MIDLANDS STATE UNIVERSITY

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DEPARTMENT OF DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

RESEARCH TOPIC

AN EXAMINATION OF THE ROLE PLAYED BY WiPSU IN PROMOTING WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION AND REPRESENTATION IN GOVERNANCE IN MIDLANDS PROVINCE. The case of Gweru, Kwekwe and Zvishavane

BY

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SUPERVISOR: Ms. NCIIZAH

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SUPERVISION APPROVAL FORM

The undersigned certify that they have supervised the student Sipho Sibanda R143960F on his dissertation titled: An examination of the role played by WiPSU in promoting Women's Participation and Representation in Governance in Midlands Province: The case of Gweru, Kwekwe and Zvishavane; submitted to the Midlands State University in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the Bachelor of Arts in Development Studies Honours Degree.

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I, the undersigned do/do not acknowledge that the above student has consulted me for supervision on his/her research project/dissertation until completion. I therefore do/do not advise the student to submit his/her work for assessment.

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DECLARATION

I Sipho Sibanda, Registration Number R143960F do hereby declare that this research is a product of my own work. It has been submitted to the Midlands State University in partial fulfillment of the Bachelor of Arts Honours in Development Studies under the Faculty of Arts.

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Table of Contents

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my mother Ms. Nonsikelelo Moyo, my sisters Gugulethu and Duduzile and my young brother Nqobile Sibanda, for all the support they have rendered me in my academic journey and most of all for the love they have shared in support of my dreams. The completion of this work not only marks the end to my first degree but lives as a testimony of God's grace upon my life and my family throughout this journey. It is without doubt that my family has been the cornerstone of my strength throughout my studies, and I would like to dedicate this work as an appreciation for the relentless support I received from them with special mention to my mother.

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this research was to examine the role played by WiPSU in promoting women's participation and representation in governance in the Midlands Province, with particular focus on Gweru, Kwekwe and Zvishavane. A qualitative research approach attempted to bring to light an understanding of the various dynamics that are shaping the level of women's participation and representation in the political processes of the country. The three aforementioned areas were used to acquire population samples for data collection purposes and justify the findings of the study in addressing the challenge of women's representation and participation in decision making processes. Appreciative of the fact that; the Midlands Province is a large geographical area to cover in limited time, the researcher's data collection was thus largely informed by desk research which he comprehended by data collected through interviews with 9 purposivelyselected respondentsand self-administered questionnaires to 75 conveniently sampled respondents. These sampled respondents afforded the researcher the opportunity to acquire first-hand information and experiences that guided the findings of this study.The results presented in this study brought an understanding of the patriarchal, psychosocial, political and institutional factors militating against inclusive participation and representation of women in decision making structures in the political domain and also brought an appreciation of the significance of women in political process. The research also brought an appreciation of the role civil society is playing to complement government efforts in advancing the agenda for women's participation and representation in leadership.

ACRONYMS

AU	African Union
CEDAW	Convention of the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CSO	Civil Society Organization
GoZ	Government of Zimbabwe
Hon	Honourable
IPU	Inter-Parliamentary Union
MWAGCD	Ministry of Women Affairs, Gender and Community Development
MP	Member of Parliament
PoZ	Parliament of Zimbabwe
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SARDC	Southern African Research and Documentation Centre
WIDSAA	Women in Development Southern Africa Awareness
WiPSU	Women in Politics Support Unit
WOZA	Women of Zimbabwe Arise
UN	United Nations
ZANLA	Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army

ZANU-PF   Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front

ZAPU   Zimbabwe African People's Union

ZIMSTATS   Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency

ZWRCN   Zimbabwe Women's Resource Centre and Network

CHAPTER 1: PROBLEM AT ITS SETTING

1.0 Introduction

The post-independence era in Zimbabwe; like in any other modern society, has seen an upsurge in the interests around women's political and economic empowerment. The participation and representation of women in public office has been a leading point of discussion and debate. The past decades have seen feminism gainmomentum which has shaped the approach to policy formation and the advancement of the agenda onequalitybetweenwomen and men at all levels of governance (Lopes, n.d).Zimbabwe is amongst countries in the global community; that have made positive strides towards the advancement of women in leadership andthe promotion of inclusive participation at all levels of development. This has seen the launch of positive actions aimed to fight against all forms of discrimination that affect the attainment of equal participation and representation in leadership. In line with the Constitution of Zimbabwe (2013), the governmentrecognizes the significance for the full and active participation of both men and women in socio-economic and political processes for sustainable development and attainment of equality.Arguably this has witnessed the steps that the government has taken to usher in policies aimed at empowering women into influential decision-making positions, advance the voice and contribution of women in the political, socio-cultural, economic and recently environmental spheres of development.

However, a closer look at Zimbabwe's political structure attests clearly how women; who constitute more than 52 percent of the population; according to the National Population Survey of 2012 (ZIMSTAT, 2012), are disproportionally represented in decision making positions and national politics. This underrepresentation of women has given rise to debates on how best women's participation and representation can be bolstered. Consequently,

prominent feminist groups and vibrant civil society organizations have taken a leading role in advocating and lobbying for equal political representation and respect for women's rights. This line of thinking has been guided by various global agreements and international conventions; to which Zimbabwe is a signatory to, that seek to promote the empowerment of marginalized groups such as women towards sustainable growth and development.

According to the National Gender Policy(2013), the Governmentof Zimbabwe is signatory to a number of regional and international declarations that aim to promote the empowerment and advancement of women's position in top decision making and political representation structures. Some of these fundamental agreements include the Southern African Development Community (SADC) Protocol on Gender and Development of 1997, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) 1979 and the 1995 Beijing Platform for Action. Thus demonstrating the aspiration by the government to advance and empower women in public office leadership.

In line with this view, various civil society organizations have been formed, focusing on complementing the efforts by the government in the advancement of women's political representation and participation. Such civic societies; including Women of Zimbabwe Arise (WOZA)and Women in Politics Support Unit (WiPSU), which form a critical component of the progress in the attainment and realization of this goal. This is supported by the UN Women (2014), which highlighted that civil society plays a critical role in advancing shared strategic objectives to promote gender equality, women's rights and empowerment.Thedesire to include women in political processes has thus seen the rise of civil society organizations such as WiPSU, guided by the objective to advance women's participation in governance. Such organizations are playing a central role in complementing government efforts and

advocacy for policy and legislative reforms, so as to advance the position of women in governance.

Thus; in view of the above, the research conducted an analysis of the role that WiPSU has played and is playing towards promoting equal participation between men and women in governance. The research sought to interrogate the contribution that the organization has made and also assess how the political system in Zimbabwe has promoted a conducive environment for the general advancement of women in governance.

1.1 Background of Study

The participation and representation of women in politics is one of the major points of debate which has taken central stage in contemporary development discourse around the globe. From the introduction of democracy in political discourse, equal representation between men and women has been one of the key tenants of democracy. The concept of democracy recognizes that men and women should be afforded equal opportunity to decide upon political processes and national legislation jointly, with women best placed to express their own needs, concerns and interestsindependently. The realization from this is clearlythat, men cannot speak on behalf of women and address their interests, hence the need to include women in all decision-making structures at all fundamental developmental levels.

It is of interest to note that; according to the World Economic Forum (n.d.), to date only 59 countries in the world have been led by a female president or prime minister; a number which is arguably insignificant in comparison to countries which have been or are being led by men. Women across the globe have challenged the bounds in the political realm over the past decades (Burchard, 2014), which calls for an appreciation of women representation in public leadership structures. The thinking behind this view is that; history has shown that women have an important role to play in influencing matters that affect them and with such deserve

an equal representation and participation in decision making bodies. This is also a key area to advance the empowerment of women in fields that have been generally attributed to men only.

In the developed world; in particular, Europe and America; the participation of women in politics is not an immune phenomenon just as to the rest of the world. With democracy acknowledged as the ideal form of governance in most European and American countries, first world countries have progressed gradually to realize the growth of inclusive political representation of women in leadership structures. Notably the evidence of women playing significant roles in public office can be drawn from countries like Britain, who in the 1980's had Margaret Thatcher as Prime Minister; Ireland which had two female presidents Mary Robinson (1990) and Mary McAleese (1997), and in 2011 Kosovo celebrated its first ever female president in the name of President Atifete Jahjaga, according to the World Economic Forum (nd). Consequently, women empowerment in the developed community in politics has advanced the position and state of women in development discourse.

In Africa, the participation and representation of women in decision making structures has dependently been a challenge at all levels of political, economic and social discipline. With decades of independence in Africa, women's participation in politics has remained insignificantly low owing to the patriarchy dominated African social structures. Inthe 1980's it was virtually unheard of for a woman to run for public office, however sincethe 1990s, women across sub-Saharan Africa have made some advances in the political realm to occupy on average 22.5 percent of legislative seats across the continent, according to Burchard (2014). Notably some African states have made inroads towards women empowerment in this regard, which has simultaneously played a critical role towards women's participation in decision making and political representation.

The continent has seen women rise to occupy influential positions in the political arena, proving competent alongside their male counterparts. Such efforts have broken political glass ceilings at all levels of government, attesting to the growing appreciation of women's role in leadership. Examples of women in influential decision making structures can be drawn from countries like Liberia, who elected the first female president Ellen Johnson Sirleaf (2005), Catherine Samba-Panza of Central African Republic, Joyce Banda president of Malawi (2012-2014), Joyce Mujuru former Vice-President of Zimbabwe and the former Chairperson of the African Union Commission Dr. Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma; supported by Burchard (2014). These individuals have without doubt demonstrated the proficiency that, women have the capacity to lead and occupy fundamental decision making positions. Thus indicating the significance of inclusive representation in decision making processes and also proving that just like men, women can and have what it takes to lead. In this regard, women clearly have the capacity to lead, but the numbers through which women are found participating in politics is insignificant considering the demography power that they hold over men and the general need for equal representation.

In comparison with the rest of the continent, the SADC region has progressed well in-line with women empowerment in the political field. In 2005 the average representation of women in parliaments in the region (SADC) stood at 20 percentaccording to SARDC/WIDSAA(2008) cited in Mafuta (2014).Due to the efforts in the region to advance women, a decision by the 2005 SADC summit saw member states agree to increase the target for women representation in politics and decision making from 30 percent by 2005 to 50 percent by 2015 to align with the African Union target (SARDC/WIDSSA, 2008:61). Though relatively an insignificant proportion, it can be noted that African states have made commitments to progressively advance and empower women. Notably, Rwanda leads the continent and the world in terms of women's political representation. As of 2010, Rwanda

had 56% of its parliamentarians occupied by women and has progressed well to 64% women parliamentarians (UNStatistics Division, 2015), becoming the leader in world politics on women's representation and participation.

The fact that Rwanda's experience of gender equality in politics; where (more than) 60% of parliamentarians are women, shows that the expansion of civil liberties to women through comprehensive policies, has the potential of empowering women with the skills and knowledge that makes them competent in leadership just as men. This line of thought is supported by Tripp (2013) who argues that the expansion of civil liberties,has the potential of increasing women's legislative representation. Thus, it can be argued that; countries like Rwanda have recorded changes in the lives of general women, as a result of having feminine representation at the top level influencing decisions that affect women in communities. Arguably, the success has been possible due to democratization and a comprehensive respect of the provisions of the constitution, which is what most African states like Zimbabwe are failing to appreciate.

Hence, the participation of women in public office remains relatively low in Africa, which continues to call for more efforts to be made in the political divine of the continent to ensure the proportional representation of women. As argued by various scholars, having a piece of legislation and seeing it to fulfilment are different things altogether, this remains the case of the state of women in leadership structures in African. This is so noting that, most states have vibrant policies and pieces of legislation, with international and regional conventions ratified, but women continue to be under represented in the political divine due to wide spread lack of political will by governments to complete these legislatives, hence testifying why women's empowerment remains low on the continent.

In Zimbabwe, the dilemma around women's involvement in top political and economic decision making platforms remains an area of immense concern. In spite of the fact that women constitute on average, 52% of the national population, women remain under-represented in Zimbabwe's parliament and political positions (Dube, 2013). Vast literature tracing back as far as the colonial rule in Southern Rhodesia, attest vividly the marginalized position of women in the country, with particular attention highlighting the marginalized position of Black African women who were at the bottom of the social hierarchy (Mazingi andKamidza, n.d.). Arguably the position and representation of women in decision making structures to date, is a mere reflection of the continued existence of colonial elements in our modern society which without doubt do not recognize women's capabilities in anything else outside social structures, thereby limiting women's role.

Historical evidence shows that women in Zimbabwe have always had a keen interest in national politics which can be traced to the liberation struggle in the country. The major liberation movements; ZAPU, ZANLA, ZANU all had thriving women wings (ZWRCN, 2001) that played vibrant roles during liberation. In the post-liberation struggle era, major political parties have continued to have women arms, a clear sign that women were and are interested in being involved in the national politics of Zimbabwe. To date, women leagues exist in Zimbabwean politics evidence of women's desire to be involved in politics and their voice to be heard. A clear demonstration of such developments can be derived from the ruling party ZANU PF Women's League, a highly vocal section of the party which was led by the former first lady Dr. Grace Mugabe before her dismissal in 2017. Evidently, the existence of such arms, is a clear demonstration of the involvement of women in leadership. Moreover, in all terms, true democracy carries with it the emphasis of women's inclusion in all development processes, with which leadership is a major aspect to consider.

However, in a societydominated by patriarchy, it is can be noted that, the GoZ is still lagging behind in as far as women's participation and representation in politics and decision making is concerned. According to Mhuka (2014), one of the main factors influencing theparticipation of women,over and above is the traditional patriarchal frameworkor in less complex terms a male ruled society. In spite of the fact thatthe Constitution of Zimbabwe protects the civil rights of women; thestereotyped attitudes of men and other women remain as an immense hindranceto the reasonable or absolute participation of women in the Zimbabwean governing system and institutions of national impact or influence.

Women constitute most ofthe populace (about 52% of the population) according to ZIMSTAT-CENSUS (2012), yet in many areas of the nation women are the poorest and disempowered. Evidently the number does not translate to the representation of women in decision making in the country, accounting for only 34% of political representation (PoZ, 2011), against a dominant 66% male representation. In a setup where the majority are men, women's representation and voice isarguably insignificantto advance the interests and rights of women, which men cannot universally address. Clearly, to make any reasonable impact in redressing the dilemma, women must be equated equal access to structures of influence in substantial numbers for them to be able to participate fully and shape policy reform in the country.

Arguably, the constitution of Zimbabwe 2013 referendum provides for women's civil liberties on equal representation in decision making at all levels, but to what extent are women enjoying this constitutional right? Clearly, having a comprehensive provision on paper to promote women's empowerment is one end of the discussion, and having the political will to complete the provisions is another. The question therefore was; what efforts have been put in place since post-independence period up to 2013 to advance women in decision making, what contribution has WiPSU made in advancement of women in decision

making structures since 2008 up to 2017 and what socio-economic and political barriers impede women from taking up public office.

1.2 Statement of Problem

In spite of women constituting the majority of the population at 52%;women remain underrepresented in public office. A number of efforts have been made by the government to promote the participation of women, however women remain underrepresented in governance and leadership structures in Zimbabwe. Growing vibrant civil society groupings have evolved over the years, in an attempt to foster change, lobbying for policy and legislative reforms in line with women's empowerment. Nonetheless, these initiatives have had a biased in major cities as compared to other regions in the country. Thisresearch thus made an attempt to interrogate the significance of WiPSU in promoting women's equal representation and participation in governance in the Midlands Province, with particular emphasis on Kwekwe, Zvishavane and Gweru.

1.3 Conceptual Framework

Governance

The manner to which governing processes are structured within a particular country, play a critical role in shaping the representation and participation of both men and women in decision making processes. The dictionary defines governance as the process of exercising the rule, control, and authority over a certain geographically defined boundary. However, this definition limits the extent to which governance should be viewed in the broad term of development. The UNDP (2000), defines governance asthe application of political, economic and administrative authority of a country's affairs at all levels. Governance thus includes the processes through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, mediate their differences and exercise their legal rights and obligations. Thus governance does not only

involve the state and its institutions which are involved in governance, but rather governance should be understood from a holistic perspective to include civil society who play an equally important role in governance.

