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FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

PATRIARCHY AND THE PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN ZIMBABWEAN
NATIONAL POLITICS: A STUDY OF SELECTED WOMEN POLITICIANS IN
MATABELELAND REGION.

BY

SITHABILE MANYEVERE
(201716770)

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SUPERVISOR: DR V.B FERIM

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DECLARATION

I, Sithabile Manyevere, student number, 201716770, declare that this thesis is my original piece of work and any sources borrowed are acknowledged appropriately.



Signature



18 June 2019

Date

DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this thesis to my daughter, Chrissy K. This thesis is also dedicated to governments, policy makers, civil society and all women and men around the world who are champions for justice and strive to make the world a better place for women.



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ABSTRACT

The research sought to analyse how patriarchal perceptions have affected women in Zimbabwean national politics with specific focus on women politicians in Matabeleland region. The researcher observed that women politicians in this region seem to face multiple oppressions and yet seem to have been excluded in previous studies. The mixed method approach was adopted for the research. Questionnaires were used for the quantitative method, while key informant interviews and focus group discussions were utilised for the qualitative method. Findings from the survey revealed stereotypical perceptions such as that men are better leaders than women, women are not capable of holding decision making positions and the perception that politics is not safe for women. The findings from the key informants indicate that women politicians in Matabeleland face quite a number of challenges emanating from these patriarchal perceptions. The challenges include violence, humiliation and cultural stigmatization. Although women have attempted to resist patriarchy, it seems that the resistance has not been enough to eliminate the patriarchal mentality and the oppressions that accompany it. The research adopts a combination of feminist and intersectionality theory as a framework for analysis of the problem under investigation. The research potentially contributes to academic discourse by advancing literature on the multi-faceted aspects of patriarchy. The study recommends psychological and financial empowerment of women, electoral reforms and criminalization of offenders. The implementation of proper reforms and corrective measures envisage the long-awaited new dawn among women whom since time memorial, have been suppressed by deep-seated societal and patriarchal beliefs.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

CEDAW	-	The Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women
MDC	-	Movement for Democratic Change
MP	-	Member of Parliament
NGO	-	Non-Governmental Organisation
SADC	-	Southern African Development Community
UN	-	United Nations
WILD	-	Women Institute for Leadership Development
ZANU	-	Zimbabwe African National Union
ZAPU	-	Zimbabwe African People's Union
ZANU-PF	-	Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front
ZIPRA	-	Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Globally, women have been segregated, discriminated and have been marginalized in a male dominated society which has reduced women to second-class citizens. The patriarchal system has evolved over the years and its nature has penetrated into not only the social sphere, but also the work place and the political system. According to Kassa (2015: 5), “the greatest psychological weapon available to men is the length of time they have enjoyed dominance over women, who have taken it for granted especially in the area of politics that often continue to stereotype women and justify their subordination.” In most cases, women are in power at the benevolence of men as patriarchy makes women docile and subordinate and reduces them to mere symbolic figures serving the interests of men.

Patriarchy is a system of male domination in society, which is closely interconnected with systems of oppression and exclusion to subordinate women (Facio, 2013). Most countries around the world seem to be deeply influenced by the idea of male supremacy and female subordination. Being a universal phenomenon and one of the strongest ideologies in both Western and African cultures, patriarchy has spread its cancer around the world even in the world best democracies (Dogo, 2014). Around the world, patriarchy manifests itself differently as patriarchy in the West is different from patriarchy in the Arab world or patriarchy in Asia. The United States of America is viewed as patriarchal. The nature of its patriarchy manifests in the family, culture, the economy and the political arena (Harp, 2019; Cohen, 2012). The 2016 United States

elections revealed sexism in politics where President Donald Trump is believed to have exhibited ‘misogynistic’ tendencies as evidenced by his objectification of Hillary Clinton and other women. This is believed to have influenced the outcome of the elections with Hillary Clinton losing the elections (Harp, 2019). Similarly, Australia is believed to be also patriarchal as it is characterized by a diverse religious society that influences patriarchal attitudes (Perales and Bouma, 2018). This is despite the fact that these countries are ranked as some of the best democracies in the world.

Violence and rape against women is also viewed as some form of patriarchy where women are violated at astounding rates in, for example, Pakistan, South Africa, Peru, Russia, and Uzbekistan. Combatants in conflict torn countries such as Sierra Leone, Kosovo, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Afghanistan, Iraq and Rwanda also use rape as a weapon of war (Anand, 2016). In some countries they are bought and sold, trafficked and forced into prostitution for example in Ukraine, Moldova, Nigeria, the Dominican Republic, Burma, and Thailand due to patriarchal perceptions (Anand, 2016).

Women in Africa, as is the case with countries stated above, are not spared from the oppressive patriarchal cultural norms and values. In the Central African country of Cameroon, there is a social culture of breast flattening which is done to prevent the development of breasts on adolescent girls, as a way of protecting them from men. The practice is identified as a vicious form of discrimination on women by the United Nations. The practice involves the use of elastic bandages, heated objects like stones, grinding stones, coconut shells and pestles to iron breasts so as to reverse breast

development (Pearsell, 2017; Pemunta, 2016; Tchoukou, 2014). Breast flattening affects a quarter of the population in Cameroon but it is widespread in Southern and Northern Cameroon. It is also a common traditional practice in countries such as Benin, Guinea Bissau, Togo and Chad. Around 3.8 million teenage girls have been affected in Africa with an estimated 1.3 million being girls from Cameroon (Pemunta, 2016). Similar to breast flattening, is female genital mutilation, which is mostly prevalent in Somalia and is practiced mainly for cultural and religious reasons. Genital mutilation is also considered as female circumcision and is performed on girls from days after birth to puberty. It is influenced by the idea of ensuring modesty and proper sexual behavior of the girl child. This is evidence of social culture and tradition working closely in the objectification of women to inhumane levels as a result of long-standing perceptions and gendered treatment of women.



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Customary inheritance practices that favor males are also dominant in Sub-Saharan Africa which further sustains the notion of patriarchy. As highlighted by Cooper (2010), statutory and customary laws stipulate that women access property and assets through husbands, fathers and adult sons. This disadvantages divorced, orphaned, widowed women, and women in polygamous marriages. In African patrilineal societies, there is a culture of widow inheritance where the widow is inherited by her late husband's male kin. In countries such as Botswana, Lesotho, Kenya and Tanzania, property belongs to the male head (Shoola, 2014). In Botswana, the male head decides on whether a woman takes any property into her marriage (Cooper, 2010).

In the Zimbabwean context, women have been victims of this unjust, oppressive, discriminatory and exploitative patriarchal system in the family, home and work place. The patriarchal mentality and perceptions have transcended into the political arena and as such, fewer women participate effectively in national politics. Historically, women in Zimbabwe have always wanted to participate in national politics since the colonial era and the war of liberation, which resulted in the country attaining independence in 1980. Manyonganise (2015: 4) states; “Zimbabwean women’s experiences are historically complex and are often associated with multiple marginalised statuses of race and gender.” The colonial parliament and cabinet reflected discriminatory patterns towards women and consisted of predominantly male politicians. At independence, women remained very few in politics. Only one women Minister was appointed in cabinet which did not commensurate with the roles played by women during the liberation struggle (Dube and Dziva, 2014).



The participation of women in Zimbabwe has remained marginal as evidenced by the persistent gender disparities in the distribution of political power between men and women. Women have been excluded from political life in political structures at party and national level. Despite the country’s commitment to equality and non-discrimination of women in politics, it has not achieved full gender equality as evidenced by the paltry number of women in politics. As stipulated by (Dube and Dziva 2014), the exclusion of women in Zimbabwe’s politics has consequences to development in a country that has suffered economic and political turmoil.

According to Hivos (2017: 1); “a culture of patriarchy in Zimbabwe makes it impossible for women to compete for political power. The people who run for public office typically attract inappropriate attention and are seen as being loose and immoral. Their private lives are put under spotlight.” The mentality that men are superior and women are inferior has affected the rise of women in decision making positions in political parties and squashed their presidential ambitions in both the ruling and opposition parties. Progonson (2012: 102) states that “the evolution of women’s participation in party politics represents a pattern, where women are often pushed to certain positions that are in reality practically and strategically redundant.” Influential women in Zimbabwe who have been political figures have suffered at the hands of patriarchal forces and have struggled to make an impact in the political system dominated by men.

In light of the above sentiments, it is therefore, the purpose of this research to critically analyze how patriarchy and its various components have affected women politicians in Matabeleland region in their quest for power and recognition in their political careers. The Zimbabwean patriarchy is typical of the nature of patriarchy in Africa and the world at large, but however, manifests differently and affects the empowerment of women differently depending on the geographical locations. It is the purpose of the study to analyze the nature of patriarchy in the Matabeleland context, as women in this region seem to face multiple oppressions.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

In most countries around the globe, patriarchy, an institutionalized system of male dominance is practiced, where women are oppressed, exploited and are made passive,

inferior and subordinate to men. This subordination of women takes different forms such as “discrimination, disregard, insult, control, exploitation, oppression and violence within family, place of work and society” (Sultana, 2010: 7). Although several laws and policies have been put in place in Zimbabwe such as the Constitution of Zimbabwe and other legislative frameworks that have provisions to promote and protect the rights of women, they have not been enough to eliminate gender discrimination and patriarchy especially within political spaces. As such, women have been made voiceless as male dominance in politics plays center stage. As Progozon (2012: 21) asserts, “The state has a systematic bias towards patriarchal interests in its policies and actions.” There are deep-seated patriarchal perceptions and cultural practices in Zimbabwe and this has affected women, at not only the grassroots level, but also the influential and elite women in Zimbabwean politics. It is the purpose of this research to make a critical analysis of how patriarchal perceptions and practices have affected these women politicians, specifically women politicians from Matabeleland region, a region that constitutes 15% of the Zimbabwean population (Eppel, 2014). By the year 2018, the Zimbabwean population was estimated to be around 17 million (World Population Review, 2018). The cultural practices, traditions, norms and perceptions result in the mushrooming of gender oppression by stereotyping women as inferior to men, instilling masculinity in boys, classifying gender roles coupled with the oppressive traditional marriage customs, expectations and polygamy.

From an observation of the political arena in Zimbabwe, men are regarded as superior, women are discriminated upon, and as such, a few hold leadership positions. The study gives scholarly insights to the struggles that women politicians in this region face in this

male dominated space where women generally emerge as victims since patriarchal manifestations magnify for women with oppressed identities. Existing literature (Facio, 2013; Baloyi, 2007; Sultana, 2010) among others, generalize the concept of patriarchy and case studies on women politicians in Matabeleland have not been well documented to establish the nature and cause of dilemmas they face in their political careers. Literature on this region dwells more on the marginalization of the people of this region by the government but fails to articulate the impact of this marginalization on women politicians seeking to participate in national politics (Eppel, 2014). Other writings on women politicians are mostly non-academic and lack in-depth analysis as they are mainly found in newspapers and internet websites, and are sometimes biased. Historical injustices and the sensitivity of tribal issues in this region have resulted in little research being made. As such, there is dearth in literature regarding the plight of women from this region. This study, therefore, fills the gap in literature and gives new knowledge on the patriarchal manifestations in politics and challenges facing women politicians in the Matabeleland region of Zimbabwe.

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. What are the patriarchal perceptions of community members in Matabeleland concerning women's involvement in national politics?
2. What is the impact of existing patriarchal perceptions on Matabeleland women's participation in national politics?

3. In what ways have women in Matabeleland attempted to overcome these patriarchal perceptions to enhance their participation in national politics?

1.4 AIM OF THE STUDY

The main objective of the study is to examine the impact of patriarchy on women participation in Zimbabwe national politics with specific focus on selected women politicians in Matabeleland region.

1.5 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The objectives of the study are as follows:

1. To establish the patriarchal perceptions of Matabeleland community members towards women's involvement in national politics.
2. To analyze the effects of these patriarchal perceptions on Matabeleland women's participation in national politics.
3. To examine how women in Matabeleland have attempted to overcome patriarchal perceptions in order to enhance their participation in national politics.

1.6 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The study builds a case that there are a number of struggles facing women in politics and, therefore, examines the various forms of patriarchy in the Matabeleland region of Zimbabwe. Patriarchy has been in existence for a long time hence the need to provide long-lasting recommendations to erode the culture of patriarchy in society. The thesis

inspires and raises consciousness to women political aspirants who may gain knowledge from this study on political empowerment. The study is potentially beneficial to women in general as it prescribes the necessary measures to be undertaken by women to survive the system of male domination. Men also benefit from the research as it raises consciousness on the culture male domination and offers a psychological dimension for a change of mindset. The study builds a framework for future studies in the discipline of women and politics and generates knowledge that could be used by students and researchers through scholarly publications. Prescriptions are offered to policy makers in government on how to address gender injustices through amendment of discriminatory laws and policies in government and political parties.

1.7 ORGANISATION OF THE FINAL REPORT

Chapter One is an introduction and focuses on the background, statement of the problem, aim and objectives of the study, research questions, and significance of the study.

Chapter Two provides a review of existing literature and theoretical framework of the study, analysing different views of authors on similar studies. The concept of patriarchy and the feminist theory are explored in detail.

Chapter Three explores the research methodology used for the study.

Chapter Four is an evaluation of the perception of community members in Matabeleland Province about women politicians.

Chapter Five is an analysis of the effects of patriarchal perceptions on women's participation in national politics.

Chapter Six is an examination of the attempts by women to overcome patriarchal perceptions in order to enhance their participation in national politics.

Chapter Seven presents the summary of findings, conclusion and recommendations of the study.

1.8 CHAPTER CONCLUSION

The chapter provided an outline of what the study entails and what the research intended to achieve as provided in the background of the study, the statement of the problem, objectives, research questions and significance of the study sections. The chapter outline was also highlighted to provide a guideline on how the research about women politicians emanating from Matabeleland region of Zimbabwe was presented.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This Chapter is a review of literature on patriarchy. The chapter provides more knowledge and an understanding of the concept of patriarchy as documented in previous studies. The purpose of a literature review is to build knowledge on a study, to evaluate available resources on the research topic and to identify gaps in literature. As stipulated by Booth et al (2016:11), the purpose of a literature review is “to identify, select and appraise studies of a previously agreed level of quality that are relevant to a particular question. It generally gives the most trustworthy answer to a specific review question and it can identify gaps in our knowledge that require further research. It also communicates the strength of the available evidence and the quality of included studies”. This chapter is a review of previous works on patriarchy, from its origins to the nature of patriarchy in the global and African contexts.

2.2 CONCEPTUALISATION OF PATRIARCHY

Patriarchy as a broad concept has been defined differently and in different contexts. However, there is a consensus by various authors and patriarchy theorists that patriarchy is a system of male domination in all institutions of society. Patriarchy is considered as the prevailing religion on the entire planet (Maseno and Kilonzo, 2011). Sultana (2010) defines patriarchy in terms of its origin, the family context, where “patriarch means the rule of the father”. Patriarchy is thus viewed in terms of male domination where the father dominates women, junior men, children and domestic servants. Adrienne Rich, a patriarchal theorist argues that since the power of the fathers permeates everything, it is difficult to grasp and the language to

describe it is difficult (Mirkin, 1984). The founder of the academic field of women history, Gerder Lerner also concurs and defines patriarchy as the “manifestation and institutionalization of male dominance over women and children in the family and the extension of male dominance over women in society” (Anand, 2016: 3). According to Lerner; this implies that women are deprived of power as only men hold authority in all societal institutions as they enjoy access to power at the expense of women. However, Lerner asserts that although women are deprived of the power they are not totally powerless or totally deprived of their influence, rights and resources. Simon- Kumar (2007) views patriarchy as a word used in literature to replace “male bias” and asserts that it was a term mainly used by radical feminists from the West who believed that there is universal domination of women in all institutions of society from marriage, motherhood to the state. Simon-Kumar (2007) further elaborates that women are always disadvantaged by male control and domination and thus views patriarchy as an extreme form of gender relations.



Facio (2013: 2) suggests that patriarchy exists in "form of mental, social, spiritual, economic and political organization/structuring of society ...linked closely together to achieve consensus on the lesser value of women." As propounded by Facio (2013), these institutions are interconnected with each other and other systems of exclusion, oppression and domination to strengthen the structures of male domination over women. Bennett (2010: 172) concurs and defines patriarchy as a society that “promotes male privilege by being male dominated, male identified and male centred.” Puechguirbal (2010: 172) asserts that patriarchy is the “power of the fathers: a familial-social, ideological, political system in which men by force, direct pressure, or through ritual, tradition, law, and language, customs, etiquette,

education, and the division of labor, determine what part women shall or shall not play, and in which the female is everywhere subsumed under the male.” Hartmann (1989) views patriarchy as social relations, which are founded on male hierarchy and solidarity, but argues that patriarchy is not universal and never changes, only its intensity is changing. Goldberg (1999) describes patriarchy as a universal concept but argues that there are exceptions in societies. Patriarchy is classified into hierarchical institutions where the head has great power to control people and assets (Goldberg 1999; Hill 2009). Hill (2009) further asserts that men are never equal in the patriarchal social structures, as those who are at the lower levels possess less power and less assets. Although these hierarchical structures rise within family and kinship structures, they also appear in all economic classes, races, cultures and in all major institutions such as the family, polity, economy, law, education and medicine (Hill 2009).



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Enloe (2017: 42) describes patriarchy as “everyday sexism, but it is more than everyday sexism. Patriarchy embraces misogyny, but relies on more than misogyny. Patriarchy produces gender inequality, but its consequences run deeper than gender inequality.” Misogyny is defined as hatred for women or dislike for women by men (Usher, 2016). It can be deduced that patriarchy is a complicated web of relationships and ideas that is constantly changing. These sentiments are evidence of the complex nature of patriarchy where patriarchy, a concept that began long ago is still very current and is being facelifted by its perpetrators on an everyday basis. This definition also seems to suggest that patriarchy is an unbalanced pendulum of gender relations whose effects go beyond gender inequalities to become a particular form of dislike for women.

Joseph (1996: 14) defines patriarchy in the Arab context “as the prioritising of the rights of males and elders (including elder women) and the justification of those rights within kinship values which are usually supported by religion”. This definition, unlike other definitions, does not only view patriarchy in terms of men’s rights but includes elder women who are afforded the same respect as men. Joseph (1996) argues that some Western feminists do not consider kinship or age when defining patriarchy. However, Western political philosophers in the 18th and 19th Century replaced the father figure with the brother figure to create fraternal patriarchy, and as such, women are subordinate to men in general, not to their fathers only.

On the other hand, Ortner (2014: 534) describes patriarchy as a “system of social power and a system of cultural categories and personal identities where women and men are defined as both different and unequal.” The author further argues that patriarchy not only involves the domination of women by men but of men over other men. Patriarchy is “always intertwined with other structures of power, colonialism, capitalism, imperialism, and racism” (Ortner 2014: 534). This interconnectedness is derived from Kimberly Crenshaw’s work on feminist intersectionality, which will be explained in detail as the chapter progresses.

Wilson (2014) has the same sentiments and views the state as a political system that supports the oppression and control of women and as such, feminists have formulated the term patriarchal state to refer to states that support male supremacy in its systems and policies. Since patriarchy is also found within the state having originated in the family, state institutions are considered biased towards men thus making men very powerful as their interests are prioritized. This is relevant even to

the present day politics where women are suppressed by the state and the ruling class. A patriarchal position is a position of authority. Patriarchal theorists adopted the Marxist view where males are perceived as controlling access to institutional power and mold ideologies to suit selfish needs and women are always viewed as oppressed regardless of their economic class (Mirkin 1984). From its inception, the state was structured to benefit men and therefore, the state continues to maintain men's domination of power (Paxton and Hughes, 2015).

From the conceptualizations above, the study adopts the definitions of Facio (2013); Wilson (2014) and Bennet (2014) who view patriarchy as a mental, social, spiritual, economic organization meant to lessen the value of women. The authors suggest that patriarchy is a system of female subordination, where men exercise power over women. The concept by Ortner (2014) which states that patriarchy is intertwined with other structures of power is also relevant to the study. As such, women seem to face a significant number of oppressions which are diverse and are an impediment to their political participation.

2.3 ORIGINS OF PATRIARCHY

The origins of patriarchy are diverse and, therefore, the subject of the evolution of women oppression is debatable. Various anthropologists, archaeologists, evolutionists and theorists have proffered their different views and findings on the origins of patriarchy. These shall be detailed below:

2.3.1 Anthropological origins of patriarchy

Patriarchy is believed to be an old concept, and its establishment was a process which occurred in Europe and Africa. Patriarchy evolved over the years and dates from a period of 2500 years from approximately 3100 to 600 BC (Lerner, 1986). Even though African societies were believed to be matriarchal, the status of women declined with the advent of colonialism and imperialism. As early as 10 000 BC, women in Africa invented food security where they were in charge of livestock and food crop production (Diop, 1989). During this period, the system of succession was matrilineal. These matriarchal societies include the Sotho of South Africa who headed women regiments and Queen Mothers and Queen sisters also held political authority. The political system was bicameral where both men and women had influence in decision-making. For example, through the women's assembly meeting, women resisted the occupation of Western African nations of Benin (Dahomey) and Nigeria (Yoruba). In countries such as Niger and Chad, women conquered kingdoms. Archaeological evidence suggests that women had strong social and political authority (Shandu, 2018).

Patriarchy is believed to have emerged during conquest battles where male warriors captured women and children and had control over them (Adelimuka, 2018). The status of women was further eroded because of European and Islamic invasions of Africa as the missionaries re-created the African family unit. According to Shandu (2018); African chiefs and the colonial administrations formed alliances which strengthened patriarchy through the development of customary law and exclusionary wage economy systems. Colonialism also introduced new religions such as Christianity, which was manipulated to serve patriarchal interests.

Anthropological evidence also suggests that the first signs of patriarchy were evident about 4 000 BC which is around six thousand years ago. During this period, the climate was not conducive for food production and led to famine, which created warlike patriarchal structures as people scrambled for food in the Sahara, Arab peninsula and Central Asian deserts (The General report, 2015). In ancient Rome, women were not allowed to do any business be it domestic without special authorisation from men whom they were dependent on be it their fathers, brothers and husbands (Meyers, 2014).

Matriarchy is believed to have been the earliest form of social organisation. Patriarchal theorists, Johann Jakob Bachofen, Lewis Henry Morgan and Fredrick Engels concur that patriarchy evolved from matriarchy. They believe that matriarchy was the first to exist and there was a universal transition to patriarchy. However, sexual division of roles existed, but it was egalitarian and cooperative. Men were hunters while women were responsible for preparing food and took care of the social spaces (Engels, 1962; Lerner, 1986).

Engels (1962) states that women were so free and independent that they were honoured in the matriarchal societies. As such, “descent was reckoned according to mother right and the mother line determined a person’s family grouping or “gens,” males had no mechanism for passing on their property to their sons (Engels, 1962: 59). Men, therefore, invented patriarchy so that inheritance would pass through the father line and not the mother line. The husband then ruled the wife and the wife only served to please the husband and be a birth machine. Aristotle, who lived in classical

Greece between 384 - 322 BC, portrayed women as inferior to men and the role of women as limited to reproduction. Women were considered as the property of men. According to Engels (1962: 59); “the overthrow of mother-right was the world historical defeat of the female sex. The man took command in the home also; the woman was degraded and reduced to servitude, she became the slave of his lust and a mere instrument for the production of children.”

The above arguments are buttressed by Lerner’s theory of the exchange of women where women became a resource and were used as commodities because of their child-bearing capacities. It is during this period that women were exchanged in dynasty marriages, where they married Kings and remained powerful but dependent on men (Hunter, 1988). This was the turning point where some men gained control and power over other men and on all women. According to Lerner, women oppression and enslavement of children came prior to the general enslavement. In the slavery period, women slaves were dishonoured and raped and there was sexual dominance of men of high class over women of low class. The beginning of patriarchy was when all women succumbed to sexual dominance, but only class determined the level of their oppression (Hunter, 1988).

2.3.2 Biblical origins of patriarchy

The origins of patriarchy are also viewed from a Biblical perspective as patriarchy is embedded in the Old and New testaments of the Bible and in Roman legal precepts (Miller, 2017). Bennett (2010: 55) concurs that patriarchy is the “ecclesiastical power of men recognised with Christian leaders particularly within the Greek Orthodox tradition”. Sims (2016) chronicles the Biblical story of the creation of Adam and Eve

in the book of Genesis where Eve was created second from Adam and “this order of creation where Adam was created first and given dominion over the animals before the creation of Eve, is the foundation for patriarchy” (Sims, 2016: 12). Sims adds that the story of the “Fall” reinforces patriarchy where Eve and Adam sinned and Eve was given the secondary role from her husband. Patriarchal ideologies are preached in most religions which include Christianity, Islam and Judaism and in these religions, the gods are a masculinized trend from the patriarchal beliefs and ideologies of their parent societies (Nwoko, 2012). Male domination also existed in Biblical lands as early as 3100 BC in Iraq, Egypt, South West Iran, South East Turkey, Syria, Kuwait and the Amorites and pre-Islamic Semitic family was patriarchal (The General report, 2015).

2.3.3 Biological origins of patriarchy

The origins of patriarchy are also viewed from a biological evolutionary perspective where the male motivation to control women’s sexuality is examined by analysing the human species. Smuts (1995) argues that patriarchy originates from our pre-human past and reproductive strategies by the males. Smuts (1995: 20) outlines six evolutionary bases of gender inequality as follows; “a reduction in female allies, elaboration of male-male alliances, increased male control over resources, increased hierarchy formation among men, female strategies that reinforce male control over females, the evolution of language and its power to create ideology.” Aristotle also gives a biological view of patriarchy, which confirms women subordination. Aristotle gives a “scientific expression to the basic patriarchal assumption that the male is the normative and representative expression of the human species and the female is not only secondary and auxiliary to the male but lacks full human status in physical

strength, moral self-control, and mental capacity” (Wood, 2013: 30). However, feminists reject the role of biology in patriarchy.

The above patriarchal origins, however, are criticized by Meyers (2014) in her analysis of the ancient Israel society. According to Meyers (2014: 18), “classical scholarship does not claim equality for women. Rather, it contests the validity of the patriarchy concept, which originated in nineteenth century scholarship based on limited sources.” Meyers (2014) argues that the theories of Maine and Morgan were based on European and American legal texts. Meyers argues that these theories missed information on social reality that fathers do not exercise powerful, despotic and absolute authority. Meyers (2014) argues that there is an exaggeration and an oversimplification of Roman fathers and argues that Roman women managed and had power over their households. The Israelite women had managerial power over households and were hardly oppressed and powerless. Greek women are also believed to have held leadership positions in religious activities and festivals and participated in the arena of politics (Meyers, 2014).

The theory that matrilineal forms always preceded patrilineal forms is also rejected by Sir Henry Maine who argues that none of the groups succeeded each other. According to Maine, the “two co-existed from all time, and were always distinct from one another” (Macfarlane, 2002: 4).” Men view the society as an “aggregation of families and not a collection of individuals as the ancient city was merely a union of families in which political power belonged to the father” (Meyers, 2014: 9). The family was the unit of patriarchal family and paternity was the prime fact. Meyers (2014: 10)

states that Maine refers to the “life-long authority of the father ancestor over the person and property of his descendants.” Descent was through the male line and same ancestors and the head of family exercised power and authority on all the descendants. Marriage was considered permanent be it polygamy or monogamy. Indo-European societies were the original form of societies, which were based on the father right, and descent was through males. These societies include the brotherhoods of Athens, the patria protests in Rome, the Hindus in India and tribes in Pakistan’s North West Frontier. The genes expanded into tribes, which united to form states (Macfarlane, 2002).

The origins of patriarchy above, although not conclusive offer different opinions about where patriarchy might have originated from. The study adopts the concept that ancient societies were matriarchal and evolved gradually into patriarchal states. Pre-colonial and colonial African states were matriarchal (Shandu, 2018). As a result of colonialism, African states gradually transformed into patriarchal societies. The patriarchal tradition still exists today and has been a woman’s dilemma in their socio-cultural and political struggles. This might explain why women have always been denied the opportunity to participate in politics. Hakim (2016) states that women world over only received the right to vote in the 20th Century, evidence to patriarchal manifestations that are characteristic of the majority of societies worldwide as shall be discussed in the section that follows.

2.4 MANIFESTATIONS OF PATRIARCHY GLOBALLY

There are quite a number of discriminatory patriarchal practices around world, which have resulted in the marginalisation of women in the economic, social and political

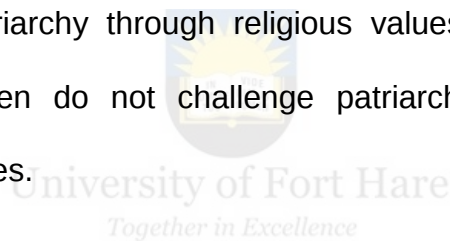
arena. Patriarchy has affected the status of women in all walks of human endeavour and as such “no country in the world, no matter how advanced, has achieved true gender equality” (Carlos and Zahidi, 2005: 1). This section seeks to highlight how patriarchy manifests itself in different societies of the world. Although the study seeks to examine the patriarchal beliefs and perceptions on women politicians, the researcher has observed that these perceptions and practices are diverse and manifest differently in different contexts. An understanding of patriarchal manifestations in different parts of the world provides a broader picture of why patriarchy has dominated the political spaces.

