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INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

**GENDER AND GOVERNANCE IN AFRICA: THE CASE OF KENYA, SOUTH
AFRICA AND ZIMBABWE**

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R50/74022/2014

A Research Project submitted in partial fulfillment of the Degree of Masters of Arts in
International Studies

October 2016

DECLARATION

I, Haroun Watakila Wamoto, hereby declare that this research project is undoubtedly my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University according to my best of knowledge.

Signed.....Date.....

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This project has been submitted for examination with my approval as University Supervisor;

Signed..... Date.....

Professor Maria Nzomo.

ABSTRACT

This proposal assesses the situation of gender and governance in Kenya, South Africa, and, Zimbabwe and suggests the policy recommendations that are needed to enhance participation in future. The problem statement of the research is that while there is a rise in the political commitment regarding this matter, and also an increase in the number of constitutional and legal reforms aiming at attaining gender equality, significant gender gaps still exist in all domains of life across the globe and especially. The major objective of the research is to determine the factors that influence gender equality in leadership and how equal representation promotes development in Africa. Some of the research questions to be answered include whether political and economic factors have an influence on gender equality in leadership, and how the cultural factors influence marginalized group participation in political leadership. Moreover, the study seeks to identify the extent with which political factors in Kenya, Zimbabwe, and South Africa influence the participation of marginalized group in political leadership. The basic assumptions of the study are that gender equality is good for governance, equal representation promotes development, gender affects good governance and without gender equality, governance cannot function effectively. The data collection procedures include the use of secondary data from journals, books, and other articles using various databases such as PubMed, Library among others. Primary sources were also utilized in the study. According to the findings, there existed differences between gender and political ideologies. This outcome has both policy and theoretical implication on the underrepresentation of women in governance.

DEDICATION

My wish is to devote this project to my wife Margaret Wambui Watakila, our children Patience Namulundah Watakila, Presley Wekesa Watakila, my parents and friends for their love, support and unwavering encouragement and seeing me through the university education. Through great sacrifice, they ensured I have reached where I am now and to them I am greatly indebted. Further, I dedicate this project to my friends, one so special and dear to my heart and who have given much needed support both physically emotionally and financially. Finally, I wish to dedicate this project to the, kindhearted, inspiring and the best scholar, Professor Maria Nzomo.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The execution of this project could not have been possible without the help of various people to whom I am deeply beholden, my friends Nancy Wanjala and Annet Nekesa Masinde. I wish to value invaluable contribution, guidance and correction as extended to me by my supervisor Professor Maria Nzomo her unreserved support and professional approach to issues ranging from proposal development to report writing. I am particularly grateful to her for the interest and time spent in fine tuning this project. I would also like to recognize the support and encouragement as extended to me by my parents for their financial support, my lecturers and my friends without whom this project would have not been possible.

DEFINITION OF OPERATIONAL TERMS (GLOSSARY)

Gender: Gender means a description of the socially constructed variations between men and women. These can change over time and usually vary from one society to another

Gender equality- signifies the elimination of any form of inequalities between the sexes

Governance: the ability of the government to make and implement the rules, and to provide services, regardless of whether it is a democratic or not

Feminism: means advocating for the rights of women on the political, social and economic equality to men.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1. PROBLEM CONTEXT

Women rights particularly their representation in governance has been a debate across the globe. In spite of the agreement by the international communities regarding the basic principles of the rights of women, many governments especially in Africa have continued to disregard this basic importance by not putting enough effort on incorporating women in governance. Gender equality in governance is not only an indicator of the wellbeing of the society, but also a basis of achieving the United Nation's Millennium Development Goals as well as the Beijing Platform for Action. This project puts women at the center of gender equality and governance as they have been the most disadvantaged gender group compared to the men.

1.2 BACKGROUND TO THE PROBLEM

The just ended century will forever be remembered for one thing which is the struggle for gender equality in areas such as political, social and economic rights as well as the oppression that the disadvantaged gender went through and still goes through to achieve gender equality. During the last decades, governments have put many resources in researching, exposing as well as finding lasting solutions to the long problem of gender equality. To add to the vast number of the conferences, seminars and workshops that were held in various nations such as Beijing, the United Nations organized approximately five world conferences as an effort of monitoring the status of the disadvantaged gender, suggest the initiatives that were against a host of intransigent issues, and encouraged the implementation of platforms that were agreed upon by the nations that participated.

Nevertheless, there is still a long way to go for governments particularly those on the African continent to make better implementations that can achieve gender equality in governance¹. In the academic settings, gender studies are now dedicated to impact on their revenue negatively. Understand the whole system that the society defines and hypothesize the gendered norms for their individuals. A study of the gendered governance studies masculinity and femininity as they operate within a system of the gendered understandings that has to be understood as a whole². The number of the disadvantaged gender in some of the African legislatures is more than most of the developed countries. Nevertheless, this does not mean that the increase in this marginalized gender is a representation of their interests in making decisions in government. To say it simpler, politics of representation does not guarantee or necessarily lead to a politics of transformation. For instance, various studies across the globe have shown that with the increased number of the disadvantaged group in the public politics, their issues, interests, values among others have been incorporated into the political discourse besides policy-making. However, they are not translating into effective action on the ground³. Although laws are necessary, they are not sufficient enough to change the African governance architecture. Governments need to do more in ensuring that the disadvantaged gendered groups are catered for as this is also crucial for the overall social development and democratic governance. Therefore, there is need to support the structures and processes that point to possibilities and opportunities in terms of gender equality. This work builds on the previous works on gender and governance in Africa particularly in Kenya, Zimbabwe and South Africa as

¹ Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa. (2012). *African Governance and Gender: From a Politics of Representation to a Politics of Transformation*. Retrieved from CODESTRIA: <http://www.codesria.org/spip.php?article1543&lang=fr>

² (Nussbaum, et al. 2003)

³ (Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa n.d.)

the sites that require urgent studies in priority aspects of gender equality promotion as part of the processes of democratic governance. An understanding of the vital issues of disadvantaged gender groups and having a democratic governance is pivotal in developing a research agenda that offers data as well as analysis for policymakers and academic purposes about these three regions.

1.3. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Gender discourse, is one of the historical perspectives that has received attention across the globe and moved through different discourses in the previous decades from its original word, women in development (WID) to being coined to gender and development (GAD)⁴. Women movements began in 1970s and since then women have been struggling to ensure that there is equality regardless of their gender. Some of their demands included political, economic and social equality so that they can actively participate in the developmental processes. The Beijing Platform for Action, PfA, adopted at the Conference, acknowledged that gender equality and empowerment of women are vital to address the major developmental matters related to poverty, insecurity as well as achieving sustainable people oriented development.

According to the PfA's agreement gender equality is a goal. Besides, countries backed the mainstreaming of gender equality approach as a way of reducing gender inequality. The world conferences follow the PfA after every 5 years. Responses to the PfA on the disadvantaged gender that has extremely impacted on bringing the issues of gender equality to the center of public awareness and policymaking.

⁴ (Ryan 2007)

In the past two decades, the global gender agenda has steadily dropped to all sections of society around the world⁵. Additionally, the African Charter for Popular Participation in Development, also offered space for women development and empowerment⁶. While there is a rise in the political commitment regarding this matter, and also an increase in the number of constitutional and legal reforms aiming at attaining gender equality, significant gender gaps still exist in all domains of life across the globe and especially in the African continent. A minimum critical mass is seen as necessary for promoting the marginalized gender's interest but to this too remain problematic⁷. This research will use three countries notably; Kenya, South Africa, and Zimbabwe to test the degree with which disadvantaged groups of gender attain such goals as proposed by the empowerment framework. In applying this framework, in anti-colonial contexts, one needs to note that marginalized in Kenya and Zimbabwe were confronting both settler colonialism and male-dominated beliefs where women underwent suffering⁸. The disadvantaged gender that joined in liberation wars anticipated to make choices in the decisions that affected their way of life and to occupy decision-making spaces in their independent countries. Disadvantaged gender also anticipated that ideas about subordination of women would be changed⁹.

⁵ Onimode et al. (2004): African Development and Governance Strategies in the 21 century Zeed Books, London, U.K

⁶ Chachage & Mbilinyi (2003): Against Neo Liberalism, Gender, Democracy and Development, Tanzania Gender Network Programme (TGNP), Dar-es-Salaam. Article in Section 1 by Asseny Muro

⁷ *ibid*

⁸ KOMBO, E. E. (2012, April). *Women In National Liberation Wars In The Settler Colonies Of Kenya And Zimbabwe: Pathways to Political Empowerment*. Retrieved from http://etheses.whiterose.ac.uk/2600/1/Women_in_national_liberation_wars_Kenya_%26_Zimbabwe.pdf

⁹ *ibid*

Nevertheless, power reveals itself in a variety of ways and various individuals exercise control in various ways. Additionally, power has an impact on the lives of people and it impacts them differently. For instance, people can be forced to act against their interests, normally through intimidations and threats that are used against them¹⁰. This is the power that led to the colonization of Kenyans, South Africans and Zimbabweans. They were oppressed and forced into a subordinate relationship with a white settler population.

1.4 THE SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The study was to provide a clue on the minority gender standings in Kenya, Zimbabwe and South Africa. The major indicators that are going to be discussed are such as control of the resources and having access to them, for instance, education, employment and enterprise ownership. Others may include the financial services, participating in decision making processes in areas like politics among others. The analysis assists in identifying of different gaps that one can be able to address them through prescription of policy¹¹. The restriction of this research was with regard to the available data and access to information together with control of resources.

1.5. OBJECTIVES

1.5.1. MAIN OBJECTIVE

¹⁰ ibid

¹¹ Social Cultural Role of Women - Documents, <http://docslide.us/documents/social-cultural-role-of-women.html> (accessed October 21, 2016).

This research determines the factors that influence gender equality in leadership and how equal representation promotes development in Africa.

1.5. 2. SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES

- I. To examine how political and economic factors influence gender equality in leadership.
- II. To establish the extent of educational influence on marginalized group participation in leadership.
- III. To examine how cultural factors, influence marginalized group participation in political leadership.
- IV. To identify the extent with which political factors in Kenya, Zimbabwe, and South Africa influence the participation of marginalized group in political leadership.

1.6. THE STUDY PROBLEM JUSTIFICATION

This research pays closer attention to the history and the social context with the goal of bringing to light significant issues about gender and governance in Africa. One of the first areas is the understanding of the precolonial practices and the way that the colonial and postcolonial experiences altered them. The current policies that have been proposed require that the policymakers understand wholly the current situation within their societies and the specific gender relations configurations that have been so far developed. Additionally, in explaining about the local institutions, there is a need to carefully examine the previous perspectives on gender and governance in Africa. Two perspectives in most cases informed most of the researches that were conducted in the past; Western orientation and patriarchal perspective. This later misrepresented the daily lives of the oppressed gender and also altered the behavior so that they can be in tandem with the preconceived ideas of the type of the political actors that they should be.

