CHALLENGES SURROUNDING THE DELAY IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE SADC PROTOCOL ON GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT IN LINE WITH UNDP EQUALITY STRATEGY: A CASE OF POLITICAL GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE AND MALAWI.

BY

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APPROVAL FORM

BANDURA UNIVERSITY OF SCIENCE EDUCATION

The undersigned certify that they have read this project and have approved its submission for marking after confirming that it conforms to the Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities, Department of Peace and Governance and Master’s Degree in International Relations requirements.

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DECLARATION

I declare that this project is herein my own and has not been copied or lifted from any source without acknowledgement.

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DEDICATION

This study is dedicated to my family for their unwavering support morally and spiritually: beloved wife Winnet, my beautiful children Christella Ruvarashe and Alpha Jnr (newly born), my late mother Beauty John, my father Sekuru Smart and Mauzen John my elder brother who have always wished me to achieve greatness in life. Lastly, to every woman who aspire to change or transform the world through political participation.
ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AIDS - Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
CBOs- Community Based Organisations
FBOs- Faith Based Organisations
FGD - Focus Group Discussions
GCZ - Gender Commission of Zimbabwe
GENM- Girls Empowerment Network Malawi
HIV- Human Immuno-Deficiency Virus
IPU - Inter-Parliamentary Union
MDC- Movement for Democratic Change
MGT- Malawi Gender Trust
MWA- Malawi Women’s Association
NGOs- Non-Governmental Organisations
RDC- Rural District Councils
SADC- Southern African Development Community
UC- Urban Councils
UN- United Nations
UNAIDS- United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS
UNDP- United Nations Development Programme
UNHCR- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF- United Nations International Children’ Emergency Fund
WLSAETM- Women and Law in Southern Africa and Educational Trust Malawi
ZNPF- Zimbabwe African Nation Union Patriotic Front
ZDF- The Zimbabwe Defence Forces (ZDF)
ZGC- Zimbabwe Gender Commission
ZRP- Zimbabwe Republic Police
ZWLA- Zimbabwe Women Lawyers Association
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ABSTRACT

SADC heads of state signed the SADC Protocol on Gender and development in August 2008 to which they had set targets that by the year 2015 they should have 50/50 representation of both men and women in political governance of member states. Zimbabwe and Malawi are both signatories to this regional block initiation and as such it is necessary to interrogate the reasons why they have failed to achieve this 50/50 representation as was expected by the Protocol. Therefore, this study focuses on the factors prolonging the implementation of this protocol in these two countries. The study is informed by Feminist theories that include radical feminism, Marxist/socialist, psychoanalytic and liberal feminism. Thirty respondents were used as a sample for this study. The study adopted the qualitative research paradigm and the cases study design in which data was gathered through interviews, questionnaires and focus group discussion from key informants, gender activists and the general public. These participants were selected through non-probability purposive sampling method and augmented through review of secondary sources. Data was analysed using the thematic coding system. The research findings demonstrate serious barriers to women’s empowerment in political governance support. The research founded that socio-cultural, economic, and legal and the actions by women themselves were central in accentuating gendered inequality in political governance in the two countries hence the slow implementation of the regional protocol on gender relations. The study however, recommend that gender policies and laws that deals with genders issues are implemented as prescribed in the constitution and other policy documents. As such, the study has also made suggestions for areas for further research as; Advocacy for gender-sensitive policies in political parties that thrust women at the heart of political practice through undertaking influential leadership positions.
CHAPTER ONE

1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

The Southern African Development Community (SADC) Protocol on Gender and Development was first signed by the Heads of States in 1997 as a Declaration but was later elevated to a Protocol which was signed by Heads of State and Government, in August 2008 in South Africa. Kurebwa (2013) notes that the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development encompasses all regional, global and continental instruments for achieving gender equality. It also advances gender equality by warranting accountability by all SADC member states (Kurebwa, 2013). With several progressive clauses and 23 set targets, including the target that women should hold 50% of decision-making positions in the public and private sectors by 2015, the protocol was lauded by both women and men in the region as a significant step towards gender equality in Southern Africa (Haider, 2011:4). Other key targets include ensuring that provisions for gender equality are reflected in all regional constitutions and affirmative action programmes. Abridged articles of the protocol relevant to this study include, but not limited, to: Articles 4 – 11 which deals with Constitutional and Legal Rights. The articles provide for all Constitutions in SADC to enshrine gender equality and to give such provisions primacy over customary law (UN Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women 2011). All laws that are deemed discriminatory to women are supposed to be repealed. The articles also provide for equality in accessing justice, marriage and family rights and the rights of widows, elderly women, the girl child, women with disabilities and other socially excluded groups (UN Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women 2011).

In the same vein, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) Equality Strategy 2014-2017 was also put in place to ensure that gender equality and the empowerment of women are integrated into every aspect of its work to support countries to eradicate poverty and reduce inequalities and exclusion. In particular, this strategy provides detailed guidance for UNDP business units on how to mainstream gender perspectives as they operationalize all aspects of the UNDP’s Strategic Plan 2014-2017. It is also of paramount importance to note that the UNDP gender equality strategy, 2014-2017 was presented at crucial time in the sphere of
global policy development, while the world was working towards achieving the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). (UNDP Gender Equality Strategy, 2014-2017)

Articles 12–13, which is the major focus of this research, deals with gender equality in political governance. It provides for the equal representation of women and men in all areas of decision-making, both public and private and suggests that this target be achieved through Constitutional and other legislative provisions, including affirmative action (UN Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women, 2011). It further stipulates that Member States should adopt specific legislative measures and other strategies, policies and programmes to ensure that women participate effectively in electoral processes and decision-making by, amongst others, building capacity, providing support and establishing and strengthening structures to enhance gender mainstreaming (UN Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women 2011).

However, the implementation of the SADC Protocol on Gender and development in the two countries, Zimbabwe and Malawi has been sluggish as the involvement of women in political governance continues to lag behind that of men. Women in both countries still remain underrepresented not only in the political sphere but also in decision-making within the private sector, at the village level and in civil society (UN Women 2011). At the local level, men usually dominate positions of power, including as religious and traditional leaders, local politicians and village elders (UN Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women 2011). Women's representation and leadership tend to be confined to areas that are traditionally ‘feminine' such as social welfare. For instance, in 2011 Malawi was ranked at number 76 out of 135 by the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) in terms female composition in parliamentary representation (IPU Report 2011: 23). Zimbabwe had 15% of female parliamentarians while the highest ranked country, Rwanda, had a proportion of 56.30% of female legislators.

Notwithstanding the signing and ratification of the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development by Zimbabwe, there has been no strong political commitment to domesticate the regional accord. Although women constitute 52% of the population in Zimbabwe they continue to be disproportionately represented in politics and governance (National Census
2012). The country has not adequately domesticated, through constitutional reforms, key provisions of the SADC Protocol on Gender that advocate gender parity.

Whilst the Electoral Act of 1990 allowed women to participate in politics and contest for any position, the number of parliamentarians and ministers in Zimbabwe basing on the 31 July 2013 elections remains skewed in favour of men. For example, the government formed after the 31 July 2013 elections had 26 cabinet ministers, and out of these only three were women (Government Gazette 2013). The government also had 13 ministers of state, and out of these only three were women and only five out of twenty four deputy ministers were women (UNHDR 2013). As noted by the Zimbabwe Independent Newspaper on 20 September 2013 the number of women in the cabinet represented only 11.5 %. This is a percentage way below the 50 percent quota stipulated by the SADC Protocol on Gender and development (Tinanshe Kairiza, 2013).

In relation to the above given Zimbabwean statistics, Malawi was ranked 120 out of 193 countries with 16.7% female parliamentarians in 2013 (IPU Report 2013:11). During Her presidency, Malawi and SADC's only female president, Joyce Banda, women only held 22% of parliament seats and 30% of cabinet posts (Progress of the World's Women Report, 2009:45). In 2014 the number and proportion of women in Malawi declined from 43 to 32, representing a fall from 22.28% to 16.58 %. This was after female representation had risen from 6% in 1994 to 22% in 2009. Perhaps reflecting public dissatisfaction with Banda's performance as President she lost her re-election bid. On the whole, there is, therefore, need to urgently address this anomaly to adhere to the threshold set by SADC as well as broader international trends and standards on gender mainstreaming. It is the conviction of this researcher that in order to comply with the dictates of the SADC Protocol on Gender and development at the local, national and international level, it is important to ensure that women and men are able to participate on equal terms in political governance. As such, these statistics will be helpful in trying to unpack where exactly did Malawi lost it even in the most perfect time when they had a female seating president in the person of Joyce Banda.
1.2 Statement of the Problem

Mangena (2009:22) argues that, “in Zimbabwe women outnumber men demographically and yet very few of them occupy positions of political and economic influence, that is, very few of them have ministerial posts in government.” However, as gender stereotypes seem to affect women more than men, it is not surprising that women are affected adversely by poor representation in politics. Women often recognize that their roles are tightly linked to social attitudes and codes of behaviour related to culture and religion which consequently limit their ability to pursue political participation. Such stereotypes are the greatest threat to the full realization of their rights to participate in national decision making processes. Perhaps, more noteworthy is the fact that the stimulus which has prompted this study is not about the inadequate access but the inequitable access to political power based solely on gender relations. Although the former aspect is important it is beyond the scope of this research. This research seeks to uncover the challenges responsible for the prolonging in the implementation of the SADC Protocol on Gender where these two states among other members states were supposed to have satisfied or reached the 50/50 target of equal political governance and participation of both men and women by the year 2015, considering the fact that women and men Zimbabwe and Malawi have clearly elaborate policies that promote political participation of women. In other words, the research seeks to discover why these two countries have not been able to fulfil their 50/50 to which they signed to reach by the year 2015.

1.3 Aim of the Study

The overall aim of the study is to identify and examine the challenges prolonging the implementation of the SADC Protocol on Gender and development in Zimbabwe and Malawi.

1.4 Research Objectives

The objectives of the study are:

i. To examine the role played by entrenched cultural practices in alienating women from pursuing political placements.

ii. To assess the effectiveness of statutory laws in promoting gender equality in political governance.

iii. To explore how economic issues perpetuate the marginalisation of women in politics.
iv. To analyse how women undermine their own capacity to assume political leadership.

v. Recommend, on the basis of generated conclusions, alternative courses of action that governments can explore to effectively promote, protect and fulfill women's aspirations to participate in political governance.

1.5 Research Questions

i. What role do entrenched cultural practices play in alienating women from pursuing political placements?

ii. How effective are statutory laws in promoting gender equality in political governance?

iii. How do economic issues perpetuate the marginalisation of women in politics?

iv. How do women undermine their capacity to assume political leadership?

v. What alternative courses of action can governments explore to effectively promote, protect and fulfil women's political aspirations?

1.6 Assumptions of the Study

The research is based on the hypothesis that enhancing women's qualitative and quantitative influence in political governance results in prosperous national development characterized by strengthened democracy and good governance.

1.7 Significance of the Study

Although gender parity has widely been regarded as a determining challenge for a country's socio, political and economic advancement, it has either been given scant attention as a subject of scholarly inquiry or it has entirely been ignored. As such, the glaring gender divide necessitates the need to consolidate available information, generate new data, analyse the causes of the problems that slow down the implementation of the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development. On the whole, the fundamental rationale for undertaking this research is the need to highlight the fact that astute political governance is a function of the ability to have a nuanced understanding about gender relations in order to advance the participation of women in decision making. Stakeholders likely to benefit from this study are the arms of government, that is, parliament, judiciary and the executive in both countries. These are key stakeholders responsible for making critical and strategic decisions with a bearing on national interests.
1.8 Delimitation of the study
The research will be limited to gender relations in Zimbabwe and Malawi post-independence. Reference was made to regional and global trends with regards to gender relations but not as focal points for this research. Respondents for this study include aspiring and sitting female parliamentarians, traditional leaders, religious leaders, CBOs, Faith Based Organisations, NGOs, elected officials, candidates, political party leaders and members, researchers, students and other practitioners interested in advancing women in politics in Zimbabwe and Malawi.