In this light, it can be understood that, governance in its broad terms focuses on how decisions are made and processes that lead to the expression of interest of the people from various groups in society. Thus the significance of women's inclusion in all governance structures. It should thus be noted that, the marginalization of women in the political process and governance in general has been both the cause and effect of the slow progress made in the advancement of women. This is supported by Shvedova's line of thinking, who argues that the elimination of women from decision making positions restricts the conceivable outcomes for maintaining the standards of democracy in any society(Shvedova,2005).The research however, narrowed down the parameters of governance to macro-governance which focused on the women's representation in the national assembly and local governance, as the key areas of research. The delimitation was done for convenience purposes in order to complete the research and to allow the collection of data from available respondents.

Political Participation

Women's political participation is a fundamental prerequisite for gender equality and genuine democracy in any development process, to facilitate women's direct engagement in public decision-making structures (UN Women, n.d.).The involvement and inclusion of womenin decision making processes is without doubt a key element shaping the overall development of the contemporary socio-economic and political processes. This is supported by the Gender Links (2011), which recognizes that, it is central for women to be involved and proportionally represented in leadership structures in all facets of life. Thus one can define participation as a

broad concept that looks into the overall involvement of marginalized groups in processes that affect them; be it political, economic or social spheres.

The 2011 UN General Assembly resolution on women's political participation noted that; "Women in every part of the world continue to be largely marginalized from the political sphere, often as a result of discriminatory laws, practices, attitudes and gender stereotypes, low levels of education, lack of access to health care and the disproportionate effect of poverty on women" (UN General Assembly, 2011). Political participation is thereby, arguably the most fundamental form of women empowerment, which can be attained through political and socio-economical tools. Political participation, be it the ability to vote and voice opinions, or the ability to run for office with a fair chance of being elected, plays a huge role in the empowerment of women.

This is supported by the UN 2011 resolution which madea call on all States to enhance the political participation of women, to accelerate the achievement of equality between men and women and, in all situations, including in situations of political transition, to promote and protect the human rights of women with respect to: Engaging in political activities; Taking part in the conduct of public affairs; Associating freely; Assembling peacefully; Expressing their opinions and seeking, receiving and imparting information and ideas freely; Voting in elections and public referendums and being eligible for election to publicly elected bodies on equal terms with men; Participating in the formulation of government policy and the implementation thereof,holding public office and performing public functions at all levels of government.

Political Representation

Political representation refers to the manner through which the citizens of a state are involved in all political systems; from the arms of government that is electoral systems, the legislature,

the executive, the judiciary, and other relevant government boards. Representation of women and men across all political systems is an area of major contention in the development debate in Zimbabwe, with calls for equal representation of women in decision making over the past years gaining momentum and attention. According to the provisions of the Zimbabwe Constitution amendment 20 under Chapter 2 section 17, the state is mandated to promote full participation of women and equal representation in all institutions (CoZ, 2013:20).

However, given the participation and representation of women in politics since 1980, it is a matter of question to why women remain underrepresented in crucial decision making structures across political systems. Political representation should therefore account for all marginalized groups in society including the women and children, whose voice has been arguably excluded in most decision making bodies. Thus, it can be noted that the growth and establishment of civil society groups such as the one under study (WiPSU); exist tostrengthen the governance practices in Zimbabwe, through promoting the effective participation of women in all electedpolitical offices and women as political citizens. The thinking behind this line of thought is that, the empowerment and independence of women, will not only positively improve their status but is also crucial as a tool to mobilize their potential in sustainable development and poverty alleviation efforts in the country. Hence, civil society groups have been vocal in efforts to promote equal participation of women. The question however, becomes the extent to which these efforts are far reaching to ensure overall awareness and empowerment of all women in the country, especially in the Midlands province, where political representation of women has been low.

1.4 Research Objectives

The overall objective of the research was to analyze the role played by WiPSU in promoting the participation of women in governance. The research was guided by the following specified objectives:

1. To analyze the significance of women's representation and participation in decision making in Zimbabwe

2. To interrogate the barriers to women's equal participation and representation in politics in the Midlands Province

3. To analyze the contribution made by WiPSU in empowering women in public office outside the central provinces in Zimbabwe

4. To assess the impact of the programs and initiatives led by WiPSU in promoting women's representation in governance

1.5 Research Questions

The research sought to address and answer the following questions around the participation and representation of women in politics. These questions included:

1. How is WiPSU contributing to women empowerment in public office outside the central provinces in Zimbabwe?

2. What is the impact of programs and initiatives led by WiPSU in promoting women's representation in governance?

3. How significant is women's representation and participation in decision making in Midlands Province?

4. What are the barriers militating against comprehensive women's representation in decision making in the Midlands Province and how have these been addressed?

1.6 Significance of the Study

Considering the bulk of information that the research revealed, the researcher anticipated that this research would be relevant to various individuals, organizations and communities that seek to have an understanding of the topic under study. It is without doubt that the research covered a fraction of this broad topic, which left room for other interested parties to conduct further introspect on the topic.

The researchwas key as a tool to educate the communities and demystify the stereotypes around women's involvement in political processes. The research assessed the contribution made by civil society groups in complementing the efforts made by the government and in turn brought an understanding of equal participation in politics.

The study was a key tool of enlightenment on the significance of women's role in the broad development of the country. Moving towards the poll elections in 2018, the research presented a platform to understand the limitations affecting women's involvement in politics and most importantly educate both men and women on the significance of the role that women have to play in the development processes of the country.

1.7Chapter Summary

Post-independence Zimbabwe; is a signatory to various international conventions that are aimed at uplifting the position and standard of women in the country. With over 38 years of independence, the position of women in Zimbabwe in political and economic domains remains relatively low. The overall participation of women in leadership structures constitutes less than 40% of the parliamentarians. To date, women find it difficult to penetrate through the institutions to reach positions of influence, and the government itself lacks the political will to drive for proportional representation of women in leadership. To have a policy advancing women in place; is just but one piece of the bigger puzzle and having the

will to drive for the success of a policy is another. Hence, the need to have comprehensive legislation and political will that will guide the advancement of women in leadership.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapterevaluatesthe findings of other researchers and identify the gaps in the literature generated on the participation and representation of women in public office. The review will be divided into four key themes which will be used to guide the analysis of the research. These key areas will include an evaluation of the legal framework informing women's participation and representation in governance, an understanding the status of women in governance, and civil society and the participation of women in leadership/governance. The chapter also brings to light the theories underpinning the participation of women in governance and also highlight on the major theoretical framework informing this research.

2.1 Theories Underpinning the Participation of Women in Politics/Governance

There are various gender theories that seek to explain the participation of women in politics, the disparities that exists between women and men in society. Such theories include the Liberal Feminist theory, Patriarchy theory, Institutional Design Perspective theory, Economic Modernity theory and the Historical Legacy theory amongst other theories. It is through these theories that discussions and insights on the participation of women in politics and the role they have to play in the development discourse are discussed. This research was guided by two theories; the Liberal Feminist theory and the Patriarchy theory.

Liberal Feminist Theory

Liberal Feminism is one of the old feminist approaches, dating back to the the writings of philosophers such as Mary Wollstonecraft (1759-1797), John Stuart Mill (1806-1873) and Harriet Taylor Mill (1807-1858), who shared their diverse views on feminism.Philosophers such as John Locke (1632-1704), argued that men and women should receive the same

opportunities in education and that they shared equal rights and responsibilities with respect to their children. These views shaped our understanding of liberal feminism as we know it today. According to later scholars such as Alison Jaggar (1983) cited in Lewis (2017), liberal feminism is defined as a school of thought that focuses on equality of opportunities between men and women in the workplace, access to education and political rights. Lewis (2017) goes on to allude that, the primary goal for Liberal Feminism is to attain gender equality in both the public and private spheres, as they have an effect on women's role in the public sphere.

According to Brookes (2008), Liberal Feminist theory is explained as an individualistic form which concentrates on women having their equality through being responsible for their actions and choices, thus enjoying equitable access to resources and authority between men and women. Liberal feminists are concerned with the equal rights and freedom of the individual. Arguably, one can note that this school of thought believes that both men and women deserve a fair share of inclusion and participation in policy making, politics and decision making processes. Liberal feminism is a line of thought that argues that equality for women can be achieved through legal means and social reform. If there are to be reforms, such reforms have to be gradually introduced without upsetting the status quo. Liberal Feminists have moderate aims, their views do not radically challenge the existing values and as such they aim for gradual change in the political, economic and social system (Lorber, n.d.). It is within this gradual process for change, that women should be included and proportionally represented in positions of influence to redress the patriarchal dominance in political processes. Within this context, the theory therefore acknowledges the existence of disparities in society that are gender related. These gender disparities are attributed to a number of factors which include culture and the way men and women are socialized within that culture.

According to the Liberal feminist, all the disparities existing between men and women can be changed through empowerment and education, which attests to the significance of education and the empowerment of women in socio-economic and political spheres. In essence, liberal feminism is for gradual reforms through advocacy for equal rights for all, and laws and policies that promote equality (Samkange 2015).Unlike Radical feminism, Liberal feminist are of the view that, women's equal inclusion in politics is a gradual process rather than a drastic change, but is necessary to ensure the empowerment of women in politics. Consequently, the theory moves in line with the provisions of the Constitution of Zimbabwe in Chapter 2 subsection 17 (a) and (b) which clearly elaborates that the state has the mandate to promote the full participation of women in all spheres of the Zimbabwean society on the basis of equality with men, which noticeably outlines the significance of proportional representation between women and men in politics and decision making, as a means to promote participatory development.

Patriarchal Theory

Patriarchy is arguably the major contributing factor to women's poor participation and representation in the political field. As a result, a school of thought came up with the Patriarchal theory, in an attempt to explain the level of women's involvement in political processes and how it has shaped women's disproportional representation and participation in politics. According to Millet (1969) cited in Mafuta (2014), the patriarchal theoryis an approach that seeks to explain the trends through which a society or community functions over time in relation to the processes to which decisions are made and by who. In other words, the theory has been used to explain the dominance of men in societal structures and how history has shaped the status of men over women in society. According to Mafuta (2014); the theory is based on the theological foundation on human creation, which highlights that men were created first before women and therefore are superior to women. It is from this

line of thought that society has been constructed which explains why men have historically dominated all institutions of power.

As attributed by Alidade (2012) cited in Mafuta (2014), the role that women are to play in society is socially constructed. It thus means that the roles are created according to societal perceptions and customs. Consequently, because men are believed to be a governing figure, societies have grown to be masculine in nature, with men enjoying a good share of influence over their female counterparts. It is within such social structures that women are not allowed to partake in public office and let alone to be economically empowered. In most political setups especially in Africa where patriarchy is predominant, influential positions in decision making structures in the executive, judiciary, army and finance or any other sector are occupied and led by men. Thus demonstrating how patriarchy is leading in leadership. Conclusively, it can be argued that patriarchy has made women subjects to the socially superior men, which in turn explains the position of women in modern society. It thus follows that; the status of women has been a result of years of social constructs which have shaped how men embrace a superior status whilst women embrace the rationale that they are second class citizens whose role is strictly limited to social life.

It is because of such philosophies that women have found it difficult to cut through and reach positions of influence and decision making. From studies conducted and conventions created to support women, it is clear that women have the desire to take part in public office and have proven beyond reasonable doubt that they are more than capable to participate at par with men.However, it is such patriarchal backgrounds that have shaped the position of women's representation and participation in leadership structures. With the strains of public office which are so demanding in as far as time is concerned, women often find it difficult to meet the demands of the family and the portfolio of public office. Alidade (2012) goes further to argues that; because of the manner through which men are socially constructed, they have

their own expectations to the behavior that their wives should portray in the house structure which limits the women to a submissive position. As a result, women do not contest for political/public positions and pursue other careers outside political institutions. Thus patriarchy militates against the representation and participation of women in decision making structures.

Though different approaches and theories havemade attempts to assess the participation and representation of women in politics, the research was informed by these two theories. The theories were chosen on the basis that; political participation and representation of women is a gradual process that can only be achieved over time, as inclined by the Liberal Feminist philosophy. More-so, recognizing the role that patriarchy has played in shaping the advancement of women in leadership structures, the researcher utilized the Patriarchy theory to assess the extent to which patriarchy has militated against women's participation in political processes.

2.2 Understanding the Status of Women in Governance

Developments in global politics for decades over, have been male dominated and rightfully so due to the patriotic systems of governance which have been in existence since the dawn of politics. For many years, men's monopoly of power was not challenged to the extent and magnitude to which it has and is being challenged to date. This is so noting the fact that, the past century has seen a rise in debates surrounding women's position in governance and leadership, as a key driver to propel sustainable development. To therefore understand the status of women, an in depth analysis of the dynamics and trends of global developments that have since shaped and challenge the dominance of men over women in all leadership processes has to be understood form a holistic perspective.

The global perception on the emancipation and empowerment of women in leadership, has without doubt been shaped by the desire to attain the 50-50 threshold representation of women and men in politics. The recognition of democratic systems of government has allowed for the attainment of women's empowerment in global politics as supported by SARDC/WIDSAA (2008) which notes that;it is one of the central values of democracy thatjoint networking decision making between men and women towards the political processes and national legislation is imperative in furthering the interests and concerns of women. The thinking behind this line of thought is that, empowering women to participate fully in political processes across all sectors. This approach is essential to build stronger economies, achieve internationally agreed goals of development and sustainability, and to improve the quality of life for women, men, families and communities.

With long standing years of democracy as the leading form of governance world over, it is important to note that the predicament surrounding the underrepresentation of women in politics has not been a problem unique to Africa nor the developing world. Rather women's representation in governance is a global phenomenon that has attracted the attention the development discourse in a bid to ensure the advancement of women in leadership structures (UN Women, 2010). This is so noting the fact that, the general perspective has been that the developing world; especially African states, are lagging behind in as far as the empowerment of women in politics is concerned (UN DAW, 2005). However, a closer look at the global statistics on the representation of women in politics attests the extent to which developed countries have not been immune to this predicament and have relatively lower percentages in women's representation and participation. It can be noted that the global leading economies, have not yet attained proportional representation in governance. According to the IPU (2018); leading global powers such as Japan (10.1%) and the United States of America (19.4%) have low representation of women, which is also below the average global statistic standing at

22.2%. Thus proving that, women's participation and representation is a global phenomenon rather than a unique predicament to African countries. The question however, becomes, how best can women be empowered and advanced into leadership, and what role do civil society and other civil movements have to play to ensure the proportional representation of women is achieved by 2030 in line with the UN SDG's.

Countries like Bolivia, in the western-central parts of South America, can be commended for the progress that they have made in the advancement of women in political structures. According to the IPU (2018) publication, following the 2014 elections in Bolivia, the country recorded 53.1% women's representation in parliament, becoming the second ranked country behind Rwanda with 64%, a process that has been associated with the democratic processes in the country as the major contributor to the advancement of women. And this can be supported by the UN Women (n.d.), which indicates that women's political participation is a fundamental prerequisite for gender equality and genuine democracy. It facilitates women's direct engagement in public decision-making and is a means of ensuring better accountability to women. Notably, under Evo Morales government, women like Ariana Campero; the Health Minister, Carmen Trujillo the first Minister of Labor, Maria Cecilia Chacón the first female Defense Minister, Ana Maria Romero the first female President of the Senate, Silvia Lazarte the first woman to preside over a Constitutional Assembly, Leonilda Zurita the first female leader of the Movimiento al Socialismo (Movement for Socialism) Party in Cochabamba according to Villarroel (2011). These women have rose in the ranks in governance to occupy influential decision making positions in parliament, thus attesting to the ability that women have in holding key positions in political structures. It should therefore be noted that democracy has a key role to play in the advancement of women in politics.

In the African context, women's empowerment in politics has also been amongst the agenda of most governments, in an effort to advance women in leadership structures. Kivoi (2014)

highlighted that; with over five decades of independence in the continent, African countries such as Kenya, continue to lag behind in terms of women's empowerment in politics. This phenomenon has left a lot to be desired in understanding the factors militating the advancement of women. Clearly, the post-colonial governments of Africa should have enhanced the role of women in the decades passed but women continue to be disempowered and marginalized in political structures. This can be supported by previous researches conducted by the UN which have highlighted that, government structures and the relative electoral systems in Africa have played a critical role in the realization of the low representation of women.

