



**MIDLANDS STATE UNIVERSITY
FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICS AND PUBLIC MANAGEMENT**

**AN ANALYSIS OF THE EFFECTIVENESS OF AFFIRMATIVE ACTION IN
PROMOTING GENDER BALANCE IN ZIMBABWE.**

BY

THENJIWE NDLOVU

R121336T

**DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE MIDLANDS STATE UNIVERSITY.
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICS AND PUBLIC MANAGEMENT IN PARTIAL
FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS OF A BACHELOR OF SCIENCE
HONOURS DEGREE IN POLITICS AND PUBLIC MANAGEMENT**

ZVISHAVANE CAMPUS

2015

RELEASE FORM

NAME OF AUTHOR: THENJIWE NDLOVU

**TITLE OF THE PROJECT: AN ANALYSIS OF THE
EFFECTIVENESS OF AFFIRMATIVE
ACTION IN PROMOTING GENDER**

BALANCE IN ZIMBABWE

DEGREE PROGRAMME: BACHELOR OF SCIENCE HONOURS

**DEGREE IN POLITICS AND PUBLIC
MANAGEMENT**

YEAR THIS DEGREE WAS GRANTED: 2015

Permission is hereby granted to the Midlands State University to produce single copies of this dissertation and to lend or sell such copies for private, scholarly or scientific research purpose only. The author does not reserve other publication rights and the dissertation nor may extensive extracts from it be published or otherwise reproduced without the author's written permission.

SIGNED.....

PERMANENT ADDRESS:

3528 NKETA 7

P.O NKULUMANE

BULAWAYO

EMAIL ADDRESS:

thenjiweclaiterndlovu@gmail.com

DATE:

OCTOBER 2015

APPROVAL FORM

The undersigned certify that they have read and recommend to Midlands State University for acceptance, a research project entitled: *'An analysis of the effectiveness of Affirmative Action in promoting gender balance in Zimbabwe,'* submitted by ThenjiweNdlovu in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the Bachelor of Science Honours Degree in Politics and Public Management

SUPERVISOR

DATE

CHAIRPERSON

DATE

DECLARATION FORM

I, ThenjiweNdlovu, do here by declare that this work is my own original work, that it has not been plagiarised nor submitted for similar degree in any other University.

Signed

Date

ABSTRACT

This study explored an analysis of the effectiveness of Affirmative Action in promoting gender balance in Zimbabwe. The study is hinged on the feminism theory which served as its theoretical framework. In investigating issues surrounding the adoption and implementation of the Affirmative Action programmes and policies in Zimbabwe, the researcher made use of the explanatory research techniques to generate data. Qualitative research techniques were employed by the researcher. In-depth interviews with key informants who were selected using purposive sampling and documentary research and informal conversational interviews were used to generate qualitative data. Qualitative data analysis was hinged on thematic and content analysis. Research findings established that Affirmative Action in promoting gender balance is still far from achieving the targeted results of equal representation between women and men in all spheres of life in Zimbabwe. The study concluded by recommending that there is need for change in attitude of people both women and men and more compulsory awareness campaigns must be conducted countrywide in order to sensitise both women and men on the need and importance of having equal representation. It was noted that for Affirmative Action to be more active a bottom up approach must be used also more action should be directed to the social livelihood of people because thus where lies the backbone of the people's lives. Constant monitoring and evaluation of the Affirmative Action policies and programmes has to be conducted in order to achieve positive results.

DEDICATION:

I dedicate this dissertation to my family with special mention of my late Father, NichodemusNdlovu, who would have been proud to witness this achievement.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Guidance and protection from the Almighty God for the entire quad academic years is the foremost acknowledgement.

Moreover, I owe deep gratitude to my Supervisor, Mr A Chilunjika for his expert advice and generous support during the writing of my dissertation. He is surely a blessing to the Politics and Public Management Department. I would also like to thank all those who collaborated in one way or the other in making the production of this dissertation possible. This includes all those who provided data and valuable information for the research. My appreciation also goes to the Midlands State University Catholic Society (CathSoc) colleagues who gave me encouragement through inspirational sermons for that I am forever grateful.

Lastly in a special way, many thanks goes to my sister, Marygold and my brother Cornelius for their support and encouragement throughout my studies. Special mention to be made of my dear mother Norah Ndlovu for her inspiration for education.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Release Form.....	i
Approval Form	ii
Declaration Form	iii
Abstract	iv
Dedication	v
Acknowledgment	vi
Table of Contents	vii
Acronyms.....	x
Appendix.....	xi
List of Figures.....	xi
List of Tables.....	xi

CHAPTER 1

1 Introduction.....	1
1.1 Background of the study	1
1.2 Statement of the problem	4
1.3 Research objectives.....	4
1.4 Research questions.....	4
1.5 Justification of the study.....	5
1.6 Limitations.....	6
1.7 Delimitations of the study.....	6
1.8 Organisation of the study.....	6
1.9 Chapter summary.....	7

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction.....	8
2.2 Origins of AA	8
2.3 AA approach in Zimbabwe.....	9
2.4 AA and gender inequalities from a global perspective.....	12
2.5 AA in the social realm.....	13
2.6 AA in the economic realm	15
2.6.1 Education sector.....	15

2.6.2	Labour relations	16
2.6.3	Agricultural sector.....	16
2.7	AA in Politics of Zimbabwe	17
2.7.1	Representation between women and men	17
2.7.2	The quota system	19
2.8	The new Constitution in addressing gender equality	19
2.9	Theoretical framework.....	22
2.10	Chapter summary	23

CHAPTER 3
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1	Introduction	24
3.2	Research methodology	24
3.3	Research design	24
3.4	Sample selection	24
3.4.1	Purposive sampling.....	24
3.5	Data collection methods.....	25
3.5.1	Interviews	25
3.5.1.1	In-depth interviews	25
3.5.1.2	Informal conversational interviews.....	26
3.5.2	Focus group discussions	26
3.5.3	Documentary review.....	26
3.6	Ethical considerations.....	27
3.6.1	Informed consent	27
3.6.2	Assessment of Risk	27
3.6.3	Responsibility of researcher to participants	27
3.6.4	Feedback of results	28
3.7	Data analysis.....	28
3.8	Chapter summary	28

CHAPTER 4

PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

4.1	Introduction.....	29
4.2	The effectiveness of AA policies and programmes in bringing equality between women and men in Zimbabwe	29
4.2.1	AA in the social realm	30

4.3 AA in economic realm.....	33
4.3.1 AA in education	33
4.3.2 AA in labour relations	34
4.3.3 AA in agriculture	35
4.4 AA in politics	37
4.4.1 AA in political socialisation	37
4.4.2 The AA and the quota system	40
4.5 The new Constitution as an AA tool.....	44
4.6 Chapter summary	45

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction	46
5.2 Summary of research findings	46
5.3 Conclusions	46
5.3.1 The role played by the government of Zimbabwe in adopting AA policies aimed at promoting gender balance	46
5.3.2 The effectiveness of the AA programmes and policies in promoting gender balance in Zimbabwe	46
5.3.2.1 AA in the social realm.....	46
5.3.2.2 AA in the economic realm	47
5.3.2.3 AA in the political realm.....	47
5.4 The Constitution in addressing the concept of the AA in securing gender equality in Zimbabwe.....	48
5.5 Recommendations.....	48
5.6 Summary	49
Reference List	50

ACRONYMS

AA:	Affirmative Action
CCPR:	Convention on Civil and Political Rights
CEDAW:	Convention on the Elimination of all forms of violence Against Women
GBV:	Gender Based Violence
MDG:	Millennium Development Goals
MP:	Member of Parliament
MWAGCD:	Ministry of Women Affairs Gender and Community Development
NAPH:	National Professors of Hebrew
SADC:	Southern African Development Community
UNDP:	United Nations Development Programme
UNICEF:	United Nations Children's Funds
WiPSU:	Women in Politics Support Unit
ZimStat:	Zimbabwe Statistics
ZWLA:	Zimbabwe Women's Lawyers Association

APPENDIX

Appendix A: Interview guide for key informants and focus group discussion

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Enrolment between females and males in education..... 33

Figure 2: Trends of women representation in parliament from 1980 to date39

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Statics of land ownership between women and men in Zimbabwe 36

CHAPTER 1

1. Introduction

The study focused on the analysis the effectiveness of the Affirmative Action (AA) in promoting gender balance in Zimbabwe. The purpose of this chapter as the opening interval is to envelop the background to the study, thus the dramatic environment where the research is being taken, a statement of the problem demonstrating the problems which drove the need for research. Other crucial aspects such as research objectives, research questions and the justification of the study, will also be covered in the opening episode. The section has also wrapped the delimitation of the study, limitations, definition of terms and a summary. All the various elements listed above will be explained on their different roles they play towards the topic under scrutiny.

1.1 Background of the study

Gender disparities have long been standing anomalies in every economic, social and political sectors of Zimbabwe. It is well documented that the reasons that have largely disadvantaged women stem from patriarchy, customary law and the colonial legacy that continue to short-change women. As a result, women's emancipation and empowerment has become the focus of international programmes and conferences for purposes of integrating them into the development process on an equal basis with their male counterparts. These moves have been complemented by calls to promote gender sensitivity in all walks of life. This study therefore attempts to critic the gender responsiveness of the curriculum in Zimbabwe.

After gaining political independence in 1980 the Zimbabwe government took a proactive approach to addressing women's issues and problems. Pressure to address gender disparities was a historical product partly as a result of women's involvement in the struggle for national liberation in Zimbabwe and throughout Africa (Makombe and Geroy, 2009). The ruling party at independence, the Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU PF) in its 1980 election manifesto declared that it would abolish sex discrimination, emancipate women and bring them on board on an equal footing as men.

Gudhlanga (2011), adds that the liberation struggle ushered in new platforms for women to participate equally together with men on both the private and domestic spheres, an opportunity women had lost due to colonialism. There is also need to note that the need for

gender inclusivity is not confined to Zimbabwe alone but is in line with what is happening on the global scene.

AA aims at providing women with opportunities they were previously denied despite their merit and in Zimbabwe, this has been a war cry by the government since the country gained independence in 1980. The study therefore, seeks also to scrutinize the effectiveness of the AA in Zimbabwe, paying particular attention to the AA programmes, what they entail, what they aim at, their legal framework and the milestone which it has managed to cover since 1980 to date, in bringing about gender equality.

According to the Supreme Court of the U.S (1994), in implementing the AA, there are two crucial factors that need to be taken into cognisance. First, there must be a strong reason for developing the AA and secondly, the AA programmes must apply to the qualified persons. With reference to Zimbabwe, it is transparent that the AA took into consideration both the above stated factors because for the former, the Zimbabwe women have been a disadvantaged group in the society yet they have been since partaking in issues which are said to be a special reserve for men, for example, they took part in the liberation struggle. On the latter, by the virtue of being a woman, one qualifies to benefit from the AA programmes since women have a long standing history of being the outcasts of the society.

In line with the policy of eradicating discrimination, thus AA, along gender lines the Zimbabwe government passed the Legal Age of majority Act of 1982. Mahlaule (1982), articulates that according to this Act women were no longer minors, men and women were for the first time legally equal. The government also passed the Equal pay Act in the same year. This meant that women employed to do the same job as men with the qualifications would get equal salaries with their male counterparts.

Ngwenya (1983), adds to say, this was a welcome move for women who had been economically marginalised by getting lower salaries than their male counterparts. Also of significance as stated by Chabaya and Gudhlanga (2001), was the government's introduction of the policy of universal education in which no one was supposed to be discriminated against in terms of race, sex, ethnicity and religious affiliation among others. Another important development that provided the impetus for gender inclusivity is that Zimbabwe is a signatory to a number of regional and international treaties that aim at creating an enabling environment for the attainment of equity and equality between men and women.

As part of putting AA into action, the Zimbabwean government is no doubt a signatory to various regional and international conventions, treaties, declarations and protocols that seek to promote and create an enabling environment for the attainment of gender equality and women's empowerment. These include, the CEDAW (1991), the Convention on Civil and Political Rights (CCPR); the Global Platform for Action and the Beijing Declaration (1995).

In 1997 Zimbabwe signed the SADC Declaration on Gender and Development as well as its addendum on the Prevention and Eradication of Violence Against Women and Children. The Legal Age of Majority Act, the Matrimonial Causes Act, the Sexual Discrimination Removal Act, the Sexual Offences Act and the Domestic Violence Act are some of the legislation put in place to promote gender equality and protect women's rights. The National Gender Policy (2013), provides guidelines and the institutional framework to engender all sectorial policies, programs, projects and activities at all levels of the society and economy.