This research is justified because the marginalized participation in both formal and informal decision-making structures is usually low and for the dominant gender¹². Most institutions together with the cultural, economic as well as the societal factors restrain the oppressed gender's opportunities and their abilities to participate in making decisions. For this reason, they have low representation in politics and governance which acts as an indicator of gender inequality. Besides, they are underrepresented in both the political sphere and in decision making¹³. This research, therefore, focuses on gender inequality in Africa and how helpful it can be to the policymakers and academics. Policymakers will be able to pass laws that assess the best ways of increasing the numbers of the marginalized gender group at all levels of government starting with village councils to Parliament. Besides, they will be able to pass the laws that ensure this group is not left out in the new political processes that are currently emerging from conflicts. This is because war and civil unrest have emerged as a gender component as this group is at the highest risk of rape, sexual slavery, traumatization to mention a few. There is the need to address the gross underrepresentation of the minority gender at every level of peaceful negotiations and politics. The research also enables the academics to learn new knowledge that they may use in understanding the depth of gender inequality in Africa and the ways of limiting it.

1.6.1 POLICY JUSTIFICATION.

The study will provide the basis for implementing policies that promote equal rights for minority gender and promote education for a girl child in Africa, many nations on the continent have not

¹² Kangas, A., Haider, H., & Fraser, E. (2014).

¹³ Mofoluwawo, E. (2014).

looked into the importance of empowering minority gender and how it can improve the living standard of families. Gender equality is an essential goal for development and is critical to enabling all gender to partake equally in both a country's economy and society, many minority genders in Africa do not have enough degree of control over household choices or regarding what they earn and how they are spent. Various interventions for the women can assist them by curbing the patterns of risky sexual behaviors, support girls in ensuring that they continue staying in school or engaging in skills training, and fight existing gender inequality¹⁴. The study will also encourage the introduction of policies that support the decrease of gender inequalities in accessing, having control over and benefiting from the resources, political, cultural, prospects and services. Reducing gender-based violence and mitigating its risky outcomes on people and communities, increasing the capabilities of women to realize their rights and determining their life outcomes and decision making in the society and in leadership can enhance gender equality. This policy is including every gender irrespective of their demographics. The Beijing Platform for Action (1995) noted that gender mainstreaming is a strategy that will help achieve. For African Governments, this implies that considerations with regard to gender have to inform our Integrated Development Planning processes, our budgeting, program implementation besides as monitoring, evaluation, and reporting. This Gender Policy Framework has been developed to provide guidance and support to the sector around gender mainstreaming and empowerment of the minority gender. It has as its pillars the Local Government Strategic Agenda, and the National Policy for Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality. The Framework will go a long way in assisting Government

¹⁴ See Improving Gender Equality in Africa published in February 2014 by the World Bank

to deliver on its developmental mandate, putting into consideration the concerns of women and men and experiences so that they can benefit equitably from development initiatives¹⁵.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

¹⁵ From the South Africa Local Government Gender Policy Framework

2.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter assesses the previous literature on gender equality and governance. The information in this chapter is obtained from secondary sources like books, the internet, and dissertations. The conceptual framework shows how gender equality affects governance in different nations.

2.2. DEFINITION OF THEORETICAL TERMS

2.2.1. GENDER EQUALITY

According to the Southern Africa Parliamentary Support Trust (SAPST), Gender illustrates the socially constructed variances between men and women. These can change by time and normally varies from one society to another. Gender identities determine how the society perceive people and how they should behave as men and women. As such, the allocation of public funds through national budgets usually follow such differences in the social constructions of gender¹⁶. The national budget of any country is the most important policy instrument because without financial resources it will be difficult to implement other national policies. Thus, every line ministry requires sufficient financial allocation from the national budgets. However, when analyzing national budgets from the perspective of gender, the main focus is to illuminate how the allocation from the national budget will be accessed by as well as affecting different groups in society as women, men, boys, and girls¹⁷. For this reason, gender budgeting makes sure that individual needs and their interests regardless of their social groups are covered in the budget of the government. Lack of this orientation has led to the perpetual negation of women's needs about

¹⁶ "Feminist View of Gender Budgeting in Zimbabwe | The Chronicle," The Chronicle | Bulawayo's Most Popular Daily Newspaper, last modified October 9, 2011, <http://www.chronicle.co.zw/feminist-view-of-gender-budgeting-in-zimbabwe/>.

¹⁷ Debbie Budlender and Guy Hewitt, *Engendering Budgets A Practitioners' Guide to Understanding and Implementing Gender-Responsive Budgets*, (London: Commonwealth Secretariat, 2003), http://www.internationalbudget.org/wp-content/.../Engendering_Budgets_final_doc.pdf.

allocation of resources. Gender dynamics in budget analysis helps to reveal how different groups are set to benefit and affected by the actual national expenditure and revenue collection systems and procedures.

Gender is a relational perception which encompasses roles and relationship analysis existing between men and women in the social, cultural and institutional perspectives. Gender issues are based on the link between men and women, their societal roles, rights and responsibilities while recognizing that they are varied across different cultures and localities¹⁸. The concept of gender in this research is utilized as a diagnostic tool to understand power relationship issues and equality between women and men. Another area to focus on in this research is feminism that struggles to reduce male dominance and fight the equality of women and men as it strives to transform what happens in the minds of men and women besides realizing justice¹⁹. Thus, feminists provide a theoretical framework and analytical viewpoints from which perceptions like subordination of women, gender, division of labor and household work can be understood.

Since there are variations of Feminist Economics, the study relied on the perspectives of Marxist, Socialist, and Liberal economic feminists. Marxists economist feminism arises out of the ideals of Karl Marx's theory of class struggle while for the socialist feminists the oppression of women has its roots in social relationships that are oppressive in nature²⁰. On the other hand, liberal feminists identify gender roles assigned to each group in society as the root causes of oppression of women. In this regard, it can be noted that the ideas of these feminists are more or less related

¹⁸ Barbara N. Ngwenya, Ketlhatlogile K. Mosepele, and Lapologang Magole, "A case for gender equity in governance of the Okavango Delta fisheries in Botswana," *Natural Resources Forum* 36, no. 2 (2012): xx, doi:10.1111/j.1477-8947.2012.001450.x.

¹⁹ Pereira, C. 2002. Between knowing and imagining: What space for feminism in scholarship on Africa? *Feminist Africa Intellectual Politics*, no.1. Cape Town: African Gender Institute.

²⁰ Weil. S. 1955. *Oppression and liberty*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.

to the aspect of allocation of resources. This section reviews some debates on development and how they apply to women advancement in governance in the African states. This will include critiquing why various strategies were not suitable for development and political advancements in the third world countries. Women empowerment in participating fully in the economic sectors is vital in building a stronger economy, attain internationally agreed objectives for a countries development and its sustainability, improve people's quality of life²¹. Another sector that is vital in the efforts of advancing gender equality and empowering women is the private sector²².

2.2.2. GOVERNANCE

The definition of governance is the capability of making and enforcing rules, and delivering services irrespective of the government structure²³. There are certain components of good governance including being accountable, having political stability, efficient government, the quality of regulations, the rule of law as well as being able to control corruption. On the same note, the UN Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific pursued developments on 8 dimensions of good governance and it mentioned accountability where the government holds institutions liable for their actions, being responsive which implies that the state serves the public within a stipulated time and being impartial. Moreover they noted that good governance involves being efficient and effective by making the best use of available resources among others²⁴.

A generous measure of work has been published on good governance, quite a bit of it concentrated on the way that good governance enhances economic conditions by reducing poverty, and

²¹ "Women's Empowerment Principles – Headquarters," UN Women, accessed October 30, 2016, <http://www.unwomen.org/partnerships/businesses-and-foundations/womens-empowerment-principles>.

²³ Francis Fukuyama, "What Is Governance?," *Governance* 26, no. 3 (2013): xx, doi:10.1111/gove.12035.

²⁴ See the Federal Party of Kenya, <http://federalpartyofkenya.yolasite.com/> (accessed October 21, 2016).

openness in trade sector in both the developing and the less developed nations. The writing on good governance studies is additionally connected to political improvement, environmental security, and corporate governance. All the more as of late, consideration has swung to great administration about human rights. The link between human rights and great administration is thought to be similarly strengthening. Human rights suggest an arrangement of rule that direct government's capacities. If there is no good governance, human rights can't be secured. Governments are in charge of offering public services that are vital for securing human rights standards. These services incorporate the delivery of education and medicinal services, building responsibility through straightforwardness and the free stream of data, securing the social consideration of the hindered gatherings, and bringing issues to light on human rights values among the general population.

The responsibility of governments is to offer public services that are vital for securing human rights principles. Some of the services are such as offering healthcare, building transparency and ensuring that there is free flow of information, ensuring that there is social inclusion of women, raising awareness on the values of human rights among the publics.

Most scholars have explored on the link between good governance and human rights in different themes that are mentioned above like the rule of law. One of the examples is the article of Chavan. For example, Chavan's article that showed how the lack of information, discriminatory laws, and the monopoly of government of goods and services led to the widespread of corruption in India. His emphasis was that the citizen rights to freedom of information is a way to fight corruption and promote good governance. Moreover, good governance is a necessity to the local economic development as it is responsive to the needs of local people.

2.2.3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK ON THE CONTEXT OF GENDER INEQUALITY

2.2.3.1 SOCIALIZATION THEORY

Various theories have been utilized in the contextualization of the aspect of gender inequality. This encompasses the socialization theory to hierarchical prescriptions of gender. Some of the three diverse theoretical traditions that assist in identifying sex and gender are such as is because of biology or socialization²⁵. This is based on the level of analysis of an individual that encompasses social identities whenever men grow up as competitive and work-oriented. On the contrary, women grow up to become nurturing, person oriented and child centred. Regarding gender, the socialization theory notes that parents and guardians teach children to behave in particular ways according to their gender. Boys are taught to act in a masculine way while girls in a feminine way. As an example, parents differentiate the type of toys that they buy for either of their children's gender. Boys are bought trucks or army toys, while girls get dolls and play house type of toys. Risman noted that the second tradition lays its focus on the ways in which social structure forms gendered behavior. According to his approach, both men and women differ in their behaviors as they fill varied posts in various institutions, working organizations and families, implying that they undertake dissimilar gendered roles.

The third emphasis is on the interactive perception that focuses on the contextual issues including the cultural expectations and the situational meanings that are taken-for-granted. Risman states that this concept means that there is an expectation for an individual to form differences which are not unavoidable nor indispensable. Hence, this gendered variation can be understood to mean validation of inequality, as anything female in the patriarchal society is not valued but looked down upon²⁶.