1.9 Limitations of the study
The study faced challenges during the course of the research. The researcher encountered reprisals from certain religious and cultural communities with entrenched social beliefs that stereotype women negatively. As such the researcher guaranteed the anonymity and confidentiality of participants residing in “sensitive” communities for their safety.

1.10 Definition of Key Terms.
   i. Affirmative action – a policy programme or measure that seeks to redress past discrimination to ensure equal opportunity and positive outcomes in all spheres of life.
   ii. Gender - means the roles, duties and responsibilities that are culturally and socially ascribed to men, women, boys and girls.
   iii. Gender equality – means the state of being equal in terms of enjoyment of rights, treatment, access to opportunities and outcomes including resources by men, women, boys and girls.
   iv. Gender mainstreaming- means the process of identifying gender gaps and making men, women, boy and girls' concerns and experiences integral to the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes so that they benefit equally.
   v. Gender stereotypes - means the beliefs held about characteristics, traits and activity domains deemed appropriate for women, men, boys and girls based on their conventional roles both domestically and socially.
vi. Gender sensitive- means acknowledging and taking into account the specific gender needs of men and women at all levels of planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation

1.11 Chapter Summary
The chapter gave a brief background of the subject understudy. It discussed about the aim of the study, statement of the problem, research objectives and questions, assumptions of the study, significance of the study, limitations and delimitations and then gave a conclusion. The next chapter is going to deal with literature review. It will discuss about which type of literature is going to be used in this study, the relevant theory to be used.
CHAPTER TWO

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW.

2.1 Introduction

The previous chapter has provided a general background of the study however, an array of feminist theories such as liberal, Marxist, psycho-analytic and radical feminism were used in this chapter in order to provide a context in which the challenges prolonging the implementation of the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development in Zimbabwe and Malawi can be studied. Radical feminism is based on the contention that society exercises patriarchy that entrenches male dominance over women. Marxist feminism views the capitalist drive for profits as responsible for women's second-class status while psychoanalytic feminism is a theory of oppression which asserts that men have an inherent psychological need to subjugate women. The chapter is, however, largely guided by implicit liberal feminist theory which contends that gender inequality is a result of reduced access for women and girls to civil rights and allocation of social resources such as education and employment. While all these schools of thought advocate change in gender relations, the extent and direction of the suggested change differs significantly in each case. The chapter also discusses challenges that have been advanced by scholars in a bid to examine the causes of gender inequality in most of the world's societies as well as strategies that have employed to advance women's participation in politics. Gaps were also identified as well as explaining how this research may fill those gaps.

2.2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.

This chapter is both descriptive and theoretical. This position implies that this researcher looks at political participation in Zimbabwe and Malawi in the context of women's oppression. This researcher presupposes that society is not gender neutral but is dominated by patriarchal institutions which have served to perpetuate the marginalisation of women. This state of affairs continues to be inimical to the successful implementation of the regional protocol on gender equality. The literature consulted in this chapter represents the great diversity of feminist scholarship.
2.3 FEMINIST THEORIES

Feminist theories are based on the rationale that the social structure contributes to inequality between women and men in terms of access to political power, economic empowerment as well as social status.

2.3.1 Radical Feminism

Radical feminism is based on the contention that society exercises patriarchy that entrenches male dominance over women. Proponents of radical feminism are of the opinion that men inflict physical and sexual violence over women through their supremacy which extends beyond the family, as it also affects employment conditions, distribution of wealth, and provision of opportunities among others (Gandari et al 2012). Radical feminists argue that society normalises male supremacy and this should be challenged. They advocate radical restructuring of the society and the reorganisation of families and other institutions to promote gender equality and equity (Gandari et al 2012). The creation of alternative social institutions which fulfil the needs of women, allowing them to make informed choices on social and health issues while rejecting the pressures exerted upon them by patriarchy is at the core of radical feminism (Gandari et al 2012). Radical feminists also believe that “men create and maintain patriarchy not only because they have the resources to do so but also because they have real interests in making women serve their interests” (Gandari et al 2012:45).

2.3.2 Marxist/Socialist/ Materialist Feminism

Marxist feminists align themselves with the philosophical and economic theories of Karl Marx, who revealed the economic laws underlying capitalism and wrote about them in his masterpiece, Capital. In this and other works, Marx and his lifelong collaborator Frederick Engels laid the foundations of Marxist economics, the philosophical concept of dialectical materialism, and the method of social analysis known as historical materialism (Stacey 1999). Marx showed how the working class is exploited for profit by capitalists, who gain wealth by paying workers a bare minimum of the value they produce (Stacey 1999). Marxist feminists view the capitalist drive for profits as responsible for women's second-class status and other forms of oppression such as racism and homophobia (Stacey 1999). They argue that female
workers are exploited at a higher level than males, with women of colour suffering the highest degree of exploitation because of gender and race discrimination (Stacey 1999). Women are also a source of unpaid domestic labour—an arrangement that allows the world's capitalists to save huge amounts of money every year.

In *Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, Frederick Engels drew on the work of early anthropologists to show how women's oppression developed in pre-history when communal, matrilineal societies were violently replaced with patriarchal societies in which individual wealth and private property were key (Loewenson 2000). Patriarchal, profit-driven societies became dominant by conquest and colonialism, though remnants of matrilineal culture survived in tribal societies throughout the world (Loewenson 2000). From a position of early leadership and respect, women became powerless domestic slaves. Engels describes this as “the world historic defeat of the female sex” (Loewenson 2000:11). Marx and Engels viewed women's entry into the paid labour force as the first step toward liberating women from stifling dependence on men, though it would not free them from the class oppression they share with male workers (Loewenson 2000). To achieve the full liberation of women and of the multi-racial working class of all nations, international socialism is necessary, which is in essence a return, in modern form, to the cooperative egalitarian foundations of early human existence.

**2.3.3 Psychoanalytic Feminism**

Psychoanalytic feminism is a theory of oppression, which asserts that men have an inherent psychological need to subjugate women. The root of men's compulsion to dominate women and women's minimal resistance to subjugation lies deep within the human psyche (Keeber 1997). This branch of feminism seeks to gain insight into how people's psychic lives develop in order to better understand and change women's oppression. The pattern of oppression is also integrated into society, thus creating and sustaining patriarchy. Psychoanalytic feminists contend that through the application of psychoanalytic techniques to studying differences between women and men as well as the ways in which gender is constructed, it is possible to reorganize socialization patterns at the early stages of human life (Keeber 1997). According to them societal change, or a “cure,” to gender inequality, can be developed through discovering the source of domination in men's psyche and subordination in women's, which largely resides unrecognized in individuals' unconscious (Keeber 1997:13). This type of feminism emerged out of cultural feminism, which investigates the differences between
women and men to understand women's positions in society. Psychoanalytic feminists concentrate on early childhood development, primarily before the age of three, examining how gender is constructed and practiced on societal, familial, and individual levels.

2.4 LIBERAL FEMINISM

The Liberal Feminist Theory can be better explained by initially examining the term ‘theory’. Owens (1994:90) defines theory as a thought process or way of thinking which a model of reality becomes. There are at least two important ideas that come out of this definition. Firstly, a theory is a thought process that guides us, and secondly, it can be used to explain courses of action and practice. Within this context, the liberal feminist theory can be explained as an individualistic form which concentrates on how women can make choices and take actions to attain equality with men (Brookes 2008). Giddens (2001:692) defines liberal feminism as a “theory that contends that gender inequality is a result of reduced access for women and girls to civil rights and allocation of social resources such as education and employment”. It can be noted that the liberal feminist theory acknowledges the existence of disparities in society that are gender related, but the onus is on the individuals (women) affected to improve their situation.

The Liberal Feminist Theory is premised on the assumption that individual ignorance contributes to gender prejudice. In order to address this prejudice the affected individual has to take action. Education, for instance, is seen as a variable that can be used to combat this situation. Liberal feminists are also concerned with equal rights and freedom of the individual. They contend that societal reforms are necessary but they have to be gradual in order not to upset the status quo (Giddens 2001). As such, liberal feminists have moderate views that do not radically challenge the existing political, economic and social system (Haralambos and Holborn 2008). Gender disparities are attributed to a number of challenges such as cultural beliefs and the way men and women are socialised within that culture. Other challenges are closely related to the attitude of the individual.

In essence, liberal feminism subscribes to incremental reforms through advocacy for laws and policies that promote gender equality. A liberal feminist point of departure tends to be organised, hierarchical, negotiative and coalition-building (Kaplan 2006). Liberal feminism
seeks to change public opinion through formal networks and changes in belief systems. It contends that progressive reform will lead to the equality of women. In terms of gender, liberal feminists believe that societal reform can help to correct gender based inequalities in the economy, the family and political systems. Liberal feminists subscribe to the notion that incremental societal reforms can help to eradicate gender based inequalities in the economy, the family and political systems (Kaplan 2006).

2.5 ADDRESSING GENDER INEQUALITY THROUGH LIBERAL FEMINISM AND IMPLEMENTATION OF THE REGIONAL PROTOCOL ON GENDER

There has been lobbying for gender equality in different spheres of life since attainment of independence from British colonial rule in Zimbabwe and Malawi. Such lobbying has contributed to socio-politico and economic reforms that eliminate different forms of gender discrimination based on gender, race, class, religion amongst others. The promulgation of gender laws such as the Equal Pay Regulations (1980) in Zimbabwe and the Gender Equality Act (1972) in Malawi are cases in point. The Equal Pay Regulations stipulated equal pay for work of equal value. Differences in pay were to be determined by differences in skill and qualifications not by gender (Gutsa et al 2011). Similarly, the Gender Equality Act enacted legislation aimed at promoting gender equality in Malawi. Subsequent pieces of legislation to do with gender relations include, but not limited to, Labour Relations Act (1984) – Revised in 1993, The Public Service Pensions (Amendment) Regulations (1985) and the National Gender Policy of (2004) amongst others.

Zimbabwean leaders signed the SADC Gender Protocol in 2008 and ratified it in 2009. Zimbabwe was the second country, after Namibia, to ratify the regional instrument for the advancement of women. Similarly, Malawi also signed the protocol but, curiously, has not ratified it. Zimbabwe's 2013 SADC Gender Barometer report marked a significant shift in the country's normative framework, following the adoption of a new constitution that contains strong gender equality, women's rights and women's empowerment provisions. While it shifted the legal goalposts significantly for advancing gender equality and women's rights, the new Constitution of Zimbabwe's true test as a foundation for changing the lived realities of women and girls began in 2014. This is when the country's lawmakers began a process to
align more than 200 laws, as well as create new laws and review policies to ensure compliance, with the articles and provisions of the Constitution.

Similarly, the Malawian government has enacted various legislations after signing the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development aimed at eliminating all the negative economic, social, political, cultural and religious practices that impede gender equality and equity. Policies designed to mainstream gender in all aspects of the development process to ensure sustainable equity, equality and empowerment of women and men in all facets of life have also been promulgated in that country. The enactment of gender laws and policies in Malawi and Zimbabwe in tandem with the dictates of the regional gender protocol is attributable to the advocacy actions of liberal feminists within political structures and lobby groups such as the Women's Action Group (WAG), the Malawi Women's Association (MWA), Women of Zimbabwe Arise (WOZA) which is instrumental for spearheading improvements to the constitution, the Zimbabwe Women Lawyers Association (ZWLA) which advocates for women and children's rights, the Women and Law in Southern Africa and Educational Trust Malawi (WLSAETM), Girls Empowerment Network Malawi (GENM), Malawi Gender Trust (MGT) amongst others. These lobby groups are largely commended for contributing to the shaping of the legal and political landscape in Zimbabwe and Malawi in a bid to comply with the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development.