Moreover, Gender focal points have been established in all ministries and parastatals to spearhead gender mainstreaming. Also, in 1995 the government created the Ministry of Women Affairs, Gender and Community Development (MWAGCD) to oversee coordination of all gender programs and to facilitate gender mainstreaming in all sector ministries. Zimbabwe is further guided by the MDGs as a member of the United Nations. One of the targets of MDGs is to increase the proportion of seats held by women in national parliaments and promote gender balance, thus MDG number 3.

However, despite the significant progress made in the area of policy and legislation reform, the legal, socio - economic and political status of women remains relatively low. In the 1998 Human Development Report, Zimbabwe was described as a 'highly unequal society', which is a reflection of the general low status of women in terms of access, control, ownership of economic resources and positions in decision making processes. Most women do not exercise the rights that laws specifically guarantee them, among other factors due to ignorance of the law, its administration, economic hardships that make it difficult to pursue their legal rights, cumbersome court procedures, customary laws and fear of breaking valued relations with family kin.

The research will therefore examine Zimbabwe's progress in the broader context of the global picture. It will review the effectiveness of AA put in place in Zimbabwe concerning the participation of women in politics, economics and social spheres of life. As such, this paper therefore will interrogate progress made in that regard.

1.2 Statement of the problem

The research investigated on the effectiveness of the AA in promoting gender balance in the Zimbabwean society. It targeted on bringing out the loopholes which are left behind by the AA programmes aimed at promoting parity between women and men. In the Zimbabwe scenario, gender balance makes the order of the day in terms of advocating for women achieving equal opportunities as men in all spheres of life since they have been the disadvantaged group since the ‘Pope was still an altar boy’. Theoretically, Zimbabwe is signatory to very sounding AA programmes which aim at promoting gender equality, and the big question is how far has Zimbabwe gone in achieving the aims against the targeted time frame. The research, therefore went a milestone further and analysed if even in the near future, there can be equal representation between women and men of Zimbabwe alongside the AA programmes put in place.

1.3 Research objectives

This study seeks to analyse the challenges faced in the implementation of affirmative action in Zimbabwe in;

- (i) To examine the effectiveness of the AA policies and programmes in promoting gender balance in Zimbabwe.
- (ii) To analyse the role played by the government in promoting gender balance in Zimbabwe.
- (iii) To examine the Constitution on how it addresses the concept of AA in securing gender equality in Zimbabwe.
- (iv) To proffer recommendations to strategies of establishing vibrant and effective AA in Zimbabwe.

1.4 Research questions:

This study seeks to answer the following research questions:

- (i) What is the role played by the government in promoting gender balance in Zimbabwe?
- (ii) How effective are the AA policies and programmes in bringing equality between women and men in Zimbabwe?

- (iii) Does the constitution fully address the concept of AA in securing gender parity in Zimbabwe?
- (iv) What are the recommendations to establish a vibrant and effective AA which will empower the disadvantaged group?

1.5 Justification of the study

The motivation of the researcher to conduct a research on the affirmative action in promoting gender balance in Zimbabwe, came from the fact that the researcher is a woman and has realised that women are not taken seriously when it comes to the issues of politics and public policy and socio and economic needs and as such the research seeks to address the plights of women since they are the disadvantaged group in the society. Although there is a prominent commitment by the international community to gender equality, gender gap in Zimbabwe still got much weight.

This research was of paramount importance as it was hoped that might lead to rethinking of the implementation of the AA programmes and policies aimed at promoting gender equality in Zimbabwe. The researcher hoped that the research might have generative effects as it has the potential to bring about changes in participation and action. It was hoped that the research might lead to rethinking of ways of policy implementation by policy makers thus improve policy formulation and implementation processes.

The research also was hoped to have the potential of redirecting and refocusing the attention of policy makers to areas not previously fully explored in bringing about equality between women and men. The research has the potential for enabling policy formulators to take into account of the issue of gender and culture and to address critical questions of the interplay between gender, culture and emancipation. As gender and culture are significant in policy implementation, this study may enlighten policy makers to take into consideration the question of gender and culture in policy planning and formulation.

The study was intended to unmask some of the gendered illusions concerning differential abilities of different sexes which affect policy implementation, so that both sexes can act positively towards each other knowing the importance of the equality of sexes. The study was also important to me as a researcher as it enlightened me on what really affect women's advancement in their careers. This thesis was important as it sought to formulate a concrete foundation upon which the government and the society as a whole, can work in partnership to

address the gender based inequalities that are still paramount irregardless of the existence of AA policies and programmes.

Overally, this research the aims at identifying inhibiting factors to the effectiveness of the AA towards achieving women and men equal participation and presentation in politics and public life. Moreover, in Zimbabwe context, the AA policies and programmes lack monitoring and evaluation, as such, the research seeks to address the part of monitoring and evaluation so that relevant steps might be taken to rectify the problems accordingly.

1.6 Limitations.

The researcher faced challenges in fully gathering the required information because some of the key informants such as parliamentarians could not be reached and as such, the researcher had to rely on documentary review of which some of the information is outdated and biased. Also, various people had hidden useful information arguing that disseminating the information puts them at risk since some of the information is classified. To counter this challenge, the researcher tried to use communication and education as a panacea to this challenge by explaining to the officials that the information was for pure academic reasons and shall remain convinced and undisclosed to unauthorized persons.

1.7 Delimitations of the study

The research dwells on the analysis of the AA in promoting gender balance in promoting gender balance in Zimbabwe. AA covers issues of discrimination based on colour, gender and race and on this scenario, the researcher focused only on gender issues. Moreover, the research covered the timeframe of the AA policies and programmes that lie from 1980 to date. The literature used by the researcher also demarcated the study because researcher limited herself to the discussion of the culture, education system, labour force, women's representation in politics, the quota system and the constitution. These were discussed as they affected gender imbalances in Zimbabwe.

1.8 Organisation of the study.

To attain a comprehensive view on effectiveness of the AA in promoting gender balance in Zimbabwe, a number of themes deserved attention. These themes were dealt with in the following order:

Chapter one formed the introduction to the study where the justification of the research was explored. Chapter two devoted to a detailed Literature Review. The researcher explored relevant literature on what has so far been researched on the problem under investigation. This was done to put the research in the context of other researches on the interaction between AA and gender balance. Chapter three explored of the Methodologies used in the research and qualitative research methodologies were explored. Chapter four is devoted to data presentation, interpretation and analysis. This was done based on the study's research questions. Chapter five proffered Conclusions and Recommendations

1.9 ChapterSummary

The chapter focused on the introduction and synopsis of the whole dissertation; all research components such as background of the study, statement of the problem, research questions, research objectives, justification of the study, delimitation and limitations were discussed in short.

CHAPTER 2- LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter's main focus is on reviewing the literature which has been presented by other scholars prior this research. In line with the research topic at hand, the study seeks to fill in the literature discourse which exists in the effectiveness of the adoption of the AA in promoting gender balance in Zimbabwe. The study will bring out the various AA policies and strategies that have been put in place in Zimbabwe in the political, economic and social realms and therefore assess how these policies and strategies have managed to fulfil its core objective of enhancing equality and in this case, equality between women and men.

2.2 Origins of the AA

According to Becker et al (1982), Affirmative action was conceived in the United States during the 1960s as a strategy for reducing the racial inequalities that persisted despite the many legislative programs of that period. He adds on to say, for present purposes, without taking an unnecessary excursion into American socio-politics of the past decade, it is sufficient to note that the impetus behind affirmative action was essentially compensatory. Proponents believed that after a long history of discrimination, the formal establishment of non-discrimination was not sufficient: a more immediate solution was required.⁵ Affirmative action was to effectively right past wrongs and produce a situation where social equality prevailed.⁶

An import from the U.S. Initiated in the United States and transported into Canada and the rest of the world, Zimbabwe included, affirmative action comprises a collection of programs intended to reduce the discrimination suffered by various ethnic groups, races, sexes, and other minorities and the study centers on discrimination based on sex. These programs are expected to do more than just eliminate malicious discrimination, a goal that receives the assent of just about everyone; they attempt to counterbalance the effects of previous discrimination by providing compensation for inequalities that have allegedly resulted from such practices.

'Affirmative action' is more inspirational than informative; it tells us more about the intentions of its users than it describes the programs they support. A review of the literature, reveals that affirmative action is known by many labels, one of which is particularly useful to understanding the content of these programs. 'Reverse discrimination' provides a clearer

image than 'affirmative action', for it describes the type of action such programs intend. Exponents of these programs make their aims evident by posing and answering the question: Where illegitimate discrimination has been discovered, is it sufficient to rectify past discriminatory practices or must compensation to previously discriminated groups be instituted. Advocates of affirmative action believe it insufficient merely to replace discriminatory practices with a set of legitimate procedures. They claim that reparations must be made to wronged groups for previous discrimination, even where this involves discriminating in favor of the victims of historical discrimination.

Although the term 'affirmative action' originated in the USA as stated by Rutororo (2012), the American experience is of less relevance to the Zimbabwe situation than those of some Asian and African countries. Far from being a tool of transformation, affirmative action in the USA was essentially designed to integrate minority groups, and later women, into the mainstream of American life. According to Maphai (1993), It was essentially a conservative notion designed and driven by the ruling class for Blacks who largely shared the same sets of socio-economic values with Whites. It was never intended to be a tool of egalitarianism, let alone transformation. Days (1993) says, the policy benefited mainly the Black middle class as it was designed to help members of minority groups who met minimal job qualifications. Kenneth (1993) supports the notion by saying, while contributing to the enlargement of the Black middle class, affirmative action remained meaningless for the poorest sections of Black Americans. As such, affirmative action 'the American way' would fail to meet Zimbabwe expectations.

2.3 AA Approach in Zimbabwe

AA is defined by the National Partnership for Women and Families (2008) as taking positive steps to end discrimination, to prevent its recurrence, and to create new opportunities that were previously denied to qualified women and people of colour and Magaisa (2015 unpublished) defines it as a strategic intervention designed to assist a previously disadvantaged group of people by giving them preferential treatment. For example, women did not have access to land, so the rules of access to land may be adjusted to ensure that they get better and easier terms to access land than their male counterparts. He adds, on to say AA is a strategy designed to promote equality by not only removing barriers to access but also by deliberately giving advantage to the previously disadvantaged.

The Zimbabwe Daily (2008) cements the given definitions by stating that many nations have resorted to affirmative action which has different names depending with the country. They add on by saying, Affirmative action describes deliberate policies aimed at a historically economic and socio-politically sidelined group intended to promote its access to opportunities and resources. The above mentioned definitions show that AA is a move aimed at ending marginalisation of a disadvantaged group and the study has delimited to centre on gender paying particular attention to women because they are the marginalised group compared to men. As such the government of Zimbabwe as the focal nerve for enhancing gender balance policies in Zimbabwe has adopted various AA strategies aimed at enhancing gender parity between women and men of Zimbabwe. AA strategies adopted, are aimed at promoting equality in all sectors thus politics, economics and social aspects of life.

There are also organisations working in parallel with the government in pursuing AA action policies aimed at promoting gender balance. These organisations are WISPU, Padare, ZWLA and Msasa Project, among others. Ngoro (2005) asserts that, they help in acting as implementors and monitoring and evaluation on the progress made by the AA policies. She substantiated her view by exemplifying using Msasa project in that as far as the gender violence act is concerned, Msasa project's chief purpose is to safeguard against GBV and as such they apply the gender based violence act in full swing and thus the promotion of gender balance in communities

In Zimbabwe, most literature is silent on the issue of women in management during the colonial era. Kazembe (1982) has it that, the issue of racial stratification was more important than the issue of gender based discrimination in the work place. Women had no right at all under the colonial law and very little value was placed on the participation of women outside the home. Guild (1976) in Mandaza (1982) says should a woman go out to work with the approval of her husband, any money she earned belonged to the husband. However, after gaining political independence in 1980 the Zimbabwe government took a proactive approach to addressing women's issues and problems. Makombe and Geroy (2009) add to say, pressure to address gender disparities was a historical product partly as a result of women's involvement in the struggle for national liberation in Zimbabwe and throughout Africa.

The ruling party at independence, the Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU PF) in its 1980 election manifesto declared that it was putting AA policies in place and would abolish sex discrimination in in all spheres of the society. At international and

regional level, Zimbabwe is signatory to various AA programmes and policies. To mention but just a few, Zimbabwe signed the solemn declaration on gender equality in Africa. Zimbabwe has also signed, ratified and acceded to United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action on gender equality and women empowerment, the CEDAW (1991), the CCPR; the Global Platform for Action and the Beijing Declaration (1995). In 1997 Zimbabwe also signed the SADC Declaration on Gender and Development as well as its addendum on the Prevention and Eradication of Violence Against Women and Children. Zimbabwe MDGs as a member of the United Nations. One of the targets of MDGs is to increase the proportion of seats held by women in national parliaments and promote gender balance, thus MDG number three.