²⁵ See a project report on the social-cultural role of women in Kenya

²⁶ A report from the Institute of economic affairs about the Profile Of Women's Socio- Economic Status In Kenya

2.2.3.2 HIERARCHICAL THEORY

This theory talks about gender inequality and its linkage to development. This theory's foundation is grounded in the arguments of Amartya Sen's arguments²⁷. The author equated freedom and development where the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is not the final goal to be achieved but the freedom that is connected with it. For instance, some of the freedom connected to it include the freedom for education, to make decisions, to impact a person's life, the freedom to have a longer life and freedom to make a choice to have education. In view of this unique situation, confinements on property ownership, sparing or obtaining, or making work contracts would qualify as disincentives to development, while flexibility to practice the exercises would be connected with financial development. Along these lines gender inequality, considered as a various leveled perspective of sexual orientation relations, with men above women, and the latter viewed as second rate and less significant by their sex, is development impeding. The contention is that sexual orientation uniformity communicated in an equivalent esteeming and arrangement of chances for both sexes upgrades improvement in all circles²⁸. It appears in the available opportunities for improvement, education, wellbeing, and nourishment. It also shows in violence and general imperceptibility of the women's work. The chain of importance is worthy by both genders and is not regularly addressed. It is sufficiently general to apply to countries, societies and eras with the fundamental assumption that adjustments in the status of women will get to be apparent being developed just over a more extended period. Different studies have concentrated on the resultant impacts of the socially characterized parts recognizing masculinity and femininity. The greater part of these studies have basically reported Gender Based Violence (GBV). As

²⁷ Ursula Sabina Awuor, factors influencing the economic status of women in Kenya, a case of Mumias District

²⁸ Anne Mikkola, "Role of Gender Equality in Development-A Literature Review," (PhD diss., University of Helsinki, 2005), <https://helda.helsinki.fi/bitstream/handle/10138/16660/roleofge.pdf?sequence=1>.

indicated by the UN, brutality against women ought to be comprehended inside the setting of ladies' and young ladies' subordinate status to men and young men in the public arena.2.2.3.3 gender inequality in Education

According to literature in both developing and developed countries, the education of girls is vital for the family's welfare as well as their future development. Many empirical studies that Schiltz summarizes note that increased schooling of the mother is linked to the large impact on the health of children, their schooling, and productivity in adulthoodvity than the increased schooling of the father²⁹. Other theories related to genderequality in education and its influence on the growth of a nation have been developing basing on the selection distortion factor. This theory, which was developed by Dollar and Gatti, suggest that when one thinks that there is a similarity in the distribution of innate abilities between boys and girls, then the gender inequality in education has to imply that the less able boys than girls receive opportunities to get education and that there is a lower average innate ability of those who receive education than it would have been the case if the two gender received equal education³⁰. Previous studies on the financial services' role with gender dimensions by scholars like Aghion and Morduch suggests that grouplending and peer borrowers frequently practiced in microfinance institutions prevent domestic violence and offers a solution for women to save their money away from their spouses. Many of these theoretical foundations are seen in the socio-economic status of women in developing economies, Kenya included³¹

2.2.3.4 REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

²⁹ Paul Schultz T. Schultz, *Why Governments Should Invest More To Educate Girls*, (New Haven, CT: Economic Growth Center, Yale University, 2001), <http://www.econ.yale.edu/~pschultz/GovtEducatingGirls.PDF>.

³⁰ David Dollar and Roberta Gatti, *Gender Inequality, Income, and Growth: Are Good Times Good for Women?*, ([S.l.]: The World Bank, 1999), [http://www.ccee.edu.uy/ensenian/catgenyeco/Materiales/2011-08-10%20M4%20-%20DollaryGatti\(1999\)GenderInequalityIncomeAndGrowth.pdf](http://www.ccee.edu.uy/ensenian/catgenyeco/Materiales/2011-08-10%20M4%20-%20DollaryGatti(1999)GenderInequalityIncomeAndGrowth.pdf).

³¹ *ibid*

Anne Marie Goetz inspects the women representation in the Ugandan and South African legislative issues. She explores on the institutional changes that these countries have made to better the lives of women and their cooperation in the legislative issues and the enhancement of leadership by drawing on the current forms in both the countries. According to her findings, while the numbers of women spoken to in both commonwealths have expanded essentially contrasted with those in numerous created nations, this does not decipher into an expansion in the representation of the interests of women in basic government leadership³². She too finds that while political progression is credited with the expansion of these representation of women in their national governing bodies, it is not because of more prominent degrees of popular government in common and political institutions.

David Mazambani examines the various property strategies that influence the Ruwanwe women in Ward 4 of Nyanga District³³. According to his findings, regardless of the reality, these women work hard to manage their families, the sexual orientation imbalance that is propagated by conventional standard practices frustrate their advance. He likewise finds that national land strategies additionally tend to include to their underestimation, as, by and large, male-headed family units possess 2.0 hectares of arable land while female-headed family units have far less; single moms, widows, divorcees share a paltry 0.7, 1.4, and 0.7 hectares, respectively.

The Commonwealth Secretariat and the Malawi Institute of Management showed the discoveries on and proposals for good administration and gender equality in people in general administration of Republic African nations from a provincial workshop led in Lilongwe, Malawi

³² Anne M. Goetz, "Women in politics & gender equity in policy: South Africa & Uganda," *Review of African Political Economy* 25, no. 76 (1998): 37, doi:10.1080/03056249808704312.

³³ David Mazambani, "Kubatana - Archive - Gender, Governance and the Welfare of Rural Women - ITDG - July 01, 2002," The Kubatana Archive Site, last modified July 2002, <http://archive.kubatana.net/html/archive/women>

from June 27 to 30, 2005³⁴. The general accord of workshop individuals is that while most African nations have sanctioned worldwide. Furthermore, provincial conventions that are focused toward expanding sex equity in all circles, existing endeavors are still constrained in meeting these conventions in numerous African nations. Workshop members subsequently suggest that African nations need to concentrate on the strengthening of ladies in key basic leadership positions with the end goal for them to be capable "to impact approaches, choices and programming and also inducing administration structures and procedures for sex impartial administration conveyance and administration outcomes."

In the paper, *Decentralizing Government and Centralizing Gender Sex in Southern Africa: Lessons from the South African Experience* (2005), Jo Beall contends that though decentralization is habitually referred to as an essential angle for expanding women representation and political support, the benefits for them of regressed neighborhood government in Southern Africa are not generally self-evident³⁵. She likewise finds that notwithstanding when ladies are viably sorted out and spoken to locally, sexual orientation delicate administration conveyance is undermined by the close relationship amongst decentralization and neo-liberal policies.⁴ The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark in its booklet titled *Sex Equality in Good Governance* (2008) talks about sexual orientation balance and great administration in Benin, Morocco, and Vietnam by taking a gander at the political, open parts and lawful measurements of administration. The discoveries in this report are the accompanying: (a) poor frameworks of administration result in broad separation identified with sex, race, shading, religion and political conclusion; (b) ladies and men don't have an equivalent level of political representation, opportunity of affiliation and expression; (c)

³⁴ *ibid*

³⁵ Abdul K. Bangura and Alice K. Thomas, "The Nexus between Good Governance and Gender Equality as a Human Right in Africa: A Correlation Statistical Analysis," *Journal of Third World Studies* (n.d.),

occupation and vocation structures in the open division additionally support men above ladies; (d) benefit conveyance frameworks are segregating, and administrations are more available to men than ladies, and (e) ladies' human rights and their entrance to lawful administrations is minor in numerous countries.

As can be gathered from the previous dialog, while the accessible works give great bits of knowledge on the point, none of them can make a conclusive connection amongst administration and sexual orientation correspondence in Africa. 2.2.4 leadership and culture In most cases the issues related with culture influences gender and women participation in the leadership positions. Cultural issues affect gender and participation of women in leadership positions in organizations³⁶. Such cultural issues that Hofstede identified are such as avoiding the unknown, distancing from issues to do with power, having individualistic being against any community concern, and having masculine behavior against the femininity thinking. Being distant from power can be measured by the extent of accepting the less powerful individuals of an organization and institutions and accepting and expecting that power is normally distributed with partiality. Less developed countries like those in Africa have a high power distance compared to the Anglo and Germanic nations.

CHAPTER THREE: THE STATUS OF GENDER EQUALITY AND GOVERNANCE IN AFRICA, CASE STUDIES OF KENYA, ZIMBABWE AND SOUTH AFRICA. SOME HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

3. 0 INTRODUCTION

³⁶ Alice Zinyemba, "Impact Of Culture And Gender On Women Managers In The Hospitality And Financial Services In Zimbabwe," *International Journal of Advanced Research in Management and Social Sciences* 2, no. 5 (May 2013): 44

Gender equality is an idea that spreads more than tending to women's status—rather, it alludes to disposing of any imbalances between the genders. Men and young men can likewise confront inconveniences. In numerous occurrences, they take part in dangerous practices that are harming to themselves and their groups. In Lesotho and the Seychelles, for instance, young women are overwhelming young men in enlistment and execution in enrollment and performance in secondary and tertiary education as social norms and and desires victimize young men's instructive achievement. In different parts of Africa, for example, the Democratic Republic of Congo, social standards of manliness place young fellows at danger of being either casualties or culprits of sexual orientation based savagery, including the danger of being disregarded by other men. Accordingly, it is imperative to perceive that while sexual orientation balance regularly includes tending to segregation or detriment against ladies and young ladies, separation or drawback against men and young men should likewise be handled to make sex balance a reality. This segment manages sexual orientation equity and administration in Kenya, Zimbabwe and South Africa.

With regards to a country state structure, political initiative infers a legally binding relationship between the individuals who govern and the individuals who are represented. In a perfect world, this relationship is authorized by the sway of the state. States appreciate self-sufficiency from different states however submit, consequently, to perceive those others. Three components bond the correspondence and shared acknowledgment between states. In the first place, is the reality of national limits that define the regional degree of a sovereign state. Second, is the area of force in a focal power that consents to consume the utilization of brutality however focuses on the sensible practice of this control in light of a legitimate concern for all and, finally, the honest to goodness and reasonable practice of that power in the enthusiasm of natives, particularly to implement the lead of law and in the only distribution of national riches and assets to all (Adebayo and Lisa, 1996).

Be that as it may, one must perceive two areas for the exercise of power which are a public and private domain. Political administration is not generally restricted to the country state structure. There are various different locales of practice of force where political administration happens. These can generally be depicted as "private" non-state locales, incorporating for example in private organizations, what's more, the common society areas of expert, religious or group based associations, to name these few cases. At this level, an alternate element of governmental issues is affecting everything and an alternate type of administration is normal or worked out. The key qualification between these locales and the state-based political administration is that the state-based requests national level fidelity. In different words, all residents of a nation have a stake out in the open initiative at the state or related levels, while the non-state level records principally to those with enrollment or backhanded affiliation to the said associations and developments.