2.6 CAUSES OF WOMEN'S MARGINALISATION IN POLITICAL GOVERNANCE

Scholars generally agree that gender inequality is pervasive in many of the world's political governance systems. In his paper, Clots-Figuera (2007) attributes gender differences in formal representation to institutional and societal constraints. He argues that social norms make it more difficult for women to leave their traditional domestic roles for more public roles outside of the home (Clots-Figuera 2007). Clots-Figueras (2007) asserts that institutional constraints to gender equality include barriers such as political systems that operate through rigid schedules that do not take into consideration women's domestic responsibilities and the type of electoral quotas used (Clots-Figueras 2007). Clots-Figueras, however, acknowledges that quotas are not enough to ensure that women's concerns are heard. This is because women continue to be a minority within patriarchal political systems in spite of the quotas which means that it continues to be difficult for them to have their
voices heard. Nonetheless, Beaman et al (2009) insists that quotas can have an impact on society's perceptions of women as increasing acceptance of women as leaders has been reported in some instances.

Huffer (2006) highlights that politics is often viewed, by both men and women, as a male domain where women will struggle to make a contribution. Huffer (2006) postulates that party politics tend to be dominated by men, making it more difficult for women to get on party lists for election. Women's representation and leadership therefore tends to be more at the grassroots level and in social welfare positions (Huffer 2006). Even where women have been able to secure office, they continue to face additional challenges compared to their male counterparts. These include both male and female opposition, inexperience of the political domain and low confidence. In addition, many women politicians find that it can be difficult to balance their public responsibilities with their domestic roles (Huffer 24). The Inter Parliamentary Union (IPU) (2008) states that in order to get elected, many female candidates choose to downplay the fact that they are concerned with 'women's issues', for fear this may alienate male voters. Tadros (2011) therefore believes that in order to reverse this negative cycle, there must be a significant number of women in positions of power before these issues will feature on the agenda. Tadros (2011) further notes that in many cases women face intimidation or threats in running for office primarily due to the fact that men or local customary authorities may feel that this threaten the traditional male hierarchy or patriarchal order.

2.7 APPROACHES TO INCREASING WOMEN'S DEMOCRATIC PARTICIPATION

Scholars have identified a number of strategies that have been popular among governments and donors to try to encourage more women into politics. These include training women for political candidacy, providing funding or capacity building on fundraising for women candidates, and including women as election monitors (Krook and Norris 2014). Mobilising female voters is also considered important to get women elected into office and to deepen democracy. Gendered civic awareness and separate polling booths for women are some of the strategies that have been adopted (Krook and Norris 2014). Quota systems have also been used in a number of countries to advance the representation of women. These have taken various forms, including sandwiching of party lists and reserved seats. While this has
increased the number of women in political positions, they remain a minority in most countries (Krook and Norris 2014).

Women's activism has been channelled through women's organisations, often mobilised around issues of particular concern to women. Women's organisations which work against patriarchal domination are often termed women's rights organisations. While women's rights organisations have had significant impact on a number of occasions, such as the women's peace building movement in Liberia, women's groups often struggle to access funding and their scope for action is therefore often limited (Krook and Norris 2014:43). The competition for scarce resources is also often a barrier to women's groups working cooperatively together.

2.8 GAPS IN KNOWLEDGE AND HOW THE FOREGOING RESEARCH ENDEAVOURS TO BRIDGE THEM

Radical, psychoanalytic and Marxist feminism in general and the liberal feminist approach in particular, though useful to this study, are not adequate in identifying and examining the challenges slowing down the implementation of the SADC Protocol on Gender development in political governance architecture of Zimbabwe and Malawi. Liberal feminism fails to prescribe measures that can upset the status quo characterised by the marginalisation of women in political governance. The changes it prescribes to cure gender equality are limited in scope. A more radical approach to support the implementation and operationalisation of the SADC Protocol on Gender and development is therefore required. Apart from lobbying for laws and policies that are gender sensitive liberal feminists, such as those mentioned above, lack a rigorous thrust to force implementation. Their prognosis needs to go beyond advocacy to include monitoring and oversight.

This study will, therefore, examine a complex interplay of forces that entrench gendered inequality and slow down the implementation of regional protocol on gender. Such a close and interwoven set of challenges include cultural stereotypes against women, flawed statutory laws, economic issues and the actions of women themselves in undermining their own capacity to assume leadership positions. Suffice to note that, this is the major driving force for this researcher to undertake this study.
2.9 Chapter Summary.

The essence of this chapter was essentially to highlight theories of feminism that can be employed in a bid to understand the challenges prolonging the implementation of the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development in Zimbabwe and Malawi. Although an array of feminist theories was analysed to provide a context in which the subject of gendered inequalities can be studied, the chapter was guided by implicit liberal feminist theory. The Liberal Feminist Theory has contributed immensely in generating Acts of Parliament and legislations to support gender equality, justice and fairness in politics and governance in Zimbabwe and Malawi. Many challenges that include the cultural stereotypes against women, HIV/AIDS, the feminisation of poverty, flawed legal systems amongst other challenges need to be interrogated further as they are at the centre of the two countries' failure to comply with the dictates the SADC Protocol on Gender and development.
CHAPTER THREE

3.0 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to outline the qualitative research method that was used in generating data for this research. A description of the case study research design and exploratory method was conducted in this chapter. The study population, sampling techniques and research tools incorporating the two countries' population parameters was also laid out in this chapter. Data presentation and coding procedures employed in the foregoing research was also discussed in this chapter. The methodology analysed in this chapter set the basis for the next chapter on data collection, presentation, analysis and discussion.

3.2 RESEARCH PARADIGM

Dillman (2007) describes a research paradigm as a way of uncovering knowledge about how people think and feel about circumstances but not judging whether these feelings or thoughts are valid. Roberts (1998) defines a research paradigm as a collection of common beliefs and unanimous concurrence shared by social scientists about how problems should be understood and addressed. According to Stacey (1999:15) a paradigm is a “general organizing framework for research that includes basic assumptions and models of inquiry”. The research paradigm employed for this study was largely qualitative in nature as data was evaluated without complex statistical packages.

McMillan (2008:7) argues that the qualitative research paradigm is a product of the social sciences designed to facilitate the study of social, economic, political and cultural phenomena. Powell (2002:4) echoes the same sentiments highlighting that qualitative research “is a systematic investigation into meaning that is a well-planned, orderly and grounded in the world of knowledge, as researchers try to empirically inquire the state of affairs in their natural settings”. It is against this backdrop that this researcher deployed a qualitative research paradigm as opposed to the quantitative research paradigm in order seek understanding of the social, cultural, political and legal phenomena slowing down the implementation of the dictates of the SADC Protocol on Gender and development in Zimbabwe and Malawi. A qualitative research paradigm was suitable for this research as it is a holistic and inductive approach which provided the opportunity for the researcher to
develop a descriptive, rich understanding and insight into the study theme (gendered inequality in political governance) under review.

In relation with the above, the qualitative research paradigm was ideal for this inquiry because, according to Lindloff (1995: 21), “it uses the actual talking, gesture and other social action as the raw materials of analysis”. Such a paradigm ultimately led to a comprehensive understanding of the phenomena behind the slow implementation of the provisions of the SADC Protocol on Gender and development in Zimbabwe and Malawi. Qualitative research paradigm has the advantage of being highly sensitive to contextual challenges, flexible to follow unexpected ideas during research, explore processes effectively as well as the ability to study symbolic dimensions and social meaning. This is especially so given the sensitive nature of gender relations in many communities in the two countries.

3.3 RESEARCH DESIGN

According to Ncube (1996:4) a research design is a set of techniques and actions used in collecting and assessing the variables specified in the research problem. Roberts (1998) is of the opinion that a research design depicts study type, for instance, descriptive, correlational, semi-experimental, experimental, review, meta-analytic approaches as well as the study sub-type such as the descriptive-longitudinal case study. Roberts (1998) further states that the research design could include, if applicable, the statement of the problem, hypotheses, independent and dependent variables, experimental design, data collection methods and a statistical analysis plan. This study employed the descriptive case study research design to identify and examine the challenges slowing down the implementation of the SADC Protocol on Gender and development, in Zimbabwe and Malawi, with a view to facilitate the promotion, protection and fulfilment of women’s rights to participate and influence the political governance trajectory of their countries.

Yin (2009:18) describes a case study as a practical investigation that examines, “a contemporary phenomenon in-depth and within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident”. In addition, Yin (2009:18) points out that a case study inquiry takes a holistic, in-depth and comprehensive
analysis of real life events, processes and phenomenon in one or more cases within a bounded system and has a heuristic impact. It is against this background that the foregoing research employed the descriptive case study research design to investigate the causes of the inequitable access to political power based solely on gender relations in Zimbabwe and Malawi.

3.4 METHODOLOGY

A cocktail of research techniques was incorporated throughout the data generating process of this research to conduct a profound analysis of the causal challenges that lead to gendered inequalities in political governance in Zimbabwe and Malawi. This mutual intercourse of research techniques in social science research is what Schatzman and Strauss (1973:66) refer to as ‘methodological pragmatism’. Schatzman and Strauss (1973:66) view the field researcher as a, “methodological pragmatist who sees any method of inquiry as a system of strategies and operations designed, at any time, for getting answers to certain questions about events which interest him/her.” As a result, and for purposes of this study, qualitative and quantitative methods can exist in juxtaposition in the assessment of gendered inequalities in political governance, and that there is no fundamental clash between the purposes and capacities of the two methods and the data they produce.

Given that the research theme (gender inequality in politics) is a complex subject matter it required analysis from different methodological perspectives in order to achieve a deep insight in this multifaceted phenomenon through qualitative and quantitative data. Mosse (2005) refers to this process as triangulation whose advantages are enhancing the accuracy of the research findings and the level of confidence in them, generating innovative data through a synthesis of the research findings and bring into play multiple constructions of the phenomenon (gender inequality in political governance). However, other theories find the concept of triangulation to be problematic because it implies that there is a singular reality ‘out there’ to be discussed (Bryan 2006). Nonetheless, methodological triangulation formed the basis of the data generation process of this research. Mosse (2005) identifies two subtypes of triangulation, that is, within method triangulation for example using in a questionnaire a combination of attitude scales, closed and open-ended questions; and
between-method triangulation such as a combination of participant observation, interviews and documents.

3.5 STUDY POPULATION

According to Meena (1992) the study population consists of all the individuals and units satisfying the selection standard for a set to be studied and from which a representative sample is taken for an in-depth analysis. Chambers (1998) subscribes to the notion that a study population is made up of all elements and individuals within a geographical location where the researcher draws a sample to generate his desired information. The population for this study therefore consisted of officials from government ministries dealing with gender and women affairs, economic empowerment, legal and parliamentary affairs as well as gender activists, female politicians, political parties, community based organisations (CBOs), faith based organisations (FBOs), Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), gender activists, civil societies, students, and academics amongst others. It was the conviction of this researcher that these groups and individuals would provide data on perceptions and feelings regarding the subject under inquiry. Contact persons (volunteers) were identified and tasked with organising people for the Focus Group Discussions (FDGs) and Group Interviews.

3.6 STUDY SAMPLE

The study sample for this research comprised of thirty key and general informants who were randomly selected representing the population parameters highlighted in the above sampling frame. Faggiolani (2011:12) describes a sample as “a small set of cases a researcher selects from to represent and generalize the opinion of the larger population”. Sampling allows the researcher to estimate the representativeness of the cases he/she studies, and thereby increase the degree of confidence in any inferences he/ she draws (Faggiolani 2011) In this light ten key informants and general informants for each country were a true representation of the Zimbabwean population parameters. Strauss (2008:6) is of the opinion that the “best sample is one which fulfils the requirements of efficiency, representativeness, reliability and flexibility”. The sampling for this study frame was in line with Faggiolani’s sampling criteria.