At a domestic level, the Legal Age of Majority Act, the Sexual Offences Act, and the Domestic Violence Act are some of the legislation enacted to promote gender equality and protect women's rights. Gender focal points have been established in all ministries and parastatals to spearhead gender mainstreaming. In 1995, the government formed the Ministry of Women's Affairs, Gender and Community Development to oversee all gender programmes and to facilitate gender mainstreaming in all sector ministries. The National Gender Policy (2013), further provides guidelines and the institutional framework to engender all sectorial policies, programs, projects and activities at all levels of the society and economy. Gender focal points have been established in all ministries and parastatals to spearhead gender mainstreaming. All these are, gender based AA programmes taken by the government to end marginalisation of women.

Zimbabwe also embarked on gender mainstreaming which was established as a major global strategy for the promotion of gender equality in the Beijing Platform for Action from the Fourth United Nations World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995. Gender mainstreaming has been defined by the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC, 1997) as, '...the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in all areas and at all levels. And its ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality.'

The understanding of, and commitment to, gender mainstreaming in Zimbabwe has increased significantly. Zimbabwe's commitment towards promoting gender equality and women's empowerment is demonstrated at international, regional and national levels. The

Government remains committed to empowering women and enhancing their involvement and participation in all aspects of economic development

2.4 AA and gender inequalities from a global perspective

Rutororo (2012) has it that Zimbabwe is not the only country suffering from gender disparities. On a global perspective, Literature shows that top management is dominated by males in most areas of the world. Carmen (2002) says women's participation in national systems is biased due to the socio-cultural environment. He argues that about two thirds of Africa's illiterates are women and women still remain under fifty percent of the total in many sub-Saharan African countries and Asia. In Asia, Carmen (2002) notes that Asian values and cultural ideologies demand the enactment of a specific construct of Asian femininity that militates against equality and academic career aspirations to senior management levels. Thus women remain severely underrepresented in management systems providing evidence that the glass ceiling still remains a reality.

The glass ceiling concept according to Peters (2005) refers to invisible and artificial barriers to entry and promotion faced by women aspiring to senior management positions. Smyth (2012) notes that, 'globally we now have fewer women heads of institutions than we had previously.' He goes on to say when women move into male dominated areas, they remain clustered at the lower levels, marginally represented at the middle and absent from the top other than the occasional, deviant and non-conformist pioneer. Smyth (2012) further notes that governments in the 1970s and 1980s introduced affirmative action and recognized the principle of equal opportunity through both legislation and policy initiatives. Despite this, the number of women in leadership positions according to Smyth (2012) in management in Australia, Britain and USA has decreased. Smyth (2012) adds that there is a tendency for many women who have the qualifications, expertise and aptitude not to apply for positions of leadership in management.

Sridharan (2009) also shows that in India, despite having a strong women's movement, women continue to be marginally represented in policy and decision-making processes. The Constitution of India guarantees equality before the law to all Indian women. Political equality for women and men is indisputable in this context. This equality includes not only

equal right to franchise but also sharing power of decision-making and policy making at all levels. The actual participation or even representation of women in various political institutions, especially in the decision-making positions, does not reflect the equality principle so far.

Women's issues in the Arab world in general and Syria in particular are usually discussed in a positive light. Ghafari (2008) notes that such an optimistic perspective emphasizes that women have long attained their rights for equal job opportunities, equal pay and equal rights to property. However, gender inequality continues to manifest itself in the domain of family life and labour market and within the cultural and ideological system. In contemporary societies, Ghafari (2008) argues that it is important to understand how values and practices embedded in particular domains or social institutions foster inequality, reinforce power relations between men and women which perpetuate the inequality. On the surface the increasing number of trends and means of self-representation might suggest that women have attained their freedom at all levels. However, women's inequality in the workplace remains a rich area for sociological debate.

United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) (2010) notes that while there have been considerable gains since 2000 on the MDG's targets, progress has been slowest on the gender equality dimension. Gender based discrimination holds back progress towards social justice. Since the Millennium Summit in 2000 there have been numerous initiatives to explore the gender equality dimension one of which was increasing women's voice in decision making, full participation of women in society, starting from autonomy in the household to voice in all political processes at community, national and international levels (UNIFEM , 2010).

2.5 AA in the Social realm

On this aspect, the researcher, centered on socialisation between women and men and on cultural norms, values and beliefs. Ghafari (2008) notes that in contemporary Zimbabwe society, men and women may on the surface seem to enjoy equal rights and responsibilities. However, in practice it is a different situation altogether because women continue to be marginalised because of values and practices embedded in particular domains and social institutions that foster inequality.

The normative definition of culture emphasizes rules, ideals, values and behaviour. The normative definitions show that culture consist of all those historically created designs for living which exist at any given time. These values are so deeply ingrained that even though legislation might be passed or public policy might change, it is not easy to change people's deeply ingrained beliefs. Differential treatment of men and women has been internalized through culture over centuries regardless of social and political reforms. Various studies have shown that culture impacts very negatively on gender equality in leadership. Factors noted in the various studies are socialization, stereotyping, patriarchy, domestic role overload, male culture and gender based abuse

Munroe (2001) argues that even if the legal majority act says women and men are equal, this does not mean that people think so. Hence, there is a dilemma society is facing on gender identity which results in women as the disadvantaged group to feel frustrated and manipulated. Hadebe in Hadebe and Chitando (2009) says, culture and religion are the key factors in defining and regulating gender relations in most communities in Zimbabwe and Africa as a whole. All questions regarding the welfare and status of women in Zimbabwe and Africa are explained within the framework of culture which tends to discriminate them.

Socialization is the transmission of conduct, roles, attitudes and values. Meyer (1990) in De Witt and Booyesen (1995) also says that socialization is the process whereby the individual becomes a member of a social group in the sense that the person learns to conduct oneself in accordance with the norm and values of the group. The individual assimilates knowledge of rules, attitudes, customs, values, roles, requirements and norms that are acceptable in the social environment. The implication on men and women rests on the fact that differential gender based socialisation result in differential gendered expectations which creates a dividing line between the sexes as they grow up in the community.

On gender role socialization, Dekker and Lemmer (1998) define it as, "the means by which social expectations regarding gender appropriate characteristics are conveyed to the child." Gender role socialization provides the child with a model for behaviour. In Zimbabwe there are certain gendered choices available to a person from the time of one's birth (UNICEF: 2010). The socialization process is the root of gender based challenges societies are facing today. Due to the gender based socialization girls are socialized for a low status in life and boys are socialized for a higher status.

NAPH (2012) says that for girls this is done, “through restricting girls’ activities to such an extent that their social development and exploration instincts are curtailed.” This affects the girl’s choices even in later life as a grown up career woman. NAPH (2014) goes on to say that fathers and brothers believe that they have to be very protective of their womenfolk, so that women are punished, reprimanded and even beaten up for being adventurous. On the other hand, boys are allowed to be adventurous and they can even go out at night. This type of socialization restricts women’s horizons but it opens up great possibilities for the males.

Rodgers (2010) saw that men are socialized to tackle and attack problems, override obstacles, overcome difficulties and always take the offensive. On the other hand, women are socialized to be silent even over their pains. Njoroge (1998) points out that, “...because she was silent over her trials and tribulations, my grandmother was praised as a good woman.” Even in the Zimbabwean society, women are socialized to be silent, submissive and confined to the domestic sphere. Njoroge and Dube (2010) note that, not only is this passivity expected and endorsed; it is also reinforced and affirmed so that most women expect it of themselves.

2.6 AA in the Economic Realm

On the economic realm, the researcher delimited her research to focus on education system, labour force and the agriculture section.

2.6.1 Education Sector

On the work front and education, the Zimbabwe government has tried to remove injustices based on cultural, traditional, societal and colonial attitudes which have kept women in down trodden positions. To show its commitment to the gender issue the Zimbabwe government instituted affirmative action policy which was aimed at speeding up equality between men and women. This was done by implementing gender enrolment quotas at education institutions and enacting the labour act which puts women and men at equal footing. Education for all in one of the policies which the government of Zimbabwe put in place as an AA motive to incorporate women in the economic field.

Foyita (2006) argues that education is one way in which women can emancipate themselves from the grip of culture through male domination and empower themselves economically, however a critical analysis of educated women reveals that education is not a true emancipator. Chirimuuta (2010) supports the notion by saying, this is due to the fact that even those women who are educated have to succumb to culture otherwise they get labeled as

‘unmarriageable’ and will be shunned by prospective partners. Since marriage is a sacred institution in the culture, it is society’s expectation that every woman should be married.

Secondly, as noted by Rutororo (2010) who stipulates that the educational system does not take into consideration the fact that when children start attending school they come with inequalities already shaped within them. The school curriculum should then as a result, be structured in a way that addresses these inequalities and not in a way that perpetuates them. The educational system in Zimbabwe has thus been criticized by Chirimuuta (2006) for being gender insensitive and gender blind as it encourages male models, male-authored textbooks and theories thus spelling out that women should be academically subordinate as well.

The ZimStat comment on the 2012 reports shows that low levels of female enrolment in secondary schools and tertiary schools means that fewer women make it into the corporate world, however for those who do so, they soon realize that men control the economy. Patriarchal attitudes also exist in the corporate world and few women are allowed to occupy leadership positions. Most women occupy less challenging positions like secretarial or clerical positions. In public ministry in Zimbabwe, for example, there are more males than females occupying ministerial positions.

2.6.2 Labour Relations Sector

Women of Zimbabwe have been brought on board through AA but they occupy less challenging positions for instance Gender, Culture or Education. It is rare to find women occupying challenging ministerial positions for instance in the Ministry of Finance or State defense. Furthermore, even if women are chosen as leaders they have to prove their capability twice as much as their male counterparts due to the fact that: Buchanan 1993 cited in Okome, 2003, the educated and professional woman, no matter how capable, is never considered the equal of her male peers and colleagues. She may be admired, humoured, tolerated and if she plays her cards well, she might even make an inroad in her field of activity. But too often it will be because of ‘favour’, rarely because of her capabilities

Charvet (2003) argues that still in the corporate sector, women are victims of their sexuality as they are subjected to sexual harassment or sexual violence by their bosses. This situation is due to the fact that women are viewed by men as sexual beings and not as human beings. In some cases, in order to be considered for promotion women have to offer sexual favours to their bosses. To be considered for a job, one might also be asked for sexual favours.

2.6.3 Agricultural Sector

On the agrarian laws of Zimbabwe, women must have equal access to land like their male counterparts but in reality, the majority of Zimbabwean women who are not employed are found in rural areas where they as stipulated by the Tanzanian president, Julius Kambarage Nyerere at the 3rd World Conference on women, (1984) “they toil on land they do not own, to produce what they do not control and at the end of the marriage, through divorce or death they can be sent away empty handed”. These women are discriminated upon by not being allowed to own land on the basis of custom and customary law since men have always been viewed culturally as land owners (Human Rights Monitor, 2014). This situation as a result forces rural women to be dependent on males through the cycle of marriage and reproduction (Human Rights Monitor, 2014).

2.7 AA in Politics of Zimbabwe

In this aspect, the researcher focused on representation between men and women in politics and the quota system.

2.7.1 Representation between women and men

To start with, Dahlerup and Freidval (2003), state that there are four arguments that rally behind the push towards equal representation of women in politics. The first is known as the justice argument which argues that women are made up of half of the population and therefore have the right to half of the seats.

The second argument for the push towards women's increased participation in politics is based on experience. According to Dahlerup (2003) women have different experiences whether they are biologically or socially constructed and they should enter politics as they will approach issues differently from what men do. For example, in Rwanda the caucus of women parliamentarians was able to advocate for women rights and gender equality and also mobilized grassroots women to contribute to the making of the constitution.

The third argument for equal participation between men and women in politics is the idea that men and women might have conflicting interests therefore men cannot represent women which is known as the interest group argument (Dahlerup and Freidval 2003). This notion is further supported by Shvedova(2012) who postulates that Women's needs, desires and expectations are not identical to those of men. ‘The majority of governing institutions are

dominated by men who further their own interests. Male-dominated political institutions of government do not promote women or women's issues'. Thus, the exclusion of women in politics is necessarily an exclusion of their needs and aspirations.

The fourth basis is that women politicians represent role models for women in society. As such, as stipulated by Browns (2005), gender equality must be given the same weighting as racial equality if we are to achieve true inclusive and responsive democracy. When parliaments are constituted by males (one interest group) and female (the other interest group) it means that the two groups are going to compete and no one group is going to dominate all the time. The idea of checks and balances between the two competing groups is likely to be the order of sessions and debates.