3. 2 THE CONCEPTUAL ISSUES OF LEADERSHIP

Leadership is about saddling force and utilizing it to propel the welfare of mankind or society. Nevertheless, power is having many sided social connection, as Lonsdale (1981) contends. Power can be utilized or abused. It can be utilized coercively to concentrate consistence or it can be conveyed truly by motivating individuals to assent to the vision of leaders. The craft of interpreting the social estimation of energy to accomplish comprehensively acknowledged and sought closes for a gathering, a group or nation is what leadership is all about. It can be oppressive or legitimated. In Africa, control has for the most part been utilized as a part of a tyrant or domineering way to force, stifle what's more, and threaten individuals. The long history of autocracy in Africa is all around recorded both in works of fiction and in scholarly writings.

Frequently, examination of Africa's irritating history of dictatorial leadership is described in masculinist terms. Since the basic structure of domination is patriarchal, it is accepted that bad

leadership must be male leadership. The opposite is additionally inferred; ladies hold the potential for good leadership in Africa by ideals of being female. There is most likely political authority has been lopsidedly been with the men. In any case, along these lines of representing the issue gives ladies a role as however they exist outside the state and its legislative issues and abandons them as articles that are just followed up on, not as operators in the production of their own stories. The possibility that ladies exist outside the state has been upset, and numerous studies demonstrate the parts of ladies in patriot battles and in the battle for pluralist politics. Amina Mama (1996) finishes up her examination of ladies, legislative issues and the state by belligerence that 'grant on ladies, sexual orientation and the African state in the course of the last five years appears a developing thoughtfulness regarding the dynamic connection amongst state and society, and between contending bunches inside common society.'

3.3 STATUS OF GENDER EQUALITY IN KENYAN POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

Gender equality is vital for both intrinsic and instrumental reasons. It influences social amicability and society's prosperity in different measurements. It includes approach measurements in all territories including training, destitution, work, money related markets, political and monetary strengthening, foundations and general financial advancement. Gender equality upgrades prospects of accomplishing both worldwide and national duties, for example, Millennium Development Goals, Education for All, Convention on the Education of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), Vision 2030 , 2003-2007 Economic Recovery and Employment Creation Strategy, destitution diminishment and feasible improvement either directly or idirectly. Sex disparity, then again, undermines monetary development and social advancement. This is especially valid among less developed economies where ladies are regularly obliged from having to meet access to social and monetary capital, for example, business, political, money

related and social positions. Thus engaging ladies and empowering them to take an interest effectively add to social, financial and political exercises is critical for supportable improvement. The nation's dedication to tending to sexual orientation value and imbalances can be followed in both universal and national strategy duties. The third and fifth Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) underscore the requirement for sexual orientation equality particularly in training and access to social, financial and political open doors, by 2015. Accordingly, the nation has set up different approaches and intercessions including enactment, female particular strategies, arranges, and programs went for tending to particular sex crevices or types of separation. Such mediations incorporate governmental policy regarding minorities in society, advancing young lady kid instruction, monetary strengthening through the presentation of the Women Development Fund. It has adopted the declaration of gender equality, its development and peace startin from 1995 to encourage women to advance in areas like education, power as well as decision making. This section discusses how kenya has progressed in the advbancement of women in senior positions from when it started implementing these decisions inn 1995 to 2010 through assessing gender equality in various public and private organizations. This is guided by the feminist theory principle. Some of the data are from the archives.

3.3.1 REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN KENYAN POLITICS

What is unknown to the public is that there is a constitutional crisis in Kenya due to lack of women in parliament. According to the 2010 constitution that the electorate voted for, there should be no more than two-thirds elected or appointed body, especially parliament with the same gender. Nevertheless, women are making less than 19% of the parliament and just 27% in the senate, a target far from realization. While recognizing that there is a failure, the Supreme Court decided to set a deadline on 27th August 2015 as the day that the parliament was to create a framework for

achieving the two-third principle. One of the bodies that are at the heart of this debate is the Kenya Women's Parliamentary Association (KEWOPA) as it has the determination of securing a way for progress prior to the deadline to make sure that there will be a positive outcome in the 2017 general elections³⁷. Nevertheless, this has not been achieved yet. Not only is there a negative traditional cultural attitude towards women in politics but also these female MPs are viewed as ineffective in terms of open-mindedness.

The view that women would never be great leaders was firmly held by a large portion of the male administration in Kenya, whether inside Kenyatta's circle or not. This frequently discovered expression in parliament among generally respectable pioneers, for example, Martin Shikuku. A firm devotee in the "holiness" of polygamy, Shikuku frequently considered women kids who could as it were be spoken to by men. What was humorous about Shikuku's presumption was that the internal hover of Kenyatta's Cabinet considered women and the non-Kikuyu as individuals who were poorly prepared for administration, a conviction that still charges genuine influence among Kibaki's supporters. For Kenyatta, with respect to Kibaki, administration had a place with the place of Mumbi, yet in the first occasion just to the children of Mumbi. The two administrations sustained an extremely pessimistic demeanor towards ladies and different ethnicities in Kenya.

3.3.2 EDUCATIONAL INFLUENCE ON WOMEN PARTICIPATION IN KENYAN POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

A recognizing component of the women leaders who made it to parliament or any related position of administration in Kenya is their high educational levels accomplishment. Generally, most of these women leaders had accomplished academics having reached the highest levels of their

³⁷ Lord Steel et al., "The Struggle for Gender Equality in Kenyan Politics," PoliticsHome.com, last modified July 16, 2015, <https://www.politicshome.com/news/uk/foreign-affairs/opinion/commonwealth-parliamentary-association/61946/struggle-gender>.

careers. Others, for example, Nyiva Mwendwa were astute in their own right. For a number of these women, the family was their significant boost as they supported their leadership ambitions. Most of these women acknowledge that their families stood by them throughout their educational backgrounds. In reality, the ardent support of their fathers tallied a great deal since this spoke to the basic column against which to break the patriarchal groups forced by their groups. This, undoubtedly, was the case for Grace Ogot.

During the Precolonial period, education was made available mostly to men meaning that many women remained illiterate, hence they were unable to participate in the modern economic decisions. The main work that women engaged in was domestic and it was mostly classified as no work because it was not fitting into the economic criteria of the colonial system. Additionally, after the migration to urban centers mostly led by men, there was a rise in the number of females that remained in the rural areas, leading many of them to poverty that they had not yet experienced. Besides, the colonial state did limit women from moving to urban centers.

After the colonialists' introduction of formal education in Kenya, it impacted both men and women differently. Most elderly people from all tribes were viewing the education of women with suspicion. According to them, the presence of the colonialists was interrupting with the society's idyllic isolated and sheltered life in the village. As such, they thought that girls' movement to boarding and mission schools was a way of spoiling them and would lead to making them bad wives. Nevertheless, some of the women attended these schools and became nurses and teachers among other careers. While some women got these careers, the society restricted women from combining marriage with careers. As a result, these contradictions have had an effect on the ways that workplace and politics have been structured in Kenya. Despite the women being educated, they are still expected to retain their traditional roles as mothers and submissive wives in marriage.

This has therefore created a conflict between professional women who want to balance the dual careers. As such, this has created issues for women to venture into politics due to how the society perceives them and the ways that they discharge their duties in a male dominated national assembly.

Given that a number of women had not been educated much as men the vast majority of the political positions occupied by men. It is not a surprise, hence, that the first Kenyan parliament did not have any lady elected or even nominated. Nevertheless, despite the fact that training level may have assumed a part, the male strength acquired from both the provincial and a large portion of the conventions of the general population of Kenya implied that women would not be the first decision as leaders. Regardless of the financial development that portrayed the first ten years of post-independence Kenya, the period was likewise set apart by debate among ethnic gatherings, and tremendous crevices between the rich and poor people. Despite the fact that the guarantee given to Kenyans by the new leaders was to kill neediness, obliviousness and ailment, this has not yet been figured it out to date, and women and youths have endured the brunt of the issues that are related with these three shades of malice³⁸. Below is a table of the representation of women in the Kenyan politics currently.

TABLE 1: WOMEN REPRESENTATION IN PARLIAMENT FROM THE FIRST PARLIAMENT TO THE 10TH PARLIAMENT

³⁸ Heinrich Böll Stiftung, "Women and Political Leadership in Kenya: Ten Case Studies | Heinrich Böll Stiftung East & Horn of Africa," Heinrich Böll Stiftung East & Horn of Africa, last modified November 11, 2013, <https://ke.boell.org/2013/11/20/women-and-political-leadership-kenya-ten-case-studies>.

Parliament	Period	Total no. of constituencies	No. of women elected	Available slots for nomination	No. of women nominated
1 st parliament	1963-1969	158	0	12	0
2 nd parliament	1969-1974	158	1	12	1
3 rd parliament	1974-1979	158	4	12	2
4 th parliament	1979-1983	158	5	12	1
5 th parliament	1983-1988	158	2	12	1
6 th parliament	1988-1992	188	2	12	0
7 th parliament	1992-1997	188	6	12	1
8 th parliament	1997-2002	210	4	12	5
9 th parliament	2002-2007	210	10	12	8
10 th parliament	2008-2012	210	16	12	6
			50		25

Source: (Stiftung, 2013)

3.4 STATUS OF GENDER EQUALITY IN ZIMBABWE'S POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

By 2013, the representation of women in Parliament of Zimbabwe had multiplied from 17% after the 2008 elections to 35% in the 2013 general election that was held on 31st July³⁹. The country has now joined the ranks of about 30 countries across the globe that are working towards increasing

³⁹ "Women Make Up More Than One-third of Zimbabwe's New Parliament – Headquarters," UN Women, last modified September 4, 2013, <http://www.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2013/9/zimbabwe-women-mps-sworn-in>.

representation of women in parliament to a minimum of 30% under a special electoral quota system. 30% is considered as the least for the collective action. Zimbabwe's new constitution has included this quota that the referendum approved in March and was signed in 2013 May. It was broadly celebrated following 10 years in length battle, which UN Women and UNDP upheld through an established entryway gather. The unique measure saves 60 seats for ladies to be chosen through an arrangement of Proportional Representation, in view of the casted votes for political gathering competitors in the National Assembly. Out of 60 chose Senate seats, ladies and men hopefuls are recorded on the other hand, with each rundown headed by a lady applicant. Thus, women now contain 124 of the 350 MPs in Zimbabwe's new Parliament, incorporating 86 women in the National Assembly, 60 in the reserved seats and 26 elected by the electorate specifically to the 210 body electorate seats.

Nevertheless, the gender parity in the Zimbabwean society is still a mirage. There is still limited education, no equal job opportunities, and the representation in politics and decision making is still low and a challenge to the country. In spite of the widely endorsed new constitution being termed as a "victory for women" it does not really address the plight of the Zimbabwean Women. For instance, following a survey done by the Southern African Gender Protocol Alliance, they reported that the women in Zimbabwe are still lagging behind their male counterparts in essential areas like education, improvement of their rights and economic empowerment. Additionally, the report notes that there is less than 1% of the allocation of the national budget for evolving gender equality and women rights. The social critics argue that the representation of women in politics is not necessarily about the quantity of the women representation but about their contribution to the nature/quality of their lives, an issue which even women serving in bureau or parliament have neglected to effectively address.