3.6.1 Sampling Frame

Creswell (2012:9) asserts that the sampling frame depicts a “parameter that is characteristic of the entire population that is estimated from a sample”. Roberts (1998:67) describes a
sampling framework as a “source list which contains the names of all items of a finite universe and such a list should be comprehensive, relevant and reliable”. Consequently, the sampling frame deployed in this research included all the stakeholders in gender relations mentioned above in the previous immediate paragraph.

3.6.2 Sampling Techniques

Cognisant of the fact that a huge population of women are politically under-represented in both countries and that this researcher could not interact with each of them due to financial and time constraints, it was considered necessary to sample. Wellington and Szczerbiski (2007:29) illustrates that it is possible to make relatively accurate inferences about the challenges the target group meets from randomly drawn samples. According to Wellington and Szczerbiski (2007:29) researchers can be able to make accurate inferences from the sample population is due to the known properties of the sampling distribution such as the target population’s sex, socio-economic status among other variables. The sample was collected properly such that it was possible to make valid and reliable generalisations to the broader population within quantifiable bounds of error (Wellington and Szczerbiski 2007). However, even though making valid and reliable inferences from the sample to the population was possible; many pitfalls many cropped up along the way.

Stacey (1999:44) identifies non-probability sampling techniques such as convenience, quota, snowball and critical sampling strategies that can be used in the data generation phase of a research. Stacey (1999:45) further propounds that, “…probability sampling, used more frequently in quantitative social research, can also be applied to data generation using techniques such as, among others, random, stratified and cluster sampling”. The first stage of this process defined the population from which the sample will be drawn. Having an explicit and detailed description of the population is essential because, for most of the sampling techniques used, there was need for a sampling frame, that is, a list of all members of the population (Stacey 1999)

3.6.3 Non-Probability Sampling Techniques
A wide variety of non-probability sampling techniques such as quota, convenience, snowball and critical sampling methods was used in the generation of data for this study. Bryan (2006:73) notes that, “snowball sampling, also known as ancestry or recommendation, involves contacting a member of the target population being studied and asking them if they know anyone else with the required characteristics. The nominated individuals were interviewed and in turn they were asked to further identify sample members”. Snowball sampling has the advantage of allaying the subjects' scepticism about the researcher's intentions (Bryan, 2006). An added advantage of snowball sampling is that it reveals a network of contacts that could be studied (Bryan, 2006). However, Bryan (2006) acknowledges that the main problem of the technique is that it only includes those within the connected network of individuals which can be a source of bias.

Other non-probability sampling techniques such as quota was considered to make the sample more representative of the target population by setting controls on sample composition to make it match predetermined population characteristics (Shakeshaft, 2002). The approach served to reduce bias relative to a non-random sample with no quota controls. Interviewing costs can also be much lower than for probability samples because there is no real need for call-backs and travelling distances and times efficient (Shakeshaft, 2002). A major drawback of the quota sampling technique was that, since it was not a probability sample, it was not possible to estimate the standard error and so the researcher cannot calculate the confidence intervals or use inferential statistics (Shakeshaft, 2002). A further limitation is that the researcher is obliged to know the proportion of the people with each characteristic in the population in order to specify quota controls (Shakeshaft, 2002).

3.6.4 Probability Sampling

Although probability sampling techniques are used more in quantitative research, they were used considerably in the data generation stage of the research. Stacey (1999: 53) refers to probability sampling as, “the distribution of values on a particular variable (gendered inequality for this case) in the sample or in the broader population, that is, it describes the probability of observing each of the different possible values a variable can take in a sample”. Probability sampling techniques include random, stratified, cluster and systematic methods. Although it is rarely used alone for the drawing of samples, the random sampling technique is
a yardstick by which a researcher can judge other sampling strategies (Stacey 1999). It gave every unit in the population an equal chance to be selected which is why it is referred to as an *epsem* design (Stacey 1999). Stacey (1999) however illustrates that during the course of data generation the technique may be cumbersome and time consuming. An alternative approach, systematic random sampling, which is simpler and more convenient was applied but on a limited basis since the target population was large and geographically diverse.

Clustering or multistage selection of sample units was also used in this research. Seagor and Olgon (2007:111) demonstrate that, “the basic idea of the clustered design is to select the sample in stages so that the individual sample units are kept in relative geographical proximity”. Although clustering produced more precise population estimates than random samples, it was subject to larger standard errors as there tended to be greater similarities between members of the same geographical proximity on many attributes than between independently selected members of the total population (Seagor and Olgon 2007:111). Clustering, therefore, underestimated the true population variance and this was reflected in the larger standard errors that are larger than those that would have been produced from a random sample of the same size (Seagor and Olgon 2007).

### 3.6.1 Research Instruments

Field studies of the target population were physically done to generate in-depth first hand data about the research focus; its nature and extent. This was done using a variety of research instruments including, among others, the administering of questionnaires, conducting of face-to-face interviews, observation, and focus group interviewing.

### 3.6.2 Questionnaires

The questionnaires followed a standardised format in which most questions were pre-coded to provide a list of responses for the respondents to select. A total of thirty questionnaires were distributed to respondents that were randomly selected. The questions were phrased in such a way that a wide range of respondents understood so that it was easy for them to see how they could record their responses. Loewenson (2000) states that, the main advantage of
self-completion questionnaires is that a large proportion of the target group is surveyed relatively cheaply. The main arguments against administering questionnaires in social research have generally been that the response rate is low (Woods, 1999). Woods (1999) further elaborates that the response rate of questionnaires tend to depend on a number of challenges including, among others, the subject matter of the survey (gendered inequalities in political governance), the target population of the survey (that is, women), the recipients’ perception of its value and the ease of completion of the questionnaire. Moreover, respondents' answers were sometimes incomplete, illegible and incomprehensible and they were treated as refused to answer.

3.6.2.1 Questionnaires Format

Loewenson (2000) argues that questionnaires should be designed with the respondent in mind, explain at the beginning what is needed, give clear instructions throughout, and if necessary, provide illustrations. It was particularly important to ensure that participants understood whether a single response to a question was wanted or the answers could include all that apply, and the questionnaire was not be longer than necessary (Loewenson, 2000). The order in which the questions was asked important as they did not jump from subject to subject and questions did not only fit together but were grouped together according to the subject (Loewenson, 2000). Keeber (1997) concurs that it is important to provide clear linking sentences particularly when moving on to a different topic while maintaining the interest of the respondent. He highlights that it is regarded best to start with simple non-threatening questions and questions concerning background and socio-economic data are best asked at the end.

3.6.3 Interviews

Gubrium and Holstein (2001) alludes to the fact that the process of interviews is such that the interviewer-cum-researcher should have some form of document to guide questioning which consists of both pre-coded and open-ended questions. Gubrium and Holstein (2001) illustrate that an interview guide is used for listed areas to be covered while leaving the exact wording and order of the questions to the interviewer. He asserts that in some cases the interview guide should be quite sketchy to allow for the possibility of non-directive interviewing in
which the interviewee's responses determine the course of the interview (Gubrium and Holstein 2001). The researcher then recorded the interviewees’ responses directly onto the interview schedule for later transcription while his laptop computer was programmed with questions which made recording answers easier and less prone to error. More so, other interviews were conducted through the telephone for those interviews that were far to reach and this enabled the researcher to gather data with ease. Dillman (2007) states that, interviews are more flexible such that more information can be extracted than in structured questionnaires. The disadvantages of interviews are that they are expensive to carry out because of the researcher's travel expenses and some potential participants may be reluctant to take part in a face-to-face interview but more comfortable with self-completion questionnaires (Dillman 2007).

3.6.4 Focus Groups and Group Interviews

Stacey (1999) elucidates that the technique of group interviewing has the advantage of making interviewees feel safer, more secure and at ease when they are with their peers. They are also more relaxed, ‘warmed up' and jog each other's memories and thoughts (Stacey 1999). Klopp (2013) however illustrates that the major disadvantages group interviewing is the maverick voice or the long monologue, dominant individuals who monopolize the interview or invisibly 'threaten' others by their presence, the reduction in the time devoted to each individual and persons being afraid to speak in the group. Stacey (1999) however maintains that group interviews are often seen as best for giving insights of an exploratory research. Focus group interviews were rich sources of knowledge about respondents' understanding of the research theme, that is, gendered inequality in political governance. The focus group interviews were insightful and illuminating and exuded a strong sense of reality (Stacey 1999). There was increased access to, and engaging for, the participants whilst also being illustrative, vivid and strong on reality (Stacey 1999). The weakness was that they were sometimes generalizable, unrepresentative, replicable and repeatable (Klopp 2013). Contact persons (Volunteers) were mandated with forming groups for interviews.

3.6.5 Secondary Sources

The weaknesses and challenges of the research instruments were countered by the use of secondary data on gendered inequality in politics. Kothari (2004) describes secondary data as
data that has already been collected and evaluated by scholars. Yin (2009:102) argues that, “For case studies, the most important use of documents is to corroborate and augment evidence from other sources”. Secondary documents including impact assessments, journals, reports and newspapers were utilised to supplement data generated through the above-mentioned research instruments. Yin (2009) affirms that data secured from secondary sources is stable, can be reviewed repeatedly, unobtrusive, not created as a result of case study, exact and gives broad coverage. Research centres' websites and the Bindura University Online Journals are some of the sources that were used to generate secondary data. In selecting secondary data sources the researcher took into consideration the reliability, sustainability and adequacy of the data (Kothari. 2004).

3.7. Validity

There is unanimous concurrence by scholars that a credible research instrument should meet the criterion of reliability and validity. Silverman (2008) notes that reliability depicts dependability, consistency and stability of a research tool. Reliability of research tools for this research was achieved because research instruments yielded consistent results among different key informants and respondents. Through careful sampling for key/expert informants who represent different population parameters in the areas under study, this researcher was able to achieve research reliability.

3.7.1 Reliability

Hammersley (1990) suggests that qualitative validity involves the efficacy, truthfulness, authenticity and genuineness of research tool in measuring its intended variables. Silverman (2008:205) asserts that validity represents “the extent to which an instrument accurately represents the social phenomena to which it refers”. Validity for this study was also achieved through judicious selection of sample representatives of different Zimbabwe-Malawi population parameters and designing interview protocol in line with research objectives and research questions. Neuman (2011) observes that researchers can ensure the validity of their research tools through devising interview questions that are not double barreled, leading and complex questions laced with double negatives that induce response bias.
3.7.2 Data Collection Plan

The research instruments were specially designed to suit the demands of the study objectives and research questions. Valid research questions, statement of the problem, research purpose and the people involved in the conducting and sponsoring of the project were incorporated in the designing of the research instruments. Crafting a budget for financing field research transport costs, stationery and other related expenses was also done by the researcher. The researcher organized interview schedules flexible to the interviewee's convenience and availability.

3.7.3 Ethical Considerations

Stacey (1999:109) demonstrates that study ethics comprise acceptable and professional demeanours when conducting academic research. Tsanga (2007) further elaborates that ethical principle of informed consent should be deployed when carrying out research through giving respondents the freedom to choose whether to participate or not in the research after receiving all relevant information about the risk of harm that might occur during the course of the project. Ethical principles of debriefing or disclosure, whereby prior to data generation potential respondents were oriented on who was conducting the study, purpose, potential benefits and anticipated outcome, was a major ethical consideration that was employed in this research Tsanga (2007). The researcher guarded against the pitfalls of misconduct such as academic fraud and plagiarism through proper referencing, and acknowledging documents and views expressed by respondents. Confidentiality, anonymity and privacy of respondents was also guaranteed. As such, in order to make sure that the issues of confidentiality, anonymity and privacy was taken seriously, the researcher used alphabetical letters (A, B, C…) to represent names of interview respondents. In addition, the researcher also used the letter from the university department of Peace and Governance together with the school identification card for identification purposes and also as proof that the research was not doing this on his own but on behalf of school as well.