In the Zimbabwe scenario, Zvobgo (2009) postulates that in implementing the AA policies the government took into cognisance the four concepts postulated by Dahlerup and Freidval (2003) as evidenced by the adoption of the quota system in parliament and political parties, the election of Dr J.T Mujuru as the female vice president, among other political achievements. With policies enacted by the government to end marginalisation of women in politics, Chinyayi (2014), stipulates that the arena of politics and decision making is one area where gender disparities are most visible, persistent and have proved hard to tackle.

He adds by saying, Women's poor showing in political and public life are at once a reflection of the pervasiveness of gender inequalities and a barrier to tackling this problem. Various reasons have been offered for the low levels of women's participation in public life, politics and decision making which are systemic and structural. Three often cited ones are, the impact of women's position in other spheres of life as a result of the inequalities in the sexual division of labour, women's disadvantages in the control of resources and gender ideologies which naturalise and reinforce inequalities, the problems of the political system and the failure of public policy.

Both women and men are active in community affairs. However, as stated in the UNDP (2010) Report, their involvement is gendered, with men dominating community governance institutions such as chieftaincy and the unit committees of the District Assemblies and women participating more in community level activities related to the reproduction of their households. In some rural communities, structures such as the Unit Committees are regarded as male associations. Ndoro (2012) adds by saying, this works through to the national level

and translates into male numerical and political dominance of the District Assemblies, the Legislature, Executive and Judiciary.

This reinforces the pervasive notion that politics and political positions are not for women, and that they are better suited for support and service functions. Amoah, (1997) supports the notion at hand by saying, many proverbs about the role of women convey this, whether it is in the view that 'women should sell garden-eggs rather than gunpowder' or that even 'if they should own a gun, it would be lodged in a man's room' or that 'if they should rear livestock, it would be a man's responsibility to sell it', and these clearly show the dominance of men over women.

2.7.2 The quota system.

The quota system was welcomed by both hands by women as stated in the Chronicle newspaper (2013) because it increased the number of women in parliament through the sixty seats which are a special reserve for women. On the other hand, However, it has been criticised by most men and radical feminist with one critique Ndoro (2013) who argued against the use of quotas to achieve gender equality by those who believe that it is tokenism, just increasing the number and not the quality of female leaders. Ndlovu (2013) crushes the view by acknowledging the quota system saying it is a positive step, applicable during the life of the first two Parliaments, to address past imbalances. The provision has the effect of ensuring female representation in Parliament though the representation is not meeting the 50% that is stipulated in both the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development and the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of Women.

2.8 The new Constitution in addressing gender equality.

The new Constitution, Amendment No.20 of 2013 is a great improvement from the Lancaster House Constitution and was commended by Nyemba (2013) as one of the democratic constitutions a country can have because it addresses issues of gender equality. To start with, according to Tongora (2014) the 1980 Constitution was masculine in its language. 'He' and 'him' were used throughout in a way that assumes that the masculine embraces the feminine, while the words 'she' and 'her' appeared nowhere. It also prohibited discrimination in law or in the activities of public officials so as to exclude the prevention of discrimination against women in customary law and specifically permits discrimination that "takes due account of

physiological differences between persons of different sex or gender" (Constitution 1980, Article 23) and the new constitution counters that.

Nyemba (2013) adds to say, The Constitution is the supreme law of the country, and has set gender balance as a national objective. All this points to the fact that the government considers the issues of gender balance as very crucial matter however, what is still lagging behind is transferring what is written down into practise. Section 17 of the Constitution clearly sets out gender balance as one of the national objectives which must guide the State and all institutions and agencies of government at every level in formulating and implementing laws and policy decisions. It is worded as follows:

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:

(i) Both genders are equally represented in all institutions and agencies of government at every level and

(ii) Women constitute at least half the membership of all Commissions and other elective and appointed governmental bodies established by or under this constitution or any act of parliament

c) The state and all institutions and agencies of government at every level must take practical measures to ensure that women have access to resources including land on the basis of equality with men

d) The State must take positive measures to rectify gender discrimination and imbalances resulting from past practices and policies

Though the above provision is not justiciable it places an obligation on the State to ensure that issues of gender equality are taken into account in legislation and policies. The importance of the national objectives, of which section 17 is just one, is demonstrated by the fact that section 46(d) calls upon courts, tribunals, forums and bodies to pay due regard to all the provisions of the Constitution, in particular the principles and objectives. Chiroro (2014) has it that, It is critical to note that the wording of section 17 (1) of the Constitution makes it mandatory for the State to promote gender balance, particularly the participation of women in all spheres of Zimbabwean society thus economic, political and social. It is incumbent upon

the State to promote such participation through positive action and also refrain from conduct which is discriminatory and marginalises women.

Chimbiza (2014) supports this notion by adding on to say, The government has been given kudos for having taken steps to promote the participation of women in politics through enacting both section 120(2) (a), which provides for the election of senators under a party system of proportional representation, in which male and female candidates are listed alternately, with females heading the list, and section 124(1) (b) which provides for seats reserved for women. The reservation of seats is aimed at promoting female participation in the political sphere, in line with section 17 of the Constitution.

Nyemba (2013) adds to say, though the State complied with section 124(1) (b) it is essential to note that gender balance has not been promoted in the appointment of cabinet Ministers, as already alluded to. As well as the three female Cabinet Minister, only four Deputy Ministers and four Ministers of State for provincial affairs were appointed, making a total of 11 females out of 64 ministers and deputy ministers. It is evident that where the State had the power to ensure that there was equal gender representation, the State did not do so. The sincerity of the State regarding gender equality is thus put under scrutiny and one cannot help but conclude that there is no political will to address the issue of gender equality, validating women's claims that the policies and laws are just window dressing whilst women continue to be sidelined from the political arena.

Moreover, an analysis of the 2014 budget as postulated by Magaisa (2014) showed that there was little effort on the part of the State to promote gender equality in Zimbabwe. Section 17(b) makes it mandatory to ensure that both genders are equally represented in all institutions and agencies of government at every level. A cursory look at some of the government institutions will reveal, for example, that currently there are no female mayors in any council in Zimbabwe and there is only one female town clerk.

Furthermore parastatal boards are dominated by men. This includes boards such as the ZBC board, reconstituted after the Constitution had come into effect but comprising five females and seven males. Of the 24 permanent secretaries only eight are females. Currently gender imbalance is prevalent in most government institutions including the ministry of WAGCD and agencies and it is critical going forward that Government complies with section 17b and ensures that appointments are made of persons of the gender not adequately represented, which in most cases would be females.

Dube (2014) notes that the appointment of members of the Judicial Service Commission (JSC) flies in the face of section 17b(ii) which makes it mandatory for the state to ensure that at least half the membership of all Commissions constitute women. If section 17b(ii) is strictly adhered to the Commission should comprise of six males and six females. However of the eight members recently sworn into the Commission, only two are female. It remains to be seen whether the remaining four appointees will be females, to ensure compliance with section 17b (ii). If that does not occur critics will once again be proven right that gender equality is just for an appearance of political correctness and there is no sincerity on the part of Government to ensure that it is a reality.

The ZWLA, on other note commends the State for having included section 80 in the Constitution, which outlines the rights of women, that women have full and equal dignity of person with men, including equal opportunities in political, economic and social activities. However in reality this does not appear to be the case, particularly in light of what has already been outlined pertaining to the appointment of Ministers to Cabinet and Commissioners to the Judicial Service Commission. If section 80 had been strictly adhered to, then the composition of Cabinet would have reflected this.

2.9 Theoretical Framework.

The literature reviewed above tallies with the feminism theory which is a theory that stipulates that men and women should be equal politically, economically and socially. This theory does not subscribe to differences between men and women or similarities between men and women, nor does it refer to excluding men or only furthering women's causes.

Feminism is defined by the Bell Books (1992) as a movement to end sexism, sexist exploitation and oppression. It is theory that men and women should be equal politically, economically and socially. This is the core of all feminism theories. Stones (1997) adds to say that this theory does not subscribe to differences between men and women or similarities between men and women, nor does it refer to excluding men or only furthering women's causes of which most other branches of feminism do.

This theory fits perfectly to the research topic under study because one cannot separate Affirmative Action and feminism because they are both aimed at ending marginalisation based on sex hence promoting gender parity between women and men. In the case, of Zimbabwe, gender parity is one of the core objectives of the new Constitution which is the

supreme law of the country, for instance, Clause 4.7 of the Constitution provides for equality and non-discrimination recognises in specific terms the equality between men and women. Clause 4.7(2) states that, 'Women and men have the right to equal treatment, including the right to equal opportunities in political, economic, cultural and social spheres'. On this notion, one can argue to say, it is important that this recognises not just equality of rights but also of opportunities, which will have a significant impact on Zimbabwe's equal opportunities legislation. As such the theory has been adopted because it upholds the objectives which the study seeks to fill.

2.10 Chapter Summary.

The review of the literature related to the effectiveness of the AA in promoting gender balance in Zimbabwe has unfolded much evidence that AA is still on the horizon in achieving gender balance in Zimbabwe. In this episode, various scholarly views pin pointed on the loopholes on the assimilation of the concept of the AA into the society and the greatest challenge being the attitudes of people especially men. Thus, this research sought to fill in the grey areas identified in the review of related literature. The next chapter focuses on research methodology.

CHAPTER 3-RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

The focus of this chapter is an exploration of the methodology used in this research. The researcher used the qualitative research paradigm. The chapter also highlights on the data collection methods which were employed by the researcher which are: in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, documentary review and informal conversational interviews. These will all be discussed in depth below.

3.2 Research Methodology

Methodology is the way of searching or solving the research problem in order to find possible solutions according to Industrial Research Institute (2004). On another perception Goddard and Melville (2009) define methodology as answering unanswered questions and exploring current loopholes on the identified problem. In this case, the researcher seeks to examine in detail the effectiveness of the AA in promoting gender balance.

3.3 Research Design

This study utilized the qualitative research paradigm. Qualitative research is a broad approach to the study of phenomenon. The study interrogated the effectiveness of the AA in promoting gender balance in Zimbabwe. Qualitative research was important to this research as it investigated the why and how of the phenomenon studied is delaying and why some sectors have more positive results than others. The research further sought to understand why certain intended outcomes were not achieved.

3.4 Sample Selection

3.4.1 Purposive Sampling

The main type of sampling was purposive sampling. Purposeful sampling is a non-random method of sampling where the researcher selects information-rich participants for in-depth interviews (Patton: 2001). Information-rich participants were those from which the researcher could learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the research, thus the term purposeful sampling.

Purposive sampling was employed specifically in conducting in-depth interviews because the researcher deliberately selected participants to give a representative sample. Initially in this study participants were chosen based on their sex, knowledge of the study under investigation and profession. In this case the participants selected were scholars, MPs, the ZimStat Agency and AA organisations and to be specific the ministry of WAGCD, ZWLA, Msasa Project and Padare. This was important because it is this sample which the researcher supposed could give relevant information especially females on the challenges which hindered them to filtrate into the system curbed by AA policies which are aimed at empowering them.

3.5 Data Collection Methods

Data collection is defined by Rouse (2013) as a systematic approach to gathering information from a variety of sources to get a complete and accurate picture of an area of interest. Methods employed by the researcher in gathering information were in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, documentary review and informal conversational interviews. Research instruments used were interview guides in conducting in-depth interviews and focus group discussions.

3.5.1 Interviews

Interviews are defined by Gray (2009) as a conversation between people in which one person has the role of the researcher. The researcher embarked on two different interviews: in-depth interviews and informal conversational interviews.

3.5.1.1 In-depth interviews.

The researcher conducted in-depth interviews with two academics, the ministry of WAGCD, Msasa Project and ZWLA. MPs (both males and females) and Padare were also targeted by the researcher for in-depth interviews but she failed to secure appointments with them. The researcher asked for permission from the selected participants at least a week before the interview date. Interview guides were sent to some prospective participants before the interview date for them to have time to reflect on the interview themes.

Interview styles used in this research were dictated by feminism theory method. Strauss and Corbin (1998) suggest that researchers move from broad to more specific questions. This was done as the researcher prepared a pre-determined interview guide which was unstructured. This was done to enable the researcher to code more discriminately. A few initial questions were asked which gave birth to more questions which helped in exploring the research's themes during the data collection process. Responses were documented by note taking and tape recording the interviews.

Advantages of in-depth interviews are that participants enjoyed talking about what they know rather than filling in questions. Also interviews helped in clarifying issues there and there because the respondent was available. Also helped in gathering first-hand information. Disadvantages include that it is difficult to secure an interview appointments with respondents and in this case, the researcher failed to secure interviews with key informants as such as MPs and Padare.

