

**Midlands State University**



**Faculty of Social Sciences**

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**AN EXAMINATION OF FACTORS AFFECTING THE PARTICIPATION OF  
WOMEN IN MACRO GOVERNANCE . THE CASE OF WOMEN'S COALITION OF  
ZIMBABWE (WCoZ 2000- 2014)**

**BY:**

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*This dissertation is submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the Bachelor of  
Science in Politics and Public Management, Honours Degree to Midlands State University,  
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## **Declarations**

I, Tapiwa M Mhuka, sincerely declare that this dissertation is my original work and has not been previously submitted to any other university. Proper citations and acknowledgements in line with the copyright and ethical requirements have been strictly adhered to in writing this text.

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## **Dedication**

This dissertation is dedicated to my father Michael MMhuka for his firm belief in the richness of learning and my mother SpiweMhuka for her unwavering support and prayers.

## **Abstract**

*Gender inequalities still characterise the leadership of Zimbabwe ,although a newly enacted constitution, Amendment number 20 and a number of international conventions ,protocols and declarations that affirm the achievement of gender equality have been signed and ratified. Literature is awash with traditional factors ( cultural,religious economic and socio political) that hinder the advancement of women in governance and leaves gaps in the context of modern factors, particularly those factors that affect African states when it comes to achieving 50/50 representation at macro level. It is from that background that the main purpose of the research sought to examine modern day factors that disturb or hinder the participation and involvement of women in macro governance that is the highest form of decision making in the private and public sector.The research focused on the experiences of the Women’s Coalition of Zimbabwe during the election period between 2000 and 2014 and incorporated political parties that is ZANU PF and the MDC T to solicit political party information. In addition three government ministries were included to gather and represent public sector information in relation to women and macro governance . Likewise NANGO ,WCoZ and the two political parties represented the private sector. In the form of a survey the research purposively identified the organisations that participated and by random sampling distributed questionnaires to respondents from the organisations under study.Premised on the Liberal Feminist theory and McFadden’s contribution to the 21<sup>st</sup> Century ,the research’ primary data identified the differences and similarities in the status of women in public and private sector groups as well as the factors affecting the position of women. The research’ secondary data presented facts that confirmed the barriers to women’s participation in macro governance particularly during election phases. Local print media was also incorporated in the analysis of secondary data as it presented current facts in the case of the ousted Vice president, Dr J. Mujuru and its impact to the Women’s Agenda in governance issues. In light of the findings the research recommends strategies that the Civil Society in partnership with the Government of Zimbabwe need to adopt to improve the status of women in governance and advance the participation of both ordinary and influential women in Zimbabwe’s macro governance.*

## **List of acronyms**

ART	Agenda for Real Transformation
AU	African Union
CEDAW against women	Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination
COPAC	Committee of parliament on the new Constitution organisation
GNU	Government of National Unity
GPA	Global Political Agreement
IDEA	Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance
JOMIC	Joint Monitoring and Implementation Committee
MDC-T	Movement for Democratic Change- Tsvangirai
MSU	Midlands State University
MWAGCD	Ministry of Women Affairs Gender&Community Development
NANGO	National Association for Non Governmental Organisations
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
ONHRI	Organ on Healing ,Reconciliation and Intergration
SADC	Southern African Development Community
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
WCoZ	Women's Coalition of Zimbabwe
WIPSU	Women In Politics Support Unit
WLSA	Women and Law in Southern Africa
WSSD	World Summit on Social Development



ZANU PF	Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front
ZEC	Zimbabwe Electoral Commission
ZESN	Zimbabwe Election Support Network

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# **CHAPTER ONE**

## **1.0 TITLE OF THE RESEARCH**

An Examination of factors influencing the participation of women in macro governance. The case of Women's Coalition of Zimbabwe (WCoZ 2000-2014).

## **1.2 INTRODUCTION**

The WCoZ is a network of more than 73 women's associations and registered organisations with national structures and more than 100 individual women's rights activists. WCoZ performs the part of coordination, working as the system's 'secretariat'. Its secretariat team issues it a definitive ability to charge a taking after at whatever point a need emerges in its participation and to ordinary Zimbabwean women.

WCoZ's directing is felt on national level through WCoZ's 10 chapters covering; Harare, Chinhoyi, Mutare, Marondera, Bindura, Bulawayo, Masvingo, Kariba, Gweru and Gwanda. WCoZ mandate is to facilitate, coordinate activities, launching dialog with the Ministry of Women Affairs, Gender and Community Development for member organisations and drawing in significant partners in discussions of national improvement.

Womens' Coalition of Zimbabwe coordination part is evidenced by the constitution making procedure which started in 2009 and finished in 2013. WCoZ engaged with partners, for example, the Ministry of Constitutional Affairs, COPAC, Organ on Healing Reconciliation and Intergration (ONHRI), Ministry of Women Affairs, Gender and Community Development (MWAGCD) and additionally Women's Parliamentary Caucus to address women's issues. WCoZ coordinated its members to partake effectively in all phases of the constitution making process and was subsequently in charge of the mass mobilisation of women in all provinces of Zimbabwe. WCoZ guaranteed that its membership and ordinary women by and large were informed with all the constitution progress as it collected data. WCoZ facilitated all the exercises

amid the constitution making process and campaigned for the incorporation of women in the COPAC structures and additionally in the outreach team and drafting group. It furnished COPAC with names of two hundred (200) women with applicable capabilities and qualifications (a degree in addition to) to select from; for the outreach team and different processes, to guarantee the incorporation of women.

More so WCoZ mass mobilisation of women in Zimbabwe; reaching every grassroots constituency brought about the consolidation of women requests and demands which produces the 'Women's Charter', the first in Zimbabwe. WCoZ master dynamic procedure gave over the revised Women's Charter to COPAC as an asset in the drafting of the constitution. COPAC conferred itself to utilizing the document as one of its assets in the constitution making. Thus A gender analysis directed by UN Women in 2013 showed that 75% of women's requests were incorporated in the final constitution. SADC Barometer (2013).

WCoZ significance is clear in the context of its operation at national level with its member organisations and provincial chapters implementing on the ground. In this manner through its accreditation to observe elections in Zimbabwe, WCoZ has figured out how to formulate dialogue on gender, governance and decision making from local to national level. WCoZ has convened National Consultative Dialogues in partnership with the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC), and managed to engage all stakeholders relevant in electoral processes that is civil society, government and inter governmental organisations.

WCoZ has also played a lead and key role in pushing forward the women's agenda, by developing a position paper which reinforced the establishment of the constitutional stipulated Gender Commission and other autonomous Commissions that support gender equity.

### **1.3 DEFINATION OF TERMS:**

"***Factor***" this alludes to a constituent or component that realizes certain impacts or results, showing a particular result, an element ventured to influence. Oxford English Dictionary (OED.com)

"***Participation***" in sociology alludes to diverse components for general society to express conclusions and especially apply influence, in regards to political or economic administration of other social choices. Organisational exercises may be propelled from a managerial, or a subject point of view on an administration level. Fanoli (2014)

"***Macro Governance***" alludes to the activity of political, economic and authoritative power to deal with a country's issues. It is the complex systems, processes and organizations through which citizens and political parties verbalize their opinions, practice their legitimate rights and obligations.(UNDP)

### **1.4 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY**

Women' s participation in macro governance in Zimbabwe has dependably been a challenge; starting with the battle for the acknowledgment of women's rights, which was allowed as of late in the recently changed Constitution of Zimbabwe, Amendment number 20 in 2013. A main consideration influencing the participation of women,over and above is the traditional patriarchal framework or in less complex terms a male ruled society. In spite of the fact that women's rights are ensured, protected by legislation that must be adhered to; the stereotyped attitudes of men and other women remain as an immense hindrance to reasonable or absolute participation of women in macro governance in the Zimbabwean governing system and institutions of national impact or influence.

In addition to patriarchy, women who want to pursue politics face even greater problems. Amongst them incorporates; weak laws relating to gender disparities, violence against women, woman versus woman crisis (pull down effect) political barriers, exceptional measures like the reserved quota for women that incite wrong attitudes, election hindrances, party structures, academic foundation and individual issues. This is the standard particularly in nations where the challenge for political dominance is extraordinary and savage. Zimbabwe is such a nation in which a female political nominee can be booted out of national office regardless of the shockingly low levels of women representation in macro governance. Reeler (2011)

According to Chirawu (2009) the support of women in decision making involves a 'responsive and favourable' to all governance framework. In Zimbabwe, women's under representation in macro governance has been identified by the women's movement as an active catalyst powering the absence of sustainable women's empowerment. In Zimbabwe women constitute most of the populace (52% of the population) and in many areas of the nation are the poorest and disempowered.

Since 2000, the Women's Coalition of Zimbabwe standing as an independent movement has pushed and contended for 'critical mass representation' to be attained. This has been pointed principally at national structures, institutions and organizations, henceforth addressing women's governance at macro level. Those in support of this strategy postulate the opinion that women's representation unites different commitments to the exercises and nature of decision making. Hence in efforts aimed at accomplishing this; different organisations and the donor community through the Women's Coalition of Zimbabwe have been devoted to advancing, bringing issues to light, soliciting and battling for female parliamentary candidates. Outstanding achievement has been noted for instance as the unique established measure; the stipulated reserved quota that expanded women's representation by 30%. At the same time, throughout the execution of this measure Zimbabwean women persevered through a political draw back that remind them how far they still have to go to establish their political representation at macro level.



### **1.5 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM**

The research is an examination of the barriers that hinder the participation of women in macro governance, with reference to WCoZ's experience in Zimbabwean elections (2000-2014) and the general position of women in private and public sector entities.

### **1.6 JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY**

The research seeks to fill the knowledge gap in the extent to which the processes that guide the selection and participation of women have turned out to be independent obstacles that hinder the representation of women in macro governance. The examination precisely takes the shape of establishing a factual review or knowledge base on the position of women in private and open institutions, experiences of female voters and candidates during election processes, the lessons learnt and the impact of the stipulated reserved quota for women in the 2013 harmonised elections.