3.8 Data Presentation and analysis Procedures

Mills (1990) is of the opinion that a grounded thematic coding system is of paramount importance in the presentation and analysis of qualitative data. Mills (1990) describes coding in thematic evaluation as the building of a methodical account of what has been observed and recorded. In the context of this study interpretive techniques such as thematic analysis or
coding and textual analysis were used to analyse the gathered material. Ezzy (2002) identifies three types of qualitative data coding: open coding, axial coding and selective coding. The researcher explored data on gendered inequality in political governance through organizing data into categories or classes, paragraphs, sentences, phrases themes and concepts guided by research questions and objectives.

3.8.1 Open Coding

The researcher started with open coding which is the initial coding of qualitative data to condense them into preliminary analytic categories and themes. The researcher then explored the data, identified the unit of analysis, coded for meanings, made metaphors, code codes into sub categories and identified the properties of codes (Ezzy 2002).

3.8.2 Axial Coding

The second phase of data analysis deployed by the researcher was the axial or theoretical coding in which the main categories which emerged from open coding of data were interconnected with each other. Punch (2011) notes that, the aim of axial coding is to integrate codes around the axis of central categories.

3.8.3 Selective Coding

The last phase employed in data analysis in this research was the selective coding or theoretical coding in which the researcher identified the core code, examined the relationship between the core code and other codes and compared the coding scheme with pre-existing theories (Ezzy 2002). Berg (2009) postulates that selective coding begins after concepts have been well developed and several core generalizations have been identified. Punch (2011) Echoes the same sentiments arguing that selective coding is the saturation phase of the coding system in which codes and theory are merged. Data was presented in tables, pie charts and narrative form.

3.9 Chapter Summary

The purpose of this chapter was to outline the qualitative research method that was used in generating data for this research. A description of the case study research design and exploratory method was also laid out in this chapter. The study population, sampling
techniques and research tools incorporating the two countries' population parameters was given. Data presentation and coding procedures employed in the foregoing research were discussed in this chapter. The methodology analysed in this chapter, therefore, sets the basis for the next chapter on data collection, presentation, analysis and discussion.
CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 INTRODUCTION.

This chapter frames the findings of the research with regards to the barriers militating against the successful implementation of the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development in Zimbabwe and Malawi. It explores the impact of socio-cultural, economic, legal and the actions by women themselves in terms of their relative contributions to gendered inequality in political governance in the two countries. The chapter also examines how the socialization of women, within a gender approach, aggravates their marginalization in political governance.

4.2 DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF RESPONDENTS

The sample used was of thirty respondents who therefore translate to thirty questionnaires that were used to generate the following socio-demographic characteristics: gender, marital status, age, number of children, and level of education, employment, and sectors of employment. Economic, socio-cultural, legal issues as well as women’s own actions insofar as they influence the feminine gender’s participation in political governance of their societies are discussed. The findings show that there were 19 female participants representing 63.3% of all respondents in the survey while 11 were men representing 36.7% of all respondents as indicated by the pie chart below. This was designed to get more insight from the main targets of the research who are women.
Key findings of the study also illustrate that 13 participants representing 43% of all respondents were married, 2 respondents constituting 6.6% of all respondents were divorced, 12 participants representing 40% of all respondents were single and 3 participants representing 10.4% of all respondents were widowed as illustrated by the pie chart below.
24 survey participants representing 80% of all respondents were aged between 18 to 44 years while 6 survey participants representing 20% of all respondents were aged 45 years and older as depicted in the table below.

Table 4.1: Age-group of respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Range(years)</th>
<th>18-24</th>
<th>25-34</th>
<th>35-44</th>
<th>45-54</th>
<th>55-64</th>
<th>65-74</th>
<th>75 or older</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number (Out of 30 participants)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>6.66%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

19 survey participants who constitute 63% percent of total respondents had 1 or more children while 11 participants representing 37% of total respondents had no children. This is diagrammatically shown in the pie chart below.

Figure 3: Respondents’ Number of Children (30)
29 survey participants accounting for 97% percent of all respondents had some form of education while only one person representing 3% of total respondents had no form of education as shown in Figure 4 below.

**Figure 4: Level of Education**
89% (27) participants had some form of employment either in the formal or informal sector while 11% (3) were unemployed. Table 2 shows the employment status of respondents

Table 4.2: Employment status of respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Employment Sector</th>
<th>Number (Out of 30 participants)</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Government</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legal</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private business</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Healthcare</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>16.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.3 SOCIO-CULTURAL CHALLENGES
The intention of studying the socio-cultural structure of the two countries was to understand the extent to which norms and values resting on traditions and customs influence the differences between men and women in the recognition of the right to participate in political governance. Respondents were asked to express their opposition, neutrality or support of certain propositions on the effect of socio-cultural challenges on gender relations in political governance. The results were as given in Table 4.3.

**Table 4.3 Respondents’ views on socio-cultural challenges affecting gender relations No. 30**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proposition</th>
<th>Opposed</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Support</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cultural values based on patriarchy are a constraint to the promotion of gender equality in politics</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owing to cultural stereotypes women often suffer political marginalisation</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women’s responsibility for reproduction and household duties is the prime reason for their disadvantaged status in politics.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socio-cultural inequalities lead to a situation in which women find more difficulties in pursuing political participation than their male counterparts.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The traditional roles of men as earners and women as nurturers and carers have negative implications for women seeking to pursue politics to the highest possible level.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.3.1 Patriarchy

An overwhelming majority of 27 respondents (90%) singled out patriarchy as a major constraint to the promotion of gender equality in political governance, 2 respondents (6.6%) opposed the proposition while only 1 respondent (3.3%) were neutral. In an interview with respondent (A) an aspiring young female politician who will be running for Harare Central Member of Parliament seat in 2018 general election she argued that:

"Zimbabwe is naturally a patriarchal state. Women are not respected in the church, the political arena. Even at the work place where female bosses find it hard to stamp their authority on male subordinates. We need a paradigm shift of mind set to be able to realise gender equality (Interview 16/10/17)"

Respondent (B), a Gender Relations Coordinator with the Malawi Women’s Association (MWA) puts it thus, “The enormous challenge for women in Malawi is internalised patriarchal values which exclude the feminine gender not just in principle but also in practice. Malawi remains a highly unequal society as a result of women’s fear of breaking valued social relations that entrench male chauvinism” (Interview 17/10/17).

Patriarchal tendencies were also found to be at the centre of women’s unequal socio-cultural statues. Respondent (C) a teacher at a Secondary School in Malawi, rightly pointed out that “In my community opinions of men are given more weight than those of women with the result that women are not assertive and are unable to openly give their opinions even in matters that directly affect them; reproductive health for example” (Interview 17/10/17).

On the other hand, some scholars such as Kurebwa (2013) also pointed out that patriarchy is also a challenge responsible for the low participation and under-representation of women in governance. Ritcher (1991) also argues that the family is the main institution of patriarchy which is an important aspect in explaining gender inequality. Thus, patriarchy refers to a society dominated by men over women (Kurebwa, 2013). “This is inherent in most African families”. Kurebwa (2013) thus concluded, that “giving men a higher social status over women has crept into the public domain and is reflected in state activities”. It is no surprise, therefore, that the successful implementation Article 6 of the regional protocol on gender and development which advocates for the elimination of women’s unequal status in all spheres of life remains sluggish in the two countries.
4.3.2 Cultural stereotypes

It was a widely held view amongst 28 respondents (93.3%) that cultural stereotypes aggravate the marginalisation of women in political governance. It was observed that the low status of the girl child begins from the time of birth where differential values are attached to the boy and girl child. Respondents alluded to the fact that girls are accorded the status of a ‘visitor’ because she will eventually marry and join another family. This compares favourably with researches conducted elsewhere around the globe. A classical case in point is that of Indian communities where amniocentesis or female feticide is practiced in search of a son. A vendor in Harare (Respondent D) puts it thus, “I believe that investing in my girl child’s education is not important and a waste of time and resources because upon her marriage someone else will reap the benefits of my investment (Interview 16/10/17)”. Such a mindset is a stumbling block to the expeditious implementation of Article 11 of the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development which provides for equal access to quality education and training for the girl child as well as their retention at all levels of education. It is against this backdrop that the implementation of the regional protocol on gender relations continues to move at a snail’s pace.

In relation with the matter above, it was also observed that son preference is linked to traditional beliefs that boys will remain to care for their parents at home in old age whilst their sisters are married off. Consider the sentiments of a local polygamist:

*My first 6 wives gave me 16 girl children and, even if I’m poor, I continued to marry in a desperate search for a son who can carry forward my genealogy. Thanks to my ancestors it’s only recently that my new (7th) wife eloped to me and gave me a son. I shall work hard so that I can bequeath my entire possessions to him when I am gone. In any case, he is the one who shall look after me in my old age (Focus Group Discussion: 11/09/17).*

One may argue that the polygamist’s kind of thinking is anathema to the dictates of Article 11 of the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development which prescribe equality rights and treatment of boys and girls in the society.
It can also be deduced from the responses that social structures firmly reinforce gender stereotypes influenced by such challenges as culture and religion. Consider the submission of a Respondent (E) Girls Empowerment Network Malawi (GENM) field officer:

Owing to cultural and religious stereotypes and notions about women’s bodies such as ‘purdah’ among many Muslim societies in Malawi, women often suffer in silence. Purdah is a discriminatory and oppressive religious practice of physically secluding female Muslim worshippers from their male counterparts prevalent especially in the Al Madinah Mosque in Mpingwe” (Interview 17/10/17).

It is however not surprising that this state of affairs is not in sync with Article 21 of the regional protocol on gender and development which stipulates gender equality in social and religious practices. None of the respondents opposed the contention that cultural stereotypes are a major contributor to gendered inequality in political governance.

4.3.3 Gender Roles

Most of the respondents 28 (93.3%) highlighted that the traditional roles of men as earners and women as nurturers and carers have negative implications for women seeking to pursue politics to the highest possible level. The study also revealed that gendered inequality in Zimbabwe is firmly ensconced on the social assumption that women and girls can be treated merely as dependents on male earners rather than as individuals with their own citizenship rights. Housework, child care and other related undervalued tasks are commonly reserved for women, whilst those in the public sphere such as political power, status and money are dominated by men. Respondent (F), highlighted that,

Reproductive activities such as giving birth, rearing children and nurturing them into responsible adults are seen solely as the responsibility of women yet they are supposed to be a collective parental obligation. As a result, issues of gender equality have tended to be side-lined in discussions and strategies relating to politics and human development, yet the social groups of women and girls form the greater part of the country’s demographic structure”. (Interview 15/10/17)

Respondent (G), an aspiring Zimbabwean Member of Parliament (MP) further affirmed that:
Gender roles also affect political participation of women where they have to raise children, has to be a wife and perform all other different gender roles as well. So, all that will coincide with women’s participation in politics. As an aspiring MP I have noticed how hectic and tedious running for political office is, I spend less time with my children of which most women will not be able to do that. (Interview, 16/10/7).

It is in this regard that the implementation Article 16 of the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development which envisages the elimination of women’s multiple roles remains lethargic in Zimbabwe.

4.4 FLAWED LEGAL ENVIRONMENT

Survey respondents were asked to indicate their position and views regarding effect of the legal environment on gender relations in political governance and the responses are presented in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4 Respondents’ views on the legal environment (No. 30)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Oppose</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Support</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The lack of a comprehensive legal framework is a major driver of gendered inequality in public administration.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>16.6%</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laws such as the Legal Age of Majority Act have often been criticised by both men and women for seeking to destroy culture.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13.3%</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Customary laws generally dictate unequal gender relations</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6.6%</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most physical assault cases on women and girls go unreported and fewer result in convictions.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The research found out that notwithstanding the signing and adoption of the new constitution in 2013, laws that seek to effect gender equality in Zimbabwe have often failed to achieve their intended results due to slow or no implementation. Kurebwa (2013) is of a contrary opinion in the part of his Thesis chapter in which he wrote about the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development he argued that Zimbabwe is one country that has done well in coming up with laws and policies that promote women’s participation in political governance as evidenced in the 2013 National Constitution and The National Gender Policy (2013-2017). This was also echoed in an interview by Respondent (H) an official from the Zimbabwe Gender Commission (ZGC) who argued that:

Indeed Zimbabwe has good laws and policies that promote equal representation of both men and women in political governance but, the implementation of such laws and policies is still a big challenge as the laws and policies are only there to please women, women are happy to see that those laws exist but they are not worried about their implementation” (Interview 16/10/17).