3.5.1.2 Informal conversational interviews

Informal conversational interviews relies on spontaneous generation of questions as the interview progresses. The researcher conducted four of these interviews with two males and females who were selected randomly. This approach was advantageous to the researcher because it offered flexibility in terms of the path which the interview took. Its drawbacks are that notes were not noted down and the interviewereffect whereby the interview influenced the course and direction of the interview. Also the information gathered was difficult to analyse because different questions were asked to different people.

3.5.2 Focus group discussions

Frank (2009) defines focus group discussion as a form of group interviewing in which a small group – usually 10 to 12 people – is led by a moderator (interviewer) in a loosely structured discussion of various topics of interest. The researcher conducted two focus group

discussions. The first group was made up of the MWAGCD employees and the other was made up of community people aged between 18 and 35. The group discussion helped the researcher in gathering more ideas since the groups comprised of different individuals who ushered in new ideas and insight. On the other side, the researcher faced challenges in setting up the groups because some participants offered resistance.

3.5.3 Documentary Review

Documentary review is a data gathering tool used to obtain relevant documentary evidence to support and validate facts stated in the research. Sources used by the researcher in reviewing documents were the Reports and in the research, the researcher used the ZimStat report, UNDP country analysis report; journals and in this case since the researcher failed to interview targeted participants such as MPs and Padare, the researcher relied on other scholar's journals who had the privilege to interview them and used their findings. Newspapers and textbooks were also used by the researcher. Documentary review analysis helped in gathering more and rich information, however, on the other side information by some scholars is biased.

3.6 Ethical Considerations.

Ethical considerations are simply defined by Gray (2009) as the do's and don'ts during a research exercise. The following ethical issues were considered throughout the research process:

3.6.1 Informed consent

The researcher was faithful and truthful in the conduct of the research. The researcher first sought verbal consent of the research participant. The participants were informed about the purpose of the research and its benefits to them. The researcher did not in any way misrepresent the intention of this research to participants. The researcher did not in any way again coerce or force participants into giving information.

3.6.2 Assessment of risk

Newton (2010) warns that the researcher should be sure that the interviewees are happy and they should not demand too much from the participants. The researcher assessed the risks of the research process to participant. Where the participant asked for secrecy, so that no one knew they were part of the research the researcher arranged for such. Some participants felt

that participation in the research would compromise their security in their workplaces, so strict confidence was assured and pseudonyms were used in all cases.

3.6.3 Responsibility of researcher to participants

Newton (2010)'s observations showed that semi-structured and unstructured interviews allow individuals to disclose thoughts and feelings which are private. The researcher ensured strict confidence and anonymity during and after the research process. The researcher also assured those participants who wished to know the results of the research access to the research report.

3.6.4 Feedback of results

Participants were promised to be given a summary of the research findings on request. These are going to be sent through e-mails. Alby (2010) reiterates that the researcher had to be clear about what would happen to the data she was collecting.

3.7 Data Analysis.

The main format for the presentation of qualitative data is narrative therefore needs to be supported using evidence from raw data which can be presented as direct quotes, or paraphrased, to support and illustrate themes Densombe (2007). As such, the researcher used thematic analysis in presenting and analysing the data she gathered and direct quotations in illustrating what the respondents had to say. Themes used in analysing the data in chapter four are the same themes which were used in reviewing literature in chapter two.

3.8 Chapter Summary

This chapter discussed research methodology. A qualitative research paradigm was utilized. Methods for gathering data employed were interviews both in-depth and informal conversations, focus group discussions and documentary review. Information gathered will be presented, interpreted and analysed in the next chapter. In this context, chapter 4 shall present data analysis and interpretation of findings. All the data to be collected shall be transfigured in figures and graphs.

CHAPTER 4- PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF RESEARCH FINDINGS.

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter looks at data presentation, interpretation and analysis. The data were presented on the basis of the research questions. The focus of this chapter was to explore the findings of the research on the effectiveness of the AA in promoting gender balance in Zimbabwe. The chapter is divided into sections based on the research questions which were also used as themes in reviewing literature supported by the feminism theory. The questions are listed as follows:

- (i) What is the role played by the government in promoting gender balance in Zimbabwe?
- (ii) How effective are the AA policies and programmes in bringing equality between women and men in Zimbabwe?
- (iii) Does the constitution fully addresses the concept of AA in securing gender parity in Zimbabwe?

4.2 The effectiveness of AA policies and programmes in bringing equality between women and men in Zimbabwe

The researcher, took the dimension of analysing the adoption and implementation of the AA programmes and policies in Zimbabwe and subdivided the AA policies and programmes to fit into the three stratification sectors of the lives of people, thus, the social realm, the economic

realm and the political realm. Data findings, interpretations and analysis will be accorded to the above mentioned sectors as they were also reviewed in chapter two.

At domestic level, it has set various legal frameworks aimed at pursuing AA aimed at bringing equality between women and men in the society. As such, the researcher began her data collection by asking the respondents to define AA in the way they best understood it. This was a notion by the researcher to enable her to assess the respondents if they were able to understand the concept of AA prior explaining it to them. Respondent A defined it as, '*a strategic intervention designed to assist a previously disadvantaged group of people by giving them preferential treatment. For example, women did not have access to land, so the rules of access to land may be adjusted to ensure that they get better and easier terms to access land than their male counterparts. AA is a strategy designed to promote equality by not only removing barriers to access but also by deliberately giving advantage to the previously disadvantaged*'.

Respondent B defined it as, '*a notion of putting more enabling conditions to bring women at a better level since women were previously disadvantaged*'. On the same note, Respondent C defined AA as, '*a positive discrimination to create balance in the system*'. The pre-stated definitions proffered by the respondents show that, they all understood what the concept of AA is all about and as such progress was made.

4.2.1 AA in the social realm.

The researcher understands that the social realm revolves around how people are socialised on day to day basis alongside with cultural norms, values and expectations. On this aspect, the researcher investigated on how women and men are treated and behave in their communities in line with cultural expectations vis-a-vis the AA policies enacted to promote gender balance in the social livelihood of people.

To get the ball rolling, in 1982, the government set the Legal Majority Act which aimed at ending marginalisation of women in the society and furthermore, the new Constitution has the promotion of gender balance as one of its set objectives. These are both AA policies aimed at bringing women and men at equal footing. Ghafari (2008) who was quoted in chapter 2, notes that in the contemporary Zimbabwean society, men and women may on the surface seem to enjoy equal rights and responsibilities through legal provisions but in practice women remain marginalised. Ghafari's assumptions were further supported by one of the

female respondents of informal conversational interviews who blankly stated that she was not aware of the gender balance issues claiming that in her family, the head of the family is her husband, she does not make decisions on her own without the consent of the husband.

On the same, note, another respondent from the focus group discussion highlighted that 'he was not going to treat a woman equally as he would treat a man because women are a man's property which is the reason why bride price is paid for them. Furthermore, he allude to the bible in the book Colossians 3vs 18 which says '*The woman is expected to submit to her husband*'. On that very note, the researcher argues to say patriarchal men only quote that verse because it suits their personal selfish desires of discriminating women, however, verse 19 of that same chapter goes on to say, '*a husband must love his wife and not abuse her*' which is a verse which men ignore because it promotes gender balance.

To add on, Respondent D, highlighted that for gender equality to be achieved is nothing but just a dream in Zimbabwe as well as other African states. They justified their argument by saying the concept of AA originated from the US and this is one country which does not have a strong background of culture, with such a background it is easy to infiltrate anything to their system and the people will easily assimilate. This was also highlighted by Rutororo (2012) who cited that the American experience of the AA is of less relevance to the Zimbabwe situation than those of some Asian and African countries.

On that note, the responded was for the idea that Zimbabwe crafts its own type of AA which will be able to assimilate very well into our culture. The researcher on this note diverges from the respondents view because Zimbabwe is a developing country and most of its aid comes from the West and maybe the 'East' through organisations such as the UN, USAID, UNDP, UNFPA and these organisations are controlled by the west, and as such by drifting from their views, its likely that these organisations will withdraw, and in reality Zimbabwe will not be able to fund herself.

Furthermore, in reviewing documents, the researcher also found out that there are also proverbs which men abide with in order to sideline women. some of the proverbs were adopted from PASCA (2008) and they read: What the devil does in a year, an old woman does in an hour, If you give your heart to a woman she will kill you, A man's 'Yes' is a 'Yes', a woman's 'Yes' is often a 'No' and Obedience to a woman makes one enter hell amongst others. These proverbs clearly show that they are filled with gender illusions and as such, they stagnant the progress of AA action policies aimed at promoting gender balance.

Moreover in Zimbabwe, there are legal provisions such as the Matrimonial Causes Act, the Administration of Deceased Estates Act, the Maintenance Act, the Marriages Act and the Domestic Violence Act. All these are AA legal provisions aimed at improving the livelihood of women at the social realm. Taking the Domestic violence Act into cognisance, ZRP annual report of the year ended 2014 highlighted that 50% of the reported GBV cases are immediately withdrawn by women because of the fear of what the society will say and men who are also victims of GBV do not come out in the open because of the societal expectations from them.

For example, in 2009, Mabvuku Member of Parliament, Timothy Mubhawu, contributing to debate on the Domestic Violence Bill, ignited a serious stand-off with women's groups in Zimbabwe after claiming in a Parliamentary Session that:

'... it is against God's principles for men and women to be equal... I stand here representing God Almighty. Women are not equal to men. It is a dangerous Bill and let it be known in Zimbabwe that the right, privilege and status of men is gone. I stand here alone and say this bill should not be passed in this House. It is a diabolic Bill. Our powers are being usurped in daylight in this House' (Gonda 2009)

The MP's argument demonstrated the simple fact that there are still men in Zimbabwe who do not believe in the cultural legitimacy, let alone the ability of women to take on political leadership positions. The MP's argument shows an awareness that preventing women from entering into politics preserves the privileged status of men.

A speaker from the MWAGCD hinted that according to their statistics, more cases of GBV are dragged into the courts since the inception of the Act. This was also supported by the Msasa Project respondent. The added on by saying 'this is a two-way thing, meaning that people are now aware of the GBV act or the cases are increasing'. On that same note, the Country Analysis Report as at 30 Oct 2014 produced by the United Nations analysed and drew to the conclusion that there are now more GBV cases than before.

As such this calls for concern to everyone in the nation to take charge and participate, in that people change their mind-sets especially men. Full emancipation of women will be achieved only if men change their attitudes towards tackling these issues of gender. This view is also supported by Gray (2009) who articulates that the emancipation of women lies in the hands of men. The researcher from her finding gathered that for AA achieve the desired results in

the social realm there is need of changing attitude from people in the they approach these issues. a speaker from the Ministry of Women Affairs vowed for taking the most radical approach of doing away with our culture but the researcher differs on that because attitudes need to be changed in his case in order to assimilate the AA policies put on place and make them more effective and attain gender equality in the society.

The researcher is also of the view that more policies and legal provisions need to be enacted in this sector in particular because the social livelihood of people is the cornerstone of their lives because some hiccups in the implementation of the AA policies aimed at enhancing gender equality in the economic and political sects draw back to the socialisation of people.

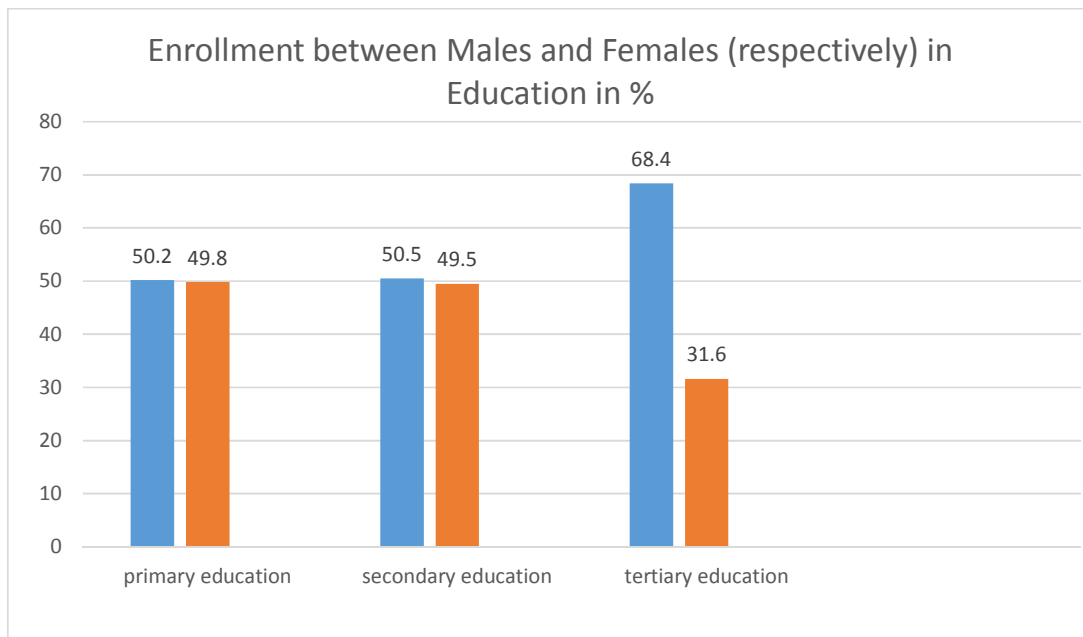
As such if the government aims at attaining gender balance, the social realm ground must be cleared and levelled so that the operations at the economic and social realms operate smoothly hence gender balance will be attained. It is an undeniable fact that women in Zimbabwe are marginalised. Institutionally, our society does not give the same access to opportunities to women as it does to men. But, there is the clue right there: the reasons why we have the unfair society we have are institutional.