Patriarchy is believed to be dominant in most parts of the world, the difference being the degree to which patriarchy is practiced. The patriarchal belt countries or the belt of classic patriarchy is considered highly patriarchal and is mainly countries in the Arab world. The patriarchal belt consists of countries in the Muslim Middle East (including Turkey and Iran), South East Asia (Pakistan, Afghanistan, Northern India and rural China) and countries in North Africa (Moghadam, 2007). The Arab world consists of twenty-two countries in the Middle East namely North Africa, Bahrain, Comoros Island, Djibouti, Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Mauritania, Oman, Palestine, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, The United Arab Emirates and Yemen (adc.org, 2009). As in different parts of the world, most religions such as Christianity are patriarchal and so are the religious institutions in the Arab world where religious leaders are male and their ideologies foster male supremacy. Religious laws throughout the Arab region govern marriage issues, divorce, inheritance and child custody. They also support male dominance where the

fathers have power over their spouses and elders have power over the juniors (Joseph, 1996).

In these countries, the father has the authority and expects unquestioning compliance from the family. Patriarchal kinship is the basis of the family and the males and elders are responsible for women in all aspects of society. In the Arab world, inheritance rules favor male descendants and in the Muslim communities although females inherit, they inherit less than sons do. This system of patriarchy transcends to the political sphere as political leaders make it a culture that their sons follow their example in government or parliament (Joseph, 1996). In Muslim societies, men have the unilateral right to divorce and harsh penalties are given to those who fail to abide by the Sharia laws. As is the case in most of the societies around the world, in Islamic societies, polyandry is not allowed although men can have up to four wives. One such recent example is that of a Somali woman who was stoned to death by Al-Shabab militants who practice a strict version of Sharia law, after she was accused of having several husbands (BBC, 9 May 2018). The Islamic religion restricts women freedoms such as right to wear clothes of their choice “and women have been relegated to birth machines” (Mutabai *et al*, 2016: 362). Women are expected to cover their faces with purdah to show honor to men in South Asian countries such as Pakistan and Sri Lanka (Moghadam, 2007). “The political system also reinforces patriarchy in that males and seniors constitute the overwhelming majority of political power-holders, as heads of state, members of parliament, government officials, and members of political parties” (Joseph, 1996: 18).

Christianity, just like the Islamic religion, seems to privilege men at the expense of women as alluded to in the preceding discussion. As such, women are taught to be passive and they are reluctant to challenge the patriarchal order. As cited in the Bible, in the book of first Timothy 2 verses 11-13, "Let a woman learn in silence with all submission. And I do not permit a woman to teach or to have authority over a man but to be in silence. For Adam was formed first then Eve." The same teaching is also found in the book of first Corinthians 14 verses 34-36, which says, "Let your women keep silent in the churches, for they are not permitted to speak; but they are to be submissive as the law says. And if they want to learn something, let them ask their own husbands at home; for it is shameful for women to speak in church." Religion, therefore, legitimizes patriarchy when women are excluded from church activities. The legitimization of patriarchy through religious values sustains the patriarchal system. Therefore, women do not challenge patriarchy as it is portrayed as legitimate in religious circles.



The Bible also supports the domination of men as the man is portrayed as the head and the woman is expected to wear certain clothes to cover herself. In first Corinthians 11 verses 3; 7-9 it is written, "the head of a woman is a man...for a man ought not to cover his head since he is the image and glory of God; but a woman is the glory of man.... For a man is not from woman but woman from man." In addition, in the book of Ephesians 5 verses 22-23, it is stated that, "wives, submit to your own husbands, as to the Lord. For the husband is the head of the wife..." In Genesis 3 verse 16, it is written, "...your desire shall be for your husband, and he shall rule over you. These Bible verses seem to glorify men while putting women at a secondary position, suppressing women and excluding them in positions of authority or any

position that may seem to challenge men. Therefore, it is evident as affirmed in the Biblical teachings above that it becomes a difficult task for women to challenge the patriarchal order since it is a norm and a Biblical law. Therefore, even in politics, men use religion to support patriarchal values and women seem to endorse this perception and become passive gatekeepers of patriarchy.

China presents a classic type of patriarchy, which is hierarchical and has been there for centuries. The Chinese traditional family is characterized as patrilineal, patrimonial and patrilocal and women are socially disadvantaged. The traditional Confucian China just like Japan and Korea evolved the most patriarchal families (Xie 2013). Moghadam (2007), states that in China, the family and the social system promote patriarchy, where males exercise control over women and children, a practice derived from the fathers. Women in China, depend on their fathers and husbands and later in life, their sons. Young brides get married to large families and get respect through their sons only to acquire power as mothers-in-law. In politics, “China has never had a female president, nor have any women served on the Standing Committee, where all key decisions about running the country are made” (CNN, 22 October 2017). Indian societies are also considered patriarchal, as they have been facing issues such as “female infanticide, gender-discrimination, sexual harassment, marital-violence, dowry, child marriage, malnutrition, preference for a male child... and superstitions” (Sawant, 2016: 23). However, patriarchy in India differs with the community, social group or religions, for example, Hinduism and Islam, which are considered patriarchal.

In the current study of politics, these unjust practices, which range from religion, how perceptions of traditions and cultural practices suppress and subordinate women shall be discussed as the study progresses. Hofmeister *et al* (2015: 31) believe that “politics is a hostile terrain for women, the single major barrier being the cultural, religious and traditional stereotypes.” Hofmeister *et al* further observe that women are still far away from the target of 30% of women in decision making positions set by the Beijing platform for Action in 1995.” Dube (2013: 200) cites statistics from the 2011 Inter-Parliamentary Union; “as of 30 June 2011, a total of nine countries had no women in their national parliaments at all. These countries included Palau, Micronesia, Nauru, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, the Solomon Islands, Tuvalu, Oman and Belize. Yemen had one female member out of three hundred and one members of parliament.”



Oppressive and discriminatory patriarchal attitudes are dominant around the world and women's participation in the political arena is minimal. Around the world, women constitute half of the global populations (Paxton and Hughes, 2015). Despite this fact, “as of January 2019, women constitute only 24% in national parliaments around the world. About 18.3% of the women are government ministers. There are eleven women who are Heads of States while ten women are serving as Heads of governments (UN Women, 2019: 1). The global political outlook is evidence of the unjust patriarchal perceptions as outlined by the researcher who chose just a few countries as representative of the global arena. For example, in Australia, women “suffer from cultural stereotyping and persistent gendered norms contribute to masculinisation of the political realm” (Chattier, 2015: 175). In Bangladesh, despite

having a “woman Prime Minister and a woman opposition leader, political parties prefer men to win elections and participation of women in cabinet is marginal” (Chowdhury, 2009: 555). In Romania, women’s access to political decision making is very low (Elena, 2014). Fiji is also male dominated in the political realm (Chattier, 2015). South Korean women also suffer at the hands of patriarchy although they are a well-educated society; they endure family burdens and responsibilities that prevent them from participating in the public sphere (Chong, 2006). In Yemen, there are no women in Parliament (The Global Gender Report, 2018). Paxton and Hughes (2015) narrate an interesting story by Golda Meir, a former Israeli Cabinet Minister who later became the Prime Minister of Israel;

Once in the cabinet we had to deal with the fact that there had been an outbreak of assaults of women at night. One Minister, (a member of an extreme religious party) suggested a curfew. Women should stay home after dark. I said but it is the men attacking women, if there is to be a curfew, let men stay home not women.

This is evidence of the notion that governments around the world are hostile to the notion of women in politics, and religion further fuels this patriarchal perception.

The United States of America is also believed to be a patriarchy. As of May 2015, the United States was ranked number 96 out of 190 in the percentage of women lagging behind in the representation of women as political leaders (Paxton and Hughes, 2015). The majority of women adhere to the “custom of assuming the husband’s names, 6% of United States born women had a surname that differed from the husband’s in 2004” (Cohen, 2012: 1). The United States President, Donald Trump showed patriarchal attitudes where he made controversial remarks about

women during his election campaigns. In describing President Trump's attitude towards women, Real (2017: 35) states;

It's hard to deny that we have a man in the White House who behaves in ways that are not only challenging, but atavistic, offensive, and often downright frightening. Trump has called women "fat pigs", ridiculed them on social media, objectified and mocked them in person and in the most unvarnished moment bragged about assaulting them.

Former United States FBI Director James Comey said, Trump treats women like pieces of meat (CNN, 17 April 2018). The above are just not patriarchal perceptions in the home and workplace but these practices transcend the private sphere to the political arena where women remain voiceless and are denied the opportunity to lead or occupy positions of authority in politics.



2.5 THE NATURE OF PATRIARCHY IN AFRICA

In Africa, patriarchy has been made a standard practice, where it is deeply embedded in cultural norms and values. Women are dominated and marginalized by men, socially, politically, economically, psychologically and physically in governance and decision making positions (Kassa 2015). Mutabai et al (2016) views patriarchy from a colonial perspective, as inherited from colonial masters and the African culture further extends this oppression to the family where women are largely caregivers. Patriarchal perceptions existed even during the colonial era as not only black women but also white women were treated as second-class citizens. According to Mudenge and Kwangwari (2013: 240). "historically, the distribution of political power was based on race in the colonial era, and on ethnicity, gender, and party affiliation after independence". Asiyanbola (2005) views patriarchy in the traditional African society where the woman's place is in the home and gender roles

are classified, women are expected to do domestic work and child rearing whereas men have the responsibility to do heavy jobs and provide for their families. Men are viewed in terms of their masculinity and are considered to be the heads of households and have “strength, vigour, virile/powerful courage, self-confidence and the ability to meet the outside world” (Asiyanbola, 2005: 2).

Similarly, in politics, there is a general perception that leadership is a masculine trait and that women are supposed to be led and not lead (Kassa 2015). In support of this, Dolan (2018: 8) asserts that “several studies have found that people associate the stereotyped masculine traits such as experience, leadership, and competence as more important in politics than the feminine traits of honesty, warmth, and compassion, particularly as the level of elected office being considered rises from the local to the national level.” Kivoi (2014: 178) states that there are “stereotyped beliefs about the ability and capacity of women across many communities...the patriarchal ideology which provides the context upon which women play and accept subsidiary roles.” Culturally, it is expected that women should be confined to the private sphere and concentrate on household and domestic chores. “The burden of household chores also limits women’s ability to enjoy the opportunities and benefits of citizenship as men on an equal footing in the political sphere” (Kassa, 2015: 5). This is further reinforced by the fear of rejection and violence from family and husband if they strive to get into politics (Ndlovu and Mutale, 2013). Sex stereotypes are used to discriminate, oppress, exploit and subordinate women in the political arena.

Traditional customary marriage is used as a power and control mechanism to subordinate women, making them vulnerable to injustices and exploitation. In Africa, the payment of bride price is seen as justification of men owning women or treating them as objects. Most African countries, which include Nigeria, Kenya, and Uganda among others, have the culture of paying bride price. However, in countries such as Senegal and Burkina Faso the payment of bride price is merely symbolic. Men gain control over women because of the payment of bride price and women are restricted in participating in social and political spaces. According to Alupo (2004), the payment of bride price reduces women to the status of property as women sacrifice themselves and endure embarrassment.

Female abductions and sexist policies still exist in some African countries. Mutabai *et al* (2016: 362) state that, “in rural parts of Ethiopia in the ‘Oromo’ ethnic culture, abduction is acceptable if a man wants to marry a girl even if the girl is not willing to marry him.” In the African society, elderly and childless women are not better off, as the patriarchs see childbirth as a kind of production not a part of the female experience. In remote areas of countries such as Nigeria, Tanzania and Burkina Faso elderly and childless women have been persecuted or even burnt as they are considered witches (Eboiheyi, 2017).

Progoson (2012) studied the Nigerian patriarchy where women are subordinated in all aspects of life and state policies further perpetrate the subjugation and disempowerment of women. The Nigerian women dilemmas are intertwined in the combination of traditional African culture, Christian culture and Islam cultures, which are oppressive. According to Ezenwa-Ohaeto (2015: 59), patriarchy in Nigeria

consists of “subjugation, abuse, exploitation, sexism, chauvinism, political injustice, girl-child marriage, domestic violence, women trafficking and kidnapping (a case in hand is that of the Chiboc girls’ saga), marital rape, deprivation of various rights and dehumanising and demeaning practices are ... perpetuated and reinforced in Traditional (Igbo culture), Christianity and Islamic practices in the guise of morality.” The Nigerian patriarchy is typical of the North African countries such as Libya, Egypt, Morocco, Algeria, Sudan and Tunisia where women endure multiple burdens of the Islamic religion and gender related discrimination typical of Middle East countries (Sadiqi, 2016).

Kassa (2015: 3) observes that, in Africa “traditional cultural values militate against the advancement, progress and participation of women in any political process, women should only play the role of ‘working mother’, which is generally low-paid and apolitical. In addition, in some countries, men even tell women how to vote.” Dogo (2014: 264) also concurs that gender roles, masculinity and femininity are expectations from the time children are born and grow into childhood fulfilling “gender expectations by society for example, culture, community, religion, upbringing, peers, media and religion, influence and shape people’s understanding and view of gender.” Uzodike and Isike (2011) observe that the marginalization of women in politics makes it impossible to believe that African independence brought improvement to the status of women. Uzodike and Isike (2011) argue that in most cases, the flamboyant women and those who would have participated in the national struggle are the exception as they manage to participate in politics.

The former President of South Africa, Nelson Mandela is quoted by Kassa (2015: 1) as saying that, “freedom cannot be achieved unless the women have been emancipated from all forms of oppression.” This oppression takes different forms, which include social beliefs and cultural cleavages of patriarchy that have existed for a long time and continue granting favors and opportunities to men in economic and socio-political spheres (Mangezvo, 2013). Similarly, Huffel (2011) concurs that South Africa still suffers from patriarchal attitudes arguing that they are the root of major gender injustices. Huffel (2011: 7) states that;

Despite having a Constitution that entrenches equal rights, discriminatory practices, structural inequalities, cultural factors, prejudices, patriarchy and sexism are still prevalent in South Africa. Women are still scarce in the upper echelons of society. ...The root cause of gender injustices lies in the patriarchal structure of our society. Women’s status has never been the main issue on party platforms, in electoral campaigns or in any party manifesto.

Baloyi (2007) views the concept of patriarchy in the South African context, where the church and the bible are used to make women submissive. Baloyi (2007) states that there is a church teaching that restricts women from participating in church since women were never ordained by Christ and Apostles. Although countries in Africa are signatories to local, regional and international frameworks which promote women, women are still marginalised in politics with Rwanda being an exception as it enforced the gender rule and women hold a majority in parliament (Progoson, 2012).

Democracy can only exist if a country promotes the equal participation of men and women in politics. The participation of women allows women to make decisions in policy issues as it is believed that they can best articulate issues that affect them (Dube, 2013). “Politics is portrayed as a dirty game which requires tough qualities that very few women are attracted to it...it is legitimisation of aggressive, masculine

and anti-women strategies that often result in violent clashes between supporters of political parties Dube (2013: 206). Hillary Clinton once quoted the former First lady of America, Lady Eleanor Roosevelt that if a woman wants to participate in politics, they have to “grow skin like rhinoceroos” (Forbes, 2013; Krooks, 2016). Women who participate in politics have to portray tough qualities to withstand the pressure of dealing with patriarchal attitudes that discriminate against women who strive to participate and occupy decision-making positions in politics. As stipulated by (Krooks 2016: 18), “violence against women in politics can be understood as a form of discrimination against women in the political realm, restricting and impeding access to rights and freedoms on the basis of sex and seeking to maintain unequal power relations between men and women.” Violence against women includes physical, sexual and psychological violence on women exercising their right to political representation. This is meant to frighten and pressure them to act against their will (Garcia 2017). Krooks (2016) also stipulates that women are viewed as “interlopers in the male space of politics” a perception that promotes hostility towards female leaders.

Hungwe (2006: 45) states that “a progressive and intelligent woman who participates in politics is regarded as a hooligan. She is said to have every possible fault, bad behavior.” In support of this, Kiamba (2008: 13) asserts that “women who vie for public office have to consider the risk of being labeled “loose” or “unfit” as mothers and wives, and being socially stigmatized. Such considerations make many women shy away from politics and positions that put them in the public eye.” Women who participate in politics are often labelled prostitutes in order to demotivate them

(Hungwe 2006). These derogatory terms are used to support patriarchal mentality especially during political campaigns and public addresses.

In Africa and the world at large, there are general perceptions and views about women and these perceptions and practices have incapacitated women in all aspects of their lives including politics. According to Kassa (2015: 4), “culturally, there is a belief that women are supposed to be led but not to lead, stereotyped notions about women constitute major barriers; societal perception about leadership ability of women, women’s lack of assertiveness...”. These are the traditional norms, perceptions and attitudes towards women that subordinate and negatively influence women in political participation from “representation throughout the political process, from an individual woman’s decision to enter politics, to party selection of candidates, to the decisions made by voters on election day” (Kassa, 2015: 4). Dolan (2018: 9) also stipulates that “if voters hold stereotyped attitudes about the abilities and issue positions of women candidates, these judgments may lead certain voters to choose to support or to reject a woman candidate, which could have an impact on the electoral bottom line.” Therefore, patriarchal perceptions have an impact on the choice of women as political leaders.

The socio-cultural system in Africa promotes patriarchal mentality and proves to be an obstacle to women’s participation in national politics. Women who are spared from patriarchal practices enjoy special privilege to ascend into politics by the mere fact that there are related to powerful male politicians. According to Mudenge and Kwangwari (2013: 240); “in most cases, in both high-level and low-level political

processes, women acquire positions of authority and power in formal politics mainly through a party ticket or through their relationships with powerful men.” Leaders and policymakers in politics have been observed as suppressing the advancement of women in politics. This practice transcends to the general population.

Being in decision-making positions is believed to be a male privilege and women are pushed to irrelevant posts. In support of this, Dolan (2018: 8) observes that “women are assumed to be more interested in, and more effective in dealing with, such issues as child care, poverty, education, health care, women’s issues, and the environment than are men, whereas men are thought to be more competent at dealing with economic development, the military, trade, taxes, and agriculture.” Women are assigned feminine positions and other positions, which are less important in the views of the male politicians. Where women are given leadership positions, it is merely to fill a quota or to give a picture that women are being recognized.

Hungwe (2006) states that in politics, powerful men use women to pull other women down so that they serve the interests of men. “Patriarchy divides women, offering them limited power and social approval in exchange for behavior strictly policed along binary lines. Women who are thus divided, and who label and insult each other continue to service patriarchal structures” (Hungwe, 2006: no page). Instead of women working to eliminate male domination, women are used to serve patriarchal interests. Patriarchal attitudes are deeply embedded in man’s minds including leaders who should be an example to other men thus making patriarchy inerasable.

2.6 EFFORTS MADE AT ADDRESSING GENDER DISCRIMINATION AND PROMOTING WOMEN'S RIGHTS

The world has witnessed an increased growth in the number of women participating in politics but this has not been enough as the political space continues being dominated by men. Powerful male politicians have signed and domesticated laws projecting an image that they are gender sensitive (Maphosa et al, 2015). It is important to note that the perceptions that citizens embrace mostly are shaped by the views of their leaders. However, politicians' "gestures of being gender sensitive have been nothing but a ruse since in spite of signing the various legal instruments, they have been simultaneously putting a glass ceiling on women's path towards greater political participation" Maphosa *et al* (2015: 129).

The United Nations put in place instruments and provisions for the protection and non-discrimination of women based on sex. These are signed by many countries globally including African governments. These include the "UN Charter (1945), Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR 1948), International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR 1966), International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR 1966), Declaration on the Elimination of all Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief (Religious Declaration 1981) and the African Charter (1987)" (Kurebwa 2015: 99).

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights is one of the first international frameworks on gender. At its inception, forty-eight countries signed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Article 2 of the Universal Declaration of human rights states that;

Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status. Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty (United Nations, 2015: 6)

Article 21 states that “(1) everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives. (2) Everyone has the right to equal access to public service in his country (United Nations, 2015: 44).” The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, therefore, seeks to promote dignity, equality and freedom of individuals. The International Covenant on Civil and Political rights of 1966 is also another legislative framework that seeks to promote equality of all humans as well as non-discrimination of all persons before the law (SADC Gender Monitor, 2016).

The Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) is another legal framework which was put in place and ninety-nine countries are signatory to the framework. This is referred to as the mother bill of rights of women as its fundamental principle is the equality of women (SADC Gender Monitor, 2016). The UN Committee on CEDAW has reflected that countries have to guarantee equality between men and women. It has noted that negative and discriminatory customary laws and practices have slowed the advancement of women in their political, economic and social lives.

Article 5 of the convention states that nations should;

Modify social and cultural patterns of conduct of men and women with a view to achieving the elimination of prejudices, customary and all other practices which are based on the idea of the inferiority or the superiority of either of the sexes or on stereotyped roles for men and women.

Article 7 upon States Parties states:

to take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the political and public life of the country and, in particular, shall ensure to women, on equal terms with men, the right to:

(a) Vote in all elections and public referenda and to be eligible for election to all publicly elected bodies,

(b) Participate in the formulation of government policy and the implementation thereof and to hold public office and perform all public functions at all levels of government (United Nations, 2015).

Countries which are signatory to CEDAW have to act in compliance with its requirements to give feedback and report within a year of ratification and make a progress report after four years, outlining how they have removed the challenges they would have indicated in the first report, therefore, playing a watchdog role (Kurebwa, 2015). Countries around the world are also signatories to the Beijing Declaration of 1995, which attempts to address gender inequalities that exist between men and women in decision-making and positions of power to ensure effective democratic transformation. However, despite the legislative frameworks discussed above, the world is still patriarchal including the African continent.

Countries in Africa are signatory to the legislative frameworks and among the legislative frameworks is the African Charter on Human and People's rights, which has provisions, which prohibits discrimination on grounds of gender or sex. This is evidenced by Article 2, which provides that every individual shall be entitled to the "enjoyment of the rights and freedoms recognized and guaranteed in the present Charter without distinction of any kind such as race, ethnic group, color, sex, language, religion and political or any other opinion, national and social

origin, fortune, birth or other status” (African Charter, 1986). In addition, key to the legislative framework is African Women’s Rights Observatory (AWRO), which aims to monitor the implementation and enforcement of international and regional instruments on gender.

Most of the SADC countries are lagging behind in terms of political participation as a result of “patriarchal aspects of traditional cultural systems and male-dominated structures of modern governance (SADC Gender Monitor, 2016: 13).” However, this is also changing rapidly in some parts of the region and slowly in other regions (SADC Gender Monitor, 2016). In an attempt to address gender injustices, most of the Southern African countries signed the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development, which was first signed as a declaration in 1997 but later became a Protocol in 2008. In Article 12, paragraph 1, there is a 50% threshold for women in decision-making positions. It encompassed all regional, global and continental instruments for achieving gender equality. The protocol seeks to advance gender equality by ensuring that all SADC member states are accountable.

It is important to note that some countries are making strides towards women’s political participation. In terms of women’s political participation, Rwanda is ranked first in the world. Women constitute 68% of Rwanda’s Parliament. This is followed by Cuba (53.2%), Bolivia (53.1%), Mexico (48.2%), Grenada (46.7%), Sweden (46.1%), Nicaragua (45.7%), Costa Rica (45.6%), Namibia (46.2%) and South Africa (42.7%), who have more women than men in Parliament (World Economic Forum, 2019). Countries such as, Norway, Bangladesh, Finland including Nicaragua and Sweden have closed their gender political empowerment gap by at least 50% (The Global Gender Political Report, 2018). South Africa has achieved gender parity for the first

time in history, following other African countries, Rwanda and Ethiopia, which is a sign of commitment towards gender equality (BBC, 30 May 2019). Ethiopia has a female President, Sahle-Work Zewde following Ellen Johnson Sirleaf of Liberia, who was the first democratically elected female President in Africa. Although there are signs of progress, there is still a long way to achieving gender equality.

In light of the global and continental gender related challenges, the study explores patriarchal manifestations and perceptions and their implications on the participation of women from Matabeleland women in national politics. The research is based on feminist theories as shall be discussed in the next section.

2.7 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.7.1 Feminist theory

Feminist theory describes gender inequalities and women oppression, explains its causes and consequences and tries to offer remedies for women's emancipation. Feminists believe that "gender inequality is not an individual matter but is deeply ingrained in the organization of families, work, and the economy, politics, religions, the arts and other cultural productions" (Lorber, 1997: 8). This theory tries to understand differences in power and oppression between men and women and how to overcome them. A variety of feminist theories have evolved over the years and are constantly changing but this researcher intends to analyse radical feminism and intersectionality theories as they are relevant to the study.

2.7.1. 1 Radical feminism

There is a variety of feminist theories but for the purpose of this study, radical feminism will be employed. Radical feminism describes patriarchy and sexism as the most elementary factors in women's oppression and this oppression include rape, and gender based violence. Patriarchy is the major theoretical term for this type of feminism and according to radical feminists, it is difficult to eradicate since it is deeply entrenched in men's minds or consciousness. For many radical feminists, "patriarchal relations underlie all other forms of oppression-class oppression, color oppression and imperialist oppression" (Mukhuba, 2016: 1). "Radical feminists emphasize patriarchal roots of inequality between men and women and think that society is an oppressive patriarchy that primarily oppresses women...they emphasise the social domination of women by men" (Progonson, 2012: 103). Bucholtz (2014) stipulates that the root cause of gender inequality is the systematic subordination of women by men, which countlessly benefits men even when they unknowingly participate in the system. Radical feminists argue that oppression of women stems from childbirth, marriage and sexual relationships. They question the issue of gender roles between men and women. According to radical feminist Mary Daly, during her time, boys were expected to study while girls' job was to sew (Daly 2016).

Men maintain dominance over women through violence (Brenner 2013; Bucholtz 2014). Radical feminism claims that women are threatened by men's aggressiveness, violence, rape and murder (Lorber, 1997). Radical feminists are of the view that women are not only subjected to rape, sexual assault and harassment but are verbally abused using offensive language such as street remarks (Bucholtz,

2014). In analysing the rape of women (Brenner, 2013), notes that sex is used as “a kind of terrorism” and a woman in a subordinated role cannot defend herself. Women, therefore, are submissive to avoid violence. In a review of Mary Daly’s work, in a patriarchal society, men are “anti-female and misogynistic” and collectively victimize women (Wood, 2015; Lorber, 1997). Theology is also used to victimize women as it is viewed as the basis of patriarchal institutions. The patriarchal woman internalizes patriarchal values and “turns against her sisters” (Wood, 2015: 3). Consequently, women are denied political and economic powers because of patriarchy.

Radical feminists believe that the solution to gender inequalities and oppression is the formation of women’s groups emerging from civil societies and other liberation movements. Universities, colleges and other alternative institutions, which fight for women’s rights by formulating new ideas and knowledge, are among such organisations. However, radical feminism is criticized for concentrating on patriarchy and excluding other issues (Bucholtz, 2014). Radical feminist theory is relevant to the study as it emphasizes that the root of gender inequality is the systematic subordination of women by men where men benefit from patriarchal privilege. Radical feminism concentrates only on gender oppression and neglects social and ethnic differences. As such, the study also adopts the intersectionality theory to address the limitations of the radical feminist theory.

2.7.1.2 Intersectionality theory

Intersectionality theory emerged from the writings of women of color during the 1960s and 1970s. Feminist legal scholars such as Mari Matsuda, Patricia Williams

and Kimberle Crenshaw and other black feminists were advocating for the liberation of women from gender and race discrimination, sexual and class oppression (Gordon, 2016; Roth, 2016). This theory has gained prominence over the years and has become the most significant theory to women studies. Crenshaw's intersectionality theory originated and developed from the failure of feminist theory to recognise discriminatory racist tendencies on black women.

Intersectionality theorists argue that gender cannot be analyzed independently without exploring issues of race, social class and migration status (Samuels and Sheriff, 2008). Crenshaw refers to gender, race, class oppressions and threats to equal opportunities and social justice as intersecting and interconnected. Crenshaw (2014) highlights that intersectionality draws attention to invisibilities that exist in feminism, class and in anti-racism politics. Feminism failed to interrogate racial issues thus reinforcing women of colour and antiracists also failed to interrogate patriarchy thus reproducing the subordination of women (Crenshaw, 1991). Therefore, intersectionality is designed to combat feminist exclusivity and hegemony (Nash, 2008).

Crenshaw (1991), classifies intersectionality into three types namely, political, structural and representational intersectionality. Structural intersectionality refers to the connectedness of systems and structures in society and how these systems affect individuals and groups differently (Crenshaw 1991). Crenshaw (1991) further states that structural intersectionality promotes the maintenance of social systems such as patriarchy, culture, policies and laws that results in differential treatment whereby certain individuals are more privileged than others. Shields (2008) concurs

with Crenshaw (1991) and notes that structural intersectionality reflects how women are marginalized by their social needs or legal statuses because of interwoven identities such as race, gender and socioeconomic statuses which makes it difficult for them to get assistance. This was in reference to the counselling of women of colour rape victims who sought refuge in Los Angeles minority communities. These women were overburdened with childcare responsibilities, poverty and unemployment coupled with the fact that the shelters fail to address the trauma and violence endured in their abusive relationships (Crenshaw, 1991).