The 2008 national budget was the first to be announced after the adoption of the gender budgeting policy. However, as has already been indicated, it would be erroneous to measure Zimbabwe's national budgets against their national obligations alone. This is because Zimbabwe is a party to some regional and global instruments that seek to address gender disparities. Most of the instruments were entered into well before the adoption of gender budgeting policy of 2007. As such, Zimbabwe, among other countries, was expected to initiate gender mainstreaming policies in respect of its international commitments and obligations.

The 2008 budget was dubbed, "the People's Budget," as it was aimed at alleviating poverty and improving the well-being of the rural people of Zimbabwe, of which women are in the majority. The budget outlines major key areas that were to be prioritized in the year ending 31 December 2008. According to Zimbabwe Women's Resource Centre and Network (ZWRCN) (2009), these key areas include, among other things, capacity utilization, support of the agricultural sector, roads and bridges, government offices and institutional accommodation, and support of grassroots economic programmes and projects. Women were not mentioned explicitly, but they were covered under the area of grassroots programs.

Agriculture was accorded the highest priority in the year's national budget. In fact the 2008 agricultural season was called "The Mother of All Agricultural Seasons". Since women are the ones who dominate the agricultural sector, it can be argued that the budget was also aimed at transforming the livelihoods of Zimbabwean women. However, a critical examination of how the financial allocations were to be utilized reveals that only a few women were going to benefit from the funding of agricultural sector. The ZWRCN (2009, 39) observes that in the 2008 national budget Z\$97 trillion was allocated for Crop Inputs Support. Of this amount Z\$25 trillion was channeled towards supporting the 2007/8 summer crop program and the Z\$72trillion was to cater

for 2008 winter wheat season as well as for early requirements of the 2008/2009 summer cropping season (GOZ 2008, Item 42). The Z\$97 trillion was allocated to different agricultural projects without considering the effects of inflation and how it was going to affect the value of the Zimbabwean dollar. The inputs were not easily accessible. Those with influential positions in government were the ones who benefited much from the government support. In 2008 capacity utilization of seed and fertilizer companies in Zimbabwe was very low to the extent that the government failed to acquire the inputs it required. Most farmers during this time had to access inputs from the informal market. This presented a lot of problems to women who failed to get the adequate inputs on time.

Women were set to benefit from the support of agricultural infrastructures, such as dams, feeder roads, processing and storage facilities. This support, according to ZWRCN (*ibid.*), was a welcome development to farmers from communal areas who are mostly women. In most cases, poor road networks lead to loss of income due to delays in reaching the markets. However, in 2008 there was no significant agricultural market. The Grain Marketing Board, a statutory body with the monopoly of purchasing grain products directly from farmers, was failing to pay farmers on time. Inflation also eroded the money gained from agricultural produce. In this regard, on paper, the 2008 national budget was likely to contribute to the economic empowerment of women.

Deterioration of social amenities such as schools and hospitals had negatively affected the lives of women in Zimbabwe. The 2008 Budget indicated the government's commitment to resuscitating infrastructure in public institutions such as schools, hospitals, and clinics as well as tertiary institutions. This remained a noble intention which was not backed by adequate financial support. In 2008 the situation at state universities and government hospitals were deplorable.

Unlike the traditionally held economic principles that are based on macroeconomic and developmental projects, the 2008 national budget was based on the conviction that community-based programs are the hub of employment creation. As such, direct support was availed towards women and youth development programs. The major thrust was to support projects aimed at employment creation and poverty alleviation. The funds were going to be disbursed through the Women Community Development Fund (WDF) which was allocated Z\$26.6 trillion, and the Youth Development and Employment Creation Fund (YDECF) which was allocated Z\$11 trillion. It is worth noting that since most of the women in rural areas have been discriminated over the years, it was prudent for the Treasury to set aside funds first to educate the women on how they can benefit from such projects. This is because if a survey is to be carried out on how the funds were utilized it will not be surprising to find that the few who were already empowered are the ones who continue to benefit from such programs. In certain circumstances, women from the urban areas would go and take advantages of such programs. Hyper-inflation, coupled with economic sanctions, was the major challenge in 2008. In this regard, trillions that were allocated to women's programs were inadequate and were eroded by the inflation.

In addition to the above pointers, the 2008 National budget allocated Z\$21.4 trillion to boost support for Small and Medium Enterprises (SME). The funds were to be accessed through loans administered by Small Enterprises Development Corporation (SEDCO). This was indeed a noble idea that, however, needed the support of other policy measures especially about requirements for collateral security. Women face some challenges in accessing loans. As such the government should in future put in place borrowing requirements that will see more women having access to loans. Those who accessed the loans faced difficulties in purchasing inputs since the local industry was facing a lot of operating challenges. Thus economic liberation of women in an environment that prevailed in 2008 could not be made possible solely through the national budget.

The first national budget for that year was announced in January 2009 by the then Acting Minister of Finance Patrick Chinamasa. It did not garner a lot of societal support because Zimbabweans were anxiously waiting for the implementation of the Global Political Agreement (GPA) MoCPA (2008), which was going to establish the Government of National Unity between ZANU-PF and the two MDC formations. However, this budget should be commended for ushering in the multi-currency dispensation which brought stability to the macroeconomic environment. This national budget was quickly reviewed when the Inclusive Government was consummated.

The 2009 national budget review was based on the STERP I which was formulated with full cognisance of the fact that any agenda for economic stabilization that does not address the issues of democracy and governance is not sufficient. Democratization was noted as one of the pillars of STERP. Indeed equality among men and women in all sectors of life is one of the major indicators of democracy. STERP should be commended for dedicating Sections 34 to 45 to 'Women's Affairs, Gender, and Community Development.' This was indeed a sure way of warranting that the document was going to be dubbed as 'gender sensitive.' It would have made a lot of meaning and showed a lot of commitment if STERP had elaborated how the Inclusive Government was going to ensure that women are not relegated to the sectoral reforms. For example on infrastructural development, it is assumed that there will be gender mainstreaming of this policy but without giving details on which policies will be embraced to ensure that women's issues are taken on board about infrastructure development and rehabilitation. Manyeruke (2009) argues that roads, rail, air, electricity, telecommunications, and borders, to mention just a few facilities, were in a state of decay to promote meaningful business and livelihoods.

Unlike the 2008 national budget which had a Women Community Development Fund (WCDF), the 2009 budget had no specific funds earmarked for the emancipation of women or to reduce

gender inequality. This happened regardless of the fact that the preamble to the GPA clearly states that the bedrock of democracy and good governance include values of justice, fairness, tolerance, equality, lack of discrimination, and respecting all people regardless of their races, class and gender among others. Such an acknowledgment of the need to address gender disparities was not matched with the actual budgetary allocations. However, women were covered by implication through the provision of funds to programs that directly and indirectly affect their welfare.

Health and education sectors were given considerable attention under Item 7.2.2 of the 2009 national budget review. The national budget noted that health delivery system in the country was in a deplorable situation, affected by brain drain. The same document reveals that at that time (February 2009) there was about 68 per cent of vacant posts for doctors; lack of functioning essential medical equipment, and a high burden of preventive diseases such as malaria, HIV, and AIDS, and tuberculosis, among others. By implication, the expression of government's interest to address the problems facing the health sector shows that the government was committed to improving the welfare of the women citizens. A review of STERP indicates that about 100 000 vulnerable persons were expected to access health services through the Assisted Medical Treatment Orders (AMTO) program. It was not clear on how people were going to be assisted. However, implicitly the beneficiaries would access free medication from health service providers who will later claim their funds from the government. The STERP 11 policy document shows that the program had a budget of US\$2 million. By October 2009, only 720 vulnerable persons had been assisted at the cost of US\$19 782. Nonetheless, the program was not backed by adequate resources and most service providers were not willing to participate. It can be argued that as long as the government is relying on the cash budget, the implementation of its programs will not be an

easy task⁴⁰. Thus, no matter how a government can come up with brilliant ideas, without sustainable funding such policies will never yield the expected results.

Education is one of the areas where women have been discriminated against. The Girl Child Network Project found that “in just two years, the percentage of girls dropping out of school—especially in rural areas of Zimbabwe jumped from 20 per cent in 2006 to 60 percent in 2008”. Nherera (2005) notes that “about access to secondary education girls constituted 46 per cent as compared to 53.82 per cent boys. Over the past nine years, Zimbabwe’s economy was declining to the extent that women and girls were mostly affected”. To address this pathetic situation, the Government of Zimbabwe indicated its commitment through prioritizing the education sector in the 2009 national budget where it became among the top six priority areas. The 2009 budget review by Minister of Finance Tendai Biti states that the objective of the financial policy review, among other things, was to “...afford equal opportunity to education by all, especially the vulnerable groups”. Programmes were put in place for such groups to access resources through the Basic Education Assistance Module (BEAM). According to the 2009 budget review statement item (13.5.6), US\$9.2 million was set aside for such programs. US\$ 5 million was also set aside for the National Training Fund and Cadetship. However, it was not clear how many women were set to benefit from such programs and funds.

About Specially Targeted Vulnerable Groups (STVG), women were not considered explicitly as part of this segment in society. Instead, the budget mentions the elderly, orphans and child-headed families as well as physically challenged persons. Thus, while the 2009 Zimbabwean national budget mentions the need to address gender issues, the actual allocation of funds falls short of

⁴⁰ Teacher Retention in South Africa, http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_dialogue/---sector/documents/publi (accessed October 21, 2016).

fulfilling such commitments. Therefore, there is a need to reorient the government authorities to focus now on the agenda of feminizing the presumably gendered budgets. This will inevitably lead to the meaningful realization of women's rights.

The 2010 national budget's main theme was "Reconstruction with Equitable Growth and Stability." About equitable growth, the budget sought to improve delivery of public services and ensuring that women are an equal and legitimate player and stakeholder in the development process of the country⁴¹. While equitable growth reflects the government's intention to redress gender imbalances that had existed before, it is important to note that the effects of economic recession which the nation experienced over the past years did not affect different groups evenly.

According to the Government of Zimbabwe (GoZ 2009), the 2010 national budget also sought to provide a framework for gender affirmative programmes as permitted by section 23 of the Zimbabwean Constitution which allows positive discrimination in favour of women. Referring to the government's national legal obligations to ensure equality among men and women shows that the Treasury is committed to addressing the problems affecting women. However, there is a need to exhaust all legal and policy instruments that oblige the government to ensure equitable allocation of resources between and among different groups in Zimbabwe.

