections which makes it possible to assess the trend of the issue under analysis.

1.9 Limitations of the study

The problem that was faced is that some people may fail to answer some questions because of lack of knowledge. People are afraid to comment on political issues, hence people may not be objective when answering questions and some might not feel free to participate in the study. Time was also another limitation factor since the research was done during the course of the term the researcher spared only weekends to conduct the research hence the time was inadequate. The issue of research resources was also an impediment. The researcher lives in rural areas where there are no libraries and internet and has to travel to Gweru to access these. As a result there is a problem balancing work and research.

1.10 Organisation of chapters

Chapter 1 is the introduction to the study and discusses the background information about the research topic. It explains the overall purpose of the study. The chapter covers the following; background of the study, the discussion of the statement of the problem, the objectives, research questions, and the significance of the study, definition of the terms as well as the organization of the study.

Chapter 2 reviews the literature related to the study and the theoretical framework which the study is based on. The first part reviews a variety of literature on the status of women participation in local politics. The second part discusses the tenets of the liberal theoretical framework.

Chapter 3 discusses the methodology employed to collect data. The researcher used the interviews and questionnaire to collect information. The case study of Chiwundura was used, purposive and quota sampling methods were used to select the population for the study.

Chapter 4 presents the information that was gathered. The information gathered will be presented in a descriptive way and tables will be used to present information.

Chapter 5 summaries the whole research study and suggest recommendations for the study.

1.11 Conclusion

This chapter was an introductory chapter on the women's participation in local politics in Zimbabwe. It spelt out the research problem that the research is focusing on. It presented a description of the background of the study, the statement of the problem, an outline of the objectives, definition of terms, significance of the study and the organization of the chapters.

CHAPTER 2
LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews literature related to the study. It highlights the gaps and similarities between the related literature and the problem under study. This chapter captures the views of various writers across the globe on women participation in political leadership. It goes on to explain the radical feminist theory which is used as the basis of the findings of the research under study.

2.2 Literature Review

Gisela (2004) addresses the successes and problems of African women's quest for political representation. The study offers a comparative view of Southern Africa, focusing on Zambia, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Botswana and South Africa. Additional material from Mozambique and Kenya was used. Gisela found out that there are few women in politics. He recognizes that it is common in the countries that he studied that women are not integrated in the political field because of anatomy as destiny, patriarchy and education among other factors. Whilst Gisela's study was a comparative analysis of different countries, this research focuses on Zimbabwe only, paying particular attention to the rural women of Chiwundura. This research therefore focuses on the participation of women in rural areas in local political leadership as compared to Gisela's study which focused on both rural and urban areas of the countries in question. Apart from that Gisela's study did not focus on the efforts to promote the participation of women in local politics. This shows that whilst the studies are related they differ in terms of their focus. Gisela also used a multi-dimensional approach where he researched on women representation in the economic and social sphere, the current study only focuses on women participation in the political sphere. Gisela's study inspires the present research when looking at the reasons why they are few women who participate in local politics...

Kurebwa (2016) discusses gender relations in the political, social and economic sphere in Zimbabwe. He suggests that the participation and empowerment of women at local levels

is an essential step to acquire gender equality. He is of the view that there are few women representation and participation at local authorities in Zimbabwe and the issue should be addressed. He advances that despite the efforts made to advocate for gender equality women in rural areas of Zimbabwe continue to be marginalized in all spheres of development. Kurebwa's study is different from this study because he carried the study depicting the position of women in the social, economic and political sphere of rural women in local government. This study focuses on the representation of women in political sphere only. Whilist Kurebwa's study is related to the present study in the sense that he also looked at the political sphere it differs in that Kurebwa's research focused on the participation of rural women at national level. This research focuses on women leadership in local politics at local level using the case study of Chiwundura. Kurebwa (2016) also discusses various ways in which women participate in local politics, women as voters, members of political parties, candidates ,elected members of local government bodies ,taking part in the decision-making ,implementation and evaluation. The position which he discussed the participation of women in local politics is different with this study because this study is concerned with the status of women in political participation as leaders. Kurebwa also discusses the importance of women participation in politics which is in line with this study. It follows that his study is going to direct this study when exploring the importance of women in politics. Kurebwa also have separated the idea of representation and participation which in this research are discussed as the same thing.

Vagnoux (2015) focused on the ways to combat low numbers of elected women in Canada and United States of America. Vagnoux argues that women representatives in the political sphere are very low in Europe and countries in the American continent like in Canada and USA. She also postulates that Canada and USA adopted the party quota system and the soft quota system only. The two countries did not implement the legal quota system. The party quota system is done in the political parties as a way of increasing women representation and participation in the political parties and the soft quota system seeks to increase women representatives to different levels, whilst legal quota system is whereby a nation has to draft laws that seeks to increase the number of women in political positions such as parliamentarians and the cabinet. Vagnoux (2015) also gives the statistical data of women representation in USA in 2014, which are as

follows; women constituted 18.5% of seats in the U.S congress, 20.0% of seats in the Senate and 18.2% in the House of Representatives. On the Inter-parliamentary Union ranking of women parliaments USA was number eighty four in 2014. Canada was number fifty four in the Inter-Parliamentary Union ranking of women in 2011, with 25% of women as delegates elected to the House of Commons. The range of women representations in Canada in 2004 to 2011 was between 20% to 25%. These statistics shows that there are very few women representatives in the political sphere. The study identified psychological factors, individualistic culture, political culture, biological make up, gender socialization and lack of financial resources necessary for running campaigns as factors responsible low representation of women in the political field. They believe the problems which need to be solved lies in women themselves. Feminists in the two countries are against the use of the quota system to promote women inclusion in politics. Vagnoux (2015) also discusses the ways which were used by USA and Canada to improve political participation of women which include, the need for financial support from the government, programmes to fight underrepresentation of women, educating women giving them leadership skills that would boost their confidence. In the two countries there are a lot of movements that operates in universities and colleges dissemination information of gender equality. The study has some similarities to the current study because it discusses the status of women in politics, reasons for that status and what has been done in trying to increase the number of women in political participation. However, Vagnoux (2015)'s research focused on the American continent hence there will be some notable difference on the efforts made to promote women participation with the area under study in the current research which uses a case of Chiwundura of the Midlands province of Zimbabwe. The results are anticipated to be different because of the differences that are there in the politics of European and African countries. The laws that are used in the management of political issues might be different. Apart from that the study has a wider scope as compared to the present study which only focuses on Chiwundura rural.

Madsen (2000) carried a study on the feminist theory and discusses the barriers to women emancipation which are important in the current study. She argues that the political position of women is as a result of social issues. She believes that women do not have

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power over themselves and they are controlled by men in whatever they do. Madsen argues that the oppression of women starts from the private sphere and spreads to the public sphere unconsciously. She explains the liberal feminist theory and also pays attention to the barriers to women emancipation. Her argument is that no matter how educated women maybe she is socialized to expect only marriage as the structuring principle of their lives. Men hold power, domination and control over women especially in marriage where women surrender themselves entirely in the marriage relation. She says the unwillingness of men to share an equal partnership with their wives is the same way in which they are unwilling to grant political equality to women. Madsen argues that marriage is the institution where women have no individual sovereignty. Though women may have their natural rights they do not operate in the confinement of marriage which means the married women surrender their rights to their husbands. Madsen says married women becomes an unpaid drudges, robbed of their labour when employed at the labour market, she does not have the same value with men. She also blame women for contributing to the way they are treated, she says most women do not want to be educated or to have any professional attainment outside the home. She argues that patriarchy is the major challenge for the participation of women and men on equal terms. She concludes that to solve these problems there is need to change and regulate social relations, transform those relations that oppress women. This research inspires the present research when looking at the reasons for low women participation. However it differs in the sense that it focuses on the social barriers that impede women participation on local and national government structures in the social and political fields. Madsen's views on the barriers to women participation in local politics are considered in this research as the challenges that hinders women participation in local leadership are relatively similar across the globe. The focus of Madsen's study is on the feminist theory, where she is concerned about how the relations between men and women affect the position of women in politics. This study goes on to look at some other issues that affect women apart from their relations with men. Apart from that this study uses the radical feminist theory whilist Madsen used the liberal feminist theory.

Sandstorm and Wangnerud (2013)'s study focuses on, corruption and bad governance. The study established that there are few women councilors in the regions of Europe which they studied. Sundstrom and Wangnerud (2013) believes that corruption, partiality and bad governance are stumbling blocks to women participation in politics. They believe that there is clientism for one to attain political positions of which women do not have money to pay for that favour. In the study it has also been established that most political parties are owned by men which are gatekeepers who promote and recruit people like them hence there is lack of women representation in male party gatekeepers. If there are many male gatekeepers at national level, local level it means that it is difficult for women to play the game. The research concludes that there are variants in the way women are represented in the same nations in various areas taking for example in Greece , in some areas women in local authority were averaging 12 % where in some areas they were averaging 24%. Sundstrom and Wangnerud argue that an increase in the number of women in political positions is one of the best ways to combat corruption. They also argue that hindrances to women participation are not addressed by legal frameworks only. The study by Sundstrom and Wangnerud is interesting because it points new ideas that cause low representation of women in the political sphere such as corruption and bad governance. The study is related to the current study in a way that it focused on the representation of women in local authorities, however it is different from the current study in that it looked on a number of European countries whilst this study is down sized to some areas of Chiwundura in Zimbabwe. The other difference is that the current study is not limited to causes of low representatives but goes on to unearth the efforts that have been made in Zimbabwe to promote the participation of women in local politics.

Maphosa et al (2015)'s study focuses on women participation in Zimbabwean politics. They argue that women representation in the political sphere is very low despite the efforts made to promote women participation in the political field. They also raised socio-economic and political factors that contribute to low number of female representation. They said that most women in political positions are linked to those positions by their male relatives who may be their husbands or brothers. They argue that women in political positions are manipulated by male figures. Their idea is that in Zimbabwe the political

field is controlled by men. Maphosa et al believe that the discrepancy between perceived and actual realities in relation to the participation of women and men is a deliberate move that has been calculated by men to dominate political posts. The national instruments designed and international instruments ratified by Zimbabwean leaders of being gender sensitive have been nothing but strategies to maintain male dominance in political sphere. These instruments were signed to blind the international community and for it to consider that there is gender equality in Zimbabwe. Maphosa et al also advance that the post that are given to women in the cabinet are soft posts, the posts that are not very crucial. They contend that Joice Mujuru was given the post of the Vice President because they knew that she was not a threat to them because she was of the ZANU PF party. It is important also to note that the way she was dismissed from the post was inhuman and she was dismissed by men and it seems as the common enemy for gender equality are men who uses women to pursue their own interests. Maphosa et al's study is different from this study because their study discussed the position of women at national level and this study only focuses at women political participation in Chiwundura. Apart from that his focus is different from that of this study in that they argue that women in political leadership are used by men to pursue their interests also most women are somehow related to men with authority whereas this study's focus is on reasons why they are few, the challenges faced with those on political posts and their prospects. However there is connection between the two studies that both studies focus on reasons of the status of women in local politics and efforts made to promote the participation of women in local politics.

Randall (1982) studied about women and politics. He asserts that there are various factors that limit women participation in local politics. Randall points out that women themselves contribute to their oppression. He recognises that women have different social classes and those that are relatively rich oppress those that are poor. It is not men only that oppresses women but women contribute to their low representatives. Women do not vote for other women to be in power. The other reasons that were pointed out are anatomy as destiny and patriarchy. Randall paid a lot of attention on the factors that hinder women to be active in the political, social and economic spheres. Whilst this study was also concerned about the factors that hinder women from attaining political

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positions it goes on to discuss the efforts made to promote women participation in local politics. This study focuses in the situation of Chiwundura whilst Randall's research focused on women in general. It is however partially related in that both studies discuss the challenges to efforts made to promote that participation of women in local politics.

Dube (2015), talks about politics and parliamentary representation in Zimbabwe. The study concentrated on the quantitative nature of women in politics. Dube's study traced the trends of women participation in politics in Zimbabwe and the whole world between 1980 and 2013. The observation was that there are few women representatives in the world despite the idea that demographic statistics show that there are many women in the world and there is need for them to be represented so that their needs will be addressed. On international statistics, Dube (2013), used the period 2007-2013 as a case study where in the world over the highest region had 45% women representation in parliament. Dube focused on parliamentary representation only. Dube (2013) also said according to the Inter-Parliamentary Union (2011), a total of nine countries had no women in their parliaments. This is a sign that there is no genuine democracy in these countries. Women representation in the entire world is very low and there is need to address the idea. Dube (2013), states that Rwanda is one of the countries where the issue of equality between women and men was observed recently. In 2010 Rwanda had 56% women representatives in its parliament. Dube's argument lies in the idea that women should be represented and if possible the representation should be equal to that of men. Dube had a strong desire for the accomplishment of gender equality in Zimbabwe. Dube (2013) also presented the trend of women representation from 1980-2008, the highest percentage of women representation in the parliament was 16%. Dube also noted that the slight increase of the number of women in the political sphere was as a result of the SADC's Gender and Development Declaration which stipulated that states must ensure at least 30% women in decision making by 2005 and 50% by 2015. Dube (2013) also explains the reasons for low numbers of women representation in the political field and the injustices that take place in the distribution of political post that are attained by being appointed. Dube (2013)'s research is important in this study because it explains some of the efforts made to promote participation of women in local politics that are relevant to this study. Also

the study is of great importance since it outlines some of the reasons for low numbers of women representation in local politics which is the focus of the present study. The difference is that Dube' study takes a quantitative approach whilst the present study is qualitative.

Musingafi et al (2015) carries out a study on women representation at local governance positions in Chivi and found out that there are few women representatives. In their study they also focused on the reasons for few women representatives in Chivi. Musingafi (2015) et al established that there were few women on the Rural District Council of Chivi compared to men. The study also revealed that women that are employed were not willing to take part in the political field as they stated that they have enough duties of taking care of the children and the husband. Musingafi et al also advances that women that are not employed were the ones that exhibited interests of taking part in the political field because they wanted to be incorporated so that they will earn something for them to survive. The study recognizes that women join politics for personal gains rather than for the good of the community. The study also noted that in the rural areas of Chivi there are more women compared to men and most of the activities that took place in Chivi through their local authority affect women most. Musingafi (2015) et al also discovered that there are policies for women emancipation that are not taken seriously at grassroots. At grassroots it is the political parties that nominate candidates to participate in the political field of which these political parties are dominated by men. As a result of this only men are selected at local level. They argued that the blame for unsuccessful policies for gender equality lies on the policy makers that have poor monitoring and evaluation mechanisms. Policies are there and they are drafted fairly but they fail on implementation. This research is different from the research under study because it only focuses on the factors prohibiting women from taking part in the political field. Musingafi's research is different from this research because this research focuses on the efforts made to promote the participation of women in local politics the results achieved and the challenges faced in efforts to promote the participation of women in local politics. The study is also important to the current study because the two studies have the

same setting, the rural areas and they focus on women participation in local governance hence the present study will get inspiration from Musingafi's study..