Nevertheless, though lagging behind, the last few years have seen a general increase in the number of women in decisionmaking positions in African states. Notably, countries such as Rwanda, South Africa, Senegal and Namibia have progressed to record women's representation in parliament above 40%, with Rwanda impressively leading the flock with 64% women parliamentarians (IPU, 2018). Contrary to the general belief that Africa is failing to advance women, the case of Rwanda thus remains a typical example of how proportional representation between men and women is attainable. Thus it is justifiable to argue that equal representation of women and men in positions of power, is a precondition for effective and accountable development processes. Contrary to African states like Rwanda 64% and South Africa 42.1% (IPU, 2018), who are leading in the progression towards the advancement of women in politics. Thus it should be noted that, it is not the level of development that is shaping the advancement of women but rather the legislative reforms that are backed by political will to advance women that has since shaped the level of women's participation and representation in governance. Rwanda's case is exceptional in this instance as an example of women's political empowerment.

Figure 1: Showing the difference in the advancement of women in governance, between selected developed and developingcountries.

Comparison of women in Parliament

	Developed Countries	Developing Countries
■ Country A	10.1	64
■ Country B	19.4	42.1
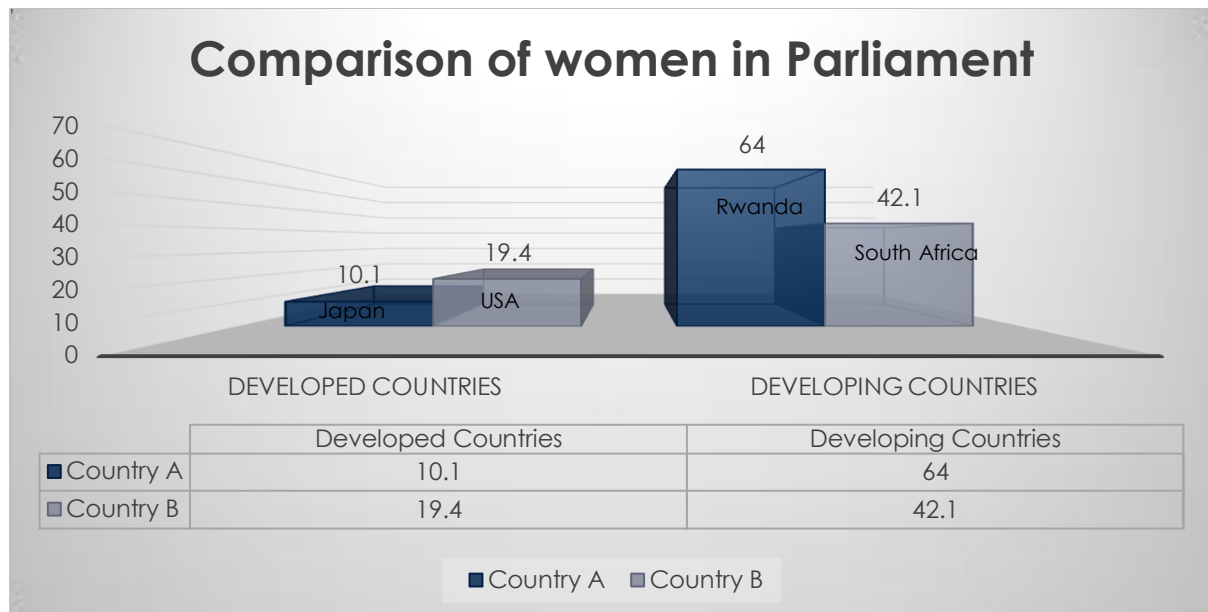
African countries have progressed gradually to realize the growth of inclusive political participation and representation of women in leadership structures. According to Tripp (2013), one of the most fascinating developments in African politics has been the increase in women's political participation since the mid-1990's. Maphosa et al (2015)concurs with this view arguing that, the increase in the number of women occupying political positions in Africa, has been impressive, though a lot of efforts have to be made to ensure the attainment of proportional representation between men and women in political processes. Notable examples of women in governance, can be drawn from countries such as Liberia where Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf became the first elected woman president in Africa in 2005, and Joyce Banda took over as president in Malawi (Tripp, 2013). Moreover, parliamentary patterns are evident in other areas as well. This has seen female speakers of the house in one fifth of African parliaments, which is higher than the world average of 14% (SADC, Gender Links, 2017).

Women have since assumed key ministerial positions in defense, finance and foreign affairs; which according to Tripp (2013), is a break from the past when women primarily held

ministerial positions in the so-called 'softer' ministries of education, community development, sports and youth. Hence, at some point South Africa had a female Defense Minister in Nosiviwe Mapisa-Nqakula, while Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala served as Nigeria's Finance Minister.

However, although statistics appear impressive, the question has since centered around how women's interests are being addressed and to which effect. This brings the significance ofpressure groups, in the form of civil society as mediums of advancing women's interest and complementing the governments in the attainment of proportional representation. The logic behind this line of thought is that, an increase in the number of women representation in governance does not automatically translate to the attainment of gender parity and importantly the advancement of the voice of women. This can be drawn from the events that occurred in Rwanda in 2017 where; the first Rwandan woman to run for president as an independent candidate, Diane Shima Rwigara, was disqualified from running for office, in favor of President Paul Kagame who was elected for the third time (Marima, 2017). This shows that, although there may be increase in women's participation in political processes in Rwanda just as in other African states, the numbers do not mean the attainment of gender parity, nor the recognition of women's voice and interests.

Women are similarly visible in regional bodies, holding 50% of the African Union parliamentary seats. Gertrude Mongella served as the first president of the Pan African Parliament and in July 2012, South Africa's Nkosazana Dhlamini Zuma took over the leadership of the African Union Commission (SADC Gender Protocol 2014 Barometer). Even at the local level at the southern region (SADC), women make up almost 60 percent of local government positions in Lesotho and Seychelles, 43 percent of the members of local councils or municipal assemblies in Namibia, and over one-third of local government seats in Mozambique and Tanzania. The general participation of women in electoral processes has

improved in Southern Africa. This is so noting that, more women than men vote in countries like Botswana, Cape Verde, Lesotho, South Africa and Senegal, which is a clear indication of the role that women have to play in political processes considering the fact that they constitute the greater part of the demography, with over 52% of the population. According to Tripp (2013), these patterns in the improvement of women's position in politics, can be attributed to the growing desire by African states to improve women and more-so, the emergence of autonomous women's movements through civil society groups have been key in attaining the level of women's involvement through lobbying and advocacy. However, the fact that in countries where an increase in the number of female voters has been recorded, yet men continue to dominate political processes instead of women themselves, indicates the extent of women's marginalization in as far as decision making processes are concerned. Thus, it can be noted that the state should make more effort to advance women in politics and on the other hand civic groups have the mandate to ensure that the state obliges to its obligations to empower women, in line with goal 2030 for proportional representation.

In Southern Africa, the advancement of women in political processes has improved in the last two decades. According to Buchard (2014), since the 1990s, women across sub-Saharan Africa have made significant advances in the political realm with women occupying on average 22.5 percent of legislative seats across the continent. The consequent increase in the empowerment of women, can and has been attributed to the growth in the number of women assuming key political positions in countries such as Rwanda, South Africa and Namibia in the SADC region. This is so noting that; a closer look at the trend in the representation and participation of women in governance over the past two decades, attests to an impressive inclusion of women in politics in the region, which has seen 64% of parliamentarian seats being occupied by women in Rwanda, 42.1% assumed by women in South Africa and 41.8% in Namibia (IPU, 2018). It thus follows that the empowerment of women is not alien, but

rather in a reality is a possibility which has demonstrated by countries such as South Africa, Rwanda and Namibia. Hence, it is a matter of question on how such countries have managed to achieve such levels of women empowerment and how other countries like Zimbabwe can emulate the same model and/or do even better.

As is the case in the region and globally, Zimbabwe is not immune to the phenomenon with regards to women's advancement in decision making structures. While women have made great strides in politics in Africa, the country still suffers from significant gender gaps in the political arena, as well as economic opportunity and fundamental human rights, and this is supported by Dube (2013) who noted that though progress is being made towards promoting women's participation and representation in politics, it can be noted that the rate to which the country is progressing, a lot of efforts still need to be done to ensure inclusive participation in the political structures. This follows the fact that, Zimbabwe is but only amongst countries that have attained the 30% female political representation level advised by the Beijing Platform for Action (Community of Democracies, 2017), but the country is still lagging behind in terms of the empowerment of women in politics in the macro-governance structures, and men still dominate political processes to date. This is supported by the UN Women (2010), which attributes the increase of women in political structures in the country to the constitutional quota system which allowed 60 seats to be reserved for women in parliament, as enshrined in the constitution referendum of 2013 under Chapter 2 Section 17 (PoZ, 2013). The Electronic Resource Centre (2013), agrees with this line of thought highlighting that; though the quota system was celebrated in 2013, the outcomes of the 31st July election, however point in another direction in spite of the fact that women's representation had double.

The thinking behind these sentiments, can be argued to be based on the basis of how the country continues to lag behind in the agenda to promote inclusive participation and

representation of women in decision making. The country has implemented a number of policies and made strides to advance women; from international conventions to domestic legislation, yet the challenge remains on the significant representation of women in governance. In spite of the progress made over the years, Zimbabwe's rank in gender equality is poor. The 2011 Human Development Report revealed that the Gender Inequality Index (GII) stood at 0.583 compared to an ideal of zero. This indicates the generally low status of women with respect to reproductive health, empowerment, access, control and ownership of economic resources and economic opportunities, and participation in decision-making. Consequently, it can be justified to argue that the level of development in country can be attributed to the lack of inclusive participation in the governing structures. The evidence can be traced from previous elections in the country which have seen low participation of women and more-so less political positions being occupied by women in public office from grass root level to national level.

According to WiPSU (2008); out of 118 women who contested for to be MP's, only 34 made it into the lower house of Parliament thus constituting 16.5%. This trend in representation between men and women has arguably seen the absence of feminine led policies and development programs in the country. The argument being that, empowering women to participate fully in economic life across all sectors is essential to build stronger economies, to achieve internationally agreed goals of development and sustainability, and to improve the quality of life for women, men, families and communities and this is in-line with The Independent (Raising women participation in politics: Issues to consider, 2017). This line of thought is supported by the various researches that have been conducted which reflect in many ways that across the globe women still find challenges to penetrate through glass ceilings in political spheres as a result remain on the fringes of political power and their participation in democratic processes remains relatively low (Maphosa et al, 2015).A number

of factors have been put across to explain more the exclusion of women in the political life scene as opposed to their male counterparts. It has been attributed that a country's political culture can affect women's role in politics according to Dube (2013), thus demonstrating that Zimbabwe's culture has in somewhat ways played a critical role in shaping the understanding of women's inclusion in politics is concerned.

However, the government has to be commended for the efforts that it has made to promote women in decision making structures and the progress it has registered over the years. A number of efforts have been made by the GoZ to redress the challenge of gender parity in politics and a widely recognized legal process is the Constitutional quota system which was introduced in 2013. This came at the backdrop of the efforts by the A.U and SADC to enhance the current trends of women in politics in member states, by countering some of the barriers that are affecting women's involvement.In an effort to redress an entrenched history of gender imbalances in terms of women political representation in the legislative house, the GoZ adopted an affirmative action; the Constitutional quota system in a bid to reach gender parity. According to the Election Resource Centre (2013) a gender quota is where a certain portion of seats in parliament or candidatures are reserved for women in order to increase their representation or to increase their chances of being elected. Quotas are designed to curb against discrimination so as to secure women's positions of power, to enable them to have the much required critical mass so as to be able to formulate policies and make decisions. In affirmation to the quota system the government of Zimbabwe enshrined these principles in Chapter 2, section 17 of subsection (a) and (b) which puts forward that:

a) The state must promote full participation of women in all spheres of Zimbabwe 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.

The government has since seen an increase in the number of women assuming political leadership and significant progress can be noted from the outcomes of the past two election processes in the country. According to WiPSU (2008); out of 118 women who contested for to be MP's, only 34 made it into the lower house of Parliament thus constituting 16.5%, and in 2013 with the quota system in place, women constitute 35% of the parliamentarians in Zimbabwe (IPU, 2018), which is a significant increase considering the fact that Zimbabwe has since rose to become amongst the very few countries in the world that have managed to attain the 30% threshold in line with the Beijing Protocol Action. Notably, women such as Joyce Mujuru rose to occupy influential positions such as Vice-Presidency (Burchard, 2014), and in the current road to the 2018 polls in Zimbabwe, independent female candidates such as Fadzayi Mahere MP candidate running for Mount Pleasant, Linda Sibanyoni running for MP Harare East and Vimbai Musvaburi MP candidate for Bulawayo South are amongst some of the women who have been vocal in political processes. This demonstrates the significance of women driving the agenda for women's inclusion in governance. It will be interesting to see how these women perform in the election. The question thus comes to will from the people to vote these candidates into office basing on merit and in turn the will by political institutions to advance women, and the cost of being involved in the process on the woman and her life.

2.3 The Legal Framework Informing Women's Participation and Representation in Governance

The participation and representation of women in governance has been guided by a number of international agreements which have sought to promote the advancement of inclusive governance across the globe. A number of international, regional conventions and domestic statutes have been put forward to promote the empowerment of women in public office structures. This review assessed the contribution that international conventions such as the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) 1979,the 1995 Beijing Platform for Action andthe Southern African Development Community (SADC) Protocol on Gender and Development of 1997; towards the empowerment of women in governance structures in Africa. The review also sought to understand the legal framework guiding the empowerment of women in Zimbabwe. This included an analysis of the National Gender Policy and the constitutional quota system.

Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) 1979

A number of conventions and international agreements have been signed over the years, as a commitment by global leaders to ensure the advancement of women in leadership and promotion of significant participation and representation of women in governance. In 1979, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly, as an international bill of rights for women and a legally binding instrument obliging states to promote gender equality (Community of Democracies, 2017). This bill recognized the fact that women have been marginalized and their inclusion in political process was and still is vital in realizing sustainable development, as supported by the new agenda on SDG. According to the United Nations; as of 2017 there were 189 states parties which recognized the convention, thus

making CEDAW an important tool for national and international advocates of gender equality. It is important to note that, amongst these global players that recognize CEDAW is Zimbabwe, which demonstrate the effort by the government to promoting gender parity in all spheres of life (National Gender Policy, 2013). This recognition by the government is significant in realizing the commitment by the political leaders, and the effort can be noted in that not only is Zimbabwe amongst global players for change but is amongst the African countries, with the exception of Sudan and Somalia, that have ratified the Convention (Community of Democracies, 2017).

This is supported by the fact that, enshrined in Article 7 of CEDAW, is the obligation to specifically address the elimination of gender discrimination in political and public life, stating:

> "States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the political and public life of the country and, in particular, shall ensure to women, on equal terms with men, the right:
>
> i. To vote in all elections and public referenda and to be eligible for election to all publicly elected bodies;
> ii. To participate in the formulation of government policy and the implementation thereof and to hold public office and perform all public functions at all levels of government;
> iii. To participate in non-governmental organizations and associations concerned with the public and political life of the country." (Community of Democracies, 2017:8)

Clearly, each state has a key role to play to ensure the attainment of these obligations. However, it is paramount to note that despite being a signatory of the CEDAW agreement, the levels of participation of women in politics and decision making positions remains a

major concern in Zimbabwe.It is in this view, that quota systems have been introduced as a tool to advance women in political processes. According to information available in the Community of Democracies (2017) report on Africa, in 1997, the CEDAW Committee issued General Recommendation No. 23 to elaborate on Article 7, which states that the "formal removal of barriers and the introduction of temporary special measures (quotas) to encourage the equal participation of both men and women in the public life of their societies are essential prerequisites to true equality in political life".It is important to note that; with a recommendation that was passed in 1997, the GoZ only introduced the constitutional quota system in 2013 under the new referendum, that is 16 years after it was passed. It can therefore be noted that, the progress in the advancement of women has been low in the country, owing to the male dominance in the political realm and more-so the lack of political will to advance the interest of women.

Furthermore, the convention recognizes that states, political parties, and public officials should actively encourage women's full and effective participation, together with all other sectors of society. Inherently, political parties have the obligation to promote party quota's that can ensure the full participation of women in political leadership. According to Zungura and Nyemba (2013), quotas are assumed to be the undisputable way of a significant increase in women representation in politics. However, in Zimbabwe the evidence on the ground shows diminutive direct relationship between the constitutional quota system and the promotion of gender equality in politics.This is so noting that, women in Zimbabwe have not been given their rightful role in politics. The women are not viewed as critical stakeholders or leaders, but rather as mere female members to be used primarily to secure the female vote according to Shawarira(2014). Hence, though the government recognizes CEDAW as a tool to empower women, it is critical to note that the country is still lagging behind in women's political empowerment and has to make more efforts in policy change and legislative

reformsto ensure significant change in the status of women by 2030. It is in this process that, civil society work has to be strengthened and be vibrant so as to advance the agenda for women's political empowerment.