### **1.7 RESEARCH (Examination) QUESTIONS**

1. What has caused the drop in female candidates and female voters participating in elections?
2. What factors contribute to the imbalances in decision making in both the private and public sector?
3. What are the major effects of lack of representation on the ordinary Zimbabwean woman?
4. What processes are central in elimination of the problem?
5. What recommendations can be applied to solve the problem?

## **1.8 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES**

1. To establish factors that caused the drop in female candidates and female voters participating in elections.
2. To establish factors that cause representation imbalances in the private and public sector.
3. To establish the major effects as a result of lack of representation to the ordinary Zimbabwean woman.
4. To examine processes that are central in elimination of the problem.
5. To establish strategies that promote the participation of women in macro governance.

## **METHODOLOGY**

### **1.9 Research Design**

To get as wide a point of view as could be expected under the circumstances, various information gathering techniques were utilized to triangulate results, examinations and conclusions in this study. According to created extent of examination, information gathering was conducted through both qualitative and quantitative examination systems. An array of tools, that include, open-ended and closed questionnaires as well as in depth and semi structured interviews were used.

## **1.10 STUDY LIMITATIONS**

- a)** Timeframe... like all studies conducted over a short time the researcher faced the challenge of adequate time to collect data and cover a large scope of the research work, hence the sample was very small.
- b)** Coverage... whilst every effort was made to distribute a number of questionnaires and interview all participants the researcher failed to cover all areas due to location constraints and restricted access particularly in political party organisations and governmental related areas.
- c)** Establishing a factual picture.....significant beliefs of participants, attitudes and fear of victimisation at times clouded the capacity of the respondents to give factual information.

## **1.11 DELIMITATIONS**

- a)** Geography..... the study only covered WCoZ headquarters in Harare as well as private and public organisations in Harare.
- b)** Time factor.....the period covering the study was from the year 2000 up to year 2014.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **2.0 INTRODUCTION**

This part of the research presents a review of scholarly work that has been done in Zimbabwe and globally concerning positions of women in macro governance. The writing will incorporate the accompanying subtitles ; The Political Situation of Women in Macro Governance , The International Status of Women, The Role of the International Community, Obstacles to Women's Participation, The Status of Women in Africa and Strategies projected to Improve and Enhance Women's Participation in Macro Governance.

#### **2.1 THE POLITICAL SITUATION OF WOMEN IN MACRO GOVERNANCE**

In past research that has been conducted, on factors affecting women's participation in macro governance; a significant part of the writing has centred around the general political, social and economic barriers . According to Shvedova (2005) the factors that disturb or advance women's political participation vary with the level of economic capacity, geography, society, and the kind of political system in any nation, it is along these lines imperative that one underlines the need to comprehend the political setting in which this examination will work and just as critical the way that this research will be concentrated in Zimbabwe ; an underdeveloped nation and in Africa.

Hence in that regard ,the political environment of Zimbabwe in the new millenium is one that can be labelled as a "political crisis" ,with respect to issues of women's participation at macro level. A research done by Women's Coalition of Zimbabwe (2009) 'Women's participation in transitional bodies' and from that point, the research highlights that; Zimbabwe has experienced an unusual period of political instability with reference to issues of decision making, human rights, and democratization being the real setback. More over despite the serious advocacy around women's participation in recent years which saw the signing, ratification and confirmation of protocols, major

declarations and conventions, women are still absent or few in many areas of governance, excluded in high positions of decision making in macro governance.

According to Shvedova (2005) the elimination of women from decision making positions restricts the conceivable outcomes for maintaining the standards of democracy in any society. The end likewise disturbs economic empowerment and does not propel the achievement of gender equality. In this light one may propose the gap that the latter creates by mentioning the environmental components that influence the participation of women that is political, economic and in addition social factors and on the other extreme end; neglecting other aspects that inhibit participation that is ; The monopolising of the political process by man, unique measures like the reserved quota that could incite wrong attitudes, election and voter registration processes as well as political party structures that undermine the capacity of women or the traditional pattern of female representative or appointee to the position of deputy /vice at almost every macro level of governance in third world countries.

## **2.2 THE INTERNATIONAL STATUS OF WOMEN**

Two articles of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) manage women's participation in politics and issues of governance. Article 7 confers political parties to guarantee fairness between women and men in political and public life, including the privilege to vote, to be qualified for elections, to partake in detailing government strategy or policy, to hold government office and to perform public capacities. The Convention incorporates the privilege to partake in non-administrative organisations and different affiliations. Article 8 obliges State political parties to guarantee that women have equal circumstances with men to speak to their administrations at the international level and to take an interest in the work of universal organisations.

The Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women gave extra guidelines in the execution of the Convention in 1997 in its General Recommendation 23, which highlighted the use of the Convention to all levels of government and to the exercises of a scope of organisations concerned with public and political life, including boards, local chambers or councils, and the

exercises of political parties, exchange unions , trade unions and expert or academic affiliations. General Recommendation 23 additionally expressed that: "It is the Government's central obligation to urge these activities to lead and aide popular assessment and change mindsets that victimize women or bring down women' s inclusion in political and public life."

The significance of the issue of women's inclusion in macro governance has been perceived inside the structure of the Millennium Development Goals. One of the pointers for observing Millennium Development Goal 3 on gender equity is the extent of seats held by women in national parliaments.

The 2005 World Summit Outcome reaffirmed the responsibilities to expanded representation of women in government choice making bodies, including chances to take part completely in the political procedure.

The Copenhagen Declaration of the World Summit on Social Development (WSSD) required the acknowledgment of women's rights, their strengthening and cooperation in all levels of decision making. The principle target of the announcement is that the input of women in the formulation, usage and assessment of policies decides a working society and state.

More over, Oxaal and Baden (1997) postulate the view that the Report of the UN Fourth World Conference on women called its stage " a plan for women's cap citation," subsequently maintaining and keeping up the equivalent imparting of political power between men and women at each level of impact.

According to Tommasoli (2012) evidence demonstrates that women's rights in governmental issues and decision making is an area in which moderate advancement has happened and limited additions made. Advancement has not been considerable in legislative bodies at national and local levels .In this regard this makes it hard to implement arrangements and policies on the participation of women in parliament, senior positions in the public sector and local

government level. Yet one of the discriminating ranges of concern in the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action is:

"Women's strengthening and their full inclusion on the premise of uniformity in all circles of society, incorporating participation in the decision making process and access to power, are crucial for the accomplishment of fairness, advancement and peace" (Beijing Declaration, United Nations 1995)

Tommasoli (2012) is additionally of the assessment that, efforts made to deliberately improve the presence of women in macro level governance have created a few outcomes but not yet yielded accomplishments to date, practically identical to the desires of Beijing 1995. As of May 2012, women make under 20% of legislators (men still have 80.2% and women just 19.8% of parliamentary seats) They have been prominently under represented in the official branch of government, and only recently have progressively held the top profile portfolios for their legislatures in non-traditional territories for women in government, for example, national security, defence, finance, income affairs and foreign affairs.

### **2.3 THE ROLE OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY**

The United Nations responsibility to achieving gender fairness is of crucial significance for the accomplishment of gender equality fairness goals. In May 2011 the UN reaffirmed such responsibility at the largest amount at a round table composed with International IDEA on gender equality and democracy. From that background the United Nations for Women focused on the view that, while women's political inclusion enhances democratic principles, the converse is additionally genuine: popular government is an incubator for gender equity. The UN Women also assert the requirement for gender uniformity to be dealt with as an express objective of vote democracy advancement, not as an "extra", and the UN's solid engagement in this try.

The work of United Nations Development Program on making gender orientation focal in equitable processes and policies is vital, for instance through experience-offering on issues of reserved quota frameworks, enhancing campaign routines for fundraising money, and gender belts in broad public governance. The late UNDP-NDI examination on gender and political parties affirms the outcomes exhibited by the IDEA similar exploration into the conditions that make political parties empowering agents or deterrents for women.

Made (2013) postulates the perspective that in August 2008, Heads of State of the Southern African Development Community confirmed the notable SADC Protocol on Gender and Development. This was an aftereffect of the vivacious battle by the civil society group under the Southern Africa Gender Protocol Alliance. The Alliance advances and encourages the making of gender equity value and balance through campaigning and support towards the accomplishment of the 28 objectives of the SADC convention on Gender and Development by 2015. Made (2013) presents the perspective that ,By 2013 ,13 + nations had adopted and approved the SADC Gender Protocol .

From the literature briefing above ,one may be of the opinion that advancements of women in the international community are promising and show what can be accomplished. However, progress has been moderate in all structures of governance and all sorts of decision making. Hence the real gap that the researcher recognizes is in the area of, under representation in national parliament, especially in underdeveloped nations , evaluation of the number of women versus the general viability or effectiveness at macro level as well asevaluation of women's share of power in public and private macro levels of governance.

## **2.4 OBSTACLES TO WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN MACRO GOVERNANCE**

As indicated by professor Tripp (2013) women who need to pursue governance regularly confront a political, public, social and economic environment that is hostile to them. Indeed, even a look at the current creation of political chiefs in



any district gives prove that women still face various hindrances in articulating and forming their own advantage. In that regard it is important that questions are asked, for example; what are the deterrents women confront in entering parliament? In what manner can women better adapt to these blocks? Shvedova (2005) arranges the regular issues into three specifically, political, economic and socio social. One may in this manner reemphasize the reoccurrence of the exclusion of different variables other than political, economic and socio social that influence the participation of women in macro governance , particularly those elements that radiate from the diverse phases of elections (voter instruction, education, enlistment or registration, observing and monitoring , election day and also the post election period, result counting and announcement of results).

In addition Adewunmi (2013) is of the assessment that; Women assume critical parts in battling and preparing backing for their political parties ,yet they often not participate in decision making positions in these structures. Indeed, less than 11 percent of gathering pioneers of political parties worldwide are women. Nevertheless political parties have assets for directing election battles, women do not conceivably gain or get advantage from these assets. For instance, numerous political parties don't give sufficient budgetary backing to female competitors or candidates. According to WLSA (2009) Examination shows that a vast pool of female election candidates, supported with sufficient monetary assets, can essentially build the quantity of women chosen in any election.