Political intersectionality, on the other hand refers to how women who have multiple social identities are caught between conflicting agendas of the different political constituencies they belong to (Crenshaw, 1991). Political intersectionality indicates, “how inequalities and their intersections are relevant to political strategies and how strategies regarding one axis of inequality are seldom neutral toward other axes” (Crenshaw 1991: 1252). This results in challenges of working politically with the diversity of an identity group (Ramtohul; 2015). Crenshaw (1991) depicts how antiracist politics have contributed to the marginalization of racial or ethnic minority women where black women struggle to challenge power hierarchies. Their social action agendas based on race and gender end up in vain, as they fail to address their needs (Shields, 2008). Crenshaw (1991) also gives an example of the exclusion of black American women from politics, and how they were denied voting rights. Similarly, Ramtohul (2015) gives an account of Mauritian political community, which is multiethnic and is characterized by divisions thereby discouraging political mobilization of women in politics. Socio-cultural and religious bodies, which are male-dominated and patriarchal thus serving male interests, further compound this.

The inequalities that women face reflect their burdens or discrimination and as such, their political choices are derived from the injustices they experience.

Representational intersectionality refers to the way that “race, class, gender, sexual orientation, and ethnic images in society come together to create unique and specific narratives that shape and inform policies, laws, and institutions” Allen (2016:213). Crenshaw (1991) argues that cultural construction of ethnic or racial minority women influence the creation of laws, which discriminate racial, and ethnic minority groups. Representational intersectionality also reveals how cultural images manifested in the media or language marginalizes women’s particular location therefore becoming a source of intersectional disempowerment (Ramtohul, 2015). Cultural constructions are derived from the depiction of individuals, groups and women of different identity groups, through media, texts and language that distort images of women and make them vulnerable to abuse (Ramtohul, 2015). The study is guided by the radical feminist and the intersectionality theories as they complement each other in providing a plausible explanation of the plight of women politicians in the Matabeleland region of Zimbabwe. Multiple identities, which include gender and ethnicity among others, seem to influence how women in this region are perceived in the political arena.

Although some studies on patriarchy have been done in other parts of the world, little work has been done on the impact of patriarchy on women politicians in the Matabeleland region of Zimbabwe. The researcher is unaware of a patriarchal perception study that has been conducted on women politicians from Matabeleland region of Zimbabwe. The study makes a significant contribution to the gap in

literature, where it focused on unravelling the patriarchal issues in Matabeleland through a perception survey combined with key informant interviews from politicians from this region.

2.8 CHAPTER CONCLUSION

Chapter Two provides an understanding on the concept of patriarchy and how patriarchal perceptions globally have impacted negatively on the advancement of women status on the political arena. The evidence in the literature available seems to indicate that women still face a number of challenges despite the availability of international, regional laws and instruments. An analysis on the literature shows that women around the globe are still marginalized politically, mainly because of the cultural, patriarchal norms and perceptions. The chapter also gives an understanding of feminist and intersectionality theories, which are the backbone of the research as they inform us of how women have been historically discriminated upon thus the development of feminist movements.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter is a discussion on the methods of research, data gathering techniques, scope of survey and sampling methods that were used to conduct the study, and, therefore, outlines the rationale for the methods adopted. Research methodology has the main purpose of providing guidance in the selection of research methods for the study as well as providing philosophical explanations of the study (Nalere and Yago, 2015). The researcher adopted a mixed method research approach, by utilizing both qualitative and quantitative methods of research to avoid limitations brought about by the use of one method of research.

3.2 QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

Qualitative research is a natural and interpretive approach to the social world, which emphasizes the exploration of phenomena and acknowledges the subjectivity of people's experiences, opinions and perceptions (Hemnink *et al*, 2011). Qualitative methods are mainly concerned with the "why and how" aspects, thus providing rich findings (Harper and McCunn, 2017). Qualitative research is used to understand complex issues, social interactions, social and cultural norms, emotions of people examines sensitive issues and explores new topics (Hemnink *et al*, 2011).

Qualitative research allows for the exploration of the social world through observations, interviews, recordings and field notes. Qualitative approach to research has the advantage that it is open-minded, probes and makes cultural assessments on certain values and beliefs, thus exploring homogenous and diverse

groups within communities (Choy, 2014). This includes issues such as ethnicity, race, gender and sexual orientation (Tracy, 2013). Therefore, qualitative methods were suitable for this study as they explored gender and multiple issues affecting women politicians in the region under study. This is despite the fact that qualitative methods are labour intensive and time consuming for example recording and categorizing during analysis of data. Therefore, important issues may be overlooked. In addition, data may not be objectively verifiable if it is handled by unskilled interviewers (Choy, 2014).

3.3 QUANTITATIVE RESEARCH

Quantitative research was also utilized for the study. Quantitative research is the process of empirical and enumerative induction where the data is in form of numbers and is subjected to statistical analysis (Punch, 2013). The main purpose of quantitative research is to discover the number and type of people in a sample population who possess a certain characteristic as representative of the parent population. Unlike qualitative research, which focuses on subjective data, quantitative research is more objective. It provides a positivist philosophical research design where there is a belief that accounts of the world can be given objectively and science can develop and explain universal knowledge (Punch, 2013). It involves measuring of variables and hypothesis testing as the researcher familiarizes with the concept under study (Choy, 2014). Quantitative research involves the use of experiments or the administering of questionnaires. For the current study, research questionnaires were administered for the perception survey in Matabeleland.

Quantitative research is advantageous as it can be administered quickly and the responses can be tabulated within a short timeframe. Quantitative research is considered reliable since it concentrates on numerical data (Davies and Hughes, 2015). Quantitative research also facilitates comparison as it gives the extent of agreement of agreement within groups of people. For this study comparison of gender responses was made easier through the cross tabulation of data. However, quantitative research has its shortcomings as it is not suitable for subjective experiments or in situations where statistical analysis is not essential for the discussion of the situation. This method is also not appropriate in historical processes that involve changes (Nalere and Yago, 2015).

Quantitative and qualitative methods were used for development whereby findings from the survey, were used to inform key informant interviews and focus group discussions. The use of mixed methods also facilitated the discovery of contradictions, which resulted in the reframing of questions. According to Venkatesh et al (2013: 25), mixed methods research “can leverage the complementary strengths and non-overlapping weaknesses of qualitative and quantitative methods, and offer greater insights on a phenomenon that each of these methods individually cannot offer”. Combining both methods provided a rich and deeper understanding of the subject under study and determined the quality of the results.

3.4 RESEARCH DESIGN

A research design is used to provide a framework for the collection and analysis of data (Bryman, 2016). There are a number of research designs such as experimental, historical, exploratory, explanatory, observational, philosophical, historical,

longitudinal, and cross-sectional among others. For this study, the case study research design was used. A case study research is “an in-depth investigation of a problem in one or more real-life settings (case sites) over an extended period of time” (Bhattacharjee, 2012: 40). Case studies can also be defined as the intensive analysis and descriptions of a single unit bounded by space and time (Hancock and Algozzine, 2016).

Case studies can be positivist or interpretive in nature and, therefore, have the strength of making various social, cultural and political discoveries on a subject that is not known in advance (Bhattacharjee, 2012). Therefore, case studies can necessitate the exploration of detail as they are richly descriptive thus giving a thorough examination of a phenomena. Case studies vary from a study of individuals, programs, social groups, processes, events and institutions (Hancock and Algozzine, 2016). Case studies are chosen depending on the overall study purpose and the research questions to be answered. The following section briefly looks at the types of case study research designs namely the explanatory and cross-sectional research design, as these methods are suitable for survey research, which were used for quantitative gathering of data in the study.

3.4.1 Explanatory Case Study

Explanatory research is mainly used to explain a social phenomenon and explain why or how certain situations are prevailing. It explains the reasons why there is a range of behavior on the people surveyed (Davies and Hughes, 2015). Explanatory case study research is used to explain the logical problem as it answers the why question that involves the deep causal explanations and processes (Hemnick et al, 2011). It allows the researcher to answer initial questions without ambiguity as

alternative explanations are eliminated. Explanatory research design uncovers and explains social relationships, and why people who are surveyed hold certain opinions. It explains what underpins certain perceptions, attitudes, behavior, beliefs and motivations that lead to decision making and the formation of experiences, occurrences and events (Ritchie et al, 2013).

3.4.2 Cross-sectional research design

For quantitative data collection, cross-sectional research design was used. Cross-sectional research observes outcomes simultaneously within a population. It takes a snapshot of results since data is collected at once (Tsang, 2014). This is unlike longitudinal research where data is observed at different periods to observe changes (Matikiti et al, 2016). Cross-sectional research measures differences between people for example race, gender and ethnicity. Cross-sectional research design is suitable for the study since data for the perception survey was collected from males and females at one point of time. Cross-sectional research was also utilized since it is not time consuming and inexpensive to administer. Data was collected at once using a questionnaire survey. However, cross sectional research design requires a large sample which was a limitation to the study.

3.5 DATA GATHERING TECHNIQUES

There are a number of data collection techniques, which include review of documents, interviews, focus group discussions among others. For the purpose of the study, review of documents, key informant interviews and focus group discussions were used as qualitative methods of data collection. However, for

quantitative research questionnaires were administered to get the perception of the community members in Matabeleland.

Primary and secondary sources were utilized for the research. Primary data include data which offers first-hand experience of a topic, or subject under study. Primary data includes interviews, focus group discussions and observation. Secondary data is the information that has been collected before. It consists of existing information that is publicly available (Johnston, 2017). It consists of documents such as articles, newspapers and sources from televisions, videos, photos and histories (Love, 2013). The secondary data constitute internal publications provided by participants to the researchers and publicly available data, which are relevant to the topic being observed (Wahyuni, 2012). Secondary data analysis is suitable in the event that primary data collection is expensive or infeasible (Bhattacharjee, 2012). The primary and secondary sources of data collection are discussed below.

3.5.1 In-depth Interviews with Key Informants

The researcher collected primary data through key informant in depth interviews. Rosenthal (2016: 510) defines in depth interviews as the “posing of open-ended questions and follow-up probes designed to obtain an in- depth understanding of participants' experiences, perceptions, opinions, feelings, and knowledge.” The interviewees gave first- hand knowledge on the issues asked. The purpose of in-depth interviews is to provide lived experiences of people and in depth interviews are a powerful way of gaining insight into the social issues on individuals whose experiences reflect those issues. Interviews allow the researcher to understand the subject perspective from his or her own context. In-depth interviews are also a

source of elaboration and meaning from different respondents (Nalere and Yago, 2015).

In depth interviews are structured, semi-structured, unstructured and can be done face to face, over the telephone or electronically via email. The researcher used face-to-face interviews. A few interviews were conducted electronically. In-depth interviews have the disadvantage that they are time consuming as the researcher has to firstly plan the project and make contacts with participants, conduct the interview and transcribe the gathered information, therefore, it can be labour intensive. Interviews also can be problematic to shy researchers who have to communicate with potential respondents whom they have never met and, therefore, getting started may be a daunting task (Oltmann, 2016).

3.5.2 Focus group discussions

The researcher also conducted focus group discussions. A focus group discussion is defined as “a type of research that involves bringing in a small group of subjects (typically 6 to 10 people) at one location, and having them discuss a phenomenon of interest for a period of 1.5 to 2 hours” (Bhattacharjee, 2012: 40). A focus group discussion is used to solicit in depth information and narratives about attitudes, beliefs and perception from a group of people. The researcher can also gather differences in the experiences and opinions of people from the focus group discussions. A trained facilitator compiles questions for participants, which represent and give an understanding of their ideas and experiences. Focus groups, therefore, are more suitable for exploratory research.

Focus group discussions have the advantage that they generate new knowledge and ideas as people discuss. They are also useful when multiple responses are needed on a specific issue, which can be achieved on a shorter period than interviews (McNabb, 2004). The facilitator can also observe interactions that occur during focus group discussions. However, focus group discussions have the disadvantage that people may not reveal sensitive information and the response of a person can be influenced by the group setting. In addition, the facilitator must be highly skilled in order to ensure that the discussions are successful (Bhattacharjee, 2012).

3.5.3 Surveys

For the purposes of this research, surveys were used to collect data. A survey research is a method of “involving the use of standardized questionnaires or interviews to collect data about people and their preferences, thoughts, and behaviors in a systematic manner (Bhattacharjee, 2012: 73). The survey method can be used for descriptive, exploratory, or explanatory research. This method can be used to analyze individuals or groups but is best suited for individuals. Surveys allow for the collection of data on large populations that are difficult to observe. For example, in a region, surveys can be done through sampling to represent a population using a smaller sample.

A survey can be in the form of a questionnaire which is a research instrument comprising a variety of questions used to capture responses from respondents in a standardized manner (Bhattacharjee, 2012). Surveys have the strength that they can measure a variety of observable data such as the perception of people. Surveys are

also economic as they save cost and the researcher's effort and time (Nalere and Yago, 2015).

For this research, a questionnaire survey was used to collect data. The researcher was assisted by six field workers who were trained by the researcher. Questionnaires were distributed in Nkulumane 10, 11 and 12 which are located in Nkulumane Constituency in Bulawayo. Questionnaires were administered to individuals in government buildings, business centers and in households. The questionnaires were administered to groups where respondents met at a certain place and completed the survey. The respondents did not interact while entering responses. This was advantageous as there was a high response rate thus being convenient to the researcher. Clarification was given to the respondents in case they did not understand the questions. Only a few questionnaires were self-administered via emails to a number of people who completed the survey at their convenient time. Although they were inexpensive to administer, some of the people ignored the email surveys, which was a limitation in the collection of data.

Similar to the email survey is the online or as web survey interactive forms where a request is made online and questionnaires can be returned via email. Online surveys are very inexpensive to administer and can be instantly recorded online. However, the responses can be compromised if hacking occurs, and there can be sampling bias as the poor or a minority group without internet cannot be reached (Bhattachajee, 2012). However, email surveys were not used in gathering data for this research.

3.5.4 Documentary Search

Documentary search was used to gather secondary data from published materials. Documents are defined as “the written or recorded material that was not prepared specifically in response to the request from an inquirer (Love 2013: no page). Documents provide rich information as they appear in their natural different settings and have endured across time. Documents are advantageous in the sense that are less costly and they allow for problematization of other data to be collected and are a stimulus for new interview questions (Love, 2013). However, documents are non-interactive since it is difficult to check for accuracy and thus can be deceiving and biased. Secondary sources of information were obtained through documentary analysis of publications, books, journals and other scholarly articles from the internet.

3.6 SAMPLING METHODS

A sample is defined as a “group of relatively smaller number of people selected from a population for investigation purpose” (Alvi, 2016:12). Sampling is the statistical process of selecting a subset (called a “sample”) of a population of interest for purposes of making observations and statistical inferences about that population. The study adopted the purposive and snowball sampling where one participant referred the researcher to the other respondents who had more knowledge about the subject under study. Data was collected from in-depth key informant interviews with 4 male politicians and 10 female politicians. The sample was chosen on the basis that the number of female politicians in this region are few. However, the key informants have in-depth knowledge on patriarchal issues basing on their experiences. Three focus groups comprising 7, 10 and 8 people respectively were conducted. Two focus groups were conducted by targeting people at their

workplaces in Nkulumane. The researcher also had a focus group discussion with members of a Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO) which deals with women issues thus providing knowledge on patriarchal issues in politics. Stratified sampling was utilized for perception survey which consisted of respondents who were chosen according to gender and location. The sampling methods utilized are elaborated below:

3.6.1 Purposive sampling

The purposive sampling technique, also called judgment sampling, is the deliberate choice of an informant due to the qualities the informant possesses. The researcher chose respondents by virtue of their knowledge and experience and, therefore, purposive sampling is associated with the key informant technique. The use of gender qualifications in selecting the respondents saves time and effort that can be brought about by misunderstanding (Tongco, 2007). Purposive sampling is, therefore, applicable in qualitative and quantitative research methods. Purposive sampling is used in interviews, observations and in questionnaires. The researcher selected key informants basing on their political knowledge and the positions that they occupy in politics. Among these were senators from main political parties, former cabinet ministers and current legislators and former legislators. This was done to get the real issues on the ground since the informants have knowledge of issues under study and some personally experienced some challenges in politics.

3.6.2 Snowball sampling

The snowball sampling method was utilized for the study. Snowball sampling method or “chain-referral sampling, is a distinct method of convenience sampling which has been proven to be especially useful in conducting research in marginalized societies”

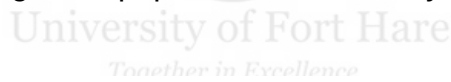
(Cohen and Arieli, 2011: 426). This is a technique used to find a subject as one subject provides the name of the other and the sample group grows like a snowball. Snowball sampling is used in both quantitative and qualitative research and is an effective method to use to access difficult or hidden populations. In qualitative research, snowball sampling method is use to access potential interviewees while in quantitative research it is used to locate participants for surveys. One can assume that snowball sampling is less common in quantitative research since quantitative data requires large population. Therefore, it can be used as a complementary research strategy (Cohen and Arieli, 2011). The use of snowball sampling with other research methods reduces sampling bias and increases quality of data and efficiency.

Snowball sampling methods have the advantage that they are effective as potential participants are easier to locate, access even those in hidden communities. Snowball sampling helps the researcher to locate the appropriate participants in a short period of time saving money and effort (Marcus et al, 2017). In the event that the subjects are not cooperative, snowball sampling allow the researcher to communicate with referees in order to gain cooperation from them. Key informants who occupy lower positions in the party politics referred the researcher to Members of Parliament who referred the researcher to key informants who occupied higher ranks. In other instances, the researcher would interview a key informant who is powerful in politics who would refer the researcher to a Minister and the Minister would refer the researcher to women who hold lower levels in the party, which enabled the researcher to hold focus group discussions.

3.6.3 Stratified sampling

The researcher utilised stratified sampling technique for the perception survey. Stratified sampling ensures that appropriate number of elements is chosen from a homogeneous subset of a population for example they are organised according to gender or class (Babbie, 2013). Stratified sampling techniques are advantageous as they are more representative of the population and increase sample efficiency as the creation of strata allows for different samples, which are used for different portions of the population (Rossi et al, 2013). The researcher selected respondents according to gender and location.

Stratified samples can be “smaller in size than simple random samples, save a lot of time, money, and effort for the researchers and has a high statistical precision compared to simple random sampling” (Crossman, 2017: 1). Stratified sampling allows for the better coverage of a population under study.



3.7 SCOPE OF THE SURVEY

This section covers the sample size, the survey population and the areas that were covered during the study.

3.7.1 Location of the study

The study is concentrated on the Matabeleland region of Zimbabwe with specific focus on the politicians emanating from this region. Matabeleland region of Zimbabwe is situated South West and West of Zimbabwe. It consists of three provinces namely, Matabeleland South, Matabeleland North and Bulawayo. The research focused on key informants who represent constituencies around the three provinces. The perception survey was conducted in Nkulumane constituency which

is located in the west of Bulawayo. Nkulumane is the biggest high density suburb in Bulawayo. The researcher chose Bulawayo province since it was more convenient and respondents with political knowledge were easily accessible.

3.7.2 Survey population and sample size

Quantitative sampling approaches are aimed at giving a representative from the population since it is inefficient and impractical to study the whole population. The selection of a sample size depends on the number necessary to make valid inferences about a population (Marshall, 1996). The chances for sampling error are few when the sample is bigger, however, sample size in qualitative research is usually smaller than the one used in quantitative methods. This is because qualitative research is concerned with getting an in-depth understanding of a situation unlike in quantitative research (Dworkin, 2012).

The target population for the perception survey as previously highlighted is Nkulumane constituency which has an estimated population of 57 976 (Election Resource Network centre, 2018). The sample size was calculated using a sample size calculator where the margin of error was 5%, the confidence level was set at 95%. The sample size of 382 was obtained after the calculations. The researcher administered 382 questionnaires and after noting some errors during coding, 303 questionnaires were left for analysis. Since the study is not purely quantitative, the gaps emanating from the survey were addressed by getting information from key informants who had more knowledge on patriarchal issues in Matabeleland region.

3.8 ORGANISATION OF THE SURVEY

This section will explain how the questionnaire, which is the measuring instrument for this study was designed.

3.8.1 Design of the measuring instrument (questionnaire)

The design and construction of a questionnaire is an art. A number of decisions have to be made about the question content based on the wording, sequencing and format of the questions as these determine the nature of survey responses. Questionnaire surveys are, therefore, not suitable for the illiterate.

The researcher designed questions in a meaningful way for the respondents to understand them and answer appropriately. Questions were structured in a simple way without any complicated jargon making them understandable (McNabb, 2004). The researcher selected the most appropriate wording and questions were organized in a sequential order and in a way that they were not double barreled and ambiguous. The researcher adopted a structured questionnaire. A structured questionnaire requires the respondents to make a choice from a given set of questions and the answers are subjected to statistical analysis (Bhattacharjee, 2012). A five point Likert scale was designed in a way that the respondents gave interval level responses to choices such as agree, disagree, true or false. The questionnaire was also designed in such a way that its respondents were presented with more than two unordered options known as the ordinal response especially on the demographic section.

The demographic section consisted of Section A, which required the respondent to provide information on gender, age, education level and race. Section B consisted

close ended questions in a Likert scale format where the respondent marked an answer on either strongly agree, agree, neutral, strongly disagree or disagree. The researcher pretested the questionnaire and revised it before administering. After the pretest exercise, the researcher observed that one respondent had marked “neutral” on all questions on the Likert scale and another responded skipped certain responses. This was an eye opener for the researcher who then exercised due caution to make sure that people with knowledge answered. In case where someone did not understand the researcher interpreted the questions.

3.9 METHODS OF DATA ANALYSIS

3.9.1 Qualitative data analysis

Qualitative data analysis as defined by Taylor and Gibbs (2010: 1) is the “range of processes and procedures whereby we move from the qualitative data that has been collected into some form of explanation, understanding or interpretation of the people and situations we are investigating.” Information obtained during the research in the form of interviews, audio recordings, documents and field notes was organised coded, examined and analysed through content and thematic analysis.

3.9.1.1 Document analysis

The researcher analysed some documents. Document analysis “begins with the process of cataloguing, determining the documents context and assessing is authenticity because judgements and assessments are being made to the document” (Love, 2013: 87). Documents were categorised to see their sources and check on how they were solicited. After the categorisation of documents, they were coded, classified and compared. Coding was also done for interviews and transcripts where the meaning of document content was assessed before drawing explanations

and conclusions. The codes included words, numbers or letters and the relationships were identified and compared. Coding is, therefore, a precursor to content analysis (Love, 2013).

3.9.1.2 Content analysis

Content analysis was used to analyse textual data as it incorporates both categorizing and coding but goes beyond that. Originally, content analysis was used as a quantitative method as categories were established followed by the word which representing the categories being compared and tallied (Love, 2016). The aim of content analysis was “to identify the underlying themes, assumptions, beliefs, the narrative, sense making and mean making structures of the document’s author” (Love 2016: 92). This is supported by (Spens and Kovacs, 2006), who stipulate that content analysis offers the analysis of literature review and is an instrument for determining key ideas and themes. The researcher utilised content analysis as it has the strength of investigating hidden latent content along with explicit statements known as manifest content (Love, 2016). Content analysis allowed for revision of procedures for future application and provided the basis for new research to be made and produced objective, authentic and confirmable results.

Thematic analysis which is a form of content analysis was also utilized. Nowell *et al* (2017: 2) defines thematic analysis as “a method for identifying, organizing, describing and reporting themes found within a data set.” Thematic analysis is regarded as the foundation for conducting qualitative analysis of data as it provides core skills, which allows for the usage of all other forms of qualitative research analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Thematic analysis is regarded as the “translator” as it is a tool used for communication by both qualitative and quantitative

researchers. The researcher adopted thematic analysis as it highlights similarities and differences of data and summarizes salient features of a larger data set, providing an understandable and organized final report (Nowell *et al*, 2017). In analyzing data, the researcher used both semantic and latent themes. It is important to note that although semantic themes were used, the analysis consisted of mainly latent themes. Semantic themes provide for “explicit or surface meanings of data and the analyst will not be looking for anything beyond what has been said or what has been written” (Braun and Clarke, 2006). On the other hand, latent themes “examine underlying ideas, assumptions, conceptualizations, that are theorized as shaping and informing the semantic content of data” (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Thematic analysis was the most useful qualitative analysis tool as it was not only a flexible approach but gave insightful and detailed account of data, which is suitable for informing policy development.



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3.9.2 Quantitative data analysis

Data analysis may be quantitative where statistical techniques are systematically arranged and applied. Data can be analyzed by using descriptive or inferential statistics. For the purposes of this research, the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) software was used for the statistical analysis of data.

3.9.2.1 Descriptive statistics

Descriptive statistics are the techniques of summarizing, organizing a set of scores in a manageable way (Gravetter and Wallnau, 2016; Asadorian and Kantarelis, 2005). The organization and display of data provides a summary about the data, which as described in the design of the questionnaire section, constitute level of measurement data such as interval, ordinal, categorical or nominal. The average of a

set of scores can be computed to provide a single descriptive value of the entire set (Gravetter and Wallnau, 2016). Descriptive statistics can be represented graphical in tabular form or in form of frequencies and cross tabulation, which is used to gain information about different variables (Greasly, 2007). For this study, pie charts, bar graphs and frequency tables were used to present data. The graphs were alternated based on the kind of data to be presented, to ensure that the graphs were readable and clear.

3.9.2.2 Inferential statistics

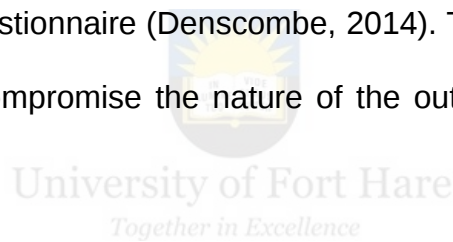
Inferential statistics “consists of techniques that allow us to study samples then make generalization about the populations from which they are selected” (Gravetter and Wallnau, 2016: 6). Since populations are large, which makes it impossible to study the whole population, a sample is selected to represent the population. General statements and analysis of a sample are simplified through inferential statistics (Gravetter and Wallnau, 2016). In other words, inferential statistics allows the researcher to make inferences and make meaning on observations made with samples (Privitera, 2011). However, samples may provide limited information about a population and may provide inaccurate information of the whole population resulting in a sampling error.

3.10 RELIABILITY

A survey, no matter how it is designed, is not perfect and will always encounter technical difficulties. Errors typical of surveys range from statistical errors to coverage errors, which emanate from the sample frame and sampling errors as a result of focusing on sample of elements rather than the entire population (Brick and

Williams, 2013). Non-response biases are categorized into non- contact bias and non- response through refusal. Non-response error or bias can be encountered if some respondents fail to provide information. Non-contact bias can be a result of the inclusion of some respondents at the expense of others. For example, a researcher may make appointments to interview residents during the day and tend to miss those who will be at work during the day.

As a way of avoiding this, the researcher would need to conduct the survey during the day and night (Denscombe 2014). Non-response through refusal can occur when it discourages people from responding may be because of the sensitivity of the topic or the nature of the topic and the burden of participating due to the amount of time it takes to complete the questionnaire (Denscombe, 2014). These factors may result in reliability errors, which compromise the nature of the outcome of survey results or findings.



Reliability refers to the consistence and accuracy of results where a measure produces almost the same results if a study is repeated using the same methodology (Heale and Twycross, 2015). Qualitative and quantitative research require valid and reliable results although the reliability concept is mainly used for evaluating quantitative research as reliability of information is higher for objective than subjective data. The concept of reliability is misleading in qualitative research and reliability in qualitative research is used to examine trustworthiness (Pandey and Patnaik, 2014). Quantitative reliability is dependent on data that are consistent or stable and can be referred to as the ratio of the correct and incorrect information from the respondent. Respondents may provide unreliable information voluntarily or

involuntarily because of hidden intentions and emotional issues. In qualitative research, the validity of findings is important as it gives a representative picture of the issues under investigation (Park and Park, 2016). For this study, triangulation was used for the research as a validation method to ensure validity and for the verification of data.

3.11 RESPONSE RATE

Researchers rarely get responses from the target population in a survey. They may get responses from only a proportion of those originally contacted. Response rate, therefore, is the extent to which a survey is successful in getting responses from the people originally contacted (Denscombe, 2014). From the 382 questionnaires which were administered by the researcher, 303 questionnaires were returned. The response rate was, therefore 79%, which is considered as a good response rate.

3.12 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

There are a few limiting factors which the researcher encountered during the research process. Lack of finance was a limiting factor, as the researcher could not afford to meet other politicians who were far away, as such the researcher ended up sending email questions. The researcher had only intended to have face-to-face interviews with all the selected key informants but had to opt for email interviews for a few key informants. This was time consuming as key informants took long to respond and the researcher had to send follow up emails.

The research was conducted during the pre-election period. The political environment was volatile after the highly contested elections, a situation that was very risky as tempers were flaring. The atmosphere was also very tense after the August 1, 2018 post-election violence, which resulted in the deaths of several people. As a result, by merely stating the research topic, individual participants would be wary of the researcher. On one instance, a key informant took the researcher's notebook, and went through the field notes, which was a clear sign of suspicion.

Language barrier was also a challenge and the researcher used a colleague to help interpret. It was also difficult to get females to respond to questionnaires as they said they were not interested in political issues even though the researcher tried to explain that it was about women in politics and purely an academic study. The researcher's attempt to explain sometimes was futile and the researcher adhered to ethical issues of not pursuing further if someone was not interested.