Arthur et al (2016) did a study on Women's Participation and Representation in local level governance of Wa Municipality of Ghana. They established that there are very few women representatives in local governance of the Wa Municipality of Ghana. The idea behind the research was to identify the factors that limit women participation and finding solutions to the challenges. This case is important to this study because it helps the researcher to compare and contrast the reasons for few women representatives and Arthur (2016) 's research is different from this because he did not discuss the efforts made to promote the participation of women in local politics.

The Republic of Zambia, Ministry of Gender drafted a report in (April 2018) on women's representation in local governance in Zambia. The aim of the report was to raise awareness on the importance of presenting gender statistics in advocacy for more women representatives. The study highlighted that women representation in local governance is low as reflected by the statistics given after the 2016 general election in Zambia. In 2016, women constituted only 9% representatives in local authority and 18% in the parliament. The research exhibits that low representation of women in local governance is not only a problem in Zambia but a common problem among SADC members. The report presents the statistics for women parliamentarians in 2015 for all the SADC members. Angola and Seychelles had no women parliamentarians in 2015 because they did not implement the quota system. Democratic Republic of Congo had 7% and among the highest were Lesotho with 48% and Namibia 47%.There was no SADC member that had reached 50% representation. The study also shows that Zambia is a state party to international and regional instruments that support gender equality though the situation of women participation in local government remains the same. The study was also concerned with the factors impacting women participation in local governance. The study identified the following factors as some of the hindrances to women participation in local governance, low level of education, religious factors and gender bias in media. The study recommended the political parties and civil society organisation to mobilise resources

that allows women participation .The study is important to this study because it outlines some of the reasons for low numbers of women in local governance which this study is also concerned about since it seeks to identify the challenges to efforts made to promote the participation of women in local politics.

Gyimah and Thompson (2008), researched on women's participation in local governance of Nadowli in Ghana and concluded that there are very few women in local governance. They also argue that women are still being marginalised in all aspects, economic, social, and political life. The focus of the study was to identify issues impeding women in participation in local governance. They stated that women are marginalised in relation to public and political decision making. According to Gyimah and Thompson (2008) low levels of education, poverty, social and institutional discrimination and intimidation among other factors are responsible for the low participation of women in local politics. Gyimah and Thompson (2008) recommended that there is need to intensify and sustain education of female in all forms of levels in the district and there should intensive sensitisation of both males and females to begin to re-think and to re-direct their negative perception to see women as equal partners in the development process of their own communities and the nation at large. This study is crucial to the current study because it informs the current study on some reasons that impedes women participation in local politics. However the study is relatively different to the current study because it does not discuss national efforts to promote the participation of women in local politics.

The African Consultation on Gender and Political Empowerment held in South Africa in 2017, brought politicians, inter-national organisations, civil society organisations' and non-governmental organistations active in the region to discuss issues of gender equality and advancement of women's political participation in the African continent. The consultation focused on challenges to overcome low status of women in politics in the region, the existing instruments for gender equality and the ways to advance women's participation in politics. According to the Inter-parliamentary Union (Women in politics in 2016) African women representation in politics had increased from 9.8 %to 23.6%.In Africa only Rwanda had reached more than 50% of women representation in the

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parliament, which had 61.3%.There are also other countries such as South Africa with 42.1%, Senegal with 42.7% and Namibia 41.3%. Most African countries have huge inequalities in political representation between men and women. The consultation highlighted some of the problems that are faced by women that hinder them from participating in politics which include among others poverty, stereotypes, religious and socio-cultural norms. The Consultation on Gender and Political Empowerment also reflected on the instruments that promote equality between men and women and encourage the participation of women in political activities. There were also ways to advance women participation that were raised that included, civil society to pressurise government to prioritise the sustainable development goal especially goal number 5, on gender equality and 16 , on peace justice and strong institutions in particular and the African Union to send missions on regular basis to monitors progress in African countries. The African Consultation on Gender and Empowerment report is very crucial to this study because it discussed some challenges to women participation which this study also discusses. The report is different from this study because the report focuses on the African countries whilst this study is down sized to the community of Chiwundura in Zimbabwe.

Kassa (2015) discusses the challenges and opportunities of women political participation in Ethiopia. Kassa (2015) argues that the majority of women in Ethiopia are deprived of their economic, social and political rights. Kassa (2015) advances that women in Ethiopia have low social status because they are poor, they earn less and do not have decision making power. The other problem faced by women in Kenya is that the nation is a patriarchal society where women are in a subordinate position and this has perpetuated disparities between men and women. As a result of women social status women are underrepresented in the political field. Kassa (2015), states that Ethiopia had signed several international, regional and had drafted domestic instruments that support gender equality but women in Kenya are still at the periphery of political participation. Women participation is important because it is a sign of democracy. Kassa (2015) stresses the importance of women participation in politics and argues that participation of women in politics is a political right as stipulated by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Kassa (2015) discusses challenges to women participation in politics such as, exclusion of women in politics, patriarchy, socio-cultural beliefs and religion. In 1995 Ethiopia had 2% women representatives in the parliament and in 2010 women representation had increased to 22%. Kassa (2015) study is different from the current study because it focused on the general challenges faced by women in political participation in Kenya. The current study used a case study of Chiwundura community focusing on the status of women in local politics, efforts made to promote women participation in Chiwundura and the challenges to efforts made to promote women participation.

Burnet (2008) carried out a study on women participation in governance in Rwanda. She advances that efforts are made in African countries to increase the participation of women in governance. Burnet (2008) argues that the Rwandan government had taken many steps to increase women representation in politics. The government enacted the 2003 constitution with a provision of the quota system, set the Ministry of Gender and organised the women's council at all levels. Burnet (2008) says although the number of women had increased in politics women's ability to influence decisions is still minimal. She also mentioned that the political party, such as the Rwandan Patriot Front had advocated for women participation in governance and had appointed women to high profile positions such as ministers. Civil society organisations have also assisted women to participate in local governance and had provided food and other necessities after the genocide in Rwanda. In 1999 women had ¼ seats in the parliament constituting 25.7% of total seats in the parliament. In 2007 the number of women in the parliament increased to 48.8%. The other factor that helped to transform cultural and conceptions of gender roles was the genocide in Rwanda. The genocide caused the death of many men, some went to exile and some were imprisoned. This left Rwanda with a female population that was more than that of men. In 1995 70% of the population of Rwanda was female. Burnet (2008) argues that women became the heads of families and new roles emerged after the genocide. They took roles that they were not allowed to do before the genocide such as doing commercial work without the approval of the husband. The genocide in Rwanda helped to transform gender roles and created a situation in which women were incorporated in the political sphere. The study is different from the current study because

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it has a different background and some forces that made women to participate in local politics are unique. The study however gives information about the status of women in local politics in other nations and the importance of the social, economic and political aspects in shaping the participation of women in local in local politics.

Chowdhury (2013) carried out a study on women participation in local government in Bangladash and India. Chowdhury argues that women are competing for political seats in Bangladash and India in different tiers of the government. In Bangladash there are some political seats that are reserved for women. Chowdhury (2013) also highlighted that there are two women that had held the position of the prime-Minister in Bangladesh, Khaleda Zia (in 1991-96 and 2000-2006, and Sheikh Hasina, 1996-2001 and 2006-2013). Although the country has two women that held high profile offices there are very few women in politics. In 2013 in Bangladesh women held just 19.7% of seats in the parliament of which 13.37 % are reserved seats and 6.33% are directly elected members. The other important point raised is that in Bangladesh the electoral process prefers male candidates. The Prime Minister Sheik Hasina once remarked' women could not survive in the elections of violence and money' and Chowdhury (2009), argues that the popular belief is that nominating a woman for a seat is the other name of losing it. The amendment bill 15 of the constitution of Bangladesh reserved 50 seats for women. Chowdhury (2013) states that one of the causes of low women representation in local politics is because of the Muslim religion. In the Muslim religion men control women in both the private and public sphere. Women are afraid of the mostan culture which is caused by the (god father), this refers to killers, extortionist, looters and perpetrators of violent crimes .Women are also afraid of sexual harassment and illegal arms. In the private sphere women are facing problems such as lack of control over their income, family and non cooperation of their husbands. Civil society organisations have also helped women to participate in politics in boards such as the Shalish (the social system for formal adjudication /justice).

Women in Bangladash participate in the Shalish and there are some seats that are reserved for women in the Shalish. Chowdhury (2013) advances that women said they are

part of the Shalish but they do not participate effectively; they are not allowed to speak, to decide they are only asked questions particulary on issues to do with dowry and divorce. Women are also given seats in the Parishad (lowest government Union), however women are not assigned roles, and responsibilities for effective participation. The other problems that are faced in political participation of Bangladash is sexual harassment such as raping of women politicians. The study of women participation in Bangladash is very different form this study because the current study discusses the efforts made to promote the participation of women in politics. There is also a connection of the current study and Chowdhury's on the challenges of women participation in local politics.

Chowdhury (2013) also discusses women's participation in local politics of India. Chowdhury (2013) argues that there is low women participation in India. In 2013 women participation in the local politics of India in the (lower house Lok Sabha) was 11% and in the Rajya Sabha (upper house) was 10.6% .The bill of parliament reserved 33% of seats for women in the Lok Sabha. The bill was suspended in 2003 and resumed in 2010. Non-governmental organisations assisted women to be involved in effective participation in politics. However it was also found that some women that are in politics were assisted by their husbands to assume the positions and they are also helped in undertaking their duties. Chowdhury (2013) mentioned some of the challenges to women participation in local politics which are patriarchal norms and structures, lack of education, housework and child-rearing and economic dependency. The study is different from the current study because the study focuses only on national efforts to promote women's participation in local politics. Also the culture in India is different from that in Zimbabwe and the way they impact women participation in politics is different.

Kadaga (2013) carried a research on women participation in Uganda. The aim of the study was to investigate the opportunities and challenges for women participation in politics. She mentioned that women are underrepresented in the political sphere and there is need to increase the number of women for women to participate in decision making processes. Kadaga (2013) says that in Sub –Saharian regions women participation is

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hindered by oppressive ways that operate in the region. Kadaga (2013) gave statistics of women participation in Uganda in 2001, women constituted 24% of the parliamentarians, in 2006 women constituted 31% of the parliamentarians and in 2011 women constituted 34%. Kadaga (2013) also mentioned that the government of Uganda had enacted the constitution that has provisions for gender equality and policies for gender equality have been put in place. To add on to national instruments for gender equality the government of Uganda had ratified international conventions and protocols for gender equality. Kadaga (2013) advances that there are opportunities for women to participate in politics in Uganda such as the enactment of a gender parity constitution, the policies passed by the government, and the work of civil society organisations that advocate for gender parity. Kadaga (2013) states that some of the factors that limit the participation of women in politics in Uganda include low level of education, poverty and intimidation of women by men. The study is crucial to the current study because it highlights some of the challenges that result in low numbers of women in politics.

Masasi (2014) researched on women participation in politics in Tanzania and argued that in terms of national population women are many compared to men but men dominate the political sphere. To address the problem of few women in politics the government of Tanzania drafted a constitution in 1997 that promoted gender equality. The quota system for women was pegged at 15-25 % in local councils. In 2009 the percent of women representation rose from 25% to 33.3% in 2009. Masasi (2013-2014) argues that the rise of women in political positions does not guarantee effective participation of women in decision making processes. Masasi (2014) used a comparative analysis of the pastoral women and non-pastoral women of Tanzania. It was found that the cultural believes of the two groups of women affected the way they behave in the political sphere. The research found out that there were no women candidates vying for leadership positions among the pastoral women but non- pastoral women were participating for political posts. The pastoral women said they did not participate because they were intimidated by their husbands, women and men in their communities. Some of them said they were beaten and some were divorced for being active in the political field. In the pastoral community women are of low status and they are seen as a property of men. Women are

over controlled by men and not allowed to participate in politics without the approval of men, they are not allowed to vote without the consent of the husband. The non-pastoral women are allowed to take part in political issues but the research found out that non-pastoral women were not interested in taking part in the political sphere. This study is different to the current study because it investigated how the two different groups are treated the political sphere in Uganda. However the study also mentioned some challenges to women participation which the current study discusses.

2.3 Theoretical Framework

The study is guided by radical feminism. Feminism is a movement that is against all forms of women oppression. According to Hooks (2000) feminism is a movement to end sexism, sexist exploitation and oppression. It is a movement that promotes the interests of women, thus Jaggar (1983) says nowadays, feminism is commonly used to refer to all those who seek no matter what grounds to end women's subordination. This study is guided by radical feminism. Radical feminism opposes Liberal feminists because the blame the oppression of women to legal structures and the Marxist feminist because the blame women oppression to class structures. It is a theory that rose in the 1960s-1980s. According to Mawere et al (2011), some of the proponents of radical feminism are Kate Millet, Shulamith Firestone and Ortner. Radical feminists it is a violent movement that seeks to end women oppression through violent means. The theory aims to emancipate women from male oppression. Radical feminists regard the male species as their opponents, hence they believed that all the problems that are faced by women are manufactured by men. Thompson (2001) states that radical feminists believe that all forms of oppression against women are attributed to men. It advocates for women freedom from male domination. It is therefore a theory that seeks to eradicate all forms of male domination.

Millet (1969), explains some of the factors that explains gender inequalities which are of male manufacture which, are, biological, patriarchy, ideological, sociological, class, race, economics and education. Millet argues that the exploitation and oppression in gender

relation is centered in these factors. This research focuses on, biology, patriarchy, socialisation, and economics as some of the reasons for women oppression by men.

2.3.1 Patriarchy

The radical feminists argue that patriarchy is one of the factors that cause the oppression of women by men. Firestone (1970) states that patriarchy is a system of social organisation in which men's control of women is based on their power over wives and children within the family. Walby (cited in Smelser, 1994) defines patriarchy as a system of social structures and practices in which men oppress and exploit women. Patriarchy is therefore a society that is led by men. In a patriarchal society all political, social and economic aspects are controlled by men. Men are supposed to be respected and they control everything starting from the family level. In a patriarchal society women are just appendages of men. They cannot decide on their own and they are at the periphery of society. Goldberg (1979) states that patriarchy is universal, he defined patriarchy as 'any system of organisation (political, economic, industrial, financial, religious, or social) in which overwhelming number of upper positions in the hierarchy are occupied by males. The same idea was raised by Millet (1969) who said patriarchy as an institution is a social constant so deeply entrenched as to run throughout all other political,social,or economic forms whether of caste or class, feudality, bureaucracy, just as it pervades all major religions, it also exhibits great variety of history and locale. Zimbabwe is patriarchal society whereby men are awarded a superior status as compared to women who are just at the mercy of men.