Tommasoli (2012) postulates the perspective that despite the far reaching development towards democratization in many nations, women remain generally under represented at all the levels of political party structures, public areas particularly in ministerial and other official or executive bodies or in coming to the focus of having 30% of decision making positions held by women by 2005 as supported by the UN Economic and Social Council. Women are not likewise very much involved in the private sector and even the traditional society. It was emphasised that women have constrained access to political power and decision making due to different elements or factors including religion, other socio-social and monetary/economic reasons.

According to the General Law of Zimbabwe, Amendment Act (Section 12) women in Zimbabwe are legitimately qualified for any political and public sector offices. More over Section 17 of the New Constitution stipulates that;

The State must take all measures including administrative and legislative measures expected to guarantee that;

- I. Both genders are similarly represented in all foundations and offices of government at each level; and
- ii. Women constitute at least half of the enrolment of all commissions and other elective and selected administrative or governance related bodies built by or under this Constitution or any Act of Parliament.

The enactment of the above provision took after a follow up of a governance analysis in the SADC 2013 Gender Protocol of Zimbabwe which expresses that ; the arrangement for unique established measures that expand women's involvement in bicameral parliament, delineates that enactment of legislation is a standout amongst the best approaches to break obstructions that block women's representation and participation at macro level particularly in political and open or public office. The special reserved quota brought about 122 women being confirmed parliamentarians in September 2013 versus the 57 that were confirmed in 2008.

It is from that foundation that the research seeks to reflect on the utilization of this measure as an independent factor that influences the participation of women in legislative issues. Obstacles that the research seeks to assess;

- a) The backfire from male associates in every political party who saw the measure as not a win-win but rather as an approach to support men

b) Women election candidates being pushed towards the saved seats instead of being urged to challenge for the National Assembly Constituency seat. The research seeks to draw out the point that this was utilized by the parties to make space for more male candidates.

c) Women who do not have political backing from their own political parties and lack the certainty to expand their determination as constituency candidates. Much to the disappointment of WCoZ less women contested in 2013 elections than in 2008. Gunduza (2013)

Tomassoli (2012) declares that women in governance are regularly confronted with hindrances, particularly when they frame a little minority despite the fact that they represent more than 50% of the aggregate populace. Structures and instruments that should convey gender equality messages and balances are made less pertinent or even unessential due to a conceived state of mind that propagates separation. Modern day feminists assert that the real issues are based on how a society so patriarchal would guarantee that women's rights are interpreted into rights appreciated and practised and specifically regarding access to assets and decision making capacity.

According to Monica (2004) reserved quota frameworks assume an urgent part in the context of advancing women's representation in macro governance, from original – or constituent – quotas, that is. portions in elected bodies which represent a consolidated field of analysis and policy advocacy to quotas in non elected public bodies, to the recently established quotas in the private sector and other separate business.

A Research by the Women in Politics Support Unit (WIPSU) highlights the absence of political will inside political parties, intra party progress between men and women which prompts male resistance, male commanded structures inside the political parties, and the absence of gender responsive party arrangements as a percentage of the obstacles to women getting through political party hindrances.

Tomassoli (2012) is also of the opinion that the significant agenda is to comprehend why women are still under represented. Women are under represented on the grounds that they are definitely not qualified or taught; different strengths, other factors that influence participation also include the power to decide and govern their own small circles of girls and women. In addition men simply decide to vote in favor of men and not women and the 'old boy to boy traditional networks' keep women out. Yet on the other hand women vote in favor of men and not women. Hence this is an issue that needs to change for women.

Reeler (2011) postulates the perspective that unless the habit of politically inspired violence amid elections is eradicated, then women will not just be exploited people and potential victims of this roughness (and in probably the most terrible ways comprehensible, and different sexual assault is positively one of the more frightful things that can happen to an individual), but women will also be demotivated from taking part in political matters. Hence fourth The last result will be that women's voices will be missing from the most vital organisations and public institutions in a given state, and this will ultimately be a disadvantage to the country when comes to articulating issues of democracy.

This writing is awash with hindrances or impediments that act as common issues or problems to women's participation in macro governance. Hence it is only fair and justified that the research fills the gap in the area of current variables or in simpler words factors that facilitate or hamper the advancement of women in macro governance with special reference to the Zimbabwean situation.

## **2.5 THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN AFRICA**

According to Onsongo (2004) Women are recognized in the Kenyan society as procreators of the coming generation as well as producers of goods and services. However, in many African communities, traditional perceptions of women as inferior to men continue to prevail as many people invoke the preservation of African culture to justify the subordination of women. As a result, men usually dominate women in the political, religious, economic, academic and domestic spheres. Women's academic achievements and roles in society are hardly acknowledged or recognized. This situation has necessitated the call for the empowerment of women by according them their due status, rights and

responsibilities and enabling them to participate actively in decision making activities.

Similarly Bello (1992) regards socio cultural beliefs as the major barriers to women's involvement in macro governance. These beliefs emphasize the superiority of men and the inferiority of women. They form an integral part of the socialization process and the gender education and training most men and women are exposed to from childhood. Based on the concept of role expectancy, an individual develops through the years his or her own set of internalized values, beliefs, attitudes, ideals and aspirations. Another barrier is the institutional framework guiding the gender division of labour, recruitment and upward mobility. Olojede (1990) notes that since men dominate public decision-making bodies, it is the male values that are reflected in these decision-making bodies.

According to Adewunmi (2015) African politics is decidedly male. Leaders fall into the "grand statesman" mould, Nelson Mandela; the tyrant, Charles Taylor and Sani Abacha; misunderstood man of the people, Robert Mugabe; and the curiously long-lasting, Equatorial Guinea's Teodoro Obiang and Angola's José Eduardo dos Santos. In recent years, however, things have begun to look a little less male. In 2006, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf was elected president of Liberia, and five years later, won a second term. Malawi also elected its first female president, Joyce Banda; Forbes placed her as the 47th most powerful woman in the world. Only recently, Aminata Touré was elected as prime minister of Senegal however her cabinet consists of four women and 28 men hence there is still a huge gap in achieving gender balances at macro level.

Nevertheless in articulating issues of women's status in Africa, African scholars are of the general opinion that, literature exploring women's developments has challenged traditional explanations of women's political empowerment that has, until very recently, mostly drawn on women's experiences in Europe, North America, Australia and New Zealand. According to Tripp (2013) the factors that had, for example, traditionally been used to explain rates of female legislative representation included the type of electoral system, with proportional representation being more favorable to women. It also included party and district magnitude, levels of socioeconomic development, women's education and workforce participation, party ideology, religion and culture. These factors do not explain the main dynamics we are witnessing in Africa or much of the rest of the world today. In that regard the researcher identifies the latter's contribution as evidence of a gap particularly in the coverage of African politics.

A research by WLSA (2009) asserts that it is one thing to have good laws and another to implement them in a just and fair manner. For example, Zimbabwe has national laws in place that recognize and attempt to address the plight of women namely;

- a. The Domestic Violence Act (2007)
- b. Amendment #6 of 1997 of the Administration Estates Act
- c. Amendment of the Deeds Registries Act
- d. Interpretation Act
- e. Legal age of Majority Act
- f. Labour Act
- g. Matrimonial causes Act
- h. Criminal Codification Act
- i. Amendment of the Pensions Act and
- j. Gender Provision (section 17) in the Constitution of Zimbabwe #20, Act, 2013

It is therefore justified for one to assert that, there is legislation that attempts to address the plight of women ,however these are not adequately implemented, which is a case of lack of political will to achieve total or absolute implementation.

## **2.6 STRATEGIES THAT CAN BE USED TO ENHANCE THE PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN MACRO GOVERNANCE**

The Platform for Action asks a scope of actors to take measures in backing of women's involvement in political power systems and decision making. These incorporate political parties, the private sector, trade unions, the judiciary, employers, associations, academic institutions and civil society, among others. On the other hand, governments have a lead part in reassuring and facilitating action by others, and in addition in implementing measures in the administration and management of public sector institutions. National governments can:

- consider the potential for provisional measures to quicken progress toward gender equality adjustment in elected office, especially in the setting of appointive reforms and decentralization;

- develop or boost programs that give training to women competitors in the aptitudes required for powerful campaigning, and to choose women in the abilities of viably doing their capacities and supporting equity goals;
- encourage linkages among different performing actors trying to bring gender balance issues and women's perspectives into the decision making procedure;
- secure particular time-bound targets and activity plans for expanding women's representation in governance for people in the public sector;
- secure systems to encourage participation of female candidates in arrangements of senior positions in government and executive boards and organizations of influence;
- advance awareness and backing for the objective of gender equity among leaders through open and public awareness campaigns; and
- reinforce observing, reporting and learning about women's involvement in decision making through enhanced information accumulation, dissemination and investigation.

The UN Millenium Project's Task Force report, Taking Action: Achieving Gender Equality and Empowering Women, gives a decent outline of four noteworthy lessons of experience about the viability of women reserved quotas:

A nation's election framework firmly impacts the effect of quotastandards.  
Quantities work best in closed, relative representation frameworks with

situation commands and where constituent districts are huge – where numerous competitors are chosen from every election region and political parties can expect a few candidates running in the area to gain a seat... .

Position orders and guidelines are important in the achievement of reserved quotas representation, appointive frameworks. Since applicants are chosen from party records in the request in which they show up, arrangement on the rundown decides the chances of being chosen. Arrangement or position commands ,oblige parties to place women in high or "electable" positions on party records for instance, by amendments of women's positions compared with men's on the party rundown. This framework sets up a sensibly coordinate relationship between the quantity of women applicants and the number of women elected.

Reserved quota laws must indicate execution points or operation procedures. Unclear laws leave a lot of discretion to political gatherings to apply – or neglect to apply – amounts as they see fit.

For quota laws to be powerful, there must be punishment for non compliance. The most effective sanction is to pronounce a party invalid and for the party to be prohibited from taking part in elections. For these sanctions to be effective, the jury must have the capacity to screen party conformity to set standards and political parties must have the capacity to challenge the screening in court.