The sensitivity of the Matabeleland historical injustices was another limitation. For instance, a key informant kept asking about why the researcher had chosen Matabeleland region as a study area and was not convinced. In the end, the informant gave responses, which were not objective. Despite these challenges, the researcher managed to collect the required data since most of the people were forthcoming in providing information and the data collected was adequate. The challenges faced were a lesson for future research.

3.13 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

In research, there are codes of conduct and basic principles that govern research and should be conformed to. Professional research bodies such as universities have put in place moral ethical standards in research so that data is not manipulated or used to advance private interests. In carrying out the research, the researcher clearly stated that the research is for academic purposes only. The researcher took into consideration ethical values and was sensitive to gender differences, ethnicity, religion and culture and also respected participants and all informants be it organizations or individuals with great regard for voluntary participation. The researcher also took into consideration issues of confidentiality and anonymity where privacy of participants was ensured. The researcher exercised relevant expertise to ensure that there were high levels of factual accuracy. In addition, the researcher was careful not to plagiarise, fabricate, falsify or misinterpret data.

3.13.1 Voluntary/ Free and informed consent

Informed consent in research means an honesty disclosure of all information to research subjects in language that can be understood. Participants in research should be given a complete description of the research so that they are well informed to make a decision on whether they can participate (Connelly, 2014). The participants were informed about the identity of the researcher, the purpose of the research and nature of research procedures, duration of research, the benefits and risks. The researcher was very clear to the participants that participation was voluntary and they were free to withdraw from the study at any point during the course of data collection.

However, in some cases, disclosing the nature of the study may result in bias. As stipulated by Munhall (1988); Smythe and Murray (2000), participants in a research project are supposed to participate voluntarily and can withdraw from the study any time without fear of any consequences or harm. Free consent means that individuals voluntarily consent to participate in research. Participants are not induced to do so using any form of undue influence or coercion. Participants should sign the informed consent form, which gives them the right not to participate or withdraw from the study. Guardians who act as third parties to the participants who are not legally allowed to give consent should give their free and informed consent. Researchers may be in a position of power and authority to prospective research participants even without showing coercion to participate, compromise the freedom of consent and as such researchers should exercise caution in such situations (Connelly, 2014; Smythe and Murray, 2000).



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3.13.2 Confidentiality and anonymity

Confidentiality and anonymity are the means by which the researcher ensures the privacy of participants, which is a fundamental right and value in all societies. Everyone has the right not to have personal information about them disclosed without their consent (Munhall, 1988). As such, the researcher was clear prior to the research that confidentiality and privacy was ensured thus a relationship of trust between the researcher and the participants was created. The researcher also adhered to the ethical principle of anonymity. Anonymity refers to the practice of releasing research data that does not have any identifying information on the research participants and information provided should be untraceable

(Bhattacharjee, 2012; Smythe and Murray, 2000). Anonymity implies that readers or researchers cannot identify the person who would have provided information through a certain response.

Therefore, anonymity was assured so that people or law enforcement agents did not track subjects. To ensure confidentiality and anonymity, the researcher separated research data provided from personal data. Personal data such as education, age, social status, employment and life experiences was collected out of consent from the participant. As stipulated by Smythe and Murray (2000), personal data of participants should be kept for as long as it is necessary and should be destroyed once the information is no longer needed. To ensure privacy and confidentiality of research participants, the researcher did not reveal personal information about researchers to the public.

3.13.3 Plagiarism



In carrying out the study, the researcher avoided plagiarism at all costs. Plagiarism is defined as the copying of original work such as ideas, strategies and any writing without acknowledging the source (Kharat, 2013). Plagiarism comes in different forms where a researcher can fail to quote, give wrong information about the author or change words but copying the whole structure of the sentence without giving credit. The researcher may also plagiarise by giving credit but copying so many words that it makes up the majority of the researcher's work (Bhandi et al, 2016).

Juyal et al (2015) classifies plagiarism into blatant, technical, patchwork and self-plagiarism. Blatant plagiarism is when the writer deceives the reader that the information is his or hers. Technical plagiarism is when the writer does not follow the

accepted methods to reveal sources of his work. Patchwork plagiarism also known as mosaic writing is when the writer takes a portion from work, while self-plagiarism means borrowing a large portion of words of the present work (Juyal et al, 2015). Plagiarism is an academic fraud, which results in penalties, suspension or termination of research work and, therefore, there is need to detect plagiarism in research. This researcher adhered to the anti-plagiarism ethics and made use of the anti-plagiarism software to detect any form of plagiarism. All sources from which information was obtained were duly acknowledged through proper referencing. This includes in-text citations and the use of quotation marks for verbatim references.

3.13.4 Providing information and debriefing

Researchers have the right to receive information on time about the nature, results and conclusions of the research. A summary of research findings after the completion of the study must be sent to the participants. This is done to enhance the knowledge of participants and to give the participants a sense of contribution to knowledge. Debriefing also gives a provision for post participation withdrawal in case the participant requests to have data removed (Smythe and Murray, 2000).

3.13.5 Analysis and reporting

Ethics are also a requirement even after the completion of the study. It is unethical for researchers to present findings that are a product of incomplete data analysis (Bhattacharjee, 2012). The analysis and reporting of data of the study was communicated with honesty and openness. Findings of the study were fully disclosed regardless of the negativity or positivity since it is unethical to conceal findings.

3.14 CHAPTER CONCLUSION

The chapter was an outline of the various methods which the researcher used to achieve the main objectives of the study. The mixed methods approach involving the quantitative and qualitative methods was discussed and the strengths of using both methods in the study were explained. The case study research design was adopted in conducting the research. Data collection techniques such as in-depth interviews, focus group discussions and questionnaires were discussed. Sampling methods as well as the methods of analysing data for both qualitative and quantitative methods were discussed. The ethical considerations that safeguard research integrity were discussed at length.



CHAPTER FOUR: PATRIARCHAL PERCEPTIONS OF COMMUNITY MEMBERS REGARDING WOMEN'S INVOLVEMENT IN NATIONAL POLITICS

4.1. INTRODUCTION

The main goal of the study was to assess the impact of patriarchal perceptions on the participation of women in Zimbabwean national politics with specific focus on women politicians from Matabeleland region. This purpose of this chapter is to present the empirical findings of the first research question, which sought to establish the perceptions of the Matabeleland community members concerning the involvement of women in national politics. The findings were mainly obtained through a perception survey in Nkulumane Constituency where respondents were requested to give their views by answering questions, which were designed in a five-point Likert scale format ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree options. In addition, the researcher conducted focus group discussions with smaller groups of people who gave diverse opinions about the involvement of women in national politics. The results from the administered questionnaire are presented using graphical representations supported by previous literature discussed in chapter two to determine the consistency of the results with previous studies.

4.2. DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION OF THE RESPONDENTS

Section A of the questionnaire required the respondents to provide information on gender, age, education and race. Demographic factors provide basic information about respondents and may determine the type of responses given by the respondents. The demographic information of the respondents provided a better

understanding of how people in their different races, age groups, educational levels and gender, perceived women's participation in national politics.

4.2.1 Gender

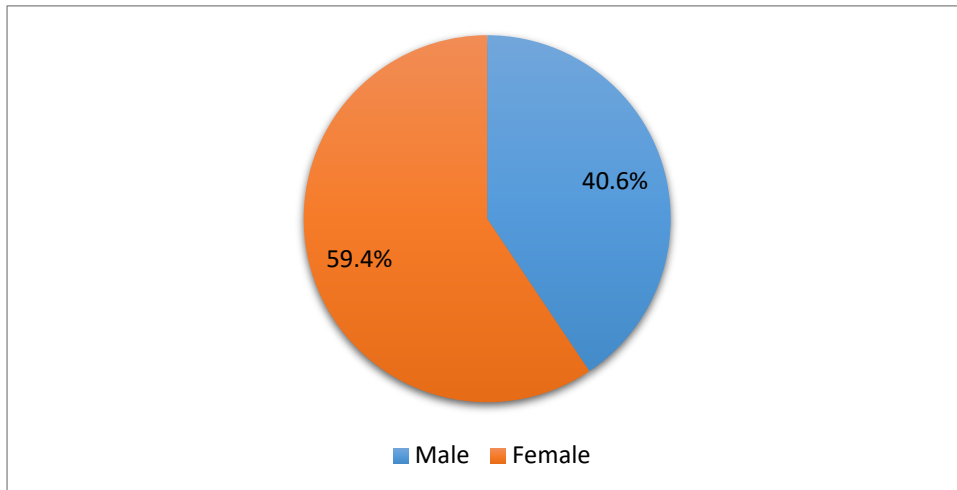


Figure: 4.1 Respondents' gender (%)

From the 303 respondents who completed the questionnaire, the majority of respondents were female. As presented in Figure 4.1 above, female respondents constituted 59.4 % of the respondents whilst 40.6% of the respondents were male.

4.2.2 Race of respondents

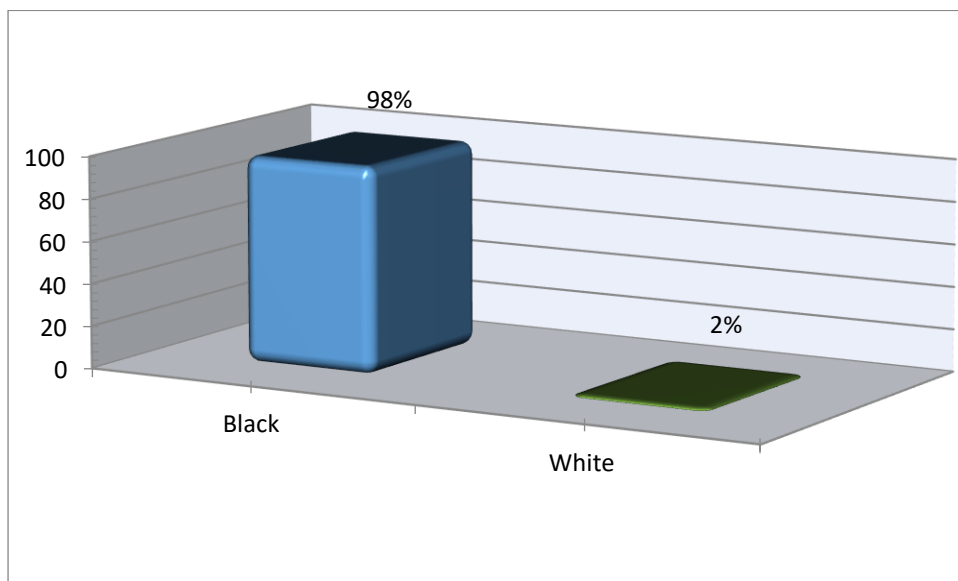


Figure 4.2: Race of respondents (%)

As indicated in Figure 4.2 above, the majority of respondents who completed the questionnaire (98%) were black while 2% were white. This is because Zimbabwe is predominantly black and has very few people from other races.

4.2.3 Age of respondents

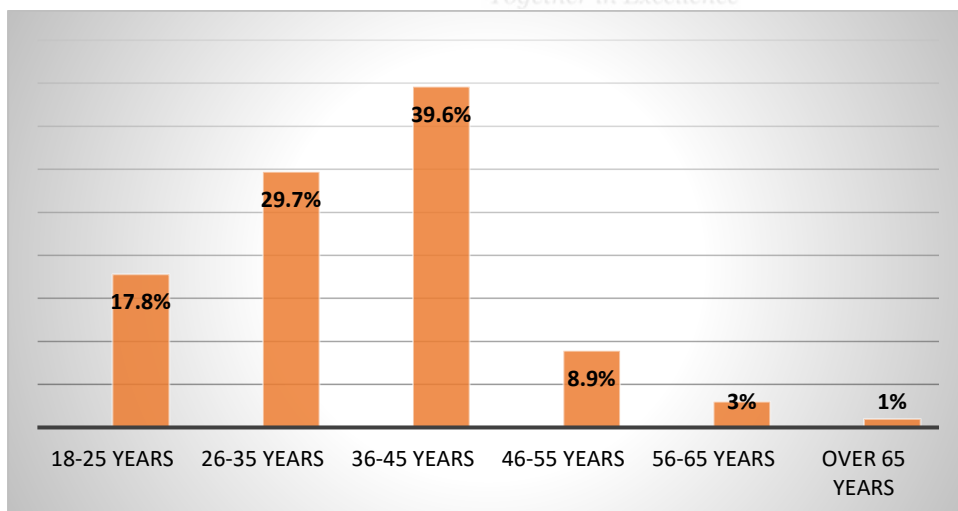


Figure 4.3: Age of respondents (%)

Figure 4.3 above illustrates that most of the respondents who completed the questionnaire were aged between 36 to 45 years followed by those who were aged between 26 and 35 years, followed by the youth who were aged between 18 to 25 years. Those aged between 46 and 55 years and respondents aged between 56 and 65 years respectively follow this. The least number of respondents were over the age of 65 years. This can be attributed to the fact that the youths did not have more knowledge about the subject and the numbers of people over the age of 65 is negligible coupled with the fact that they did not have much knowledge about patriarchal issues in politics.

4.2.4 Education level of respondents

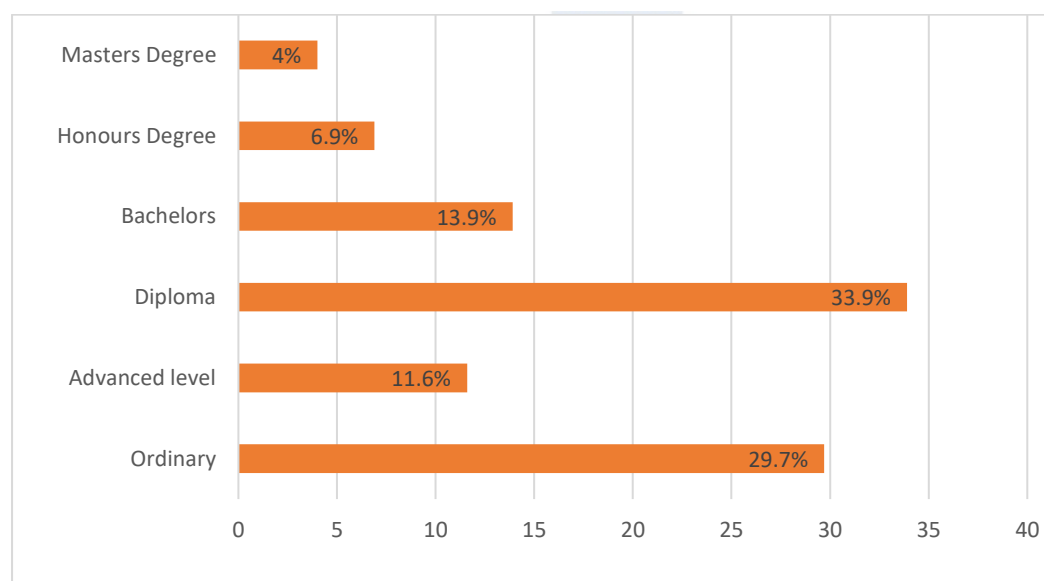


Figure 4.4: Education level of respondents (%)

As observed in Figure 4.4, most of the respondents who completed the questionnaire have Diplomas (33.9%), followed by those who have Ordinary level and Bachelors degree and Advanced level qualifications respectively. A few

respondents have Honours and Masters Degrees respectively. Although there were no respondents with Doctorate Degrees, on average, the respondents were literate enough to understand and respond to the questionnaire.

4.3 ATTITUDES AND PERCEPTIONS OF MALE AND FEMALE COMMUNITY MEMBERS ABOUT THE INVOLVEMENT OF WOMEN IN POLITICS

Section B of the questionnaire required respondents to indicate their level of agreement or disagreement to the statements, which the researcher designed, with the aim of getting the perceptions of men and women on the participation of women in national politics. The results obtained are presented below, and cross tabulation was done to compare separately the responses of men and women.

4.3.1 There is a large number of women politicians from Matabeleland

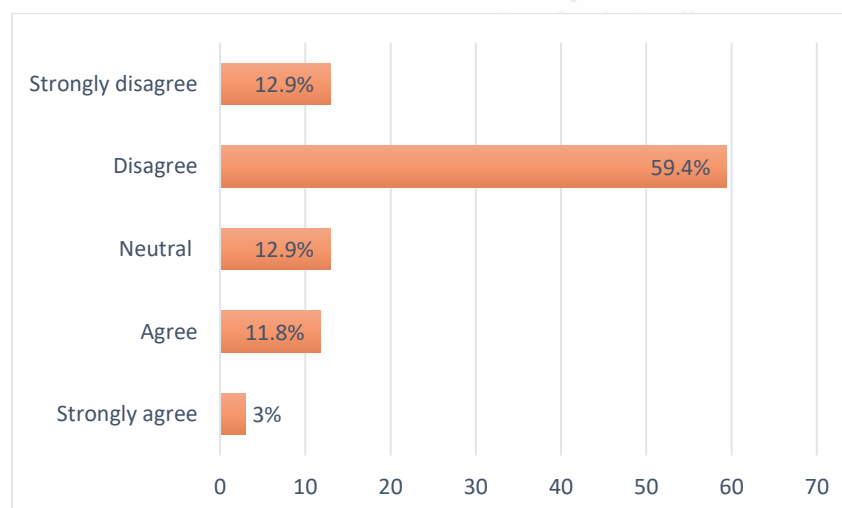


Figure 4.5: Are women politicians predominant in Matabeleland?

As shown in Figure 4.5 above, the majority of respondents (59.4%) disagreed that there was a large number of women politicians from Matabeleland. In addition, 12.9% of the respondents strongly disagreed that there was a large number of women politicians from Matabeleland. The responses illustrate that the total number of respondents who disagreed that there is a large number of women politicians from Matabeleland is 72.3%. On the other hand, 12.9 % of the respondents were neutral, while 11.8% and 3% respectively agreed that there was a large number of women politicians from Matabeleland. These results were also cross-tabulated to examine the female and male responses separately.

Cross tabulation

Table 4.1: There is a large number of women politicians from Matabeleland

		There is a large number of women politicians from Matabeleland					Total
		Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree	
Sex	Male	3	21	15	66	18	123
	Female	6	15	24	114	21	180
Total		9	36	39	180	39	303

As evidenced by the figures shown on Table 4.1 above, a considerable number of both men and women disagreed that there was a large number of women politicians from Matabeleland. However, interestingly, 135 women as compared to 84 men disagreed that there are many women in Zimbabwean national politics from Matabeleland. Despite the fact that women constitute a large number of respondents in the perception survey, the figures seem to indicate that women understand the women's plight more than men do. These results from Figure 4.5 and Table 4.1 confirmed the researcher's view that women from Matabeleland are few in political

spaces. This may be attributed to the fact that the impact of patriarchy in its various forms has discouraged women from participating in national politics.

4.3.2 Women can be better leaders than men in politics

Respondents were asked to indicate their views on whether women can be better leaders in politics than men. The aim of the question was to get the general perception of both men and women on whether they see women leaders as capable leaders just like men or if they can deliver more than men do. Results obtained were as follows:

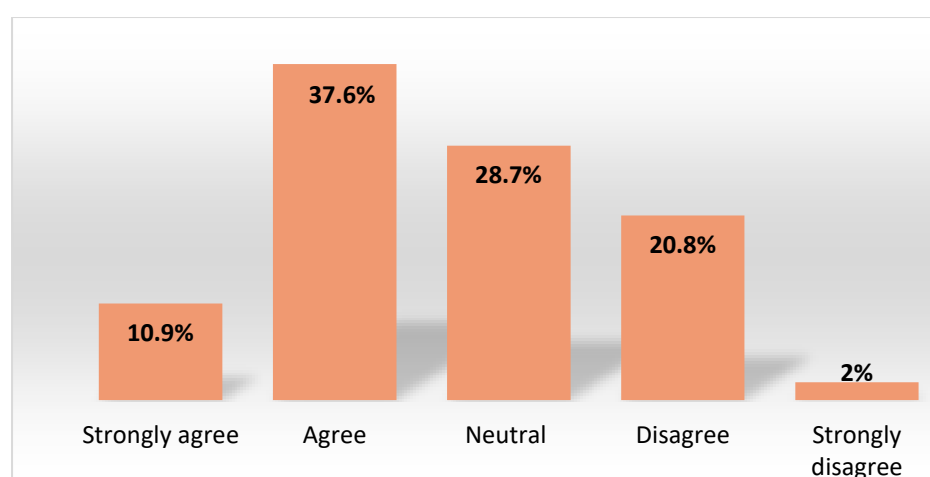


Figure 4.6: Women can be better leaders than men in politics (%)

As observed in Figure 4.6 above, most of the respondents, (37. 6%) agreed that women can be better leaders than men and also 10.9% strongly agreed. Therefore, a total of 48.8 % of the respondents agreed that women can be better leaders in politics than men. A considerable number of respondents (28.7%) were neutral while 20.8% of the respondents disagreed that women can be better leaders than men. Since the results were mixed, they were cross tabulated as indicated below;

Table 4.2: Women are better leaders than men in politics

		Women are better leaders than men in politics					Total
		Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree	
Sex	Male	9	27	39	42	6	123
	Female	24	87	48	21	0	180
Total		33	114	87	63	6	303

As indicated in Table 4.2 above, mostly women (n=111) agreed that women can be better leaders than men as compared to (n=36) men who agreed. These results are confirmed further as evidenced by quite a number of men (n=48) who did not agree that women can do better than men in politics. This may be attributed to the fact that there is a general patriarchal perception that women can not be competent leaders and are not strong enough to be political leaders. These findings are supported by previous literature where (Kassa, 2015), states that there is a stereotyped notion that women are not supposed to lead but are supposed to be led. Another explanation may be that people are not accustomed to seeing women in powerful positions to an extent that it is not a norm that women can be better leaders. This notion is further supported by the results on the first question, (Figure 4.5) where a majority of respondents indicated that there are a few women politicians in national politics who originate from Matabeleland. Therefore, this can be an indication that generally, individuals have not seen women in the political limelight, and, therefore, only know men as better leaders in politics. This mindset is reinforced further by the fact that

world wide, men dominate in the political arena and very few women hold powerful positions.

The results also show that there is a high number of people who gave neutral responses which can be an indication that people of both sexes have purely mixed feelings on the notion that women can be better leaders than men in politics. The neutral response may also indicate that people do not have adequate knowledge about women in national politics such that they are not in a position to compare if women are better leaders or can perform at par or competitively with male politicians.

4.3.3 Women are capable of holding decision-making positions

As a follow up to the previous question where respondents were asked if women are better leaders than men, they were also requested to give their views regarding the capability of women to hold decision making positions in politics. This was done to check the consistency of the results. The results obtained were as follows:

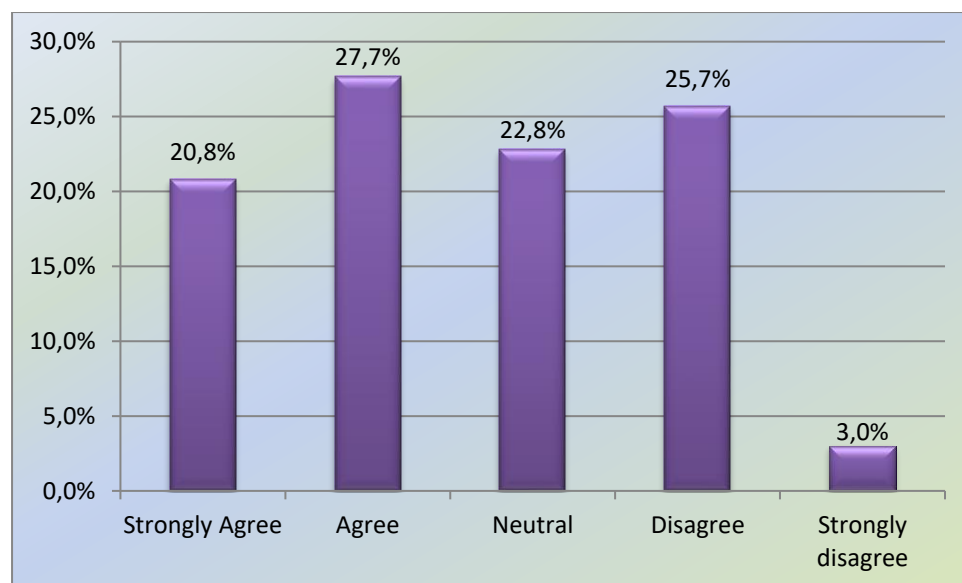


Figure 4.7: Women are capable of holding decision making positions (%)

Most of the respondents agreed (48.5% [27.7% agreed and 20.8% strongly agreed]) that women were capable of holding decision making positions. This was followed by a considerable number of respondents who disagreed (28.7%) that women were capable of holding decision making positions. Interestingly to note, there are quite a number of respondents who were not sure if women were capable of holding decision making positions. Cross tabulation of results is presented in Table 4.3 below;

Cross Tabulation

Table 4.3: Women are capable of holding decision making positions

		Women are capable of holding decision making positions					Total
		Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree	
Sex	Male	18	33	24	39	9	123
	Female	45	51	45	39	0	180
Total		63	84	69	78	9	303

From the results on Table 4.3 above, mostly women (n=96) agreed that women were capable of holding decision making positions as compared to men (n=51) who agreed that women were capable of holding decision-making decisions. There is consistency of these results with the results on Figure 4.2 and, therefore, women seem to have more confidence in fellow women's capabilities. Men seem to have little confidence in women politicians' capabilities. These findings are consistent with literature where Dolan (2018), has the sentiments that women are mostly relegated to less powerful political positions. This may be because men have the perception

that women are not firm enough or do not have the courage to hold powerful positions. However, in September 2018, for the first time in Zimbabwe, the new President of Zimbabwe, Emmerson Mnangagwa appointed Oppah Muchinguri-Kashiri as Minister of Defence and War Veterans, which is an effort to break from the past where only men were given powerful positions. Another woman, a former Olympic record holder and swimmer, Kirsty Coventry was also appointed the Minister of Youth, Sports, Arts and Recreation, a position previously held by men. However, despite these key appointments women remain very few in the Cabinet and women from Matebelaland region are not an exception. According to the Herald newspaper;

Some organizations and individuals felt there was still more to be done to promote gender balance and full participation of women in all spheres of society on the basis of equality with men. There are six female ministers in Cabinet, up from the previous four, with five ministers of state compared to four previously (Herald, 8 September 2018).

Former MDC legislator, Ms Jessie Majome acknowledged these improvements and on her twitter account wrote,

Congratulations @edmnangagwa & to the new Cabinet, refreshingly new, competent faces, it's encouraging to see women increasing & some powerful ministries though not yet "uhuru" [uhuru is a Swahili word which means freedom] (Herald, 8 September 2018).

The above sentiments suggest that women are capable and competent enough to be political leaders but have been suppressed for a long time. Although some

improvements have been made, patriarchal perceptions still prevail in the Zimbabwean political arena.

From the results of the perception survey undertaken by the researcher as indicated on Table 4.3, one can deduce that there are some mixed feelings among the Matebeleland community members as evidenced by some respondents who disagreed that women are capable of holding decision making positions. This is coupled by a considerable number of respondents who were neutral thus professing ignorance on whether women are capable of holding decision making positions or not.

4.3.4 I would vote for a woman in an election

Respondents were asked if they would vote for a woman in an election. The main aim was to have an overview on whether patriarchal perceptions have an impact on the selection of a woman contestant on election day. The results were as follows:

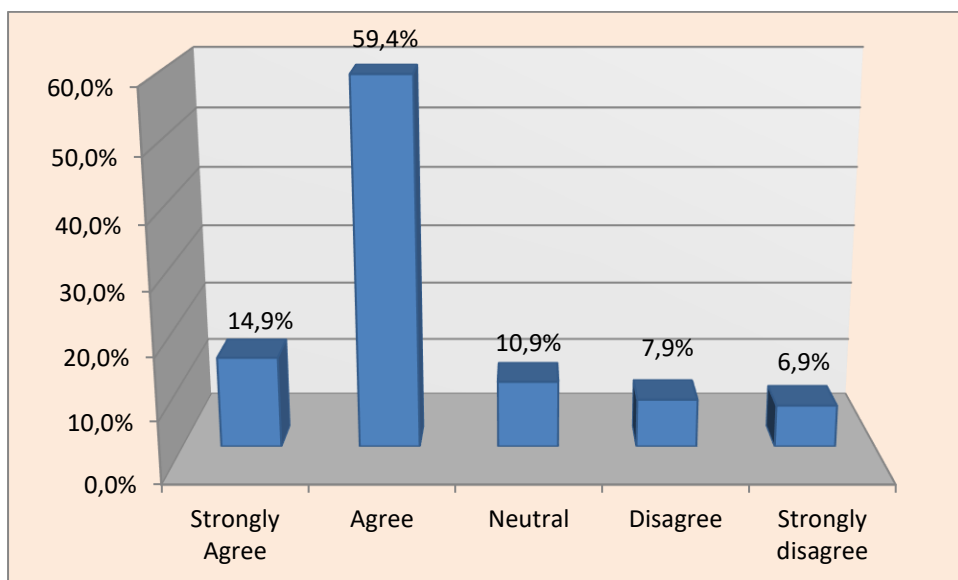


Figure 4.8: I would vote for a woman in an election (%)

As evidenced by the results from Figure 4.8 above, most of the respondents (74.3%) indicated that they would vote for a woman, (59.4% agreed and 14.9 % strongly agreed). A few respondents, (14.8%) indicated that they would not vote for a woman while 10.9% remained neutral. Results were cross tabulated as follows:

Cross tabulation

Table 4.4 I would vote for a woman in an election

		I would vote for a woman in an election					Total
		Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree	
Sex	Male	9	60	27	9	18	123
	Female	36	120	6	15	3	180
Total		45	180	33	24	21	303

Just like the previous results, Table 4.4 illustrates that more females (n=156) indicated that they would vote for a woman as compared to the males (n=69). Thus the results continue to portray fewer men being supportive of women politicians. Similarly, (Kassa, 2015) held the same notion that negative perceptions about women influence women's decision from the time they make the choice to enter politics and to the decisions made by voters during election day. As stated in previous literature, Dogo (2014) found out that in some countries, men even tell women how to vote. As evidenced by the results, fewer men would vote for a woman during elections mainly because they have adopted the traditional norms and patriarchal perceptions.