The researcher after the above discussed findings, therefore concluded that these affirmative action policies do not address the institutional problems. Rather, as stated above, they are like placing a bandage on someone with a congenital heart defect thus succeed in highlighting that there is something wrong while at the same doing nothing to solve the problem and that drags the effectiveness of the AA in promoting gender balance.

4.3 AA in the Economic Realm

On this aspect, the researcher focused on the education system and the labour force. The table below shows the results gathered in the education sector.

Fig.1



Adapted from: UNDP Country Analysis Report 2014.

4.3.1 AA in Education

The researcher believes that through acquiring education, one is empowered economically because by the virtue of being educated one is able to apply for whatever job they want as long as their academic qualifications meet the criterion. This notion is cemented by a comment proffered in the ZimStat report of 2012 which says, 'Education acquired after secondary level is vital in shaping one's career in life. People with tertiary education are more likely to be economically empowered'.

Taking a glimpse on the education System of Zimbabwe. The government set good AA legislation and policies which are aimed at incorporating the girl child at the same level with the boy child. These are education for all policy and the AA policy of tertiary enrolments. Analysis of data shows that AA can be said to have been very effective in primary schools and in secondary schools till the form 3 level because there is balance between the two sexes as far as enrolment is concerned and thereof gender disparities gap widens.

As such on the widening gap in the tertiary education enrolment, the researcher has come to a conclusion that, what needs to be taken into cognisance is the fact that enrolment in tertiary institutions is based on merit although points of entry will be lowered in favour of women but that woman must have passed and on this note, issues that affect the girl child in failing

to achieve good results are the ones that need to be addressed, otherwise the AA in enrolment will be nothing but just a white elephant.

In an interview with Respondent B, he however disputed the fact that the disparities are still as huge as illustrated on the graphs above. He supported his assertion by saying that at LSU the ratio of enrolment stands at 70%:30% in favour of women. On that note the researcher diverges from that claim proffered by the respondent because the respondents based his argument on one academic school out of a pool of them and that substantiates his argument.

The more school dropouts are females and checking on the records of pass rates, boys at higher education levels excel more than their female counter parts. In accounting for this claim, the researcher draws back to the socialisation of children at household level in that the girl child is left to do all the dirty work at home whilst the boy child will be left to study. Furthermore Rutororo (2012) supports the notion by saying the educational system does not take into consideration the fact that when children start attending school they come with inequalities already shaped within them. The school curriculum should then as a result, be structured in a way that addresses these inequalities and not in a way that perpetuates them hence this shows that there are more loopholes in the implementation of the AA policies.

4.3.2 AA in Labour Relations

On the work front, a stabilising macroeconomic environment over the past few years has not translated into gender equality and equity for women and girls in the economic sector. The country's revised 2013-2017 National Gender Policy notes that women's economic empowerment is key to the country's economic growth and that many of the gender disparities persist in the economic sector.

To start with, during a focus group discussion with the employees under the ministry of women affairs, one speaker highlighted that although the sole purpose of the ministry is to promote gender equality, there are more males than females employed under the ministry and as such, the women's plights are not represented fully and this has resulted in the AA action policies taking long to enhance gender balance than expected. This is in line with one of the arguments postulated by Dahlerup (2003) who asserts that men and women have conflicting interests therefore men cannot represent women and he terms it the interest group argument. The researchers comment on this is that the air that needs to be cleared first lies in the social realm whereby women are sidelined in their socialisation at household level, this in turn

affects the way they perform at school and as such, they fail to get proper jobs because in hiring merit is first aspect considered.

Moreover, research has shown that while women’s share in the labour force continues to increase, the gap between the percentage of women in paid employment and that of men is wide. In 2013, 31% of the economically active men were in paid employment, compared to only 14% of women and of the 83% of the employed population that is unskilled, 54% of these are women. The ZimAsset on the other hand, has prioritised mining, agriculture, trade and tourism as the key drivers of the economy, these are male dominated and women’s meaningful participation and control over resources and processes in these sectors is very limited and that means that the labour law as an AA tool which puts women and men at par becomes vague.

4.3.3 AA in Agriculture.

On the agrarian side, as an AA motive the Constitution grants women the right to own land since agriculture is the backbone of the country’s economy. During research, what the researcher got is rather different from what is stipulated by the constitution. The table below show the statistics of land ownership in Zimbabwe.

FARMING SECTOR	MALE LAND-OWNER %	FEMALE LAND-OWNER %
Communal Areas	54.8	45.2
A1 Farms	69.3	30.7
A2 Farms	84.2	15.8
Small Scale Commercial Farms	63.4	36.6

Large Scale Commercial Farms	80.5	19.4
------------------------------	------	------

Table 1-Adapted from Zimstat 2013.

The researcher hints that it is important to note is that the majority of women land owners are in the communal sector where land cannot be used as security for credit because the owners do not have access to the land in their own right. Increasing women's access to and control of productive resources is essential for increasing their access to credit, their economic empowerment and reducing poverty. And this clearly shows that the AA only serve as a smoke screen because what is on paper is not what in practice. The researcher's standpoint is supported by the Human Rights Monitor 2014 which says, this situation as a result forces women to be dependent on males through the cycle of marriage and reproduction. As such, where there is dependency there is no equality.

Furthermore, According to the daily news report (2014), the MWAGCD is one of the least funded ministries. The Ministry of Gender is the Ministry mandated with promoting gender equality, empowering women economically and ending all forms of discrimination and gender-based violence. However, in the 2014 budget it was allocated a paltry US\$10.8 million, less than 1% of the US\$4.3 billion national budget and nothing was allocated to the Anti-Domestic Violence Council, so it will not be able to deliver on its mandate.

One can argue this notion from Dahlerup's (2013) interest group concept that women and men have different interests and as such it is impossible for men to bring forth women's plights and vice versa is true. This is typical of the Zimbabwe situation because there are less women in parliament and as such that explains why the MWAGCD is one of the least funded ministries because they are not adequate women to stand in and protect their plights. A respondent from the Ministry of women affairs said that, this poses a serious challenge to them as a ministry because they fail to deliver services to the people due to lack of funds.

They posed a situation whereby they carry out gender awareness campaigns, apart from the resistance from men who label such campaigns as a reserve for women, they highlighted that the turnout of people decreases because when called for awareness campaigns people will be expecting to get material things in return and the Ministry cannot afford that. They concluded on this note by saying 'people value material things more than information' and with such attitude from people, achieving gender balance in Zimbabwe for now is a non-starter.

Respondent E also added to the AA in the economic realm discussion by saying through AA Several financial institutions, in the country have established financing and funding schemes targeted at women in small and medium businesses. The Small Enterprises Development Corporation has a target to provide at least 30% of its products and services to female entrepreneurs. In 2006, the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe introduced a lending scheme to boost production in the Small and Medium Enterprises sector and by 2007, 44% of the amount allocated to the Reserve Bank's facility was accessed by women.

Moreover, MWAGCD has a Women's Fund, operated through a local bank, to finance income generating projects for women. The Ministry is now working on an initiative to establish a Women's Bank. This shows that policies of ending discrimination based on sex in Zimbabwe are in place and are very appropriate for the current situation, rather what is lacking is reinforcement of these policies of which the researcher suggests on more radical means just like how the land resettlement programme was conducted in the year 2000. In that way, gender equality can be achieved through the AA.

4.4.0 AA in Politics

On this note, the researcher based much on how women are politically socialised and on the 'newly' implemented quota system which saw an increase in the number of seats held by women in parliament through the sixty seats reserved for women in parliament.

4.4.1 AA in Political Socialisation.

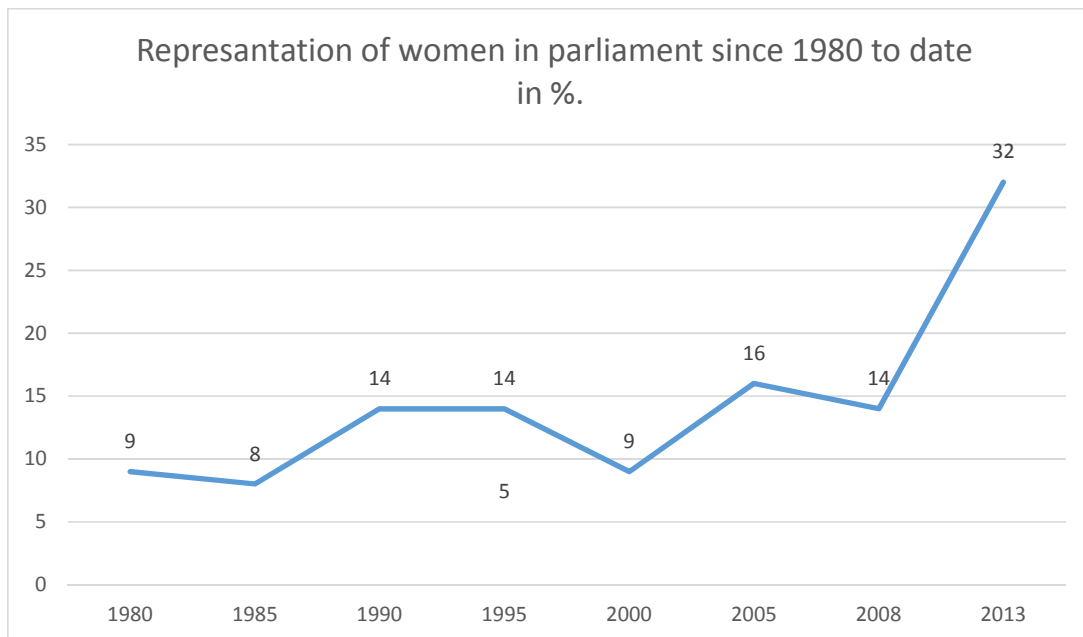
To start with, the research findings put the researcher and Chinyayi (2014) on same footing in that the arena of politics and decision making is one area where gender disparities are most visible, persistent and have proved hard to tackle. Three quarters of the women the researcher interviewed when asked on their take on the equal representation in politics between women and men, they all dismissed the issue saying that politics was an arena for men.

Some further alluded to Dr Joyce Mujuru's case of being the first female to be elected to presidency post in Zimbabwe. They were very much showing concern on how she was stripped off of her duties. They alluded to that scenario in that politics was an arena for men and when a woman enters into politics she will be used and dumped just like what 'they' did to Dr Mujuru. As such, they claimed that they are not interested in politics. In this scenario it is clear that women need to change their attitude so that equality can be achieved in politics and their plights can be easily addressed to because they will be having representation.

On the pre mentioned instance, the researcher goes back to her view of the need of clearing the social realm playing ground because from the perceptions expressed by women it is clearly evident that their mindsets were brainwashed through the way they were socialised, and asking them to change is a different story and as such the AA action policies of bringing women on board make not much of significance.

Since the inception of the ZANU PF government which introduced the AA policies so as to in cooperate women into the operating systems of the state, the women representation in has been fairly very low yet there are AA policies in place. The graph below shows the trends since 1980 to 2013:

Fig2



Statistics adapted from: Engendering politics and parliamentary representation in Zimbabwe.

In analysing the statistics presented above, the researcher concludes to say, the AA policies have not been very effective in in cooperating women into the political field because the figures are relatively lower visa vie the declarations that the state is signatory to. It is only through the introduction of the quota system which saw the number of representation sky rocketing from 14% to 32%.

In support of the researchers view, Respondent A highlighted on the quota system saying ‘ no serious efforts have been put towards the political sector of the country as far as incorporating women is concerned’. The argument was exemplified by alluding to the political parties saying that the ZANU PF political party had so long spoken about having women standing in particular constituencies but the talk was not legislated, it was just a talk to show that as a party they were also sensitive to women issues.

Respondent B, added by saying where ZANU PF had a woman standing in a constituency a male candidate was denied to stand in and was replaced by the rhetoric of having a woman stand in. Also as noted by Dube (2013 unpublished) political parties elected women in constituencies where they were definite of losing. For example ZANU PF placing a female candidate in Bulawayo constituency and MDC placing a candidate at Zwimba Constituency, All the discussions account for the draw back on the effectiveness of the AA in promoting gender balance.