As indicated by Shvedova (2005) among the pointers of accomplishment of women's involvement and participation in governmental issues are the following:

- the presentation of political, institutional and budgetary insurances that advance women's nominations to guarantee the equivalent support of female candidates in constituent campaigns;



- outlining authoritative regulations for executing and compelling quantity or quota components;
- the production of instructive projects and policies intended to plan ahead for women's political vocations; and
- the advancement of and backing for schools (or educational centres) for the preparation of ladies for inclusion in election crusades.

## **2.7 Literature Summary**

The writings so far have demonstrated that women are in reality under represented in macro governance around the world. A few variables have been recognized as influencing women's participation in macro governance both locally and on the international map. Various techniques have additionally been proposed. As a result of what is indicated, the present examination gets to be appropriately essential as it tries to look at and shed light on whether any of the intercessions has been put to effect and utilized, the research likewise looks to prescribe practical answers for increasing the participation of women macro governance in Zimbabwe.

## **2.8 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

Since the research foundation is based on the gender equality aspect of macro governance in Zimbabwe the research encompassed a theory on, **Liberal Feminism** and was premised on an African point of view by Patricia Mcfadden **The Challenges and prospects for the African Women's Movement in the 21st Century (1997)** .

The Feminism theory was introduced on the acknowledgment that gender is an element which helps shape the general public. Femisistshold the perspective that women are found unequal in the social arrangement, frequently cheapened, abused and mistreated. As per Chapman (2004) the liberal women's activists

state the equity of men and women through political and lawful reforms. Liberal feminists emphasize on a steady change in the political, economic and social frameworks. The preposition of this theory was hence essential in the examination of variables influencing the support of and involvement of women in macro governance particularly in Zimbabwe.

Feminists propel three wide points of view in attempting to clarify the serious deficiency of women from governance positions in the public sector and private division. The primary viewpoint close to individual factors assert the scarcity of women in influential positions as ascribed to the psychosocial properties, including identity qualities, state of mind and behavioural abilities of women themselves. According to Bond (1996) Among individual elements are respect toward oneself and fearlessness, absence of inspiration and aspiration to acknowledge difficulties "to go up the step", women's low potential for authority, less confidence, less enthusiastic steadiness and absence of capacity to handle an emergency . In addition to that Singh and Shahabudin (2000) mention again, individual elements, for example, self-assuredness, certainty, clever inventiveness, dependability and reliability which help ladies to advance to senior authority positions .

Patricia Mcfadden (1997) is of the opinion that African women still don't perceive that they are a political development or movement. Mcfadden (1997) asserts that despite the noise and level of awareness on gender issues , women act like passive ladies at a tea gathering, and regularly stunned when men are fierce and savage towards them. More so she explicitly notes that women need to comprehend the genuine way of governmental issues so they can transform it. In her view, Africanness is characterized by and through a patriarchal standard which characterizes Africans through the male. The foundation of realness for African women needs to turn into a focal precept of the African Women's Movement in the 21st century. Women do not need to determine as well as reflect Africanness through any male. It is from that light that the research utilizedMcfadden's thought to suggest arrangements and gender sensitive processes that promote and not act as barriers to the participation of women in macro governance.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.0 INTRODUCTION**

This chapter depicts the examination/ research design, sample and sampling systems, research instruments, information collection and examination/ analyses methods. To get as wide a viewpoint as could reasonably be expected, various information gathering techniques were utilized to triangulate discovered results, examinations and conclusions in this study. According to created extent of examination, information accumulation was conducted by both qualitative and quantitative research methods. Closed and open ended questionnaires as well as in depth interviews were utilized.

#### **3.1 RESEACH DESIGN**

Reinharz (1992) postulates the point that the configuration of a survey is utilized as part of present day research and study. It seeks to gather information from individuals that are part of a grouping , populace or organisation so as to identify the current status of that populace or subset of a grouping regarding one or more variables. On account of this study the variables or factors that influence women participation in macro governance were many. This configuration was picked because of its focal points as distinguished by Reinharz (1992).

These are:

- It can present an issue at the end of the research by demonstrating that it is more common than already suspected;
- Survey-based frequency information or data is helpful in exhibiting that an issue is conveyed in a specific manner or pattern throughout the populace.

This exhibit may recommend elements that add to

- the issue, and these variables, proffer methods or measures in respect to how the issue may be counteracted or cured through specific manifestations of activity;
- It can likewise help point out similarities and differences among societal groups or organisational groups and changes over time.

### **3.2 SAMPLE AND SAMPLING PROCEDURES**

The sample was drawn from three government ministries and three private organisations in Zimbabwe. The Women's Coalition of Zimbabwe was the contextual analysis, that is the case study as it represented the perspectives and experiences of the ordinary Zimbabwean women relating to macro governance. The organizations and ministries were chosen utilizing stratified random sampling methodology. They were stratified into public and private, government and non governmental organisation. From every division three were selected purposively. The two groups came from Harare for quick and manageable convenience . The three government ministries in the study included, The Ministry of Finance, The Ministry of Industry and Commerce and the Ministry of Women Affairs Gender and Community Development. On the Other hand the private organisations incorporated; political parties, that is the ruling party ZANU PF, opposition party MDC T and an umbrella body of all civil society organisations in Zimbabwe that is NANGO :it was fairly equipped with data relating to other civil society organisations.

### **3.3 RESPONDENTS**

The respondents in the study incorporated both men and women with top, administration positions , workers with non administration positions and senior heads of ministries. Senior staff with the rank of head of department and above who worked at the same service or association for a time of over five years were incorporated in the sample. Recently enrolled interns and workers likewise also participated.

### **3.4 DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURES**

The researcher acquired a permit from the University of study (Midlands State University) approving her to direct the examination in Zimbabwe. She also asked for authorization from the organisations that took part to complete the research. It is important to note that both the male and female respondents were interviewed by the researcher and the fundamental reports and documents accessed from the significant workplaces were investigated by the researcher. The collection of questionnaires appropriated, was done exclusively by the student conducting the research. The researcher was based at the Women's Coalition of Zimbabwe head office in Harare.

### **3.5 RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS**

Three research instruments were utilized as part of the accumulation or collection of data. The questionnaires were distributed to participants to obtain relevant information. An interview guide was used to interview heads of departments and other senior staff. Both men and women were interviewed in regards to the approaches that represent recruitment, arrangement and advancement of female staff to senior levels of governance and the conceivable reasons for the absence of women from top positions.

Particular archive examination was utilized to investigate organizational reports and published documents with reference to enrollment, appointments and advancement or promotion criteria, work ads, work application frames and interview aides, including staff advancement strategies. WCoZ publications were likewise thoroughly assessed in light of its experiences with women in the election phases. This secondary data analysis was helpful in analyzing the variables influencing women's participation in macro governance. The media was also used in the study that is newspaper articles as well as online media.

### **3.6 DATA ANALYSIS PROCEDURES**

The information was analysed utilizing quantitative and qualitative methods. As it were the researcher triangulated the outcomes in a way that is clear and on point. The data got from meetings was analysed by a procedure of content or secondary data analysis. Clear measurements, for example, tallies of individuals from parliament, impact of variables , were utilized in the form of graphs and pie chartstodemonstrate the status of womenin macro governance Zimbabwe. Documentary basedinformation and published data was also used to cross check, supplement and affirm data acquired from meetings and questionnaires.

## **CHAPTER FOUR:**

### **DATA PRESENTATION , ANALYSES AND INTERPRETATION**

#### **4.0 INTRODUCTION**

The research set out to determine the factors that affect women's participation in macro governance and suggest possible strategies that can be used to enhance women's participation in the highest level of decision making. Data was collected from three governmental ministries, two political parties which are considered private and two civil society coalition bodies, of which one of them is WCoZ ,the case under study.

Data collection involved the soliciting of information from WCoZ publications that includes WCoZ paper on women's participation in the 2008 harmonised elections, WCoZ paper on the experiences of women in the constitution making process, Women's participation in the 2013 Harmonised elections, Women's participation in the transition process as well as data from its network and other WCoZ affiliates .The data analysis also interpreted media related findings.

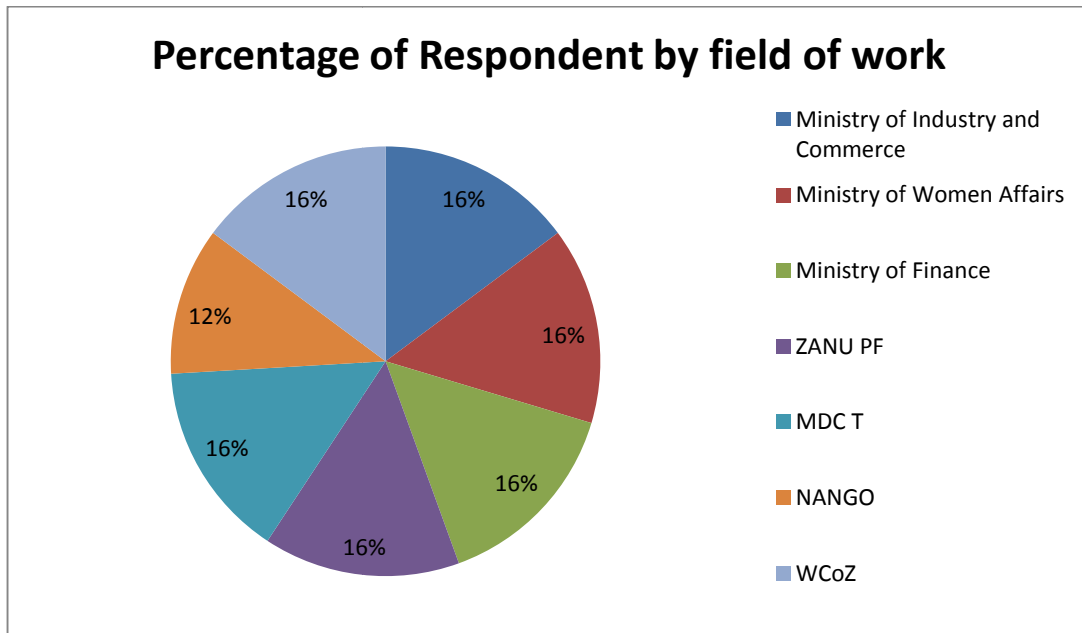
This chapter will thus present the findings from the research survey. In this chapter data from questionnaires and in depth interviews will be considered a *primary* source on the other hand data from WCoZ publications, books, media sources and any other found and published relevant material will be considered *secondarysources*.