Beijing Platform for Action of 1995

The continuous growth in debate and call for the promotion of gender equality in all aspects of life for both men and women, saw the call of 189 countries to the conference in China in September 1995; according to UN Women (n.d., The Beijing Platform for Action: inspiration then and now), a historical milestone that resulted in the Beijing Platform for Action of 1995. Considering the magnitude of the outcomes of the conference, it can be argued that the platform shaped one of the most significant events in the agenda to attain gender equality and empowerment of women in politics. This is so noting the fact that, the conference had a single purpose in mind, which was a call to promote gender equality and the empowerment of all women. It has thus followed, the developments that have transpired in global events in advancing the role and position of women, and this is supported by Minnesota Advocates for Human Rights (1996) who highlighted that the blueprint produced in September 1995, was going to be a defining document in the process of achieving the agenda on women's empowerment. And rightfully so it has shaped the agenda in many ways to date.

The Beijing Platform for Action, signed unanimously by all UN member states, lists Women in Power and Decision-Making among its twelve Strategic Objectives. International agreements assist in advancing the political empowerment of women at a global scale. Zungura and Nyemba (2013) arguethat; it is through these key objectives that states committed to take measures that would ensure women's equal access to and full participation in power structures and decision-making, as well as to increase women's capacity to participate in decision-making and leadership. In unison, one can note that, the GoZ under the

provisions of Chapter 2 of the constitution referendum of 2013 (PoZ,2013), has also made this the mandate of the state to ensure that women have been empowered in this regard and enhance the represent and participation of women in political processes. It is critical to note the fact that, the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action is the most progressive blueprint ever for advancing women's rights, according to UN Women (n.d.), The Beijing Platform for Action: inspiration then and now), and for it to be recognized by the government clearly demonstrates the aspiration to advance women in leadership.

The Protocol is comprehensive and clearly outlines the mandate that all states and non-state parties should adhere to and ensure the attainment of the agenda on enhancing the participation and representation of women in governance. According to the Minnesota Advocates for Human Rights, (1996), "paragraph 190a calls on governments to commit themselves to establishing the goal of gender balance in governmental bodies and committees, as well as in public administrative entities, the judiciary, and setting specific targets and implementing measures to substantially increase the number of women with a view to achieving equal representation of women and men, if necessary through positive action, in all governmental and public administration positions". It sets tone to that governments should put in place strategies and actions that can ensure the attainment of this agenda. In line with the MDG's of the year 2000, global states; including Zimbabwe, agreed to promote gender equality and empower women (MDG 3) by the year 2015 (UN, 2005). A look at the progress that Zimbabwe has made over the years; especially with the period from 2000 to date, the results that the government has achieved clearly reflect the magnitude to which women have been marginalized in the country. It is therefore critical to note that, having a policy on paper is no guarantee towards the attainment of the agenda on women's empowerment.

More-over, the political system within a country plays a critical role in shaping the manner through which the agenda to enhance women's participation and representation can be achieved. Scholars such as Dube (2013), have argued that, the structure of the political system has a bearing effect on how women are to be empowered. In this line of thinking, the Beijing Conference sought to also promote means through women could be advanced in decision making processes. The Community for Democracies (2017) highlights that the conference urged political parties to:

i. Consider examining party structures and procedures to remove all barriers that directly or indirectly discriminate against the participation of women;

ii. Consider developing initiatives that allow women to participate fully in all internal policymaking structures and appointive and electoral nominating processes;

iii. Consider incorporating gender issues in their political agenda, taking measures to ensure that women can participate in the leadership of political parties on an equal basis with men.

These provisions have seen adjustments to party structures in Zimbabwe over the years which have made efforts to promote women empowerment. In this light, the two major political parties in the country; ZANU PF and MDC-T, have made efforts to provide for party quotas that can ensure that places for women are reserved in the constituencies that they win. However, with such provisions women's representation and participation in the country's political process has remained insignificant. Acknowledgement should be made to the increase that has been recorded progressively over the years, however the numbers are limited to represent fully the interest of the majority population.

In 2015, a new milestone was reached which saw the introduction of the new Sustainable Development Goals, adopted at the UN Sustainable Development Summit in New York,

which seek to advance the goal to promote gender equality in all spheres of life as enshrined under Goal 5- Gender Equality. This is a clear indication that global players including Zimbabwe, still have a mountain to climb in advancing women. Complementing the statutes of international agreements such as the Beijing Platform for Action, the global players have agreed to the 2030 Agenda, which situates women's rights within human rights and development frames, explaining that "ending all forms of discrimination against women and girls is not only a basic human right, but it also crucial to accelerating sustainable development" (UN, 2016). Goal 5 includes among its targets to:

i. Ensure women's full and effective participation and equal opportunities for leadership at all levels of decision-making in political, economic and public life;

ii. Adopt and strengthen sound policies and enforceable legislation for the promotion of gender equality and the empowerment of all women and girls at all levels.

Thus it should be noted that, in as far as legal frameworks on enhancing women's participation in politics is concerned, countries have come up with comprehensive blueprints. It is however, a question of what is on the ground and how states have set themselves up to ensure the attainment of these agreements. In the case of Zimbabwe, it is more paramount that in the road to the 2018 polls; and with a new government under the refined ZANU PF party, more women should be promoted into office and begin to shape the road towards a new dispensation in the country. However, a look at the events that transpired in 2017 which saw very few women attaining influential positions under the new government in the so-called new dispensation which is led by the newly appointed Hon President E. Mnangagwa, it should be taken up as a demonstration of what may be the outcomes of the 2018 polls in the country.

Southern African Development Community (SADC) Protocol on Gender and Development 1997

In the year 1997, with the continued emphasis on women's role in politics, the regional body SADC set to address the debate. This resulted in the introduction of the 1997 SADC Protocol on Gender and Development, a piece of legislation and regional agreement which calls for all member states to ensure that there is equal representation in all decision making positions between men and women. According to the Gender Protocol, State parties should ensure equal and effective representation of women in decision making positions in the political, public and private sectors including through the use of special measures as provided for in Article 5 (SADC Gender Protocol, 2015), which attests to the importance of inclusive governance in all member states and also ensure the empowerment of women in governance. As a signatory of this agreement, Zimbabwe has been guided by the obligation to achieve proportional representation in economic and political structures of leadership. However, for the past 3 decades, women's representation in office has fluctuated way below the 50% threshold; which is a clear indication of the government's failure to affirm to this commitment. This can be justified by the fact that, since inception of the commitment in 1997, the country has only seenthe number of women in the National Assembly fluctuate between 18 to 28%, a deficit of around 22%, which is significantly a mountain climb to achieve; according to a publication by the Zimbabwe Independent press.

Amidst the heated debates in Zimbabwe's current political crisis, it is without doubt that the debate around equal representation of women is most likely to continue in the upcoming 2018 poll elections in spite of all the efforts to promote women's status in leadership. Considering the fact that; as a signatory to the convention, Zimbabwe had the obligation to implement 30% female representation in parliament by 2005 and achieve the 50% representation threshold by 2015 asstipulated by the Protocol, it can be noted that the GoZ has failed to

achieve the target as women remain underrepresented in leadership structures. This is supported by the fact that, according to IPU (2018), Zimbabwe at 32.6%, is currently ranked 34th in the world in terms of women's representation in politics, which attests to the level of underrepresentation of women in leadership in the country as compared to the dominant 67.4% male representation. Consequently, it is clear to note that the government has failed to affirm to itscommitments as a result of a number of factors, arguably including the hostile electoral system whichdoes not encourage more women representation in leadership structures.

Proportional Representation

The under-representation of women in leadership is one of the most prevalent and well known debate across the globe. Over the years, the need to address the challenge has grown to become one of the leading points of debate in global discussions in contemporary development debates. According toLane (1995), a number of explanations for this phenomenon have been advanced in the political science literature, and one the frequently mentioned factors is a country's choice of an electoral formula, implying that a country's electoral system has implications in the empowerment of women in political and economic leadership. In this light, proportional representation has become the leading and most favored electoral system, which holds the potential to promote the empowerment of women in leadership.Proportional representation is defined as, an electoral system in which the number of seats held by a political group or party in a legislative body is determined by the number of popular votes received (Webster, n.d.), thus for proportional representation to be effective, there is need to have women equally represented in the seats that each political front acquires in an election. However, clearly it can be noted that this hasn't been the case in most states, let alone in Zimbabwe where women are constituting only 32.8% of the parliamentarian seats, according to the IPU (2018) publication.

It has also been argued that proportional representation is more likely to promote the nomination and election of women than the use of single-member plurality systems (Lane, 1995). Arguably, a proportional representation electoral system has often been noted as one of the keysystems which can be adopted, to ensure that more women can be represented in the politicalinstitutions. In Zimbabwe, efforts have been made to use the system as a tool to promote women's opportunities for a legislative career and generally any other form of economic and political leadership. Consequently, however, it is fundamental to note that, in essence having a proportional representation system in place does not automatically imply that women are empowered politically and does not guarantee smooth rise for women into influential positions. This is so considering the fact that in the case of Africa, particularly Southern Africa, the proportional representation electoral systems have not translated to the advancement of women in political structures. Scholars like Beckwith (1992) argue that; the significance of proportional representation of women should not be overemphasized as it does not automatically translate to the empowerment of women.In this view, it is therefore crucial that the underrepresentation of women in political structures be understood and interrogated from a holistic approach that looks into the various elements that are informing the phenomenon.

It is this background, that informed the study to interrogate the effectiveness of the efforts made by the GoZ in advancing the participation and representation of women in public structures of influence. The research thus looked at the various factors that are militating against the empowerment of women in leadership. The manner through which such components such as electoral systems are structured, have an implication on the appreciation of women's role in the political domain as is the case of Zimbabwe where in-spite of the adoption of proportional representation, women continue to be underrepresented in the country.Hence an interrogation of the piece of legal framework in this study.

Constitutional Quota System

The use of quota systems to promote women in politics is not new in political developments. Nzomo (1994) highlights that most countries in Africa that have managed to acquire the 30% representation of women in parliament have in some ways implemented a quota system. This approach to women's political empowerment has been instrumental in Rwanda's realization of proportional representation in government.A quota system is a measure through which a certain portion of seats in parliament or candidatures are reserved for women in order to increase their representation or chances of being elected into office (Election Resource Centre, 2013). Such a system is intended to guide against discrimination so as to secure women's positions of power, to enable them to have the much required representation to influence policy and decision making. In affirmation to the quota system the government of Zimbabwe enshrined these principles in Chapter 2 section 17 ofsubsection (a) and (b) clearly outlining the commitment by the government to advance women in decision making. Resultantly, efforts have been in place to empower women in leadership through this approach. Like other African and global states, due to continuous pressure from civil society groups and the general public, the GoZ under Robert Mugabe's government took the step to empower women in public office structures and introduced the constitutional quota systemin 2013.

Globally, quota systems have been used in various countries and have to some extent contributed to the increase in the average representation of women in parliament. The question however is on the significance of the representation of women and how effective the general empowerment of women is towards the overall advancement of women in leadership. According to Jones (2007), quota systems saw an increase in women's representation from 11.8 % (1998) to nearly 16% in 2005, an increase which arguably can be commended considering the 7-year period that the result was achieved. However, when one looks at the

recent global statistics, bearing in mind the fact that over 18 years have passed; yet only 22.8% of all national parliamentarians were women as of June 2016 (UN Women, n.d), it is important to note that progress in women's global representation in leadership is low, let alone the question of its significance in shaping feminine led programs in development.

Figure 2: Global representation of women in parliament

Source: Primary
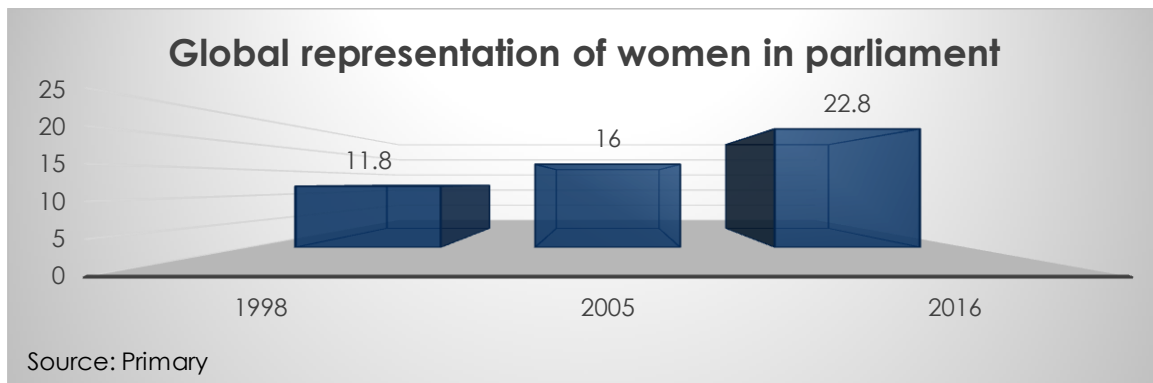
These variances have without doubt been a resultant of the contrasting political, cultural and historical contexts, and the incorporation of differing quota mechanisms into different electoral systems across the globe. With the gradual increase in the number of women representation in formal politics, the debate has since shifted from just 'numbers' towards a new dispensation where, whether this presence actually enhances representation of women's needs and interests as supported by Jones (2007). In the case of Zimbabwe, the research sought to understand the dynamics through which this quota system has managed to empower women. Upon assuming leadership, do women representatives have equitable access to power and influence? Do these women 'represent women' and have they influenced the introduction of 'women friendly' policies and legislation? Arguably, to measure the effectiveness of this piece of legislation, the above mentioned questions had to be addressed and interrogated.

2.4 Civil Society and the Participation of Women in Leadership/Governance

A number of scholars have come up with varied schools of thought in defining the term civil society. According to the two sector model; there are only two actors in socio-political discourse and that is the market and the state, with the state being the major player in shaping the development agenda (Ghaus-Pasha, 2005). Smith and Shen (n.d.) are of the view that; civil societies are observed in a broad context that recognizes a wide range of organizationswhich are not under the control of governments and which are not for profit organizations.They go on to indicate that; civil society organizationsare value-driven rather than profit driven, hence their mandates differ in line with interests. This indicates that CSO's grow in line with a certain vision and mandate. Such organizations include non-governmental organizations, community based organizations, and faith basedorganizations, trade unions, farmer's associations, academics, professionalassociations, student's movements and other mass movements which are not affiliated topolitical organizations.This line of thinking is supported by Salamon et al (2003) cited in Ghaus-Pasha (2005) who highlights that; arithmetic resolutions have kept the third sector; that is civil society organizations, largely invisible in economic statistics. In this light it is fundamental to note that; civil society is a broader concept, encompassing all organizations and/or associations that exist outside the state and the market; that is the third sector.

According toGhaus-Pasha (2005); the third sector embraces entities as diverse as village associations, grass roots development organizations, agricultural extension services, self-help cooperatives, religious institutions, schools, hospitals, human rights organizations and business and professional associations. She goes on to highlight that; due to the diverse nature of the sector, a comprehensive and representative understanding of the role and significance of the civil society sector in the development process continues to be a major gap in the literature, particularly in the context of developing countries. Hence it is paramount for

one to understand the type of civil society organization in reference, which assists in the broader understanding of the topic under study on how women's movements have managed to advance marginalized groups participation and representation in governance structures.

Subsequently,various civil groups focusing on political processes; have emerged in an effort to ensure good governance and promote participation of women. This, realization was imperative in shaping the work of this research. In this light, the study was rooted on the foundation that sought to assess the role that women movement organizations have and/or are playing in shaping the advancement of women in political processes in the country. Over the past 40 years, numerous human rights and civil groupshave played a pivotal role in realizing gender equality in Africa. In countries such as Kenya; women's organizing in the pre-independence period, have progressed and made inroads in advancing the agenda on women's participation in leadership in both elective and appointive bodies, according to Kieti (2014). These movements, have seen the advancement of women and realization of some level of gender equality in political decision making processes. According to Lopes (2008) cited in Kieti (2014); the role of civil society in modern day democratic governance is of utmost importance since the civil society ensures the proper functioning of government while respecting the main pillars of democracy.