Patriarchy is most recognised at a family level where men are regarded as the heads of the family institution thus Millet (1969) says patriarchy's chief institution is the family. She also states that patriarchy is both a mirror of and a connection with the larger society; a patriarchal unity with a patriarchal whole. He goes on to say 'as the fundamental instrument and the foundation unit of patriarchal society not only encourages its own members to adjust and conform, but acts as a unit in the government of the patriarchal states which rules its citizens through family heads. Families in Zimbabwe acknowledges the paternal descent of people where the origins of men is stressed from the male line and

this being the case men are regarded as more important than women. Millet (1969) argues that society is patriarchal. The organisation of a patriarchal society is designed in such a way that it protects the interests of men. The societal structures such as families and traditional political positions were designed in favour of men. Men are leaders in all these societal structures. The man is regarded as the head of the family and they are decision makers hence have power over women. That distinction between men and women results in the exploitation of women by men. The title the head of the family gives men the power to enforce decisions, command and stipulate the dont's and dos in the family which women should comply with at all costs. The traditional political posts were designed for men only and women were excluded from those post. The status given to men by the culture is the weapon for the oppression and exploitation of women. Norms and values in the society protects men more than women, society approves immoral activities such as unfaithfulness when done by men but when women engage in immoral activities it is regarded as a crime that calls for heavy penalties such as divorce. In the family institution respect is given to men and women are regarded as slaves of men. A woman is expected to do all the duties for men and it has been appreciated by culture that a woman performs most domestic tasks for men with no or little assistance. Culture associates wealth and progress of a family to men's competence and the role of women is overlooked. To support this view, Eliot (cited in Millet, 1969) advances that culture is of male manufacture. What it means is that culture is constructed in a way that it favours men at the expense of women, it benefits men more that women. It is important to note that women are oppressed by men in both the private and the public sphere. At family level women are overpowered by men and in the public sphere women are overwhelmed by men i.e at the work place, in churches and at clubs among other public places. Most women in the world face some kind of oppression by women. It is imperative to note that women are oppressed by men unknowingly because of the way they have been socialised. They were socialised to believe that they are there to serve the interests of men. Women have been made to accept male oppression, since men use emotional and psycho-logical force to force women into accepting their dominance. Millet (1969) advances that, patriarchy decrees that the status of both the child and mother is primarily ultimately

dependent upon male. Radical feminists aim to dismantle patriarchy and break the dependence on men.

All the religions in the world are patriarchal in nature. Religions such as Christianity, Rastafarianism, African traditional religion and the Muslim religion among other religions are patriarchal. Women are suffering from extreme exploitation in form of religious oppression. Religious exploitation starts at family level where a child is introduced and socialised to religious activities that shapes their behaviour. Religious beliefs are exported to the public sphere because women are taught to observe the church doctrines even outside the church premises. The doctrines of churches are constructed in a way that they favour men and most church leaders are men who preach the word that serves their interests. Religion is dominated by male leadership whilst most recipients are women, in this scenario the church is believed to be the perfect ground where men extend their power to women, oppressing them hiding behind gospel. The aspect of male dominance in all spheres is believed to be the reason for the oppression of women by radical feminist. According to Mawere et al (2011) patriarchy stretches back to the time of creation in Genesis, where a woman was made from Adam's rib. Christianity for example is a religion that supports male domination as evidenced by the Bible which is patriarchal in nature.1 Corinthians 11 verses 7-9 says 'man is made in the image and glory of God, but the woman is the glory of man. Neither was a man created for women but woman for man' .The Bible distinguishes females and males and it grants males a supreme position and women an inferior position. The Bible teaches women to be submissive to their husbands (Ephesians 5: 22-23). According to Millet (1969) patriarchal religion could consolidate this position by the creation of more god, gods, demoting, discrediting or eliminating goddess and constructing a theology whose basic postulates are male supremacist, and one whose central functions is to uphold and validate the patriarchal structure. Radical feminists critique institutions such as government and religion as centered on patriarchy.

Radical feminists are against all forms of women oppression, the inferiority of women in religious sects and oppression of women at family level. This is supported who   , Hooks

(2000) says radical feminism wants to end patriarchy and sexism. Hooks also advances that revolutionary feminist consciousness-raising emphasised the importance of learning about patriarchy as a system of domination, how it became institutionalized and how it is perpetuated and maintained.

2.3.2 Gender socialisation

Radical feminists advance that the other cause for the inequality between men and women is the way people are socialised. Hooks (2000), advances that female and male have been socialised from birth to accept sexist thought and action. Women are socialised to believe that they are inferior to men. Mawere et al (2011) states that gender inequalities are learnt through primary socialisation and reinforced later by every other institutions for example school, media, community, church among others. Millet (1969) argues that the chief contribution of family is socialisation of young (largely through the example and admonition of their parents) into patriarchal ideology's presented attitudes towards the categories of role, temperament, and status-reinforced by peers, school, media, and other learning sources formal or informal. Millet (1969) argues that 'it is not his social status ,but even his economic power upon which his dependency generally rely, the position of the masculine figure within the family as without is materially ,as well as ideologically ,extremely strong'.Socialisation is implanted into children with people that are around them. Socialisation is influenced by the culture in the society. The culture is designed in a way that it favours men and as a result of this children are socialised to appreciate male dominance. Children accept and appreciate the way they are socialised without the knowledge that it is a threat to their life since they are taught to accept male dominance. Oakley in Haralambos and Holborn (2004) points out that socialisation is done through processes like manipulation, canalisation, verbal appellations and exposure to different activities. Women are socialised in a way that they accept that they are at the margins in all the spheres of development be it in the economic, social and political sphere. Women are socialised to become mothers and to be dependent on men which limits women's potential for development. The mentality that is instilled in women is detrimental to their life since depending on men is synonymous to one's own oppression. It is against this that the radical feminists advocate for the breaking down of traditional

gender roles in the private and public sphere. They believe that there are no roles that are specifically designed for male or females. Radical feminists believe that what men can do women can also do. They regard the two as having the same potential. They argue that men should perform child care duties just like women.

2.3.4 Biology

The radical feminists believe that the other force that causes the inequality between men and women is biology. Biology causes the oppression of men by women because nature favours men than women. Biology is a threat to women emancipation because from birth women are not celebrated as men, women are seen as inferior to men. Due to biological make up women and men have classes that have labeling attached to them. According to Millet (1969),'the first temperament involves the formation of human personality along stereotyped lines of sex category (masculine and feminine) based on the needs and values of the dominant group and dictated by what its members cherish in themselves and found convenient in subordinates, aggression, intelligence, force, efficacy, in the male, passivity, ignorance, docility,' virtue' and ineffectuality in female.' She also states that' in terms of activity ,sex roles assigns domestic service to female, the rest of human achieve ,interest and ambition to men. The limited role that is allocated to the female tends to arrest her at the level of biological experience'. Biology also causes the oppression of women. Biology encourages men to use violence to purse their own goals. According to Hooks (1984) women are a group most victimised by sexist oppression. She advances that 'sexism is perpetuated by institutional and social structures; by individuals who dominate, exploit or oppress and by the victims themselves who are socialised in ways that made them act in complicity with the status quo'.In this regard women are marginalised due to biology, it is against this fact that, Hooks (1984) argues that 'supremacist ideology encourages women to believe that they are valueless and obtain value only by relating or bonding with men'.

Hooks (2000) advances that men are required to dominate women, to exploit and oppress women, using violence if they must to keep patriarchy intact. The biological make up of men make them strong and they use that strength to oppress women. Biologically men

are more powerful than women as a result of that, men use violence to silence women and to drive them away from taking political positions and attaining high profile positions. Hooks (2000) also says males as a group have and do benefit most from patriarchy, from the assumption that they are superior to female and should rule them. Millet (1969), argues that patriarchal religion, popular attitude and some degree, science as well assumes these psycho-social distinctions to rest upon biological differences between sexes, so that where culture is acknowledged as shaping behaviour, it is said to do more that cooperate with nature.Millet (1969) also says male supremacy, like all other political creeds do not finally reside in physical strength but in the acceptance of a value system which is not biological. Radical feminists believe that men and women have the same potential. To this Madsen (2000) says that female and male nature are identical or put more accurately there is no such thing as male or female, nature is only human nature and no sex, meaning to say all people are equal.

2.3.5 Economics

Due to biological differences and socialisation the tasks are divided along sex lines where hard jobs and better paying jobs are associated with men and low paying jobs are for women. Women are also socialised to believe that they should be dependent upon men. What it means is that most women depend on men financially. Most women are not educated and it is the men that provides for the mother and the children. According to Millet (1969) in general the position of women in the patriarchal society is a continuous economic dependence. She advances that most women who work earn half salaries than that of men. In this regard this economic inequality leads to the oppression of women by men. Women dependency on men makes them voiceless since everything is dictated by men because their survival is determined by men. Radical feminists are against the idea of women depending on men, they advocate for the independence of women in all aspects of life economic, social and political.

Thompson (2001) states that radical feminists struggle against male domination addressing the harms done to women and that would mean the liberation of women. The radical feminists believe that it is only the women that would solve the problems they are

facing. According to Hooks (1984), radical feminism is working for the eradication of domination and elitism in all relationships. Mawere et al (2011) says the radical feminists had put forward a number of solutions to their problems. These include, to call for total restructuring of society. To them doing away with male domination is a means of eliminating women's oppression, demand women's empowerment in education, politics, and sexuality, challenge men's control and monopoly over the production and use of knowledge, for example , in the mass media, reject gender roles and call for child care facilities and women to struggle on their own for their liberation against their oppressors (males), radicals reject assistance by males because they are viewed as enemies of their liberation.

This theory is appropriate for this study in the sense that it is against female subordination. It discusses some factors that cause the inequality between men and women which are patriarchy, sexism, economics and socialisation.The factors identified by radical feminists are some of the factors that hinder the efforts to promote the participation of women in local politics resulting in very low numbers in local politics. The theory is relevant to this study because it advocates for women emancipation in the political sphere. Also the theory supports the idea that women and men have the same potential which is the gist of the study that women and men should access political posts on equal terms. The radical feminist theory encourages women to fight their own problems because the problems that lie in women are created by men and if women fail to fight for their emancipation the oppression and exploitation would continue because men enjoy and benefit from the patriarchal relation between men and women.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the literature related to the study. The literature reviewed generally established that women are underrepresented in the entire world. Various factors have been identified for the under representation of women by several researchers. Different studies from different regions proved that women are still underrepresented despite legal reforms that have been put in place by many nations. The

chapter also discussed some tenets of the radical feminist theory as the basis for analyzing the results of this research.

CHAPTER 3
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter elaborates on the methodology applied by the researcher to carry out the research. The chapter outlines and discusses the methods used for data collection, presentation and analysis. According to Chikoko and Mloyi (1995), research methodology refers to the methods which are used in collecting information for the purposes of the research. It explains the manner in which the researcher puts together information from respondents. A methodology should specify the methods but only in order to justify their use for defined purposes in specified situations and circumstances. In this chapter, data collection methods are identified and explained. The chapter discusses the research instruments employed, sample and sampling techniques, the population of study and the research ethics observed.

3.2 Research Design

According to Makoni-Rukuni (2001), a research design is a plan or structure for an investigation. McMillan and Schumacher (1989) define a research design as a plan for selecting subjects, research sites, and data collection and analysis procedures to answer the research questions. A research design is like a guide which stipulates how data is collected and put together. This research employed the qualitative research paradigm to gather data. According to Berg (2007), the qualitative design focuses on 'the what, how, when, and where of a thing, its essence and ambience.' The research requires one to find out the reasons why there are few women in political leadership positions relative to men and how, when and where women's problems can be solved. Qualitative research is a field of inquiry that crosscuts disciplines and subject matters. It involves an in-depth understanding of human behaviour and the reasons that govern human behaviour. Unlike quantitative research, qualitative research focuses on reasons behind various aspects of behavior and people's understanding of their own lived experiences. Thus Crosswell (1994) defines a qualitative study as an inquiry into social or human problems, based on

building a complex, holistic picture formed with words. It seeks to report detailed views of informants and is conducted in a natural setting. Ritchie (2003) says it is a unique tool for studying what lies behind or underpins a decision, attitude, behaviour or other phenomena. This being the case, it means that when dealing with social issues, the qualitative research design is the most appropriate to use because the researcher is dealing with social issues that deals with human behaviour and the gathered information can be presented in narrative form.

According to Seliger and Shohamy (1989), any qualitative research utilizes a variety of means to collect data. This is supported by Snape and Spencer(2003) who advances that in qualitative research, "the research designs adopts a flexible method of investigation and a researcher conducts inquiry in the real world rather than in experimental manipulated settings.' To support the idea Ratsokoane (2012) says that qualitative researchers typically rely on four methods for gathering information. These include participation in the setting, direct observation, in depth interviews and analysis of documents and materials. Basing on the above opinion, it is very clear that the qualitative research design is the best method of dealing with social issues because it provides a variety of ways that can be used to gather data. Ratsakaone (2012), states that many researchers prefer qualitative research because they point out that social and institutional context is largely lost when textual data are quantified. The qualitative design was used in this research because it allows the researcher to use multiple methods to gather data on the opinions of people regarding the participation of women in local leadership.

Crosswell (2009) outlines the characteristics of qualitative inquiry. According to Crosswell, qualitative research occurs in the natural setting, with the researcher collecting data at the site where participants experience the issue or problem under study. They talk to people directly and see them behave and act within their context. In addition, the researchers, as key instruments, collect data themselves through examining documents, observing behaviour or interviewing participants, multiple sources of data-they rely on multiple data gathering techniques, inductive data analysis, participants' meanings the researcher keeps a focus on the meanings that the participants hold about the problem or

issue not the meaning that the researchers brings to the research. In addition, qualitative research is a form of interpretive inquiry in which researchers interpret what they see, hear and understand. These interpretations are informed by background, history, and prior understandings. These features of the qualitative research design make it suitable and functional when dealing with human behaviour. Crosswell argues that the purpose of qualitative research is to understand a particular social situation, event, role, group or interaction. Ratsakaone et al (2012), advances that qualitative data is non-numerical, usually in form of written words or videotapes, audiotapes and photographs.

The qualitative research is the best design for the study because the nature of the study requires the researcher to interact with the participants. Since the research deals with social research, the qualitative paradigm is appropriate because it enables an understanding of the participation of women in local politics from their own perspective and that of the society in which they live. Since the design allows for the triangulation of data gathering instruments, it allows one to understand the phenomena under study from different dimension.

3.3 Case study

The present study adopts a case study which is appropriate for the qualitative research design. To Lewis (2003:51) the term 'case study, is strongly associated with qualitative research.' According to Yin (2012), a case is generally a bounded entity, a person, organization, behavioral condition, event or other social phenomenon. The case serves as the main unit of analysis in a case study.