#### **4.1 RESPONDENTS**

The questionnaire respondents included four employees from the Ministry of Industry and Commerce, four employees from the Ministry of Finance, four employees from the Ministry of Women Affairs Gender and Community Development,(public sector group) three employees from NANGO, four employees from WCoZ, three active members form the MDC T political party and three employees and members from the ZANU PF political party,(private sector group)

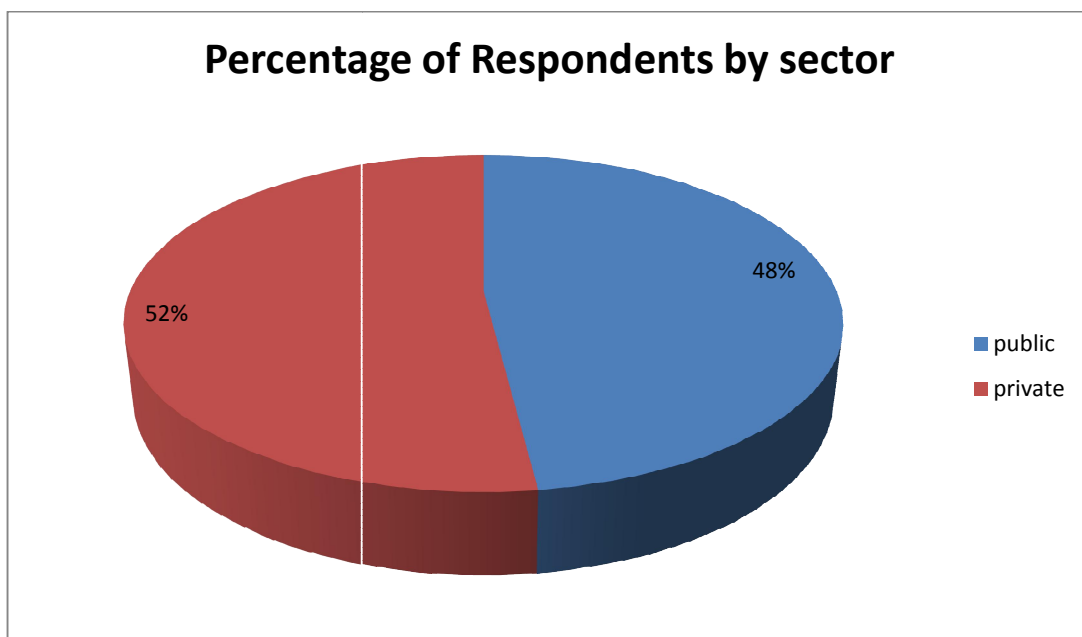
The interview respondents, who were purposively selected in the survey identified key informants for in depth interviews by judgemental samplingwho included, the National Coordinator of Women’s Coalition of Zimbabwe ;S. Dura, the Programs and Advocacy officer at WCoZ ;A. Chisamba as well as two independent auditors from the Ministry in the departments of Human Resource and Accounts, that is Principal Internal Auditor; R. Majaya and Deputy Chief Internal Auditor; R. Chigwededza.





**Figure 4.1 Percentage of respondents by field of work**

*Source: Primary*



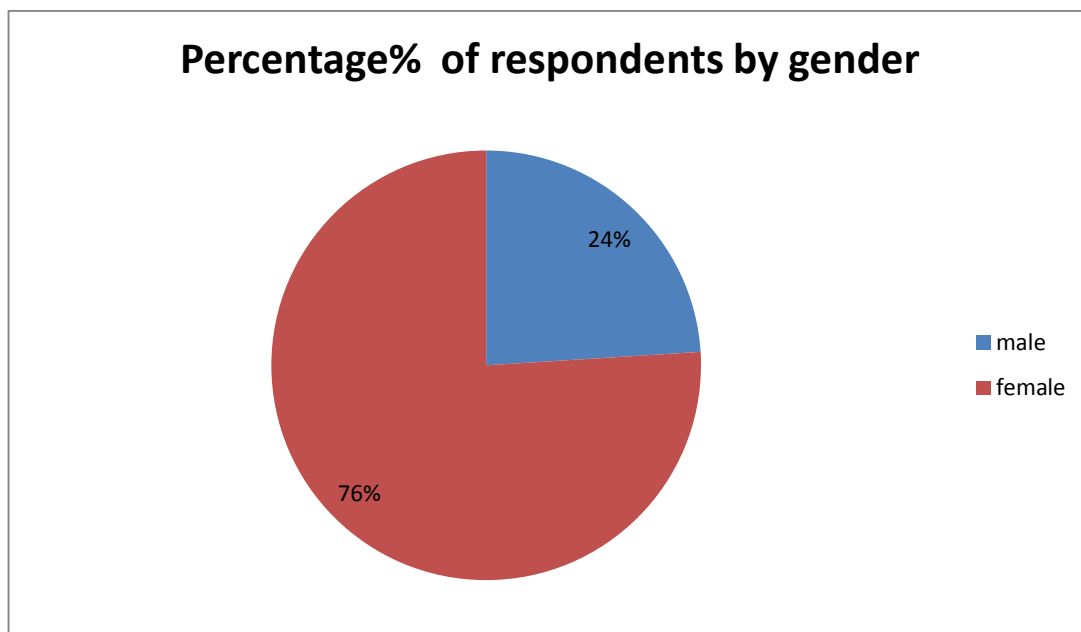
**Figure 4:2 Percentage of Respondents by Sector**

*Source: Primary*

## 4.2QUESTIONNAIRE ANALYSIS

### RESPONDENTS' PERSONAL INFORMATION

**4.2.1 Gender:** The research revealed that out of 25 questionnaires distributed by convenient random sampling ,six were male and 19 were female. The pie chart below showing the percentage of respondents by gender is clear indication that women are very responsive and willing to participate in research that affects them. As per displayed chart below women who participated in the research through the use of questionnaires accepted the questionnaires without hesitation as compared to their male colleagues who only reached the 24% mark. In addition the results on the pie chart reflect the point that they are generally more female employees than male employees in organisations and governmental ministries but the issue at hand is in their huge numbers at work are women occupying positions of influence that is macro governance leadership.



**Figure 4:3 percentage of respondents by gender**Source: Primary

**4.2.2 Age :**The researcher considers age a crucial element in the collection of data since it would highlight the age at which women by and large rise to top positions as compared to males. This research has shown that women being late comers to the academic world as a result would ascend to macro governance at a later age ,in most cases after 40 years. Hence education becomes a factor affecting women’s participation at macro level. The age graph below of respondents under study is clear indication that some individuals that are key in advancing the positions of women to macro level are of the opinion that, women can only take up influential roles when they are more experienced, older or mature . Hence age qualifies to be treated as a factor affecting women’s participation.