However, the researcher also agrees that these two countries may have laid down laws that promote women’s political participation, but this study is much more worried about the implementation of such laws, why prolonging the implementation of such brilliant laws? However, what may have probably influenced the results above (63%) that the lack of a comprehensive legal framework is a major driver of gendered inequality in public administration was due to the fact that the majority of the respondents were not legal practitioners and subsequently lacked knowledge. The public usually get to know such laws exist when they are being implemented, if they are not they assume there exist no such laws.

Laws such as the Legal Age of Majority Act have often been criticised by both men and women for seeking to destroy culture insofar as they outlaw customary practices such as marrying school-going underage girls. As a result the implementation of such laws has been found to be slow and this scenario runs counter to the dictates of Articles 8 of the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development which requires that any girl child under the age of eighteen years is a minor and, therefore, cannot be married.

The majority of the participants 19 (63%) affirmed that a flawed legal environment sustains gender disparities. Respondent (I), a legal counsel with the Malawi Legal Aid Services, noted that:
...there is a large disjuncture between women’s constitutional rights, statutory and customary laws in Malawi and this causes serious barriers for women’s political empowerment. Customary laws in Malawi generally dictate unequal gender relations in political governance, compounding the discrimination that women face in public and private institutions (Interview 14/10/17)

Another constitutional expert with Malawi’s Department of Justice, Respondent (J), observed that “…customary norms in Malawi deny women their constitutional rights and jeopardize their access to justice in property, inheritance and divorce disputes” (Key Informant Interview 19/09/17). Consider the experiences of Respondent (K), a widow, “...when my husband died in 2010 his family took all the property that we had claiming that I contributed nothing to its acquisition. My children were left with nothing and they asked me to return to my parents’ house as Maleka (her husband’s brother) wanted to move in our house with his family (Interview 19/09/17)”. Such discriminatory practices are in need of being removed in order to comply with the dictates of Article 8 of the regional protocol on gender and development which categorically prohibits any inhumane and degrading treatment of widows. This is of paramount importance if the two countries are to successfully implement the regional protocol on gender and development to the later.

The researcher also observed that violence against women occurring in the home, community and the workplace is a significant barrier to gender equality in political governance. A resounding response of 29 respondents (97%) were of the view that women are particularly vulnerable to gender based violence including wife-battering, sexual harassment and assault, girl-child defilement, marital rape, incest, femicide (the intentional killing of women or girls because they are females), and widowhood rites. Gender-based violence significantly affects women’s health and has severe psychological impacts on their ability to participate in the public affairs of their communities (UNDP 2015:92). A United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) volunteer in Lilongwe postulated that:

Although legal measures that protect women and girls from gender based violence exist in Malawi, the legal system often leaves women without adequate judicial recourse. For instance, our constitution currently defines rape only outside the marital context and, therefore, exempts husbands for prosecution from this act. Moreover, despite some well-publicized cases of girl-child defilement in Malawi, most
assaults on women and girls go unreported and fewer still result in convictions” (Interview 20/09/17).

It is because of these circumstances that article 20 of the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development which prohibits gender based violence against women continues to be implemented slowly in the two countries.

4.5 ECONOMIC ISSUES

Respondents were asked to identify the five most serious economic issues perpetuating the marginalisation of women in politics. Participants’ responses are presented in Table 4.5 below.

Table 4.5 Economic issues perpetuating the marginalisation of women in politics (No. 30)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Economic Issues</th>
<th>Response rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number (Out of 30)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poverty</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inadequate and inaccessible provision of women-specific economic services</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The assumption that women’s economic interests are taken care of by male breadwinners</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial dependence on men</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uneven income distribution</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unequal distribution of economic resources</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inadequate supply of basic needs such as health facilities, food, shelter among others.</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The results show that poverty 30 (100%) contributes most significantly to women’s marginalisation in politics. Respondents adjudged the inadequate and inaccessible provision of women-specific economic services and the assumption that women’s interests are taken care of by men as having the same effect the marginalisation of women. Women’s financial dependence and an uneven distribution of economic resources were also cited as contributing to the unequal status of women in politics. These economic issues, as given chronologically
in Table 4.5, were cited as the five most serious economic issues perpetuating the marginalisation of women in politics

4.5.1 Feminisation of Poverty

Judging from responses given by participants from the questionnaire surveys, poverty was found to be a very serious gendered phenomenon in the two countries. It was discovered that the “feminisation of poverty” differentiates women’s experience of poverty significantly from that of men. Respondent (L), an economist suggested that “... female-headed households are represented disproportionately in the lowest quarter of income distribution but have more dependents, fewer assets and other economic resources. This situation has been exacerbated by women’s inferior position in the country’s capitalist labour market” (Interview 16/10/17)

The assumption that the women’s economic interests are taken care of by male bread winners was also discovered to be a major contributor to gendered inequality in political governance. This study however noted this assumption is not only erroneous but archaic. Instead, what emerged was a pattern of increasing, albeit at a fast rate, female financial responsibility for family upkeep. This assumption continues to act as an impediment to women’s earning capacity being maximised. The study also found out that women continue to encounter obstacles in their economic activities including, among others, the institution of prohibitive laws and regulations and the lack of finance and training opportunities to augment their meagre incomes. This state of affairs is a reflection of the slow implementation of the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development, primarily Article 15 which requires that women be given an equal opportunity to participate in economic issues without any undue interference.

The unequal distribution of economic resources 17 (55%) was also found to be central in perpetuating the marginalisation of women in political governance. This situation is worsened by the ‘feminisation of labour’ prevalent in domestic labour and commercial sexual exploitation. The experiences of Respondent (M) are a classical case in point:

I have six siblings who all have to go to school yet our mother [who was the sole breadwinners] died last year [2016]. We have no money and I have decided not go to school any longer; I have to work during the night in town [commercial sex work] with my friends. I help my siblings with some money while Tariro [her sister] also
“helps in looking after our siblings through selling vegetables and fish” (Interview 17/10/17).

This illustration highlights the fact that girl children are more vulnerable to perennial economic shocks and pressures experienced at the household level. Respondent (N) also reiterated that,

When families encounter problems of an economic nature it is the girl children who have to leave school first in order to work and supplement family income. As a result of this, children, mostly females, are vulnerable to economic exploitation and performance of work that is not only hazardous and undesirable but also injurious to their ability to continue with academic education (Interview 20/10/17).

In view of the above, it can be argued that economic shocks affect women’s capacity to participate in politics as they have to contend with pressure exerted on them as a result of multiple economic roles. Women are largely disempowered economically such that there are more vulnerable to hazardous practices such as sexual harassment and prostitution in a bid to enhance their meagre earnings. It is in this regard, that the two countries have not been able to successfully comply, through implementation, with the recommendations of the regional bloc in terms of institutionalizing gender equality through women’s economic empowerment.
4.6 WOMEN AS THEIR OWN ENEMY

Research findings indicated that female political leaders are accountable for the low status of women in politics as they continue to reinforce patriarchy while neglecting each other’s advancement. Respondents generally agreed that women’s own actions have contributed to their lack of participation in political governance due to various reasons which were discussed in Fig 5 above is a true reflection of this general view that female political leaders are accountable for the low status of women in political governance.

Aspiring female political leaders pointed to a lack of support and encouragement from other women. As was indicated by Respondent (O), from ward 21 Mutasa District (Manicaland Province) argued that, “I have found that women tend to be less supportive of other women and are sometimes inclined to broadcast your weak points instead of what makes you a stronger candidate. It then becomes a case of the higher you go, the colder it becomes.” (Interview 16/10/17) Her views were also echoed by various other female politicians. Respondent (P), a perennially losing Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) candidate for councillorship in Ward 19 Mutasa District (Manicaland Province) says,

…women are not ready to support and uplift each other. They still vouch for and vote for men over women. I find that men readily accept me and commend my work and efforts more than women do. I strongly believe that if women supported each other more, the upward mobility of women in politics would increase as they constitute more than half the population of Zimbabwe (Interview 16/10/17)”.

Figure 5: Women’s own actions that undermine to assume political placements

[Pie chart showing responses: 95% Affirmed, 2% Disagreed, 3% Ignorant]
These sentiments illustrate that women have been socialized into believing that no matter what men are superior to them. Or rather, that women are “less than” men.

Whilst admitting that women do not support each other in political governance, Respondent (G) an aspiring member of parliament Harare Central Candidate argued that the hatred or the antagonism that exist amongst women is created by men. She puts it thus, “for example if my husband is having an extra marital affair, you will find I will not fight my husband who is cheating on me instead I will fight the women whom he is having that affair with, so the patriarchal system taught to us fight against each other (Interview 16/10/17)”.

Respondent (Q), a young female legal practitioner cum-politician also concurred with the view that women are responsible for their own predicament by arguing that, “women just don’t like it when other women succeed”. She gave an example of a prominent female lawyer who wants to run for political office as an independent candidate in the 2018 Harmonised elections that there is cyber bullying that she is facing from both women and men calling her all sorts of names that she is a prostitute (Interview 16/10/17). Thus, for her this illustrates how women are not supportive of other women’s successes.

More so, some secondary sources also review how women “pull each other down”. It is common knowledge that at one point Zimbabwe had a woman, Joice Mujuru, as Vice President. That was a great achievement in a country that is characterized by high patriarchal systems. She was the first woman ever in Zimbabwe since independence to become the second in command of the head of state and government. But what happened to her? She was removed from that position by fellow women. Fellow women got into some provincial tour campaigning for her removal from that position and Zimbabwe went back to the traditional position of having two male vice presidents.

Matenga (2014) wrote about how the former Zimbabwean female vice president Joyce Mujuru was toppled from the second most powerful position in the country by fellow women. In that newspaper, the first lady Grace Mugabe sensationaly claimed that she had video and audio recordings where Vice-President Joyce Mujuru was captured speaking ill against the first family. This information was shared whilst addressing about one thousand college students and party youths at her Mazowe Children’s Home. Grace Mugabe said she always wondered why President Mugabe was not keen on kicking Mujuru out of office given the overwhelming evidence they had amassed against her (Matenga 2014). This period has also
seen the passing of votes of no confidence to the then Minister of Higher and Tertiary Education, Science and Technology Dr Olivia Muchena and several other members (men and women) of Zimbabwe African Nation Union Patriotic Front (ZANU PF). This study however is not concerned about what were the causes of those problems but it is worried about the way women were responsible for disempowering themselves thereby creating some more space for men to rule over them.

In the same vein, Girls Empowerment Network Malawi (GENM) Regional Manager, said there are a number of reasons for women’s unequal status in society “Our culture is biased against women. Men are portrayed as being above women regardless of competencies. Another reason is that as women we do not believe in ourselves. We do not take ourselves seriously and we need to change this attitude (Interview 20/10/17).” This begs the question, Are women responsible for their own plight? This researcher strongly believes that indeed women, sometimes, are their own enemies in terms of participation in political governance. This is because many women prefer to stay in their cocoons and to pull each down and do what they have always done since time immemorial support men. Respondent (R) reiterated that,

Women refuse to acknowledge that they can change their realities by recognizing their own self-worth, and challenging the damage that their socialization has done to them. Socialization keeps women at the same place as men head households, the church and occupy key positions in society. Women who speak up and challenge the status quo are frowned upon by fellow women and ostracized as “bad” women who don’t know their place).

If these stereotypes and assumptions about appropriate behaviour for women go unchallenged then they will remain confined to the narrow roles assigned to them by society.

