

MIDLANDS STATE UNIVERSITY



“Our hands, our destiny”

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

DEPARTMENT OF LOCAL GOVERNANCE STUDIES

RESEARCH TOPIC:

**AN EXAMINATION OF THE QUOTA SYSTEM AND WOMEN
REPRESENTATION IN ZIMBABWE. A CASE STUDY OF THE
PARLIAMENT OF ZIMBABWE.**

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DEDICATION.

I dedicate this dissertation to my parents Mr. B. Dube and Ms. K. Mgwisiwa and my siblings. I say thank you family for your support and prayers which have taken me this far, not forgetting my pillars of hope Mr. and Mrs. Magwenjere.

I also dedicate this dissertation to the Parliament of Zimbabwe for the contribution you made during this research.

ABSTRACT

The main aim of the study was to examine the quota system and women representation in Zimbabwe with a focus on the Parliament of Zimbabwe. A critical assessment of the societal, cultural and economic factors affecting representation and participation of women in politics. It aimed at understanding the policy and legal frameworks which Zimbabwe is a signatory that advocates for women's representation and participation, examining how quota system overshadows democracy, examining if quota system promotes gender equality, examining the role culture and level of education play in women's representation in Parliament and to identify challenges resulting in low representation of women in the Parliament of Zimbabwe and recommend possible solutions. Literature review highlighted the definitions from scholarly views the conceptual framework highlighted the various legal framework which Zimbabwe is a signatory which advocates for women's participation and representation such as the BPFA, CEDAW, MDG, SDG, universal declaration of human rights and international covenant on all civil political rights. The Zimbabwean government enshrined the provisions of those legal frameworks in the constitution for reserved seats for female members. Also examined how quota system overshadows democracy from different scholarly views argues that political representation and participation is a question of representation situation of interests and ideas and not about gender equality by examining the fast track model and the incremental model or the representation of social groups, however some argued that quotas for women do not discriminate rather they compensate for existing barriers that hinder women from reaching their fair share of political seats and they prevent further barriers and mechanisms of exclusions, the conceptual framework also looked at various economic, cultural beliefs and societal factors leading to low representation of women in politics. The study was guided by the critical mass theory and other supporting theories such as the politics of the presence, contagion theory, WAD, WID and GAD. The empirical framework looked at Rwanda where there was provision in the constitution which was pushed for by women after the genocide, Uganda where women in quota seats are there for symbolism as the president was quoted saying that gender quotas are a symbolic gesture for women hence international contagion of gender quotas, Sweden where it took them almost 70 years to reach the target of 30% of quota system and Belgium where quota system was a fast track model for women into politics. The Parliament of Zimbabwe gaps absence of quota regulations, protection of female Parliamentarians in quota seats against discrimination, gender monitoring tools and capacity building programs for female parliamentarians have been identified. Integration use of qualitative and quantitative data was used. The targeted population was MPs, political analyst, and political party members hence the population was infinite, however the research took a sample frame of 22 respondents from various group. Sampling techniques used included stratified random sampling, purposive sampling, quota sampling and convenience sampling. Research instrument are interviews, questionnaires and archival collection so as to counter the weakness of each other. 20 respondents were able to respond and the collected data was analyzed, interpreted and presented using tables, graphs and descriptive narrations. Findings included the challenges to women's low participation which are cultural, societal and economic, shows quota system overshadows democracy, and also quota system does not promote gender equality but gender representation, challenges such as look down upon each other syndrome, patriarchal dominance, financial constraints and among others were identified. Recommendations included inducing an effective quota system for political parties, use of gender monitoring tools, and also provision that women for quota seats can be independent candidates and implanting zebra system.

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God bless you all for making this project a mission accomplished.

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

| | |
|-------|---|
| AU | African Union |
| BPFA | Beijing Platform For Action |
| CEDAW | Convention on Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women |
| GAD | Gender And Development |
| GADC | Gender Alliance for Development Centre |
| FPTP | First Pass The Post |
| RAU | Research Advocate Unit |
| UN | United Nations |
| UNDP | United Nations Development Program |
| MDG | Millennium Development Goals |
| MP | Member of Parliament |
| SADC | Southern African Development Committee |
| SDG | Sustainable Development Goals |
| WAD | Women And Development |
| WID | Women In Development |
| WPC | Women’s Parliamentary Caucus |
| WPSU | Women in Political Support Unit |

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction.

Although there is prominent obligation from the international community to gender parity, gender breach in politics still exist. The United Nations Development Program (UNDP) report (2005) notes that international community reinforce the convention on elimination of all forms of discrimination against women (CEDAW), Universal Declaration for Human Rights (1948) and also Beijing Platform of Action, nevertheless only twelve countries had females who held 33% and above positions in their parliaments.

The enshrinement of the gender quotas in the constitution of Zimbabwe has improved the representation of women in the country. The introduction of quotas in Parliament has aided government to be more accountable, transparent, responsive, effective and efficient. Most countries adopt ways to attain gender parity through introduction of gender quotas in parliament. However, it is of importance to note that result of the quota system are not the expected due to encounters like the patriarchal dominance, expensive for women in terms of money and time, culture that informs parliamentary procedure and the assumption that rise in the amount of females parliamentarians mean quantitative representation and safeguarding votes on elections and the life span of the quota system in the assembly, is too short to meet the demands of 50% woman parliamentarians.

A number of facets shall be stressed out in an endeavor to explain the crucial components of this study. First among these facets comprise the background of the study which traces the gap within its proper context, the statement of the problem which introduce the research problem, the significance of the study which explains the implications of this research, research objectives, research questions, limitations and delimitations of the study, methodology. Only to mention a few as more will be further be discussed in the study.

1.1 Background.

International gender quotas were introduced around 1920's with countries like Sweden. But due to resistance of the general public it was hard even impossible for gender quotas to be effective it was a gradual process. The women's group had to mobilize train females to empower them, countries such as Hungary females had to demonstrate in the streets in what has become to be famously known as the yellow scurf. Rwanda's women have to train themselves to carry out duties and task man use to do after the genocide, constitutional reform by females who had been introduced into politics from Rwanda for women to be representatives and participate in politics. Gender quotas in Sweden were rejected by the people on the root cause that all positions on the elected list should be based on equal chance and was open to rivalry and that representation and participation in politics is based on merit and let the top candidate win and not reservation of groups.

International, continental, regional and national community have come up with way to increase women's representation and participation. The universal declaration of human rights of 1948 called upon members to uphold everyone's right to protection without discrimination. The international covenant on all civil political rights of 1966 points out that no gender is superior before law and also no matter what tour gender is one should be allowed to participate in politics without citing challenges of gender. The CEDAW obliges member states that they should implement its provisions and enshrine in the constitution of the principal of gender equality and the BPFA argued that women's rights are human rights. The continental also have legal frame works advocating for increase in representation and participation of women for example the Article 4(L) of the constitutive Act of the African Union (AU) it states that members should adhere to the principle of promoting gender equality in all spheres of development, this encompasses nondiscrimination against groups for example women. And also the African Union Solemn Declaration on gender Equity in Africa (2004) has an aim of promoting gender parity.

The Southern African region have legal frameworks like the SADC Declaration on Gender and Development (1997) which notes that members of the SADC should achieve thirty percent women in political and decision making structures by 2005 thus a move to increase women in politics and the SADC framework for achieving gender parity in political positions by 2015, the framework wanted to ensure that there is representation and participation by men and women by

2015. The constitution of Zimbabwe (1980) alongside the electoral regulations of the country make not any provisions for any reservation to increase the representation of women in Parliament. “He” and “Him” are referred to throughout the Constitution in a way that adopts that the males embraces females, though words “She” and “Her” are not used in the constitution. After the SADC declaration in 1997 to that member states should attain 30% of the female parliamentarian by 2005 Parliament of Zimbabwe enshrined gender quotas constitution in 2013, it has improve women parliamentarians.

In the first elections there was 9% that is the Parliamentarian sitting from 1980- 1985, the 2ND Parliamentary Assembly dropped to 8% female parliamentarians it took Zimbabwe more than a decade to raise to 18% representation in the 2008 elections this was before the legalization of the gender quotas in the Parliament of Zimbabwe, in 2013 there was a historically recorded history when the female Parliamentarians reached the target of the SADC Declaration(1997) this was through the help of the enactment of the gender quotas in the Constitution. This was a result of the constitutional mandate, constitution under section 124 (1) (b) provides for an additional sixty women members, six from each of the provinces into which Zimbabwe is divided, elected through a system of proportional representation ,”.... An additional sixty women members, six from each of the provinces into which Zimbabwe is divided, elected through a party list system of proportional representation based on the votes cast for candidates...” The task is placed on the political party to make sure all seats are filled by women.

However, these provisions have led to the study area. Thus leading to the research that the provisions of women’s quota system in the constitution is not enough, because instead of viewing women as critical stakeholders and decision makers female members are used primarily to safeguard the female vote. Also the upturn in the number of women parliamentarians mean quantitative symbolism rather than qualitative participation. Failure to challenge the cultural, societal, economic factors leading to low representation and participation of women in politics.

1.2 Statement of the problem

Women representation in parliament through the quota system has attained some achievements but the system has encountered challenges. Women representation in parliament has been not fully addressed until in 2013 when it was enacted into the constitution. The provision of the women’s quota system in the constitution is not enough there is also need to address the cultural,

economic and societal factors affecting the general representation and participation and upliftment of women in parliament and also see if females are used to secure female vote and examining if increase in women parliamentarians mean numerical symbolism or qualitative representation. And also the life span of the quota system in the national assembly will not fully bring out desired results.

1.3 Aim of the research.

The main of the study is to undertake a critical assessment on the challenges, prospects of the quota system and the research further want to examine if the constitutional provision of proportional representation empower women in Zimbabwean Parliament. Important to note is that area of focus shall be more deployed on parliament of Zimbabwe as the case study.

1.4 Broad objective.

The researcher wants to undertake a critical assessment on the challenges, prospects of the quota system and to examine if the constitutional provision empower women in Parliament.

1.5 Research objectives.

In line with the above indicated aim of research, the whole research process will be focused towards the achievements of the following secondary research objectives which are to:

- ✓ To understand the policy and legal frameworks which Zimbabwe is a signatory that advocates for women's representation and participation,
- ✓ To examine how quota system overshadows democracy
- ✓ To examine if quota system promotes gender equality.
- ✓ To examine the role culture and level of education play in women's representation in Parliament.
- ✓ To identify challenges resulting in low representation of women in the Parliament of Zimbabwe and recommend possible solutions.

1.6 Research questions.

Moreover, in a bid to achieve the above outlined aims of the study and objectives, the research process shall also be directed towards answering research questions that will involve assessment of:

- ✓ To what extent has Zimbabwe domesticated the policy and legal frameworks that promotes women's representation?
- ✓ Is there democracy in quota system?
- ✓ Does quota system promote gender equality in Parliament?
- ✓ What role does culture and level of education play in women's participation in parliament?
- ✓ What are the challenges that cause low representation of women in the Parliament of Zimbabwe?

1.7 Assumptions of the study.

The research was focusing on these major assumptions:

1. That political analysts will co-operate and contribute with information to examine the effectiveness of the gender quotas in the Parliament of Zimbabwe.
2. That the Women's Parliamentary Caucus and Secretariat will co-operate and contribute with reliable information basing on their experiences as women in Parliament and also working with women in quota seats. In outlining challenges they are facing and recommend possible solutions.
3. The other assumption was that the political party members and the Chiefs in Parliament will participate in responding to research questions of the data collection.
4. Assumed that, the targeted population respond honestly to the questions.

1.8 Significance of the study.

The student will reveal how the parliament of Zimbabwe has managed to improve female parliamentarians through quota system in the constitutional provisions of 2013. Therefore, the study is assigned to challenge other African countries to adopt quota system and learn from the experiences of Zimbabwe. Moreover, through the findings and recommendations of the study, Zimbabwean parliament will be able to establish a more comprehensive framework to strengthen gender parity. The study will reveal areas of weakness that needs modification, therefore this paper will be used as a pointing stick to correct such areas. The research is taken to review if women are viewed as critical stakeholders or primarily securing the female vote and how failure to address the challenge of patriarchal culture contribute to the ineffective of the quota system in

Zimbabwe. The study will bring into the field of knowledge the need to extend the life span of the quota system in the national assembly and the need to conduct an educational background of the female parliamentarians elected through the quota system.

1.9 Delimitations of the study.

The research was based in Zimbabwe, an African continent country in the Southern African region. It focused on the Parliament of Zimbabwe which is located in the capital city of Zimbabwe, Harare. The research was focusing on the effects of the quota system a case study of the Parliament of Zimbabwe. The research provided policies and legal frameworks in support of the quota system in which Zimbabwe is a signatory, reasons for the introduction and also explored the challenges which resulted in low representation of women in politics in order to come up with bases, validity and reliability of the study.