**Age Graph showing number of employees by age**

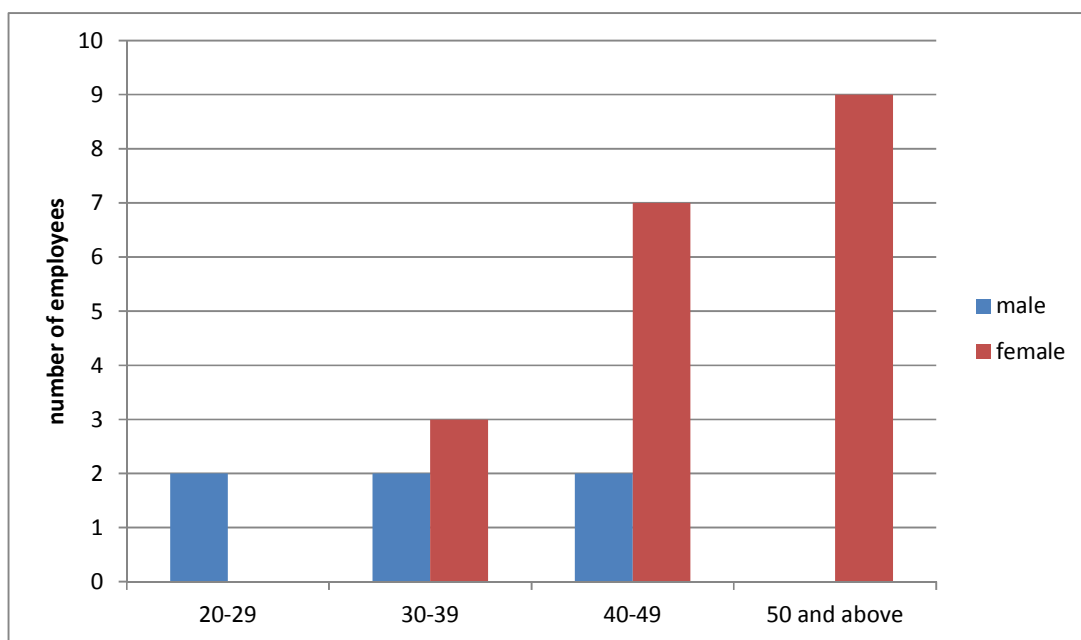


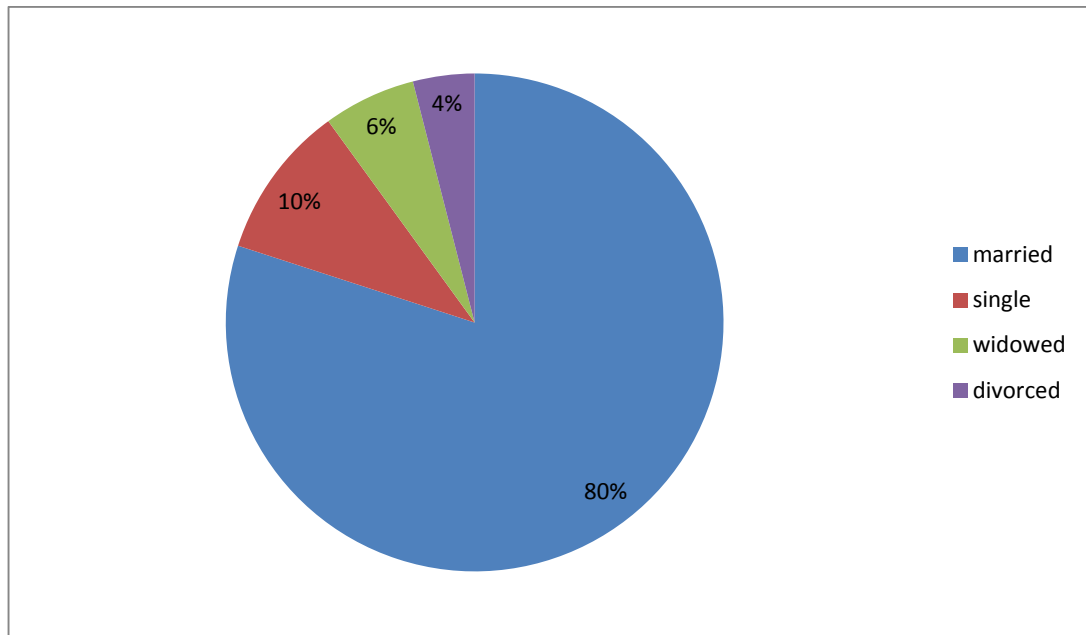
Figure 4.4 Age Graph

Source : Primary

**4.2.3 Academic Qualifications** Findings from the questionnaires revealed that female employees are educated, those in macro leadership hold a BA degree and or better, with some of them having attained diplomas and or a number of certificates to support their diplomas. In that light this implies that women actually hold the necessary qualifications to fill posts in macro governance. However the issue that the research seeks to address is are women applying the education they attained in the real world, in such a way that they fit in macro governance and, do they possess the confidence to bring theory to practicality.

**4.2.4 Marital Status**The research revealed that more than half the women in top positions are married and only a quarter are single. Hence one may articulate the barrier of family roles, that is the demands that come with marriage, that is nurturing of children, domestic chores etc as the factor why some women maybe unwilling to take up macro governance positions as they naturally doubt their capacity to handle both family and work demands. Shvedova (2005) postulates the view that women participation in politics is compromised by family commitments and the gender roles.

## MARITAL STATUS OF WOMEN IN PERCENTAGE%

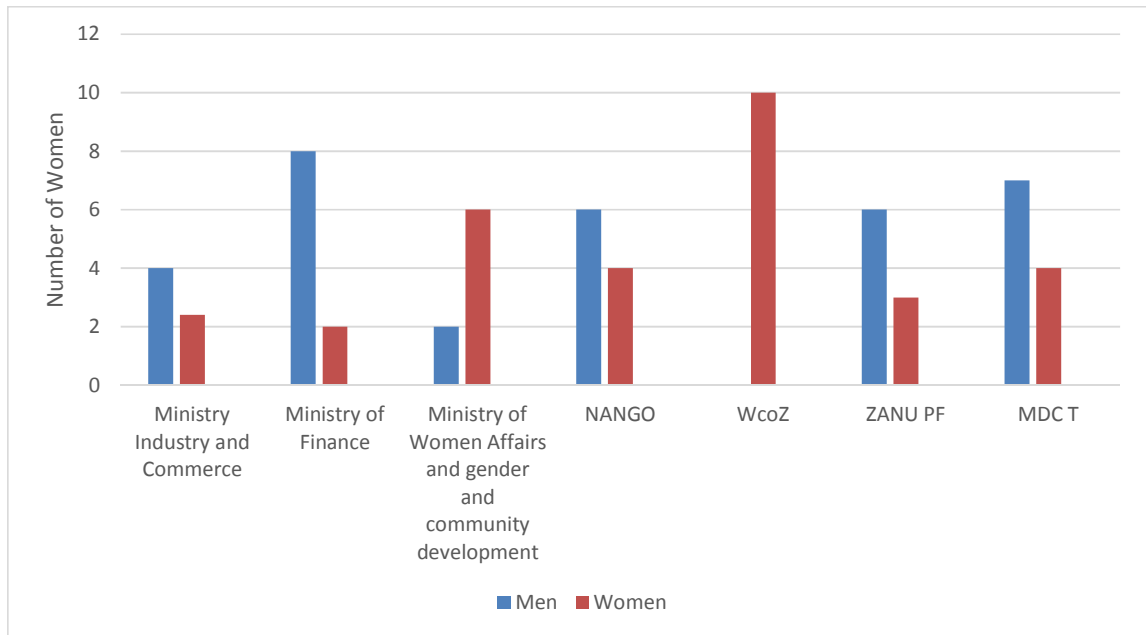


**Figure 4.5 Percentage of marital status of women**

*Source : Secondary*

### **4.3 ANALYSIS OF SECTION B ( WOMEN’S PARTICIPATION IN MACRO GOVERNANCE)**

The number of women occupying positions of influence vary with organisation or ministry as per graph displayed below. The research identified the pattern of women based organisations dominating the leadership that is solely and completely female .However in political parties ,leadership is mainly characterised by the dominance of males, with women only found occupying the position of deputy if they are part of the executive.



**Figure 4.6 Graph showing the level of women’s participation in macro governance**

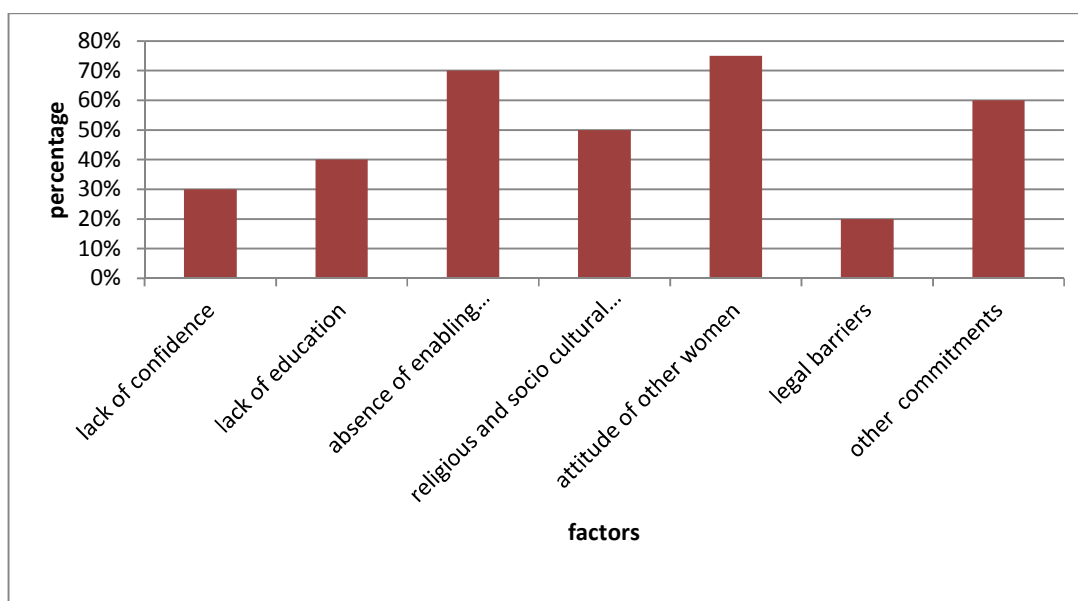
*Source: Primary*

Part B of the questionnaire also revealed that most soft departments and ministries are dominated by women at the highest level of decision making. That is the Ministry of Industry, Ministry of Women Affairs Gender and Community Development, departments of administration or legal and corporate affairs. On the other hand hard politicised departments like International trade, internal audit or accounts are dominated by men. Hard ministries that is the Ministry of Finance or Ministry of Defence are highly characterised by male leadership at the top.

A large number of respondents from the research, both male and female were of the opinion that women are represented fairly in decision making positions in their varied organisations or ministries. However when it came to the question of giving reasons why they had ticked “YES” , the reasons were vague and lacked evidence with some referring to one female superior as representing

every woman in that organisation. Hence the issue of equal representation is not understood and women lack representation at macro level.

When respondents were asked to point out the highest contributing factor, that hinder women from occupying top positions in macro governance; positions that are political or non political; The results were interestingly indicated by multiple ticks suggesting the manifold factors.



**Figure 4.7 Graph showing factors by percentage (level of intensity/impact) affecting the participation of women in macro governance.**

*Source: Primary*

#### **4.4PART C**

90+ Respondents were of the view that women can deliver or perform if given the opportunity or leadership position, however the remaining percentage had doubts over women's capacity to perform at macro governance levels. Some individuals were not informed or lacked knowledge in relation to the stipulated Gender Provision in the Constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment (#20) Act (2013) while others were aware and informed about the stipulated 50/50 provision. Hence a need that the research has to tackle, particularly in the area of constitutional literacy and awareness.

Every organisation that participated in the research sited the presence of enabling mechanisms that enhance the skills of women in order for them to acquire top positions. However the challenge that the research identified is the ineffectiveness of these mechanisms, evidence being the low numbers of women in macro governance. The other point to note is that the inefficiency of any mechanism, be it promotion, training or the reward system may be the fact that the choice of mechanism might be unfit for that particular organisation or irrelevant. In addition to that there are committees or boards that protect women from intimidation or any form of violence in organisations and or ministries.

Respondents from political parties impressively answered the open ended closed questions. Respondents from the ZANU PF Party highlighted the women's league or wing as an effective measure to facilitate women's participation at macro level. On the other hand the MDC T highlighted the woman specific concept in its (ART) Agenda for Real Transformation as the mechanism for facilitating women participation. However it is disappointing to note that both parties have not adopted the reserved quota system for women at party level, but only support the system outside party structures. According to Hofmeister and Grabow (2011) although most constitutions all over the world stipulate equal treatment of men and women, women are under-represented



worldwide in parties and political leading functions. In many countries efforts are being made to achieve stronger participation of women in politics. Hence an intensified contribution by women in parties is a basic requirement for this purpose.