An in-depth analysis is the core of a case study. According to Rakotsoane (2012), a case study is an in depth study of a single organization, institution, programme, event, decision, policy, or group which serves as the case being investigated. Bless and Higson-Smith (1995) in Rakotsoane (2012), says basically, a case study is an in depth study of a particular situation rather than a sweeping statistical survey. It is a method used to narrow down a very broad field of research into one easily researchable topic. Since focus is only on one entity, the advantage is that a thorough investigation is done. The general idea is

to get a deeper understanding of phenomena hence you are not going horizontal but you have to go deep. Whilst it will not answer a question completetly, it will give some indications and allow further elaboration and hypothesis creation on a subject. Parlett and Hamilton (1974) say that a case study is thus particular, descriptive, and inductive and ultimately heuristic, that is, it seeks to illuminate the readers' understanding of an issue. According to Somekh and Lewin (2005), the strength of the case study is that it can take an example of an activity, an instance in action and use multiple methods and data sources to explore it and interrogate it. Thus, it can achieve a thick description of a phenomenon in order to represent it from the participants' perspective. Basing on the above arguments a case study proved to be a viable research style in that it enabled the researcher to avoid the complications of trying to deal with large area parts to come up with relatively correct results and avoid bias or lack of depth.

The case under study is Chiwundura area. The study is restricted to three wards which are 12, 13 and 10. There are eight wards in Chiwundura rural. The three wards constitute the appropriate case because there are two women councilors in the wards and the other one is a man. This allowed the researcher to get an informed stance on the people's perspectives towards women leadership since people draw from their experience with women leadership. It also allowed the researcher to get information from the women leaders themselves.

3.4 Research Instruments

Research instruments are the methods used to collect data for the study. According to Shumbayaonda (2011), research instruments are tools used by the researcher to gather or collect data or information. Borg and Gall (1979), say that they are devices/techniques used to obtain standardized information for the subjects in the sample. There are primary and secondary data collection instruments. In this study, primary data collection instruments were used. According to Haralambos and Holborn (1990), primary sources of information consist of data collected by the researchers themselves during the course of their work. They go on to say that primary sources would include data collected by

researchers using questionnaires, interviews, and textual analysis and observations. The researcher used the interviews and the questionnaire to gather information.

A pilot study was conducted to test the research instruments to be used to collect data prior the main research. Daly (1993 cited in Shumbayaonda, 2011), says a pilot study is a preparation that precedes the main study whose purpose is meant to refine the project before the main study. A pilot study was carried out at a local school, Chiwundura Secondary School in ward 12.Questionnaires, interviews and the focus group discussions were used in the pilot study. The pilot study assisted the researcher to identify the best research instruments for the study. The researcher chose the questionnaire and the interviews as research instruments for the study. Questionnaires were used in the study because some people were not comfortable to discuss political issues, this was observed through the gestures and facial expressions shown by the interviewees during the face to face interviews. This being the case using the questionnaire proved to be a viable option to collect data since the respondents were able to air out their views freely without fear and shyness since questionnaires respects people's right to privacy. The researcher got new ideas and created new questions which she infused in the interview guide and the questionnaire. The pilot study helped the researcher to perfect the research instrument for the study. The pilot study also helped the researcher to stipulate the time for the interviews which she set at 40 minutes which she had not considered when she drafted the interview guide. The focus group discussion was withdrawn because during the pilot study the focus group did not come up with the good results as some people did not participate, some showed no interest in the study and some people were monopolizing the discussion.

3.4.1 Questionnaires

According to Chiromo (2009), a questionnaire is a form of inquiry which contains a systematically complied and organized series of questions that are used to gather data. Tuckman (1978) defines a questionnaire as 'a document containing questions designed to collect information appropriate for analysis'. The questionnaires were specifically designed to be qualitative with open ended questions to give room for the respondents to

give detailed explanations. There are several advantages of using questionnaires. Questionnaires promote confidentiality, meaning to say the respondents can give authentic information, and the respondent is likely to give all the information without fear and shame since the names of the respondents are not given. In the case of this study, respondents answered the questionnaires independently and this helped the researcher to get correct information. Questionnaires were also helpful in gathering data from shy respondents as such respondents express themselves in writing. In this research, the respondents gave their views about women in local politics freely with very minimal assistance from the researcher or any other force.

The other advantage obtained from using questionnaires is that respondents attended to the questionnaires during their own spare time. Respondents were given the questionnaires and were informed of the time when the researcher was to collect the questionnaires. This allowed them enough time to give their views in relation to the questions asked.

According to Rakotsoane (2012), questionnaires have the advantage that they avoid interview bias. Mostly when people engage in face to face interviews, the respondents have a tendency of viewing the facial expressions of the interviewer and reading his/her feelings and concerns through such non-verbal cues. This tends to influence their responses as they may give answers they think the researcher wants to hear. As such, the questionnaire is better since it creates an atmosphere whereby the respondent gives his/her thought without being influenced by the researcher.

Questionnaires are one of the best methods of generating data because they know no boundary. Questionnaire can reach respondents who live at widely dispersed locations. Infact, in the case of this current study, the researcher personally administered the questionnaires throughout the different parts of the selected wards of Chiwundura. She asked respondents to answer within a period of two days after which the researcher collected the questionnaires herself from respondents.

Ratsakaone (2012), advances that questionnaires are cost effective as a data collection instrument. Indeed, apart from having printed hard copies for hand distribution, the researcher did not incur other costs as all the procedures that followed in Chiwundura were free.

Open ended questions were dominant as the researcher sought to gather data based on people's perceptions of women leadership in local politics. Open ended questions allow respondents to explain and to give their opinions on how they understand and perceive women leadership in local politics.

A questionnaire for members of the public was used to gather the opinions of the people who are the recipients of local leadership. The questionnaire was designed to gather information regarding people's opinions and reactions towards women in leadership. Since these people are directly involved in local politics, they can actually pinpoint the problems and advantages of having women leaders. The researcher distributed forty copies of questionnaires. Twenty questionnaires were given to women and twenty questionnaires were given to men. These people were grouped into   gender categories ranging from eighteen years to fifty five years because gender identities determine how they judge issues. These groups were selected because they are within the range that can fully participate in political activities.

Although the questionnaires have positive returns, respondents may leave gaps that the researcher should take note of for it to be a useful technique of collecting data. Where some respondents left gaps or some questions unanswered, this made data analyses difficult since it was not easy to rectify.   In this case, the researcher had to carefully examine each questionnaire on collection to ensure rectification of gaps where they were found. The researcher also found that questionnaires did not give room for probing to obtain more information. Also, some respondents in Chiwundura failed to return the questionnaires because they did not like involvement in political related issues or they did not take the issue under study seriously. To counter this problem the researcher followed up and reminded the respondents to complete the questionnaire. She also collected back

the questionnaires herself and then also resorted to the interview technique to make up for this weakness in questionnaires.

3.4.2 Interviews

In order to cater for inconveniences that may be caused by the use of questionnaires, the researcher also used interviews to compliment the open ended questionnaires. According to Ratsokoane (2012), an interview is a face- to- face meeting between two or more people where an interviewer asks questions to obtain information from one or more respondents. Chiromo (2009), states that interviews are for getting the story behind a participant's experiences. Basing on the above sentiments, interviews are verbal interactions between two or more people whereby the interviewer asks questions and the interviewee responds to questions that answers the research problem. According to Babbie and Mouton (2001), interviews can be structured or semi-structured .Structured interviews are where interviewing questions are written or drafted on a piece of paper in a way that the research questions are answered. In this research structured questions were used to guide the interviewer and help her to maintain the focus and direction of the inquiry on women leadership in local politics.

Using interviews gave many advantages to the researcher. The researcher had room to ask for clarity on areas which may need clarification and probe questions. The researcher also made follow ups immediately where any answer given by the respondent was incomplete. One was also able to stimulate interviewees' responses hence obtaining very rich information in relationship to women's political participation. Also, whenever interviewees gave obscure responses the interviewer asked for clarification and likewise, those respondents who failed to understand the requirements of the question freely asked for explanations.

First-hand information and reduces the possibilities of bias. First-hand information from the respondents such as the women in political helped the researcher to access correct information on the status of women in politics ,the efforts made to involve women in local politics and the challenges encountered in efforts to promote women's political participation.

The researcher also found it advantageous that she could carry out interviews anywhere and anytime. This is because interviews do not have fixed time schedules. Rather, conducting them depends on the schedule of two people, the interviewee and the interviewer. Also, they do not have fixed venues, that is, interviews can be done whilst people are walking or sitting wherever the interviewee and the interviewer feel comfortable. Also interviewees are not paid for the services which they provide, making the interviews the cheapest technique for obtaining information among other research instruments. In this research, the researcher used face to face interviews. This being the case interviews because interaction helped both the researcher and the respondents to understand the issue under study clearly.

Among the best advantages derived by the researcher in using the interview technique was the assessment of non-verbal ques that characterize the interview technique. The researcher observed the gestures and facial expressions of interviewees and obtained a lot of information from such on-verbal communication. She could tell if she was receiving correct or wrong information, among others. She could tell if an interviewee was feeling uncomfortable or excited in answering specific questions or unsure of how to relate to the given question. Gestures, facial expression and voice projection informed the researcher on whether on feelings surrounding the question asked or the whole subject under study. The researcher observed that in more sensitive issues such as challenges faced by women in politics or acceptability of women in politics, non-verbal communication was highly informative.

Interviews are also convenient when the people involved stick to the time stipulated for the interview. The interviews carried out lasted for thirty five minutes to forty minutes which was the range set for the interviews. Thus most people prefer to be interviewed because its labour free, one has to say out his or her views and does not put them down.

In carrying out the field work in Chiwundura, the researcher found out that the interview technique was the best since some people were illiterate. Some informants who were crucial or key informants in the study could not write or read well and some could not

understand the language used in producing questionnaires and hence the only way to engage such people was the interview technique. With interviews, the researcher resorted to the local language where necessary. Interviews thus proved highly crucial in Chiwundura where some the rural population cannot express their views clearly in writing.

The researcher prepared two sets of interview guides, with one set for the women in political leadership in Chiwundura, and the other set for the religious leaders, elders in the community, and men that are in political leadership. About five (5) religious leaders from different church denominations were interviewed to obtain religious perspectives. Six (6) women in political leadership were also interviewed concerning their personal experiences of treatment in their families and in society and what they can offer as women leaders. Four (4) community elders were interviewed, two females and two males because these are the custodians of our culture. Three (3) men in local political leadership were interviewed to understand the perceptions of men towards women leadership. The researcher conducted interviews in the homes of respondents with each interview being a maximum length of forty minutes.

3.5 Population and Sampling

Sampling is the act, process, or a technique of selecting a suitable sample or a representative part of the population for the purposes of determining the parameters or characteristics of the whole population (Ratsakaone, 2012; Chiromo, 2006; Brink, 1999) described a population as individual units, objects or events that are considered in a research. The population for this study is drawn from Chiwundura constituency. Given that this study is qualitative, the target population size is not necessary. However, the sample is made up of six women in local leadership from Chiwundura, three men in local leadership in Chiwundura, five religious leaders, 4 community elders and 40 questionnaire respondents from Chiwundura. The total sample size used was thus made up of fifty eight people. The researcher will choose the people who, in one way or the other, have the information required for purposes of this study.

3.5.1 Sampling techniques

This research employed purposive sampling and quota sampling techniques. According to Elders (2009), purposive sampling refers to the selection of units based on personal judgment. The most productive sample is selected to answer research questions. It is about selecting informants based on the knowledge that they have on the specific subject under study. In this case, the researcher approaches people that she knows have the information that she will be looking for (McMillan and Schumacher (2010). In Chiwundura, the researcher had to investigate the nature of people in the society and came to know the kind of people to involve in the research. She did so with the *purpose* to select particular elements from the population that are informative about the topic of interest. On the basis of the researcher's knowledge of the population, judgment was thus made about which subjects to select to obtain the best information to address the purpose of the research.

The researcher used the three guidelines outlined by Rubin et.al (1995), for selecting informants under the purposive sampling strategy. The selected informants had to be knowledgeable about cultural arena or situation or experience of women in politics in Chiwundura or in Zimbabwe at least; they had to be willing to talk; and finally, they had to represent the range of points. To do this, the researcher had to have enough knowledge of the people chosen for this study, especially since she needed them to have key information pertaining to the subject under study. The researcher thus deliberately chose the women in local political leadership positions, the community elders, the men in local leadership, and the religious leaders because she knew that all these people are well equipped to furnish relevant information for the study. Those in political leadership positions have a lot of knowledge on politics and women participation therein. The researcher also engaged religious leaders since religion has a role to play in politics.

According to Saunders et al (2010),'quota sampling is a non-probability sampling and can be defined as a sampling method of gathering representative data from a group. Application of quota sampling ensures that sample group represents certain characteristics.' In this research the quota system was employed and the respondents

were classified into gender and age groups. The quota system was used to select the respondents of the questionnaires. Twenty men and twenty women were selected .The researcher used the quota system to gather different views along gender lines on how women leadership is perceived. Both genders were represented equally in the sample for accurate results.

3.6 Data Analysis and Presentation Procedures

The information gathered was analysed and classified in a way that it would answer the general question and the specific questions understudy, that is the efforts made to promote women participation in local politics in Chiwundura, the status of women in local politics in Chiwundura and the challenges being encountered in efforts to promote women participation in local politics in Chiwundura. All the questions were attended to separately and the data related to each question from the interviews and questionnaires was put together. The information was compared to come up with informed judgments. The data was put in a descriptive form under some headings and some tables were used to present the data. Literature related to the study and liberal theory tenets were used to support and discuss the information gathered.

3.7. Research ethics

In conducting the research the researcher was guided by research ethics. According to the Random House Dictionary of English language (cited in Shumbayaonda, 2011), "ethics is a branch of philosophy relating to human conduct, with respect to the rightness or wrongness of certain actions and to the badness or goodness of the motives and ends of such actions." Research ethics guide the researcher on how to conduct the research in a morally acceptable way which promotes the authenticity and credibility of results. The research ethics are very important since they help the researcher avoid many problems in the research process, be it with authorities in the study area or informants as well as institutions of learning. This is supported by Meara et al's (1991 cited in Rukuni, 2001) suggestion that ethics assist us to deal with ethical dilemmas that may arise.

In this research, the researcher observed the ethical principles of informed consent and voluntary participation. Under this principle, the researcher allowed the participants to choose whether or not to participate, after the researcher fully informed the participants about the whole study including possible risks or harm associated with the study. The researcher even informed the participants that the study was for academic purposes only and that the researcher needed to undertake the study not just to learn from the rich information but to complete her Master's Degree in Development Studies. Upon explaining everything, the researcher also clarified on the kind of help she needed from them. On the issue of voluntary participation, the researcher informed the participants that they had the right to withdraw from the research any time they wanted and were free to refuse to answer any questions they did not feel comfortable answering. Indeed, the researcher respected the feelings of the respondents and did not force anyone to participate.