The 2010 national budget, under item 256 and 257 (GoZ 2009,), clearly outlines the government's programs aimed at addressing the concerns of women. Under item 256 (Upliftment of Youth and Women) it was noted that, "youth and women particularly those in rural areas have very limited choices of engaging in meaningful income generating activities that will capacitate them to

⁴¹ Read 2010 Budget Statement.final printing, <http://www.readbag.com/zimtreasury-downloads-2010-budget-statement> (accessed October 21, 2016).

withstand external shocks such as adverse weather conditions.” The funds were going to be disbursed through the Ministry of Youth, Indigenization and Empowerment, Ministry of Women’s Affairs, Gender and Community Development, and through the Ministry of Small and Medium Enterprises⁴². The GoZ states that the 2010 budget will equip women and youth through training programs and the provisions of start-up capital for the implementation of various income generating projects. In this regard, the Ministry of Finance set aside an amount of US\$23 million under the vote of credit to go towards support of Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises and Co-operatives and Youth Projects. It is also interesting to note that 60 per cent of the resources for lending purposes were earmarked for women as was lobbied for by the stakeholders consulted during the formulation process of the budget. This is a positive development towards the feminization of gender budgeting in Zimbabwe.

In addition to the above-mentioned allocation of US\$23 million for various projects to uplift women and youth, US\$1 million was also allocated under the Women’s Development Fund to be administered by the Ministry of Women Affairs, Gender and Community Development 2010 budget statement⁴³. A simple computation shows that each of the ten provinces would get US\$100 000. It is clear that the funds were not adequate, but will go a long way in ensuring that women are engaged in economic programs that will ultimately transform their lives. Nevertheless, these meager resources will not bring enough transformation necessary to address gender disparities. The writers are of the belief that with this kind of money women will only do the usual projects such as peanut butter, sewing, and poultry. Allegations of corruption in the use of such funds and

⁴² Mainstreaming Gender in the SADC Energy Sector, http://sadc-energy.sardc.net/attachments/article/275/Mainstreaming_Gender_in_Ene (accessed October 21, 2016).

⁴³ Feminist view of gender budgeting in Zimbabwe | The Herald, <http://www.herald.co.zw/feminist-view-of-gender-budgeting-in-zimbabwe/> (accessed October 21, 2016).

lack of awareness among the majority of rural women in Zimbabwe will continue to impede progress in the implementation of programs aimed at uplifting the economic status of women. Therefore, there is need to publicize the availability of this fund and put in place conditions that will ensure easy access for women. Women have been segregated from the mainstream economy and as a result they lack requisite collateral security requirements. In this regard the Women's Development Fund is a welcome development. Measures should however be put in place to ensure that all provinces will benefit equally and that only the deserving cases will benefit such as those earning below the poverty datum line. Unfortunately, the policy is silent on how beneficiaries will be selected.

According to GoZ the 2010 budget statement, the availing of the Constituency Development Fund (CDF) is expected to change the lives of some women in rural areas. This fund deals with local and community projects with immediate impact on the levels of communities such as the construction of boreholes, making school repairs, generators, and market stalls. The fund is being administered by the Ministry of Parliamentary and Constitutional Affairs. US\$8 million will be distributed equally to the 210 constituencies. Surprisingly, though not Interestingly, the facility is not being utilized by the Members of the House of Assembly. Zimbabwe has a bicameral system of parliament, and this fund is open for members of the lower house only. The Ministry of Parliamentary and Constitutional Affairs noted that only two MPs have so far applied for the fund. Some of the MPs highlighted that they were not aware of the availability of the fund, although it is outlined in the budget and they were supposed to do follow ups. It can be noted that when analyzing the implications of budgets, analysts should go beyond the assessment of how much was allocated for what program or ministry and to unravel the intricacies surrounding the accessibility of those funds. Measures should be put in place to ensure that funds allocated through the national budget are easily accessed.

3.4.1 CHALLENGES IN FEMINISING GENDER BUDGETING IN ZIMBABWE

It is important to note that, as can be observed from the above analysis, there are many challenges facing the Government of Zimbabwe to achieve feminisation of Gender Budgeting. The main problem is that the government's main revenue collection is being chewed by salaries. For instance, both the 2009 and 2010 budgets had largest allocations directed towards wages and salaries of civil servants. This is despite the fact that since the adoption of multi- currency system civil servants are yet to receive meaningful salaries. Thus to further reduce the amount allocated to the wage bill will not be prudent. As such the current situation in Zimbabwe is complex to the extent that measuring government's commitment to a certain sector regarding percentage of the total national budget will not give a true picture.

According to SAPST (2009), national budgets should allocate or give priority to service delivery rather than wages and allowances. The main problem in Zimbabwe to align national budgets to such a framework is that the country's economy has been declining for the past nine years. All sectors of the economy have been affected, especially agriculture. During 2008, all sectors of the economy have been deteriorating including infrastructure. As a result, the current budget allocations will not be easily felt since much of the amount will be directed towards resuscitating the ailing institutions rather than expanding their scope and capacity.

Another factor that cuts across all sectors in Zimbabwe is patriarchy, which emphasizes the pre-eminence of men in everything. In politics, women are poorly represented. For instance, the Parliament of Zimbabwe website shows that currently there are only 30 women out of 210 Members of the House of Assembly and 20 Senators out of a total of 60 elected members of the Upper House. This shows that women do not constitute sufficient numbers to effect passage of bills aimed at advancing their status. It is important to note that the issue of women's number in

parliament should be handled with the concept of quality in mind. There is little evidence among the elected women members of parliament that they are advancing the will and expectations of the women population.

3.5 GENDER AND GOVERNANCE IN SOUTH AFRICA

After the Apartheid regime, the new South African government has made considerable strides in improving the presence and participation of women. As a result the country's ranking jumped from 141st to 7th in the world in terms of women's representation in parliament. The African Governance Report (EU 2005, 31) also noted that a number of structures were formed in South Africa for the purposes of promoting and monitoring gender equality in government institutions that include establishing the Office of the Status of Women in the Office of the President, the Commission on Gender Equality, and the Parliament's Standing Committee on the quality of life and status of women. The Standing Committee had been very instrumental in working with the civil society to develop the women's budget initiative in 2005, which sought, among other things, to address the obstacles to equitable socio-economic development in South Africa. Development of such initiatives can also help the Zimbabwean government to have a meaningful gender budgeting policy that directly uplifts the lives of women.

More importantly, the African Governance Report remarks that in South Africa the composition of the legislature and the executive shows that the concept of gender equality is being taken seriously in that country. For instance, women are in charge of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Land Affairs, Health and Minerals and Energy, and out of 350 members in the National Assembly 137 are women. Moreover, there are nine (9) chairpersons of committees, 15 whips, and two (2) presiding officers who are women. Burger (2009) states that South African National Treasury's on fiscal policy and budget focuses on broadening [women's] participation in the economy among

other things. Improved budget planning, better documentation, and greater transparency in public finances continue to be key priorities. These positive developments in the drive to achieve gender equality in decision making and financial management had set a foundation for the adoption of a clear and robust gender budgeting policy in South Africa.

The South African Women have been actively involved in gender equality and women representation in the political leadership of South Africa by being active in calling for the modification of the constitution, which brought about policy changes. Women struggled and made sure that the constitution contained their rights. For instance, the women ensured that the 1954 Women's Charter was also Coalition campaign that took place in 1994. Various organizations were also set up to make sure that the policies that were put in place were a reality. As an example, the President of South Africa set up an Office on the Status of Women whose job is to oversee and coordinate policy on women at a national level. Moreover, in 1997, the National Commission on Gender Equality began its work to promote gender equality in the South African society and make sure that both the government together with various non-statutory bodies enforce their commitment to gender equality. South Africa accounts for more than 30% of the women in political leadership particularly of ministers in the cabinet. The United Nations even noted that the country has the largest number of women ministers in Africa as it accounts for 41.7% of all ministers⁴⁴.

In conclusion of this section, lack of similar developments in Zimbabwe's political system is one of the major challenges to achieving gender responsive fiscal policies that bring in total liberation

⁴⁴ Priya. Pitamber, "South Africa's Women in Politics," Helping Journalists Cover the South African Story - Including Free Photos in High Resolution, last modified August 25, 2016, <http://www.mediaclubsouthafrica.com/democracy/4333-south-africa-s-women-in-politics>.

of women in all sectors of life. In Zimbabwe, out of 26 chairpersons of parliamentary committees, only six (6) are women. The Public Accounts Committee (PAC) has only one woman representative. About representation in Parliament there are only 31 elected women who are Members of Parliament (MPs) out of a total of 210. As a result, it is difficult for women in parliament to effectively advance the concerns of women. Thus there is need to remove structural, economic, and socio-cultural challenges that prevent women from participating in politics on an equal basis with men.

Paxton and Hughes (2007) view politics as a vital arena for making decisions. Thus people who hold official positions in government decide how to distribute a scarce resource, such as tax and other revenues. This translates into the fact that women can hardly affect dominant political values if their numbers are small. Women constitute an average of 50 percent of the population of every country in the world. A simple logic or common sense argument would, therefore, suggest that women and men should be equally represented in politics. According to Paxton and Hughes, this proportionate representation can be known as Descriptive representation. The logic behind increasing the number of women in the structures of government is that their demands can easily be felt. But on the other hand, if their numbers are small they are not likely to bring changes to political values and priorities of the state especially in the allocation of resources.

Descriptive representation sometimes fails to bring about the intended objectives of uplifting the lives of women. This is because female politicians might not be willing to support women's concerns. A classic example is Margaret Thatcher, the Prime Minister of Britain from 1979 to 1990, who was famously regarded as antifeminist and pursued policies that many deemed detrimental to women and children of England and Scotland. In Zimbabwe women in politics would be seen preaching violence and acting in Machiavellian style politics. They are trained and

nurtured into echoing the ideologies of the political parties they represent rather than advancing the constituency of women. Having realized that descriptive representation is not adequate, Paxton and Hughes advocated what they call Substantive representation arguing that standing for women is far much different from acting for women's concerns. These two authors further suggest that women's caucuses can help achieve substantive representation by supporting and providing them with resources. A case in point is the bipartisan US Congressional Caucus for women's issues which adopt legislative priorities, plans, and strategies to advance women's issues forward and link like-minded Congressional members with each other and with outside groups.