1.10 Limitation of the study.

The research entails appointments with politicians in the Parliament of Zimbabwe it can be difficult to arrange a meeting since they are busy preparing for upcoming general elections. As a result of the protocols and the hierarchy within the Parliament of Zimbabwe it was problematic to access information from the Women's Parliamentary Caucus. Members of Parliament were busy with their busy timetables for campaigning, resulting in cancelling and postponing of the appointments hence was costly to the research in terms of time and the budgeted finances. The political party members were giving biased information to the female Parliamentarians due to mistrust, fear and suspicion. The researcher overcame the challenges, on the issue of suspicion and mistrust the researcher explained the objectives of the research and produced a letter from school to show that it was for academic purposes, also to overcome the issue of time and procedures the research applied in advance for approval and also managed to get funds from family to overcome the challenge of financial constraints.

1.11 Definitions of terms.

Quota system

Dahlerup (2006) referred to quota system in politics as an affirmative measures that established a fixed percentage or number for the nomination or representation of a specific group.

Gender equality.

Zimbabwean National Gender Policy (2013-2017) defined gender equality as equal enjoyment by women and men of socially valued goods, opportunities, resources and rewards.

Gender inequality.

Gender inequality is defined as resembling a caste system in which women and girls are assigned lower status and restricted in what they are permitted to accomplish simply because of their gender orientation.

1.12 Structure of the dissertation.

The research was written in a systematic way which the researcher used to address the issue at hand which is an examination of the effects of the quota system a case study of the parliament of Zimbabwe. The structure is as follows:

- Chapter 1: introduction
- Chapter 2: literature Review
- Chapter 3: Research Methodology
- Chapter 4: Data Presentation, Interpretations and Analysis
- Chapter 5: Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations.

1.13 Summary.

Chapter one provides an introduction of the study on the effects of the quota system in the Parliament of Zimbabwe. A background of the study is given showing that drawing back from before independence Zimbabwe has been a male dominated country in politics women were subordinate to males. Women were viewed as weak and cannot lead there were only limited to caring and predetermined societal roles. Due to the patriarchal dominance and societal beliefs Zimbabwe has witnessed low representation of women in Parliament yet they contribute to 52%

of the national population. The chapter showed the delimitations of the study where the study this is where the study was limited to which is the Parliament of Zimbabwe. The limitations were outlined and the solutions prescribed by the researcher were highlighted. The next chapter will go through the literature review.

CHAPTER II: LITERATURE REVIEW.

2.0 Introduction.

This chapter will critically view and analyses the differentials and theories that different authors have proposed, the applicability of past studies will also be analyzed in the determination of effects of the quota system in Parliament. The researcher will be reviewing available literature pertaining to effects of quota system in Parliament. In this chapter, journals, scholarly articles, theories, case studies, books and other sources that provides relevant data concerning quota systems in Parliament will be of paramount importance in helping to understand the quota system, the process of its implementation, factors that influence low representation of women in parliament and the effects of quotas on democracy will be discussed in this chapter. The main objective is to discover and cover gaps and weakness within board of knowledge within research area. Chapter 11 looks on the significant representation and participation of women in parliament, how the enactment of women quotas in the constitution is not enough in advancing women in Parliament, cultural, economic and societal factors have impact on the general participation and upliftment of women in parliament, also how women parliamentarians are used to secure female votes and how quotas impinge democracy. To address gender imbalance quota system was adopted.

2.1 literature review.

Literature review is examination of information, archives, facts and validation in pertaining to the topic under study. McKinney (2008) defined literature review summarizes, interprets and critically evaluates existing literature (or published material) in order to establish current knowledge of a subject the literature review may resolve a controversy, establish the need for additional research, and or define a topic of inquiry. The research will analyze accessible literature on gender quotas and women representation and evaluate with what is on the ground in the Parliament of Zimbabwe. Three types of literature shall be put into consideration, which are the conceptual context with emphasizes on various scholars defining, explaining the impacts of quota system, commenting on how quotas impinge democracy and limited participation of women on parliamentary debates, and the second one being the theoretical context shall go through theories for and against quota systems and the third one is empirical framework thus

case studies showing how people have tackled similar issues and what they have learned which provides comprehensive reduced bias context.

2.2 What is Quota system?

Dahlerup (2006) referred to quota system in politics as an affirmative measures that established a fixed percentage or number for the nomination or representation of a specific group. Phillips (1995) “ ... quotas are generally used to increase the participation of under-represented groups in decision making positions for example Parliaments, Governments and local authorities. Dahlerup (ed) (2006)” ... quota system may aim to change the gender composition of:

- i. The pool of potential candidates called the aspirants
- ii. The candidates that stand for election
- iii. Those elected

There are three categories of gender quotas which are constitutional quotas (reserved seats), legislated quotas (electoral laws) and voluntary quotas. Legislated quotas these are mandated in the national constitution, electoral laws and party constitution their main targets is gender composition for instance any electoral commission setting sanctions for parties to meet a certain minimum number of female candidates for their list to be accepted by the commission. Voluntary quotas is a type of quota system which is adopted voluntary by political parties and they follow the regulations in of party statutes to select a minimum percentage of female candidates for political representation for example the case of Sweden. And lastly the constitutional quotas are these are mandated by the nation and are enshrined in the constitution for example in Zimbabwe.

2.3 Conceptual framework.

2.3.1 Policy and legal frameworks which Zimbabwe is a signatory that advocates for women representation.

In this section of dissertation, the research looks on literature on the legal frameworks at the national, regional, continental and international levels that support women’s participation that Zimbabwe is signatory to. Hence this study seeks to add to knowledge on area of quota system in Parliament of Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe has signed a number of legal instruments at the national,

regional, continental and international levels which provides for women to participate in matters to deal with issues of equal representation. Zimbabwe is a signatory to various regional and international protocols on gender equality particularly in the area of political representation.

2.3.1.1 International level.

2.3.1. 1.1 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948).

Universal declaration of human rights of 1948 calls upon member states to uphold the “security of all persons” and the right to protection without discrimination, it promotes the right of people to participate in the governance of their countries as well as the right to equal access to public services.

2.3.1.1 .2 International covenant on all civil political rights (1966)

International covenant on civil and political rights of 1966 promotes equality and non-discrimination of all persons before the law. It points out that no gender is superior before the law and all also no matter what your gender is one should be allowed to participate in politics without citing challenges of gender.

2.3.1.1.3 The Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) (1979).

CEDAW states that all member states that there is full and complete development of a country, the welfare of the world and the course of peace require maximum participation of women on equal terms with men in all fields. It advocates for the participation of women in decision making. It defines discrimination as any distinct, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect of impairing or nullifying the recognition of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any field on basis of equality of men and women. CEDAW obliges the member state to implement its provisions including the enshrinement in the constitution of the principle of gender equality, and the adoption of national legislation protecting the equal rights of men and women. Article 2, of CEDAW has an obligation of all states to pursue, by all appropriate means without delay, a policy of eliminating discrimination against women.

2.3.1.1.4 Beijing Platform of Action (BPFA) (1995).

Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action points out that women's rights are human rights, two of the twelve issues addressed identified that the participation of women in politics and decision making and the second one was the economic empowerment of women BPFA emphasizes the impact of armed conflict on women, as well as the role women play in conflict prevention, conflict resolution and peace building. The governments were encouraged to, "review the differential impact of electoral systems on the political representation of women in elected bodies and consider, where appropriate, the adjustment or reform of those systems" Sawyer (2000). Therefore, gender quotas were adopted, in order to improve the representation of women internationally. This led to the adoption of the quota system by various countries and constitutionalizing it. One of the objectives of the Beijing Platform for Action, adopted at the Fourth World Conference for Women in 1995, was formulated as women's equal access to and full participation in power structures and decision making.

2.3.1.1.5 Millennium Development Goals (MDG) (2000) and Sustainable Development Goals (SDG)

Zimbabwe is further guided by the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) as a member of the United Nations. One of the targets of MDG goal number three is to increase the "proportion of seats held by women in national parliaments" UNDP (2010). All the MDG's focus on the wellbeing of women and women's empowerment as a crucial in achieving the MDG's. Also goal five (5) of the SDG's aims at achieving gender equality and empower all women and girls. In order to achieve full human potential and sustainable development is impossible if there is no full participation of the other sex. Hence the adoption and implementation of the quota system.

2.3.1.2. Continental level.

2.3.1.2.1 Article 4(L) of the constitutive Act of the African Union (AU).

It states that members should adhere to the principle of promoting gender equality in all spheres of development, this encompasses nondiscrimination against groups for example women.

2.3.1.2.3 Article 9 and 13 of the protocol to the African Charter on people's rights in Africa (Maputo Protocol).

Women are equal partners with men at all levels of development and implementation of state policies and development programs. The Southern African Gender Protocol Alliance's vision is of a region in which women and men are equal in all spheres. The protocol promotes and enables the creation of gender parity through pushing and support towards the SADC protocol on gender and development by 2015. To add on that, Article 13 of SADC gender protocol requires states to change discriminatory attitudes and norms of decision making. One of these key agreements is the Gender and Development Declaration which stipulates that states must ensure at least 30% women in political decision making by 2005, and 50% by 2015.

2.3.1.2.4 The African Union Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa (2004).

AU solemn declaration on gender equality in Africa has an aim of promoting gender parity in decision making at all levels and member state should adopt it at the continental sub-regional and national level.

2.3.1.3. Regional level.

2.3.1.3.1 SADC Declaration on Gender and Development (1997).

SADC declaration on gender and development and the 1988 addendum on the prevention and eradication of violence against women and children. The declaration stated that member state parties should be committed to achieving target of at least thirty percent women in political and decision making structures by 2005.

2.3.1.3.2 Article 5 of the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development.

All members were obliged to adopt necessary measures to ensure equal representation of women in leadership position. Article five (5) of the protocol commit member state to see that, by 2015 at least 50% of decision making positions in the public and private sectors are taken by women including the use of affirmative action measures.

2.3.1.3.3 SADC Framework for achieving Gender Parity.

SADC framework for achieving gender parity in political and decision making positions by 2015. The framework wanted to ensure that there is representation and participation by men and women by 2015. It focused on issues for consideration such as culture and patriarchal systems.

The framework proposed actions to be taken by members, private sector, political parties and civil society organizations.

2.3.1.4. National level

2.3.1.4.1 The constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment No 20 (2013).

The Zimbabwean constitution under section 124 (1) (b) provides for an additional sixty women members, six from each of the provinces into which Zimbabwe is divided, elected through a system of proportional representation ,”.... An additional sixty women members, six from each of the provinces into which Zimbabwe is divide.

In spite of the quota system in place supported by these various legal polices and constitutional provisions women are a quantitative symbolism, and also those chosen are mostly spouses or relatives of the top male officials already in politics, most female parliamentarians complain patriarchal nature of the societies and another fact is that due to the fact that in Zimbabwe women constitute an average of 52% of national population and political leaders calculated that women can be used to primarily secure the female vote rather than viewing as critical stakeholders or leaders this can be evidenced by the ministerial positions that women hold in parliament which not critical in nature. The provisions of the women’s quota system in the constitution is not enough as it impinge democracy of the country since it is a democratic country, and also there is need to address the cultural, economic and societal factors affecting the general participation and upliftment of women in Parliament.

2.3. 2 Quota system and democracy.

Different scholars have questioned if quotas in parliament uphold democracy or if whether they undermine democracy. Bauer (2012), notes that advocates for women’s increased presence in parliaments argue that women members of parliament (MP) will represent women’s interest and act as important role models; indeed researchers have identified a host of substantive and symbolic representation effects of more women in African Parliaments. The introduction of the quota system in the Parliament of Zimbabwe is democratic since 52% of the national population is constituted by women hence should constitute at least half of the crucial position in decision making. Parliamentary representation is about justice and rights, females as citizens they have rights like everyone else hence have right to equal representation in all spheres of life. And if

there is equal representation in all spheres of life how then can one explain man having more than 60% of the seats? Hence need to address the undemocratic nature in the parliament of Zimbabwe through introduction of quotas.

However, Creevey (2006) argues that national legislatures in Africa are weak and therefore women's increased presence may be partly meaningless. Also Goetz and Hassim (2003) have argued that many of these countries with more women in parliament single party dominant regimes in which women's increased presence has been cynically by dominant parties in order to increase their own support. Hassim (2010) concluded that women's increased participation in Parliament in Africa may be undermining democracy in these countries. And also the fact revolving on the issue that political representation revolves on the issue of representation of ideas, interests and development and not to about gender equality and reserved seats but upholds merit and votes.

2.3.3 Quota system in Zimbabwe quantitative symbolism, qualitative representation or securing female vote on election time.