4.3.5 Women should be confined to the home

There is a general perception that women belong to the home and as such fewer women are seen in the public domain which include participating in politics. Evidence from the results obtained indicate that the opposite is true.

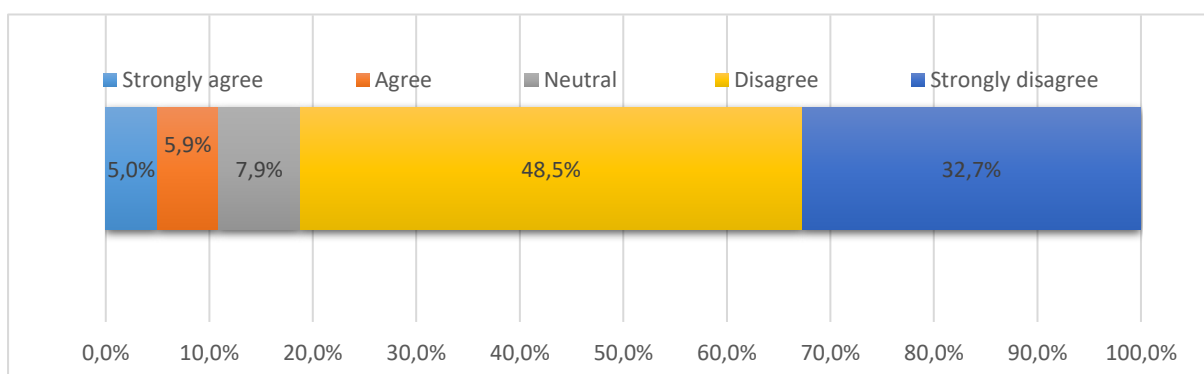


Figure 4.9: Women should be confined to the home (%)

Figure 4.9 above shows that the majority of respondents (81.2%) strongly disagreed that women should be confined to the home (48.5% disagreed and 32.7% strongly disagreed). Only a few of the respondents either agreed or were neutral as evidenced by the 10.9% who agreed that the woman's place is the home and 7.9% who remained neutral. Results were cross tabulated as follows:

Cross tabulation

Table 4.5: Women should be confined to the home

	Women should be confined to the home					Total
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	
Male	9	9	15	66	24	123
Female	6	9	9	81	75	180
Total	15	18	24	147	99	303

From the results in Table 4.5, 156 women disagreed that the women's place is the home and also a considerable number of men (90) disagreed that women should be confined to the home. Judging from the above stated results, it is evident that significantly few men still carry the notion that women should do domestic roles rather than participate in politics. These results show that, both men and women have an understanding that women should be involved in activities in the public domain such as politics. However, this is contrary to literature findings where Kivoi (2014) states that stereotypical beliefs and patriarchal ideology provides the context upon which women accept and play subsidiary roles. (Kivoi, 2014; Asiyanbola, 2005) further highlighted that the burden of household chores prevents women from having an equal footing with men in the political sphere. However, it is evident that the people of Matebeleland believe that it is an old belief that the woman should belong to the private sphere and, therefore, can not participate in politics. The view that women should only carry out household chores seems to be something of the past.

4.3.6 I can allow female relatives to participate in politics

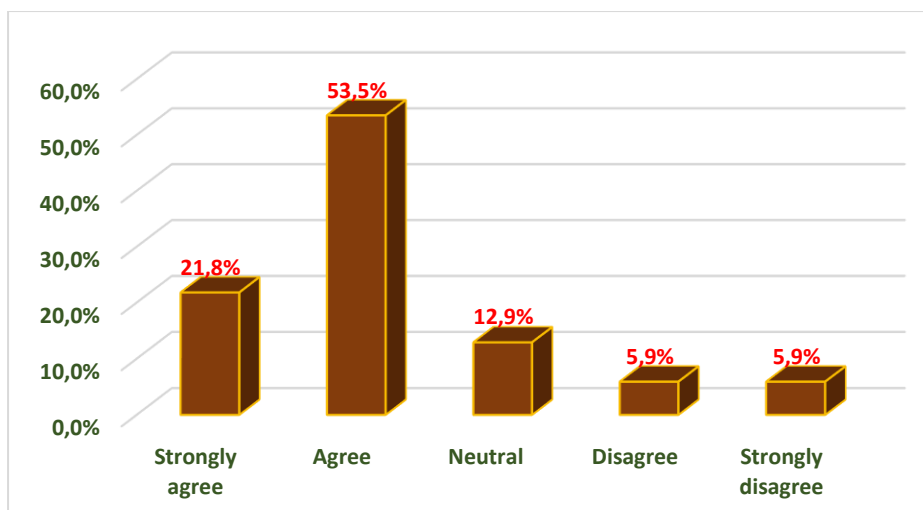


Figure 4.10: Support to female relatives aspiring to be politicians (%)

Most of the respondents agreed that they would allow their female relatives to participate in politics, 53.5% agreed and 21.8% strongly agreed. A combined 75.3% of the respondents agreed that they would not suppress women from participating in politics. A few respondents (12.9%) were neutral while 11.8% (5.9% disagreed and 5.9% strongly disagreed) had the view that they would not allow female relatives to participate in politics. Cross tabulation results are shown in Table 4.6 below:

Cross tabulation

Table 4.6: I can allow female relatives to participate in politics

	I can allow female relatives to participate in politics					Total
	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree	
Male	27	60	15	9	12	123
Female	39	102	24	9	6	180
Total	66	162	39	18	18	303

The results in Table 4.6 indicate that both men (n= 87) and women (n=141) would support their female relatives who would participate in politics. This is contrary to the findings of Ndlovu and Mutale (2013), who stated that women are few in the political

arena because they are discouraged by their husbands and family who may even reject them in the event that they participate in politics. These results may be different because of the differences in the locations of the studies and also differences in the timeframe of the two studies.

4.3.7 Politics is a safe place for women

Since the researcher wanted to know the perception of Matabeleland community members about the involvement of women in politics, the respondents were asked if they viewed politics as a safe place for women. The results may provide the reason why female politicians are few in this region.

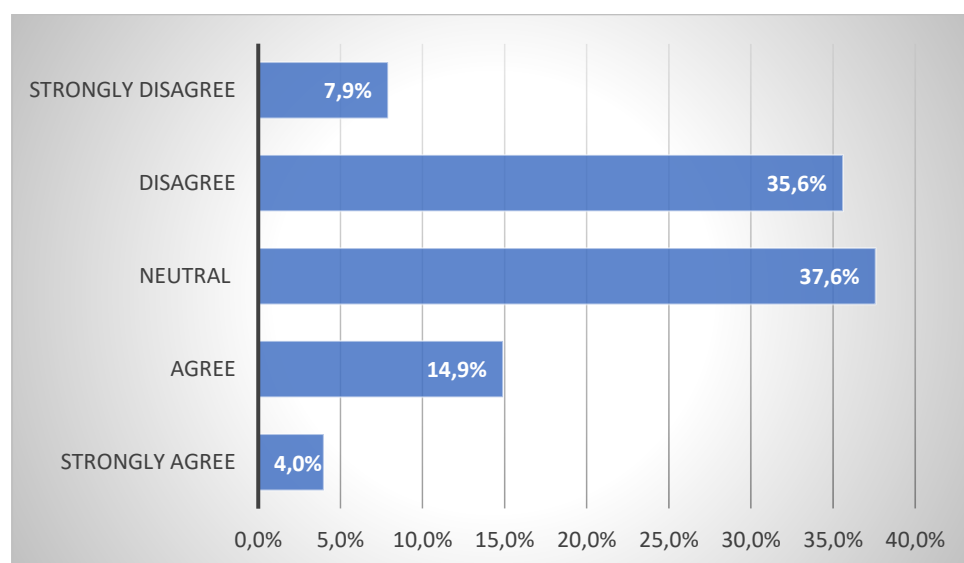


Figure 4.11: Politics is a safe place for women (%)

Results from Figure 4.11 above reveals that most of the respondents (43.4%) disagreed (35.6% disagreed and 7.9 % strongly disagreed) that politics is a safe place for women. A considerable number (37.6%) were not sure if politics is a safe place for women while a few (18.9%) agreed, (14.9% agreed and 4% strongly

agreed). Cross tabulation was conducted to examine the perception of females and males separately towards this notion and the results are displayed in Table 4.7 below;

Cross Tabulation

Table 4.7: Politics is a safe place for women

	Politics is a safe place for women					Total
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	
Male	3	21	36	45	18	123
Female	9	24	78	63	6	180
Total	12	45	114	108	24	303

From the results, one can observe that there is a high number of female respondents who remained neutral ($n=78$) as compared to their male counterparts ($n=36$). These results may be an indication that women are not sure if politics is safe for them. As such, this can also explain why they are not involved in politics. There is a slight difference between the men and women who disagreed that politics is a safe place for women. These findings are consistent with literature where Dube (2013), argued that politics is a dirty game as such, few women participate in politics. Women in politics seem to face more violence and intimidation than men as a way of discouraging them from participating in politics. The perception that men are muscular and more powerful may be another reason why women face more violence in politics (Asiyanbola, 2005; Kassa, 2015).

4.3.8 I can take a woman leader seriously

In order to gain an understanding of how the Matabeleland community members feel about women politicians, the respondents were asked if they would take a woman leader seriously. The results obtained are presented below (Figure 4.12).

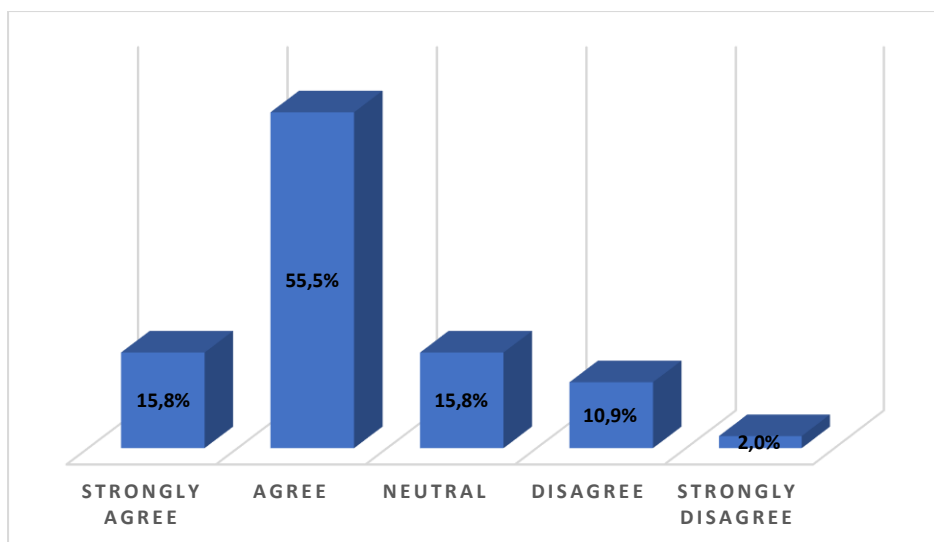


Figure 4.12: I would take a woman leader seriously(%)

As observed in Figure 4.12 above, the majority of respondents (71.2%) agreed that they would take a woman leader seriously. This figure was obtained by combining the number of respondents who agreed (55.5%) and the respondents who strongly agreed (15.8%). A smaller number of the respondents were either neutral or disagreed. The results were cross tabulated as shown below;

Cross tabulation

Table 4.8: I would take a woman leader seriously

		I would take a woman leader seriously					Total
		Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	
Sex	Male	6	63	27	24	3	123
	Female	42	105	21	9	3	180
Total		48	168	48	33	6	303

From the results as indicated in Table 4.8 above, most of the respondents agreed that they would take a woman leader seriously. However, women as per previous

results women seem to agree (n=147) as compared to men (n=69) who agreed. Overall, it seems that people are aware of the fact that women are equal to men and thus they would not look down upon women.

4.3.9 I would comply to an order given by a woman political leader

Respondents were asked if they would comply to an instruction given by a woman political leader. This question was designed to check the consistency of the responses given with the above question where respondents were asked if they would take a woman leader seriously. The results obtained were as follows:

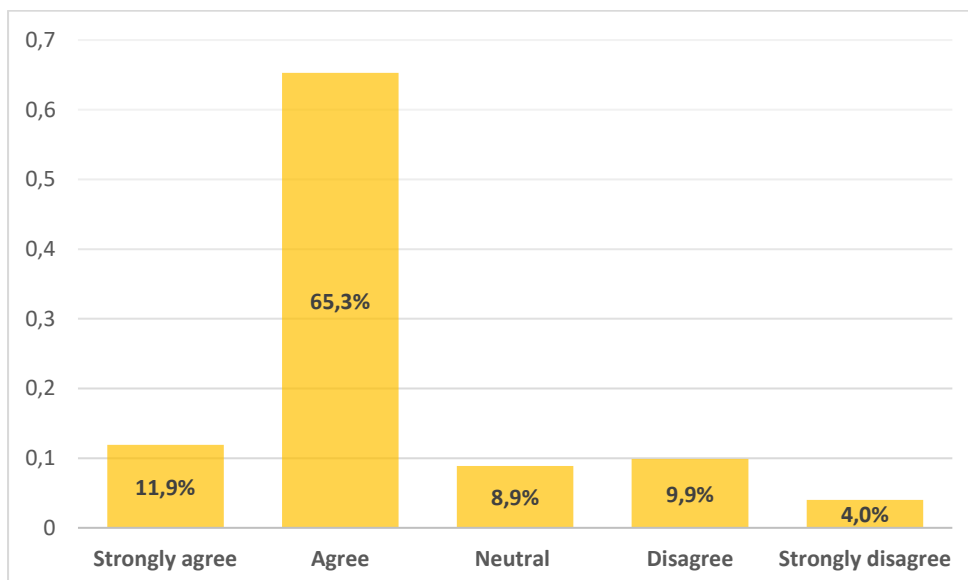


Figure 4.13: I would comply to an order given by a woman political leader (%)

As evidenced in Figure 4.13 above, 65.3% of the respondents agreed and 11.9% strongly agreed, all in all 77.2% of the respondents agreed that they would comply to an instruction given by a woman political leader. Only a few respondents were either neutral or disagreed that they would comply to an instruction given by a woman

political leader. These results show that both men and women would listen to a woman political leader. Cross tabulation was done as highlighted below;

Cross tabulation

Table 4.9: I would comply to an order given by a woman political leader (%)

		I would comply to an order given by a woman					Total
		Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	
Sex	Male	6	81	15	12	9	123
	Female	30	117	12	18	3	180
Total		36	198	27	30	12	303

As indicated in Table 4.9 above, the cross tabulated results show that the majority of women (n=147) as compared to men (n=87) would comply to an instruction given by a woman political leader. This may be an indication that men still find it difficult to be led and would not be submissive to women because of the stereotypical perception that men are supposed to lead and not vice versa (Kassa, 2015).

4.3.10 Women have overcome the challenges they face in politics

Respondents were asked if women have overcome the challenges they face in politics. As stated in literature, women face multiple challenges in their political journeys and these obstacles inhibit their full participation in politics. The results obtained were as follows:

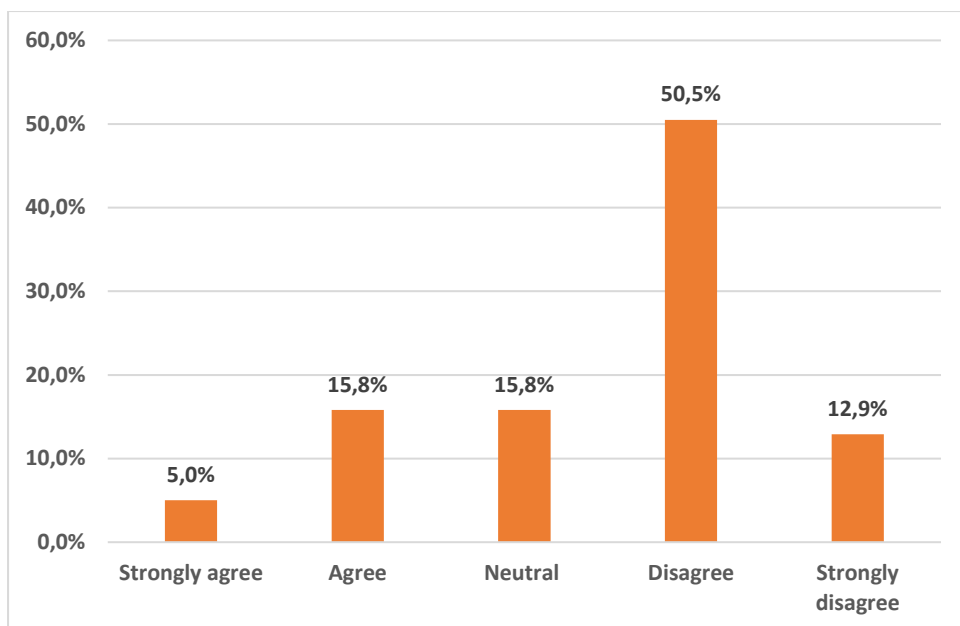


Figure 4.14: Women have overcome the challenges they face in politics (%)

As shown in Figure 4.14 above, most of the respondents, (63.9% [50.5% disagreed and 12.9% strongly disagreed]) disagreed that women have overcome the challenges they face as they participate in politics. A considerable number agreed whilst others remained neutral that women have overcome the challenges they face in politics. Results were cross tabulated as follows;

Cross tabulation

Table 4.10: Women have overcome the challenges they face in politics

		Women have overcome challenges they face in politics					Total
		Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree	
Sex	Male	0	9	30	69	15	123
	Female	15	39	18	84	24	180
Total		15	48	48	153	39	303

As evidenced by the results in Figure 4.13 and Table 4.10 above, the majority of respondents, both men (84 out of 123) and women (108 out of 180) are aware that

women face quite a number of challenges which impacts negatively on their participation in politics. These findings are consistent with the findings of Kiamba (2008); Hungwe (2006); Dube (2013), who indicate that women are humiliated and given derogatory names and in some cases are subjected to violence. These challenges stem from the patriarchal perceptions that men have concerning women.

4.3.11 Women from Matabeleland are eager to participate in politics

The researcher also wanted to know if women from Matabeleland are eager to participate in politics. The main objective was to deduce from the figures whether women are interested in politics or are eager to participate in politics but may be discouraged from politics due to other challenges. Figure 4.15 below presents results which were obtained.

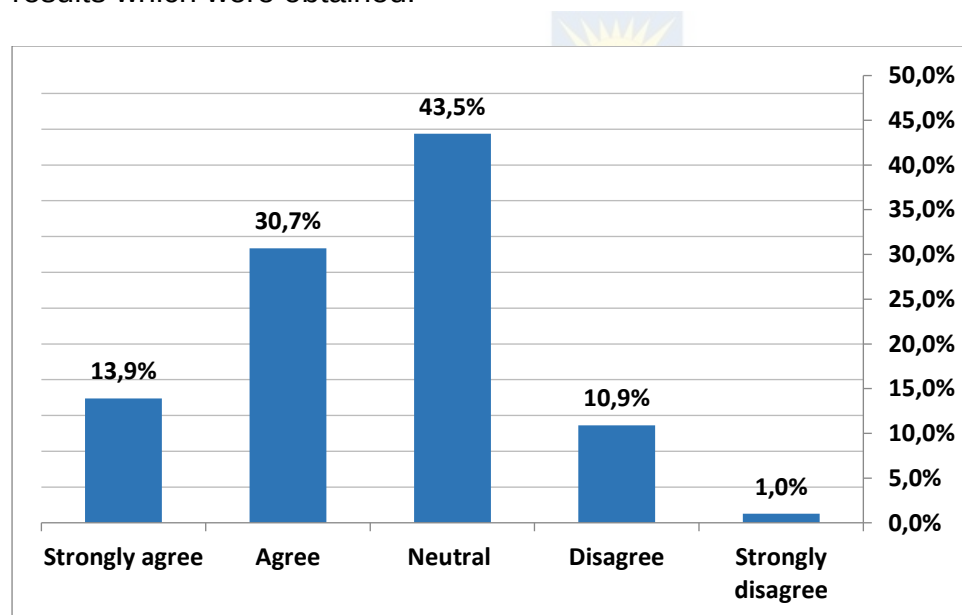


Figure 4.15: Women from Matabeleland are eager to participate in politics(%)

The majority of respondents, 43.7% (30.7% and 13.9%) agreed that women from Matabeleland are eager to participate in politics. Similarly, (43.5%) of the respondents were neutral when asked if women were eager to participate in politics.

Only a few respondents disagreed that women are eager to participate in politics. The results were cross tabulated as follows;

Cross tabulation

Table 4.11: Women from Matabeleland are eager to participate in politics

		Women are eager to participate in politics					Total
		Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree	
Sex	Male	12	36	57	15	3	123
	Female	30	57	75	18	0	180
Total		42	93	132	33	3	303

The results from Table 4.11 above reflect mixed feelings about whether women are eager to participate in politics. This is shown by a considerable number of both men (57) and women (75) who were neutral regarding the notion. It seems people have little knowledge about women's willingness to be involved in politics. This may also be a result of women being unable to show enthusiasm about politics, as such it becomes difficult to measure if they are willing to participate in politics. However, quite a number of respondents agreed that women were eager to participate in politics. As alluded by Kassa (2015: 5) "when many women especially in developing countries were asked if they would consider entering politics, their answer is negative."

4.3.12. Women in Matabeleland support their female counterparts in politics

Respondents were asked if women in Matabeleland support their female counterparts in politics. The question was meant to gain an understanding on whether women were few in politics because of patriarchy or because fellow women

do not support them when they show eagerness to participate in politics. The results obtained are graphically illustrated in Figure 4.16 below;

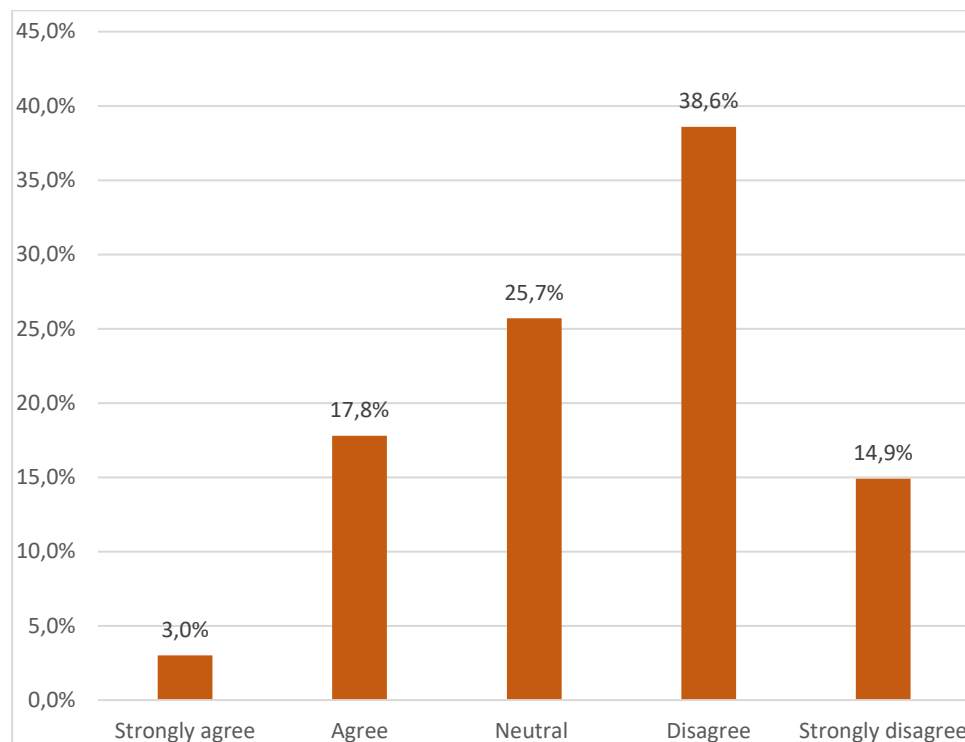


Figure 4.16: Women in Matabeleland support their female counterparts in politics (%)

Most of the respondents, 53.6% disagreed (38.6% disagreed and 14.9% strongly disagreed) that women supported their female counterparts in politics. A considerable number were neutral while a few agreed that women supported each other in politics. The results were subjected to cross tabulation as displayed below;

Cross tabulation

Table 4.12: Women in Matabeleland support their female counterparts in politics

		Women in Matabeleland support their female counterparts in politics					Total
		Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	
Sex	Male	3	21	33	42	24	123
	Female	6	33	45	75	21	180
Total		9	54	78	117	45	303

From Table 4.12 above, 96 women and 66 men disagreed that women in Matabeleland supported their female counterparts in politics. Evidence, therefore, suggests that women do not support each other in politics, which discourages them from actively participating in politics. This may be because women have the 'pull her down syndrome' or some have accepted the patriarchal norms such that they believe that men are supposed to be political leaders, thus pulling each other down whilst promoting men. This is consistent with Hungwe (2006), who highlighted that women are divided and label each other, however, acknowledges that this division is a result of patriarchy as women continue to serve patriarchal structures whilst pulling each other down.

4.3.13 Political leaders are serious about promoting women politicians in national politics

Patriarchal perceptions often displayed by political leaders have discouraged women from participating effectively in politics. Respondents were required to show their opinion on whether political leaders are willing to promote women politicians in national politics.

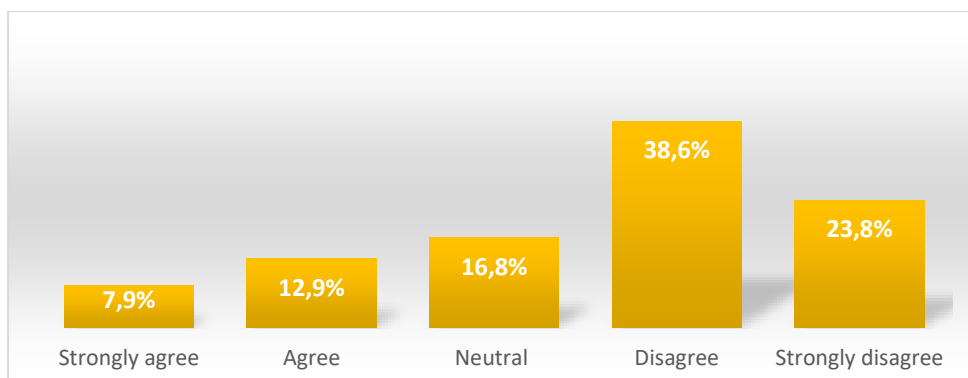


Figure 4.17: Political leaders are serious about promoting women politicians in national politics (%)

From the results illustrated in Figure 4.16 above, the majority of respondents (62.4%) disagreed that political leaders are serious in promoting the participation of women in politics. A considerable number either agreed or were neutral. The results were cross tabulated as displayed below;

Cross tabulation

Table 4.13: Political leaders are serious about promoting women politicians in national politics

		Political leaders are serious about promoting women politicians in national politics.					Total
		Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	
Sex	Male	12	18	15	54	24	41
	Female	12	21	36	63	48	60
Total		24	39	51	117	72	101

The results on Table 4.13 indicate that a high number of women and men disagreed that political leaders are serious in promoting women politicians. Political leaders, therefore, do not have the political will to support women politicians. This may be a

result of the mentality that women are not capable of being political leaders and thus women are not given the necessary support so that they can actively participate in politics.