2.5 Chapter Summary

In conclusion, it is evident that a wide pool of literature is available that attempts to explain the dynamics patterning to the participation and representation of women in governance, the contribution of civil society in advancing women in politics, the factors militating against proportional representation of women in leadership and the efforts that have been put in place by the government to redress women's underrepresentation in public office. Limited literature however, is available that interrogates the effectiveness of the efforts deployed by the GoZ to redress gender imbalances in politics. More-over literature on the work of WiPSU in the

advancement of women in governance is limited and is not readily accessible, considering the fact that the work of civil society groups should be vibrant and loud so as to be effective in their cause. The research thereby extracted relevant information from the available literature on gender and politics, as the basic framework informing the study.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

Research methodology refers to the instruments and techniques used to obtain both primary and secondary data informing a particular area of study (Bhattacherjee, 2012). Buckley and Chiang (1976) cited in Jenkins (n.d.), define research methodology as a strategy by which the researcher outlines the approach to fact finding and come up with solutions to the problem identified. In light of this view, the researcher used qualitative research method to explore and analyze the role that WiPSU is playing in promoting the participation and representation of women in governance.This chapter depicts an examination of the research methodology that was applied to conduct this study. It aims to bring to light the processes, techniques and methods that the researcher employed to collect the data in line with this research. Henceforth, the discussion will focus on highlighting the research design, research sample, sampling techniques used, research instruments, data collection methods and data analysis methods.

3.1 Research Design

Research design is a critical component of any academic study, as it outlines the manner through which a study is to be carried out. According to De Vaus (2001), research design refers to the overall strategy that a researcher chooses to integrate the different components of the study in a coherent and logical way. The research was informed by a case study research design, which sought to interrogate the contributions of WiPSU in promoting the participation of women in governance in the Midlands Province. According to Bhattacherjee (2012), a research design is a crucial element to a study as it allows the research to be studied in the context of the components involved and can be arranged in an order that can be understood in a coherent manner. It thus follows that, the importance of the research design is

to identify the appropriate techniques of data collection, instruments to be applied, how the researchinstruments will be used and the way in which the gathered data is to be organized, presentedand analyzed in a coherent and chronological manner.

Bhattacherjee (2012) goes further to highlight that, research design is a comprehensive plan for data collection in an empirical research project. It is a blueprint for empirical research, aimed at answering specific research questions or testing specific hypotheses, and must specify at least three processes that is; the data collection process, the instrument development process, and the sampling process. It is through this approach of research design that the study sought to respond to the questions articulated in chapter one. It therefore was the most appropriate technique for this study, as it aimed to explore real life experiences of women and communities in addressing the challenges of women's underrepresentation in political processes and the efforts being made to redress the challenge.This line of thought is supported by Dulock (1993) who defined research design as the tool of networking the collection of datathat is used as a guide in collecting and analyzing data. In this light, the study sought to interrogate the participation and representation in the Midlands province, however narrowing it down to conveniently sampled areas that is Zvishavane, Gweru and Kwekwe.

3.1.1Research Approach

The study was founded on the basis of qualitative research as the tool of data collection and analysis. According to Creswell (2008) qualitative research is defined as a process where the researcher physically visits the site within the study to gather information that is relevant to answer the questions informing the study. It is descriptive and non-numerical information that the researcher seeks to gather and analyze to come up with conclusions on the phenomenon under study. This view is supported by Neuman (2000),who highlights that

qualitative method of research is much more concerned with soft data presentation in a descriptive manner through the use of sentences or symbols, thus discussions are conducted in a descriptive manner rather than quantitative methods which are more technical based. The researcher applied qualitative research because qualitative research is highly contextual; which allowed the collection of information in its raw state from the respondents.

As a result, the researcher applied a qualitative research method approach in studying the contribution of WiPSU in promoting women's participation and representation in governance. The research conducted an in-depth analysis of the contributions that WiPSU is playing in advancing women, an analysis to which facts, opinions and views from various respondents was required. Hence, qualitative research approach presented a platform through which the respondents could clarify and elaborate their views in-line with the topic. This concurs with Rahman (2017) who acknowledges that, qualitative research allows the researcher to collect in-depth details surrounding their study, where the respondents can elaborate what they mean, feel and understand.This is supported by Rasinger, (2013), who highlights that a qualitative research approach allows the perceptions of the participants themselves to be considered in the research

3.1.2 Target Population

Target population is a fundamental element of research from which the research's foundation is built. Alvi (2016) defines target population as units from a specific demography, who meet a particular criterion specified for a research. The targeted population for the study was conveniently selected from women and men in political leadership offices in Zvishavane, Gweru and Kwekwe. The selected key areas have an urban total population of 303 995 people, 156 463 males and 174 815 according to the Midlands Census report (2012). The researcher targeted respondents that assume political offices such as members of parliament,

local governance officials, councillors, line ministries, political parties, civic groups and the general public. The respondents were chosen on the basis of qualitative research using convenience, purposive and snowball sampling instruments.

Figure 3: Summary of the target population for the study

Targeted respondents	Permanent residence	Male	Female
Gweru, Zvishavane and Kwekwe	303 995	156 463	174 815

3.2 Research Sample

Research sample refers to the process of selecting unitsfrom a population of interest so that by studying the sample we may fairly generalize our results back to the population from which they were chosen(Rahman, 2017). Rasinger (2013) goes on to highlight that, in the interest of completing a study on a particular phenomenon or topic, the researcher has to identify a sample that he/she will work with to draw conclusions on the study. In this line, considering the fact that the geography of the area is large and cannot be completed in one research, the research applied a sampling approach to the area where collection of data was conducted.

3.2.1 Sampling Techniques

Sampling is one of the key elements of any academic research that narrows down the area of study to a smaller population that can be used as a representative of the overall structure. This is a crucial component of any research in that, data collected through these sampling techniques will be used to contribute to the understanding of the overall theoretical framework under study. According to Barnett (2002), a sample is therefore a smaller

collection of units from a population used to determine truths about that population. Hence it is important that the sampling technique(s) deployed by the research, are a collective and overall representation of the facts on the group. It is in this line of thought that the researcher used non-probability sampling techniques; that is purposive and convenience sampling techniques, to analyze the area under study.

Purposive Sampling

The scope of the study was broad and far reaching in various aspects of political representation and participation of women. To do justice and make an attempt to attract relevant information from organizations and individuals, the researcher used purposive sampling as the major tool of population sampling. According to Tongco (2007), purposive sampling is a data collection technique that is looks to gather information from the relevant sources that inform the field under study. The researcher looked to acquire data from experts in the field under study and identify key personnel that he interviewed along with relevant organizations that were engaged as sources of data. This concurs with Etikan et al (2016), who indicates that purposive sampling is a nonrandom technique that does not need underlying theories or a set number of participants. It involves the process through which the researcher identifies and selects respondents that are proficient and well-informed with the phenomenon under study. Hence, the researcher engaged members of parliament, local councilors, relevant line ministries, local government authorities, civic groups, political party representatives along with other key players, as the purposive sample groups for data collection. The researchpurposively sampled 8 experts in the aforementioned key areas, as the key respondents to this study.

Convenience Sampling

Convenience sampling technique is a simple, quick and convenient method of data collection. Here the researcher will engage any participants who are available. Given the nature of the area under study which requires the overall response of the general public on their views and opinions regarding the constitutional quota system and the representation and participation of women in fundamental leadership structures, convenience sampling technique will be applied in this research, to compliment the efforts of the main sampling technique in the understanding of the framework under study. These will form the bulk of the respondents in this study because it is from the public perspective that the significance of the policies and pieces of legislation that the GoZ has employed to advance women in leadership can be interrogated. The researcher sampled90 participants from the three areas of study, as respondents to the questionnaires and interview for this study.

Data analysis is one of the fundamental elements of this research which was key to elaborate and clarify on the various aspects of the topic under study. Underrepresentation of women in leadership structures is without doubt, one phenomenon that is a result of a number of factors that are culminating resulting in the low and insignificant participation of women in public office. It is therefore through a thematic data analysis approach, that the true reflection of the dynamics was analyzed to assess the relevance of WiPSU in the advancement of women in public office leadership structures. The data collected was in separate volumes, which required a systematic or rather thematic interpretation to bring out clearly the various components of the field under study. Hence, the researcher applied a thematic data analysis approach.

Snowballing

The research also made use of snowballing as a technique for sampling data. Snowball sampling may be defined as; a technique for finding research subjects who then identify another subject, who in turn provides the name of a third, and so on (Vogt, 1999). It is a chain of referrals that link the researcher with respondents to the research. Biernacki and Waldorf (1981)go on to highlight that snowball sampling yields a study sample through referrals made between people who share or know people who can be of help in the areas under study. In this context, the researcher utilizedthis chain of communication to assist identify 10 key respondents in governance structures, who assisted with the study. This approach was useful in that; it created a referral channel to get access to respondents from a group of highly mobile individuals. Hence the available chains in communication were key in accessing information to the study.

Figure4: Population samples for the study

Targeted respondents	Population sample	Data collection techniques	Sampling technique
Councillors	10	Interview	Snowballing
Experts (Purposefully sampled respondents)	8	Interview/Questionnaire	Purposive
Permanent residence (male and female)	90	Questionnaires	Convenience

Figure 5: Population sample by town/city

Conveniently sampled respondents for the research were as follows. This was done in relation to the number of people who were available and agreed to be included in the research.

Gweru	Kwekwe	Zvishavane
35	30	25

3.3 Data Collection Techniques/Instruments

Data collection is a crucial element of research. The process requires one to utilize instruments of data collection which allows for effective collection of facts around a particular area of study. According to Rasinger (2013) cited in Rahman (2017);there are a number of data collection instruments/methods that one can apply in compiling information regarding to a research area.Flick (2013) defines data collection as the process of gathering and measuring information according to variables of interest. It should therefore be noted that data collection is a critical aspect of any research as it provides the information that will be analyzed to come up with a clear evaluation and assessment of the topic under study.In this light, the research utilized the following non-probability data collection techniques that is desktop research, interviews and questionnaires, in relation to the topic under study.The underlying techniques were carefully chosen so asto gather the relevant information related to the roles played by WiPSU in promoting women's representation and participation in governance.

Desk Research

Secondary sources of information were key sources of data collection in this research. According to information on B2B International (n.d.), desk research refers to secondary data or that which can be collected without fieldwork. In general desk research suggests published

reports and statistics, however in a wider context it includes all sources of information that do not involve a field survey.This includes searching libraries sources, online journals, research papers and the internet, which were complemented by information that was acquired from the experts from the organization as well.Desk research was a key instrument of data collection for the research, which was complemented by questionnaires and interviews as other techniques of data collection. This was done to understand and ensure that, there was a link between facts presented in secondary sources and facts that were acquired from the field; in line with the representation of women.It thus followed that; the researcher utilized desk research to investigate organizational reports and published documents with reference to the topic under study, the work of WiPSU and efforts that the GoZ has employed to advance women in decision making structures.

Self-administered Questionnaires

The research utilized questionnaires as an instrument to collect and compile data informing this study. According to Abawi (2013), a questionnaire is a data collection instrument consistent of a series of questions and other prompts for the purpose of gathering information from respondents. Jenkins and Dillman (1995), go on to highlight that; questionnaires can be divided into two categories that is structured and unstructured questionnaires. For the purposes of this research, the research applied both set of questionnaires, where the unstructured questionnaire was used to gather information basing on the views and perceptions of the women, where they could express their opinions in depth. Structured questionnaires were used to gather information from key respondents in this study; that is purposively selected respondents from WiPSU and also women in governance who were chosen by the researcher from Gweru, Zvishavane and Kwekwe.

Questionnaires were administered to 90 conveniently sampled respondents, allowingthe collection of both subjective and objective data from the sample of the study population. The approach was applied in order to obtain results that were substantial to women's involvement in leadership processes and governance in the country, complementing information that was acquired through desk research and in depth interviews with key respondents. Consequently, the approach permitted the respondents to share their own opinions and views on factors that are militating against women's full participation in politics. Diverse views and opinions were gathered which brought an insight to the major contributing factors affecting the women; especially in the Midlands Province. This is supported by Flick (2013), who highlights that, qualitative data collection methods are essential in research as tools to gather feedback pertaining a specified topic, which helps in the understanding of the dynamics related to the topic under study. Hence, the researcher distributed unstructured questionnaires to gather the views of the people against preconceived perceptions centered around the women's empowerment in politics.

Interviews

Another key instrument of data collection that was applied by the research was interviews. According to Abawi (2013), interviews consist of collecting data by asking questions. The data can be collected by listening to individuals, recording, filming their responses, or a combination of methods. There are four types of interviews, and these are structured interview, semi-structured interview, in-depth interview, and focused group discussion. In this research, the study applied structured interviews with 8purposefully sampled respondents. This instrument was chosen on the basis that; the interview questions were guided by the objectives and questions of this study. The interviews were thus conducted with key respondents from WiPSU and other purposively selected women and men in political office. The approach allowed the respondent to also make additions to the

information that was requested and this is supported by Rahman (2017) who highlights that afford the researcher to give explanation to the questions where clarity is needed and to afford the respondent to provide more explanation on a key area.

Moreover, to compile in depth information on the work of WiPSU and women in governance structures or were formerly in office, structured interview questions were used to conduct in depth interviews with the respondents. These were crafted in a manner that allowed the respondent to provide information in line with the set objectives and questions of the study. Thus information was acquired relevantly informing the study. In line with Nigatu (2009); structured questionnaires create a platform for views, opinions and most importantly experience on a specific topic to be shared which makes the results more conclusive. Hence, structured questions were designed to allow the respondent to get experience fed information.

3.4 Data Analysis

According to Flick (2013), data analysis is the central step in all qualitative research. He goes on to highlight that; whatever the data are, it is their analysis that, in a decisive way, forms the outcomes of the research. It thus follows that; qualitative research is concentrated on analyzing the data/recordings gathered in line with the research. The process of data analysis was done so as to bring about an understanding of the data collected. Nigatu (2009) acknowledges that, research data analysis is the most crucial stage of any research. It is therangeofprocessesandprocedureswherebywemovefromthequalitativedatathat   has beencollectedintosomeformofexplanation,understandingorinterpretationofthepeopleandsituati ons under investigation.

The major role of the data analysis process is to identify themes, relationships, common factors and other relevant instruments that can be used to understand the research. In this light, the data analysis process was done to understand the various dynamics associated with

the plight of women in governance, and sought to understand the reasons behind the lack of participation and representation in governance. This line of thought corresponded withLacey and Luff (2007), who highlight that the major role of the data analysis process is to identify themes, relationships, common factors and other relevant instruments that can be used to understand the research. Data analysis was done with the aim to understand the stock of information that was gathered and the process was done through observations, interviews and questionnaires distributed; as the researcher identified common themes that best explained the phenomenon as communicated by the respondentsfrom the data compiled. It is through this approach, that research managed to understand the facts around women's participation in Zimbabwe, and consequently the underlying forces which have contributed to the status of women in the country. The data analysis also afforded the research to observe and trace the significance of the organization in the advancement of women in governance.

3.5Limitations of the Study

The scope of the study was broad and covered a number of aspects in an effort to bring an understanding of women's participation in governance. A number of barriers stood and militated against the ability of the researcher to complete this research. Comprehensive information relating to the study was political and could be accessed from political offices which were not easily accessible. The red tape associated with most public offices hindered the full access to acquire information to support the study. Some offices were not willing to disclose the information needed by the researcher because it wasregarded as private and confidential.On another note, the organization under study had challenges with providing information on the programs and work they are conducting. The literature available was limited. As a result, the researcher relied on secondary sources of information and information acquired through interviews and questionnaires.

Another limitation was access to the respondents of the study, considering that the group of people under study was highly mobile due to their respective portfolio duties. As a result, getting access to these individuals was a challenge. In addition, the time in which the research was carried out; that is in the period towards the 2018 poll elections, aided to the challenges that the researcher encountered in the efforts to acquire information from the relevant authorities and respondents. Some key respondents were not accessible due to preparations for the elections. From a personal point of view, lack of financial resources and adequate time to collect comprehensive data was a challenge. In an effort to his view, to counter some of the challenges presented above, the student will therefore obtain some important information relating to the research through reviewing available literature in the field of study.