Respondent F on a more radical approach even highlighted that policies revolve around the government in power and in order to be able to achieve gender balance there is need to change the ruling government. They said, ‘the current government continues to give lame excuses. The President failed to meet the gender balance quota in cabinet appointments, he justified it on the basis that there were not enough qualified women, yet when he had a chance to appoint a women as head of the central bank, he went for man instead. She had acted for some time and had experience at the central bank and with AA she would have got the top job. Once again a women was side-lined in favour of a man.

The researcher adds to the notion by saying, with the weak approach at the highest level of government, it’s highly unlikely that there will ever be positive change to achieve gender balance under this government. Moreover, AA has been in existence since 1980, and its progress generally, is slow and inconsistent and its results are poor so far because the government does not reinforce the AA programmes.

Mavhunga (2014) reinforces the argument by saying, in the Zimbabwe situation, there is too much talking and no action. However on another note, the researcher calls for change in attitude from both men who think that issues of gender equality is a waste of time and resources and women who think that they cannot climb the ladder and be at par with men.

4.4.2 The AA and the Quota System

The quota system on another note was welcomed by women with both hands but, however, the research gathered that there are mixed views on this. For starters, through the quota system there has been a sharp increase in the number of women in parliament. Respondent B commented on the quota situation saying, ‘what matters is it quantity or quality?’ The respondent further posed questions asking that ‘in matters of political representation, do numbers really matter especially when bringing people through appointment, what latitude do they have in influencing policy?’ The researcher on that note, concluded that in Zimbabwe it is only a matter of quantity.

Respondent C, argued in a different sense rather and said, quantity matters in political representation because equality is different from sameness. As such women need to be in cooperated into the decision system more in numbers and made Rwanda as reference, on how female parliamentarians manage to turn things around because of their quantity. On that note again, the researcher failed to secure an interview with one female parliamentarian as such

the researcher went on to review the available interview sources which some of the parliamentarians had with some researchers prior this research.

Jessie Majome Harare West MP in an interview with VOA (2015) when she was asked to comment on the quota system. She said it was a good move by the government to adopt it since it has been a wry cry by the WISPU since independence to in cooperate the quota system in the constitution. She further highlighted that the increase in the number of women presentation so far has no impact at all because the quota women are silenced by the elected MPs, they are even labeled 'BACCOSSI' MPs. BACCOSI was a programme started by the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe at the height of the 2007 economic collapse when villagers were given groceries at ridiculously cheap prices.

To the researcher's attention such terminology in parliament is surely disempowering and the Mirrors report (2014) subscribes to notion because they published that 'although there is an increase in the number of women in parliament, the voices are still the same'. Zhangazha (2014) is also on the same view as he argued that given their numbers in parliament, one would have expected to hear more women's voices expressing their sentiments on the variety of topical issues, and standing up and fight for other women who suffer all sorts of prejudices and stereotypes in a patriarchal society.

In assessment of the above scenario, it is clear that in achieving the AA in gender balance there is still a long way especially in politics. Respondent B added on to this saying while the quota system is a good move, it is not the ultimate way to solve the issue of women underrepresentation, there is need to address more fundamental issues that affect women's ability to involve themselves in politics such as resources, education and capacity to lead and stand out. The researcher further cements the notion by saying there is also need for bottom-up approach especially in issues to deal with women involvement in politics because the stance taken by the government of the up down approach is of little relevance and draws back the concept of gender balance through such AA motives.

4.5 THE NEW CONSTITUTION AS AN AA TOOL.

The new Constitution, Amendment No.20 of 2013 is a great improvement from the Lancaster House Constitution and was commended by Nyemba (2013) as one of the democratic constitutions a country can have because it addresses issues of gender equality. According to Chinyoka, (2013) the new Constitution is replacing an imperfect Constitution with one that

just uses more words, sections and subsections to achieve an equally unsatisfactory result is okay for a burial society. It is however not okay for a country, Zimbabweans and women in Zimbabwe in particular, deserve better.

On that note, the researcher argues from Chinyoka's perception by agreeing to Nyemba's (2013) view that the 1980 Constitution was masculine in its, language. 'He' and 'him' were used throughout in a way that assumes that the masculine embraces the feminine, while the words 'she' and 'her' appeared nowhere. Taking into consideration that the Constitution is the supreme law of the country surely the Constitution (2013) is a great improvement from the Lancaster House Constitution and addressing issues of AA in promoting gender balance.

Moreover, Zimbabwe is party to three international agreements on the rights of women at the international, regional and sub-regional levels: the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), the Protocol to the African Union Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (Maputo Protocol) and the Southern African Development Community (SADC) Protocol on Gender and Development. All three agreements enjoin member states to have Constitutions which adequately address the rights and needs of women, and the new constitution of (2013), has addressed that and credit can be given to it thus addressing issues of gender equality and pursuing AA action.

However, the ZWLA appraisal and criticism document of the Constitution asserts that the preamble of the Constitution recognises the contribution of women and men in the liberation struggle of Zimbabwe. Nyemba (2013) adds that it also affirms a commitment to the rule of law and a respect for human rights and freedoms. It does not, however, affirm the principle of equality and respect for the inherent dignity of all persons regardless of sex. Taking a glimpse at the constitution, the researcher saw the fault and suggested that the preamble could be improved by including the concept of equality as one of the core values of the nation since it poses as an introduction to the whole document.

In one of its clauses, the Constitution further addresses the issues of discrimination against women. One of the weaknesses of the Declaration of rights under the Lancaster Constitution is its failure to provide for a complete set of grounds upon which discrimination is prohibited. Notable exclusions are culture, class and ethnic origin.

Equality and non-discrimination are provided for under the new Constitution which, first, states that all individuals have equality before the law and both genders have the right to equal treatment in all spheres of life including political, economic, cultural and social spheres. And makes it clear that affirmative measures are contemplated and required to promote equality and to protect or advance people or classes of people who have been disadvantaged by unfair discrimination.

On The Right to Personal Security, which is crafted in the new constitution is a very the researcher noted that right to personal security is an important right for the women of Zimbabwe as it provides the right to bodily and psychological integrity, including the right to be free from violence, make decisions about one's reproduction and right to informed consent prior to participating in medical experiments or the extraction of bodily tissue. However, on this note ZWLA and Msasa Project respondents argued from a different perspective and stated that, the importance of the constitutional right to be free from private violence cannot be overstated as the high prevalence of violence against women (VAW) presents a major obstacle to the empowerment of women and girls in Zimbabwe. They went on to support their assertions by providing statistical data, it is estimated that 25% of all women experience sexual abuse, 47% are physically abused and 57% are emotionally abused.

Furthermore, women in the new constitution are given one perplexing privilege that they are excluded from being subject to the death penalty. One male interviewee on this issue said there is little justification for making a distinction between men and women for the consequences of crimes committed by them. In fact doing so, reflects a form of discrimination between the sexes on the responsibilities and privileges of citizenship. In reflecting on discrimination, the researcher referred to the definition of AA proffered by Respondent C that 'AA is positive discrimination' and they justified the privilege of exempting women from death penalty saying 'equality is different from sameness and equality means giving privileges to a previously disadvantaged group and in this case, women'. As such, women deserved the privilege. On this note, the researcher took a stance that this privilege needs to be revised because it violates the provisions of the AA of equality and the researcher defines it differently from the ZWLA's definition and defines it as a state of being equal.

Women who venture out into the public sphere suffer special risks emanating from gender stereotypes and cultural attitudes about the “proper place of a woman.” These attitudes often translate into workplace discrimination against women in earnings, opportunities for upward mobility and sexual harassment. Women also require special attention of the needs created by their reproductive roles such as adequate maternity leave and benefits and child care.

The Lancaster Constitution rather did not address workplace issues (Nyemba 2013). These were only dealt with under the Labour Act (Chapter 28:01), which contains provisions on equal pay for equal work, maternity leave and benefits and definition and prohibition of sexual harassment. It was the women’s position that the core workplace rights ought to be provided for in the Constitution as a fundamental right where they enjoy full protection rather than in an Act of Parliament.

As such, Rights related to the workplace are provided for under the new Constitution. clauses provides that women have a right to equal remuneration for equal work and provides that women employees have a right to fully paid maternity leave for a period of at least three months. This is in line with the minimum standards set under the ILO Conventions. This is a clear sign showing commitment towards AA policies aimed at promoting gender balance. These provisions are progressive and welcome but they fall short of addressing the full scope of labour issues from a gender perspective. To reflect the concerns of CEDAW Article 11 and General Recommendation 19, the provision should ensure women have the equal rights to benefits and privileges of employment such as promotions and the right to freedom from sexual harassment in the workplace.

Moreover, the Parliament is the highest representative body and the most important policy making authority in the country. Thus the provision in the constitution that women should be represented as Ministers and Deputy Ministers in every sector to ensure their impact on policy-making and programme implementation. The constitution further addresses this issue by indicating that the appointment of Ministers and Deputy Ministers must take into account ethnic, regional and gender balance considerations.

Practically, the researcher observed that the importance of women’s significant and equal presence in the country’s leadership, in particular in government, cannot be overstated. Respondent A supported the researchers view and said under the current government women are marginalised because the government continues to give lame excuses. When the President failed to meet the gender balance quota in cabinet appointments, he justified it on the basis that there were not enough qualified women, yet when he had a chance to appoint a women

as head of the central bank, he went for man instead. She had acted for some time and had experience at the central bank and with AA put in practise she would have got the top job. But once again a women was side-lined in favour of a man. With the weak approach at the highest level of government, it's highly unlikely that there will ever be positive change to achieve gender balance under this government.

In a nutshell, the analysis of the constitution as an AA aimed at addressing and redressing gender inequality issues, though this mechanism is a step in the right direction to women's equal representation, the provisions lack implementation so that gender balance is achieved, hence achieving positive AA results.

4.6 Chapter Summary

The chapter focused on presentation, interpretation and analysis of the research findings. Data was gathered through in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, documentary review, observations and informal conversational interviews and was presented in line with the themes highlighted in Chapter two.

CHAPTER 5-CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter summarises research findings of the main rationale of this research which was to analyse the effectiveness of the AA in promoting gender balance in Zimbabwe. Recommendations will follow thereafter hence the end of the study.

5.2 Summary of research findings.

Research findings showed that in Zimbabwe proper legislation is in place which are in line with AA to promote gender equality but they lack proper implementation, monitoring and evaluation. As such AA in promoting gender balance is not very effective, more still needs to be done in order to achieve desired results.

5.3 Conclusions

5.3.1 The role played by the government of Zimbabwe in adopting AA policies aimed at promoting gender balance.

The government of Zimbabwe has covered much ground in terms of adopting AA policies aimed at promoting gender balance in Zimbabwe as evidenced by the various international and regional protocols which Zimbabwe is signatory to. Domestically, various Acts such as the legal age of Majority Act, Labour Act and Domestic Violence Act amongst others were also enacted. Such moves clearly show that the Zimbabwean government is sensitive to women's plights. However, research finding clearly showed that to a greater extent, all these moves are active only on paper and not in practical terms because they lack proper implementation and monitoring and evaluation.

5.3.2 The effectiveness of the AA programmes in promoting gender balance in Zimbabwe.

In conducting the research, the researcher subdivided the AA policies and programmes to fit into the three stratification sectors of the lives of people, thus, the social realm, the economic realm and the political realm and conclusions will be proffered as such.

5.3.2.1 AA in the social realm.

The social realm proved to be the foundation and the main key to the emancipation of women as far as attaining gender equality in Zimbabwe is concerned in line with AA programmes and policies put in place. Research showed that the social livelihood of people is directly proportional to the economic and political livelihood of people. As such a negative attitude in the social realm will have a negative impact in the economic and political realms.

On paper women and men in Zimbabwe are equal but practically, men continue to marginalise women and women have accepted their subordinate positions and are doing nothing to change it. As a result such attitudes affect very much and negatively the efforts aimed at by AA policies to bridge the gap between females and males. Hence, the partial effectiveness of AA with more negatives than positives.

5.3.2.2 AA in the economic realm.

On this aspect the researcher centered the research on the education system, agriculture and the labour force. In education, research proved that great strides have been made in this sector. To start with, Zimbabwe ranks second in Africa with a high literacy rate. Findings further shown that in primary education and the lower levels of secondary education Zimbabwe attains gender balance in enrolment circles. However, the gap in enrolment widens in favour of male students as the ladder of the education system goes higher.

Reasons for the widening gaps in tertiary education goes back to the social realm in that culturally, people are still clinging to the perception that it is wise to educate a boy child than a girl child and at home all the dirty work is a preserve for the girl child while the boy child is left to study. Such attitudes result in the AA programmes losing their authentic value and in this case reaching to an egalitarian society becomes nothing but just a white elephant.