CHAPTER FOUR: ANALYSIS OF THE VARIOUS GOVERNMENT POLICES TO SUPPORT GENDER EQUALITY

4. 0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presented the area under study, the research design, and data collection methods. The chapter further discussed the sampling techniques, the target population, and how the data will be analyzed. The study will be largely based on qualitative research methodology. In this regard, the researchers employed documentary research methodology to collect relevant information. Documentary research denotes the analysis of documents that contain information about the subject under investigation. Information about gender and governance in Kenya, Zimbabwe, and

South Africa will be collected from published public documents, such as the annual national budget statements by the Ministry of Finance, textbooks, journal articles, newspaper articles, as well as publications of different interests and independent groupings representing the rights of minority gender. Invaluable information was also accessed from the internet. This research will also use case studies and selected three developing countries. This was important to test the generalizability of themes and patterns that characterizes the process of gender and governance. Thus the unit of analysis was developing countries. The case studies help in shedding light on the concept of gender from a feministic orientation. The data will be analyzed through content and thematic analysis. In analyzing the data collected, I will pay more attention to the methodological approaches which include the historical, interpretive, and critical approaches. I will scrutinize the secondary data that I will obtain from the official bureaucracies, the various research institutes, university departments and the international agencies to know the extent to which they incorporate the outlined perspectives. I will ensure that the research data that I will collect from these sources will be sensitive to the kind of information that will be required to bring about change in governance and gender.

The study analyses the social economic and demographic characteristics of women using the sex-disaggregated household data as provided by the Kenya Integrated Household Budget Survey (KIHBS⁴⁵, South African Government and Zimbabwean Government and other existing sources of information. This enabled the extraction of key themes associated with the objectives and the whole goal of the study. The data that was processed was subjected to tabulation and graphs. This allowed for the categorization of women's socio-economic characteristics such as access to and

⁴⁵ *ibid*

control of resources for the economic production including education, employment and enterprise ownership, participation in decision-making like political participation, among others.

4.2 THE SITUATION OF WOMEN IN ZIMBABWE

Zimbabwe's population was eleven million six hundred and thirty-one thousand and six hundred and fifty-seven in 2002. Zimbabwe is a patriarchal society. This implies customary culture requires a lady to move from her family to join the spouse's home and family upon marriage. The children that comes out of the union expect their dad's surname and customarily "have a place" to the spouse. Very little acknowledgment was given to ladies before freedom. the pre-colonial attitudes viewed ladies as substandard. The financial approaches of the provincial government tended to bolster the headway of men to the detriment of ladies, in this manner fueling the circumstance of ladies. Generally, women's support in exercises outside the house was disheartened, and the next to no esteem was put upon it. women couldn't possess property and were lawfully viewed as minors paying little respect to age. Access to formal work for ladies before freedom was constrained to nursing and teachers. Those couple of ladies who entered formal work were not regarded as people in their privilege for assessment purposes. Their wages and pay rates were viewed as extra to the spouse's salary. The spouse was viewed as the provider and the heft of the expense that a wedded lady and her spouse were at risk to pay was deducted from the wife's pay. The circumstance of ladies in Zimbabwe before autonomy demonstrated that culture affected support of ladies in administration and initiative positions. The circumstance of ladies changed after autonomy in 1980 when the legislature set out on a few changes to enhance the status of ladies. The changes identifying with culture and sex influencing ladies in Zimbabwe are explained underneath:

1. Equal Pay Regulation Act of 1980: Before 1980 ladies were paid not exactly their male partners for playing out a similar occupation and even with similar capabilities and experience. The Equal Pay Regulation Act of 1980 empowered ladies to appreciate break even with pay as their male partners for playing out a similar employment.

2. Legal Age of Majority Act 1982: The Legal Age of Majority Act of 1982 made ladies and men rise to under the steady gaze of the law. Ladies could now settle on choices in their privilege without requiring the endorsement of their spouses or watchmen. They couldn't vote, go into any legitimate contracts all alone without the endorsement of the gatekeeper, father or spouse.

3. The Amendment to Section 23 of the Constitution of Zimbabwe in 1996 (the Bill of Rights). This correction denies all types of separation on the grounds of sex and sexual orientation.

4. Convention on the Elimination of all types of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW, 1991): This restricts victimization ladies. Segregation incorporates prohibition or limitation made by sex which has the impact or motivation behind disabling or invalidating the acknowledgment, happiness or practice by ladies of their rights, regardless of their conjugal status on the premise of equity with men (ZWLA, 2010).

5. SADC Protocol on Gender and Development: Zimbabwe is signatory to the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development. Article five of the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development accommodates part nations to place governmental policy regarding minorities in society measures for ladies to dispense with all obstructions which keep them from taking part seriously in all parts of life and make a favorable domain for such cooperation (ZWLA, 2010). In the soul

of this convention political gatherings in Zimbabwe have received an amount framework which has seen an expansion in the representation of ladies in gathering legislative issues however it is still underneath the AU and SADC 30% share necessity and still beneath the 50/50 sexual orientation equality in the SADC Protocol on Gender (UNFPA, 2011).

6. National Gender Policy (2002): The Ministry of Women Affairs and Community Development was made by government in 1996 to supervise states of all sexual orientation programs and to encourage sex mainstreaming in all part services. The Ministry's

7. The National Gender Policy (2002): gives rules and the institutional system for sexual orientation all sectoral arrangements, projects, tasks and exercises at all levels of society and economy . To this end sexual orientation, central focuses were set up in all services and parastatals to lead sex mainstreaming. Zimbabwe is signatory to the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development. Article five of the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development accommodates part nations to place governmental policy regarding minorities in society measures for ladies to dispose of all obstructions which keep them from taking an interest seriously in all parts of life and make a favorable domain for such support (ZWLA, 2010). In the soul of this convention political gatherings in Zimbabwe have embraced an amount framework which has seen an expansion in the representation of ladies in gathering governmental issues yet it is still beneath the AU and SADC 30% share necessity and still underneath the 50/50 sexual orientation equality in the SADC Protocol on Gender (UNFPA, 2011)

4.3 GENDER RELATED POLICIES, IN KENYA

Kenya, in the same way as other African societies, is a patriarchal society. Despite the fact that there are still numerous gender equality related difficulties confronting the nation, a couple walks as arrangement advancements and sanctioning of key enactment have been attempted in the later past geared at gender and security. These incorporate the Sexual Offenses Act; the death of Gender Policy Bill and a Presidential Decree of 30% governmental policy regarding minorities in society with respect to formal representatives to open posts. The nation is additionally dedicated to universal traditions, for example, Millennium Development Goals, Education for All, and CEDAW. Below are the recent laws and bills to enhance gender equality in Kenya.

1. Criminal Law: Amendment Act Published April 2000 and sanctioned Removes the irregularities between punishments for sexual offenses against minors and ladies. It incorporates an area to secure the personality of a casualty while giving proof of mishandle. Value Bill Published 2002 Aims at killing all types of social and financial segregation and advances value of get to and open door for all people. It additionally prohibits all types of inappropriate behavior in the private and open areas.
2. Affirmative Action: Bill Published October 2000 Seeks to enhance representation for underestimated bunches in the public eye incorporating ladies and individuals with handicaps.
3. Domestic Violence: (Family Protection) Bill Published 2001 Aims to secure casualties of abusive behavior at home and gives courts energy to expel oppressive accomplices from the family home. Be that as it may, no place in this bill is physical manhandle thought to be strike and no place is conjugal assault considered conceivable. Police are given wide oppressive powers in bringing charges against culprits.

4. Ban on Female Genital Mutilation (FGM): Although a few groups are still subtly Rehearsing FGM, the Government of Kenya (GoK) has attempted enormous strategy endeavors towards capturing this issue. A council was set up under the coordination of the Ministry of Gender, Sports, Culture and Social Services whose order is to give strategy course and grow new activities identified with FGM other than executing the National Action Plan on FGM. Be that as it may, FGM is not a criminal offense for ladies above 18 years rendering them helpless against negative social practices .

5. Political Parties Act: In 2007, the political gatherings' Act was passed and accommodates half chance ladies representation in gathering assignments. Be that as it may, amid the past decisions for example, ladies were confronted with different difficulties going from physical and verbal viciousness, particularly amid the political crusades .

6. Education: Education segment mediations go for advancing young lady kid investment in training through arrangement of grants and bursaries; extension and change of physical foundation in schools including sterile offices; development of boarding schools in Arid and Semi-Arid Lands (ASALs); arrangement of water and sanitation offices to make favorable and sex responsive situations in schools especially in ASALs (GoK, 2005a and GoK, 2005b). There are likewise particular mediations, for example, the foundation of Starehe Girls Center (focusing on minimized young ladies), Keriri University and focused on money exchanges. Be that as it may, albeit some of these mediations have prompted to great get to additions, sexual orientation incongruities both in support, movement and execution in a few locales at essential instruction level still hold on. There are likewise glaring sexual orientation inconsistencies at post essential levels particularly in specialized and science arranged courses at tertiary level.

4.4 GENDER EQUALITY IN THE CONTEXT OF SOUTH AFRICA

Unlike the two nations, Kenya and Zimbabwe, South Africa has demonstrated massive support for gender equality and administration. It has a scope of bodies which together constitute the "national apparatus" on advancing sexual orientation uniformity. The Constitution accommodates the Commission on Gender Equality (CGE). This is a free body that is selected by the President on the premise of parliamentary suggestions in light of an open call for assignments. Lamentably, after a promising begin the body has been tormented by inward divisions. There is an across the board see, incorporating into an authority parliamentary audit (Parliament of the Republic of South Africa, 2007), that the Commission should be changed or even, maybe, joined with the South African Human Rights Commission. Inside the national parliament a standing board of trustees on Improvement of the Quality of Life and Status of Women was built up. The board of trustees was built up as a specially appointed panel in 1996, however hence turned into a lasting advisory group. The panel performed well for a period, yet along these lines turned out to be less vocal. Amid its pinnacle period, it concentrated on destitution, brutality against ladies, and HIV and Aids and it didn't draw in much on work issues. Inside government there was at first an Office of the Status of Women situated in the Office of the Deputy President, and after that the President. This was intended to be upheld by sex central focuses in all line services, with comparable individuals at common level. The bodies were genuinely viable in a couple of divisions, yet not in Labor. All the more as of late, after the Zuma organization came into power in 2009, this Office was supplanted by a Ministry of Women, Children and People with Disabilities. The financial plan of the office with a similar name contains the portion for the CGE in any case, other than that, gives just to fundamental organization. To date this Ministry and division have not been dynamic players in the sex field, don't worry about it on work issues. The Women's National Coalition speaks to the common society arm of common society. The Coalition assumed a solid part at the

time the between time constitution of the equitable nation was being attracted up 1993 and 1994, however lost force in ensuing years the same number of the pioneers moved into government and different parts. Sadly, as of now the body at present has next to no nearness, despite the fact that it involves a seat at NEDLAC. The Commission for Employment Equity (CEE) is built up as far as the Employment Equity Act and is overhauled by the Department of Labor. Chiefs, who have low maintenance arrangements and are not government nominees, are designated by the Minister of Labor. The Commission's fundamental order is to advance representativity in the work constrain. Its concentration is on workers, and on advancing expanded representation of three "assigned gatherings", to be specific dark individuals (characterized to incorporate every one of those not delegated white under politically-sanctioned racial segregation), ladies and individuals with handicaps. Chiefs are looked over crosswise over changed divisions and intrigue aggregates yet are not, in strict terms, intended to be there as "delegates" of these gatherings. The Employment Conditions Commission (ECC) is set up as far as the Basic Conditions of Employment Act and it, as well, is overhauled by the Department of Labor. One of its primary capacities is to educate the Minister with respect to Labor on the base wages and conditions that ought to be consolidated in sectoral judgments for "helpless specialists". There are five officials – one each selected by work and business individually, and three picked by the Minister on the premise of their master information. Similarly as with the CEE, the chiefs are not, in principle, intended to go about as "delegates" of voting public. Promote, the fundamental concentration of this commission is on "powerless" laborers, which is deciphered to mean, among others, the individuals who are not efficient. This lessens the degree to which this body is important in a discourse of social exchange. However the ECC has as a center rule of its work that it will empower social exchange, and would in this way incline toward, in whatever number segments as could be expected under the circumstances, to work itself out of an occupation.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0. INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on the discussion, conclusions, and recommendations of the study. The cumulative data was analyzed and presented.