In religious circles it was observed that female leaders of Pentecostal churches are accountable for the low status of women in their congregations as they continue to reinforce patriarchy while neglecting each other’s advancement. Professor of Religion at the University of Zimbabwe, Kudzai, highlighted that;
Women are perpetuating oppressive patriarchal teachings. For instance, female religious leaders are font of passing on negative stereotypes about single women and single mothers. They are mostly blind to sociological and cultural realities and shifting paradigms and tend to blanket the experiences of women. It is women themselves, especially leaders, who should be responsible for emancipating themselves and not to blame men. It is in those women’s forums, without men that they perpetuate oppressive patriarchal teachings. Yet at the same time argue that they need to be empowered (Interview 16/10/17).

Biri furthers her argument by saying that, “Look at how married women leaders demonise single ladies and allow derogatory connotations, the naming system that is small houses and gold diggers. Yet they do not include men in these condemnations (Interview 16/10/17).”

While there have been efforts by Government and civic society to empower women, churches where the gospel of “equality should be preached”— seem to lag behind as well. It is against this background that the implementation of the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development continues to be prolonged in the two countries.

Figure 6: Respondents’ view of women’s patriarchal teachings

![Pie chart showing respondents' view of women's patriarchal teachings]

- 98% Affirmed
- 1% Disagreed
- 1% Ignorant
The study also revealed that it is in women’s forums, such as churches meetings without men, where teachings that perpetuate oppressive patriarchal tendencies are perpetuated. Figure 6 above shows the respondents’ responses when asked to express their views on whether patriarchal teachings are rampant in women’s forums such as church meetings (Ruwadzano), kitchen parties, bridal showers amongst others are known to be platforms where patriarchy is promoted. At these platforms women are taught how to respect and honour their husbands and in laws in marriage. It is evident from the pie chart above that an overwhelming number of respondents agreed that patriarchy was still a major impediment in the attainment of a 50/50 representation in political governance. It was noted that women who speak up and challenge the status quo are frowned upon by their communities and ostracized as bad women who do not know their place. Not wanting to be associated with this condemned behaviour, many women withhold their support and lash out at those they perceive as bringing “good” women into disrepute. The “pull her down” syndrome was observed to be a major reason why women do not support and celebrate each other’s achievements and successes. Despite gender equality being high on the national agenda of the two countries, when a woman finds her way to the top other women do very little to support her.

4.7 CHAPTER SUMMARY

Chapter 4 framed the findings of the research highlighting the barriers militating against the successful implementation of the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development in Zimbabwe and Malawi. The chapter examined the impact of socio-cultural, economic, legal and the actions by women themselves in terms of their relative contributions to gendered inequality in political governance in the two countries. The chapter also approximated how the socialization of women, within a gender approach, aggravates their marginalization in political governance. The implications of the study findings, their limitations and conclusions drawn are also discussed in this chapter. It is, however, important to note that the arguments advanced in this chapter are undergirded by the data and/or evidence generated in the research field through an array of research methods including, inter alia, questionnaires, key informant interviews, focus group discussions (FDGs) and observational (overt and covert) techniques.
CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter gives a summary of the whole research project, highlighting the key findings and conclusions drawn after assessing the challenges slowing down the implementation of the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development. This is done with a view to satisfy the demands of the research questions and objectives articulated in Chapter 1. Chapter 5 also presents research recommendations guided by the research findings discussed in Chapter 4. The chapter also identifies research areas that require further study in as far as gender relations in political governance are concerned.

5.2 SUMMARY

5.2.1 Summary of the Research

The purpose of the research was to identify and examine challenges slowing down the implementation of the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development, in Zimbabwe and Malawi, with a view to facilitate the promotion, protection and fulfilment of women’s rights to participate in political governance. The study interrogated the role played by entrenched cultural practices in alienating women from pursuing political placements, analysed the effectiveness of statutory laws in promoting gender equality in political governance, investigated how economic issues perpetuate the marginalisation of women in politics and evaluated how women undermine their own capacity to assume political leadership roles.

Intensive review of documents was done to examine a cocktail of feminist theories such as liberal, Marxist, psycho-analytic and radical paradigms in a bid to provide a scholarly perspective in which challenges responsible for the slow implementation of the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development in the two countries can be studied. Radical feminists argue that patriarchy ingrains a culture of male dominance over women. Proponents of Marxist feminism assert that the capitalist motivation for profits is responsible for women’s second-class status, while psychoanalytic feminism suggests that men have an inherent psychological propensity to subjugate women. This study, however, is largely guided by
implicit liberal feminist theory which contends that gender inequality is a result of reduced access for women and girls to civil rights and allocation of social resources such as education and employment.

The study was structured on the qualitative paradigm which adopted the case study research design deemed the most appropriate approach to examine the ‘how’ and ‘what’ research questions. A wide variety of non-probability sampling techniques such as snowball and critical sampling methods was deployed to generate data for this study. Probability sampling techniques, though used more in quantitative research, was also used considerably in the data generation stage of the research. Officials from government ministries dealing with gender and women affairs, economic empowerment, legal and parliamentary affairs as well as gender activists, female politicians, political parties, community based organisations (CBOs), faith based organisations (FBOs), NGOs, gender activists, civil societies, churches, students, and academics amongst others were interviewed as key informants for this study. Research data was also extracted through semi-structured interviews, Focus Group Discussions (FDGs), Group Interviewing and questionnaires.

Constraints encountered during data collection was the inaccessibility of some the interviewees as the population was geographically sparse. The researcher was also quite overwhelmed by the volume of data collected from both primary and secondary sources. The analysis of data was a “mind-numbing” exercise which was time consuming. However, data was still logically categorised and subjected to a rigorous examination.

5.2.2 Summary of Findings

Study findings demonstrated that socio-cultural, economic, legal and as well as the actions of women themselves are central in accentuating gendered inequality in political governance in the two countries, hence the slow implementation of the regional protocol on gender relations. It was further observed that the disadvantaged position of women in politics emanates from the continued existence of cultural traditions and customs which accord women a subordinate status as compared to men thus the unequal power relations. It was also discovered that the low status of women begins from the time of birth where differential
values are attached to the boy and girl child. For instance, in some communities in Zimbabwe, girls are accorded the status of a ‘visitor’ because she will eventually marry and join other families whilst boys remain to care of their parents at home in old age.

Research findings indicated that the lack of a comprehensive legal framework in the two countries is a major stumbling block to the successful implementation of the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development. Respondents were generally agreed that customary laws, alongside other normative structures of society such as the church and the family, generally dictate unequal gender relations that compound the discrimination that women face in public and private institutions. Similarly, violence against women occurring in the home, community and the workplace was singled out as a significant barrier to the expeditious implementation of the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development in Malawi. Respondents concurred that women are particularly vulnerable to gender based violence including wife-battering, sexual harassment and assault, girl-child defilement, marital rape, incest and widowhood rites.

Economically the research established that economic shocks have gender specific effects in that they increase the vulnerability of women as compared to men. This is because women already represent a disproportionate section of the poor and are represented among the low wage earners. A sizeable number of respondents alluded to the fact women are forced to meet the broader economic needs of their families including, among others, performing domestic chores, child care and productive work in subsistence agriculture. The “feminisation of poverty” also differentiates women’s experience of poverty significantly from that of men as female-headed households are represented disproportionately in the lowest quarter of income distribution but have more dependents, fewer assets and other economic resources. This scenario militates against the dictates of the regional protocol on gender which prescribe the economic empowerment of feminine gender.

The study found out that certain actions by women themselves undermine their ability to assume political placements and consequently lead to the slow implementation of the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development. Respondents cited the so-called “pull her down” syndrome as responsible for women not supporting and celebrating each other’s political
achievements and successes. Women have been socialized into believing that no matter what men are superior to them. In some instances, women were found to reinforce patriarchy while neglecting each other’s advancement.

The research findings demonstrate serious barriers to women’s empowerment in political governance support. Deficient, however, is how these existing perceptions, barriers and obstacles can be overcome and how to encourage women to discard inferiority complex pervasive in most of their political engagements. The findings do not suggest alternative courses of action aimed at increasing women’s awareness on the key principles of good governance, democracy, functioning of elections and options for affirmative action measures to promote their political participation in the two countries. These measures are of paramount importance in order to achieve the full implementation of the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development.

Pertinent conclusions drawn demonstrate the need for a “whole of government approach” to closing remaining gender gaps in political governance and public life as well as scaling up gender inclusive approaches to policymaking and public service delivery as well as monitoring continuous progress in gender equality. It was realized that fostering good governance and public accountability can be achieved through gender mainstreaming of leadership in all branches of power and public employment. New knowledge acquired indicate that providing equal access to public and economic opportunities to women is vital to accomplishing a more sustainable economy and improving national well-being. Failing to do so, as appears to be the case in both countries, means losing the human capital of more than half of the citizenry (52% in Zimbabwe and 50.08 in Malawi), thus heavily compromising countries’ full potential for growth and national development.

It was realized that new paradigms in gender relations require a coordinated, competent and powerful “whole-of-government” commitment, clear and effective mechanisms in place within and across government institutions in order to translate public policies, programmes, services and budgets into concrete benefits for both men and women. Mainstreaming gender throughout government is, therefore, a fundamental commitment that the two countries should aspire in order to eliminate gender-based discrimination across the board and realise a fully inclusive society. Ensuring fair representation and participation of women in public life including in political leadership is crucial to realising gender equality. The composition of public institutions must, therefore, reflect society if they are to be perceived as legitimate and
capable of delivering just policies and upholding equality before the law. The need for an integrated and comprehensive approach to analysing, strengthening, benchmarking and monitoring public sector policies and performance vis-à-vis gender equality can therefore not be overemphasized if Zimbabwe and Malawi are to fully implement the requirements of the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development.

5.3 CONCLUSIONS

Based on the study findings the researcher was able to draw the following conclusions:

i. Entrenched cultural practices play a major role in alienating women from pursuing political placements. The continued existence of patriarchal cultural traditions and customs impede women’s participation in political governance. As such, women are largely accorded an unequal status in both public and private institutions. It is against this background that the implementation of Article 6 of the regional protocol on gender, which advocates for the elimination of women’s unequal status in all spheres of life as well as Article 21 that urges state parties to take necessary measures to discourage patriarchal traditional norms and values, remains slow.

ii. There is slow implementation of Articles 15 – 19 in the two countries, which provide for the equal participation of women in economic issues such as entrepreneurship, access to credit and public procurement contracts, trade, equal access to property, economic resources and employment. Instead, economic shocks in the two countries exert gender specific effects which increase the susceptibility of women as compared to men as women are forced to meet the broader economic needs of their families including, among others, performing domestic chores, child care and productive work in subsistence agriculture.

iii. A skewed legal environment characterised by customary laws, alongside other normative structures of society such as the church and the family, dictate unequal gender relations compounding the discrimination that women face in politics in the two countries. This is because of the slow operationalisation of Articles 4 – 11 which call upon all Constitutions in SADC to enshrine legislations that promote gender equality while all laws that are deemed discriminatory to women are repealed. The articles also provide for equality in accessing justice, marriage and family rights and
the rights of widows, elderly women, the girl child, women with disabilities and other socially excluded groups.

iv. Women are responsible for their disadvantaged status in political governance as they sometimes reinforce patriarchy while neglecting each other’s advancement. Women perpetuate “pull her down” syndrome that is a major barrier to the implementation of key targets of the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development, including ensuring that provisions for gender equality are reflected in all regional constitutions and affirmative action programmes.

v. The full implementation of the SADC Gender and Development Protocol can be a major determining challenge in eliminating the glaring gender divide retarding the two countries’ socio, political and economic advancement. In order to advance women’s participation in decision making and political governance as well as inspire a successful and expeditious implementation of the regional protocol on gender, a nuanced understanding about gender relations is required. Compliance with the regional accord will, thus, enhance women’s qualitative and quantitative influence in decision making and contribute to national development characterized by strengthened democracy and good governance.