4.3.14 Women from Matabeleland are marginalized in politics along ethnic lines

In previous chapters, the researcher highlighted that women from Matabeleland were likely to be facing multiple oppressions emanating from ethnic marginalization. This was explained in detail in the theoretical framework where the intersectionality theory suggests that women face multiple discrimination other than gender. In the survey conducted in Matabeleland, the following results were obtained:

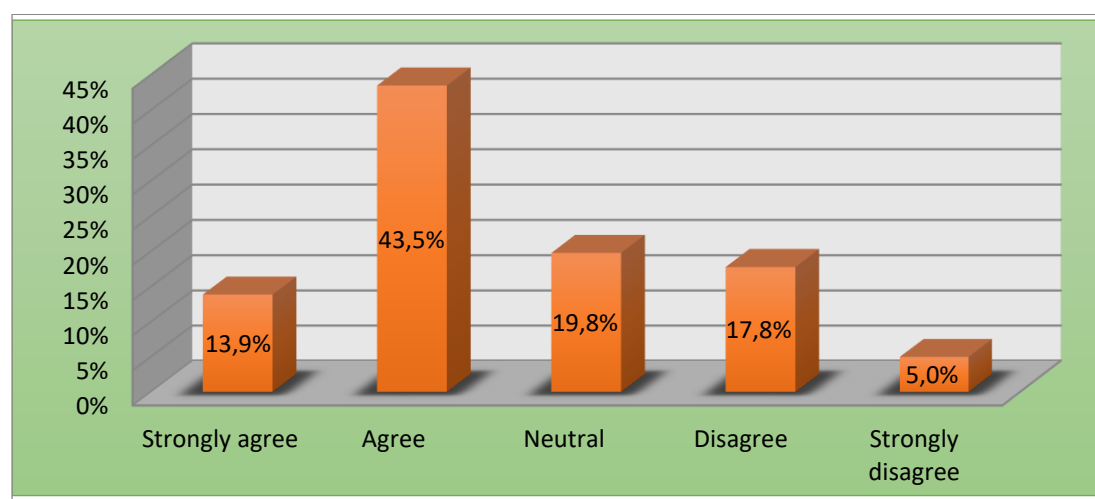


Figure 4.18: Women from Matabeleland are marginalized in politics along ethnic lines (%)

Results displayed in Figure 4.17 show that the majority of respondents (57.1%) agreed that women from Matabeleland were discriminated upon along ethnic lines, while a considerable number either disagreed or were neutral. Cross tabulation of the results was done as shown below;

Cross tabulation

Table 4.14: Women from Matabeleland are marginalized in politics along ethnic lines

		Women from Matabeleland are marginalized in politics along ethnic lines					Total
		Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	
Sex	Male	9	51	24	33	6	123
	Female	33	81	36	21	9	180
Total		42	132	60	54	15	303

The results in Table 4.14 indicate that a high number of respondents, both female and male agreed that ethnicity in Matabeleland affects the participation of women in national politics. The women's plight in Matabeleland is worsened by the fact that the region consists of mostly Ndebele speaking people who are regarded as a minority tribe. Consequently, they are deprived of some privileges which other ethnicities like the Shona have and women just like the others are not spared. The subject of ethnicity in Matabeleland is regarded as highly sensitive and this explains why there are a number of neutral responses. Women in Matabeleland thus find themselves intertwined in multiple oppressions and this prevents them from actively participating in national politics. Crenshaw (1991) and Ramtohul (2014) agreed with the notion that women face not only gender discrimination but multiple factors such as race and class among other factors which prevent them from being at the same level with men.

4.3.15 Government has implemented adequate measures and laws that promote gender equality in politics

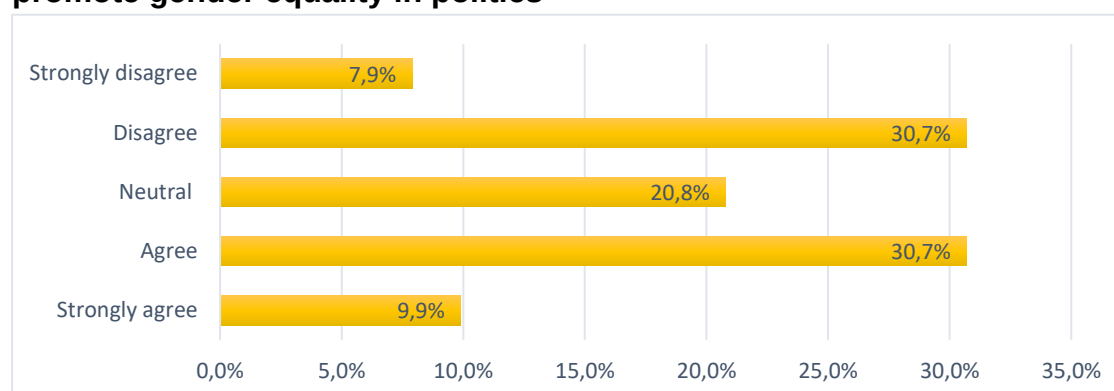


Figure 4.19: Government has implemented adequate measures and laws that promote gender equality in politics

Respondents were asked if government has implemented adequate measures and laws that promote gender equality in politics. Evidence as shown above (Figure 4.18) suggests that there are mixed opinions. Almost the same number of respondents either agreed or disagreed (30.7%) and a considerable number, 20.8% were neutral whilst 9.9% strongly agreed and 7.9% strongly disagreed. Cross tabulated results are displayed below as follows;

Cross tabulation

Table 4.15: Government has implemented adequate measures and laws that promote gender equality in politics

		Government has implemented adequate measures and laws that promote gender equality in politics					Total
		Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	
Sex	Male	6	42	27	36	12	123
	Female	24	51	36	57	12	180
Total		30	93	63	93	24	303

The results in Table 4.15 illustrate similar results as 48 men agree and 48 men also disagree with the notion that government has implemented adequate laws that

promote gender equality in politics. Out of the 180 women, 75 agreed and 69 disagreed that government has implemented adequate laws that promote gender equality. A significant number of men and women (n=63) were neutral. This may be a reflection of mixed opinions or an indication that people did not have much knowledge about what the government has done to promote women. As argued by Maphosa et al (2015), government domesticates laws but these gestures of being gender sensitive are a farce thus putting a glass ceiling towards greater political participation.

4.4 QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS (THEMATIC ANALYSIS)

4.4.1 The perceptions of Matebeleland community members concerning the involvement of women in national politics

Since the quantitative results only represented perceptions in a numeric way, the researcher had focus group discussions with a group of male and female respondents so as to get detailed responses about how community members perceive the involvement of women in national politics. The research findings in this section are presented in relevant themes. These are the results from focus group discussions and key informant interviews conducted in the residential areas of Nkulumane (Bulawayo).

4.4.1.1 Women should be confined to the home

From the focus group discussions held in Nkulumane, the participants revealed different perceptions on how they viewed women's participation in national politics. Some of the participants were of the view that cultural beliefs play a role on the participation of women in national politics. One female participant gave a narrative of her own personal experience equating that to the experiences of women politicians in Matabeleland. She said;

My husband can be very controlling and tells me which jobs and activities I should take part in. I can not make independent decisions. What about a woman aspiring for public office? Men are not comfortable having their wives as public figures. They want a woman they can tame. They can even be jealous of you. They think if you take part in politics you become more powerful than them. That is something they can never accept. Not even educated men can understand that. Because I want to protect my family, I have no option but to be submissive. Most of these women politicians have broken families and I can not risk losing my family for a political career whose chances of success are very slim in these current political dynamics.

These were sentiments from a participant who indicated that if things were different at home, she could have at least have vied for political activism. Patriarchy starts from the home the man decides for the woman and restricts the woman from participating in politics. These findings are consistent with Kivoi (2015) who argues that the African society consists of stereotypical beliefs which define the roles of women in society. As such women end up accepting and playing subsidiary roles. Those who participate in national politics often risk losing their husbands which is against societal expectations where divorced women are labelled and stigmatised.

During the focus group discussion, another woman participant highlighted that women are overwhelmed with domestic chores and that discourages women from participating in politics. As previously highlighted that patriarchy begins at home, the participant argued that women are relegated to the private sphere, where according to culture, they are supposed to take care of the home. She said;

I am a woman, my duties are to take care of household chores. That is what I was taught to do as a woman. I have four children whom I take care of. My husband would not even allow me to hire a helper because he believes that as a woman I can cope. But honestly, I am not coping. I believe that this is the same plight other women politicians face because as long as you are a woman and a mother these duties are meant for you. If a man chooses to help you then society mocks him, and you are always alone with the duties. Being overburdened like this, I do not think women can further complicate their lives by venturing into politics. It is a daunting task.

These results are consistent with the findings of Dube (2013: 205), who revealed that, “most women were interested in participating in politics but the amount of domestic chores they had simply made this impossible.” Kassa (2015) concurs that women are prevented from participating in politics as they carry the burden of household chores. Therefore, household chores coupled with societal roles and expectations prevent women from participating in politics.

4.4.1.2 Men are naturally superior to women

During the focus group discussions, a male participant had the view that patriarchy impedes women’s political participation as patriarchy is an inborn trait in men. He said that as men, they grew up being taught that they are the heads of the house as

such, it is a value that they carry everywhere they go. He further highlighted that the patriarchal mentality which men is usually accompanied by male pride. He argued;

A man will always be a man. I have my pride. A woman should be a helper and I am the head of the house. Even the bible says a woman should be submissive. Men can say that they can vote for a woman but that is absolutely a lie. It is just embarrassing for them to admit because we are in a world where women's rights are being championed so once you admit you would have crucified yourself.

These sentiments reveal deep-rooted perceptions that some men hold concerning women. Such sentiments, coupled with religious beliefs, further portray women as inferior to men. As stipulated by Sims (2016) and Baloyi (2007), the Bible is used in church to make women submissive as Eve was second to Adam, therefore, there is a belief that it has always been God's will to make the man the head of institutions.

4.4.1.3 Politics is meant for men only

From the focus group discussions, it was revealed that women are afraid of being subjected to patriarchy as male domination has existed for a long time in politics. One key informant shared the sentiments that women are eager to participate in politics but are discouraged as they see other women politicians struggling. The key informant highlighted that men always resist contributions from women and that is the reason women are afraid to take up higher positions in politics since men always dominate in meetings. The key informant pointed that it is more difficult when a woman is not married as men look down upon single women. She highlighted that she had not seen any woman politicians succeeding in national politics. She said;

These politicians have a tendency of uplifting women when it best suits their political interests. When they feel that their positions are threatened they discard them. Look at what happened to Joyce Mujuru and Thokozani Khupe,

those were very powerful women and they were humiliated by political leaders. Once they were on their own, they failed to make an impact. That is very discouraging for women politicians who may want to contest for Presidency. We just have to believe that the day Zimbabwe will have a woman President, other women will be encouraged that politics is not for men only.

Gender stereotyping amongst male leaders themselves has been a norm in Zimbabwean politics. The above sentiments are consistent with the findings of Manyonganise (2015) and Maphosa et al (2015). As quoted by Maphosa et al (2015: 25), the former President, Robert Mugabe once said in reference to Joyce Mujuru *“the person who wants to take over is a woman for that matter...”* Maphosa et al (2015) further argued that, *“from a gendered perspective, the bastardisation position has shown that a woman who dreams about becoming a President of Zimbabwe is dangerous to patriarchy, then they are put in their place.”* The former President also said, *“I tell the women, as long as the man pays lobola (bride price), you cannot have equality with him”* (Manyonganise, 2015: 4). These sentiments support the findings above where the participant remarked that she is discouraged from joining politics because of persistent male domination in politics.

4.4.1.4 Women are victimized in politics

There is a perception that women are victimized in politics, which limits women's political participation. During focus group discussions, male participants emphasized that the involvement of women in politics is minimal because women are afraid of being victimized which discourages them from participating in politics. There is a general perception that politics is a dirty game and women are not courageous enough to challenge men. A male participant argued that when women encounter

challenges, they are not bold enough to stand up and make a difference. One of the female participants gave the example of the leadership wrangle between two party leaders where the female leader is alleged to have been victimized. Women thus become afraid to hold positions in higher political offices. These findings are confirmatory to literature for example a case where Hillary Clinton once addressed women and told them that if they want to be successful in politics they should have a thick skin resembling a rhinoceros (Forbes, 2013; Krooks, 2016). Therefore, politics is considered to be for the brave and consequently, women shy away from political activities.

Due to victimization, women are perceived as generally shy to participate in politics. According to a male key informant, women are perceived as shy, which limits their political participation. The informant gave an example where in parliament women take a back seat and are shy to engage in debates. This shyness is attributed to the perception of male dominance and the remarks that are passed on women politicians. This is consistent with the findings of Kambarami (2006), who states that because of cultural socialization, a certain sex is expected to behave in a certain manner. For example, shyness and crying are considered as feminine traits. This is also confirmed by this researcher's experiences, where a participant echoed the sentiments that he was surprised to see a woman conducting research in politics. Women politicians, therefore, find it difficult to navigate the political spaces, which are mostly preserved for men as evidenced by the above findings.

4.4.1.5 Misogyny

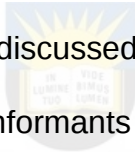
There is a perception that men have a natural dislike for women and as such women are deliberate targets of men as a result of misogyny. The dislike of women starts unconsciously early in life. When men grow up it germinates and grows to an extent that it cannot be controlled (Enloe, 2017). This might be the reason women are victims of rape, violence and insults. From the information gathered from the key informant interviews, it seems there is an element of misogyny in politics. A female key informant had the sentiments that; *“there are men who hate women so much that they make sure that we are beaten, they want to kill us so that we do not exist.”* This was in reference to violence that targeted her and her colleagues. Even though there were other males who were aligned to her in the political dispute, the violence specifically targeted women.



These sentiments are consistent with the radical theoretical underpinnings of the study which posits that men are misogynistic such that women are targets of violence and are denied their political freedoms (Lorber, 1997). The radical feminist thought is also confirmed by Enloe (2017) who argues that misogyny is deeply rooted in the male psyche and the main purpose of this dislike and hostility for women is to align women with the patriarchal gender order. This hostility towards women, which is at times hidden, contributes to the patriarchal perception that men have over women and the effects of misogyny in its various forms inhibits women from participating in politics. The above are perceptions of a community in Matabeleland which are reflective of the norms that seem to influence the decision of women to participate in politics.

4.5 CHAPTER CONCLUSION

Chapter Four is an analysis of field findings on how the Matabeleland community members perceive women's involvement in politics. The first part of the chapter presents the results quantitatively or numerically through charts and graphs. The results differ when women and men's responses are combined and after cross tabulation of the results, a different outcome was observed. It seems results differed depending on gender, as women would agree to the notion of patriarchy whilst the reverse was true with men. The findings also indicate that most of the men have some patriarchal perceptions and beliefs. As highlighted in the methodology chapter, qualitative methods were also used to complement and compare results. The opinions and perceptions in the qualitative section also varied depending with gender. The concept of patriarchy is discussed further in the next chapter basing on the information provided by the key informants who have more knowledge and have faced some challenges in politics.



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CHAPTER FIVE: AN ANALYSIS OF THE EFFECTS OF PATRIARCHAL PERCEPTIONS ON WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN NATIONAL POLITICS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter was an analysis and presentation of research findings about the perceptions of the people of Matabeleland on how they view the involvement of women in politics. This chapter is the qualitative analysis of findings for the second research question, which sought to analyse the effects of patriarchal perceptions on women's participation in national politics. Key respondents gave detailed narratives on how patriarchy has affected their participation in politics. The researcher managed to get diverse views and personal experiences most of which were confirmatory to literature documented in previous chapters.



5.2 BARRIERS TO POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AS A RESULT OF PATRIARCHY

Women seem to face quite a number of obstacles, which are affecting their participation in politics, and these challenges emanate mainly from patriarchal perceptions that have become a norm and an accepted lifestyle for both men and women. Patriarchal values are supported by patriarchal beliefs, which influences behavior. This behavior has made the participation of women in politics an uphill task. The researcher had face-to-face interviews with male and female politicians from Matabeleland region, who gave their knowledge on patriarchal issues. For the sake of anonymity, all key informants are referred to as female or male key informant 1, 2 or 3. According to the respondents as shall be detailed below, there are deep

rooted patriarchal perceptions that women are inferior to men hence their continued subordination. Patriarchy has affected the participation of women through the following:

5.2.1 Physical Violence Against Women

Patriarchy has had a negative impact on the participation of women in Zimbabwean national politics specifically women from Matabeleland. In the previous chapter, most of the respondents who were surveyed agreed that politics is not safe for women. Key informants also outlined in detail the violence they have endured as women in politics. From the literature reviewed, some men feel that women are weaker physically and as such, they have dominion over women. This perception has resulted in women being subjected to violence at home and at public gatherings. Women experience violence in the form of aggression, intimidation and coercion depending on their political contexts. Physical violence can be in the form of beatings, kidnappings and murder (Garcia, 2017).

Female key informant 1, who is an eminent woman politician in Zimbabwean national politics and originates from Matabeleland gave an account of how she was a victim of physical violence. She gave a background as to why she was targeted in intra-party violence. She was physically attacked by party supporters. In describing her encounter, she said; *“they wanted to burn me in a hut, I was beaten, I still have scars. They said we will kill you.”* She showed this researcher the scars on her legs, black scars that are still very visible, evidence of the violence she was subjected to as a woman politician.

In a separate interview, Female key informant 2, who is a party colleague to Female key informant 1 cited that she was a witness to the attack and was also a victim of party violence. She also gave her encounter;

We were together on the day of the attack. I was beaten and my son was hit by a stone as he tried to defend me. They wanted to burn us in a hut but luckily, we only got saved because it was raining. Since that day wherever I go I am always accompanied by a bodyguard.

She alluded to the fact that party leaders are perpetrators of violence. She made revelations that her party colleague was beaten on three separate incidences to force her to give up her post. She also recounted an incident when they arrived for a party meeting and were harassed and threatened by party bodyguards who tried to chase them away, but they resisted. After their encounter with bodyguards, the party leader got very angry and ordered them to leave the venue.

Male key informant 1 further buttressed the notion of violence which targets women as they are considered soft targets, indicating that there is “so much barbarism in politics.” He also testified to the violence that the women were subjected to, adding that security personnel were manipulated to remove the woman politician in power through violent means. In reference to party violence where women emerged as victims, the male key informant said, “a country that fails to abide by its own laws can never be a rich country.” He said that he is disappointed when people disregard constitutionalism and usurp power because a leader is more popular than the other. He argued that, “the demise of a woman cannot be celebrated, it is the demise of the whole nation.”

It can be inferred from the preceding discussion as gathered from the key informants that there is so much violence in politics, which has impacted negatively on the participation of women in national politics. Violence is used as a tool to restrict and deter women from participating in politics thus reinforcing the gender norms and traditions (Krooks 2016). Kambarami (2006) observed that there is violence between the two main opposition parties, ZANU-PF and MDC, which prevents women from participation in politics. However, as evidenced in the preceding discussion, women are victims of violence in intra-party politics. This is also supported by the underlying grounding theory of this study, the radical feminist theory which suggests that women are victims of violence emanating from patriarchal perceptions and masculinization of leadership roles (Wood, 2015). This is meant to send a message of fear to women thus sidelining and excluding them from participating in politics.

5.2.2 Humiliation and Denigration of women

Information gathered from key informants indicate that as a result of patriarchal perceptions, women politicians are labelled using derogatory names which discourages them from participating in politics as there is a risk of facing humiliation. Women in politics are victims of psychological violence because of verbal and emotional abuse where they are belittled through constant criticism and name calling. Their abilities and competencies and their sense of worth is undermined as such they are discouraged from actively participating in politics. The former Jamaican Prime Minister Portia Miller faced ridicule as she was called a peddler, illiterate and was a subject to constant cartoons. A Jamaican former Minister of Culture, Lisa Hanna was also a victim of verbal assaults and some men called her Jezebel (Westminster Foundation for democracy, 2018).

As evidenced by the information gathered, the above-mentioned case is similar to the Zimbabwean context. Female key informant 2 who was also a victim of party violence, highlighted that she was also verbally humiliated. She firstly gave the example of Joyce Mujuru on how she was supposed to take over from Robert Mugabe the then President, as stipulated in the constitution, but when the time came they started calling her names and even accused her of trying to kill Mugabe. A male liberation fighter accused her of lacking morals during the liberation war gave the former first female Vice President, Joyce Mujuru degrading names such as calling her a prostitute. It is believed that this was just meant to tarnish her image and render her unfit for public office (Bulawayo24, 2 July 2017).

Female key informant 2 also highlighted how her colleague was called a prostitute so many times just to discourage her from pursuing the presidency issue. An example is when they were coming from the courts and party supporters started calling her a prostitute in full view of cameras and law enforcement agencies but no one was arrested. She also gave an example where when given the opportunity to speak, women in Parliament are booed by their male colleagues. She recalled how when she was Member of Parliament, male parliamentarians would shout, "Sit down, you are a woman." The women who have been subjected to this humiliation by some male politicians include herself and two other women who represented constituencies in Matabeleland. She further highlighted that even when the Speaker of parliament called them to order they did not stop until the Sergeant of Arms called the house to order. The male MPs accused fellow women parliamentarians of being

“cry-babies”. A similar case is that of a female member of Parliament who was labelled a prostitute by a male member of parliament.

Female key informant 1 also gave the same remarks that women are humiliated in Parliament. She said;

In parliament when you stand up as a woman, before you even say anything men start to heckle. You will be speaking sense but they continue heckling. When a man stands and speaks rubbish, they will not say anything. This is why women are afraid to stand up and speak. They are afraid of being booed. To say when prominent women are booed, how about me? Then I can be dead meat.

Male key informant 1 highlighted that in his political experience he observed that women in politics are always being humiliated. According to him, women suffer more humiliation than men. He said, “because a political leader is a woman they speak ill of her just to damage her.” He also gave examples of prominent male politicians, who broke away from the party but did not face any humiliation; in fact, they were readmitted to the party and were given top positions. He also indicated that women are called “all sorts of derogatory names and they are labelled loose and, therefore, women fear to boldly come out. Hence, politics needs women with courage.” These findings are buttressed by media and online newspapers which reported the public humiliation of Miriam Chikukwa, a former Minister of Harare Metropolitan Province, who was booed at a party congress by members who wanted her ousted (Bulawayo24,16 December 2017). A similar case is that of Priscilla Chigumba, the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC) chair who was also humiliated and called names before and after the elections (Herald, 13 April 2019).

These findings are consistent with the radical feminist theory which states that because of patriarchy, women are verbally abused through offensive remarks such as street names so as to intimidate them (Bucholtz, 2014). These findings also confirm the intersectionality theory which states that women are represented in language, media and texts that distort their images (Ramtohul, 2015). Women in politics continue facing humiliation and the denigration of women politicians has been accepted as a norm. That may explain why even in highest and most respected institutions of government and in a law making institution like Parliament, women are degraded and no stiff penalties are given to the offenders.

As revealed during a Zimbabwean Television talk show, Mai Chisamba Show (16 December 2018, 6pm), on the commemoration of 16 days of activism on gender based violence, Dr Rita Nyamupinga founder and Director of the Female Prisoners Support Trust, Femprist, and Trustee of the Women's Coalition of Zimbabwe pointed out cyberbullying as the new threat to political participation. She mentioned that women's private lives are exposed on various social media platforms such as Twitter, Facebook and circulated on WhatsApp groups. She indicated that social media is now the biggest threat as women are cyberbullied, as such, they fear to participate in politics as once a woman is on the spotlight, they become victims of cyberbullying.

An independent parliamentarian on twitter made remarks that women come to parliament just to show off their wigs and make up. The legislator seems to have denigrated women by saying that women were not doing anything in Parliament other than focusing on their appearance (Newsdzezimbabwe, 31 May 2018). He

argued that the proportional representation of women should be removed. After a public outcry, the legislator later said that his remarks were “misconstrued” since some women legislators are effective in parliament. He said he was trying to indicate that the proportional representational seats in parliament should be performance based or based on merit or extended to include people with disabilities, war veterans and the youths (Hon. Temba P. Mliswa (@Tembamliswa Twitter, 31 May 2018). These sentiments are similar to a Ghanaian male politician and lawyer who denigrated a female parliamentarian who was a former hairdresser. He said that he would step down for her if parliament was all about fashion (Westminster Foundation for Democracy, 2018).

Hungwe (2006) and Kiamba (2008) as quoted in previous literature also confirm these findings where they highlight that women are labelled names so as to demotivate them from participating in politics. The patriarchal perception that women are not competent enough or are not supposed to lead might be the reason why even before women speak they are booed. This may be the reason why women are mostly quiet during political debates as no one wants to go through humiliation. As such only bold and brave women have the courage to participate in national politics.

5.2.3 Sexual Harassment

Women around the world are subject to sexual violence which includes rape, sexual exploitation, sex trafficking and sexual harassment. Women in every industry be it workplaces or in politics also face sexual harassment which has been normalized as women succumb to sexual advance due to the fear of losing jobs and promotion. Sexual harassment also includes unwanted sexual comments on women for

example comments about their looks. Evidence to women sexual harassment is the “Me too movement” founded by Tarana Burke in 2006 to show support for victims of sexual harassment and assault. The “Me too Campaigns” became a worldwide movement in 2017 when actress Alyssa Milano tweeted her experiences and thousands of women replied telling their stories (The Guardian, 20 October 2017). In the 2016 Democratic party primary elections, a series of sexual misconduct and harassment allegations were reported by female staffers working on the Senator Bernie Sanders Presidential campaign (The Telegraph, 3 January 2019). In addition, during the 2016 United States Presidential elections, Hillary Clinton was a victim of sexist smear campaigns and objectification from Donald Trump himself and also from his supporters (Darweesh and Abdullah, 2016).



During the key informant interviews, Male key informant 4 highlighted that women are victims of sexual harassment by male politicians. In his political experience, the male key informant has on numerous occasions witnessed sexual harassment of women politicians where comments are given about their sexual attractiveness. Male key informant 4 indicated that women in Zimbabwean national politics find it difficult to make it on their own. As such, they are subject to sexual exploitation by other male politicians. In his political experience, when they go for meetings, most of the times, some male and female politicians are involved in sexual relationships and everyone will be aware of these relationships. They will not be surprised when a woman is elevated to a certain position because they would be aware that the appointment is based on the nature of the relationship which the woman has with the political leader.

The subject of sexual harassment can be buttressed in the Joice Mujuru case where she once accused former members of her party of trying to sexually exploit her. When she expelled the two male members of her political party, Zimbabwe People's First, she accused the men of "trying to turn her into a sex slave" (News24, February 2017). In her own words, Joice Mujuru said; *"They said Mai Mujuru we want you to be our queen bee. I was supposed to mate with all the men in the party. I was supposed to work for them."* In response, the accused men, said, *"we indeed said she was supposed to be our queen bee. Not that we wanted...her, but we were supposed to do all the dirty work, fight for her, protect her and not to expose her but we understood her limitations"* (Newsday, 15 February 2017).

Humiliation of women in parliament seems to have taken another twist where it has gone from name-calling to sexual harassment. Just before presentation of the national budget speech on 22 November 2018, a female legislator made an outcry appealing for respect from male parliamentarians. She said;

I have decided to take courage to put to your attention that there is sexual harassment happening in this August house. I represent women out there and my presence here is encouraging other women to stand up and fight for our space, but I have realised that if I do not say this out, not many of the women can stand up and speak. I have received reports from my fellow colleagues that are also receiving this same sexual harassment and I strongly feel that there is a difference between heckling and sexual harassment ... To me it is sexual harassment. As females we take such moves as disrespectful; we are not sexual objects and we deserve respect. Our male counterparts should treat us with respect because we are mothers and we are members of Parliament. We should feel free Mr Speaker to stand up and debate without being labelled as we are not wives of such Members of Parliament. This

sexual harassment continues each and every day when we step into this Parliament” (Newsdzezimbabwe, 24 November 2018).

This above speech is confirmatory to the research findings as alluded by the key informants. The speech goes further to expose sexism in politics and how women are regarded as objects thus the humiliation has further deepened to extreme levels. In this case, the legislator revealed the names of the legislators whom she alleges used words she regarded as sexual harassment.

Basing from these findings, women would rather remain passive as challenging the social norms may result in further victimization. This is evidenced in the case of the Zimbabwean female legislator who alleges that after speaking out against sexual harassment by fellow legislators, she was further victimized. This followed the events that took place after MPs refused to stand up for the President, the same day she had spoken up against the violence. She said;

The Speaker failed us by allowing the police to come in and forcibly remove us. There is no section which says the police should be called if people refuse to stand in the presence of the President...The police were targeting specific people and I felt it was because of the issue I raised which exposed some male MPs (Pindula news, 25 November 2018).

Concerning these cases, very few women would want to risk being humiliated because they do not get the respect that mothers and all other women should get. These findings confirm the radical feminist theory which states that sex is used by men as a kind of terrorism which in most cases is not a sign of sexual desire but a

sign of power and dominance (Brenner, 2013). Radical feminists challenge the sexual harassment and assault of women. In the preceding discussion, women would not want to challenge patriarchy also because the police, which should be protecting them, is the one brutalizing them. Therefore, since there is no legislation and adequate law enforcement, women are afraid of resisting patriarchy since no action is taken to protect them. Instead, women are caught in between patriarchy and volatile political environments that worsens their plight. As a result, women prefer to protect themselves by silently legitimizing the patriarchal norms thus overcoming patriarchy becomes a hurdle.

5.2.4 Cultural Stigmatization

Traditional cultural beliefs and practices continue to persist around the globe, specifically in Africa, where harmful customs have affected women in their social life. As stated in literature, customary inheritance laws which favor males are dominant in countries such as Botswana, Kenya and Lesotho (Cooper, 2010). Women have been targets of gender discrimination practices such breast flattening in Cameroon, female genital mutilation in Somalia and corrective rape for homosexuals in South Africa (Pemunta, 2016; Moxey and Jones, 2016; Morissey, 2013). Women in Africa are also victims of forced marriages, polygamous marriages and certain cultures that limit freedom of dressing for women. These discriminatory practices stem from patriarchal traditional beliefs that afford women a secondary status in society.

Key informants had the sentiments that women are victims of the social culture where gender roles have prevented women from participating in politics. Female key informant 3 highlighted that while growing up, her parents were strict on her and

more protective to her than to her brother. Her brother was brought up thinking he was more powerful than she was and always thought she could not defend herself. Thus, she said that women always think that they need protection from men and in return, men always look down upon women. She said a boy is brought up thinking he is clever than a girl and he grows up looking down upon his wife and girl children.

Female key informant 1 argued that because of the cultural roles and burdens women face at home, the responsibilities equip women with leadership qualities. She remarked:

As women we carry babies for 9 months, we give birth to them, we nurture them to be who they are, I am here today because of my mother. For one to say a woman cannot be a leader, it is the biggest insult I would ever come across. How can I not be a leader if I gave birth to you?