Drage (1997) points to the influence of a critical mass of women in decision making positions in government and legislative bodies in that country. The study shows that these females provide alternative leadership through redefining political principles placing new phenomena on the plan. Part of the debate about substantive changes in political decision making was centered on whether women in decision making must reach a critical mass in order to bring about changes in the political arena, Dahlerup (1988). Much of these debate is centered on the politics of the presence by Phillips (1995). Pitkin 1967 in Norris and Lovenduski (1995) is of the view that in these debates, the messenger as well as the message is seen as important and women politicians are seen not only to be standing as women but also acting for women as a group once elected. Williams (1998:106) indicates: "The representative who is capable of acting as advocate for women's interests must have some understanding of the ways in which the lives of her constituency are shaped by the privilege of men and most effective starting point for that knowledge is the fact of her own experience of exclusion and subordination leading to effective and responsive service delivery in the country. United Nations (1992) notes "...only a critical mass of 30% to 35% of women in politics will make a significant difference to the political culture due to priority women give to the needs of other women, children, elderly, disabled and

disadvantaged...” However one should take note that in New Zealand where the study was carried out women were able to get loans to finance their campaigns, they were sanctions imposed by the electoral commission on a party list which does not meet the required number of female candidates and the media coverage was not selective unlike in Zimbabwe.

Zimbabwean National Gender Policy (2013-2017) defined gender equality as equal enjoyment by women and men of socially valued goods, opportunities, resources and rewards. According to Signe (2004) gender quality calls for equal opportunities, rights, obligation of women and men and potential for all to influence, participate and benefit from development processes. Section 17(1) (a) of the Zimbabwean Constitution states “... the state must promote the full participation of women in all spheres of Zimbabwean society on the basis of equality with men ...” There is need to examine if the provisions are properly being adhered to in the political arena. This research seeks to look at how effective was the quota in increasing female representation in Parliament. There is need to consider the qualification these women hold who are chosen for quota seats. There is need to investigate if women are meaningfully participating in development decision making structures or they are just occupying those positions for the sake of achieving equality in development decision making structures.

The SADC stressed that every member countries should insure the implementation of its objective of insuring that 50% women are in the desion making bodies at the national level, SADC (2008). The research seeks to examine if SADC objectives can be domesticated to the national situation and analyze the emphasis on achieving 50% female representation has any impact on the participation of women in Parliament or quantitative symbolism. What women do after being appointed or elected has always been left out in the discussions of women participation. The policy goal is to have equality of numbers in the decision making bodies. It is therefore imperative to question the quality of the increased number of women seats in the parliament, and examining the value of women participation beyond their numbers.

Norris and Lovenduski (1993) points out that female parliamentary roles are gatekeepers of votes during election time. The initial objective of special seats for women was not to redress the imbalance but rather to ensure that the voices of a special category of citizens were heard in decision making bodies in order to enhance the representation of varied interests Meena (2003). The importance is to hear the voices of women and to boost the representation of varied interests

of the women in decision making. Dahlerup (2002) argues and ask questions if this is the case, how much of this has been achieved? To what extent are the voices (not only in the literal meaning of the word) of women had and reflected in the decisions of the parliament? It is then stressed that among other issues, a successful quota system could result in the active recruitment of women, who would be able to manipulate political norms and culture and would have the possibility to influence the decision making process as individuals or as a group.

Dahlerup and Freidnvail (2005) in a journal cited that quota system can follow two tracks either incremental track model and fast track model to explain the historical development of equal representation. Table 1 below will illustrate the two models.

Table 2.1 incremental track model and fast track model.

| | Incremental track model | Fast track model |
|--------------------------------|---|---|
| Diagnosis | Women lack resources | Discrimination and mechanisms of exclusions |
| Goal | More women in politics | Gender balance elected bodies |
| Strategy | Capacity building activities | Active measures such as gender quotas |
| View of historical development | Gender equality will be reached in due time | Gender equality will not be reached by itself |

Source: Dahlerup and Freidnvail (2005) quotas as a fast track to equal representation of women.

Table1 (above) shows assumptions of the incremental model and the fast track model. The incremental model assumed that women have insufficient resources for example financial resources, attitudes against women and time to venture and actively participate in politics whilst the fast track model assume that provision of resources to women will not gradual lead to equal representation and points out that women are discriminated. The Parliament of Zimbabwe in relation to these models fails under the fast track model because it groups female as a group which have been discriminated by their male counterparts in politics.

The goal of the incremental model increase the number of women in politics, it assumed that the rigidities in the society against time will disappear through capacity building where the political ambitious women will be trained on the concept of public speaking and campaigning strategies. Whilst the fast model suggest adoption and implementation of gender sensitive laws (electoral quotas)and introduction of reserved seats for women hence a fast way of increasing women in politics for instance the issue of Zimbabwe before the introduction of quotas in the 7TH Parliament women constituted 18% of the Parliament seats and after the enshrinement of the quotas there was a sharp increase of female representation in the 8TH Parliament to 34% hence a fast track model just like Belgium from 9.4% to 36.7% after the legislated quotas.

2.3.4 Culture and the quota system.

Ideological and Psychological issues play a role in participation of women in political matters, HREMC (2014). There is a belief that politics is a dirty game and is not a field of females. The literal belief that women fit to be at home and not part of the harsh political environment prevailing hence decreasing confidence of women to compete for the elections and participate in politics. Women themselves have isolated themselves away from the political arena since they are afraid of how the society views them. Traditional gender roles see women as mothers and housewives limiting them significantly to these assigned roles, GADC (2008). Also, the working arrangements of governance institutions are usually inflexible making it difficult for women to balance their work with unpaid caring responsibilities, Broody (2009). Most females in politics have husbands who are already in top positions in the political arena.

The few women that have made it into politics offices have had limited influence as compared to their male counterparts Goetz (2002) in MacLean (2003). This is a result of the politics of patronage that characterize most African countries. Only those women favored by powerful male elites rise to political offices. While acknowledging the positive contributions that women political office bearers have made, especially in the constitution making process, Ndlovu and Mutale (2013) note that “in most African countries women in the reserved political seats as a result of quota systems have been like chess pieces, as they have been moved by men.” In order to make it in the stiff competition for political office, women have to build strategic coalitions with men, working out compromises that they would otherwise not make if they had enough support from fellow men within their parties, Gaidzanwa (2004). Both observations by this

researchers point to the reality of these women who ride on the back of men in order to survive in politics and therefore have to leave on these men's back.

However, Althusser (1970) postulate about ideological state apparatus which are family, churches, schools, non-governmental organizations and the media, these ideological state apparatus. According to Althusser (1970) plays a pivotal role in the wellbeing of a people. Due to such things women now realize they can speak on their own and be heard. Through some organizations like Women in Politics Support Unit (WIPSU), Zimbabwean women are now realizing that they can be politicians and cannot wait for men's decisions only but should also be part of decision making. Churches, schools and the media are also playing a pivotal role in empowering and motivating women to join politics. Hence the Women in Politics Support Unit (WIPSU) organization is demanding 50/50 in terms of parliamentary sittings. So due to these ideological state apparatus, are playing a pivotal role in empowering women.

Traditional patriarchy systems (predetermined social roles assigned to women) dominated several societies and significantly influence the way in which women participation in parliament. Greig (2006), contends that male dominance in the home can be punishing to the extent that women have to seek authority from their husbands to engage in activities outside of their domestic tasks.

2.4 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.4.1 Women in Development (WID)

WID perspective emerged in the early 1970s and presented a set of common concerns that related to women's exclusion in the development processes. WID come to address the exclusion of women and development programs which resulted in the failure and unattainability of the programs. The failure was reported to be a result of the patriarchy nature of the time, marginalization of women in marketing facilities, employment and resources. The WID implemented approaches to elevate women into development. One of the approaches was the anti-poverty approach, its main thrust was to address women's access to resources.

2.4.1.1 Analysis of the Women in development. (WID)

The projects were feminine, which included knitting and peanut butter making while their male counterparts engage in big and lucrative projects hence contributing more in development. The WID can also be used to address the politics of today as women are now active in development and politics, but they are given peripheral posts as compared to their male counterparts who are given influential posts like defense, state security and finance ministries while women are given ministries like women and youth affairs. The WID did not yield expected results, Bruno (2006) argues that, the approach was never focused on challenging the patriarchy and liberating women, it only incorporated women with the view to make better use of female labour. More so, Verloo (2006) purports that, the WID approach was a one size fits all, because it treated women as a homogeneous entity of which they are heterogeneous group, which varies in terms of class, needs, ethnicity and history. The theory ignored the fact that women are not a homogeneous group, but a heterogeneous group, hence resulting in the emergency of the women and development and it took women as passive recipients and beneficiaries of development rather than core agents of development. Thus women are used to secure votes during election time.

2.4.2 Women and Development (WAD)

WAD approach came into being in the mid 1970's as a critic of the WID to address the needs of women. WAD argues that they will never be gender parity unless, patriarchy and global inequalities were addressed, Rowland (1997). The WAD was focused on the aspect that women were never excluded from the political environment, but rather their inclusion was granted through peripheral positions.

2.4.2.1 Analysis of the WAD

WAD over emphasized on autonomy of women which led to the marginalization of their issues. This can be evidenced by the ministerial positions women hold in Zimbabwe, however it will be academically injustice to completely air out that women hold peripheral positions in parliament as we have some women on higher positions like former Vice Joyce T. Mujuru, Vice Speaker of Parliament Mabel Chinomona and President of the Senate Edina Madzongwe, however this research is going to add to the body of knowledge that these above mentioned are active in politics and hold higher positions in parliament due to some facts contributing such as they have the financial resources, they have also dealt with the patriarchal dominance and societal beliefs

as their spouses or relatives are already in politics or the women were active politicians during the pre-colonization period.

2.4.3 Gender and development. (GAD)

Gender and development (GAD), emerged in the 1980's, the approach indicated that development process was a gendered issue and it goes beyond the fact of just adding women in development processes, Young (2002). GAD focused on both women and men, on how development and politics affect both sexes. Hence it clearly points out that for development there is need for the inclusion of the two sexes in decision making body. Kwesiga and Sendiwala (2006) insist on the fact that, the emphasis on GAD was on applying appropriate gender planning perspectives in order to insure and ratify equitable resource allocation. Quan-Baffour (2008) is of the view that, for development to take place and for it to be sustainable there was need to encourage equal participation and empowering both men and women, hence the emergence of the GAD. Therefore the quota system is responding to the GAD approach by advocating for gender parity in politics.

2.4.4 The critical mass theory Kanter and Dahlerup

Over the past years, critical mass theory has gained extensive popularity among politicians, the media and international organizations as a support for measures to bring women into political office, Krook (2005). The critical mass theory come as a result of debates whether if there is a difference when women work as a group or as a minority, Crowley (2004). Another scholar observes that an increase in the proportion of women elected actually decreases the likelihood that individual female legislators will act on behalf of women as a group, Carroll (2001). All these different opinions from different scholars led to the rise of the Critical mass theory. Duhlerup (2005), notes that, the 2000s decade has witnessed the critical mass argument being used among advocates of the introduction of electoral gender quotas in order to affect a rapid increase of female politicians.

2.4.4.1 Analysis of the Critical mass theory.

The authors of the Critical mass theory focused only on the impact of rising female numbers, would allow women to be active in politics assuming that the more the number of females in

politics are required before female legislators can begin to provide qualitative contribution in gendered policy debates.

However, female Parliamentarians can be increased but that alone cannot guarantee a qualitative on a parliamentary issues hence the theory does not fully explain the implication of the quota system. Nonetheless, scholars ought to adopt a more secured approach rather than a simply assuming that women will form alliances with other women as their numbers increase, they should also consider educational qualification so as for them to provide qualitative and effective contributions, they must investigate multiple possibilities in the relationship between women's evocative and functional representation.

2.4.5 Politics of Presence Philips 1995.

The theory was published by Anne Phillips in 1995 in the book *Politics of Presence*. Philips (1995) insist that there are certain needs, interests and concerns that arise from women's interests, and these will inadequately addressed in a political world that is conquered by men. Female politicians share life experiences with other women unlike male parliamentarians hence in the theory female parliamentarians are presumed to be best representatives of women's interests. Daily life experience are important and closely aligned to political views, behaviors and priorities of women representatives of female voters.

However, the theory never mentioned that female politicians must view themselves as particular representatives of women's interest or otherwise be feminists, but rather argue that if more females come into the political arena, who have the same life experience with female voters it will have a direct impact with issues which will be addressed in the policy and reforms. This theory was critiqued by Iris Marion Young in her book *Inclusion and Democracy* (2000).she come up with the theory of the *Politics of Awareness*. The main issue raised in Young's book was that representatives have to consciously relate to a particular group's social practices in order to represent that group's views, interests and priorities.