The researcher also followed the principle of confidentiality and privacy. In line with Wiefel's (1998) contention, the researcher protected the anonymity of the research participants by observing the principle of confidentiality. Unless the participants consented to the release of personal information, the researcher did not disclose such information. To further maintain confidentiality and privacy, the researcher did not disclose to other participants what other respondents had said, but kept the information private. Furthermore, the questionnaires and all other responses collected did not have any names attached to them. Infact, the questionnaires administered had the instruction that respondents should not write their names on the questionnaires. The researcher told the respondents that their names will not be highlighted in the research. This was in sync with Tuckman's (1978) contention that the participants have the right to have some of the information that they provide kept secret, and not to have their individual identities disclosed in research and participants also have a right that their answers remain confidential. She maintained respondents' freedom to share the information which they wanted to share and to withhold the information which they were not willing to share.

The researcher also observes the participants' right to protection. In this case, the onus was upon her to ensure that her respondents were safe at every stage of the research to avoid all harm to them. The issue of political participation in the Zimbabwean context is sensitive. In any case, in a patriarchal society like Zimbabwe, the issue of women leadership in local politics can raise many issues between men and women or relatives who see it as moral to stand against the appointment of women into political position. It was with this in mind that the researcher seriously considered whether her research procedures were likely to cause any physical or emotional harm to the participants involved in the research. The researcher tried to ensure that even her research procedures themselves would not cause any conflict. She found that protecting her respondents also went back to the maintenance of confidentiality in this case where sensitive political issues were likely to cause conflict or harm against the respondents.

The researcher equally respected the ethical principle of debriefing and de-hoaxing. The researcher seeks to avail any interested participants with the research findings. According to Welfel (1998) in Makoni (2001), debriefing and de-hoaxing are important ethical issues which demand that the researcher reports and describes the results of the study to the participants if they wish, as data is ready for dissemination. Before final submission of this dissertation, the researcher informed participants of her readiness to show them research results upon request. Debriefing also helps to reduce the negative effects of deception. In this context, any subject who asked for research findings obtained them from the researcher. The researcher found that debriefing and de-hoaxing were important as they were like follow ups and verification approaches. Here, the advantage was that they reduced the researcher's presentation of wrong or biased research findings. This was in concurrence with Welfel (1998) who insists that researchers should report fair and accurate results and one way to do so is by What it means is that respondents have the rights to see the result and the researcher should comply with their suggestions.

3.8 Conclusion

This chapter discusses the research methodology that will be used in this research. The researcher employed the qualitative research paradigm and used a case study as the

appropriate design. Questionnaires and interviews were used as the research instruments in this study. Purposive sampling and quota sampling techniques were the ways used to select the population used in this research. The researcher used a sample of fifty eight respondents in conducting the research. Ethical principles that govern the study were discussed in this chapter. The next chapter presents and analyses the findings of the study.

CHAPTER 4
DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents analyses and discusses data that was gathered from the field through questionnaires and interviews. The information is presented in a descriptive way and through the use of tables.

4.2 Efforts made to promote women's participation in local government in Zimbabwe and in Chiwundura area of the Midlands Province

4.2.1 National efforts to promote women participation in local politics in Zimbabwe

The information gathered from the interviews conducted with the councilors and from questionnaire respondents outlined that the government has done a lot in promoting women participation in local politics. These respondents highlighted that the most important instrument designed by the government is the national Constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment (N0 20), that promotes gender parity in all spheres of development, the political sphere included. They stated that the constitution of Zimbabwe advocates for equal representation of men and women in economic, social and political spheres. Two of the interviewed councilors and some of the questionnaire respondents said in the constitution there is a section that promotes the participation of women through the quota system of the senate where some seats are reserved specifically for women. According to the Constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment (N0) 20, Section 124(b) states that, "for the life of the two parliaments after the effective date, an additional and sixty women members, six from each of the provinces into which Zimbabwe is divided, elected through a system pf proportional representation based on votes cast for candidates representing political parties in the general election for the constituency members in the provinces" .All the councilors interviewed and some of the questionnaire respondents stated that the government of Zimbabwe permits other stakeholders such non-governmental organizations to educate people in Chiwundura of human rights and the promotion of women's participation so that the information would reach all parts of the nation.

The other efforts made by the Zimbabwe government to promote women participation in local politics which was not mentioned by all the respondents is the adoption of the National Gender Policy in 2004 which was revised in 2013 and ratification of instruments that promote gender equality. The government of Zimbabwe through the Ministry of Women Affairs, Gender and Community development adopted a National Gender Policy as a strategy to address the unjust system between men and women. The vision of the 2013-2017 National Gender policy is "a gender just society in which men and women enjoy equity, contribute and benefit as equal partners in the development of the country.' On political issues the National Gender policy of 2013-2017, advocates for 50/50 representation of men and women in politics and decision making positions and lobbying for affirmative action measures in areas where sharp gender disparities exist. The government of Zimbabwe had also ratified international and regional instruments that promote the participation of women in politics.

Research findings have shown that government and NGOs have made efforts to disseminate information about women's participation. All the councilors interviewed agreed that information has been availed because all the organizations that operate in their areas of jurisdiction pass through the councilors. However, all councilors said the information needs to be reinforced. One of the female councilors interviewed said women were encouraged to participate in local politics by awareness campaigns held by independent bodies, such as the Gender Commission that educated people on gender equality and 50/50 representation in the political field. The commission held awareness campaigns in some parts of Chiwundura, for instance, in ward 10. The interviewee asserted that very few people attended the meetings. At the end of the day, the idea is that the government has made efforts but people do not know the importance of politics because some choose not to attend meetings. The interviewee also said non-governmental organizations such as the Crisis Coalition of Zimbabwe also held awareness campaigns in ward 10, educating women of their rights to compete at par with men in decision making processes and in the political sphere that shapes their life. The other non-governmental organization that taught women about leadership was the Women land and Leadership in Zimbabwe. The organization assisted women to start their projects and to be their own

leaders, a skill that is relevant to those who may wish to join local politics. The organization thus groomed women on leadership skills. The councilor also said women were encouraged to participate in local politics through the workshops that were led by the Women in Politics Support Unit of Zimbabwe (WIPSUZ) facilitated by female parliamentarians and female councilors. The WIPSUZ workshops encouraged women to compete for political posts such as members of parliaments and councilors. The WIPSUZ targeted both those women that are in politics and those that are not. The councilor also said there are other organizations that only focused on women that are in politics with the intention of teaching them leadership skills but did not remember the names of the organizations.

One of the female councilors interviewed said the chief in her ward is playing an important role of encouraging women to take leadership positions in local politics. In her ward, there is a woman who is acting as a village head who was approved by the chief and she has been holding that post for a long time. The female councilor also showed gratitude to the government and all the stakeholders that are working to promote women's participation in local politics because it allowed her to compete for the post and she won the elections for two consecutive terms.

> The other male councilor interviewed said; *there are very few women in local politics. Information about women empowerment has not reached out to all the people, it seems as if women are not interested in political issues therefore they do not attend political gathering. As councilors in our communities we have tried our best to encourage women to participate in local politics. Despite the efforts made by different stakeholders there are only two female councilors that have won the elections in 2018. Women are lagging behind in the political field.*

He said the efforts to encourage women's participation in local politics have been conducted but they are not enough. He said in his ward, few women have knowledge about their rights to take part in local leadership positions. The councilor said there are some women who had not accessed the information on equal participation in local politics between men and women. In ward 13 women have been empowered through

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government projects, non-governmental organizations such as the Heifer projects that assist women to be independent. Most projects in the ward have not targeted the political aspect but economic and social wellbeing of women. However, as the Councilor stated, that these projects assist women with leadership skills which will help them to climb the political ladders for those who are willing to take part in political leadership because they are equipped with leadership skills. Also at the local meetings, women are encouraged to take part in politics and leadership positions in all the activities that take place within their wards and villages that have a direct effect on the development of their communities.

One of the female councilors who had recently assumed the position in the recent 2018 elections said efforts to promote women participation in ward 12 had been made. The efforts have been made mainly through the political parties that are in ward 12. The non-governmental organizations have also educated women in ward 12 to compete and challenge men in the political field. One non-governmental organization that educated women in ward 12 is the ZIMRIGHTS that focused on educating people and encouraging women to take part in political posts. The councilor said some women are aware of their rights to take part in political leadership in local politics but not all the women have knowledge. Women and men still need to be empowered to take part in local politics hence the forces that hinders them to take part in local leadership surround them within their private and public sphere of their local communities it is the things that they live with on everyday life. She asserted that;

> *For sustainable development to take place both men and women should understand the concept of gender equality. There is need for a series of campaigns on gender so that the information will reach out to all the people in Chiwundura and that will help to transform the perception of people towards women leadership and will help women to take part in leadership positions in the political field.*

In this regard it is clear that female councilors have observed the importance of women participation in local politics and their quest is to have more women in local politics for sustainable development to take place.

4.2.2 Intra-party efforts to promote the participation of women in local governance

There were also intra-party efforts to promote the participation of women in local politics and it was a way to compliment the work of the government and the non-governmental organizations. It has been established that there are two main political parties that operates in Chiwundura, namely the, Zimbabwe African National Union Patriot front and the Movement for Democratic Change-Alliance. One of the MDC party leaders interviewed in ward 12 said;

> *The efforts to promote women's participation in local politics are mainly done by political parties. In our party the MDC-A there is gender equality and women are taught about gender equality. In the party at District Level, there are three wings, the main wing with mixed sex, the women's league for women only, and the youth league with mixed sex. In the youth and main wing representation is 50/50.This idea has been borrowed from the National Gender Policy of 2013 that advocates for 50/50 representation. In these groups we are taught that everyone is a leader and the leadership structure is made up of 46 people. In our party women are encouraged to take leadership positions and women are participating at par with men though the position of the chairperson seems to be a permanent post for men.*

However, the interviewee also mentioned that the problem which they are having is that their party have few people and as a result the empowerment of women have not benefited all the women in the community since it is only those that belong to the MDC faction and those attend MDC meetings and rallies. These are benefiting from the teachings about gender equality and holding of political posts. The interviewee also said that in the party, though there is equal representation of men and women, men are dominating in high posts such as the chairmanship position. At district level the chairman is a man and the vice is woman, the secretary is women and vice is man, treasure is a man and the vice is a woman. There is fairness in the distribution of posts but the problem is that since the party started to operate in Chiwundura, the chairman had always been a man, at the expense of women. She also said women are participating with men in making decisions in the party. However, there are some women who are shy to express their views, although it is true that with time, most women adjust and actively participate

in all the activities in the party. The other interviewee who is a member of the MDC in ward 10 said intra-party efforts to promote equal participation between men and men in local politics are made but the problem is that women are overpowered by men in the main wing, whereby the most powerful posts are taken by men. The interviewee ascertained that;

> In ward 10 the chairperson of MDC is a male figure from the time the party was formed. Women are overpowered by males to an extent that when I submitted my curriculum vitae for the position of the councilor, men wanted to withdraw my CV but I made thorough follow ups to make sure my CV was not withdrawn. The field of politics needs someone who is strong, courageous, someone who could not easily give up and someone who is aware of her rights and who has strong desire for her rights to be respected.

The other local leader interviewed is a male figure in ward 12, of the ZANU PF party. The interviewee said women's participation at local level in Chiwundura is low because not all the people have knowledge on women's participation in local politics. Some women and some men still believe that politics is a domain for men. He said women have been educated of their rights to participate in local politics through party campaigns that were taking place before all the election sessions. The District Secretary on Indigenization also said women in their party are given equal platforms to participate with men. He said the party has 3 branches ,the women league where women participates alone and they have their own leaders as women ,there is the men league which is made up of men only with their own leaders and the youth league with mixed sexes from 18 years to 35 years. These structures start at cell level up to branch level/District level. There is also a committee at District level whereby the chairperson is a man, the vice is woman, the secretary is woman and the vice is woman. The scenario of having the male chairpersons repeats itself from all the political parties. The question here is that the top posts are still reserved for men whilst women are given secretarial posts. The secretary said the women league gave positive results because one of the women in the ward won the 2018 elections for local authority. The female councilor that won the recent election

was in the ZANU PF political structure as a secretary and she was an active member of the women's league.

The other interviewee in ward 13, a male figure of the ZANU PF party said the party have empowered women in all wards through the women's league to compete for political posts with men. The other female interviewee concurred with the idea by stating that;

> *I was the chairperson of the ZANU PF women's league and women have been empowered through the intra-party projects and awareness programmes on the participation of women in local politics. In ward 12 women were given funds to start the poultry project so as to raise income for their survival. The other project that we have in ward 12 is the "goat pass on" project. Women were also advised to apply for loans from the ZANU PF party to undertake various income generating projects. In ward 12 the women's league awareness campaigns proved to be a success because I won the 2018 elections because I was an active member of the women's league.*

In all the wards there projects that are run by ZANU PF women as a way of empowering them, there are projects of keeping goats, chickens, and gardens. The projects are intended to benefit all women in the wards. Women were put into groups to ensure that all women benefit from the projects the projects are rotational These projects are important to women groups because they are managed by women thereby gaining leadership skills that once they attained political leadership post they will be competent leaders. These projects also assist women to raise money that will help those who wish to participate in politics for financing the campaigns and for their up keep.

It is important to note that at party level, some members of the public mentioned that all the political parties that operated in Chiwundura educated and encouraged women to be active in local politics. Most respondents stressed that both the parties had the women's league where women met and discuss the political issues on their own.

4.2.3 Extent of women's participation in local politics in Chiwundura rural of Midlands Province from 2000-2018

Generally, the study established that there are few women in local leadership compared to men. The statistics shows how Chiwundura in particular and Zimbabwe in general fares in issues to do with women participation in local politics. All the interviewees were of the idea that women are outnumbered by men in political leadership positions. Of the 40 questionnaires distributed, 37 were retrieved and only four responses highlighted that there are equal representation and the rest were of the view that women are underrepresented in the political posts. In the period from 2000-2005 there were no women councilors in Chiwundura. This shows that men dominated and the interests of women were not represented. It follows that global, regional and national instruments for gender equality and equity had not changed the political field of Chiwundura. In 2008, for the first time in the history of Chiwundura rural, one female councilor came to represent the women of Chiwundura rural. One of the interviewees who is now the councilor said;

> *I was inspired to participate in the next election since I saw another woman taking part in political leadership. Also the first woman leader helped me to unlock my mind, understand my rights as a woman and saw the importance of having women leaders. I told myself that if this woman is capable of leading people, I will be able to perform the task also. I also observed that the number of women representation was too low for the voice of women to be heard in decision making that would positively transform the lives of women in Chiwundura rural hence I decided to participate in local politics so as to increase the number of women leaders in local politics.*

In 2013 another female candidate competed and won the elections for a council post. In 2013 the number of women councilors increased from 12.5 to 25% .Despite the drafting of gender sensitive instruments such as the new constitution Amendment N0 20 of 2013 that advocated for gender equality, the promulgation and revision of National Gender policies, media awareness on gender equality and the role played by non-governmental

organizations, there was little progress made in the status of women in political participation in 2013, since only 2 women, making up the 25% in local leadership mentioned above, were women. The same scenario repeated itself in 2018 when the number of women representation did not change. In the 2018 election only two women won the council election and the percentage representation remained at 25%. The table below provides information that was given by councilors that were interviewed about women in political positions from 2000-2008.