She further emphasized the point that women can handle responsibilities better than men. "If a woman has the purse she makes sure that all children are taken care of and money is shared within the family unlike some men who squander all the money." Male key informant 2, highlighted that women are few in politics because of the roles they have at home, which impedes their participation in politics. He commended the capabilities of women saying that, "women do better than men in politics, from a young age they are taught to be responsible through looking after the home and being mothers." He said, "women fail to be understood as they are expected to be at home by 6pm and yet there is so much politicians do after midnight, as they attend public meetings and travel around the world." He went further to say that he has observed that for married politicians there is a "conflict as society is patriarchal and not educated enough to understand that a woman can do

anything.” He indicated that cultural issues are not easy to erode since some of the cultural values represent the core fabric of our society. He gave the example of “lobola” (bride price) saying that the culture of paying bride price is difficult to remove since no one wants a daughter to be married for free. He emphasized that people should retain values that protect them as people.

These findings are consistent with Mutabai et al (2016) who stipulates that women in Africa are viewed as caregivers. Culturally a woman’s role is being a mother and is supposed to take care of the home. Therefore, children grow up with the belief that women should be home keepers and, therefore, cannot take up leadership positions in politics. This is compounded by other cultural beliefs, expectations and practices that seem to influence the decision of women to participate in politics.



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5.2.5 Family Disintegration

Women politicians risk losing their families as participating in politics may mean isolation and rejection from their spouses or family. According to Male key informant 1, male politicians are protective of their loved ones and, “leaders would rather have their families at home than have a wife to go to political events.” Female key informant 2 recalled the time when she started politics in her youthful days, how her husband restricted her from participating in politics and was so jealous of her success. She said this is the nature of most men as they expect a woman to be confined to the home and expect her to beg the husband to provide food.

The researcher held discussions with three women politicians who hold top positions in a political party women's organ. The women highlighted that not all men support women when they participate in politics as such that is why most women have broken homes and some are divorced. They aired the sentiments that "husbands feel degraded and belittled" when a woman holds a decision making position in politics. Most men are "rural minded and always see women as inferior." It is evident that women are discouraged from participating in politics as there is no support from their husbands. In Lebanon, if a woman ventures into politics she is regarded as an insult to her family (Westminster Foundation for Democracy, 2018). These findings are consistent with literature as they confirm the observations made by Ndlovu and Mutale (2013) who indicate that women fear rejection from their husbands and families if they get into politics. The radical feminist theory also confirms the findings as the theory emphasizes that gender inequalities in all spheres of life are a result of the systematic subordination of women (Mukhuba, 2016).

5.2.6 Lack of political support at party level

Most of the women key informants who were interviewed indicated that there is no support for women at party level. This confirms the results from the perception survey where the majority of respondents indicated that political leaders are not serious about promoting women politicians. As gathered from key informants, the participation of women in politics will always be limited because of the patriarchal nature of Zimbabwean leaders. A female key informant from an NGO in Bulawayo, Women in Leadership Development (WILD), highlighted that the suppression of women politically starts at party level and goes further to electoral processes thus

explaining why women are few in national politics. As indicated by female key informant 2, “all political parties in Zimbabwe do not promote women, if they do, it will be cosmetic positions as no one listens to inputs from women.” These political parties include the ruling party, ZANU PF and the main opposition party, MDC. As highlighted by female key informant 1, at party level women are relegated to the women’s assembly positions. She stressed that there is a perception that there are “jobs for boys.” She indicated that her former party was dominated by men and she was the only woman who held a leadership position. The same can be said for other political parties in Zimbabwe where male politicians dominate in party positions.

From the information gathered from the focus group discussions held with women from the top political party, in Bulawayo, during the 2018 harmonized elections there were few women candidates. In Bulawayo, “there were 7 women out of 29 wards and 1 woman out of the 12 constituencies.” In addition, men dominated decision making in the political structures, as there were “4 women out of 40 men in the Executive at the provincial level.” The exclusion of women by political parties was castigated by an organization rooting for women in politics, Women in Politics Support Unit (WIPSU) stating that, “the erasure of women candidature by political parties is evidence of the socio-political culture that undermines the constitutional obligations for all citizens and institutions to uphold gender equality and gender parity.” She highlighted that in the 2018 elections, in the National Assembly, “out of the 47 political parties’ candidates, 20 did not field women candidates and 2 parties fielded only one woman, 48 out of the 210 constituencies were contested by men only” (Newsday, 30 June 2018). It is evident, therefore, from these findings, that

women are underrepresented at party level and this can be attributed to male domination as a result of patriarchy.

5.2.7 Lack of self-confidence and self-esteem

As a result of patriarchy, most women have lost their self-esteem and confidence to believe in their strengths. In a study of women politicians in Malawi, it was established that women politicians do not have self-confidence because of patriarchal norms and inequalities, which create low self-esteem for women. The negative perceptions that women are incompetent and cannot be leaders demotivate women in political participation. This is coupled with lack of education which creates and reinforces a culture of patriarchy (Tiessen, 2008). This has been a case for most of the African states including Zimbabwe. Male key informant 4, shared the sentiments that women have always been better leaders than men. He argued that even God has always trusted women but women are the ones who “look down upon themselves as they take the role of serving food and water at meetings to men who are their juniors.” He said women are very capable of succeeding alone without the quotas, which are destroying them as they always feel they need the quotas to make it politically. He said women are afraid to take up positions. He condemned a gender activist for telling women to go and vote without underwear so that they can be reminded that they are women and therefore, should vote for other women. He argued that women should not be enemies of womanhood and should never be reminded that they are women for them to support other women.

Male key informant 4 argued that women should stand up and vote for each other and the criteria used for the selection of women should be by merit and not gender.

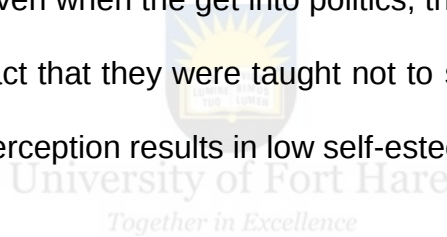
He highlighted that “women will be more respected if they occupy positions and represent their constituencies as qualified politicians not as females.” In his political experience, he observed that women act as observers when they occupy certain political positions and therefore should have high self-esteem and act as capable leaders. Female key informant 3 also had the notion that women are few in politics throughout the country because they lack confidence to participate in politics. A male participant from the NGO, WILD also had the view that women are afraid to speak and gave an example of a female parliamentarian who spend three years without saying anything in Parliament. He argued that being in politics requires one to be able to speak. He also gave examples given by other key informants of notable women politicians such as those who are able to speak out. As a result, these women get respect from men.



Male key informant 3 had the same sentiments as indicated above. He said that women are shy to contribute in political processes and are afraid to take up the big positions that men usually occupy. He thus indicated that women should promote themselves and not expect to be promoted by anyone. In support of this, Male key informant 1 observed that a number of women politicians do not participate in parliament as they take the backseat and hide behind the fact that there are many men who will participate covering for them. He also said;

By asking for positions from men, they are giving men the leverage to decide for them. It is the women who give the men the ball to play. Women should be real leaders and should choose competent leaders to go to parliament. If more women were like Priscilla Misihairambwi Mushonga, then women would rule parliament. Other women who have been vocal in parliament include Jessie Majome and Thabitha Khumalo.

It is evident from the findings that women have embraced the patriarchal norms and perceptions for so long that it now defines who they are. Women, therefore, have been robbed of their confidence and self-esteem among men such that they cannot actively participate in national politics. From these findings, it can be deduced that women's passive nature is a result of the patriarchal societal norms and women become participants unknowingly. There is a perception that women cannot bring any meaningful contributions in political issues or discussions reserved for men. Culturally, married women seemingly do not have a say in issues concerning their homes and in their maiden homes they are told that they cannot preside over issues because they no longer belong to that family. Therefore, women have been taught to be submissive such that even when they get into politics, they still carry that mentality. This is coupled with the fact that they were taught not to speak out among men and as such, this patriarchal perception results in low self-esteem for women politicians.



5.2.8 Electoral defeat as a result of patriarchal hegemony

Patriarchal perceptions have had a negative impact on the participation of women in national politics. Gender stereotyping, accompanied by negative views about women's capabilities has resulted in women losing in elections. Although there is an increased integration of women in politics, it is a reality that the sex of a political candidate plays a role in elections. The persistent negative stereotypes about women's abilities have an influence in winning elections (Dolan, 2014). As previously highlighted, this has been the case of Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump where the

latter is believed to have used sexist rhetoric against Hillary Clinton. This is believed to have partly worked in his favor as he won the elections (Harp, 2019).

From the information gathered from key informants, women are not voted for in elections only because they are women. This is however contrary to the results of the perception survey where most of the respondents indicated that they would vote for a woman in an election. Most of the key women informants highlighted that women lose elections because of the patriarchal perception. Negative perceptions about women politicians are so diverse such that men do not vote for women from the party level. Men do not have confidence in women's capabilities and because of the domineering nature of patriarchy; a woman cannot be a decision maker.



Patriarchy is deeply rooted in men's psyche such that it is difficult for women to be voted for in national politics. As such women are not voted for which discourages women from contesting for higher office. Women also seem to have embraced the mentality and therefore prefer male candidates other than female candidates. This is because women have been accustomed to the notion that women cannot be Presidents. This might explain why fewer women hold positions in national politics. The radical feminist theory supports these findings as it states that women are denied political rights as a result of the inequalities that exist between men and women. The intersectionality theory also confirms these findings as it points out to the exclusion of black American women from politics and were also denied voting rights (Crenshaw, 1991).

5.3 CHAPTER CONCLUSION

Chapter five was a discussion on how patriarchal perception has affected women in Matabeleland from participating in national politics. From the research findings, it is evident that women still face quite a number of challenges emanating from the deep-seated sexist perceptions about women, which have inhibited women from participating in politics. The complexity of the patriarchal system makes the challenges facing women politicians diverse and myriad. As a result, women are caught up in a web of complex hurdles as they strive to be recognized in the male-dominated political arena. In light of this, the following chapter provides an assessment of how women have tried to dismantle this web to fully participate in politics.



CHAPTER SIX: THE ROLE OF MATABELELAND WOMEN IN CHALLENGING PATRIARCHY

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter is an analysis of how women in Matabeleland have attempted to overcome patriarchal perceptions so that they can fully participate in politics. Women globally and continentally have attempted to break patriarchal stereotypes and social stigma. As previously highlighted, in Africa, Liberian politician, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf became the first elected female head of state in Africa in 2006 and successfully won two terms in office. Gambian Vice- President, Aja Fatoumata Jallow Tambajang, broke stereotypes by advocating for regime change and advocated for women rights, risking herself and her family. In Uganda, in 2012, 19-year-old, Alengot Oromait became the youngest individual globally to be elected as a Member of Parliament (Africa.com, 3 March 2019). These are just a few of the women politicians who redefined politics in their countries and defied the odds by challenging the status quo. Women in Matabeleland region of Zimbabwe have attempted to challenge patriarchy as shall be highlighted in this chapter.

6.2 NON-PATRIARCHAL CONSTRAINTS ON THE PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN NATIONAL POLITICS

The subordination of women is rooted in the patriarchal system which is believed to be the prime obstacle to women's participation. Patriarchy reinforces other forces of oppression and as such, the barriers to political participation are interconnected. As stipulated by Sultana (2010: 15), "patriarchy is the prime cause of women's

subordination and other causes are by-products of patriarchy. This was in reference to the Bangladesh patriarchal system for instance, where religion and tradition is used to maintain dominance over females. Therefore, patriarchy does not operate in isolation. Women face interconnected barriers to political challenges that need comprehensive strategies to be eliminated. This section explores challenges faced by women politicians in Matabeleland which are not a result of patriarchy per se, but are interwoven to further sustain the patriarchal norms. The challenges are as follows:

6.2.1 Ethnic discrimination of women

Women in ethnic minorities are often excluded in political, economic and social activities. As stipulated by Doering (2015), ethnicity just like race inform political behavior which sets out social boundaries which influence discrimination and inequalities. Ethnic conflicts may be induced by political leaders if they work in their favor. As such, ethnicity influence the political dynamics of a country which further disadvantages women. This is the case with women in Mauritian multi-ethnic communities who find it difficult to participate in politics because of diverse religious and ethnic groups where males in privileged positions compete for power (Ramtohul, 2015). A similar case is that of marginalized women in Nepal, the Dalits meaning oppressed who are also excluded from politics. The dominant order in Nepal are the male Brahmins, a Hindu group. The political, cultural and political institutions reinforce each other to sustain a dominant position on women (Bennett, 2005). There is low representation of women in Malaysian multi-ethnic communities, where religion is politicized and the political system is founded upon Islamic rules (Venny and Rahayu, 2014). In Kenya, there is deep animosity between multi-ethnic

communities as some minority ethnic groups are excluded from power. The Kikuyu have always been more advantaged politically, as former Presidents empowered their ethnic group. Despite adopting a new constitution some ethnic groups are still excluded from politics (Nyabira and Ayele, 2016).

Findings from the perception survey as illustrated in Chapter 4 indicated that women politicians from Matabeleland region are marginalized in politics because of ethnical reasons. This was also the case with results obtained from key informants, which indicate that women from Matabeleland are discriminated because of their ethnicity. According to Female Key informant 1, “women from Matabeleland are marginalized completely; there is double marginalization because you are a woman and because you are Ndebele.” These findings support the theoretical framework where the study was formed from the backbone of intersectionality. Intersectionality theory stipulates that women suffer from not only gender discrimination but also multiple oppressions, which include race, ethnicity class among others (Crenshaw, 1991). Female key informant 1 as previously mentioned was subjected to physical violence and the perpetrators of the violence told her she could not lead the party since she comes from Matabeleland. She emphasized that the attackers said; “you are a dissident! You should go back to Matabeleland.”

Female key informant 1 indicated that regardless of the education and leadership qualities one possesses they cannot be leaders as long as they are from Matabeleland. According to the Female key informant 1; *“Because I come from a certain region, because I am a woman, it does not matter how educated I am, what*

experience I have, to them it doesn't mean anything." She indicated that when she once led a top position in government and supervised men which demonstrated "beyond reasonable doubt" that she has leadership qualities but the party did not want her to lead which was attributed to patriarchy and ethnic discrimination.

Female key informant 2 indicated that "women from Matabeleland are marginalized more than women in any other region in Zimbabwe." Even during the altercation with security personnel at a party meeting, some men shouted that they did not want a Ndebele woman to lead them. Male key informant 3, confirmed that there is ethnic discrimination of the Ndebele people. Ndebele explained that the Ndebele people are a minority, and emphasised the point that Female key informant 1 "could not lead because she is a woman and because she is Ndebele." He indicated that not only women are affected by tribalism but also men. He added that the Shona are an "incumbent tribe and make all decisions and people go all the way to Harare to make Nkulumane decisions." This assertion is confirmed by Eppel (2014) who argues that there is a perception that Matabeleland region is marginalized and is underdeveloped as a result of its neglect by the government. This background shapes the current political environment in a region perceived to be isolated from the government and has seen politicians struggling to make it to the national levels specifically women, who are believed to be sidelined not only because of their gender but because of ethnicity as the region is considered a minority group. Women, therefore, find it difficult to overcome oppression as they still have a fear of the past and also do not have the necessary resources to do activism against the social norms since there is perceived marginalization from the government. Therefore, women find it difficult to resist patriarchy as they are intertwined in the

injustices of the past, which are still haunting them in the present; as such, they maneuver their way into national politics under difficult circumstances.

As stipulated by Muzondidya and Ndhlovu (2007: 282), Zimbabwe was “born with a bad ethnic birthmark”. This emanated from the tribal wars between the Shona and the Ndebele that took place before the colonization of Zimbabwe. As Zimbabwe prepared to fight for independence, the animosity continued between two political parties, ZAPU (Zimbabwe’s African People’s Union) which consisted of mainly Ndebele politicians and ZANU (Zimbabwe African National Union) which consisted of mainly Shona politicians. This ethnical rift continued even as Zimbabwe gained independence in 1980. The Gukurahundi genocide between 1983 and 1987 is evidence of this ethnic polarity. The state-orchestrated genocide was unleashed on the Ndebele speaking communities in Matabeleland and Midlands (Ndlovu, 2018). The government’s suspicion of ZIPRA (Zimbabwe People’s Revolutionary Army), (ZAPU) forces resulted in the alleged persecution of the ZIPRA members and the forces deserted the army. The deserters were labelled dissidents and the frightened ZANU authorities accused Joshua Nkomo, leader of ZAPU and other ministers of plotting a coup and expelled them from government (Vambe, 2012).

Vambe (2012) argues that whenever government authority is threatened there is a tendency to use force. Subsequently, the government deployed the North Korean trained Brigade which unleashed a reign of terror in Matabeleland. According to the CCJP report of 1990 an estimated 20 000 people were killed by the brigade (Ndhlovu-Gatsheni, 2003; Mavima, 2016; Vambe, 2012, Ndakaripa; 2014). This period is what the former President of Zimbabwe Robert Mugabe described as a

“moment of madness” (Rwafa, 2012). The Gukurahundi narrative has many versions and because of the massacres and atrocities, the story has never been fully explained. The Unity Accord of 1987 ended the civil war also referred to as the dissident war, which was a way of fostering peace in Zimbabwe. It is against this background and history that one can understand the plight of the women from Matabeleland.

As revealed during the discussions with community members and key informants, the historical injustices suffered by the people of Matabeleland have resulted in women from this region being passive to patriarchy. Women were subjected to violence, rape and murder and three decades after the Gukurahundi genocide women are reluctant to discuss political issues as observed by the researcher during data collection. The historical injustices are still a dilemma specifically on women coming from such violence, alienation and oppression that are still a reality to this day.

6.2.2 Political patronage

Political patronage is a global phenomenon which is usually associated with political appointments. It is a practice widely applied by politicians and has led to poor performance of most African state institutions. Political patronage involves the unlawful exchange, relationship of goods between patron and client (Mamogale, 2017). It involves complex relations where the influential give rewards such as public office, jobs and other benefits to relatives, friends and political supporters. In return the patron gets a service for example a politician can give rewards in exchange for political support (Bamidele, 2015). Political patronage has an impact on women

politicians who seek public office as it results in political and economic inequalities which threaten the participation of women in politics.

The participation of women politicians in Matabeleland has been severely constrained by patronage politics. This was revealed by Female key informant 4 who highlighted that women politicians who are related to powerful and influential politicians make it to the top without any difficulties. She emphasized that female politicians are elevated to decision making positions depending on the nature of their relationships with powerful men. Some of the women have children with powerful male politicians. These women are elevated at the expense of competent women politicians. Because of this, some women are unwillingly exploited as they strive for survival, as also highlighted by Male key informant 4. Male key informant 4 alluded to the fact that the nature of Zimbabwean politics according to a key informant is individualistic and opportunistic. These findings are consistent with the findings of Mudenge and Kwangwari (2013) in their study of women in the Goromonzi community who found out that women ascend into politics through their relationship with powerful men. It has been evidenced that some women in Zimbabwean politics occupy influential positions because their husbands are powerful. The trend has been like that ever since Zimbabwe gained independence. Maphosa et al (2015) gives the examples of women politicians whose husbands were powerful politicians. These include “Julia Zvobgo wife to Edison Zvobgo, Joice Mujuru wife to Solomon Mujuru, Sabina Mugabe, sister to Robert Mugabe and Ruth Chinamano, wife to Josiah Chinamano” (Maphosa et al 2015: 138).

Political patronage systems seem to be a culture in Zimbabwean politics and this worsens the plight of marginalized and oppressed women who no matter how qualified they are, fail to get leadership positions, which are a preserve for the elite. In the events that led to the coup on 15 November 2017, Grace Mugabe, the wife of Robert Mugabe, is alleged to have had presidential ambitions by interfering in succession issues and attacking political opponents only because she was the President's wife (Van Wyk et al, 2018). This led to divisions and Mugabe's allies, mostly men could not tolerate how powerful Grace Mugabe was becoming and led to the unconstitutional change of power.

6.2.3 Female enmity

There is a belief that women hate each other and are their own enemies. Women see each other as rivals and competitors and therefore there is mistrust between them. Yakubu (2014), in a study of mother in law and daughter in law relationship argues that women are easy targets of patriarchal machinations as they spend time fighting one another. In a study of women politicians in Malawi, it was found out that because of jealousy amongst women, women are their own oppressors as they reinforce perceptions of male supremacy (Tiessen, 2008). Because of resentment amongst women in power, women do not recommend each other for positions. Instead, they choose men for political positions. As alluded by Hungwe (2006), women are divided in politics and label each other thus, they continue to serving patriarchal structures.

As evidenced from the personal experiences highlighted by the key informants, women seem to pull each other down in politics. From the results obtained in the perception survey, most women indicated that they are supportive of other women in

politics. However, from the information gathered from the key informants, the reverse is true. According to Male Key informant 3 in his political career, he observed that women are not supportive of each other as men do. Women reinforce the patriarchal structures to pull each other down. He gave an example of men who can have so many girlfriends but do not ridicule each other, instead, men support each other. This is vice versa when a woman does the same, fellow women gossip about her, ridicule and laugh at her. Female key informant 3 also had the view that women are enemies of each other and do not support and vote for each other. She highlighted how an influential woman humiliated her influenced her powerful husband to expel her from politics. Female key informant 1 also had a similar experience as she gave an example of a woman in her party's women's assembly, whose role was to integrate women but worked against her to assist the patriarchs who wanted her out of the way. Female key informant 2 also indicated that women pull other women down, and if a woman gets a higher post, she is distancing herself from other women.

Male key informant 4, emphasized that “women support men, they are very jealous of each other and look down upon each other” which is a barrier to effective political participation for women politician. These findings are consistent with literature as has been evidenced in Zimbabwean national politics where Joyce Mujuru was usurped from power with the help of other women. According to Maphosa et al (2015: 26) “her persecution was fronted and orchestrated by women. As such, men use women as easy targets to advance their political ambitions, thus the participation of women in politics is limited. In a study of women's participation in Bolivian politics, women are not united, they are equated to cannibals who devour their own kind (Garcia,

2017). In another study of Indonesian politics, women politicians develop prejudice against other women. It was found that women in party politics do not have a feeling of sisterhood (Venny and Rahayu, 2014). This is also confirmatory to the grounding theory of the study, the radical feminist theory where women internalize patriarchy and turns against their sisters in support of men (Wood, 2015).

Basing from the findings, there is no integration of efforts to fight patriarchal perception and this might be the reason why women have accepted patriarchy. Instead of stepping up efforts to challenge patriarchy, women pull each other down. Women do not support each other. Women who ascend to decision-making positions in politics thus when women fight each other, they give room for the male counterparts to manipulate them and strengthen the patriarchal norms. Women may fail to speak out to gender injustices to let the other women be removed from a certain position. This is further compounded by the fact that men are silent and do not challenge other men about patriarchy. Men also fear being ridiculed by other men if they seem to support the women's cause. Therefore, given the lack of support between women and lack of support from men, women have surrendered themselves to patriarchy and become docile as they participate in politics.

6.2.4 Lack of resources and financial support

Women politicians in Matabeleland are financially constrained, which restricts them from effectively participating in national politics. Women do not have the financial muscle as men and therefore they are severely constrained and men usually outcompete them. In a focus group discussion held by members of WILD, women do not have access to resources to campaign for elections. Female key informant 5,

had the same view that women do not have the necessary support to empower themselves and as such, there are no incentives for political campaigns. This limits them when they campaign for higher political office. Female key informant 1 also said that, “women are dependent on men, if a man says you cannot go to that meeting, you will not go, therefore women need financial support so that they are not dependent on men. If they are financially independent they can confidently participate as aspiring MPs or as President.” In a combined interview with two other female key informants the researcher found out that the main challenge they face as women politicians is financial. It was revealed that they faced financial challenges campaigning for the July 2018 elections. It was worsened by the fact that they had to ask for money from their husbands and family members which was not very helpful. This was also revealed by two other female key informants in who indicated that they face mainly financial challenges which is a hindrance to their political participation. They raised the issue that even if they want to “donate something they have to ask from their husbands first which is not flexible.” These findings are consistent with the radical feminist theory which states that because of patriarchy, women are denied economic and political powers (Wood, 2015; Lorber, 1997). These findings are consistent with the sentiments of Dr Rita Nyamupinga, who said that men are very powerful in politics and therefore buy votes during campaigns (Mai Chisamba Show, ZTV, 16 December 2018, 6pm).

According to Female key informant 5, “women in Matabeleland do not have resources like their female counterparts in Mashonaland because everything that you need you have to go through Mashonaland to get something that is meant for Matabeleland.” From these findings, it is evident that women in Matabeleland are

more disadvantaged than women from other regions since they do not have the political and financial support from the government. This is consistent with the intersectionality theory, which states that women are marginalized by their social needs as their gender and social economic statuses make it difficult for them to get assistance. Therefore, their barriers seem to be multiple thus impeding their participation in national politics.

6.2.5 Ignorance and lack of information

Information gathered from key informants indicated that lack of knowledge among men and women has had an impact on the participation of women in national politics. A male key informant from WILD shared the sentiment that women do not have the proper training to launch violent campaign so that their manifesto can be taken seriously. Also, according to key Female key informant 4, “many women are illiterate; they do not see when they are being oppressed.” Women do not seem to be aware of cultural domination that surrounds them. It seems that women do not seem to have adequate knowledge such that they have accepted the status quo and are subject to abuse and manipulation. As stated by Female key informant 1, the mindset of men and women has to change as this has impacted negatively on the participation of women in politics. Because of lack of knowledge, women are not well informed about political issues and the importance of participating in politics. Women also do not vote for other women because of lack of knowledge. Men also seem to hold on to patriarchal norms of values that they are part of their socialization. As such, they lack new and adequate information on how women should be perceived and treated. This is illuminated by Bierema (2003) who states that women and men are not highly gender conscious to question the status quo. Those who are aware of

the gendered power relations profess ignorance as they are aware of the high costs that comes with addressing them. Therefore, lack of information is the greatest impediment as it forms the backbone of all the patriarchal perceptions that men subscribe to, thus perpetuating the stubborn survival of patriarchy in politics.

6.3 STRATEGIES USED BY WOMEN TO OVERCOME PATRIARCHY

Despite being constrained by patriarchy, some women politicians in Matabeleland have sought for strategies to dismantle and circumvent the challenges face as a result of patriarchy. There has been a rise of women's actions against patriarchy as women have struggled to change gender relations. Women politicians in Matabeleland have addressed their challenges through the following:

6.3.1 Formation of a splinter political group

In challenging patriarchy, one of the female key informants highlighted that she broke away from the party and led a splinter group. This was revealed by Female key informant 1 who as highlighted in the previous chapter said that she was a victim of violence and harassment. She said she has tried to overcome patriarchy by challenging the case regarding her political faction in the courts. Despite the persecutions and the court processes she had to go through in order to win her case, she remained bold gathered up courage not to quit. In her words, she said "we are all equal in the eyes of God and law, I will stand my ground, I will not back down. The ones who are coming will say she was almost there but she gave up what do you expect from us." Therefore, despite the challenges she faced, she decided to exercise her rights and empower other women and the upcoming generation to get

motivation from her experiences. Female key informant 1 remarked that she stands firm in politics which dates back from the time she headed a government position. She said;

I left footprints in this country, go to hospitals and you will see the work I did. Look at what other men did. I can stand up, be proud of myself, and say at least I contributed something. I have demonstrated beyond reasonable doubt that I can be President. I supervised men and now because I am a woman, no matter how educated I am, no matter what experience I have and how senior I am, to them it does not mean anything. Because you are a woman, you cannot be anywhere near leadership.

Therefore, she has tried to overcome the patriarchal perception by leading a splinter group because she had confidence that at some point she supervised the men who were now telling her that she cannot be a leader. Hence, she believes in her leadership qualities as she knows she once took up a higher post in government and therefore, it gives her the courage to “serve the people” despite the male domination in Zimbabwean politics.

6.3.2 Organizing workshops

In order to address the challenges arising from patriarchal perceptions, some of the women politicians who were interviewed organized workshops with fellow politicians and community members. Female key informant 1 pointed out that despite the financial constraints she tried to educate other women. She stated that;

We had a zero budget for the 2018 elections but we tried to reach out to women to make them understand the importance of voting for other women. The elections were a learning curve, this election taught us a lot, come 2023 we will overcome all this. We are going to start programs where we will take

women rural areas to educate them the importance of voting for another woman.

Female key informant 1 emphasized that women seem to have accepted the patriarchal norms and therefore it can be the reason they do not vote for other women, as they believe that men are the only capable leaders in politics. Apart from teaching women around the country, she has also groomed her family members. She said she travels with her daughters and attends rallies with them to encourage them to participate in politics and to groom them.

Female key informant 2 said that she has facilitated workshops to teach other women on how to overcome male domination and be courageous to participate in politics as she “has realized that women in Matabeleland are not brave enough to participate in politics.” She also said that, “although politics is dangerous, I always encourage my children and other women to be stubborn in politics. This is because being a politician comes with a cost, therefore, one has to be stubborn to overcome the patriarchal perceptions.” She highlighted that patriarchy has survived for so long that for it to be overcome, there should be a certain degree to show women that they are just as good as men. She asserted that women are always seen as secondary to men and that is the reason why there are very few women politicians in Bulawayo.