Young (2000), notes firstly, I feel represented when someone is looking after the interests I take as mine and share with some others. Secondly, it is important to me that the principles, values and priorities that I think should guide political decisions are voiced in discussion. Finally, I feel represented when at least some of those discussing and voting on policies understand and express

the kind of social experience I have because of my social group position and the history of social group relations.

2.4.5.1 Analysis of the Politics of the Presence.

Focusing on the limits of the scope, they call attention to the opportunities and constraints that stem from political party affiliation, Childs (2004), legislative inexperience Cowley and Childs (2003), institutional norms Kathlene (1995) and the external political environment, including the electoral system Swers (2004); Tremblay (2003). For the Parliament of Zimbabwe to succeed it should bring together these two views, Politics of Presence and Politics of Awareness to complement each other for the quota system to be successful since these two seem to be complementing each other. Empirical studies have shown that not all female representatives upholds women's interests, views and priorities. Also the theory failed to consider that there is need to select qualified women with an ordinary level certificate in order to be able to understand the proceeding and contribute in parliament debates.

2.4.6 Contagion theory.

The Contagion theory, suggested that traditional political parties will feel mandated to select more female candidate if one of their rivals, usually a smaller party, nominate female representative. Matland and Studlar (1996) suggest that as smaller rivalling parties, usually on the political periphery, begins promoting women actively, larger parties will follow suit. The selecting of female candidates demonstrate equality and other parties will feel mandated to follow suit. Larger parties fear losing voters to the small upcoming parties due to this action, the perceived need to select female candidate will trigger all most every party in the political spectrum to incline to the new norms. This is widely used in Sweden as it did not adopt the quota system but managed to attain 48% of female parliamentarians. Matland and studlar (1996) make a distinction between macro Contagion and micro Contagion, where the first occurs at the national/central level and the latter at the local/electoral district level.

2.4.7 Analysis of the Contagion theory.

The Contagion theory can be criticized for implying a transference of ideas within modest space of actors and also the fact that the human mind is unpredictable. However, one can argue that there is an element of competition between countries that strive for international recognition with

regard to gender equality, a rivalry that also includes parties that are rival at national level. As a result some parties end up nominating incompetent female candidates to be representative in a bid to compete with their rivals. As an alternative the concept of international diffusion can be used, defined as a process where a country responds to general political pressures partly from the level of female political participation in competing countries and partly from international organizations such as the UN, CEDAW and the National Women's Movement. However, the concept of diffusion is usually used to refer to structural factors, with the jeopardy of neglecting the role of actors.

2.4.8 Analysis of Contagion theory.

Contagion theory can be directly be linked to the quota system in the Parliament of Zimbabwe especially the intra state competition as parties compete for votes since an average of 52% of the national population are females, but however research with the ZEC (2013), of the 52% of the females only 15% managed to register to vote, a significant number did not vote due to various reasons such as fear of political violence, religious and did not have time to queue up because of their predetermined societal duties.

2.5 EMPIRICAL FRAMEWORK

2.5.1 Quota system in Rwanda.

Rwanda is one of the top ten country with a highest number of female representation in the world. The introduction of the quota system was from 1961 to 1993 the parliament consisted of 19% female parliamentarians, as a upshot of the gender complex constitution and genocide in 1994 which left the national population comprising of 70 % females leading to the rise of female parliamentarians to 25.7% representation. Rwanda become the first country female representation in 2003 with 48.8% representation, after the constitutional reform by influential political women who were in Uganda, the constitution specified that 30% of the parliament seats should be set aside for women, thus adopting the fast track model to increase female representation to achieve gender equality in politics. Most African countries have implemented mandatory women's quotas, but Rwanda has reserved seats for women.

The post genocide population of Rwanda led women to think differently and develop skills which were once a male's job and also influenced by female politicians from Uganda who were

exposed to quotas for women and gender issues in parliament. The women's movement and female politicians influenced for constitutional reform which led to the enactment of the quota system reserving 30% for women and advocated for electoral structure for gender equity. This has resulted to the current 56.3% female representation in parliament. As stated in the constitution the senate hold 30% of female seats which are either appointed by the president or elected by council and have 8 year live; 80 seats for the deputies of which 54 seats are elected through the proportional representation, 27 are reserved for; 2 seats are for the youths which are elected by the youth council one seat is also reserved for the disabled which will be elected by associations of the disabled and the remaining 24 seats are reserved for women elected through the women's only election. In addition to these reserved seats women are also allowed to compete through the First Past The Post (FPTP). However various scholars pinpoint that Rwanda is autocratic and undermines democracy due to these quota system during elections.

The Ministry of Women and Gender after the genocide created a women's council made up of ten (10) members these helped in the representation of women at grassroots level through the structures elected at cell level, which is the smallest administrative unit: operating parallel to the local council. Before the creation of the council women were not allowed to speak in public or reveal their heads, the council; raise awareness concerning women's rights, training them, empowering women, educating and enabling their confidence. However, the council is experiencing challenges in carrying out their duties such as members are not paid and are not consistently active throughout the country and lack of resources.

Women's non-governmental organization, after the genocide worked together to promote female representation and participation in political issues and within the government. Although the quota system was a success it was coupled with problems such as stereotype around the rival and inexperience of women representatives, females in quota seats are given less respect and the female representation have low rate of participation in parliamentary debates. Rwandaian studies indicate that female representative, represents different issues such as social matters, polygamy, gender and health compared to men who represent issues such as international relations, finance and security this as a result of their roles as care givers and doing household chores. Women elected through quota system have a special commitment to represent women. The current quota

women were already in politics they are not new in politics since they were part of the prior transitional parliament.

2.5.1.1 Lessons Zimbabwe can draw from Rwanda.

Although Zimbabwe has managed to reach 34% of female representation can draw lessons from country like Rwanda on how quota system has been increased and the participation of women made effective. Quota system should start at the local level to booster confidence of women, Zimbabwe has detrimental cultural practices that affect women's participation in politics. And also as a result of the composition of the female population to the national population, women in parliament should be able to hold major ministerial position like finance and defense.

2.5.2 Uganda.

Uganda use a Movementist electoral and political system, which refers to accommodating of all citizens despite the religion, gender, class and culture and its intention increase individual merit over party membership. Before the introduction of the quota system in 1986, Uganda women's representation was constitutently below 3%, Local Council Executive reserved one seat for women representation, from all levels of the 5 tier system in 1986. However, studies in Uganda record that in most part of the country these women ended up neglecting their political roles diverting to roles such as tea-making sweeping and social issues within the council.

Responding to the protests made by the Women's movement, the reserved seats were increased to 39 seats in parliament in 1989, electing one female representative from each district from the female list compiled by male dominated Electoral College. Women who occupy quota seats their terms in Parliament last for only two lives of Parliament.

The constitutional reform of 1995 included the provision of reserving the seats for females stipulating that women's seats constitutionally increased to 1/3 and 56 seats in parliament. Women contributed 18% percent of delegates in constitutional discussion and formed a nonpartisan Women's caucus which advocated for gender equality clauses in constitution. In the 2003 election women won 24% of the parliamentarian seats including the 13 general election seats, thus adopted the incremental track model that with time gender equality will be reached. The perception was that women in quota seats representatives for women rather than promoting

women's interests hence it was more like a symbolic gesture to please women in political environment. Hence, women were used to secure female votes on election time.

It is reported that 90% of the female politicians were directly acknowledged and self-appointed by male elders. There is no grassroots representation and participation of women. There is top down implementation of the quota system in the parliament of Uganda. The situation is famously known as women in power with no power, and female in quota seats feel like they are beneficiaries of the quota system rather than feel like they are the makers of the quota system. The male Electoral College is riddled with patronage, raises questions of accountability, allegiance and representation. There is no women's quotas at the local level, could not take part in the First Past The post due to the system, finances for campaigning and also low levels of education since there is a stipulation for a minimum level of formal education hence eliminating 80% of the women population. Also, since the reserved seats are additional, quota seats women are the first to go when government down-size.

2.5.2.1 Lessons Zimbabwe can draw from Uganda

To address the issue of nepotism during selection of women in quota seats, women selected for quota system should not be elected by seniors in the political party not be affiliated to any political party to evade the issue of women who are carried by their spouses in politics but should be independent candidates and competent females in the society. Also women who occupy quota seats their terms in Parliament should last for only two lives of Parliament.

2.5.3 Sweden.

Quotas were introduced in Sweden around 1928, but were rejected because all positions in Parliament should be bases of equal opportunities and open competition. Both males and females were not in support of the introduction of quotas since they view them as a measure gong against fundamental rights of equal opportunity and merit. Freidenvail (2005; 2006) notes quotas are reverse discrimination against men; and they were seen as unjustified limitations of party member's right to select their own representatives. In 1971 there was an increase of women representation in parliament from 14% to 27% before any quotas were introduced, increased numbers of female parliamentary was not achieved through quota system. It took almost 70 years for Sweden to archive 30% of female representation hence adopted the incremental track model

were they increased females in politics gradual through capacity building programs .The increase in female parliamentarians to 47%, was achieved through political factors like proportional representation party list electoral party system, big sizes of districts, political and party ideologies which were conducive to women to participate in politics; socio-economic contributions like labour force participation by women, development of a welfare system and educating women; and cultural factors included secular protestant religiosity, favorable attitude towards gender parity. The situation in Sweden is a response to the Contagion theory, when larger political parties are influenced by smaller and progressive parties to follow suit in significant actions such as proportion of female representatives. This is evidenced as political parties adopted strategic incentive to promote women participation, this is due to the high national population of women in Sweden hence need for strategy to yield more candidates. The Swedish implemented the Zipper system in 1993 which was presented to be not bias against men as with the quotas. Three larger political parties now have implemented the voluntary internal quota of 50% for women on party lists.

2.5.3.1 Lessons Zimbabwe can draw from Sweden.

Sweden has the same population ratios as Zimbabwe, hence Zimbabwean women should support each other and also women to be bold enough to compete as independent candidates such they will not be manipulated by their male counterparts, ;used to secure female votes during elections. And also Zimbabwe can also adopt the zipper system for equality of outcomes.

2.5.4 Belgium.

The first elections after the increasing of women's quota from, obliges parties to comply to a mandate that in their candidate list must be one female in the first three list candidates; and the later law applies that the first two positions must be gender balanced one male and one female, non-compliant list from the parties were rejected. Belgium's proportional representation system which is semi-closed political party lists led to the increase of female's quota for party lists from 33% to 50% thus a fast track model for archiving gender equality. In 2003 there was introduction of electoral reform which include merging of districts into larger provinces, introduced electoral threshold of 5% to gain a seat and decrease of 50% in weight given to list vote of preferential votes for citizens which grants less importance to candidates: presence on political party lists.

This increased women's chances of being selected since the larger provinces enabled the election of marginal groups, however it partly undermines the quotas for women. The preferential list given to the list of candidates vote disadvantaged women candidates because it favors best known candidates, women may not be capable to be well known compared to their male counterparts and another challenge was that some parties placed well known female candidates at the end of the list neglecting the impact of parties mixing both sexes in the top two list positions. However even though the country was faced with these above mentioned challenges it managed to increase female representation to 35% from 17% in 1995. As a result of media coverage which gave all chance to every candidates to perform using televisions and wireless radios.

2.5.4.1 Lessons Zimbabwe can draw from Belgium.

Zimbabwe can draw lessons from Belgium such as full media coverage of all political candidates without discrimination of whether poor, rich, sex, belief culture or political affiliation such that it will cater for financial challenges affecting women in competing as candidates.

2.5.5 Literature gap

In countries like Belgium, Uganda, Sweden and Rwanda they are facing challenges such as discrimination of female candidates and women in quota seats, in Belgium, attitudes against women representation, female candidates lack resource such as time and financial costs, women are manipulated they are in power with no power, in Uganda, used as a symbolic representative to secure female votes and also to meet the regional and international targets and deadlines and also there is weak system of selecting female representation as there are elected by male elders in the electoral council hence with this challenges relating to the quota system in the Parliament of Zimbabwe gaps are also evident in selection procedure, absence of quota regulations, protection of female Parliamentarians in quota seats against discrimination, gender monitoring tools and capacity building programs for female parliamentarians have been identified.

2.6 Chapter summary.

The chapter reviewed literature surrounding the research in terms of effectiveness of the quota system in the Parliament of Zimbabwe. The chapter reviewed policy and legal frameworks were

quota system was introduced, which Zimbabwe a signatory and challenges is encountering women which are resulting in their low participation in politics this is shown under conceptual framework. The chapter also explored theories which support equal representation in politics under the theoretical framework, theories such as the Critical mass theory, contagion theory and Politics of the Presence, WID, WAD and GAD were analyzed linking to the situation in Zimbabwe. The empirical framework looked at Rwanda, Uganda, Sweden and Belgium Parliamentary experiences with quota system in promoting gender equality. Chapter 3 will look at research methodology and ethical considerations.