Table 3: Statistics of Chiwundura rural councilors from 2000-2008

Year	Total wards	Male councilors	Female councilors	Percentage of female councilors
2000	8	08	0	0
2005	8	08	0	0
2008	8	07	1	12.5%
2013	8	06	2	25%
2018	8	06	2	25%

The above statistics reveals that the status of women in local leadership in Chiwundura has changed from a 0% in 2000 to 12.5% in 2008, and 25 % 2018. However, the representation is low compared to that of men. Most people who answered the questionnaires were of the view that when women take political positions, they represent women. In this regard, low representation of women means that the interests of women are side-lined, despite the fact that the development that takes place at local levels affects women and men differently. One of the village heads interviewed said it is the women who cater for the welfare of both men and children and they are the ones who know the needs of men and children. Her idea is that if given a chance, women may develop policies that develop local communities without sidelining the interest of any group.

Table 4: Comparative look at women's participation in Chiwundura and Accra Region of Ghana

District	Total	Number of female elected	Total number of women appointed	Total Number of women	Percentage female
Accra Metropolitan	102	10	12	22	22%
Terma Municipal Area	79	6	8	14	18%
Ga West District	41	1	6	7	17%
Dangme-east District	52	3	4	7	13%
Dangme –West District	52	4	5	9	17%
Greater Accra region (total)	326	24	35	59	18%

The table above was extracted from Sofao O.F. It shows the statistics of Women in District Assemblies of Great Accra region of Ghana from 2000 to 2008. The table reflects the statistics of women participation in Accra region of Ghana from 2000-2008 which is a period which lies within the period under study in Chiwundura (2000-2018). The statistics compares the status of women in local politics in Chiwundura and Accra in Ghana. It gives a general picture regarding women participation in politics in Africa. Women participation in local politics of Accra in Ghana is low and relatively similar to that of Chiwundura of Zimbabwe. The statistics shows that there is underrepresentation of women politicians. The statistics in Ghana are low just like of Chiwundura in Zimbabwe despite the fact that the two countries ratified various conventions on gender equality. Ghana and Zimbabwe are party to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of Women (AU) Protocol, however the situation of having very few women in

local governance still persist. The problem of low women participation is a general trend in Africa. The Great Accra has urban districts only and there few women politics meaning to say that the rate of women participation is relatively the same in rural and urban areas. The statistics above shows that in Ghana for the period 2000-2008,the number of women in the political field was very low it ranged from 13%-22%   . The statistics shown by this table are for the district assemblies which is part of local politics. The highest percent of women representation in Accra Ghana is 22% less that a quarter which means women are underrepresented.   In 2008 in Chiwundura ward 10 women representation constituted 12.5, which is almost the same with the Dangme-East District of Ghana. Since Ghana and Zimbabwe are all African countries women might be facing same problems that hinder them from participating in politics.

4.2.4 Statistics of women village heads in rural wards of Chiwundura, wards10, 12, and 13 in 2018

The table below shows the statistics acquired from the councilors administering the villages.

Table 3: Women village heads in rural wards of Chiwundura for 2018

Ward Number	Ward 12	Ward 13	Ward 10
Total Number of female village heads	5/40	1/40	1/40
Percentage of women village heads	23%	2.5%	2.5%

The other local leadership position that is taken by women at local level nowadays is the village head position. One of the interviewees, a female village head explained that the position of the village heads from time immemorial was reserved for men. The position of the village head was hereditary, it was assumed by males in the family. Nowadays the position is also taken by women but on temporary basis. There are also few women that are village heads as indicated by the table above. The interviews conducted with some female village heads in ward 12 shows that some of these acting village heads have been serving for more than eight years. In the interviews conducted it was highlighted that the positions that were once preserved for men nowadays are taken by women in the family

but such women were only acting village heads. Two female village heads interviewed said there are different circumstances that lead to the appointment of women as village heads. The interviewed village heads said women rise to these positions when crisis arise, that is, if the father dies, or if he is on the sick bed, and there is no male to immediately take the position. Some access these positions after the death of the husband and these operate on behalf of a minor male child as they wait for him to grow and inherit the post. Women village heads also showed concern for the revision of the policies that govern the structures of local leaders such as the post of village heads so that women can be infused onto those political posts. This idea is supported by the radical feminist who struggle to eradicate male dominance by dismantling social structures that prohibit women from participating at par with men in the economic, social and political aspects.

In an interview with the female village head in ward 12 of Chiwundura, she stated that women are now allowed to inherit village head positions on an acting basis and such women have proved to be competent in their duties just like men. She also stressed that there are few female village heads in Chiwundura as reflected by the numbers seen during village head meetings, because it is the field structured for male leadership. One of the interviewees, a village head said, the village heads hold meetings after every two months. They are only fifteen women acting village heads that attend meeting of village heads at Masvori business centre from five wards of Chiwundura rural .The other rural wards have their own centre which is close to them and each ward in Chiwundura rural have a maximum of 40 villages..

4.2.5 Advantages of women participation in local politics

These advantages were outlined by some questionnaire respondents

1. Women have needs that are distinct from those of men. Having women in politics help women to take greater control of their lives. Women have biological and social, as well as strategic and practical needs that are distinctive from those of men. At most, women need fellow women to represent them since they are best suited to understand the needs of their kind than men. There are some issues that affect women that can best be propagated by women themselves such as the issue of rape or sexual abuse in general, gender equality, sanitary issues, maternity and

child care needs. It is based on this reasoning that women need to be involved in political posts so that they can stand and protect their interests.

2. It is a generally held belief that women understand the concerns of people in their communities and seek to develop their communities; and women are agents of change and are not as corrupt as men. This idea is supported by to Sundstrom and Wangnorud (2013) who stresses that women's leadership reduces corruption.

3. Women should be leaders for gender balance and sustainable development to take place.

4. Women are more affected by activities that take place at local levels than men. It is the woman who take care of families, that is, the husband, children and extended family level.

5. Women and men have the same rights and same mental capacity. It is not true that men have better mental capabilities than women. Women only need the support of fellow women and men for them to fully participate in development processes. Women are also endowed with the same abilities as their male counterparts and hence they qualify to take political positions and work together for the development of their communities.

On the same issue of having women in local or community political posts, one of the two councilors interviewed said it is crucial to have women as leaders because women would definitely bring development to their communities citing a Shona proverb, "*musha mukadzi*", which means that for development to take place in our communities there is need to have women in political positions because they know what is needed for their home and community to grow.

Basing on the above sentiments it is critical to address hindrances to equal participation of men and women in the political sphere of local communities for development to take place. Questionnaire responses from ward 10 where a woman leader was voted into power in 2013, reflects that when women are given a chance to lead, they work so hard to develop their communities. Infact, the people lack confidence in them push women

leaders to exhibit their competency and equality of capabilities with men. In ward ten, developments which included the establishment of community gardens were realized. In ward 12, there are projects such as the poultry project, and the goat project that are run by women that are successful. One of the women interviewed outlined that

> *These projects are important to women who wish to participate in local politics because they help women to raise their income and become independent. Also these projects are very important because they equip women with leadership skills that are relevant for women's political participation.*

This being the case if therefore means the acceptance of women in political leadership positions will help them to perform their duties well and will help to increase the number of women leaders. What it means is that, for inclusive development to take place, women should be involved in policy making and politics on a level of parity with men.

4.3 Challenges being encountered in efforts to promote women's political participation at local level in Chiwundura

Research findings have shown that there are a number of challenges that hinder women from participating in local politics. Despite the fact that information with regards to the importance of women participation in politics, women have continued to lag behind in terms of their representation and participation in local politics. This has been attributed by research respondents to economic, social, cultural and religious factors..

4.3.1 Religion as an obstacle to women leadership in local politics

The research established that efforts to promote women participation in local politics in Chiwundura are hindered by religious factors. In Chiwundura the most practiced religion are Christianity and the African Traditional religion. The ATR is mainly practiced by the Christians who are still attached to their traditional religion. Interviews with the local leaders highlighted that most churches are now liberal about women participation in local politics though there are some churches that limit women participation in local politics. Most respondents highlighted that religion is a stumbling block to women participation in local politics as some Christian churches do not allow women to participate in local politics. One of the interviewed church leaders stressed that;

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In the Christian religion women are taught to be submissive and to respect men. As a result of this some church denominations such as the African Apostolic church where I belong women are not allowed to lead men and should only listen to what men teach them in the church services. Having women as a leader is contradicting the word of God which should not be challenged and should be followed as it is.

The leader reiterated that it is only men that should lead the church and not women as stated in the Bible in 1 Timothy Chapter 2 verse 11-13, which says 'let woman learn in silence with all subjection. But I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over men, but to be in silence. For Adam was first formed, then Eve." The African Apostolic church leader interviewed also explained that from creation men were given leadership roles and men are the head of the church. In the Apostolic church women are only allowed to lead their women groups and only the dreamers and prophetess are allowed to participate in church during that session. The church leader explained that women are allowed to take political posts because it is a worldly task and had nothing to do with their church. The leader also mentioned that worldly things and spiritual things do not have a connection hence those who are in worldly leadership their standards of beliefs will be questionable. The leader stipulated that the one who is involved in political leadership will not have time for spiritual work since the political work is demanding. Also the leader said for those who are willing to take part in political posts, the church leaders will teach them how their beliefs are affected and they will decide on their own whether to participate or not to participate in local politics. With this background in mind its affects women of this church denomination because they are taught and they believe that leadership positions in the church are for men and not women and this will probably instill a believe that leadership roles are for men in all the spheres hence they do not participate or involve themselves in the political field. Those who participate in politics are seen as aggressive whilst the Christian religions teach women to be submissive to the male counterparts.

One of the questionnaire respondents who highlighted that she belonged to the Apostolic church said that women are very few in political positions because women are looked down upon and their religious practices also limit them from taking part in political leadership. She said accepting and joining the church means abiding by the church doctrine. She also stated that women are aware of their political rights but they are difficult to pursue since there is a doctrine that should be observed.

The research also established that other churches such as Covenant church, the Salvation Army, Roman Catholic Church and the Seventh Day Adventist allow women to participate in local politics. The interviewed leaders of the named church denominations said in their churches women and men are open to participate at par in leadership positions in church and the political field. The Salvation Army and the Covenant that are in Chiwundura are   among the few orthodox churches that allow women to be pastors. Among the church leaders interviewed one was a women figure who belonged to the Salvation Army. One of the church leaders interviewed stressed that women in their church are encouraged to take leadership positions in the church and even political positions. However, those in the political field are not allowed to export their power to the church premises. These church leaders also said they have women who have political posts in the women's league as well as in the church. The religious leaders also said women are groomed to hold leadership post by being elected to leadership posts in church. These church leaders also highlighted that there are some churches that do not allow women to lead men, for instance, apostolic sects. However, even in those churches that allow women to participate in local politics, women seem not to be interested because they believe that politics is a dirty game and women in political leadership are evil. Also some church denominations such as the Roman Catholic and the Seventh Day Adventist women are not allowed to be pastors. As a result of this it affects women because it inculcates the idea that leadership positions are for men and it's a duty for men to lead to people. An analysis of the interviews held shows that only one woman is among the five religious leaders that were interviewed a sign that the religious field is dominated by men. The female religious leader interviewed said;

Women shun local politics because women in local politics   are largely associated with prostitution and lack of ubuntu as a result of this Christian women are not eager to join politics as it affects image and status in the communities. Basing on the above view religion is a force that hinders women participation in local politics.

The elders interviewed stated that the African Traditional Religion is also practiced in Chiwundura. They highlighted that the religion is now practiced by the Christians to compliment their faith. One of the elders interviewed explained that;

the African Traditional Religion is still important to some people of Chiwundura as some people especially the Christians are practicing the Kurova guva ceremonies and some Christians in the local area consult the n'angas that are in Chiwundura. Some Christians that are in Chiwundura have a dual religion that is the ATR and Christianity.

All the elders interviewed agreed that in the traditional religion women are controlled by men. They said all the preceding at the ceremonies are led by men. However they also mentioned that there are also women that are *n'angas* and *masvikiros* that are also important in the traditional religion. These elders also mentioned that despite the fact that there are women leaders in the ATR women are less important to men in the traditional religion and women respects men. The elders also outlined that the ATR has faced threats from the Christian religions as most people in Chiwundura are now Christians. One of the elders interviewed stated that;

We agree that the world is changing and all the people should embrace change but there are some things that can not be changed such as ATR because it is the religion that we inherited from our ancestors hence it should be practiced the way it is.

In this regard the traditionalists believe in male dominance whereby men are leaders of women in all spheres and where women render respect to men.

4.3.2 Lack of information

Most respondents said the problem of lack of information is the other factor that was a threat to efforts to promote women's participation in local politics in Chiwundura. The questionnaire and interview responses outlined that women in Chiwundura are not accessing enough information on women leadership in political positions. The elders interviewed explained the information on promoting women to participate in local politics have not reached them. The respondents said they never heard about the efforts that are made to promote the participation of women in local politics. They also said they are not aware of the constitutional provisions that promote the participation of women in local politics. One of the elders interviewed stated that;

> *We are aware the there is the idea of gender equality and there are social, economic and political changes that are taking place in the world. If it means that women are important and should play a role in the political set up they should be given a chance if it will help to improve the well being of people.*

Contrary to the responses of the elders in the community, some interviewees and some questionnaire respondents outlined that women have received little information on women leadership and others have not received any at all. The problem of lack of access to information affects the uneducated women most. The educated ones access this information when they go for tertiary institutions where gender is taken as a module in most tertiary institutions. Some teachers who have worked in Chiwundura for many years said the information of encouraging women to participate in local politics has not reached them so far. The women who suffer most because of lack of knowledge are the poor women. These lack a lot of information because they do not have access to information through the media whether electronic or print media. This being the case women lag behind and progress on women leadership is hindered. Despite the idea of those in political leadership that information has been availed to people the people say they do not have information.

The people interviewed on the efforts to promote women participation in local politics said;

The problem is that workshops on women empowerment that are held in some areas of Chiwundura such as ward 10 sometimes target women leaders those that already have the information on women leadership.

The other problem is that when workshops on women leadership are held there is no adequate mobilization as well as enough time to explain to women from the starting point, the progress on women leadership, advantages of having women leaders, the skills and the policies that support women leadership. The researcher observed that women do not have knowledge on the government efforts to support gender equality in the political sphere. The issue of women emancipation in the political sphere should be done step by step, the problem that organizations working to empower women may lack enough resources and time because they create tight schedules hence the fail to offer all the required knowledge to the recipients. The other problem lies in the human resources tasked to carry out awareness programmes some of them are so much concerned about financial benefits hence they work according to the rewards they receive. Also these programmes should be held continuously until those who educate the people evaluate and are satisfied the all the people have adequate information which they can pass to the coming generations to shape a gender just society. The other problem highlighted by one of the councilors interviewed is that not all women attend the workshops in the community so there should be a strong mobilisation process so that all the women would access all the information for their personal development and community development.