#### **4.5 IN DEPTH INTERVIEW ANALYSIS**

The researcher managed to conduct interviews with two key informants from the Women's Coalition of Zimbabwe as well as two key informants from the Ministry of Industry and Commerce. Hence the researcher managed to solicit information from both the private and public sector.

An interview of WCoZ National Coordinator ; Sally Dura managed to bring out the point that; in civil society coalitions which can be considered the highest form of decision making ,as these perform the secretariat or coordination role over all other member non governmental organisations selection of executive is strictly by vote and for employees its strictly by merit. Dura was also of the opinion that leadership in macro governance has increased positively in Zimbabwe in the past five years due to the stipulated reserved quota.

In an interview with Ashley Chisamba, WCoZ Information and Programs officer, she articulated the view that Zimbabwean women are still lagging behind in issues that have to do with governance. Members of parliament are still shy and quiet and outshined by their male colleagues .More over she emphasised the need for the state to invest in women related research budget to assist the advancement of the women agenda at national level as well as the need to take issues of constitutional literacy seriously as this is the main gate way to women realising and knowing their rights embedded in the new

constitution. WCoZ initiated the women based literacy training across Zimbabwe in 2013.

Major points that came out of an interview with principal Internal Auditor Mr R. Majaya and Vice to the Chief internal Auditor R. Chigwededza were that Government's drive towards gender equality has resulted in the increase of women in governance. Women are good leaders but do not get enough media coverage when they deal with governance issues effectively. According to Majaya; "not all men are good leaders ,not all women are good leaders but amongst them they are good male leaders and good female leaders." Chigwededza was also of the view that all employees that are eligible for training should be afforded the same opportunities as men to move to higher ranks quickly.

The researcher also managed to get hold of the Ministry of Industry Departmental leadership document as at 2015; which revealed that of the six departments in the Ministry of Industry and Commerce , four were headed by males and two headed by females hence a clear gap is still there, However the female deputy directors outnumbered the male deputy directors hence there is a chance for progress and representation is not solely patriarchal. Out of six deputies five are women and one is male.

#### **4.6 SECONDARY DATA ANALYSIS**

The researcher had the privilege of exploring and using relevant literature found in WCoZ's Information Resource Centre. From that exploration an assessment of factors affecting the participation of women in macro governance particularly during the election process, Government of National Unity (GNU) composition and constitution making process came out as follows...

According to an article by WCoZ (2009) 'Women's Participation in Transitional Bodies'; One of the difficulties that Zimbabwe has already experienced in the GNU transition is the lack of women's representation, for example:

- During the negotiation process the initial team had only one woman, Priscilla Misihairambwi- Mushonga
- With the formation of the inclusive government, only a few women were appointed to the different positions that each of the three parts had to appoint representatives to. This was regardless of the fact that the Global Political Agreement had committed to gender parity in women's representation in strategic positions like the Cabinet.
- The Joint Monitoring and Implementation Committee (JOMIC) was the first act of implementing the GPA. The political parties each appointed ONE woman to the JOMIC out of four positions (25%) when in the article that addresses the framework of a new government in the GPA they had commit to a 50% gender parity.
- NONE of the three political parties appointed a woman to be a co-chair

From this finding the researcher is therefore convinced that the Global Political Agreement set an extremely disappointing precedence and dampened the spirit of the Women's Movement. Women might be said to be participating in politics but they are doing so in a marginalised way. Their roles are defined and thus limited according to their gender and their participation in macro governance remains peripheral and without much effect.

According to a document by ZESN and WCoZ (2014), on Women's participation in Elections, (A look at the 2008 elections and 2013 elections).

In readiness for the elections, the Women's Coalition of Zimbabwe (WCoZ) secured the Women's Situation Room to improve women's aggregate engagement, participation and proprietorship in the 2013 harmonised elections. As such the situation room made a stage for WCoZ to effectively survey women's participation in the elections from the voter instruction, registration and verification of voters, accreditation of monitors and observers, the voting process and post- election period. WCoZ effectively took an interest in the Zimbabwe Election Support Network (ZESN) situation room which additionally added to its general evaluation of difficulties and victories relating to women's support in the election processes:

#### **4.6.1 Achievements from the WCoZ experience that advance the participation of women in macro governance:**

- Women figured out how to partake in the Electoral Management Body as presiding officers, polling officers and eyewitnesses consequently improving their involvement.
- Voting was accounted for to have been conducted in harmony in many parts of the nation.
- Polling stations were available and in good reach.
- Considerations were made to special people, for example, the elderly, pregnant and nursing women and disabled amid the general elections.
- Voters were observed experiencing the statutory process; plunging their fingers in ink and registration being checked and confirmed.

- WCoZ and its affiliates were concurred a chance to partner with the SADC and AU Election Observer mission amid the election period.
- Increase in the quantity of women in National Assembly get rose from 17% to 32% .

#### **4.6.2 Challenges that the WCoZ and ZESN identified that need remedy for to address women's governance:**

- Mobile registration was described by lengthy queues in most urban areas which were not helpful for women because of their household commitments or chores and hence the long queues left a few disappointed.
- The special voting procedures of action comprised of high voter turn-out were sure occurrences of stampedes that were accounted for, for example, Mt Pleasant Hall in Harare. Therefore, there was no respect for specific groups like the in disabled, pregnant and nursing mothers.
- Intra-party brutality and intimidation was pervasive which influenced women participation as candidates. Political parties likewise utilized the new reserved quota for women by limiting them to those seats and not issuing them the stage to participate in constituencies. Thus 33% of the contenders for every party were women.
- Discrepancies in the treatment of voters with eregistration slips. Onlookers and monitors reported an occurrence in Mt Pleasant in Harare where individuals with enlistment slips were permitted to vote while another report at an alternate surveying station, North Park in Harare new enlisted voters were prohibited to vote and dismissed.

- Some constituencies were accounted for as having run out of ballot paper.
- A diminish in the quantity of women in local government because of an absence of a quota framework in local authority.

In this light the expressions of Mushonga (2014) hold water, as indicated by the former (2014) The elections introduced an open door for women to take part in politics. The standard framework exhibited an opportunity for women to build their vicinity in political power. Whilst the nation can be praised for holding serene elections, developments before the election date coupled with the weaknesses highlighted by WCoZ obstructed women's participation in the harmonised elections.

As per SADC Gender Protocol Barometer of 2014 when Zimbabwe is compared with other SADC nations, it is doing well as far as addressing the issues of macro governance, a few components justify the moderate pace at which progress is being felt. More over an analysis of Gender links publications reveals that; women's political representation in Zimbabwe has increased as shown by the figure below.



## **Figure 4.8 Women's political representation in Zimbabwe**

*Source : Secondary*

### **4.7 SECONDARY SOURCE ANALYSIS : PRINT MEDIA**

During the course of the research the researcher managed to identify the unwillingness by participants to disclose any information relating to the booting out of office of former Vice President , Dr Joyce Mujuru, depicting the issue as excessively politicized or sensitive. Nevertheless the media has been extremely critical in highlighting the issue as a major blow to the representation of women in macro governance as the ouster from power has in a way derailed and wrecked the Women's Movement efforts to accomplish balance and equity at the highest level of decision making in Zimbabwe.

According to the Standard of November 23, the exceptional increases that have been made in hoisting women to positions of power have been disturbed by the "feline battle" setting the First lady Dr Grace Mugabe against the Vice president Dr Joice Mujuru. Member of parliament Jessie Majome has additionally spoken through the print media saying the move is an exasperating gender failure which affirms the patriarchal way of this nation. One may in this manner point the above case as proof in the context of force power politics crippling the country. More over it uncovers the way that the Zimbabwean law has its loopholes concerning the protection of women in power like the previous Vice President.

Online media suggests that the DrMujuru case has interestingly turned into an independent factor that influences the participation of women in governance in that women are utilized as pawns by their male partners and the language that was being utilized as a part of the assaults is dehumanizing and uncovered undertones that would discourage female candidates to pursue politics. It also casts female politicians into disrepute hence they will with time losing their voice in macro governance affairs.

Shockingly as cited in the Newsday February 2015, the replacement of the female president by a male president has gone about as an impetus to the wrecking and under mining of women's representation in legislative issues. As indicated by the Standard March 5, despite the fact that women observe International Women's Day on the 8th of March the extending issues from poverty, financial crisis, savagery against women, absence of successful representation, legislation and health matters, media, rural women burdens and the girl child issues, with every passing day ,their battle for balance keeps on being influenced by more regrettable issues.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **SUMMARY , RECOMMENDATIONS and CONCLUSIONS**

#### **5.0 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS**

This section presents a summary , conclusion and suggests recommendations. The research carried out reflects the manifold factors that affect women's participation in macro governance. Factors identified include ; gender related self confidence, educational background; women are late comers



and fail to apply theory to the real context, absence of enabling environment, that is the lack of commitment by the concerned bodies to promote women due to other factors; political , economic and socio cultural factors, In Zimbabwe it refers to the patriarchal nature still dominant, attitudes of otherwomen, that is the practices of other women that pull another woman in power down. Lack of legal protection when in office that avoids unjustified termination of job contracts due to power politics. Media coverage of women, gender roles lack of adequate party systems and resources that enhance women's participation at party level , monopolizing of political processes, campaigns, voting , voter registration, lack of constitutional awareness and literacy amongst ordinary Zimbabwean women.

## **5.1 RECOMMENDATIONS**

In light of WCoZ's encounters in the Zimbabwean election period between the year 2000 and 2014 and findings from this research, within the private and public sector; the following strategies are proposed for Civil Society to act in partnership with the Government of Zimbabwe;

- Gender sensitive and uniform management of elections where there is respect to the interests of special people especially the disabled, nursing and pregnant mothers.
- Gender sensitivity in voter registration and instruction.
- There is need to guarantee women that the preelectoral environment is all around checked to curb all type of intimidation and violence against women.