CHAPTER III: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY.

3.0 Introduction.

Chapter three will be focusing on the methodologies, sample frames, research design, sampling techniques, target population, research instruments that will be instrumental on gathering data on the effects of the Quota System. In addition this chapter is going to justify the sampling techniques in the research of the data.

3.1 Research methodology.

According to Polit and Hungler (1997) methodology can be best explained as ways of obtaining, organizing and analyzing data. Mouton (1996) also endorsed it by describing methodology as the means or methods of doing something. Methodology in research can be considered to be the theory of correct scientific decisions, (Karfman as cited in Mouton and Marais 1990). Burns and Grove (2001) are of the view that methodology is a coherent group of methods that complement one another and suit the researcher purpose.

Avison (2005) further defines research methodology as strategies of inquiry which moves from the underlying philosophical assumptions to research design and data collection. While Crotty (1998) is of the view that research methodology is strategy, process or plan of action that is the basis behind the use of particular methods and linking the desired outcome.

Since Methodology is all about obtaining, organizing and analyzing data, the researcher is going to gather data about the effects of Quota system in the Parliament of Zimbabwe.

3.2 Research design.

Leedy (1997) defines research design as a plan for a study, providing the overall framework for collecting data. For Durrheim (2004), research design is a strategic framework for action that serves a bridge between research questions and the execution, or implementation of the research strategy. Designing a research helps the researcher to plan and implement the study in a way that will help the researcher to obtain planned results as according to Groove (2001). MacMillan and Shumacher (2001) are of the view that research design is a plan for selecting subjects, research site, and data collection procedures to answer the research questions. The goal of a sound

research design is to provide results that are judged to be credible, MacMillan and Shumacher (2001).

The researcher is going to use a case study approach to allow detailed account of the impacts of quota system. This will help in corroborating the data gathered. Research design can also be defined as an arrangement of gathering of data to put together significance and purpose to the study, this is done in order to improve quality of the research, Bell (2001).

Data shall be inquired by the researcher through first hand from the respondents in observations, interviews and questionnaires and will be in the sample size and target population so the data gathered will be raw and crude. Some data will also be enquired from written sources which are annual reports and parliamentary publications, so both primary and secondary sources will help in gathering data.

Both quantitative and qualitative analysis will be used in this research as an effort to better up the weakness of each other. Merriam (2009) defines qualitative research as understanding the meaning people have constructed, which is how people make sense of their world and the experiences they have in the world. Nkwi, Nyamongo and Ryan (2001) are of the view that qualitative research that uses data that do not indicate ordinary values. Quantitative analysis involves collecting and or working with text, image, or sounds. It helps the researcher to collect possible precise data. Also this method will be used by the researcher to explain the effects of Quota system. However qualitative method cannot be used to analyze this data hence there is a need to use both methods which are qualitative and quantitative methods.

3.2.1 Quantitative research.

Leedy (1993) defines quantitative research method as method dealing with numbers and anything that is measurable in a systematic way of investigation of phenomena and their relationships. Leedy (1993) further alludes that it is used to answer questions on relationships within measurable variables with an intention to explain, predict and control a phenomena. Cresswell (2002) also note that it explains collected figures and objectives through data presentation tools like pie charts and graphs. So, quantitative research method is useful to the researcher.

3.2.2 Qualitative research.

Cresswell (2008) describes qualitative technique as a practice of systematic empirical survey into meaning. The researcher will use qualitative method through interviewing members of the public, Parliamentarians and political Analyst in understanding the meaning people have constructed towards quota system in the national assembly, which is how people make sense of the quota system and the experiences they had in implementing the system. Also the researcher will make use of the quantitative method through the use of pie charts, graphs and texts in analyzing data which has been gathered.

3.3 Targeted Population.

The research will be conducted at the Parliament of Zimbabwe which has about 270 members of Parliament (MPs) and 80 Senators. Also four (4) Political analysts, two (2) Traditional leaders (chiefs) and five (5) members of the public will also be included.

3.4 Sampling techniques.

As mention before, the research will use simple random sampling, non-probability sampling and purposive sampling. These sampling methods will be elaborated below.

3.4.1 Stratified Random Sampling

According to Fink (1995) stratified random sampling is when the population is divided into subgroups or “strata”, and random sampling is then for each subgroup. When a few characteristic are known about a population, this sampling method is desirable because the population may be arranged in subgroups and then a random sample may be selected from each of these groups, Babbie (2000). The researcher will have to include the above mentioned strata. Sekaran and Babbie (2010) further point out that random sampling is drawn from each of the stratum. This technique will be used in the research to interview members of the focus group discussion, which comprises of three (3) quota female parliamentarians, two (2) general elected females, three (3) male parliamentarians, two (2) chiefs parliamentarians, two (2) political analyst and two (2) public members.

3.4.2 Convenience Sampling

Frey *et al* (2000) is of the view that convenience sampling includes participants who are readily available and agree to participate in a study. Babbie (2000) does not use title convenience, but calls it non-probability sample. MacNealy (1999) observed that convenience sampling is often called accidental, then Frey *et al* (2000) agrees with the other title of accidental but also includes haphazard as an alternate title. The researcher will interview members of the public in the Harare CBD as indicated by the sample frame below. This will help the researcher to hear different views from different members of the public over the research topic or question. This sampling method will be used because it makes it easier for the researcher to find respondents since according to this sampling technique the researcher will randomly select readily available respondents hence less time consuming.

3.4.3 Purposive sampling

Purposive sampling is also known as judgment or judgmental, Babbie (2000). MacNealy refers it as a purposeful method of sampling. Babbie (2000) further notes that purposive sampling is selecting a sample on the basis of your own knowledge of the population, its elements, and the nature of the researcher's aims. This means that the population is non-randomly selected based on a particular characteristics, Frey *et al* (2000). The researcher will gather information from members of Parliament (MPs) and Senators as well as Chiefs in Parliament and Political analysts. These will be chosen since they have knowledge about quota system and its effects on service delivery.

3.4.4 Quota Sampling

Frey *et al* (2000) defines quota sampling as a selection of respondents non-randomly on the basis of their known proportion to the population. Henry (1990) is of the view that quota sampling is dividing the population group into subgroups based on the proportions. Quota sampling allows the interviewer discretion in the selection of the individuals for sample, Henry (1990). He further notes that this method of sampling is a good method to use to non-randomly selected groups based on gender, age, race, and ethnicity. The researcher will use this type of sampling when interviewing males and females thus considering gender. Thus gathering males and females respondents, so as to acquire different opinions based on gender.

3.5 Sample Size.

Webster (1985) defines sampling as a set of respondents (people) selected from a large population for the purpose of a survey. Frey *et al* (2000) is of the view that a sample is a “subgroup of a population”. It has also been described as a representative “taste” of a group, Berinstein (2003). LoBiondo-Wood and Haber (1998) also opts that a general rule of the thumb is to always use the larger the sample the more representative it is going to be, smaller produce less accurate results because they are likely to be less representative of the population. Ericson also goes on to say sample size is a portion of the population that will be used to respond to the research question. Probability sampling is defined by Fink (1995) as every subject or unit which has an equal chance of being selected from the population. Further defines non probability sampling technique as samples that are selected based on subjective judgment of the research, rather than random selection which is a probabilistic method.

This research population comprises of members of the Zimbabwean Parliament, Political analysts, Chiefs in Parliament and members of the public. The research will target six (6) gender and women empowerment portfolio, four(4) chiefs in Parliament, five (5) women in politics support unit, four (4) political analyst, six (6) women’s caucus and secretariat, and (6) members of the political parties for sampling. The research will also put in use Stratified Random sampling, Convenience Sampling, Quota sampling and Purposive sampling. The researcher shall elucidate these sampling strategies to the respondents. Details of the sampling methods are below

Table 3. 1: Sample Frame

| Target Population | Stratum | Population | Sample | Sample frame |
|-------------------|--|------------|--------|-----------------|
| Harare | Gender and women empowerment portfolio | 6 | 4 | committee |
| Zimbabwe | Chiefs in parliament | 282 | 4 | Chief’s council |
| Harare | Women in politics support unit(WPSU) | 8 | 5 | Committee |
| Harare | Political analysts | 50 | 4 | Opinion leaders |

| | | | | |
|--------|--------------------------------|-----|-----------|---------------------------|
| Harare | Women's caucus and secretariat | 12 | 6 members | Committee and secretariat |
| Harare | Members of political parties | 150 | 6 | ZANU PF AND MDC |

3.6 Sources of Data.

In order for research to be outstanding the researcher will use two sources of data which are primary source and secondary source. This will be done in order to obtain or attain useful and relevant data from both sources. These two sources will be validated below.

3.6.1 Primary Data

Kothari (1985) defines primary data as original information collected for the first time. Then Singleton and Straits (1999) is of the view that primary data is made up of eye witness account of the event as they occur. Primary data is going to be more instrumental to this research.

3.6.1.1 Research Instruments.

Research instruments are tools for data collection. Gilbert (2000) defines research instruments as tools which are used to gather data and information during research. These tools are questionnaires, interviews and observation, they are done as an effort to gather lots of information. Researcher shall use interviews and questionnaires to members of Parliament (MPs), Senators, Chiefs in Parliament and Political analysts. Questionnaires will be used to focus group and members of the public, together with a few being interviewed also and the researcher will observe effects of quota system the national assembly which are observable during the research. The research will also observe as she will be filling in some of the questionnaire of those who choose not to write and the illiterate. All above mentioned instruments will be used to collect raw data, which is categorized as primary data.

3.6.1.2 Questionnaire

Questionnaires are doubtless one of the primary sources of obtaining data in any research endeavor, Richards and Schmidt (2002). Brian White (2000) is of the view that questionnaires

are regarded as series of questions, each one provides a number of alternative answers from which the respondents can choose. It can also be defined as a technique of data collection in which each person is asked to respond to the same set of questions in a predetermined order, Sounders (2003).

Questionnaires can appear in three types, that is closed end, open end and a mixture of closed end and open end, Richards and Schmidt (2002). Each questionnaire type has its strengths and weaknesses. Seliger and Shohamy (1989) are of the opinion that closed end questionnaires are more efficient because of their ease of analysis. While Gilham (2000:5) argues that open questions lead to a greater level of discovery. So the researcher shall design a questionnaire with both closed end and open end questions so that they complement each other. The researcher will give the questionnaires to Members of Parliament (MPs), Senators, Chiefs in Parliament, Political analysts and members of the public.

Advantages of using Questionnaire

- They are efficient when collecting data on large scale basis.
- The inquirer can fairly easily gather data in field sites, Gillham (2000)
- They are time efficient since the research can go on even in the absence of the researcher hence cutting time and making it easier for the researcher.
- Due to respondent's anonymity less biased information will be shared rather than in an interview.
- They are quick to administer and include lots of people which means lots of information.
- Gillham (2000) is of the view that when similar questions are administered simultaneously to a large number of people the acquired data are more identical, correct and standard.

Disadvantages of Questionnaires

- Sometimes the answers are inaccurate and questionable, making it hard for the researcher, so to minimize this problem the researcher must be well vested in the field of the quota system in the National Assembly.

- Some officials refused to give information, so the researcher must be equipped with the institutional approval and the Clerk of parliament directive to MP's to provide the researcher with information.
- The researcher will lose some non-verbal clues like facial expressions and gestures hence the researcher will compliment this gap with face to face interviews.
- Some respondents may not fully comprehend the questions thus answering unclear answers. Hence the researcher will use simple English in compiling the questions.

3.6.1.3 Interviews

Kvale (1996:14) defines interviews as a way for participants to get involved and talk about their views. Moser and Kalton (1971:27) are of the view that an interview is a conversation between interviewer and the respondent with the purpose of eliciting certain information from respondent. There are types of interviews such as structured, semi structured, unstructured, and non-directive interviews, Corbetta (2003). Targeted people are Members of Parliament (MPs), Senators, Chiefs in Parliament and Political analysts. Since those mentioned are busy people the researcher shall book appointments with them and shall use structured interview since it is not time consuming yet bringing out effective information.

Advantages of interview

- Interviews allow good interpretative validity, Johnson and Turner (2003:308).
- Johnson and Turner (2003:308) is of the view that interview can provide in-depth information.
- Bell (2005) says a skilful interviewer can follow ideas, investigate motives and feelings, probe responses. Also the interviewer can be able to observe tone, facial expression and hesitation that helps to the information to be gathered.
- Moderately high measurement validity for well-constructed and well tested interview protocols, Johnson and Turner (2003:308).
- Relatively high response rate often achieved.
- Researcher can be able to re-word, re-phrase and add some questions for a smooth follow of the interview.