3.6 Delimitation of the Study

The research examined the role played by WiPSU in promoting the participation of women in governance in the Midlands Province. The scope of the research was narrowed down to focus on Gweru, Zvishavane and Kwekwe for convenience purposes. The aforementioned areas were used as the base from which the researcher sampled respondents for the study's data collection and analysis.

3.7 Ethical Considerations

According to Kamat (2006), ethics is a branch ofPhilosophy and field of everyday thinking dealing with questionsof what is morally right and wrong. One can therefore be justified to argue that ethics deal with morality; that is the ability to choose between right and wrong. In research, ethics are highly important to guide the work of researchers, protect the sources of information and also importantly guide against plagiarism. In light of this, the researcher performed his study with full recognition of the ethics of research. The student thus committed:

i.   To respect and uphold information passed by his sources with recognition of their concerns and needs

ii.   To keep highly censored information confidential

iii.   To assure that study respondents would not be disclosed to anyone else except for use in this research

iv.   To use available literature only to guide and support the work that the researcher has acquired from his study

3.8 Chapter Summary

In summation, this chapter brought to light the method that was applied by the researcher in the process of gathering the relevant information relating to the study and the manner through which the data was analyzed and processed to come up with the conclusions that will be discussed in the following chapter. It is important to note that, the methodology was crafted to best suit the objectives and questions that this study sought to address in the process of understanding women's participation and representation in governance structures in Zimbabwe and how civil society groups in the country have promoted the agenda of women's advancement in political structure, focus of Midlands province.

CHAPTER 4: PRESENTATION OF DATA

4.0 Introduction

The overall objective of this research was to analyze the role played by WiPSU in promoting the participation and representation of women in governance structures. The chapter highlights the findings that the research unveiled in line with the topic under study. The discussions and in depth analysis of the various dynamics associated with the status of women in leadership in an attempt to clarify the various factors that have shaped the level of women's participation and representation in governance in the country will be presented. A thematic approach was used to analyze the available data in a manner that brought to light an understanding of the findings that the study managed to attain. This was done in a chronological order, addressing the objectives that were stated in the initial chapter of this research. Henceforth discussions will focus on the analysis of data collected by the researcher addressing the objectives set for the research, in an attempt to attain an appreciation of the status of women in leadership.

4.1 Respondents Feedback Analysis

The outcomes of the research presented in this chapter were acquired through interviews, questionnaires and desk research with relevant sources. It is key to note that, the study presents the results according to the response attained from the data collected. The researcher managed to attain 75 questionnaires out of the conveniently 90 sampled respondents from the three cities selected. The researcher managed to conduct 5 in depth interviews with purposefully sampled experts in the area of study and 4 councilors were available for interviews from the 10 respondents that were selected through snowballing.

Figure 6: Response rate according to data collection technique

Method used	Target	Responded	Percentage %
Questionnaires	90	75	83.3
Interview: Experts	8	5	62.5
Interview: Councilors	10	4	40

The researcher sought to understand the dynamics associated with women which have shaped the level of women's participation and representation in key decision making structures. He thus conducted the research in a holistic approach, with the major focus placed on women, and also included men in an attempt to understand the role that patriarchy has played and can play in the advancement of women in politics.

Figure 7: Gender Segregated Response

	Target	Responded	Female	Male
Questionnaires	90	75	55	20
Interviews: Councilors	10	4	3	1
Interview: Experts	8	5	3	2

It is also key to note that, the findings of this research were shaped by the level of understanding that respondents had in line with the topic under study. The researcher learned that though a number of women civil groups operate in Zimbabwe, their visibility is mostly noted in the major cities in the country, with the grass root levels lagging behind. This is so noting that; out of the 75 respondents that completed questionnaires, only 15 indicated knowledge of WiPSU, leaving out 52 who were not acquainted with the organization and 8 who indicated some level of knowledge and these are mostly from Gweru. Hence, the organization has to improve its programming to ensure that their programs have a national reach, penetrating all areas in both urban and rural settlements.

Figure 8: Response rate for women and men acquainted with WiPSU

COMPARISON OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO THEIR KNOWLEDGE OF WIPSU

Aware 19%

Partly Knowledgable 13%

Not Aware 68%
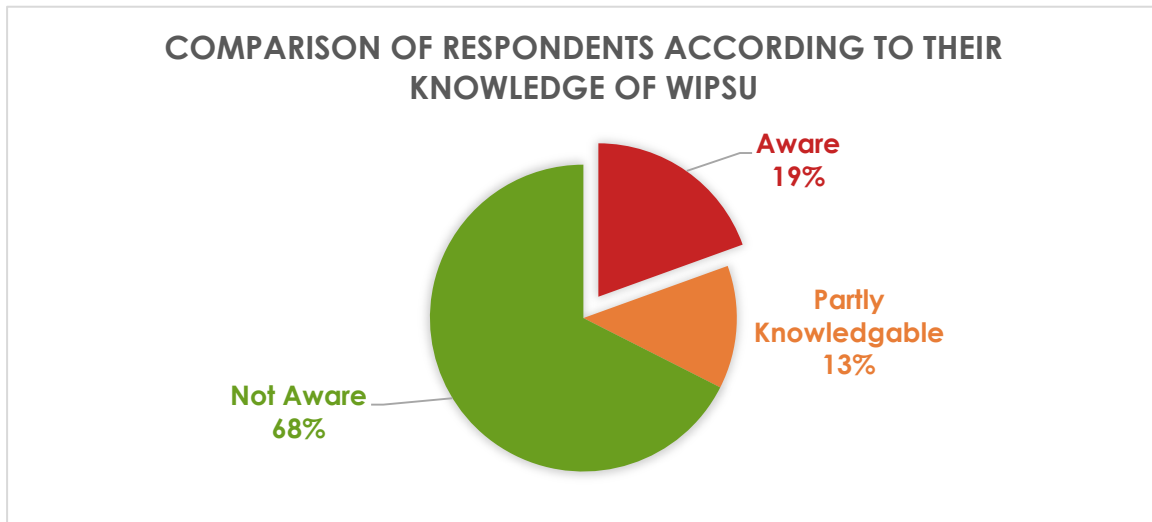
4.2 Factors Militating against the Participation and Representation of Women in Public Office/Governance

With women's participation and representation taking course in the global context, a number of factors have been put forward in an attempt to explain the reasons behind women's underrepresentation in politics. The initial assumption that the researcher had on the factors militating against the proportional representation of women in governance was that; the lack of economic empowerment, patriarchy and level of education were the major drivers to why women are lagging behind in governance. Concurrently the data collected in this study highlighted on these factors, but also went further to enlighten on other factors that are shaping the dynamics pertaining to women's representation and participation in the country. The findings of this research will hence forth be discussed in themes categorized into socio-cultural, psychological barriers, institutional, political and economic factorsaffecting the empowerment of women in leadership and positions of influence. Comprehensively, for one to understand the dynamics which have shaped the trends on women's representation, there

was a need to interrogate fully how each element is contributing to the ultimate picture under study.

Patriarchy

Contrary to initial assumptions that the researcher had, the student learned that patriarchy is one of the major contributing factors affecting the level of women's participation and representation in governance and positions of influence. Through cultural practices, men have monopolized power such that women have been segregated and marginalized in leadership and decision making processes. According to an interview with Matambanadzo, the researcher learned that;

> *"Kuburikidza netsikadzedu nemagariro, madzimai kubvakare vanhu vanga vakasarira mayererano nehutungamiriri hwenyika. Pachivanhu chedu, zvanga zviri zvinhu zvinozivikanwa kuti mudzimai anofanira kunge ari mai vepamusha, uye varipasi pemurume zvekuti vanga vasingafanire kupindira munyaya dzehutongi hwemusha or even wenyika".*

This is true considering that, in modern society, Zimbabwe continues to have unequal power relations between women and men. This view is supported by one of the officials from WiPSU who noted that; the oppression of women cuts across every sphere of life but is particularly noticeable in women's underrepresentation in key institutions of governance, decision-making positions and in employment and industry. She highlighted that;

> *"Despite efforts that have been made to advance women in leadership, men have dominated the political and economic processes in the country such that the majority of women have failed to rise in ranks. Moreover, violence against women; which is a major component of patriarchy, has pushed women out of politics"*

Such sentiments assisted the researcher in understanding the magnitude to which patriarchy has shaped the level of women's participation in governance. It can be clearly, noted that from the colonial government to date; the attainment of proportional representation in governance processes in the country has been a challenge. This is supported by the statistics from the IPU (2013), which also show that women's representation in governance has never surpassed 40% in Zimbabwe. It can only be seen that in recent times over the past 5-10 years, women's participation in politics has improved which saw Zimbabwe attain the 35% representation of women in parliament and 16% in local governance in 2013 (SADC Gender Protocol 2015-Zimbabwe). However, against male dominated leadership structures, patriarchal sentiments remain the major driving force influencing policy and development in the country. With an increased number of women contesting for political office; Khupe and Mujuru running for presidential office and several female candidates contesting for ministerial positions, it will be interesting to see the number of women who shall be voted into political institutions come July 2018 elections.

Psychosocial Factors

According to data collected through questionnaires, the researcher learned that; socio-cultural factors have over the years shaped the dynamics of women in politics in the country. This explains the low level of women's participation in political processes in Zimbabwe. To validate this view, in her own words, Ms. Moyo in an interview highlighted that;

> *"The way that our society has been constructed, is such that women are not viewed as capable leaders in political and economic divides. Asi munhukadzi anonongo tarisirwa kuti ashande mabasa emumba nekuriritira vana. Zvinogona kuita sezvinhu zvakarekare asi nhasiuno mudzimba zhinji madzimai akudzvanyirirwa simply because they are stereotyped as incapable leaders"*

This is true noting the fact that; in Zimbabwe like any other African country, society has played and still plays a critical role in shaping the perceptions and views on the gender roles that men and women are to play in the society. As a result, women have been segregated to feminine roles which are less violent and on the other hand men have been associated with more masculine and energy constrained roles in the society. According to information acquired through questionnaires, the researcher also learned that;men dominate in political processes because men have been generally viewed as physical beings who can withstand the constrains and demands of public office. Thus it can be noted that; because the African society has made it a custom that women are not capable leaders and have been indoctrinated in a feminine manner, women tend not to participate fully in governance structures.

In light of this view, the researcher found out that though women are/or may be interested in governance positions; the lack in confidence and will on the part of women to take part in politics, has shaped the current trends on women in governance and leadership. According to respondents in Zvishavane; 12 of the women who responded through questionnaires indicated that women lack the courage that allows them to participate and compete against men. Moreover, the husbands are not supportive of their women when they want to venture into political disciplines. According to Mawoneke (MWAGCD);

> *"Psychologically women are at an inferior stage such that they do not have the courage to run for positions against men, which explains why women tend to vote for men into power instead of supporting their fellow women"*

This line of thinking coincided with what Chiyangwa and Matambanadzo alluded to in their interviews that; society has shaped women's perceptions in such a way that even when given a chance to vote for their political representatives, women tend to vote men into office at the expense of women. This lack of trust in fellow women, has advanced the concept of pull

down effect, as women are failing to render full support to fellow female aspiring candidates. From these findings, the researcher learned that that the continuous dominance of patriarchy in Zimbabwe has also been shaped bysociety's lack of trust and confidencein women's leadership. Arguably, this trend is most likely to continue in the upcoming elections in July, as women themselves lack the confidence in their fellow women and to recognize them as competent leaders.It is in this view that one can be justified to argue that; the lack in trust towards women has also shaped the manner in which women are represented in decision making structures in the country.

Politically Motivated Violence and Abuse of Women

Political violence; defined as a legitimate, justifiable means to wage a long-term ideological battle against a hostile government, has a bearing on women's participation and representation in politics (Cohan, 2006).Concurrently, Mars (1975) is of the view that; political violence is that violence which is committed in the context of a political conflict, or that violence which has a political motive. The researcher noted that; it is such acts of violence that have also contributed to women's underrepresentation in public office in Africa and in particular Zimbabwe. In this view, an interview with one of the key respondents, the researcher learned that;

> *"Politics has been viewed as a dangerous game, such that women fear to get into politics. As a result, it is impossible to attain the 50/50 representation between men and women."*

This shows that, due to the violence and abuse of women in politics, women shun to partake of violent related activities in processes. Where force is applied, the violation of human rights is most likely to occur and women tend to be the victims. As a result, women tend to participate actively in less violent related disciplines. More so, interactions conducted with

the general public highlighted that one of the contributing factors to women's lack of participation is the presents of violence and the victimization of women who aspire to get into politics. According to Chidzurira one of the respondents;

"The political divide has been characterized of violence and abuse of women for years over which has also shaped the status of women as women fear for their lives and naturally tend to distance themselves from violent associated processes".

This is also supported by one of the councillors; who highlighted that taking up political positions is a risky move for women, that requires courage and will in order to be competitive against dominant men. Moreover, it is also important to note that women are generally vulnerable beings and in a hostile political space, they tend to be victimized and abused for having the courage to take up leadership roles. She further indicated that;

"Women go to the extent of being labeled and insulted as prostitutes simply because they have been courageous to run for political office".

Clearly women have a mammoth task for them to rise to influential positions as compared to men. It is nonetheless key to note that; in spite of this marginalization which has arguably existed for a long time, women's interest in governance issues continues to evolve and gradually so in Zimbabwe.In support of this view; following the 2008 elections, the Research and Advocacy Unit (RAU) conducted a survey of over 2000 women to ascertain women's views on politics, elections, violence and peace(RAU, 2010). The findings of the survey indicated that women believe that they should participate in politics as much as men and an increasing numbers of women are voting, although in less numbers than are actually eligible to vote. However, women are often deterred from this by administrative issues such as failure to register, long queues, not having adequate identity documents as well as the deterrence by the violence and intimidation associated with elections.

It is therefore important to note that political violence; which has been a major element of African politics, has played a role in deterring the participation and representation of women in political and leadership positions. For instance, in Kenya, it has been argued that the introduction of multiparty systems in the 1990's led to the increase in competition between parties, which has also resulted in the break out of politically instigated violence. The violence undoubtedly affects women's ability to participate in political processes. Thus validating the opinion put forward by one of the respondents who indicated that; because politics is viewed as a dangerous game, women tend to distance themselves from politics.

Clearly this is driven by the fear that women have for their lives and their families. More so, in Zimbabwe, it can be noted that the emergency of avibrant formidable opposition political party MDC in 1999 has dreaded the politicallandscape which saw the cases of politically motivated violence escalating; for instance post-election in 2003, 2008 and 2013. Consequentlythe violence which has become a regular feature of Zimbabwe's political environment has negatively affected women's participation in politics. Such an unstable political environment has created an atmosphere in which women shun from actively participating in public office with fear of falling victims to ruthless behaviors of dominant man.

Lack of Resources

Economic wellbeing and political participation of women in leadership is correlated. It can be noted that, over the year's women have been deprived of their economic freedom and denied equal access and control to resources that allow women to have the muscle to be able to participate in programs and/or activities that require funding. This view is supported by the Economic Modernity theory which highlights clearly that for women to be able to participate and partake in political processes, they ought to have the resources that build a foundation on

which their participation can be based. This line of thought was also indicated in the data collected by the researcher, where the bulk of the women who responded to the questionnaires indicated lack of funding as one of the factors militating against meaningful involvement of women in political processes.

Consequently, women have failed to partake in such processes due to lack of adequate resources to advance towards campaigns and other requirements of political offices. According to the information acquired through questionnaire; one of the respondents highlighted that;

> *"Women tend to focus their attention towards providing for their families and meeting basic amenities in their lives such as sending their children to school and affording access to basic medical health at the expense of investing the limited resources into politics which is a high risk venture that does not guarantee return as compared to their basic priorities"*

More-so, unlike men who are more power hungry as compared to their female counterparts, the research found out that; men will do all it takes to get a grip of power, in spite of the risks that may be involved and are willing to go out of their way only to acquire a share of dominance. This is a characteristic which is not peculiar to women. This assisted the student to understand why women tend to be disproportionally represented in governance as their priorities are more inclined to provision of the family and making sure that the needs of the family are met, hence women in Zimbabwe are not participating fully in public office. This line of thought conquered with Moyo who highlighted that; in an environment that is facing serious economic constrains, women tend to do a cost benefit analysis between family and politics and tend to focus on their priorities with the family before any other job description. Hence, explaining why women are continuously lagging in public office.