- There is requirement for sufficient time apportioned towards voter registration.
  
- There is need to amend the Political Parties Finance Act to apportion funds to female candidates.
  
- The state ought to guarantee full security of women and young girls amid election periods and end exemption
  
- All political parties ought to advance intra-party democratic system to permit women to be better represented in macro governance. Case in point the reserved quota framework.
  
- To guarantee that the Zimbabwe Gender Commission is satisfactorily supported and funded to encourage exercises that denounce gender imbalance and the under representation of women at macro level .
  
- Invest in Research relating to women and macro governance
  
- Engage in constitutional literacy for everyone similar to the one conducted by WCoZ.
  
- Review and revise recruitment and selection systems that negatively affect women's participation .Case in point, promotion by maturity.
  
- Engage in the training of women in the political circle to boost their confidence in the public speaking.

- Ensure the mainstreaming of gender equality in every public foundation, strategies and projects.
  - Adopt a local based national follow up tracking system that tracks the progress towards achieving gender equality in macro governance similar to the one conducted by SADC ,Gender Protocol Barometer, Targeting 2015.
  - Media houses need to challenge, rather than perpetuate gender stereotypes and ensure balance and sensitivity in coverage.

## **5.2 CONCLUSIONS**

- ✚ Taking into account the discoveries of the study ,women are for the most part missing from macro governance positions in Zimbabwe, there is indirect oppression of women in party structures and additionally in heavy or hard governmental ministries in the appointment, selection and promotion procedures. There is for the most part a patriarchal mentality in the disposition of other male government officials fuelling the gap in representation.
- ✚ Bodies like the Zimbabwe Gender Commission are not doing enough to address the gap .Zimbabwe has great gender approaches and policies ,a signatory to gender conventions and protocols with a gender sensitive constitution, sadly the implementation part is not progressing as expected , henceforth there is absence of political will to upgrade women’s participation. On the other hand if the patriarchal framework proceeds, women issues will not be addressed to and unrealistic arrangements will be displayed. Government's drive towards actualizing a 50/50 gender balance ought to be placed in real life and eliminate components that hamper the participation of women in macro governance.
- ✚ The research echoes the liberal feminist perspective that women are deprived of their right to political power because of socially embedded

patriarchal attitudes . Borne and Booth (1994) assertion that; throughout history women have struggled to gain equality, respect and the same rights of women, hold water as evident in the research. Civil society and Government play an important role in achieving sound representation in macro governance. The two are also responsible for shaping public opinion and resource allocation that supports women in the pursuit of macro representation.

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## **NEWSPAPERS**

The Standard, 23 November 2014

Newsday, 3 February 2015

The Standard, 5 March 2015

The Herald, February 25 2015

The Herald, January 30 2015

## **APPENDICES**

## Appendix 1

### Letter of request

**MIDLANDS STATE UNIVERSITY**

P. BAG 9055

Gweru

Zimbabwe

**FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**

**DEPARTMENT OF POLITICS AND PUBLIC MANAGEMENT**

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### Questionnaire

To Whom It May Concern:

Dear Sir/Madam

#### **Ref: Request for information for a research**

My name is Tapiwa Mercy Mhuka a politics and public management undergraduate with the Midlands State University registration number R113501v. In partial fulfillment of the degree requirements, all level 4.2 students are required to write a dissertation project. I am undertaking a research project titled, “**an examination of factors affecting the participation of women in macro governance**”. To this end I am carrying out data collection on the subject by way of questionnaire. Please complete the questionnaire noting that your answer would be used exclusively for academic purposes only.

Should you require additional information on the researcher please feel free to contact Chairperson, Prof P. Chigora on [Chigorap2000@yahoo.com](mailto:Chigorap2000@yahoo.com)

Yours faithfully

Tapiwa. M Mhuka

Email address [tapiwamhuka@gmail.com](mailto:tapiwamhuka@gmail.com)

## Appendix 2

### QUESTIONNAIRE

Tick where appropriate or fill in the blank space



**You are not required to write your name**

**PART A (personal information)**

1. Name of organization/party/ministry.....
2. Sex                      male                       female
3. Age                      20-29       30-39       40-49       50 and above
4. Marital status              married       single       widowed       divorced
5. Current post (please specify).....
6. Educational qualification      MA/MSc       BA/BSc       Diploma       Certificate   
Other .....

**PART B (questions about women’s participation in macro governance)**

1. How many women do you know occupying positions of influence in your organization/party/ministry.....
2. How many women hold the following educational qualifications:  
MAs/MSc                       BA/BSc   
Diploma                       Certificate       Other
3. Which division or department is mostly dominated by women.....
4. Do you think that women are represented fairly with regard to participation in leadership and decision making positions. Yes       No
5. Provide reasons for your answer to question 4.....  
.....  
.....
6. What is the highest contributing factor that hinders women from occupying top positions in macro governance ( tick one box)  
Lack of confidence   
Lack of education   
Absence of enabling environment/ lack of commitment by concerned body   
Religious and Socio Cultural factors   
Attitude of other women

Legal barriers  Other

**PART C**

1. Do you think that women can deliver or perform if given a leadership position

Yes  No  Maybe  Never

2. Do you know about a Gender Provision in the constitution (section 17) Yes

No

3. In your organization, are there any enabling mechanisms to enhance the skills of women in order to hold top positions Yes  No

4. What mechanisms does your organization/party/ministry apply to build the capacity of women in macro governance... promotion  training  reward system  Other .....

5. Is there a committee or board that protects women in your organization from intimidation or any form of violence . Yes  No

6. \*\*If your organization is a political party what measures have you put in place to facilitate and encourage women's participation in governance.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

7. Have you ever reserved a budget solely for a woman based political campaign. Yes  No

8. What is your opinion regarding the reserved quota for women in parliament.....  
.....  
.....

9. Please put your idea concerning your perception of women in macro governance.....  
.....  
.....

**Thank you very much for your precious time**

**Appendix 3**  
**INTERVIEW GUIDE**

- 1. HOW IS WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP IN YOUR PARTY/MINISTRY/ORG  
SELECTED..... IS IT BY VOTE, APPOINTMENT, MERIT OR ROTATION?**

2. WOULD YOU WANT TO BE REPRESENTED BY A WOMAN IN LEADERSHIP ,ESPECIALLY IN MACRO GOVERNANCE....IF YES WHY? IF NO... WHY NOT?
3. IN THE PAST FIVE YEARS ,DID THE NUMBER OF WOMEN IN MACRO GOVERNANCE CHANGE?
4. WHAT IS THE REASON BEHIND THE INCREASE OR DECREASE IN PARTICIPATION?
5. IN YOUR OPINION WHO MAKES BETTER LEADERS?MEN, WOMEN, OR BOTH? EXPLAIN YOUR ANSWER
6. WHAT IS THE NATIONAL STATUS OF WOMEN IN MACRO GOVERNANCE?
7. IN YOUR ADMINISTRATION WHAT MAJOR FACTORS CONTRIBUTE TO THE LOW PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN MACRO GOVERNANCE?
8. WHAT MECHANISMS CAN BE ADOPTED TO INCREASE THE PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN MACRO GOVERNANCE.

*Thank you for your precious time*

## **Appendix 4**

**MIDLANDS STATE UNIVERSITY**

**FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICS AND PUBLIC MANAGEMENT

GUIDELINE FOR MARKING DISSERTATION

ITEM UNDER OBSERVATION	COMMENTS	SCORE
<p><b>Title [10 marks]</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Is the title clear and precise?</li> <li>• Does the title expose the problem under investigation?</li> </ul>		
<p><b>Abstract/Introduction [10 marks]</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Does the abstract successfully bridge the gap between the title and subject?</li> <li>• Does the student demonstrate knowledge about the nature, problem and purpose of study?</li> <li>• Have the objectives of the study been clearly stated?</li> <li>• How relevant is the literature reviewed and theories used?</li> </ul>		
<p><b>Content [50 marks]</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Are the chapters well laid out and coherent?</li> <li>• Does the work show the use of relevant research methods?</li> <li>• Is the evidence authentic?</li> <li>• Is there evidence of research?</li> </ul>		
<p><b>Conclusion/ Recommendation [10 marks]</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Has the work been resented?</li> <li>• Does the conclusion answer the objectives?</li> </ul>		

<b>Reference [10 marks]</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Have the references been accurately presented?</li> <li>• Has the referencing style been consistent?</li> </ul>		
<b>Layout, Presentation and Editorial Assessment [10 marks]</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Is there continuity in the style of writing?</li> <li>• Is there correct use of English in terms of consistency?</li> </ul>		
<b>TOTAL SCORE (100 MARKS)</b>		

Signature of the Supervisor.....Comment on Submission.....

Signature of the Marker.....Date.....

Signature of the Moderator.....

**Appendix 5**  
**SUPERVISION CHECKING LIST**

**NB. THIS FORM MUST BE ATTACHED TO THE FINAL COPY OF YOUR  
DISSERTATION**

**NAME OF STUDENT.....REG no.....**

**STEP 1 LIASE WITH SUPERVISOR FOR TOPIC**

**SUPERVISOR.....SIGNATURE.....DATE.../.../....**

**Topic.....**

.....  
.....  
**STEP 2 SUBMIT TOPIC TO DISSERTATION COMMITTEE**

**CHAIRPERSON SIGNATURE.....DATE.....**

**COMMITTEE  
COMMENTS.....**  
.....

**Date of Approval.....**

**STEP 3 SUBMISSION OF PROPOSAL**

**SUPERVISOR SIGNED.....DATE.....**

**STEP 4 DATA COLLECTION**

**Approved to proceed to data collection.....signed .....date**

**STEP 5 PRESENTATION OF DATA FROM THE FIELD (RECORDINGS,  
QUESTIONNAIRES, INTERVIEWS.....)**

**SUPERVISOR.....SIGNED.....DATE.....**

**STEP 6 SUBMISSION OF THE DISSERTATION**

**SUPERVISOR .....SIGNED.....DATE.....**

**STEP 7 SUBMISSION FOR VIVA-VOCE  
CHAIRPERSON.....DATE.....**