Disadvantages of interviews

- Interviews are time consuming, Members of Parliament (MPs), Senators, Chiefs in Parliament and Political analysts may not find time for the whole interview due to lots of commitments. To cover this gap the researcher will make an appointment with the people mentioned above to secure enough time needed for the interviews.
- Some respondents might not be good in expressing facts. Hence the researcher will guide the interviewee in a manner that he/ she will be able to express the facts the researcher needs.
- Biased of information as the respondent may just answer to satisfy the researcher or to end the interview quickly, the researcher will be well vested with the current affairs of the national assembly and the researcher must be analytical in nature.

3.7 Secondary Data

Secondary data is information that has been collected previously and that has been put through the statistical process, Kothari (1985). Secondary data shall be used and material to be used are all Parliament of Zimbabwe minute and reports and other relevant pieces of literature.

3.7.1 Archival Collection.

Archival collection is a way of collecting data by reviewing existing documents, Lusthaus *et al* (1999). Archival collection can also be called document analysis. It is done by collecting data that has not been produced by the researcher endeavors. Documents may be hard, or soft copies. Also they might be annual reports, program logs, and performance ratings, funding proposals, meeting minutes, newsletters and registry. The researcher shall review documents from the Parliament of Zimbabwe such as the annual reports and the attendance register for the parliament sittings and newspapers.

Advantages of document review

- Use of document review saves time, Ghauri (2005).
- It is accessible, due to the use of internet and libraries.

- The researcher will be able to generate new insights from previous analyses, Fabregues (2013).

Disadvantages of archival collection.

- Inappropriateness of the data, Denscombe (2007).
- The research has lack of control over data quality, Saunders (2009).

3.8 Ethical Consideration.

Resnik (2011) defines ethics as norms for conduct that distinguish between acceptable and unacceptable behavior. Research ethics analyses ethical issues to be considered when participants are involved in the data collection. Babbie (2010) defines ethics as the guidelines that should be complied with when conducting a scientific research in order to avoid bias against the profession.

3.8.1 Obtain permission

Cascio (2010) ethics refers to the moral principles and values that govern the way an individual or group conduct its activities. The researcher obtained permission to investigate at the parliament administration offices. Obtaining permission is a research ethic that build relations, mutuality and support between the respondent and the researcher as there is an agreement to give information.

3.8.2 Informed consent.

Kumar (2011) states that Contributors are likely to accept and co-operate if they are given full understanding of their full requested participation in a research including objectives of the research, topics that will be covered . During informed consent participants are assured that participation is voluntary and it's not forced and have the opportunity to withdraw from the research. All the research participants were informed before the interview and fill the questionnaires so as to ensure their rights. The researcher also fully explained the purpose of the study to research participants.

3.8.3 Confidentiality and anonymity

Collins (1982) he asserted that confidentiality entails maximum use of secrecy on the information obtained from the participants, and this is what this research observed. Politics is highly debatable issue in Zimbabwe, the researcher made sure anonymity and, confidentiality of all those who participated in this research is maintained. Participants were informed and assured that their identity was kept confidential and anonymity of respondents and interviewees, all data captured was for the researcher, this made participants to freely share data. The research is sensitive especially if it is carried out in communities where patriarchy is still deep rooted. Hence there is need for confidentiality and anonymity to safeguard participants from being labelled traitors of culture. The researcher also disclosed the student card, as well as the permission letter and the letter from Midlands State University to justify that the research was purely academic.

3.8.4 Voluntary participation

Voluntary participation is a research ethic that enhances willing participation to the research and enhances the commitment of participants to the research (Devlin 2006). The respondents were informed that they were voluntarily participating and there were no compensations afterwards.

3.8.5 Interview ethics

During the focus group discussion and the interviews, the researcher clearly explained that she will be noting down points raised during the discussion. She also notified the participants that she would be voice recording them during focus group discussion and interviews.

3.9 Reliability and Validity.

Punch (2010) contends that reliability is a central concept of measurement and basically means consistency. However, it is of importance to note that information obtained from data collection may be reliable but to a certain extent not valid therefore, according Burns in Zohrabi (2013) "...validity is an essential criterion for evaluating the quality and acceptability of research." Validity is strength of qualitative research. The researcher will further authenticate reliability and validation from the researcher's supervisor. The data collected will be reliable and valid since there is the use of recent and certified documents from parliament, also since respondents will be the currently sitting MP's and qualified and prominent political analyst.

3.10 Pre-tests.

Hugler (2001) in Simon (211) defines pre-tests as a “small scale version or trial run in preparation for a major study.” Pretesting of research instruments is done to sharpen the efficiency of the instruments to be used in collecting data. Pre-testing helps to pre determine possible results, assess various logistical issues and weakness of the proposed research are highlighted in advance. The pre-test will be conducted at the parliament of Zimbabwe and in the CBD of Harare. For accuracy of results the researcher seeks approval from the supervisor to use the research instruments.

3.11 Data presentation and analysis

Data analysis used descriptive and explanatory approaches. The descriptive approach used was aimed at giving an accurate profile of the research subjects, describing a process, mechanism or relationship that influence the operation. The research used both qualitative and quantitative methods in analyzing and presenting the data collected. The Data was presented in form of bar graphs, pie charts and tables.

3.12 Chapter summary.

Chapter three managed to outline the methodology used in the research. It paid attention on the research design, population and sample. Data collection instruments such as interviews, questionnaires (primary sources) and archival collection (secondary) sources were used, also strengths and limitations of these instrument were highlighted. The chapter also looked at ethical issues that were observed during the data collection thus next chapter will look at data presentation and analysis.

CHAPTER IV: DATA PRESENTATION, INTERPRETATION AND ANALYSIS.

4.0 Introduction.

This Chapter is going to present, analyze, discuss and interpret data captured during data collection from respondents, through the archival collection, questionnaires distributed and interviews conducted by researcher. Among the respondents there were committee of Gender and Women Empowerment Portfolio, chiefs in Parliament, political analyst, women's Parliamentary Caucus, Parliament secretariat, members of political parties and Women in Politics Support Unit. The research was carried in a bid to find out the effects of the implantation of the women's quota system in the parliament of Zimbabwe. Pie charts, tables, graphs and charts will be used for quantitative data to present data while qualitative data will be narrated in bid to explain the actual findings from the field.

This chapter will focus on themes derived from the objectives of the research as basis for analysis which are as follows:

- To understand the policy and legal frameworks which Zimbabwe is a signatory that advocates for women's representation.
- To examine the effects of quota system on democracy.
- To examine if quota system promotes gender equality
- To examine the role culture and level of education play in women's representation in Parliament.
- To identify challenges resulting in low representation of women in the Parliament of Zimbabwe and to recommend possible solutions.

4.1 Respondents rate.

4.1.1 Questionnaires.

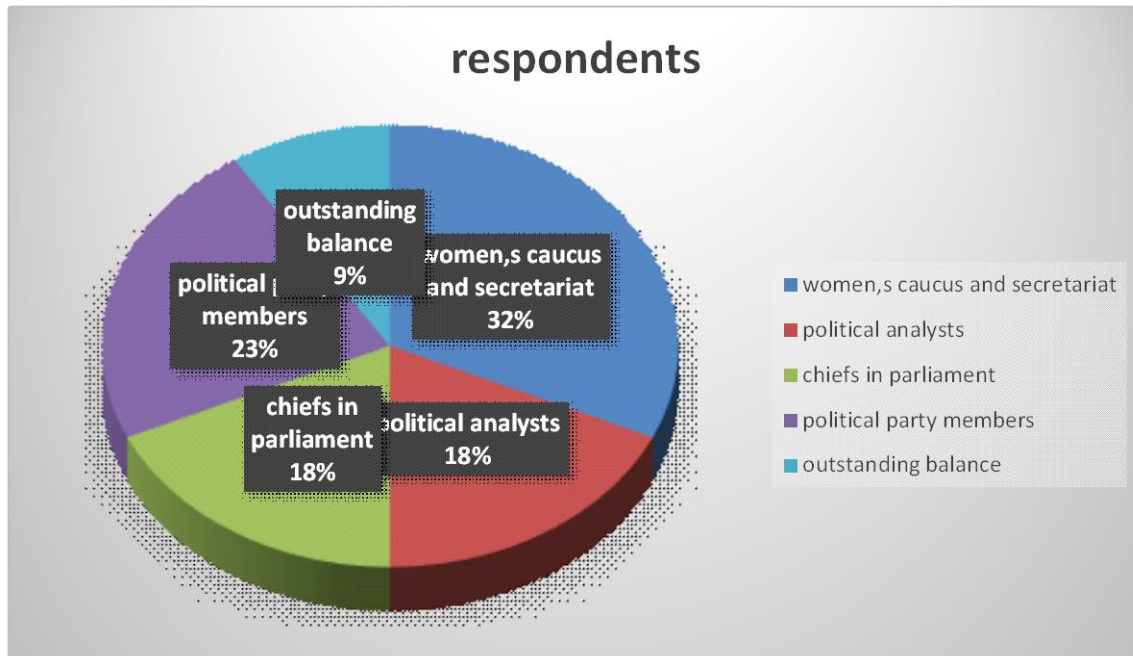
The researcher managed to distribute questionnaire for various groups; the women's caucus committee and the secretariat of the Parliament of Zimbabwe, political analysts, political parties' members, and chiefs in parliament. Unfortunately, the research did not manage to collect all the

questionnaire as some respondents were not reachable because of their busy timetable preparing for elections around the corner the response rate was 90.9%.

Table 4.1: Questionnaire response analysis

| Respondents | gender | Questionnaire s distributed | Complete d | Not complete d | Respon se rate | outstandin g balance |
|--------------------------------|------------------------------|--|-----------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Women's caucus and secretariat | 5 females 2 males | 8 | 7 | 1 | 87.5% | 12.5% |
| Political analysts | 1 female 3 males | 4 | 4 | 0 | 100% | 0% |
| Chiefs in parliament | 1 females 3males | 4 | 4 | 0 | 100% | 0% |
| Political party members | 3female s 2males | 6 | 5 | 1 | 83.3% | 16.7% |
| Total | 10 females 10male s | 22 | 20 | 2 | 90,9% | 9.1% |

Figure4. 1: questionnaire response analysis.



Source: research data (2018)

The researcher used both open ended questions and closed questions in the questionnaires for the respondents. The researcher used open ended questions to allow the respondents to explain exactly the issue on the ground in their own words and closed end questions to allow the researcher to analyze the data and come up with variables from the data collected.

The researcher failed to collect two (2) questionnaires issued to the women’s caucus committee and political party members as respondents were on the field preparing for the upcoming elections. One to one basis on some questionnaire was used to some respondents as some said there were illiterate, some needed explanation and translation.

The above table 1 and figure1 shows that response rate was very high 90.9% as the targeted population managed to respond to the questionnaires, since there were available and the questions were not time consuming the researcher managed to collect 20 of the 22 questionnaires. The respond rate was as follows women’s caucus 35% political members 25%, chiefs in parliament 20% and political analyst 20%.