It is therefore important to note that; the lack of funding should not be exaggerated as the major reason to women's underrepresented in politics in Zimbabwe. In as much as it is a contributing factor, it is of great interest to also note that, there are some women who despite of having all the necessary resources financially such that they are well placed for running for office, the women are not taking up political leadership roles. It is from such a view that one's scope should be broadened so as to have a deeper understanding of the dynamics shaping women's participation in politics. According to Manyati; it should be noted that in as much as women may have access to means of production and financial resources to invest in campaigns, women in Zimbabwe continue to shun from participating in politics, a phenomenon that clearly indicates that there are other far reaching factors which are affecting women simultaneously with lack of funding. She indicated that;

> *"The extended patriarchal tendencies of our societies, are heavily affecting women's involvement in leadership structures. Like it or not, men are still dominating in all aspects of life, such that politics remains predominantly a men's field".*

This line of thought was supported by Chiyangwa who indicated that;

> *"Despite women being well placed economically, some of them do not participate in politics or even run for political positions, for instance Divine Ndhlukula; the founder and Managing Director of SECURICO Security Services in Zimbabwe, is well placed in a far as economic resources are concerned but is not involved in politics".*

Which therefore shows that; though economic empowerment and access to economic resources plays a role in shaping one's political foundation and needs, it is rather the lack of will, courage and interest in women that is shaping the position that women have in political processes in the country to date. Hence, it is just to say that; to those women who are interested in entering the political field, funding is an impediment to women's involvement

but not necessarily a universal impediment to every woman. This is so noting that, other women have the adequate resources to fund political campaigns but are simply not interested in taking up positions of state politics.

Institutional Factors

To rise in the ranks of any position, mechanisms or rather conditions have to be put in place that allow and afford each individual equal access and opportunity to rise to ranks of influence. In politics, just like any other element of development, the manner in which institutions are structured has an effect on how they shape the involvement and participation of certain groups of society. According to Shames (2013), the road conditions appear to differ for women; the roads on which men travel to higher office have fewer potholes and roadblocks than those navigated by women. A metaphor in essence, clearly illustrating the difficulties that women encounter in their efforts to attain influential positions. From this, it can be noted that the structure of institutions is a contributing factor towards women's representation and participation.

Political parties as institutions in political spheres, play a role in advancing the role of women in leadership structures. It is from these parties, that women are afforded opportunity to rise in political ranks as they empower women politically. However, when one looks at the structures in African political parties, let alone Zimbabwe structures, one can note that these structures are not conducive enough to ensure the effective empowerment of women in politics. For instance, the current situation in MDC where Thokhozani Khupe has been denied the right to leadership in favour of the newly appointed party leader Nelson Chamisa. It can be noted that, the structure of the institution is such that it favours male leadership over female leadership. As a result, one can note that institutions play a critical role in shaping the level of influence that women can reach. This supported by Beckwith (1992) who argues that,

party structures impede on the selection criteria of candidates who are representit in an election, as a result man have an upper hand over women.

Moreover, party structures should be crafted in such a way that they promote women's profiles in leadership. A lookat the structures of political parties in Zimbabwe, in particular ZANU-PF and MDC clearly show how women are undermined in leadership and positions of influence in these institutions. This is so noting that, in theory, most organizations have mechanisms that ought to support the advancement of women, but in reality the will to push for this goal is lacking. As a result, if parties are to make any meaningful contribution towards the empowerment of women in decision making, political parties have to reserve seats and adoption of the quota system at the nomination phase and primary elections, so as to guide against the development of a continuous gap between men and women in political representation, as supported by the European International Studies Association (EISA) report (2004) which acknowledged that political parties have an important role to play in the empowerment process of women and to also provide women with the ground to participate equally to men.

4.3 The Significance of Women's Participation and Representation in Decision Making Processes

The concept of inclusive participation and representation of women in political processes has over the years proved to be one of the leading debates in development discourse. The question that the researcher sought to address was to assess the importanceof having women fairly and equally participating in the governance of the country. Basing on the data collected in this study, the researcher learned beyond reasonable doubt that women should be included in leadership structures of the country. It was interesting to note that; a 100% response was recorded from both men and women who acknowledged that it is critical for women to be

included and afforded equal opportunity to participate in politics. In an interview with Moyo on the significance of women in leadership, the researcher learned that by virtue of women being the majority they have a crucial role to play in the development of the country and should therefore be included in decision making of the country. Moyo highlighted that;

"It is discouraging to see how women constitute the majority of the voters in electoral processes in the country, yet they continue to be disproportionally represented in political structures. Zvinoreva izvo kuti madzimai hakusi kuti havasikuda kuita zvehutungamiri asi kuti havasikupihwa mikana zvakaenzana navarume(It means that, it's not that women are not participating in politics but rather they are being undermined and denied equal access to political leadership)*"*

She went on to highlight that; women constitute the majority of the voters who have participated in elections in Zimbabwe since the time that women were given the constitutional right to vote. Furthermore, the Constitution of Zimbabwe clearly outlines the political rights of all citizens in Section 67sub-section (1) and (2) that;

"Every citizen has the right to free, fair and regular elections for any elective public office established in terms of the constitution or any other low; the right to make political choices freely. The right to participate, individually or collectively, in gatherings or groups or any other manner, in peaceful activities to influence, challenge or support the policies of Government or any political or whatever cause"

This shows that it is a woman's constitutional right to participate in decision making structures by virtue of them being Zimbabwe. It was however, discouraging to see that despite such provisions laid out in the blueprint document of the country, women have and continue to be segregated in political processes and decision making structures.

Women have been segregated and marginalized in decision making processes, thus they should be included in the governance of the country. In an interview with the MP for Kwekwe Central, the student learned that women have been oppressed in leadership despite their contributions in some aspects to the development of political processes. According to Matambanadzo;

> *"Madzimai vanhu vanga vakasarira munhau dzematongerwo enyika. Asi tichitarisa mumusangano we ZANU PF, madzimai ndiwo akabata bato mukati mema communities edu nekuti ndivo vanhu vanoita basa rakawanda remusangano nekusimudzira musangano we ZANU PF. Kuburikidza naizvozvo, these women deserve to be included muhutungamiriri nematongerwo enyika"*(Women have been lagging behind in terms of national leadership and governance. But a closer look at ZANU PF shows that; women have played a fundamental role in the communities to advance the politics of the party. Thus women deserve to be recognized and included in the politics of the country).

The researcher learned that, women deserve to be politically empowered and included in decision making as they have been and are an asset to shape the sustainable development of the country. However, a look at Zimbabwe's parliament shows a different picture altogether which clearly shows how women are marginalized. According to data collected on the Election Guide (n.d.); out of the 210 members elected by plurality vote in single-member constituencies to serve 5-year terms in the National Assembly, only60 members are women elected by proportional representation at the provincial level to serve 5-year terms. That is 28.5% representation of women against a 71.42% that is occupied by men. Hence it is just to note that, because women have been marginalized, in influencing decisions that affect their

lives, it is crucial that they are included and participate meaningfully in driving the agenda for sustainable development in the country.

4.4 The Contribution of WiPSU in Promoting Women's Participation and Representation in Governance

Women have a key role to play in the agenda to attain sustainable development in Zimbabwe and deserve to be equally represented and afforded equal rights to participate fully in all decision making institutions, representing their views and interests in shaping their own lives. The UN Women (2016) recognizes that; women's representation in equal proportion to men, is key to the credibility and legitimacy of parliaments, national assemblies and local governments of any country, yet global statistics indicate that just over a fifth of members of parliament are women. A statistic which does not represent any significance considering that women constitute over 52% of the world's population (SADC Gender Protocol, 2015). It is in this view that women's empowerment has gathered momentum and relevance over the years not only in Africa but world over, which has resulted in governments putting forward measures to promote women in public office. In the same mold, the agenda to advance women in politics and the general empowerment of women has also seen the rise and growth of civil society groups aimed at advancing the status of women in aspects of life.

Civil society groups have played a key role in the advancement of women in African politics, let alone in Zimbabwe over the past three decades in postcolonial period. According to the WiPSU, women movement groups have over the years gathered momentum and have become vocal instruments in the advancement of women. It is important to note that; though various efforts have been made to advance the position of women in public office, the status of women continues to be below the proportional representation in leadership as what the government would like to advance. It is from this view that one sees women movements

being the instruments of change and complimenting the efforts that the GoZ is advancing. This research therefore was guided by the need to understand what contribution WiPSU is making towards the overall empowerment and advancement of women in the country.

Lobbying for Legislative Reform and Policy Change

In an in depth interview with the representative from WiPSU Ms. Guzha, the researcher was made aware of the various initiatives that the organization has led in an effort to promote women's representation and participation in governance. She indicated that:

> *"Kubva mugore ra2002 pakatanga kuitwa basa rekusimudzira madzimai munhau dzekutongwa kwenyika, organization yedu yashanda nemakurukota ekutongwa kwenyika ichitungamira muhurukuro dzekuti madzimai awanikwe muhutungamiri wenharaunda dzavo uyemukati mehutungamiri wenyika. Kuburikidza naizvozvo WiPSU has been filing efforts in the parliament in line with the discussions kuti donzvo rekusimudzira madzimai riendereremberi* (Since 2002, WiPSU has worked hand in glove with the government, to advance the interest of women in local and national politics. The organization has made efforts to advance the agenda for women's empowerment)*"*

The interview revealed that WiPSU has been involved in various advocacy initiatives where the organization has been lobbying for legislative reforms and policy change in the country. These efforts attest to the significance of the organization in the agenda to promote women's participation and representation in decision making processes in the country.

According to the SADC Gender Protocol Barometer (2015), the agenda on women's advancement is a tough battle which requires government and other key stakeholders to work together collaboratively in advancing measures that promote the overall empowerment of

women. It is in this mold that the researcher learned that WiPSU and other key stakeholders in the third sector such as Southern Africa Gender Protocol Alliance and Gender Links, have played a vocal role inlobbying for legislative reform and policy change on areas that are affecting women and the girl child, with regards to access to decision making structures.

In an online interview with one of the representatives from WiPSU, the researcher also learned that, in recognition of the marginalized status of women in key decision structures, the organization has advanced efforts in the parliament which have also resulted in policy and legislative reform in the country. This conquered with the information acquired by the researcher which highlighted that;

> *"One of the milestones in women's political empowerment was reached in the year 2001 where WiPSU initiated a conversation on the setting up of a Women's Caucus in the Parliament of Zimbabwe, which would be responsible for advancing the interests and views of women in parliament"*

According to the information available on the WiPSU website; women MP's responded positively and ran with the initiative which resulted in the establishment of the first Zimbabwe Women's Parliamentary Caucus (ZWPC) in 2001. A transformation in policy and legislation which would shape the processes of women's advancement in key governance structures. It is also important to note that; this development was duly led by the elected Hon. Flora Bhuka as the first Chairperson; one of the youngest female legislators in Zimbabwe and gender activist, of that time.This information was key as it brought to an understanding to the researcher of how WiPSUlater become a member of the Caucus. Another respondent, went further to highlight that;

> *"Due to the contribution that the organization made in the formation of the Caucus in Parliament; WiPSU was recognized for its instrumental contributions. At a time when*

women's empowerment debates were gaining momentum not only in the country, but globally as well; such milestones were positive as they signaled a promising role that the organization wouldplay in later years."

In an interview with one of the key respondents, the researcher learned that; such developments influencing policy change in the country were key milestones which have shaped the significance of the organization in the agenda to advance women in governance. Moreover, the organization played an instrumental role in advocating for equal representation between men and women in governance. According to information available on the website; in 2006, WiPSU was involved in the lobbying process and advancement for a legislative quota system to be introduced in Zimbabwe. This wasinformed by the key international and regional agreements that Zimbabwe is signatory to; for instance, the SADC Gender Protocol. These efforts would only bear fruit seven years later, after continuous and vocal lobbying from civil society groups that the constitutional quota system was finally introduced in 2013 amidst the referendum.

Consequently, WiPSU had launched its "50/50" campaign on the 16th of November 2006 targeting a cross political increase in women's political candidature, motivating and facilitating for women not just to vote but also to stand for political office and thereby move Zimbabwe towards the attainment of the benchmarks set by key regional and international human rights instruments (WiPSU, 2014). Thus it is just to credit the organization for the efforts it has made to advance women in public office structures through vocal lobbying for women's advancement in leadership shaping policy and legislative reforms.

However, it should be noted that more efforts still need to be made in order for Zimbabwe to attain the 50/50 threshold in women's participation and representation in politics. The thinking behind this line of thought is that; women continue to be disproportionally

represented in leadership structures in the country in spite of the efforts that have been made to advance them. Which clearly points out the fact that, there are far reaching factors which are shaping the current dynamics in women's political participation and representation. According to the information acquired in an interview with Hon. Matambanadzo, women's significant participation in leadership should be viewed in a holistic approach where stakeholders involved should understand that women have been marginalized for over centuries, and thus their empowerment in leadership is a gradual process that will bear fruits over time and not instant results.

Capacity Building and Trainings

The realization that women have been marginalized in their access to decent education, has pushed WiPSU to undertake a holistic approach in the empowerment process of women as a key requirement to ensure that women rise in ranks in the political divide. According to the information revealed in the 2013 annual report, the organization has interacted and built relationship with women in Parliament and in their individual capacities as political players across the political divide (WiPSU, 2014); the organization has initiated series that work with women through constituency effectiveness programs and various capacity building initiatives. In line with Chiyangwa's view, the researcher learned that capacity building is a key component in the process of advancing women in leadership positions as women require the skills and knowledge that can empower them to be meaningful players in public office. Conferring with the one of the respondents through questionnaire highlighted that;

> *"It is through training initiatives that it has clearly emerged that women are facing a myriad of political and governance related challenges in being representatives of constituencies and political parties".*

It is in this light that WiPSU has made efforts to facilitate directed engagements and support to women MPs in Parliament, women councilors in Zimbabwean's local government authorities, women in political spaces and political parties (WiPSU, 2013).

According to Ms. Guzha, the recognition of the dynamics of political engagement, responding to women's political candidature and candidates aspiring to leadership within political parties, local and national governance, have become central areas of WiPSU engagement in communities.She indicated that;

> *"This political engagement for women is being achieved through conducting capacity building trainings with women to empower them and equip them with the necessary skills that will make them competent candidates for political offices. She also indicated that kuburikidza nema trainings akuitwa nemadziamai, unotoona kuti iwo madzimai anechido chekuti vakwanise kupinda mune zvematongerwo enyika* (Through these trainings, one can note that women do have a desire to be included in national politics)*".*

This is supported by the fact that; in 2013, WiPSU along with other key stakeholders conducted trainings with aspiring women and women councilllors in Bulawayo and Harare; which were aimed at encouraging women to take up political positions. Similarly, in the buildup to this year's primary elections, the organization has been conducting trainings with aspiring candidates in the Midlands Province. The researcher learned that; these capacity building trainings have been instrumental in the empowerment process of women in political process. However, it should be noted that; though such trainings are being conducted, the reach of such programs to women at grass root level is still poor.

Empowerment Programs and Awareness Campaigns

In order to advance women in leadership positions, there is a dire need to address the perceptions around women's role in politics in the country. In an interview with Manyati (ZANU PF), the researcher learned that; in accordwith his initial assumption that patriarchy has played a major role in shaping women's roles in politics, the researcher learned that the major challenge that is hindering the active participation of women is the patriarchal domination that has existed in the African society, which has also shaped the gender roles that society exercises to date. As a result, man have been given the supreme position above women and are viewed; in most cases, as the rightful leaders in all political processes.