5.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

a) Guided by research findings to the effect that entrenched cultural practices give birth to patriarchal societies that impede women’s political aspirations, the study recommends that concrete policy measures should be designed to overcome these socio-cultural barriers. This can be done through targeted civic education aimed at increasing awareness on the key principles of democracy where issues of gender equality are of paramount importance.

b) Seek to achieve gender parity in all decision making bodies, by establishing incremental time-bound targets for increasing women’s representation.

c) Include women in decisions on electoral system reform, such as the impact of proposed electoral systems, proportional representation or majoritarian, district magnitude and
expected party magnitude, electoral thresholds, boundary delimitation, and closed versus open lists, and analyse the impact of the proposed changes on gender equality.

d) In view of the research findings professing to the existence of a skewed legal environment that dictates unequal gender relations, the study recommends that there be expeditious implementation of laws that deal with gender issues as prescribed in the constitution and other policy documents. This can also be achieved through the introduction of affirmative action measures to uplift women’s participation in political governance through adopting measures such as reserved elected seats for women, that is, a quota of seats that only female candidates can contest.

e) Given that economic issues such poverty, inadequate provision of women-specific economic services, financial dependence on men, unequal distribution of income and economic resources were found to increase the vulnerability of women as compared to men, the research recommends further investigation of economic barriers to women’s participation in politics, specifically to explore the lack of economic support offered to aspiring female politicians.

f) Against the backdrop of research findings that female political leaders are sometimes accountable for the low status of fellow women in politics, the study proposes the engagement of political parties in the designing and delivery of civic engagement programmes on issues of promoting greater political participation by women through supporting each other’s political ambitions.

5.5 AREAS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

In order to stimulate the expeditious implementation of the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development areas for further study identified by this research include, but not limited to,

ii. Specialised examination of how cultural barriers can be addressed in order to stimulate effective interventions that can address the persistent marginal participation of women in political governance.

iii. Analysis of affirmative interventions that can expedite the implementation of the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development.

iv. Advocacy for gender-sensitive policies in political parties that thrust women at the heart of political practice through undertaking influential leadership positions.
References


Mangena, F. "The Search for an African Feminist Ethic: A Zimbabwean Perspective Volume


Appendix 1

KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR GENDER ACTIVISTS

Introduction

My name is Alpha John and I am a student at the Bindura University of Science Education (BUSE) studying International Relations. I am currently doing a research entitled CHALLENGES SURROUNDING THE DELAY IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE SADC PROTOCOL ON GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT IN LINE WITH UNDP EQUALITY STRATEGY: A CASE OF POLITICAL GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE AND MALAWI.

I am therefore kindly requesting for your assistance in this work and I would like to assure you that the information gathered is purely for educational purposes and it is confidential. Thank you.

INDEX CARD FOR KEY INFORMANTS

| Country: ____________________________________________________________ |
| Name of place/city/village/community: ________________________________ |
| Age of respondent: _____  Sex: _____  Function/profession:_____________ |
| Name of organisation: _________________  Religion:____________________ |

1) Is your organisation involved in conducting advocacy for gender mainstreaming in political governance? Please explain your answer.

2) Do you remember at any time during the last three years, when the government openly declared their support for women’s participation in political governance? If yes, was there any action that followed this open declaration?

3) In your opinion, have state laws on gender equality achieved their intended results of increasing women’s participation in political governance?

4) What is your comment on government’s commitment to putting in place an elaborate gender sensitive policy that promotes women’s participation in political governance?

5) Which cultural traditions do you think promote gendered inequality in political governance?

6) Do you think poverty has different implications on men and women in the context of participation in political governance? Please explain your answer
7) How does the lack of basic needs for women such as health facilities, food, shelter, affect their successful participation in political administration?

Appendix 2

KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR FEMALE POLITICAL ACTORS

Introduction

My name is Alpha John and I am a student at the Bindura University of Science Education (BUSE) studying International Relations. I am currently doing a research entitled CHALLENGES SURROUNDING THE DELAY IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE SADC PROTOCOL ON GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT IN LINE WITH UNDP EQUALITY STRATEGY: A CASE OF POLITICAL GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE AND MALAWI. I am therefore kindly requesting for your assistance in this work and I would like to assure you that the information gathered is purely for educational purposes and it is confidential. Thank you.

INDEX CARD FOR KEY INFORMANTS

| Country: ________________________________ |
| Name of place/city/village/community: __________________________ |
| Age of respondent: _____ Sex: _____ Function/profession: ______________ |
| Name of organisation: ________________ Religion:____________________ |

1) You are an efficient female leader, what drives you?
2) What do you think are the central cultural challenges slowing down women’s participation in political governance?
3) How do economic issues perpetuate the marginalisation of women in politics?
4) How do women undermine their capacity to assume political leadership positions?
Appendix 3

KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR POLITICAL PARTIES

Introduction

My name is Alpha John and I am a student at the Bindura University of Science Education (BUSE) studying International Relations. I am currently doing a research entitled Challenges surrounding the delay in the implementation of the SADC Protocol on gender and Development in line with UNDP equality strategy: a case of political governance in Zimbabwe and Malawi. I am therefore kindly requesting for your assistance in this work and I would like to assure you that the information gathered is purely for educational purposes and it is confidential. Thank you.

INDEX CARD FOR KEY INFORMANTS

Country: ____________________________________________________________

Name of place/city/village/community: ________________________________

Age of respondent: _____  Sex: _____  Function/profession:______________

Name of organisation: _______________  Religion:_______________________

1) Do your party leaders have a platform to discuss socio-cultural barriers slowing down women’s participation in political governance?

2) Is gender equality discussed as an important consideration for enhanced political governance?

3) What discussions does your party conduct on the impact of the country’s economic policies on women and girls?

4) What kind of positions do women hold in your party caucuses?

5) What initiatives is your party undertaking to promote statutory laws that promote gender equality in political governance?

6) How does your party characterize women’s voices in the political landscape of the country?

7) When women assert their space and voice in the political discussion, how does your party respond? Please explain.

8) Do you think women undermine their own capacity to assume political leadership positions? Please explain your answer
Appendix 4

QUESTIONNAIRE

Introduction

My name is Alpha John and I am a student at the Bindura University of Science Education (BUSE) studying International Relations. I am currently doing a research entitled CHALLENGES SURROUNDING THE DELAY IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE SADC PROTOCOL ON GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT IN LINE WITH UNDP EQUALITY STRATEGY: A CASE OF POLITICAL GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE AND MALAWI. I am therefore kindly requesting for your assistance in this work and I would like to assure you that the information gathered is purely for educational purposes and it is confidential. Thank you.

A. DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

*1. What is your gender?

☐ Female
☐ Male

Other (please specify) ________________________________

*2. In which age group are you?

☐ 18 to 24
☐ 25 to 34
☐ 35 to 44
☐ 45 to 54
☐ 55 to 64
☐ 65 to 74
☐ 75 or older

*3. What is your marital status?

☐ Married
Divorced

Single

Widowed

Other (please specify)

*4. How many children do you have?

1

2

3

4

5

6

7 or more

*5. What is your level of education?

Never been to school

Primary

Secondary

Vocational

Technical

University

Other (please specify)
*6. In which sector of employment are you?

☐ Government
☐ Agriculture
☐ Legal Occupations
☐ Private business
☐ Healthcare
☐ Transport

Other (please specify)

B. SOCIO-CULTURAL ASPECTS

Please indicate your opposition, support, or neutrality for the following statements:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Opposed</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Support</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cultural values based on patriarchy are a constraint to the promotion of gender equality in politics</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owing to cultural stereotypes women often suffer political marginalisation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women’s responsibility for reproduction and household duties has been identified as the prime reason for the disadvantaged status of the feminine gender in terms of access to political participation.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socio-cultural inequalities lead to a situation in which women find more difficulties in pursuing political participation than their male counterparts.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The traditional roles of men as earners and women as nurturers and carers have negative implications for women seeking to pursue politics to the highest possible level.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
C. STATUTORY LAWS

Please indicate your opposition, support, or neutrality for the following statements:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Opposed</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Support</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The lack of a comprehensive legal framework in Zimbabwe is a major driver of gendered inequality in public administration.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laws such as the Legal Age of Majority Act have often been criticised by both men and women for seeking to destroy culture insofar as they impact on customary practices such as marrying underage girls of school-going age.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Customary laws generally dictate unequal gender relations, compounding the discrimination that women face in public and private institutions.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most physical assault cases on women and girls go unreported and fewer result in convictions.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

D. ECONOMIC ISSUES

1.0 What are the five most serious economic issues perpetuating the marginalisation of women in political governance?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Economics issues</th>
<th>Response</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Inadequate and inaccessible provision of women-specific economic services</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poverty</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uneven income distribution</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial dependence on men</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The assumption that women’s economic interests are taken care of by male breadwinners</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unequal distribution of economic resources</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inadequate supply of basic needs such as health facilities, food, shelter among others.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
E. WOMEN’S OWN ACTIONS

1.0 Do you agree or disagree with the view that female political leaders are accountable for the low status of women in politics as they continue to reinforce patriarchy while neglecting each other’s advancement?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
<th>Don’t know</th>
<th>Refused to answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.1 Do you agree or disagree with the contention that it is in women’s fora such as church teachings without men that they perpetuate oppressive patriarchal teachings?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
<th>Don’t know</th>
<th>Refused to answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.2 Do you think women have a challenge in promoting each other in politics? Please explain your answer?

________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________


Appendix 5

BUSE APPROVAL LETTER

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES & HUMANITIES
P. Bag 1020
BINDURA, Zimbabwe
Tel: 263 - 71 - 7531-6, 7621-4
Fax: 263 - 71 - 7534
Peace & Governance Department
muche-mwa@buse.ac.rw
Tel 0772 773 742

BINDURA UNIVERSITY OF SCIENCE EDUCATION

Date: 28 July 2017

To Whom It May Concern

RE : REQUEST TO UNDER TAKE RESEARCH PROJECT IN YOUR ORGANISATION

This serves to advise that Alpha John, Student Registration No. B14441, is a MASTERS IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS student at Bindura University of Science Education who is conducting a dissertation.

May you please assist the student to access data relevant to the study and conduct interviews as part of the dissertation process.

Yours faithfully

Muche-Mwa (Dr)
CHAIRPERSON – PEACE AND GOVERNANCE
Appendix 6

Approval Letter for Organisation

87 Kwame Nkurumah Ave
Paget House
Harare

12 August 2017

NAME OF ORGANISATION

Dear Sir/Madam

RE: APPLICATION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH WITH YOUR ORGANISATION

The above matter refers. Permission is hereby sought to conduct a research for Master’s Degree with your Ministry. I, Alpha John (ID 86-038580V86) am a student at the Bindura University of Science Education (BUSE) doing research for a Master’s Degree in International Relations.

My research topic reads, challenges surrounding the delay in the implementation of the SADC protocol on gender and development in line with UNDP equality strategy: A case of political governance in Zimbabwe and Malawi.

This research is purely for academic purposes. Research ethics including voluntary consent and anonymity will be put into consideration. Your identity will not be disclosed in the data analysis and coding. Attached is BUSE letter of research approval.

Thank you for your co-operation.

Yours faithfully,

_____________________
Alpha John (B1544911)
Appendix 7

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

STUDY TITLE; CHALLENGES SURROUNDING THE DELAY IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE SADC PROTOCOL ON GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT IN LINE WITH UNDP EQUALITY STRATEGY: A CASE OF POLITICAL GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE AND MALAWI.

RESEARCHER: ALPHA JOHN

Dear Participant

I am a Masters in International Relations student carrying out a research on the matter above. This study is a prerequisite to complete my Master’s Thesis and program. The study is purely for academic purposes and not for anything else.

As one of the identified participants, I hereby seek your voluntary consent to go ahead with my interviews. Your identity will not be used in the write-up and data will be handled confidentially.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Participant’s signature………………………… Date ………………………………

Researcher’s signature………………………… Date ………………………………