Results from the findings also showed that high numbers of males in tertiary education results in them getting better opportunities in the job market and as such top management positions continue to be filled by males. This shows that Zimbabwe still has a long way to achieve gender balance in the labour force through AA policies because they lack reinforcement.

5.3.2.3 AA in the political realm.

Research findings showed that of all the three sectors of the livelihood of people, the political realm irregardless of the AA programmes put in place to in-cooperate women at equal footing with men, the biggest gap still exists in politics and it will take centuries if not millenniums to

cover it up. To start with, the terms used in politics surely do not welcome women on board, for example, 'politics is a dirty game'. Such terms scare women away.

In Zimbabwe, results have shown that political advances of women on the surface seem to be victories but are burdens to women because they are one-sided victories because women get the worst treatment in the political field as evidenced by the dismissal of the female Vice President and women offered definite losing constituencies during elections amongst others. As such, the effectiveness AA policies become vague.

5.4 The Constitution in addressing the concept of the AA in securing gender equality in Zimbabwe.

The constitution as the supreme law of the country acknowledges the promotion of gender balance as one its objectives. However, in analysing the constitution the researcher found out that the constitution addresses the issue of gender balance partially and as such this draws back the progress of attaining gender equality in Zimbabwe hence the effectiveness of AA becomes nebulous.

5.5 Recommendations.

There is always a solution to every problem. Below is a list of recommendations which were gathered during research and the researcher believes that if they are used alongside with the existing AA policies and programmes, a gender balanced society will be achieved.

- (i) Use of the bottom-up approach when addressing gender issues.
- (ii) Anti-discrimination policy - to prevent discrimination against women on grounds such as culture and gender.
- (iii) Equal Opportunities Policy - to ensure that women are guaranteed equal opportunities with their male counterparts
- (iv) Modernisation policy- to ensure that cultural practices and customs that disempower and exclude women are expunged
- (v) Exclusion of Women from the Death Penalty- should be taken under consideration without making distinction between men and women to truly promote equality and non-discrimination.

(vi) Budgeting for Women's Equality and Advancement- the Constitution should reflect a mandate for gender-responsive budgeting (GRB), government planning, programming and budgeting that contributes to the advancement of gender equality and the fulfillment of women's rights.

(vii) Compulsory awareness campaigns- to ensure that both women and men are sensitized.

5.6 Summary

Overall, the researcher gathered that in the Zimbabwe context proper legislation measures are in place which are in line with AA to promote gender equality but they lack proper implementation, monitoring and evaluation. As such AA in promoting gender balance is not very effective and more still needs to be done in order to achieve desired results.

REFERENCE LIST.

- Alby , P. (2010). "The Zimbabwean experience: Black occupational advancement in the 1980's". London: Halfway House.
- Amoah.R. (1997)."Affirmative Action and Equity in a Multi- Ethnic Society". University of the Western Cape. Cape town.
- Books, B. (1992).Feminism is for Everybody : Passionate Politics. South End Press; Cambridge
- Becker, A. (1982). "Equality and affirmative action".Center for Development Affirmative action in a newSouth Africa.The apartheid legacy and comparactive international experiences and mechanisms of enforcement. Bellville: UWC
- Browns K. (2005). The reverse discrimination controversy: A moral and legal analysis. Totowa, N.J.: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Carmen Y. (2002). "Affirmative action in Zimbabwe: A private sector case study". Innes,D., Kentridge, M., and Perold, H. (eds). Reverse Discrimination.Affirmative action in the workplace. Cape Town: Oxford University Press .
- Chabaya, R.K.W. (2001). "Affirmative action in education, health, welfare and employment". Center for Development Studies, University of the Western Cape.Affirmative action in a new South Africa.The apartheid legacy and comparactive international experieees of enforcement. Bellville: UWC (27-33). Herbst, J. (1990). State Politics in Zimbabwe. Harare: University of Zimbabwe.
- Charvet, D. and Kavari, K. (2003).Affirmative action for women in local government in Namibia. Windhoek: LAC.
- Chinyayi, R. (2014). "The current debate on affirmative action."Development and Democracy 6, September 2014.
- Chirimuta, H. (2010). "Affirmative action in a non-racial democratic Southern Africa."Center for Development Studies, University of the Western Cape.Affirmative action in a new South Africa.The apartheid legacy and comparative international experiences of enforcement. Bellville: UWC.
- Chirimuuta, C. (2006)Gender and the Zimbabwe Education Policy: Empowerment or Perpetuation of Gender Imbalances? Quiet Mountain essays
<http://www.quietmountainessays.org/chirimuuta>.
- Cott, N.F. (1987). The Grounding of Modern Feminism. Yale University Press, New Haven
- Dahl, T.S. (1987).Women's law: an introduction to feminist jurisprudence. Oslo, Norwegian University Press
- Dahlerup, F. et.al. (2003). Black Women Worker. Durban: Madiba Publishers

- Days, T. (1993). "Affirmative action in South Africa: A genuine option?". Harare: University of Zimbabwe.
- Densombe, V.. (2007). "The civil service: transition and affirmative action." Hugo, P. (ed.) Redistribution and affirmative action. Working on South Africa's political economy. Halfway House: Southern .
- Dube, W. (2013). "The 'Land Question' in Zimbabwe: 10 years after." Southern African Political and Economic Monthly, journal.
- Frank, M. (2009). "Affirmative action in public employment."Centerfor Development Studies, University of the Western Cape.
- Foyita, A. (2009). Advancing human rights in South Africa. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.
- Gaidzanwa, B. (1985) Images of Women in Zimbabwean Literature. Gweru: Mambo Press.
- Ghafari , A. (2008). Affirmative action and black advancement in business. Cape Town: South African Constitution Study Center.
- Goddard , M. (2009). Affirmative action: Its possibilities and limitations. Durban: University of Natal.
- Gray, P. (2009). Doing Research in the Real World. California: Sage Publishers
- Gudhlanga, N. (2011). "Affirmative action: Its origin and point." South African Journal of Human Rights 8(2).
- Gudhlanga, E.S. 2010. Gender Dynamics in Shona Culture: The Case of Yvonne Vera's Novels. Saarbrücken : VDM Verlag Publishing.
- Hadebe L. (2009). Zimbabwe: Politics, Economics and Society. London: Printer Publishers.
- Human Rights Monitor, February 2014, Human Rights Forum: Harare.
- International Center for Research on Women (1996) Vulnerability and Opportunity: Adolescents and HIV/AIDS in the Developing World, Washington DC: International Center for Research on Women.
- Kazembe, C.A. (1982.) Educational administration in a pluralistic society. New York: Albany State University.
- Kenneth, M. (1993). "Affirmative action: The international experience." Development and Democracy 4, May 1993 (1 - 15).
- Magaisa, A. (2015). Beyond the Rhetoric of Gender Equality: Is the School System and Agent of Change? Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa, 12 (7): 30-45.
- Mahlaule, D. (1982). Feminist writing in the Context of Listening and Culture: A Comparative Study of TsitsiDangarembga's Nervous Conditions and the Film Script Neria. M.A Thesis, University of Natal: Department of English.

- Makombe, O. and Geroy, E.S. (2009). Striving to achieve Gender Equity in Education: Opportunities and Challenges, Paper Presented at the Southern African Society for Education (SASE) Conference, University of the North, Pietersburg, South Africa, 27-29 September.
- Maphai, N. (1993). The persistence of gender inequality in Zimbabwe: Factors that impede the advancement of women into leadership positions in primary schools. South African Journal of Education,
- Mavhunga J.(2014). The Gender Sensitivity of the Zimbabwean Secondary School Textbooks. Southern African Review of Education (SACHES),
- Meyer, C. (1990). NGOs, Gender, Culture and Multiculturalism: A Zimbabwean View. Gender and Development. London: Sage
- Munroe, L.(2001) Equal Opportunities in Educational Management Institutions of Higher Learning: An Agenda for Gender. Zambezia, 1(30): 1-18.
- National Partnership for Women and Families (2008) Shutting them out: Opportunities and challenges of female participation in Zimbabwean politics - A Gendered perspective, Paper presented at the SEPHIS Women and the Public Sphere Workshop, Baku (Azerbaijan), 18-21 June. Kane, E. 2008.
- Ndlovu, J.J. (2013) Zimbabwe Women Politicians from Precolonial Era. The Herald 23 September. <http://allafrica.com/stories/200909230032.html> Accessed on 10 October 2015, 07:19 hrs.
- Ngwenya, E. (1983) Gender Mainstreaming Training Manual, Gender Mainstreaming Workshop. Addis Ababa, Ethiopia 2-7 Dec 2007.
- Nyemba, E.S.(2013). Miles or mirages? Women and the Public Sphere in Zimbabwe. Saarbrücken: VDM Verlag Publishing.
- Nyerere, J. (1984) 3rd World Conference on Women: African Preparatory Conference. Journal accessed on <http://africanwomenorganisation/social> sciences
- Peters G. (2005) The Radical Future of Liberal Feminism. New York: Longman.
- Rodgers, B. (2010). Deceptive Distinctions: Sex, Gender and the Social Order. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Shvedova, S.J et al eds. (2012). Women in Politics & Decision-making: A Gendered Political Analysis. Women in Law and Development in Africa (WiLDAF), Harare.
- Sridharan F. and Patricia A. Roos. (2009). Job Queues, Gender Queues: Explaining Women's Inroads into Male Occupations. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Stones, S. (1997). Gender Stereotyping: Transnational Legal Perspectives. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia
- Symth, J .(2012). Men and Women of the Corporation. New York: Basic Books.

Rutororo, M. (2012) Gender Setting: New Agendas for Media Monitoring and Advocacy. London: Zed Books.

Zvobgo, R. (2009) Defining women: Social Institutions and Gender Divisions. Oxford: Polity Press.

UNDP Country analysis Report (2014)

United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) Report (2010)

UNICEF (2010)

The Constitution of Zimbabwe Ammendment No. 20 of 2013.

The Lancaster House Constitution.

The Holy Bible: Youth Bible-global edition.

APPENDIX A

MIDLANDS STATE UNIVERSITY



FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICS AND PUBLIC MANAGEMENT

INTERVIEW GUIDE

The researcher is a final year student at the Midlands State University, pursuing an honorary degree in Politics and Public Management. She is conducting interviews as a tool to collect data, so that she will be able to fill the literature gap which exists in the current discourse in relation with her research topic entitled, 'An analysis of the effectiveness of the Affirmative Action in promoting gender balance in Zimbabwe'. Your assistance in taking part in the interview is greatly appreciated. Your response shall be kept confidential, and only used for academic reference.

Regards,

Ms ThenjiweNdlovu.

Questions:

1. Issues pertaining to Affirmative Action (AA) and gender balance make the order of the day in Zimbabwe, in that almost on a daily basis, we hear of gender balance through the media. In your own understanding what is AA, relating it to gender in Zimbabwe context?
2. Since 1980, AA programmes and policies have been erected by the government of Zimbabwe and also there are organisations whose sole purpose is to safeguard the

- aims and gains of the AA. In your own understanding, how much ground do you see has been covered by the AA policies in enhancing gender balance?
3. The new Constitution Amendment No.20 of (2013) reinforces on equality between women and men. In your own view, does the Constitution fully address the concept of AA in securing gender parity?
 4. Various legal frameworks have been adopted in Zimbabwe with the motive to promote gender balance. For example, the Legal Age of Majority Act of 1982, and the quota system, among others. Do you think such frameworks facilitates or frustrates the progress of AA in promoting gender balance in Zimbabwe?
 5. In issues pertaining to gender equality, women are at some instances given special privileges over men. Taking a glimpse at enrolment at universities, girls are admitted with lower points than boys. Another look at the Constitution, women are exempted from the death sentence penalty. In its objectives the AA, poses to bring equality between women and men but in the pre-mentioned instances, we see marginalisation of men. With such privileges proffered to women, do you think the AA is a fair concept?
 6. One can say the Affirmative action in promoting gender balance has its achievements and failures in Zimbabwe. With that argument in mind, do you foresee AA attaining the 50/50 target of proportional representation or we can simply dismiss the issue of gender parity as something that only exists only on paper and not in practise?
 7. In relation to other African states, in implementing the AA policies in enhancing gender balance, do you think Zimbabwe can be used as referral state? For instance, as far as the quota system in concerned. Rwanda has 58% female representation in Parliament and constant reference is made to it as a nation because it has attained more than 50% seats for women in parliament. As such do you think, such a reference, can be done to Zimbabwe with regards to its social, economic or political AA action achievements?
 8. After all has been said, what do you think needs to be done to catalyse the AA policies in order to have a gender balanced Zimbabwe?

Thank You for your time and co-operation