This information was crucial as it went a mile in assisting the researcher to understand the factors militating against women's active participation. Furthermore; the interaction indicated that it is through such practices that men have maintained a grip on power and influence in modern day African society. According to information in the annual report of 2013, as a result of the realization of such factors affecting women; WiPSU sought to address this disparate through initiating vigorous awareness campaigns to educate both men and women on the significance of proportional representation and participation in politics. According to information acquired through one of the personnel from the organization, the researcher was made aware that WiPSU has been promoting women through awareness campaigns and initiatives that are equipping women in governance. She mentioned that;

> *"The campaigns being run by WiPSU date back to 2006, when the organization launched the 50/50 campaign, which is the key campaign run by the organisation, a program that owes its foundation in the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development on women's political participation, one of the regional agreements that the GoZ is signatory to".*

The campaign was launched with the aim to motivate women to transform from being merely participants in electoral processes to key players in electoral process, participating meaningfully in the decision making processes of the country from local governance to national level (WiPSU, 2014). The campaign was guided by the desire to ensure that women were visible in the "Right to Vote and to Be Voted For" in any political structure in the country. According to information acquired from Mawoneke (MWAGCD) in an interview, she also indicated that;

> *"The 50/50 campaign has made strides to facilitate the attainment of the benchmarks set by key regional and international human rights instruments. In the broader context, the campaign has played a crucial role in advancing the view that women should not only be represented in numbers in decision making structures but rather the quality of women in leadership should also attest to the objectives of nurturing vision led women in leadership processes".*

This is concurred with what two other the respondents, who indicated that; from 2006 to date, the 50/50 initiative led by WiPSU has emphasized that women's qualitative and quantitative political participation is important in the transformative process for broad based development in Zimbabwe and efforts have been made to empower women to reach this threshold.

She also expressed her appreciation of the efforts led by the government and how the organization has complemented the government by educating and sensitizing women to take advantage of the constitutional quota system as a tool to push for women's interests in governance. The researcher learned that the 50/50 campaignhas been a tool toencourage women's participation in decision making through promoting, supporting and facilitating for the increase in the voice, choice and space of and for women as they engage with the politics of the country (WiPSU, 2014). As a result, it is of utmost importance to note that WiPSU has

managed to engage and support women in various governance, electoral political party spaces in Zimbabwe, at various levels, to lobby for among other things the ratification of the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development, and enshrinement of equal representation of women in politics in the Constitution making process of Zimbabwe.

Resultantly, because of this campaign and a broad based women's lobby that the organization has led in collaboration with other key stakeholders in the country, the new Constitution of Zimbabwe (2013), was crafted in a manner that it now provides for proportional representation at Senate level with a Zebra part list and 60 specific seats reserved for women at provincial level in Parliament (WiPSU, 2014). Simultaneously, the organization is also leading another campaign cross cutting the advancement of women in the political divide. According to RAU and the Women's Trust (2013), women in Zimbabwe make up 52% of the population, but they are not as visible as their male counterparts in political and economic spaces. The report also goes further to highlight that, ever since the first democratic elections in 1980 women have made up the majority of the voters, but have yet to see the influence that this might be expected to bring in their representation in Parliament and government. Even the number of women voting has not had an impact on the thematic areas discussed in parliament or government but the significance of this is yet to be realized in Zimbabwe in as far as women's political empowerment is concerned.

According to information available on the website, WiPSU launched 'The Vote for a Woman Campaign'; an initiative that seeks to influence the Zimbabwean votersto vote for female candidates and ensure that the 52% demography begins to contribute and participate meaningfully in the political processes of the country.It is however important to note that, from the interaction with personnel from WiPSU, the researcher learned that the political campaign puts emphasis on mobilizing women to support other women in their political

ambitions, an approach that leaves a gap in the agenda for women's empowerment considering the fact that the men themselves have a critical role to play in ensuring that women rise in ranks, participate meaningfully and are well represented in the processes that shape their lives.

Moreover, the student also discovered that the campaign has only been run in the period leading up to national election in Zimbabwe, and in recent times the organization has been sensitizing and mobilizing women to educate them on the importance of voting for women in the upcoming primary elections in June 2018.It should also be noted that, such campaigns have been very vocal in major cities like Harare, leaving out some smaller areas such as in Kwekwe and Zvishavane. This view is vindicated considering the fact that; from the findings that the researcher acquired through questionnaires; ¾'s of the respondents indicated a lack of knowledge to the work and operations of WiPSU in Kwekwe and Zvishavane; with greater knowledge being the work of organizations such as Gender Links which are more vocal in the Midlands Province as compared to WiPSU.

An interaction with one of the respondents revealedthat; due to the lack of unprecedented media coverage and community engagement programs targeting the grass root level, the work of civil society organization is not reaching fully the intended beneficiaries; which are the women and men in the communities. This was alsoreinforced by the fact that; out of the 45 respondents that were conveniently sampled by the researcher and completed questionnaires, only *33%* had a knowledge of what WiPSU is doing, leaving out a staggering 66.7% that had little or no knowledge of the organization. Consequently, it is from such findings that the researcher concluded that; in well-established areas and provinces in Zimbabwe, civil society organizations are vocally active, but their programs are limited as they are not fully reaching

out to communities outside the major cities let alone manage to empower the women and girls in the grass roots.

4.4 Chapter Summary

The chapter focused on data presentations and analysis of the research findings that the researcher managed to gather through interviews, questionnaires and desktop research conducted in the three conveniently sampled locations; that is Kwekwe, Gweru and Zvishavane. The information gathered was guided by the overall objective of the research which sought to examine the role that WiPSU is playing in promoting the participation and representation of women in governance. The views and perceptions of the respondents have been analysed in the chapter in an effort to derive an understanding of the causes and effects of women's participation in politics, the significance of women's involvement and representation in leadership structures, the contribution that WiPSU is making towards the advancement of women and also how the efforts made by the government have been complemented by WiPSU in the agenda for women's political empowerment. It is important to note that, the findings presented were gathered and analysed by the researcher with assistance from publications and other sources that he could use to support the findings he had gathered in the above mentioned areas of study targeting the residents, lobby groups and councillors in the areas.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

5.0 Introduction

This chapter will present the summary, conclusion and recommendations in line with the findings that the research managed to unravel. The chapter will also attempt to present a summation of the researcher's understanding of the study conducted and also put forward recommendations on further study areas.

5.1 Summary

It can be noted that; the inclusion of women in influential positions in the development agenda remains one of the grieve debates in global, regional and national politics. It is without doubt that women have been marginalized in economic and political disciplines which has seen various actions being advanced to promote women's participation and representation in governance. The research revealed that women constitute the majority of the population in the world at 52% yet they are continuously marginalized in decision making structures. It is important to note that, this is not a challenge that is affecting African states alone and especially Zimbabwe, but rather the agenda to promote women in politics is a phenomenon that is not immune to any country.

It is of great importance to note that, even though the so called developed countries in the first world such as Britain and USA have made strides to empower women, the participation and representation of women in Europe and America has remained below the 50% equal representation threshold. As a matter of fact, very few countries in Europe and America have reached the 30% representation of women in parliament which was advanced till 2015, before the goal for 2030 was introduced in line with the United Nations Sustainable Development goals. It is from such facts that one should note that, proportional representation between

women and men is a global phenomenon, with which global leaders still have a lot of work to do if the goal to advance proportional representation of women is to be realized.

Interestingly, the country which is leading in women's political empowerment is from Africa; with Rwanda standing at 64% followed by Namibia at 46.2% and South Africa at 42.4% (IPU, 2018). These statistics attest to the efforts that African countries are making and have made in the process to advance women in key decision making structures. In Zimbabwe, the debate on women's political and economic empowerment has gained momentum over the years, which has seen the government make efforts to put in place various policies and legislations to promote women's inclusive participation and representation in politics. The government has put in place; a ministry under the Ministry of Women Affairs, Gender and Community development, the constitutional quota system, women's parliamentary caucus and the national gender policy to advance the participation of women in governance structures from grass root to national level.

It is also important to note that Zimbabwe managed to reach the 30% threshold in 2013 where women constitute 34% (IPU, 2018), joining a group of very few global governments that have attained such a representation in parliament. However, it is key to note that women continue to be marginalized in Zimbabwe in as far as political and economic empowerment is concerned. Various socio-cultural, economic and political factors have militated against women's participation in Zimbabwe. The research revealed that though other factors are playing a role in shaping the level of women's participation in politics, patriarchal motivated factors have shaped the participation and representation of women in Zimbabwe's political divide. As a result, the researcher learned that it is critical that women be involved in fundamental decision making structures of all institutions in the country, in order to realize the 50/50 threshold. However, it is key to ensure that measures have been put in place that empower women, educate society on the importance of women's participation in leadership

and also redress the stereotypes that have shaped the perceptions on women's political inclusion in the country.

5.2 Conclusion

In conclusion, the research assessed the role played by WiPSU in promoting the participation and representation of women in governance in Zimbabwe, with particular attention to three conveniently chosen cases in the Midlands Province. The study interrogated the efforts that the organization has made in advancing the participation and representation of women in the province in an attempt to understand the various dynamics that have shaped the level of participation of women in political processes. The research revealed beyond measure that women should be included in political processes and should be afforded an equal opportunity in leadership. It was of great interest to note that, men are in agreement that women should be included in leadership, however it is a gradual process that will yield results over time.

Secondary sources of information such as reports, government gazettes and textbooks, were used to fill gaps in the literature under investigation. These helped the researcher to understand the efforts that the government has made to advance women and in turn appreciate the contribution that organizations like WiPSU are making in the advancement of women in governance in the province. It was key that the researcher understood that, programs meant to empower communities are best suit to start at grass root level, unlike models that target major cities and leave out smaller towns as was noted.It thus followed that, the researcher used the extent to which programs and initiatives are far reaching to the women in the grass root as a measuring tool to assess the relevance of the organization's programs.

The researcher learned that, apart from the various efforts advanced by the government in the agenda to promote women's political empowerment, various civil society groups have played

a fundamental role to advance the interests of women in economic and political processes. Of greater interest is the organization under study Women in Politics Support Unit (WiPSU) which has been amongst the organizations that have assisted in advancing women in politics. The organization has played a crucial advocacy role in the country which has seen women's interests being represented in the parliament. The research sought to assess the efforts made by WiPSU and these include the establishment of a Woman's Parliamentary Caucus in 2001, the 50/50 Campaign which started in 2006 and also the 'Vote for A Woman Campaign'. The research managed to reveal that, the organization has made efforts to empower women politically through capacity building trainings, awareness campaigns educating communities on the importance of women's inclusion in political and leadership processes.

It is important to note that in spite of these efforts, the organization has its short falls. In the process to promote women in politics, it is ideal that programs and initiatives led by the organization should have a nationwide reach instead of being limited to certain areas. From the data that the researcher collected, it was evident that the majority of the respondents in the province under study especially in Kwekwe and Zvishavane were not well acquainted with the organization and its work. The respondents who were purposively sampled showed a greater understanding of the organization because they have interacted with the organization before. The situation was however different when the researcher collected data through questionnaires, where 44% of the respondents who returned questionnaires showed lack of knowledge on WiPSU as compared to Gender Links. It was from these findings that the researcher concludes that; WiPSU has played an instrumental role in shaping the developments in Zimbabwe in advancing the participation and representation of women. However, it should be noted that for Zimbabwe to realize the equal representation and participation of women in decision making, more efforts should be made that will transform

the current status of institutions, cultural perceptions and political systems to promote a conducive environment that can advance and empower women in politics.

5.3 Recommendations

In light of the findings that the researcher acquired and the outcome of the study, the researcher henceforth forward these recommendations as a means to assist WiPSU in its programming and also the relevant authorities in support of women's empowerment.

- ❖ Commend the organization to continue conducting capacity building trainings with women, aspiring women candidates, local governance and women MP's so as to capacitate women with the skills and knowledge that can empower them to be meaningful participants in political processes in the country.

- ❖ Advocacy programs and initiatives should be grass root based. In order to reach all women, the organization should ensure that all its programs start from the grass roots and reach out to all women and men.

- ❖ The organization should be inclusive of men in the process of women empowerment. Men Gender Advocacy initiatives should be promoted as a means to educate men on the importance of including women in leadership and also support women.

- ❖ WiPSU should engage in robust community engagement programs through public lectures, community outreach programs and community dialogues that allow the organization to extend its reach in the communities.

- ❖ To establish Gender Focal Persons in all areas at grass root levels, to be the key players in advancing women's interests.

- ❖ To create platforms for women to discuss and share their grievances, interests and experiences. These can allow the organization to have a closer interaction with the women.

❖ The organization should fully utilize the media to expand its reach to communities. The cyber space and other media channels such as print media, radio and television media, blogs, magazines and even newspaper columns can be other means of interacting and engaging the communities in its programs.

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APPENDIX

RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE

My name is Sipho Sibanda Reg. Number R143960F, fourth year student with Midlands University studying towards a B.A Honours degree in Development Studies. I am carrying out a research on: ***The role played by WiPSU in promoting women's participation and representation in governance in Midlands Province: the case of Kwekwe, Zvishavane and Gweru.*** The information compiled will be used for academic purpose only. In order to maintain anonymity and confidentiality, respondents are reminded not to write their names. Please answer the questions as fully as you can, write your answer or tick the appropriate box.

Your effort will be greatly appreciated

SECTION A(Individual Details)

1. Name of organization/party/ministry...

2. Gender:

       Female [ ]   Male [ ]

3. Age:

20-29	[ ]	30-39	[ ]
40-49	[ ]	50 +	[ ]

4. Marital status:

Married	[ ]	Single	[ ]
Widowed	[ ]	Divorced	[ ]

5. Indicate level of education:

O level	[ ]	A level	[ ]
Diploma	[ ]	Degree	[ ]
Masters	[ ]	PHD	[ ]

6. Occupation (*where applicable*)
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SECTION B (Questions on women's participation in decision making processes/public office)

1. What do you understand about gender balance in political representation?

....

....

2. Is there equal political participation between men and women in Zimbabwe?

      YES [ ]   NO [ ]

3. Have women been represented fairly in leadership and decision making positions?
      YES [ ]   NO [ ]

4. Should women be included in decision making processes in governance?
      YES [ ]   NO [ ]

(b) Give reason for your answer

....

....

....

....

5. Are you aware of any governmental or international policies that encourage women's active involvement in politics?

      YES [ ]   NO [ ]

(b) Which policy…………………………………………………………………………

6. In your own perspective, what are the major contributing factor(s) hindering women from occupying top positions in governance? (*list*)

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7. What do you think can be done to address those challenges?

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8. What role do men have to play in the empowerment process of women in decision making?
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....

9. The government has introduced various policies; including the constitutional quota system (2013), aimed at advancing women in politics. Have women grasped fully this opportunity to rise up the ranks in decision making structures?

> YES [ ]   NO [ ]

(b)   Give   reason   for   your   answer

…………………………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………………………………

SECTION C(Civil society and women's participation and representation)

1. Have you ever heard of any women's civic group focused on advancing women in politics in Zimbabwe?
> YES [ ]   NO [ ]

2. What is your understanding of civil society groups and the advancement of women in in governance?

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....
....

3. Do you think civil society groups have been successful in the agenda to advance women in governance?

> YES [ ]   NO [ ]

(b) Give reason for your answer?

....
....

4. From your point of view, do the programs led by women movements reach women in the grass root structures in the country, to redress the underrepresentation of women in public office?

                    YES [ ]   NO [ ]

(b) Give reason for your answer?

....
....

5. Which civil society organizations focusing on women's political empowerment are you acquainted with?

(b) State

…………………………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………………………

6. In your area of domain, have you ever participated in any awareness campaigns or training programs conducted by women civic groups? *(specify the group)*

                    YES [ ]   NO [ ]

(b) If **YES** please specify the group……………………………………………………………………

7. What efforts should the civic groups in Zimbabwe make to complement the government in the agenda to advance women in politics?

....
....

8. What do you think should be done to ensure that women movement programs have a wider reaching to encourage women in the grass roots to participate in politics/public office?

....
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....

9. What should the government do to promote a conducive environment for women movements to advance the interests of women in politics?

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....

10. In your own view, what measures do you propose to advance equal gender representation in top decision making processes in Zimbabwe?

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NB:*For any other area of interest that may not have been discussed in this questionnaire, do communicate with the researcher.*

Thank you for your participation

RESEARCH INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE

Date..

1. How significant is equal representation of gender in decision making in your structure?
2. Have women been afforded equal opportunities as men in public office?
3. What contribution has WiPSU made towards policy and legislative reforms in the country, in an effort to advance women in politics?
4. How is the organization working towards complementing the efforts made by the government in advancing women?
5. What are the challenges militating against women's full participation and representation in governance?
6. Economic empowerment is one the grievances limiting women's participation in politics. How has the organization addressed this challenge?
7. Coverage of organizational work is key in raising awareness towards the agenda promoting women's role in politics. How has the organization ensured that programs are far reaching to all women in the country?
8. What efforts do you think the government should make to complement the work being done by the organization?

Thank you for your participation