4.3.3 Resistance to change

The other problem that hinders women progress in the political sphere is resistance by women themselves. The interviews conducted show that most women are not comfortable to vote other women into power. One of the questionnaire respondents said;

Women are not critical about the messages that they receive for awareness campaigns that take place in their communities. They do not anaylze the ideas and information given to them. Women do not realize that the gender awareness campaigns are there to redeem them from male domination. Being critical to the information given to them will help women to be emancipated from the

exploitation they are suffering in rural areas and observing the importance of voting other women into power. The problem is that the issues of gender equality have been received in a negative way that it is meant to destroy family's ties mainly between the husband and the wife. As a result of this most women do not want to be associated with issues to do with gender enlightment as they want to keep their relations intact. Being critical to information they receive will help them to understand their rights, how men have marginalized them unconsciously and realize that there are equal to men and should engage in the political sphere with men.

In support of the same idea one of the interviewees stated, *"the problem to the efforts made to promote women participations lies in women themselves .Some women are still bound to old beliefs that they can not lead where men exist. All the gender awareness campaigns contradicts with what they are taught by their parents who are backward."* Hooks (2000),asserts that female and male have been socialised from birth to accept sexist thought and action. Radical feminists argue that the way women are socialised is a threat to their freedom. In this regard women feel that all gender campaigns are destructive to their families and they opt to intentionally ignore the teaching they receive. It is women who stand in the way of their emancipation. The biggest challenge is that it is difficult to enforce laws and policies for a people who do not have the zeal to transform.

4.3.4 Attitudes of men towards women leadership

Respondents show mixed feelings with regards to their attitudes towards women participation. Some respondents were convinced that men have adjusted and have accepted women's, leadership with some men even supporting women leaders in various ways. Respondents explained that during the election campaigns men were assisting women in the campaigns by providing manpower whenever it was required and preparing the agenda in the meetings. These respondents also said men are also aware of gender mainstreaming policy and now opening up to the 50/50 gender parity drive. One of the questionnaire respondents said men are also voting women into office and this is a sign that men understand the concept of gender equality as evidenced by the ward where female candidates were voted in power. In ward 12 of Chiwundura rural, for the first

time, a woman councilor was voted into power. In ward ten, the female councilor is serving a second term. To add on to that, men are listening and accepting women leaders as they attend meetings that are led by women.

On the same note the majority of respondents generally concurred that men have not accepted and appreciated women's leadership at all. One of the questionnaire respondents explained that,

> *We, the men generally look down upon women and we tend to think that they we are more superior than women in the way we were created and the way we even think, hence we do not trust women leadership and we tend to view men as the only competent leaders.*

Also men have a belief that having women in leadership, especially in politics, represents a great threat to them. They feel that they may end up being generally challenged and overpowered by women. Information gathered from both the interviews and questionnaires clearly showed that men also view women in politics as women without *Ubuntu* (cultural values of personhood and etiquette), as a result they do not recognize women leadership and also they utter unfavorable comments about women in political positions. One of the questionnaire respondents said the problem is that culturally, men believe they were born leaders and above all they were meant to be overall overseers of everything. As such, to them it will remain a challenge to let women dominate or rule them. As a result they do not allow their wives to take part in political issues. The other problem outlined by one of the questionnaire respondents on that question is that some religious sects give men power over women, for example, some apostolic sects where women are not allowed to participate in church instill a belief in women that as they are not allowed to participate in other arena of life, let alone in politics. As a result, men will not be comfortable to have their wives participating in the public sphere and this idea is influenced by their church doctrines. Contrary to the attitudes which men have towards women leadership, the radical feminists, believes that the problems that are faced by women are caused by men. Millet (1969) says biology, socialization and patriarchy are the factors responsible for the oppression of women by men. Thus radical feminist fight against patriarchy, socialisation and patriarchy as they limit women's participation in all

spheres of development. The radical feminists's opinion is supported by Jaggar (1983) who argues that argues that male and female is identical or put more accurately there is no such thing as male and female nature there is only human nature and no sex.It is against this that men should embrace the changes for the development of societies and give women a chance to participate in political activities..

4.3.5 Marriage

Most questionnaire respondents concurred that women are limited by their roles as mothers and family are givers in efforts to promote their political participation. Most people interviewed show that being a mother limits women's opportunities to become leaders as women have to play a dual role. Leadership roles in politics conflict with women's commitment to the family. Even husbands feel that if women become political leaders, they will divert attention from family upkeep to political issues. This also affects marital life. As such, most men do not allow their wives to be political leaders. In actual fact married women do not exercise their political powers to the fullest. They are usually guided by the father. Millet (1969) argues that oppression of women starts in the private sphere. He asserts that patriarchy's chief institution is the family. The social systems such as marriage do not recognize men and women as having equal rights. At family level the African culture gives men power over women. This being the case married woman do not fully enjoys their right as they are infringed by their partners. According to Madsen (2000), in marriage, husband and wife becomes legally a single defined unit, which is male, women surrender themselves entirely in the marriage relation. Madsen asserts that 'married women surrender all their rights, including the right to control their bodies…' On the same opinion, Thiam (1989) in Geisler (2004) claimed that, "a woman's sole right is to have no rights. So she has no real power, only pseudo power." This being the case married women does not enjoy their rights of taking part in political activities since they are allowed to take part or not to be involved in the political field. One questionnaire respondent put it that;

> The other problem is that most men feel uncomfortable to have their wives involved
> in politics. Mixing and mingling with different men across the political divide

always unsettles them, hence limiting women's political exploits and breakthroughs.

The loose morals that are attached to women in politics and labels such as being prostitutes force men to forbid their wives to take part in the political field. The other problem is that when a woman gets married, men pays bride price women becomes something like an "assert 'that is owned by men which they can control the way they want. Marriage itself limits the women from enjoying their rights in all the spheres.

Among the people in local politics interviewed and some questionnaire respondents argued that family is not a threat to women's political participation. Women in politics concurred that they are able to balance the duties of being mothers and political leaders and they are not facing problems in executing their duties as their partners are supporting them. The women leaders however agree that their work is very demanding such that sometimes they have to attend workshops, meetings and campaigns. Initially, their husbands could not understand or accept this but eventually, they adjusted because they saw the good work being done by the women and also how demanding the work was. Some men concurred that they learnt to understand that marriage comes with responsibilities and women should work and practice all their rights even within the institution of marriage.

4.3.6 Lack of education

Education was also highlighted as a challenge that hinders the efforts of empowering women into taking part in politics. Some respondents said that women suffer high levels of ignorance. Women in local politics also said women needs to be educated so that they participate in local politics without facing problems. Women as leaders should be able to write because on meeting and workshops they should take notes that will help them to dispatch the information when they get to the communities which they live in. One of the questionnaire respondents put it that women should be educated especially in the world where things are changing day by day nowadays there is the issue of ICT, leaders should be able to use ICT meaning to say that one should have knowledge on how to use computers and one should have good communication skills and a command in English,

hence someone who is illiterate may find it difficult to capture information and understand concepts taught on meetings and workshops.

Also being educated helps women to be critical and to defend their rights. Educated women have high chances of taking part in politics if they are interested because they are aware of their rights and education instills a sense of independence. The radical feminist theory advocates for education as a liberating force. Radical feminists advocates for equal access to education between men and women. Education is important since it will help women to challenge patriarchy, it opens opportunities for employment, leads to an independent life and opens opportunities for political leadership and helps one to make informed decision. In this regard most women in Chiwundura are not educated as a result their education levels prohibit them from to their participating in local politics. One of the elders interviewed who was a secondary school teacher explained that;

> *In Chiwundura we have very few women with five Ordinary level passes. Most female learners get married when they are still students or soon after completing their O'Levels. Among the few that pass Ordinary level they go for further education outside Chiwundura and work at very far places that the education they attain do not benefit Chiwundura, instead other parts of the nation. Having this situation at hand it means the community is left with very few women that are educated and those who have low levels of education to join the political field. It is a challenge that has long lasting effects in the development of our communities*

In this regard the research established that the problem in Chiwundura is that most women are not educated hence it is difficult for them to be active in the political sphere. One of the women in local leadership in Chiwundura said it is important for one to be educated as a leader as this will help people to make informed decisions, and to engage in critical thinking these qualities usually lack in illiterate people. Education is important for one to be a competitive leader. However it has also been noted that educated women do not want to be involved in the political issues, they see politics as a waste of time and as long as one is employed they focus on their work. Also, not all educated women are able to pursue their goals hence they are also limited by families and religion.

4.3.7 Patriarchy

Patriarchy is another stumbling block to women participation in politics that was identified by respondents. Some questionnaire respondents highlighted that the social structure of communities of Chiwundura is patriarchal. Mangezvo (2013) in Maphosa (2015) explains that;

Women have, over time, been discriminated against by both prevalent beliefs and several systems that favour men in terms of opportunities for participation in the economic and socio-political spheres. This has been mainly due to cultural cleavages of patriarchy that have existed over time… most women are nurtured in families which are patriarchal.

This being the case, girls and women are taught and adopt the belief that men have authority over women in different spheres. The background of women affects how they relate with men and also affects the behaviour of women in the public sphere. The patriarchal nature of societies is traced from the biblically endorsed Judaic tradition where men are given authority over women and women are taught to be submissive. Millet (1969) asserts that the feminist theory says that one of the major causes for the oppression of women is patriarchy. That being the case the radical feminists believe that people behave the way they are socialized. Women are socialized in a way that traps them in the private sphere and the division of labour along sex lines is the other factor that makes women to be oppressed. Basing on this, the efforts that are made to involve women into political posts at par with men will take a long way to be achieved since societies are taking time to embrace the concept of equality and transformation of general societal beliefs.

4.3.8 Failure to enforce policies that advocate for women's participation in local politics

The other reason that has been pointed out as a challenge to the efforts to the promotion of women's participation in local politics is the failure of the government to enforce the policies that support women involvement in local politics. Interviews held with local

political leaders highlighted that people are taught about women's participation, however there are no follow –ups to assess if the awareness programmes have achieved results. It was suggested that for an improvement in women participation in local politics there should be monitoring and evaluation that should take place before elections to make sure that women are also taking part in the elections. The laws that support women participation are there but the problem is on the implementation of these laws .Radical feminists have also promoted legislation that prohibits various kinds of discrimination against women. Basing on the above argument it is clear that laws are there but they exist theoretically.

4.3.9 Women perceptions towards women leadership

Interviews conducted highlighted that another hindrance to women participation in local politics are women themselves. Women exhibit a mentality of looking down upon other women. They also see other women as lacking the leadership competence that men possess. One of the women interviewed stated that;

> *One of the hindrances to women participation in local politics are women themselves because they oppose women leadership. In my village as the head of the village there are some women that were against me, however they adjusted with time. I observed that they do not attend some of the meetings; also they do not take my orders as their leader. This being the case the work of leading people was difficult for me in the early days because some women were not comfortable of having me as their leader since they were used to male leadership. I expected to gain support from women but they were resistant.*

As a result of this some women do not vote other women into political positions. The other problem is that women themselves have a tendency of being competitive and jealousy and voting other women into power to them is helping another person to be more powerful that oneself. Most women are under the control of the husbands at home who make all the decisions that affect their lives in the private sphere and that oppression is taken out to the public sphere with the impression that only men have the abilities of leading the communities.

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4.3.10 Problems that are faced by women in leadership

Questionnaire respondents stated the problems that are faced by women in local politics. Some of the problems named by the questionnaire respondents include, lack of resources to fully maximize their potentials; the other problem is name calling by people, all women in politics are labeled as prostitutes by the society, lack of support by the general public, dealing with men who think that they were born as natural leaders, poor decision making strategies, stigma and difficulties in convincing the public on developmental issues. One of the questionnaire respondents said politics is a field of single mothers and this has demoralized other women who wanted to venture into politics. Women are seeing other women struggling as leaders on political posts. The problems that are being faced by women in politics in Chiwundura are scaring other women away and have dissolved the zeal in other women to take part in politics. In this regard women may view politics as a difficult field unfit for women and only fit for men. Hence they fail to fulfill the efforts made to empower women to participate in the political sphere.

Women participation in politics is also associated with lack of *ubuntu/unhu/Vumunhu.* Most questionnaire and interview respondents said most women do not want to take part in politics because women that take part in politics are viewed as people who lack ubuntu.In Chiwundura women in politics are seen as people with multiple sexual partners and this is one of the reasons that limit women to take part in political leadership positions because they are denied to participate by their husbands. Women in politics are also viewed as people who are immoral and aggressive. This being the case some women are concerned much about their image in the society as a result they give in their political rights to protect their images in the societies which they are living in.

4.3.11 The violent and aggressive nature of politics

The violent and aggressive nature of politics is the other problem that hinders women from participating in politics. One of the female councilors interviewed said, in Chiwundura just like other parts of the nation, the political field is violent by nature and aggressiveness associated with politics contradicts the behaviour of women who are peaceful. One of the female councilors interviewed said attaining political post is only for

the brave, the only women who are strong and those who have the support from men that assist them to fight political battles. In Chiwundura politics is a dangerous sphere especially the time before elections whereby people from different parties have a tendency of fighting and engaging in verbal conflicts. Basing on this there are very few women that are comfortable or who can stand that. Radical feminist argues that men use violence to pursue their interests. Hooks (2010), says men are required to dominate women, exploit, and oppress women using violence to keep patriarchy intact. Violence is used by men to silence and to drive women from participating in local politics.

4.3.12 Fear and lack of confidence

Questionnaire respondents also highlighted that fear and lack of confidence is the other problem that is a threat to the efforts made to involve women in political participation. During the interviews held by both men and women it was also stated that generally most women lack confidence as they think that they do not have the capacity of making informed decisions. Women rely on consulting men when making decisions. Fear limits women participation in political issues.

4.3.13 Lack of financial resources

Interviews conducted with women in local leadership established that for one to compete for political positions there is need for that individual to have money for the campaigns. The problem is that most women in Chiwundura do not have money that is needed for campaigns to enable them to participate fully in politics. A male councilor interviewed said politics is the field of financial giants, very few women have money. Most women in Chiwundura depend on male counterparts as providers for survival. According to Millet (1969), in general the position of women in patriarchal society is continuous economic dependency on men. Radical feminists advocates for the independence of women for them to enjoy their rights. For one to win in the elections a series of campaigns should be held, providing food, beer, transport to make people happy and to compel them to vote you into office. One of the interviewees stated that;

"In political campaigns there is need for one to have money .When campaigning activists move from one place to the other. Mostly when attending party workshops, meetings and campaigns within our communities we sponsor ourselves we are not given money even transport money. In our party we are only given money when attending party workshops mostly at district level particularly in town. Being an activist of any political party needs one to be committed and to focus on fulfilling the set goals within the party, with or without money the work should be done. The party also sponsored me with the regalia to give to the activists in form of t-shirts, zambias, scarf and caps. On the day of national elections the party also sponsored their party agents with food. However as an individual you have to compliment the party efforts by buying beer for people who accompanies you to the campaigns. Also during the primary elections at our station we were delayed and I had to sponsor food to the people that were at the shopping centre. I spent about two hundred dollars on campaigns during the previous election.