Ho₁ : Gender Equality is good for governance

It is realized that a critical point in good governance is the responsiveness of policies and public institutions to the requirements of all people. Along these lines, policies and institutions must speak to the interests of men and women and promote equal access to resources with access to assets, rights, and voice.

The question that one may ask is for what valid reason gender issues are Relevant to Good Governance. This paper contends that gender equality is an imperative objective in itself and a method for accomplishing maintainable advancement in Africa. The advancement of approaches and foundations in a nation must guarantee that all circles inside a nation, ladies, specifically, have a voice in basic leadership, either straightforwardly, or through organizations that really speak to their interests and needs.

The authors recognize that constant and unavoidable gender disparities in opportunities, rights vis-a-vis the state and institutions, and voice, especially limiting the ability of women to take part as full citizens in social, financial, and political life.

Along these lines, the rejection of ladies from full cooperation obliges the capacity of open part approaches and foundations to oversee financial and social assets viably. As per the authors, such gender based exclusions benefit such gender-based exclusion compromises the prospects for high-quality service delivery.

Ho₂ : Equal representation promotes development

The discoveries show that High disparities in salary and resources, joined with flawed land and capital markets, diminish a few people's chances to add to development through investment. On the other hand, raising equity adds to more comprehensive national markets, by (more decidedly)

incorporating women. This can develop work markets and make for more vigorous residential request, which are key components for supporting development in the longterm and lessening a nation's powerlessness to outside stuns. Political imbalances and power variations offered ascend to selective foundations that permit the intense and advantaged to set up the principles of the amusement', which prompts to the improvement of wasteful establishments and cycles of preferred standpoint and inconvenience

Ho₃ : Gender affects good governance

Gender affects good governance according to the findings. Subsequently, gender equality is an essential objective in itself, and a method for accomplishing improvement. Improvement approaches and establishments must guarantee that all sections of society - both women and men - have a voice in basic leadership, either specifically, or through organizations that genuinely speak to their interests and needs. Persistent and inescapable gender differences in circumstances, rights opposite the state and open organizations, and voice, especially cutoff women's capacity to take an interest as full subjects in social, monetary, and political life. The rejection of women from full investment compels the capacity of open division strategies and foundations to oversee financial and social assets successfully. Such sex based prohibition bargains the prospects for astounding administration conveyance.

5.1 SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS

This section makes a summary of the findings as per the objectives of the research. The first objective of the study was to examine how political and economic factors influence gender

equality in leadership. according to the findings, both the political and economic factors influence gender equality in leadership. from the research of the women's participation in Kenya, South Africa, and Zimbabwe, empowering women through passing laws and ensuring that the national budget also contains strategies that can improve their way of life, enhances the chances of their participation in politics. The empowered women are able to be respected, have their voices heard and influence the society on matters of politics. They can also be able to champion for gender equality using the resources that they have. Without such resources, women are not able to have the power to influence the society and be able to channel for their needs. If the women get the freedom to reach their potential, the society will be able to grow stronger and accept them in political positions without regard of their gender⁴⁶. Empowering women to exercise their rights as agreed in the constitutions of these countries will bring their perspectives and their full participation to the frontlines. Nevertheless, as Sara Longwe notes, in spite of the various policies set out during the 1985 Nairobi World Conference on women and the Beijing Platform for Action, there is a lack of progress despite the fact that various policies of development agencies have been immensely modified⁴⁷. As much as there are a number of women that have been represented in the political spheres, there is no much improvement and there is an increased feminization of poverty. Nzombo also notes that during the post-colonial period, there has been little change in the status of women and the support of women empowerment initiatives by the government has also been minimal⁴⁸. This is depicted from the studies in Zimbabwe and Kenya where women are still struggling to empower themselves.

⁴⁶ USAID, "Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment in Kenya | Kenya," U.S. Agency for International Development, accessed November 2, 2016, <https://www.usaid.gov/kenya/gender-equality-and-womens-empowerment-kenya>

⁴⁷ Sarah H. Longwe, "4. The evaporation of gender policies in the patriarchal cooking pot," *Development with Women*, 1999,

⁴⁸ Maria Nzomo, *Women in Political Leadership in Kenya: Access, Agenda Setting & Accountability*

Ardener also observes the economic roles of women in the society and says that women have been formally given a single economic role instead of choosing from multiple choices open to men. The author adds that while women are accountable for caring of children, food, and other domestic chores, their economic contributions have been denied and belittled.

The second objective under study was to establish the extent of educational influence on women and their participation in leadership. In deed educating women influences their participation in leadership. The findings indicate that women who have been able to reach the highest points in education, have had a chance to participate in leadership by getting employment and being able to join politics. These women are somehow respected because of their high level of education hence allowed to participate in the leadership roles in the society. on the other hand, women who have not attained education are not given chances to participate in any roles as they are seen as ignorant and illiterate. For this reason, education influences women's participation in leadership.

The third objective is to examine how cultural factors influenced women participation in political leadership. according to the findings, the undoing to the participation of women in the leadership roles is the retrogressive cultural belief of patriarchy, where there is little emphasis on the education of women, inferiority complex that women exhibit in the society, and their subordination in the society. the implication of this goes along way with the perceived benefits of governmental projects to both women and the society as a whole.

The last objective is to identify the extent with which the political factors in Kenya, Zimbabwe, and South Africa influence the participation of marginalized group in political leadership. according to the findings, political factors influence women's participation. Various policies that have been set and the change of constitution to include laws that govern women and ensures that there is equality have enabled some women to participate in political leadership.

South Africa has been noted as one of the countries that have had over 30% women representation in the political leadership and the country that has immensely improved in fight for equality and women representation in leadership roles such as ministerial positions. Besides, Zimbabwe has also passed several laws and included the interests of women in its national budget which has led to over 30% of women representation in the leadership positions. Kenya too has tried to set up policies and there has been an increase in the representation of women in political positions such as the positions of women representatives which as at least increased the number of women in politics. Nevertheless, it still faces a constitutional crisis of not more than a two-third majority as men are more than required.

5.2. CONCLUSION

Whether policymakers can find a way to decrease poverty among women or address gender foul play relies on upon the usage of policies on the ground. Joining to worldwide treats and passing laws, for example, women rights, having equal access to education, assault in marriage, and equivalent qualification to credit and property possession is just an initial step. Enactment and approach must be converted into government orders, budgetary designations, institutional courses of action, bureaucratic techniques and observing principles. The association between political duty and powerful approach execution is communicated in the idea of "administration". Projects of administration change have expended significant global and national consideration in the later over a wide span of time.

5.3. RECOMMENDATION

The adoption of various policies by the three nations under study will bring life and impetus to the implementation of gender policies that had been adopted by the governments. However, the

initiatives are yet to be reflected in the actual practice of government authorities as well as in national policies. Such a reality has called for the exploration of other strategies; hence, this paper proposes the adoption of feminist economic policies into governance. It is Worth noting that this is not an easy task due to lack of up to date gender disaggregated data, and male domination in political spheres as indicated by statistics of women representation in the government structures and departments. Poor economic performance during the last decade owing to poor economic policies, natural disasters, and economic sanctions have also made it difficult for the governments. This paper has indicated that more work is required so that the government will move to the stage of implementation of its policies. Nevertheless, practical lessons drawn from different nations can help policy makers in Zimbabwe, Kenya, and South Africa in their endeavor to liberate minority gender in all sectors of society, especially in politics and economics, through the process of gender and governance.

5.3.1 CONTRIBUTION TO KNOWLEDGE.

Education is significant for women ensuring that the political opportunities are meaningful to these women and offering them a voice immediately they get these political positions. With education, women can get employment opportunities to give them more control and a platform to make decisions in their lives⁴⁹. Women who are illiterate are not able to seek for roles in government and they are also not likely to have much influence in case they attain such roles. A standout amongst the most hopeful signs in the Africa experience is that there is by all accounts expanded support for the education of women, which is probably going to enhance their opportunities of

⁴⁹ Nussbaum, M., Basu, A., Tambiah, Y., & Jayal, N. G. (2003

getting a chance to represent their families and the interest of their communities in the future.⁵⁰ The interests of these women has been improved through the various laws, policies and movements regarding rape, sexual harassment, as well as domestic violence via more effective implementation of the existing laws and through new attention to questions of equality and non-discrimination. In countries like Kenya, Zimbabwe and South Africa, mminority gender do not believe in the current legal systems as they delay trials and are full of corrupt dealings. Besides, they are not incorporating women-friendly strategies in legal education or in the law-making process. This is one of the main areas where there is need for further progress. Moreover, there is need to incorporate the women in the government's legal systems like being appointed as judges, scholars and lawyers. Nevertheless, the government is just a part of governance.

5.3.2 CONTRIBUTION TO GENERAL PUBLIC.

Empowerment is the ability of people to be in control and for the women who have been subordinates in many components, it implies their capability to make choices or decisions regarding anything that affects their lives⁵¹. Under this analysis, women who acts as subordinates can challenge the oppression and the imbalances and be able to participate in the building of a free world where there is gender equality and both genders can benefit⁵². Nonetheless, there are different forms of manifestations of power and various people exercise authority in different ways. It also causes an impact on the lives of people differently. One type of power is when people are forced to act against their interests, as a result of threats and intimidations on them. This is the power that led to the colonization of Kenyans and Zimbabweans. They were under oppression and

⁵⁰ ibid

⁵¹ Kombo, 2012

⁵² ibid

forced to be subordinates with a white settler population. Women experienced this type of power more intensively than any other population group in colonial society. Gender equality and female empowerment are vital for reaching development goals in all societies. Unless both women and men can attain their social, economic and political aspirations, and contribute to and shape decisions about the future, the global community will not successfully promote peace and prosperity. Understanding this policy in all of the countries in Africa will enable Countries to be a catalytic force for gender equality and empowerment of women across the globe and bring to fruition a world's vision in which all people are empowered in equal measures to secure better lives for themselves, their families, and their communities, the study will help the public to understand all these factors.

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