4.1.2 Interview.

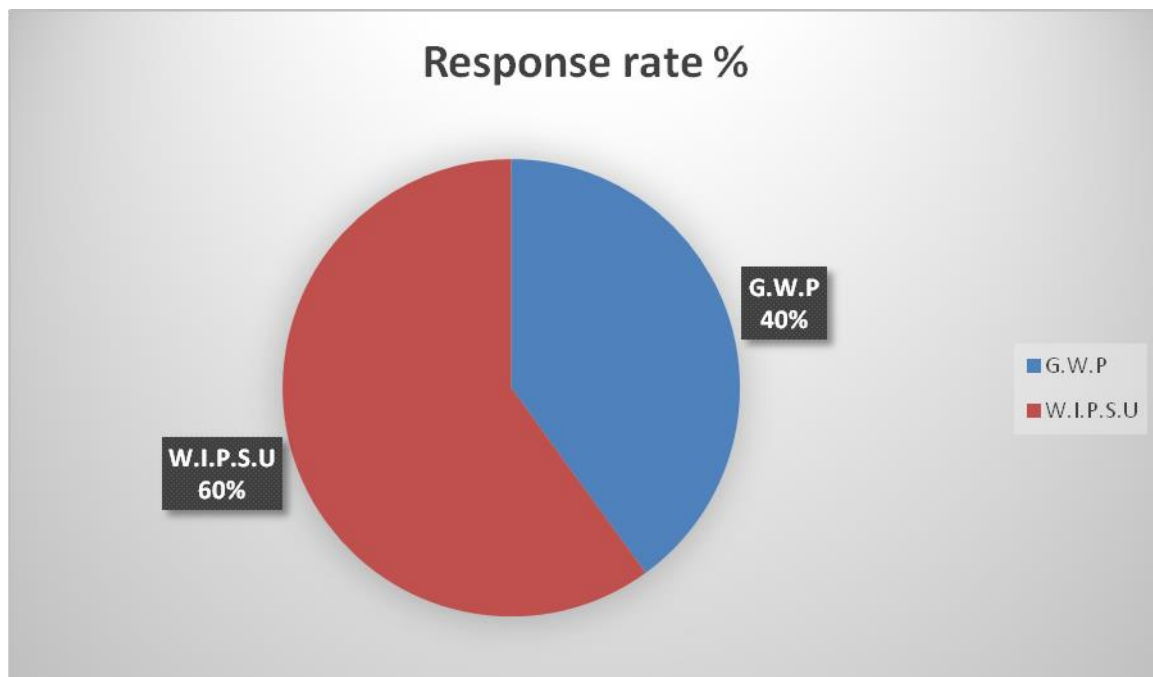
Table4. 2: Interview response analysis

| Respondents | Interviews arranged | Interviews conducted | Response rate | Gender |
|--------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------|---------------|
| G.W.P | 2 | 2 | 100% | |
| WIPSU | 3 | 3 | 100% | |
| TOTAL | 5 | 5 | 100% | |

Source: research data (2018)

Average response rate $5/5*100=100\%$

Figure4. 2: interview response analysis



SOURCE: RESEARCH DATA (2014)

The researcher managed to interview all the targeted interviewee. The interviews response rate were a success since the researcher managed to conduct all the interviews. The response rate were 100% successful. As a result of this response as cited by Backer (2012); in Chinyamakobvu (2014) who postulated that the acceptability of the research results is strengthened by the kind of response one gets during the research which should be above 50%, hence confirming reliability of the data.

4.2 Demographic characteristics of the respondents.

The demographic characteristic on the questionnaire included the gender, age, level of education and working experience. The responses questionnaire on the diagram will be presented below.

4.2.1 Gender distribution of respondents.

The figure 3 below shows the distribution of the gender respondents. There was an equal number of both sex who completed the questionnaire hence 50% /50% response rate. The researcher distributed the questionnaire evenly in order note of the different views from the different sexes to get a balanced view of the effects of the quota system in the Parliament of Zimbabwe, since the issue on its own is gender sensitive.

Figure 4.3: Gender distribution of respondents.

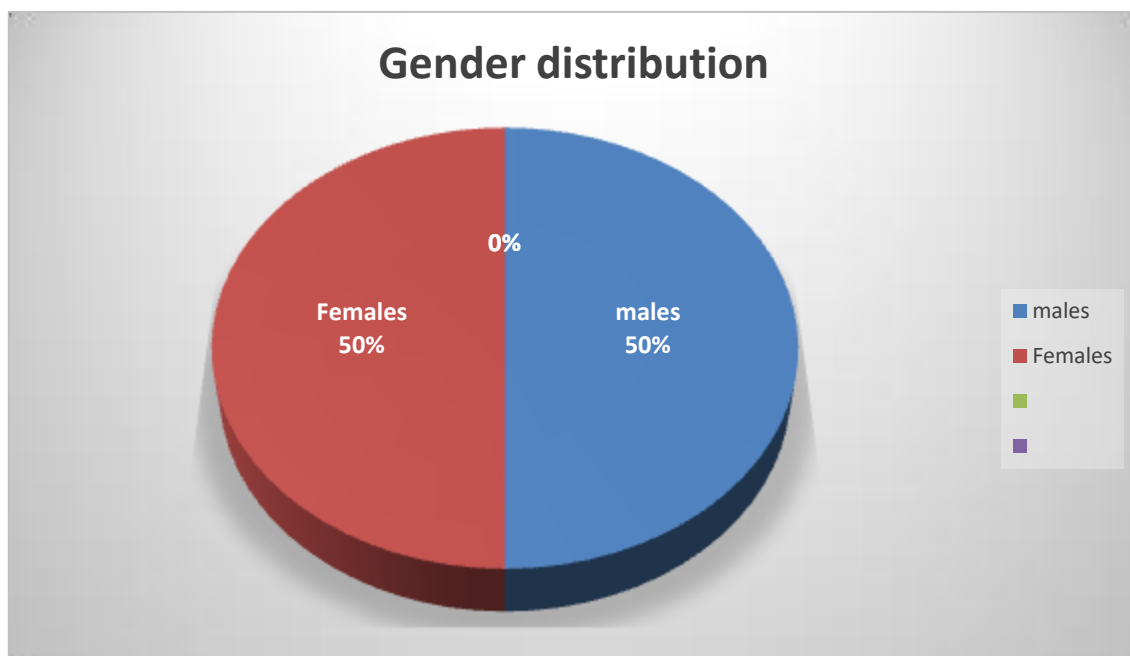
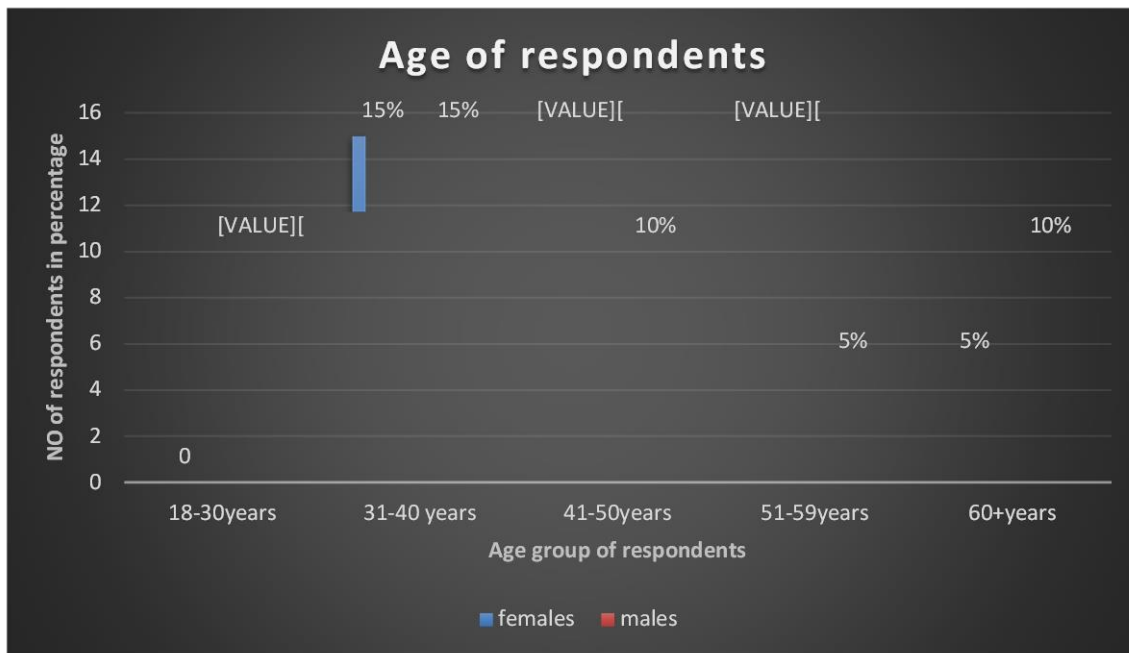


Table: 4.3 Age of respondents.

| Age group | Frequency | Females in percentage | Males in percentage |
|--------------|-----------|-----------------------|---------------------|
| 18-30 years | 2 | 0% | 10% |
| 31-40 years | 6 | 15% | 15% |
| 51-59 years | 4 | 15% | 5% |
| 60+years | 3 | 5% | 10% |
| Total | 20 | 50% | 50% |

SOURCE: RESEARCH DATA (2018)

Figure4.4: Age of respondents



Source: research data (2018)

The respondents were 50% females and 50% as shown by table above. The majority of the respondents who participated in the study (75%) were aged between 31-59 years this is because this is the age group which is mostly engaged in politics. There was a high respondent rate from women from the age group between 31-59 years as this is the age when most females are active in politics because they have dealt with the social stratification within the society. There was a least respondent rate from females at age group 18-30 years this was as a result that women venture into politics after they have a family, and also the rate of respondent from females decreased than that of males the reason being that with age women lose interest in occupying

influential political positions and concentration is shifted more to domestic duties and predetermined societal roles.

Table: 4.4 Respondents level of education.

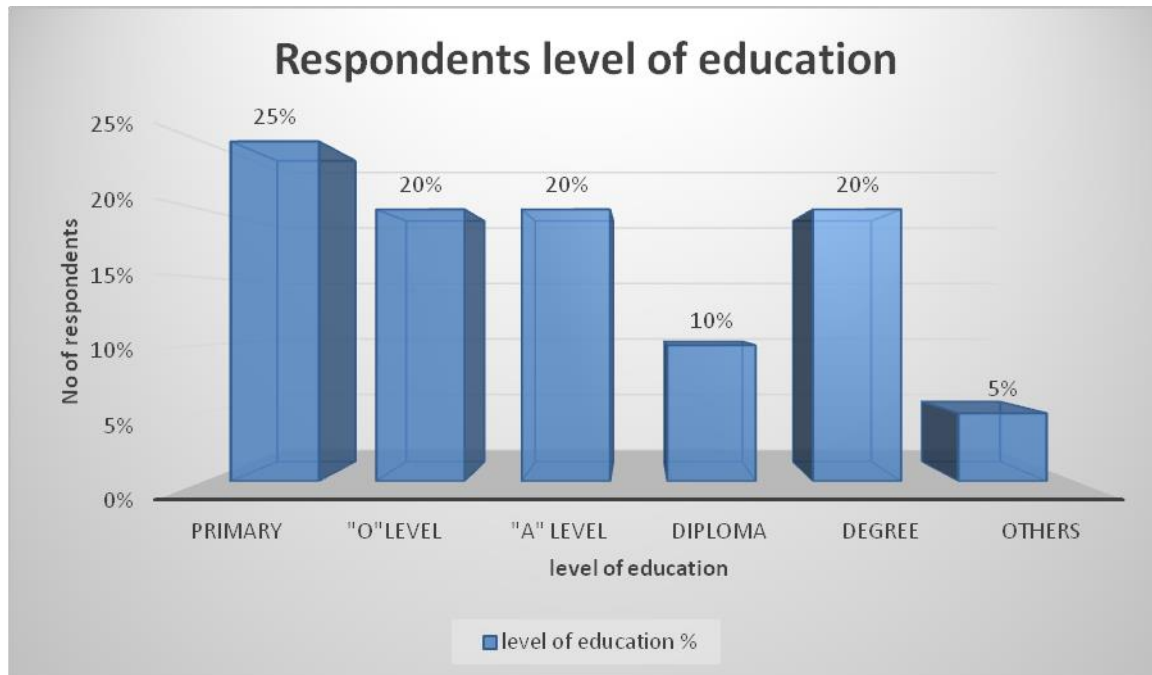
| Level of education | Political analyst | Political party members | Women's Parliamentary caucus | Chiefs in parliament | Level of education in percentage |
|--------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------------------|
| Primary | | 10% | 5% | 10% | 25% |
| “O” level | | 10% | 5% | 5% | 20% |
| “A” level | | 5% | 10% | 5% | 20% |
| Diploma | | | 10% | | 10% |
| Degree | 15% | | 5% | | 20% |
| Others | 5% | | | | 5% |

Source: research data (2018)

The respondents to the research had mixed levels of education, from the data presented on the graph above shows that 25% attend up to primary level, 20% reached “O” level, 20% reached ‘A” level, 10% had diplomas, 20% had degrees and 5% had other qualification.

All the respondents who have done “A” level and above were able to define quota system correctly. The majority of the respondents who attained primary level consisted of chiefs in Parliament, political party members and women’s Parliamentary caucus this group did not understand the quota system in what exactly it meant. A total of 35% had tertiary education, it consisted of political analyst and members of the Women’s Parliamentary caucus secretariats. This group managed to answer all the questions correctly and be able to critical examine the effects of the quota system on the Parliament of Zimbabwe and bring out challenges resulting in low representation of women and possible solutions.

Figure 4.5: respondent's level of education.



SOURCE: RESEARCH DATA (2014)

4.3 Research results.

4.3.0 Archival collection.

The researcher managed to visit the parliamentary library to have access to parliamentary literature like attendance register, Parliamentary Hansard. Unfortunately, the research did not manage to go through all the parliamentary literature.