The interviewee said she is not employed she survives by subsistence farming and financial assistance from her children that are employed. One of the interviewees who is a councilor said, nowadays for people to vote for a candidate into office they want material things. That is if you do not have the capacity to provide material things to the voters they would not vote for you. Basing on this argument women quit participation because they do not have the resources to seek support from the voters.

4.3.14 Women associate politics with personal benefits

In the interviews conducted with the elders in the community they said the other challenge to the efforts made to involve women into local politics is that most women associate politics with personal benefits. In Chiwundura, the ZANU PF women league branch had been educating women on gender parity in the political sphere and to stimulate women interest in political participation women were given resources to run projects that would benefit women. Some did not benefit from the projects as a result of this many women were disappointed and they stopped attending meetings that are designed to empower women in the political sphere. The women are not taking women

empowerment as social development that is an advantage to them but they want to have some benefits from the parties and organizations. This mindset is actually a challenge for gender equality at local levels of politics.

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the findings of the research on women participation in local politics in Chiwundura focusing on the efforts to promote women participation in local politics, the status of women in local politics and the challenges being encountered in efforts to promote participation of women in local politics. The information was presented in form of tables and in a descriptive way. The next chapter is chapter 5. It gives the study conclusions derived from the research findings and the recommendations emanating from the findings and finally the summary of the chapter.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter summarises the findings of the study. It summarises the methods used to collect the research data and highlights the efforts made to involve women in local politics in Chiwundura and in Zimbabwe, the status of women in local politics in Chiwundura and the challenges faced in the efforts to promote women participation in local politics. The unit also gives the conclusion for the study and outlines the recommendations for the study.

5.2 Summary of research findings

The research focused on women's participation in local politics in Chiwundura rural. The research sought to investigate the efforts made to promote the participation of women in local politics, the status of women in local politics and the challenges that affect efforts to promote the participation of women in politics in Zimbabwe .The research is qualitative in nature. It is a case study of 3 rural wards of Chiwundura which are, ward 10, ward 13 and ward 12. Qualitative data collection instruments which include questionnaires and interviews were used to gather data for the research.

The study established that efforts to promote the participation of women in local politics of Chiwundura were done both at national and local level. At national level this government of Zimbabwe managed to enact the Constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment (N0 20), that promotes gender equality in all spheres of development. The government of Zimbabwe also signed regional and international instruments promising to adhere to the concept of gender equality. A National Gender Policy was also drafted by the Ministry of Gender and Women Affairs that would work as a guard to make sure that there is gender parity in all areas of development. At the local level, the government of Zimbabwe has also worked with non-governmental organizations and independent bodies to disseminate information that promotes the participation of women in local politics. In

Chiwundura independent bodies such as Gender Commission, non-governmental organizations such as ZIMRIGHTS and Crisis Coalition of Zimbabwe has also educated and encouraged women to participate in local politics. The work of the government and non-governmental organizations has been complimented by intra-party efforts to promote women participation in local politics. Although efforts have been made in Chiwundura to promote the participation of women in local politics the information has reached a part of the targeted population. To those that have received the information there are no significant changes that have been recorded. After all the efforts, research findings have shown that very few women are participating in politics.

The research also established that there are very few women representatives in the local politics of Chiwundura. Currently for the period 2018-2023 only two women won the council elections. To add on to that number there are also women who hold traditional political posts on temporary basis of being village heads. The underrepresentation of women in local politics is also a sign that the interests of women are not fully represented hence there is need for that problem to be addressed. The study also found that it is advantageous to have women leaders in local politics. It has been noted that women are important in local politics as this will reduce corruption, help to represent the interest of women because they have distinctive needs to men that can only be propagated by women because they have information on women needs and women participation in local politics is crucial for gender balance which will result in sustainable development.

The research found out that the efforts that have been made to promote the participation of women in local politics are not yielding the intended results due to a number of challenges. Some of the challenges identified as hindrances to efforts made to promote women participation in local politics include, the patriarchal nature of Chiwundura society, some religious practices, being married and marriage, women resistance to change ,the perception of men and women towards women leadership ,low levels of education and lack of information.

5.3 Recommendations

Women leaders in local politics of Chiwundura are very few, the research concluded that efforts to promote women participation were done but information has not reached out to all the people in Chiwundura and the information has not been accepted by many people in the area. That being the case there is need for information to be reinforced. It is therefore recommended that a series of awareness campaigns that promote women participation in local politics in Chiwundura and other rural areas of Zimbabwe be held. Those who hold campaigns should make sure that all the people in Chiwundura have access to information and have understood the information. A series of campaigns help women in Chiwundura to understand the importance of their role in the political sphere. The awareness campaigns should also involve men so that they l understand and accept the developments that are taking place and embrace change that would transform the communities for sustainable development to take place. Men and women in the communities should understand that women are able to perform duties just like men in the political sphere because they are all humans with the same mind.

It is also recommended that Women in politics, such as Members of Parliament and, Ministers should organise workshops for women, educating and encouraging women to be involved in politics, grooming them and teaching them from experience. These workshops should aim to erase the stigmatisation of women that are in politics because they are labeled prostitutes and women without ubuntu. Rural women need that support for them to see the importance of participating in local politics from women who have the experience in the political field. On these workshops there should be rigorous training of the importance of women participation in local politics and ways used by men to oppress women should be exposed and women should be encouraged to support and cast a vote for another woman because the best person to solve women problems is another woman. The workshops should be designed in such a way that they do away with the stigmatisation and stereotypes of women in politics.

There are only two women councilors who hold political posts in Chiwundura rural. In light of the above it is recommended that political parties should make sure that women are given a chance to compete for primary elections. Parties should also support women to compete for political office with men. Quotas should be employed in political parties so that some seats are reserved for women to increase the number of women in local politics. Parties' main branches should give women chances to lead when they are doing projects. These intra-party posts are very important because that is where women are groomed so that they rise to important political post in local politics such as being councilors and parliamentarians.

In local politics during the election there should be positions that are specifically reserved for women. There should be wards where only women can compete (women versus women) and the wards should be equal to wards with male representatives. This approach is instrumental in increasing the number of women in local politics. The other system that helps to increase the number of women in local politics is to have a five term period for women only. After the term for women expire men will serve their term giving each other a chance to participate in local politics. This can definitely fight the patriarchal nature of leadership and male dominance in local politics.

The study also recommends the formation of women's political parties where women will be their own leaders in their political parties and this helps women to attain political posts such as being councilors, members of parliament. Women should have their own space where they are free to compete with men without being intimidated. If women form their own parties, having all the required support from the government, women would definitely occupy political posts.

The study also recommends the government and civil society organisations to support women financially during election campaigns because it was noted that women do not have money for conducting campaigns. Financial backing would allow many women to participate in local politics because some women in Chiwundura have distanced themselves from political participation because they do not have financial muscle.

Women should form pressure groups where they should educate women ways that are used by men to oppress them and find means to resist male domination. Women should challenge men and compete with men to assume local political posts.

The study also recommends that women should be educated so as to be highly qualified to compete for political posts. Lack of education among some women in Chiwundura is another factor that limits them to compete for political posts with men. Even though some posts in local politics do not require prescribed academic qualifications these leaders should be able to write and to make informed decisions and to be able to present information after attending workshops. In this regard being educated is a prerequisite for women to participate in local politics. The media should also help to disseminate information on women participation and importance of being educated in the political sphere. Education helps women to engage in critical thinking that helps them in decision making. Women themselves should fight for their emancipation and involvement in issues that affects their social, economic and political life. Women should participate in decision making and should take part in political leadership positions in their communities.

The study also established that the other problem is that women are not confident and they fear to hold political posts. It is therefore recommended that the government together with its partners should engage in activities that help women to develop confidence such as having leadership skills. These skills can be imparted to women through designing projects for women where they will be their own leaders and rigorous education through the workshops on good leadership skills will help to instill confidence in women help them to be active in the political sphere.

The study also found out that it is advantageous to have women in local politics since there are some issues that can be propagated by women themselves. This being the case it means that women and men should be equally represented in the political field so that the

interests of women are not neglected. To promote the participation of women in local politics the policies and instruments that advocates for gender equality should be enforced from the grassroots. People should know the policies for gender parity in word and deed. Equality should manifest in its real sense whereby men and women access leadership in local politics on equal terms. The government and all the stakeholders that advocate for women empowerment should engage in continuous monitoring and evaluation of the progress made in all the communities in the nation to address where there are imbalances between the representation of women and men in local politics the government and relevant stakeholders should take action.

The study also established that there are traditional political structures in local politics that does not allow women to rise to power. Women are not allowed to rise to local political post such as village heads on permanent basis. In Chiwundura there are women that have assumed positions of village heads the study recommends that there should be laws that allow them to assume these posts on permanent basis. Laws that prohibit women form assuming these political posts should be revised so that the concept of gender equality flows from grassroots level up to national level. The elimination of women in assuming these political posts are an unjust and promotion of patriarchal societies which is a threat to emancipation of women in the social sphere.

The study also recommends motivativation of girls from adolescence to attend political activities and giving them roles to play for example in drama and poems. Girls should be exposed to political education through youth programmes such as projects that are funded by the government to develop leadership skills that will help them as they grow to join leadership positions. These skills will help them to be confident hence the actions will catch them young. This will help the girls to understand the changes that are taking place in their societies and will also help to transform the political set up resulting in sustainable development. In secondary schools emphasis should be put on equal participation of women and men girls and boys' .Guidance and counseling sessions should also cover topics on gender parity. These sessions will help both boys and girls that they are equal partners in the communities and this will be a huge step closer to the

emancipation of girls and women from social oppression. Girls will also grow with a mentality that they can perform all the tasks that boys can perform.

5.4 Conclusion

The efforts to promote women participation in local politics of Chiwundura has been done through awareness campaigns organized by independent bodies and Non-Governmental Organisations on gender parity,intra-party campaigns, and the government efforts through drafting national instruments such as the National Gender Policy, a constitution that promotes gender equality and signing of regional and international instruments that supports gender equality promising to respect and adhere to agreements for gender parity in the political ,economic and social sphere. Despite the efforts that were made to promote women participation in local politics the status of women is very low in Chiwundura. A number socio-economic challenges to efforts made to promote women participation have been identified as hindrances to participation of women in local politics of Chiwundura and these include, lack of information because the information has not reached out to all the people in Chiwundura, lack of education, resistance to change among women, the perception of men towards women leadership and religious beliefs.

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APPENDIX A

Interview guide for women in local leadership

I am Gijima Fadzai, I am studying a Master of Arts student Degree in Development Studies at Midlands State University. I am carrying out a research on Women's participation in local politics in Zimbabwe. The case of Chiwundura of Midlands Province 2000-2018. I am focusing on ward 12, 10 and 13.I have included women in local leadership because you are the centre of the study and you have all the information needed for this study to be a success. May you kindly help me with your input so that my research will be accomplished.

1. What inspired you to join politics?

2. Comment on the view that there are few women in local politics.

3As a woman leader can you say that you are accepted by the community that you serve?

4. What have been done to promote women participation in local politics in Zimbabwe and in Chiwundura?

5. Can you explain the challenges being encountered in efforts made to promote women leadership in local politics in Chiwundura?

6. What are the challenges that you face in executing your duties.

7. What are the prospects of women leadership?

8. How do you work with your male counterparts? Can you say that there is equal treatment of male and female leaders?

9. Other than the existing policies what do you think should help to increase the number of women participation in local politics.

Thank you for your contributions

APPENDIX B

Interview guide for elders, men in politics and the religious leaders

I am Gijima Fadzai, I am studying a Master of Arts Degree in Development Studies at Midlands State University. I am carrying out a research on Women's participation in local politics in Zimbabwe. The case of Chiwundura of Midlands Province 2000-2018. I am focusing on ward 12, 10 and 13.I have included elders of the community in my study because they are custodians of our culture, I also included the religious leaders because religion plays and important role in political activities and men in politics because they have the information on the status of women in politics and the efforts made to promote women participation in local politics. May you kindly help me with your input so that my research will be success.

1. Why is it that there are few women in local politics?

2. Is it cultural for women to participate political positions?

3. Do you think it's important for women to participate in local politics? If yes support your answer.

4. What efforts have been made to promote women participation in local politics in Chiwundura?

5. What are the challenges encountered in the efforts to promote women participation in local politics in Chiwundura.

6. What is the position of men in your area regarding women leadership?

What can you say about women who participate in local leadership?

7. What are the problems faced by women in leadership and what should be done to help them.

8. In the future where do you see women in political leadership?

9. Other than the existing policies what do you think should be done to increase the number of women that participate in local politics in Chiwundura.

APPENDIX C

Questionnaire for members of the public

My name is Fadzai Gijima. I am a Master of Arts in Development Studies student carrying out a research on Women's participation in local politics in Zimbabwe. The case of Chiwundura of Midlands Province 2000-2018. This is meant to help me fulfill the requirements of the studies that I am pursuing. I request you to complete this questionnaire honestly and objectively. The findings from questionnaires are going to be used strictly for the purposes of this study and you are assured that the information will be confidential. The questionnaire requires you to tick where options are given and to provide opinions and explanations in spaces provided. Thank you for your cooperation.

NB May you tick the possible answers in the boxes provided and fill in the spaces provided.

1. Sex   Male   ☐   Female   ☐

2. Comment on the view that there are few women in local politics and political leadership in general.

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3. In your own view do you think that it is important for women to participate in local leadership?

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4. What are the positive changes that have been brought to your communities by women leaders?

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5. What efforts have been made to promote political participation of women at local level in Zimbabwe and in Chiwundura?

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6. Generally what can you say about the attitudes of men towards women leadership?

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7.Comment on how the following affects women participation in local politics;

(i) Religion

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(ii) Education

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(iii) Marriage

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(iv) Fear

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(v) Patriarchy

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8.What are your perceptions regarding women leaders in your community…………………………………………………………………………………………
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9. Generally what can you say is the attitude of the general public towards women leaders in your society?

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10. Elaborate the idea that the perception of the society affects the number of people who wish to participate in local politics?

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11.How   do   women   leaders   compare   with   their   male   counterparts

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12.Are there women issues that can only be propagated by women leaders and not male leaders…………………………………………………………………………………………

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13. Why is it that women in politics regarded as prostitutes, and people who lack Ubuntu

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14. Do you see a situation where women will participate at par with men in the political sphere?

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15. What are the problems encountered by women leaders in local politics in your area?

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16. What do you think should be done to increase the number of women leaders in local politics?

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