As highlighted by Female key informants 4 and 5, and 6 who are members of a women’s party wing, they have engaged peer groups to teach other women how to overcome tradition. They have participated in party meetings to encourage young girls to join politics. They indicated that they have visited provinces around the country where they engage with women on issues that affect them. The female key informants have conducted confidence building workshops so that women can be

brave enough to venture into politics and take up decision making roles in politics. The women politicians emphasized that women know what they want but they are just scared because patriarchy has been there for a long time and women are now afraid to change the systems as taking up the challenge has consequences.

6.2.3 Being vocal to gender injustice

From the key informant interviews conducted it was revealed that women try to speak out against patriarchal norms. Female key informant 3 stressed that for women to be successful politicians they need to be confident and be firm to take up any challenge. She reiterated that once a woman is not firm she would give men the courage to dominate. She gave an example that she is always vocal in challenging any gender justice. She gave an example when she gave bold answers during time and answer questions as she courageously answered questions that were meant to provoke her by her male counterparts. On the notion carried by other women, that men always call them crybabies when they try to be heard, she said if she were in the women's position, she would ask the man, "if he sees any difference between him, herself and his mother, therefore, if he can respect his own mother, then why not respect her." Therefore, in her political career she is always vocal as such men respect and even fear her. Female key informant 3 highlighted that in her political career she has demonstrated that she can stand up for herself. She said when she is subjected to some provocation she does not take that as she is being provoked because she is a woman but as a provocation that can happen between a man and another man.

Female key informant 7 highlighted that women are afraid to participate in politics because of culture and she said unlike the other women who are afraid to participate

in politics, she is fearless and called herself a “fearless cadre, born a politician and will never change.” She said she is “inkalakatha” meaning she is tough. She said that she has been in the political domain for thirty years occupying challenging positions because of her capabilities. She started participating in politics when she was very young and a war veteran. She indicated that women do not participate in politics because of “tradition” and if one is courageous enough to participate, they say, “this lady is too much of herself.” For her, if a woman chooses to be a politician she has to stand up and be fearless.

Key informant 2, as stated in the previous chapter faced some challenges in her journey as a politician. In her youthful days, her husband was not supportive and was jealous of her, which limited her political activities. She also faced humiliation in parliament and was a victim of violence. In an attempt to overcome patriarchal perceptions, she remained undeterred. Even after beatings from party supporters she has remained in politics and for her safety, she has taken measures to be accompanied by a bodyguard wherever she goes. It is through her stubbornness that she managed to resist when security personnel wanted to chase her from a meeting. She however, highlighted that not so many politicians can take up the fight to resist patriarchy.

6.3.4 Resource mobilization

Most of the key informants interviewed highlighted that they face financial challenges. They indicated that they have mobilized resources from their political parties and government. However, their engagements to secure resources have not been fruitful. A unique case is that of Female key informant 8, who stated that she almost quit politics because of financial challenges. She had realised that she stands

little chance in winning in the elections because the men she was competing with had a big financial muscle and were very powerful. She raised the notion raised by most of the key informants that women are afraid of contesting men because they cannot contest men without the necessary resources. She indicated that in her political career she got support from her family members but not as she expected. Her attempts to get resources from the party have yielded little results.

However, key informant 9 and 10 acknowledged that just like many women they are afraid of challenging male domination. These key informants had highlighted that they face humiliation from men in party meetings and they do not have the courage to introduce resource mobilization topics. Seemingly, women seem to have surrendered themselves to patriarchy and have accepted patriarchy such that they see it as a normal way of life. The attempts to challenge patriarchy have not yielded significant results. The key informants themselves, had the sentiments that they have challenged patriarchy in no vain as a result of the complexity of the patriarchal system

6.4 CHAPTER CONCLUSION

Chapter six gives an outline of the measures taken by women politicians from Matabeleland region in an attempt to overcome patriarchy. From the information gathered from key informants, it seems women have not done enough to challenge the patriarchal system in their participation in politics. Women seem to face multiple hurdles even when they try to circumvent the patriarchal order. Women are not adequately equipped to eradicate the patriarchal norms and values. Confronted with a number of challenges, women seem to have surrendered themselves to patriarchy and have become passive in the political field dominated by men. As alluded in this

chapter, women have resisted patriarchy to no avail because of the complexity of the patriarchal system. Thus, women have become powerless and have accepted the status quo. It seems women have been reduced to mere passive onlookers and they have unknowingly endorsed patriarchy. Therefore, the following chapter which is the concluding chapter, proffers possible recommendations as a way of eradicating patriarchal perceptions and egalitarian attitudes which have prevented women from actively participating in national politics.



CHAPTER SEVEN: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The main aim of the study was to analyze the impact of patriarchal perceptions on the participation of women in Zimbabwean national politics with specific focus on selected women politicians in Matabeleland region. The objectives of the study were achieved and the following are the findings:

The first objective of the study was to establish the perceptions of Matabeleland community members towards women's involvement in national politics. This was achieved mainly through a perception survey and partly through focus group discussions and individual responses as discussed in Chapter 4. Results from the perception survey confirmed the existence of patriarchal perceptions in the Matabeleland communities and in the political sphere. The cross tabulated results indicated that most men carry the notion of patriarchy. Also from the perception survey results, it was also evident that besides patriarchy, women from Matabeleland are also marginalized in politics because of ethnic reasons. In the qualitative section, the focus group discussions revealed perceptions of male supremacy. The study found out that there are perceptions that politics is for meant for men only. Men are also perceived to be naturally superior. Perceptions emanating from culture and societal expectations also influence women's decisions in politics. Results indicate that because of patriarchal perceptions in the Matabeleland communities, women have been discouraged from actively participating in politics.

The second objective was to analyze the effects of patriarchal perceptions on women's participation in national politics. From the information gathered from key informants, as discussed in Chapter five, it was revealed that patriarchy has impacted negatively on the participation of women in national politics. Women politicians outlined quite a number of challenges they have faced, most of which emanate from patriarchal perceptions. These challenges include violence, humiliation, cultural stigmatization, family disintegration and electoral defeat.

From the information gathered, it all begins with patriarchal perception that then germinates and grows into a myriad of challenges. Women therefore find it difficult to participate in politics and it is because of these reasons that some women are afraid of joining the political field. Patriarchal perceptions and attitudes have impacted negatively on women politicians in Zimbabwe and specifically women from Matabeleland as gathered from the key informants who have been victims of patriarchy.



The third objective was to examine how women in Matabeleland have attempted to overcome patriarchal perception in order to enhance their participation in national politics. As highlighted in Chapter six, key informants to some extent, have attempted to overcome patriarchy. Despite some being victims of male orchestrated violence, they did not quit politics. Some have been publicly called names and endured humiliation but they have always stood resolute and were not discouraged. The study established that some women have defected from their political parties and have formed splinter groups. It was also revealed that workshops have been conducted to teach women on how to overcome patriarchy. There was also a revelation that women in politics try to speak out against women suppression and

subordination but their efforts are always in vain as men remain powerful and do not appreciate or acknowledge input from women.

From these findings, it seems women have not done enough to overcome patriarchy, as they seem to have accepted the status quo and have surrendered themselves to patriarchy. From the researcher's view, women have failed to resist patriarchy because of fear of public humiliation, lack of solidarity between women, religious teachings that promote women subordination and history of ethnic injustices in Matabeleland. It can, therefore, be concluded that women have done little to challenge the patriarchal system. Some women, instead of fighting patriarchy seem to be more concerned with their political survival even if it means pulling other women down. For women to overcome patriarchy, a lot needs to be done at an individual level, organizational level, government and other reforms in legislation as shall be recommended.



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7.2 CONTRIBUTION TO KNOWLEDGE

The research provided detailed literature on the multifaceted aspects of patriarchy and how patriarchy manifests itself differently around the globe and the African continent. Since there is limited study on patriarchy and women politicians in Matabeleland, the results can be used as baseline data for future studies in the same domain and in the sub-discipline of Political Science. Findings from this study show that women politicians in Matabeleland are prevented from participating in national politics because of mainly patriarchal related challenges. The perception survey conducted in Matabeleland revealed the dominance of patriarchal beliefs, attitudes and gender stereotypes which are an obstacle to the participation of women in Zimbabwean politics. These perceptions of male supremacy and gendered

treatment of women have reinforced a spiraling effect on women as they have impacted negatively on the physical, emotional and psychological well-being of women politicians in this region.

The study revealed the sensitive tribal issues, which are not openly discussed. Although it was revealed that patriarchy affects women politicians in Zimbabwean politics, the Matabeleland case is a different one since they are also marginalized because of their ethnicity. The study established that women politicians from Matabeleland face more challenges than other women from other regions in Zimbabwe. This is attributed to spiraling effects of ethnicity and patriarchy, as such, women find themselves entangled in a web of challenges which makes it difficult for them to participate effectively in politics. Women politicians in Matabeleland seem to have been suppressed for a long time and have little interest in political issues as observed by the researcher during data collection. The findings seem to show that due to the atrocities suffered by the Ndebele people, more than three decades later women are afraid of venturing into politics. Some women no longer have confidence to participate in national politics, as there is a general sentiment that government has neglected the Matabeleland region. Therefore, the study gave insight to the multiple challenges women in Matabeleland encounter, which are not only patriarchal but are worsened due to ethnical reasons and perceived marginalization by the government.

7.3 CONCLUSION

It can be concluded that the patriarchal system is still prevalent in the Zimbabwean society and specifically in the political arena where it has become a subconscious hold of male dominance and power. Patriarchal perceptions are still embedded and entrenched in the fabric of the Zimbabwean society and the Matabeleland

community. Patriarchal norms are being reinforced with other types of oppression thus becoming an impediment in the participation of women in national politics. It is still a mystery as to how and when the oppressive system of patriarchy and the perceptions that accompany it will end. However, there seems to be an improvement as countries around the world are stepping up efforts towards greater participation of women in politics. The battle has not been won yet, but there is still hope that changes in perception and attitudes will be upheld as long as necessary measures are effected. Female subjection, subordination, oppression, abuse, belittlement and gender stereotyping can be something of the past as long as the impact of patriarchy is acknowledged and men and women work towards the re-orientation of mindsets.



7. 4 RECOMMENDATIONS

Findings as documented in this study indicate that patriarchal perceptions have impacted negatively on the participation of Matabeleland women politicians in national politics coupled with other challenges, which further worsens their plight. The following are suggestions and recommendations that can facilitate positive change in response to the previously highlighted challenges. These recommendations are outlined as follows:

7.4.1 Advocacy for psychological empowerment

Patriarchal perceptions are beliefs that emanate from the mindset and, therefore, need to be addressed from a psychological dimension for a change of mindset of both men and women. These can be achieved through the following gender sensitization initiatives:

- **Seminars and training workshops**

There is need to psychologically empower both men and women through public seminars and training workshops through a concerted effort by the government, civil society and public sector. The workshops and seminars are meant to change the patriarchal perceptions that men are superior and are the only capable leaders. This is meant to ensure that men treat women as equal partners and by doing so; women are placed at the same level with men and are at a level political playfield to afford them positions in national politics. Workshops and seminars should also be conducted to teach women about leadership and build confidence in women so that they are brave enough to challenge the patriarchal system. This can also remove the fear that women have to participate in politics and motivate them to participate in politics.



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- **Gender education from elementary level to tertiary level**

Patriarchal perception emanates from a time when children are still very young thus making it difficult to change the perception when a person is older. There is need to create gender awareness and consciousness in men and women from the time they attend elementary school to the time they go for tertiary education. Introducing gender studies at all levels of education will ensure that men are aware of patriarchy. Some individuals participate unknowingly since they were never educated about gender issues when growing up. Patriarchal perception can therefore, be reduced by enlightening children at all levels of education from primary level, high school and university level.

- **Family teachings**

Patriarchy begins in the family where there is gendered socialization of roles as children are taught to do different chores at home. The father is also considered the head of the household. Therefore, there is need to sensitize people by rolling out gender awareness programs in communities be it rural or urban. This can be done by both the government and civil society. It is in the home that women are suppressed and some men even make decisions for women not to join politics. Therefore, there is need to encourage family members to support their wives and daughters to participate in politics.

- **Media advocacy**

Media is a powerful tool that can be used to disseminate information to people through newspapers, television, radios and social media platforms. Messages that call for gender equality should also encourage women and men to treat each other equally regardless of gender, class and ethnicity and should get constant coverage and advertisements on different media platforms. Powerful politicians should be used as role models where they tell their story and experiences to motivate aspiring politicians to have the confidence that just like them they can also make it in politics despite possible challenges.

- **Religious teachings**

For a long time, religion has been used to subordinate women as women are taught to be docile, silent and submissive to men. Therefore, there is a need

to review teachings that are oppressive to women. Churches should teach mutual respect of women and men and deviate from scriptures and church practices that support patriarchal tendencies. The church, other civil society organizations and government should engage in initiatives that ensure that churches act in compliance with gender equality laws. Women should also be allowed to participate in church and hold decision-making positions. Strict restrictions on women's dressing should also be abolished so as to build confidence among women. If reforms are made in the church even in different levels of society including the political arena, women can be able to fully participate with confidence and with no sense of guilty.

7.4.2 Reforms in the Quota system

There is need for the government to ensure that there are reforms in the quota systems that have been previously abused. According to Chapter 6 (4), 120 (2) of the Constitution of Zimbabwe, legislators are elected under the proportional representation system. The proportional representation is still dominated by men despite this provision. Elected members usually mock proportional representation MPs by referring to their parliamentary seats as free seats and often ridicule women. Therefore, they do not give the MPs equal respect as those elected. Women also seem to get the proportional representation seats due to political patronage therefore the women are likely to push the agenda of their masters other than that of women.

Therefore, there is need for reforms that minimize political patronage on the proportional representation seats. Women candidates are often pushed to constituencies where parties are not strong where they will be aware that they will lose and will sacrifice females other than their male counterparts. The quota system

is also infiltrated as it is also used sometimes to settle political scores as was the case with former MP for Tsholotsho, Professor Jonathan Moyo. Professor Moyo failed to win the ZANU PF ticket to contest, as the leaders who did not want him to contest rejected his application saying that the constituency was reserved for a woman (Maphosa et al, 2015). The proportional representation seat since it expires in 2023 also needs to be extended. Section 239 (f) of the Constitution of Zimbabwe gives powers to the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission to delineate constituencies and boundaries. Therefore, it is recommended that women are allocated certain constituencies where they contest as women only as such giving room for more women to participate in politics (Jessie Majome, Mai Chisamba show, ZTV, December 2018, 6pm). This may also reduce the risk of political violence as revealed from the findings that women are victims of violence from men.

7.4.3 Compliance with regional and international gender frameworks

Zimbabwe has signed and domesticated various gender frameworks, which however, fall short of implementation. There is need for political will where leaders consider gender balance in implementation of their policies as guided by the Constitution of Zimbabwe. There is need for the Gender Commission to thoroughly investigate violations regarding gender and ensure the full attainment of gender equality. The government needs to fully implement the national gender policy so that it is in line with the United Nations agenda that promotes the equality of men and women. Sub- regional organizations also need to put measures so that member states implement gender frameworks for example SADC must ensure that the target of 50% women in decision making is reached so as to increase representation of women in politics and decision making positions.

7.4.4 Criminalization of offenders

In Zimbabwean politics, there are no stiffer penalties for those who offend women. Women are labelled names publicly and are humiliated but no arrests are made. There is need for enforcement of laws, which include jail terms for anyone who denigrates women. As was revealed by a number of key informants, women are verbally abused and some women revealed that they are being sexual harassed. This has been happening in a law making institution, which is viewed as disregard for the law. There is need for harsher penalties for men who subject women to verbal and physical abuse. Women in politics are subject to cyber bullying. According to the Postal Telecommunications Act, it is a crime to abuse the internet. Therefore, people are encouraged to report cyber bullying. There is also need for the government to implement technological advancements to locate culprits.

Government and political parties also need to amend their laws and ensure that the laws are respected even if it means expulsion of women offenders from the party and government. It seems men in various level of political institutions protect other men as evidenced by the failure to bring culprits to book. Therefore, women can only be respected and given their place in politics if the government makes efforts in protecting women. This can be achieved through the enforcement of stiffer penalties to those who show patriarchal tendencies in all levels of society be it the home, workplace and in politics.

7.4.5 Financial empowerment for women

Women empowerment encourages the participation of women in politics. Improving the woman's status and socio-economic class of women lowers the level of

patriarchy. As gathered from the research, all key informants indicated that they are facing financial problems, which limits their participation in politics. Financial help for women should be given from the family level up to the government and civil society. If women remain financially crippled, they become dependent on men who decide for them on whether they should participate in politics or not. Therefore, women should be funded from the grassroots up to the time they get into party politics and national politics. Sponsoring of women for political campaigns increases their chances of being elected into higher office. Government and civil society must also fund for women's workshops and seminars where women can learn more about leadership.

From the information gathered during discussions with members of an NGO, (WILD), women lack the knowledge to conduct effective campaigns. Therefore, if women are financed, they can go for training to be equipped in their political careers. Financial backing boosts women's confidence to participate in politics as women fear to contest men who have a bigger financial muscle than them. There is a saying that money is power, therefore in the political field women should be supported with the necessary financial help and resources to increase their participation in politics. Related to this, women from Matabeleland revealed that resources meant for Matabeleland are allocated nationally and they have to go through Mashonaland to get resources meant for Matabeleland programs. Therefore, there is need for devolution so that structures at a regional level are put in place to make Matabeleland region independent.

7.4.6 Addressing ethnic injustices

The researcher found out that there are historical injustices that to this day, discourage women from participating in politics. There is need for national healing

and an apology from government for the atrocities committed in Matabeleland. It is evident that government is not willing to publicly apologize and make amends with the people of Matabeleland. If the necessary national healing programs are conducted and there is government assurance that ethnical discrimination is an issue of the past, women from Matabeleland can confidently participate in national politics. Government also needs to show tangible efforts and commitment in rebuilding trust and in advancing social, economic and political development in the region to end the perceived marginalization. The participation of women in national politics may increase if issues regarding ethnicity are addressed.

7.5 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The study mainly focused on patriarchy in Zimbabwean politics specifically focusing on women from Matabeleland. It is, therefore, recommended that for future research, a comparative analysis be done for women's participation in politics in Zimbabwe and other countries in Southern Africa. For example, a comparative study can be done between Zimbabwe and South Africa on the impact of patriarchy and an analysis can be conducted on how the different systems of government have managed gender equality issues. Studies can also be conducted in detail by comparing countries that are ranked first in gender parity such as Rwanda with a country ranked the lowest in addressing gender equality.

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APPENDIX ONE: ETHICAL CLEARANCE FORM



University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

ETHICAL CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE REC-270710-028-RA Level 01

Certificate Reference Number: FER061SMAN01

Project title: **The impact of patriarchal perceptions on the participation of women in Zimbabwean national politics: A study of selected women politicians in Matabeleland region.**

Nature of Project PhD in Political Science

Principal Researcher: Sithabile Manyevere

Supervisor: Dr V Ferim

Co-supervisor: N/A

On behalf of the University of Fort Hare's Research Ethics Committee (UREC) I hereby give ethical approval in respect of the undertakings contained in the above-mentioned project and research instrument(s). Should any other instruments be used, these require separate authorization. The Researcher may therefore commence with the research as from the date of this certificate, using the reference number indicated above.

Please note that the UREC must be informed immediately of

- Any material change in the conditions or undertakings mentioned in the document;
- Any material breaches of ethical undertakings or events that impact upon the ethical conduct of the research.

The Principal Researcher must report to the UREC in the prescribed format, where applicable, annually, and at the end of the project, in respect of ethical compliance.

Special conditions: *Research that includes children as per the official regulations of the act must take the following into account:*

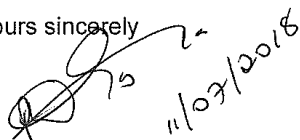
Note: The UREC is aware of the provisions of s71 of the National Health Act 61 of 2003 and that matters pertaining to obtaining the Minister's consent are under discussion and remain unresolved. Nonetheless, as was decided at a meeting between the National Health Research Ethics Committee and stakeholders on 6 June 2013, university ethics committees may continue to grant ethical clearance for research involving children without the Minister's consent, provided that the prescripts of the previous rules have been met. This certificate is granted in terms of this agreement.

The UREC retains the right to

- Withdraw or amend this Ethical Clearance Certificate if
 - Any unethical principal or practices are revealed or suspected;
 - Relevant information has been withheld or misrepresented;
 - Regulatory changes of whatsoever nature so require;
 - The conditions contained in the Certificate have not been adhered to.
- Request access to any information or data at any time during the course or after completion of the project.
- In addition to the need to comply with the highest level of ethical conduct principle investigators must report back annually as an evaluation and monitoring mechanism on the progress being made by the research. Such a report must be sent to the Dean of Research's office.

The Ethics Committee wished you well in your research.

Yours sincerely



Professor Pumla Dineo Gqola
Dean of Research

05 July 2018

APPENDIX TWO: INFORMED CONSENT FORM



University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Department of Political Science and International Relations.

Dear participant

I, Sithabile Manyevere, a PhD student in the department of Political Science and International Relations at the University of Fort Hare. In fulfilling my study, I am conducting a research on **“The impact of patriarchal perceptions on the participation of women in Zimbabwean national politics: A study of selected women politicians in Matabeleland region.”** and your participation is being requested for the purpose of this study. Participation on the research is limited to a face-to-face interview that will take between 30 to 45 minutes. Participating in the research is voluntary and there are no direct benefits that can be expected in participating in the interview. There is no foreseen discomfort and stress anticipated in participating in the interview, however, you have the right to withdraw from the interview at any time or refuse to answer any question which you feel makes you uncomfortable.

Your participation will be kept confidential while it is necessary to record the proceedings of the interview for analysing purposes, information that identifies your name will be omitted or changed from the transcript. The interview tapes will be destroyed once they have been transcribed. The transcripts will be kept in a secure

file that will be stored within the Political Science and International Relations department at the university. The data will be open to the research supervisors and other three people who are nominated by the university will examine the completed dissertation. The research findings can be made available to you. However, this requires that you notify the researcher of your wish to have a copy of the findings as well as furnish the researcher with your postal details.

Should you have any further queries please contact the researcher on +27848069552 or via email at **201716770@ufh.ac.za** or **starmanyever@gmail.com** and the researcher will answer any questions that you may have during or after the project.

INFORMED CONSENT

I hereby agree to participate in this research. I understand that I am participating freely and without being forced in any way to do so. I also understand that I can stop this interview at any point should I not want to continue and that this decision will not in any way affect me negatively.

Signature of participant.....

Date...../...../.....

Yours sincerely,

Sithabile Manyevere

APPENDIX THREE: INTERVIEW GUIDE

Key informant interview questions for female politicians

1. How do you view women's participation in national politics?
2. What are the views of men concerning the participation of women in politics?
3. Do family members or husbands support daughter/wives who participate in politics?
4. What are the challenges you are facing as women politicians?
5. How are you attempting to overcome patriarchal perceptions to fully participate in politics?
6. What changes in attitudes and perceptions are needed?
7. How many women are in Zimbabwe's parliament and cabinet? Specifically, how many are from Matabeleland?
8. When women contribute in parliament, how do men respond? Are they welcoming or unwelcoming?
9. Are women politicians presented as equal partners or as complainers?
10. From your political experience, do you think party leaders in MDC-T, ZANU-PF and other political parties promote the participation of women in national politics?
11. Are women represented in parties? What kind of positions do they hold?
12. Are women politicians from Matabeleland marginalized or are they recognized as politicians?
13. From your own observation, do you think women from Matabeleland are eager to participate in politics? What is it that deters women from entering into politics?

- 14 What do you think can be done to promote participation of Matabeleland women in national politics?
15. Do female community members in Matabeleland support other women when they participate in politics? Can female members vote for their fellow female counterparts?
16. How effective are the local frameworks in promoting women participation in national politics? What can be the best way to address gender issues in politics?

Key informant interview questions for male politicians

1. How do you view women's participation in national politics?
2. Can women be better leaders in politics? Do men support female politicians?
3. What are the views of men concerning the participation of women in politics?
4. Would you allow your female family members to participate in politics?
5. What are the challenges facing women politicians?
6. How are women attempting to overcome patriarchal perceptions to fully participate in politics?
7. What changes in attitudes and perceptions are needed?
8. How many women are in Zimbabwe's parliament and cabinet? Specifically, how many are from Matabeleland?
9. When women contribute in parliament, how do men respond? Are they welcoming or unwelcoming?
10. Are women politicians presented as equal partners or as complainers?

10. Would you freely vote for a woman from Matabeleland in national election or in party elections?
11. From your political experience, do you think party leaders in MDC-T, ZANU-PF and other political parties promote the participation of women in national politics?
12. Are women represented in parties? What kind of positions do they hold?
13. Are women politicians from Matabeleland marginalized or are they recognized as politicians?
14. From your own observation, do you think women from Matabeleland are eager to participate in politics? What is it that deters women from entering into politics?
15. What do you think can be done to promote participation of Matabeleland women in national politics?
16. Do female community members in Matabeleland support other women when they participate in politics? Can female members vote for their fellow female counterparts?
17. How effective are the local frameworks in promoting women participation in national politics? What can be the best way to address gender issues in politics?

Key informant interview questions for women's organisations

1. Are women fairly represented in politics? How many women are in Zimbabwe's parliament and cabinet? How many emanate from Matabeleland?

2. What are the challenges facing women in Matabeleland in their participation in national politics?
3. How are women attempting to overcome patriarchal perceptions to fully participate in politics?
4. When women contribute in parliament, how do men respond? Are they welcoming or unwelcoming?
5. Are women politicians presented as equal partners or complainers?
6. Do you think party leaders in MDC-T, ZANU-PF and other political parties promote the participation of women in national politics? Are women represented in parties? What kind of positions do they hold?
7. How effective are the international and local frameworks in promoting women participation in politics?
8. How are women politicians viewed by male politicians?
9. How are women politicians viewed by their family members?
10. Do you think women from Matabeleland are eager to participate in politics?
11. Do female community members in Matabeleland support other women? Can female members vote for their fellow female counterparts?
12. What can be done to promote Matabeleland women in their participation in national politics?
13. As a women's organization what role are you playing in empowering women in politics?

Focus Group Discussion questions

1. How do you view women's participation in national politics?

2. How are women politicians viewed by male politicians?
3. How are women politicians viewed by their family members?
4. What are the challenges facing women politicians?
5. What are the attitudes and perceptions on the participation of women in national politics?
6. What changes in attitudes and perceptions are needed?
7. From your own observation, do you think women from Matabeleland are eager to participate in politics?

APPENDIX FOUR: QUESTIONNAIRE

The impact of patriarchal perceptions on the participation of women in Zimbabwean national politics: A study of selected women politicians in Matabeleland region.

Section A- Demographic Profile

1a): May you please state your gender? **Male** ☐ **Female** ☐

1b): Please select your age category by putting an **X** in the appropriate category

18-25years	26-35 years	36-45 years	46-55 years	56-65 years	Over 65years
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

1c): May you please indicate your education level?

Ordinary Level	A Level	Diploma	Bachelors degree	Honours degree	Masters degree	PhD
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

1d): May you please indicate your race

black ☐ white ☐ Indian ☐ Mixed race ☐

Section B – Attitude and Perceptions

Please indicate your level of agreement with the following statements in putting an **X** on the appropriate answer.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Women can be better leaders than men in politics?					
There is a large number of woman politicians from Matabeleland in Zimbabwean national politics?					
Would you vote for a woman in an election?					
Women should be confined to the home only?					
I can allow female friends and female relatives to participate in politics?					
Politics is a safe place for women?					
Women are capable of giving political orders/ women can efficiently hold decision making positions?					
I would take a woman leader seriously?					
I would comply to an order given by a woman political leader?					
Women have overcome challenges they face in national politics?					
Women from Matabeleland are eager to participate in national politics?					
Women in Matabeleland support their female counterparts in politics?					
Political leaders are serious about promoting women politicians in national politics?					
Women from Matabeleland are marginalized in politics along ethnic lines?					
Government has implemented adequate measures and laws that promote gender equality in politics?					

APPENDIX FIVE: CERTIFICATE OF EDITING



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landamasuku@gmail.com
+27835841854; +27618043021

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CERTIFICATE OF EDITING

This document certifies that a copy of the thesis whose title appears below was edited for proper English language usage, grammar, punctuation, spelling, and overall style by Dr Sindiso Zhou whose academic qualifications appear in the footer of this document. The research content and the author's intentions were not altered during the editing process.

TITLE: THE IMPACT OF PATRIARCHAL PERCEPTIONS ON THE PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN ZIMBABWEAN NATIONAL POLITICS: A STUDY OF SELECTED WOMEN POLITICIANS IN MATABELELAND REGION.

AUTHORS: SITHABILE MANYEVERE (201716770)

Note: The edited work described here may not be identical to that submitted. The author, at their sole discretion, has the prerogative to accept, delete, or change amendments made by the editor before submission.

DATE: 17 June 2019

EDITOR'S COMMENT

The author was advised to effect suggested corrections in regards to relevance, clarity of terms, word order, consistency in structure and logic, as well as expression.

Signature

PhD Applied Linguistics (UFH), MA Applied Linguistics (MSU), BA (Honours) English and Communication (MSU)
Professional Membership: A member of the Professional Editors Guild