4.3.1 Distribution of female parliamentarians according to House.

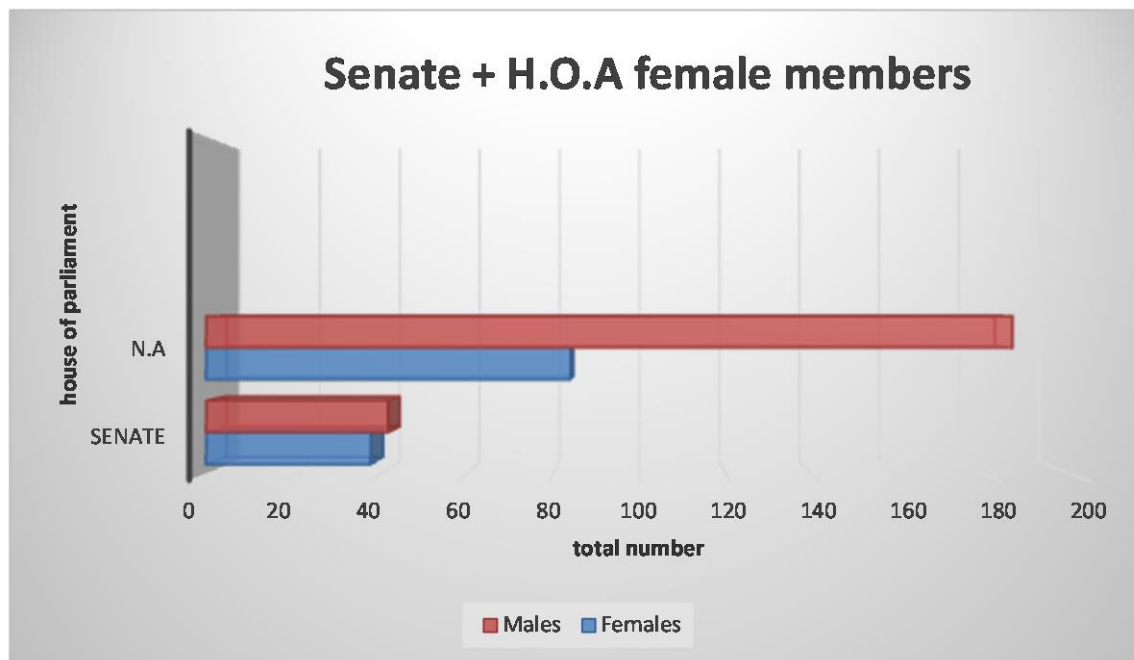
Table 5 below shows distribution of female Parliamentarians according to house they sit in the House of Parliament.

Table 4.5: Distribution of female parliamentarians according to House

| House of Parliament | Females | Males | Total number | % representation in Parliament | |
|---------------------|---------|-------|--------------|--------------------------------|-------|
| | | | | Females | Males |
| Senate | 38 | 42 | 80 | 47.5% | 52.5% |
| N.A | 84 | 186 | 270 | 31.1% | 68.9% |
| Total | 122 | 228 | 350 | 34.9% | 65.1% |

Source: Parliamentary Hansard Vol. 26, No. 36

Figure 4.6: Distribution of female parliamentarians according to House of Parliament.



SOURCE: RESEARCH DATA (2018)

The above table 4.5 and bar graph shows the distributions of female compared to male parliamentarians in the two different house of parliament of the 8TH Parliament of Zimbabwe. Females constitute 47.5% of the senate while man constitute 52.5%% this shows that there the parliament has not yet achieved gender equality in the Senate. Female parliamentarians were a significant minority in the National Assembly eightieth Parliament, of the 270 members of the National Assembly there are only 84 females thus 31.1% whilst males constitute a wide

percentage of 68.9%. Thus gender parity has not yet been achieved in the Parliament of Zimbabwe, out of the 350 members only 122 are females thus they constitute 34.9% of the Parliament which is still below the 50/50 target.

4.3.2 Women in quota seats in the Parliament of Zimbabwe.

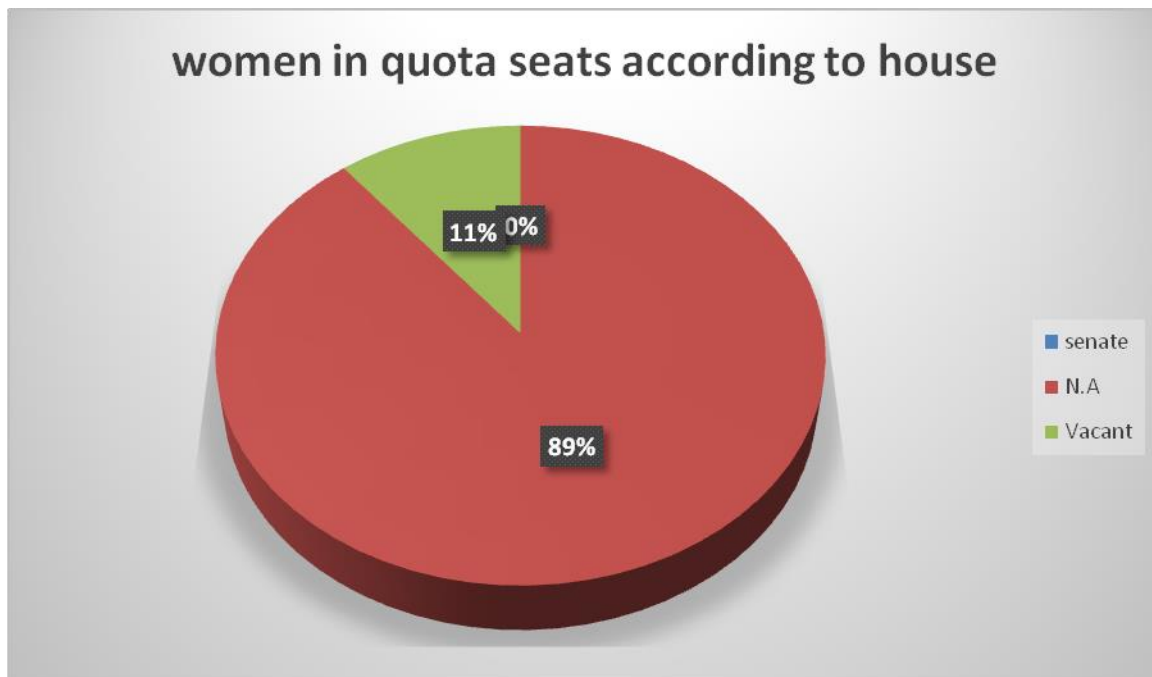
Table 4.6: women in quota seats in the Parliament of Zimbabwe.

| House of parliament | number of women in quota seats | Vacant | Total number of quota seats | Total percentage | |
|---------------------|--------------------------------|--------|-----------------------------|------------------|--------|
| | | | | filled | Vacant |
| Senate | 0 | 7 | 60 | | |
| National Assembly | 53 | | | 88.3% | 11.7% |
| Total | 53 | 7 | 60 | 88.3% | 11.7% |

Source: women’s Parliamentary caucus 8TH current position of female Parliamentarians

AVERAGE PERCENTAGE: $(53/60*100)$

Figure 4.7: women in quota seats according to House of Parliament.



SOURCE: RESEARCH DATA (2018)

The above data presented shows by table 4.6 that 53 women in parliament were elected through the quota system as according to the mandate of the Constitution section 124 “ ...an additional sixty women members, six from each of the provinces which Zimbabwe is divide...’. However the target of electing 60 women in the houses of Parliament were not achieved as targeting as it only 83.3% (53/60*100) of the seats only in the National Assembly while the Senate have no women through quota system. This shows that women in quota seats were only able to attain National Assembly seats and not able to be part of the Senate which is more influential in the hierarchical order of power in the Parliament of Zimbabwe. Therefore gender equality has not yet been achieved in the Parliament of Zimbabwe through the use of quota system as these women only in the National Assembly and no the Senate.

4.3.3 Attendance of female MPs in quota seats.

The researcher managed to review the register of the parliamentarians in Zimbabwe. There was a no marked difference between the attendance of male members of parliament and the female members of parliament. However, one should not give a blind on the trends of the most and least attending members across both genders. Table 7 (below) the attendance of women in quota system and those through the First Pass The Post.

Table4.7: Attendance of female MPs in quota seats.

| Quota women | Attendance | | F.P.T.P women | Attendance | |
|-----------------|------------|----|-------------------|------------|-----|
| | No | % | | No | % |
| Hon Magwende. S | 46 | 96 | Hon Muguti R | 48 | 100 |
| Hon Majaya. P | 38 | 79 | Hon Madau. M | 46 | 96 |
| Hon Chibhagu.G | 15 | 31 | Hon Bhobho. H | 45 | 98 |
| Hon Chitura. l | 13 | 27 | Hon Banda. T | 41 | 85 |
| Hon Tsomondo. C | 11 | 23 | Hon Chinomona. M. | 40 | 83 |

Source: Parliament of Zimbabwe registry.

Average percentage: (46/48*100)

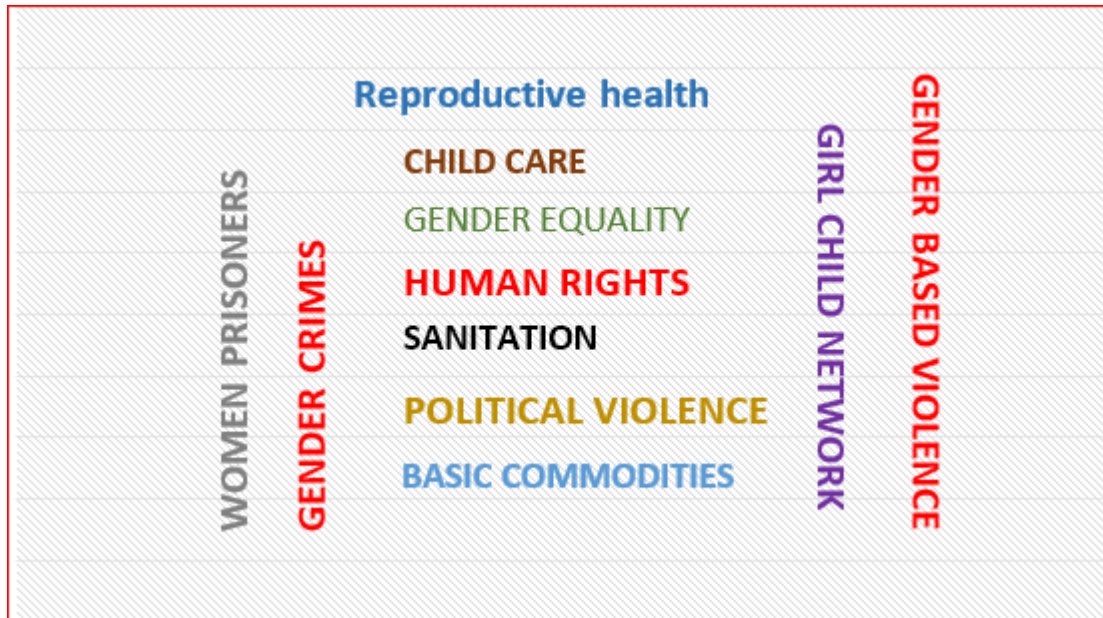
The above table 4.7 shows the attendance of women in quota system and F.P.T.P showing the highest attending Member of Parliament and least attending Member of Parliament. The female

who has the highest attending rate on the quota seat had 96% whilst the F.P.T.P has 100% ($48/48*100$). Whilst the lowest was with the women in quota system 23% while the lowest attendance of the women through F.P.T.P was 40%. The figures shows that the least women attendance was through quota system almost missed every session of Parliament with any attendance rate of 23%. The most outstanding attendance was from Hon Muguti. R, she managed to attend all sittings of Parliament with a record of 48 times out of 48 times. The female Members of Parliaments who record the least when questioned would mention the other roles of women which they had to attend, hence female are still attending at a low rate because of the predetermined roles.

4.3.4 Participation of female MPs in quota seats.

The researcher also had an opportunity to go through Parliamentary Hansard for the year 2017 during archival collection. The Hansard reviewed that female MPs are the least participants during parliamentary sessions. In the 8TH Parliament the most outspoken female, spoke only 24 times throughout the year from the House of Assembly and 23 times from the senate. The issues discussed were in line with issues to do with gender based violence, girl child network, gender equality, sanitation and female prisoners as shown below figure 4.8 informative graph, this is attributed to the discriminatory political structures, economic and societal beliefs resulting in low participation of female MPs in the parliament. The least participant female MP spoke only 5 throughout the year.

Figure 4.8: Info graphic; Thematic interests discussed by female MPs.



SOURCE: RESEARCH DATA (2018)

4.3.5 To what extent has Zimbabwe domesticated the policy and legal frameworks that promote women’s representation?

During archival collection review the researcher discovered that Zimbabwe domesticated a number of policy and legal frameworks which it enshrined in the constitution since the constitution is the supreme law of the land.

4.3.6 To examine the role culture and level of education play in women’s representation in Parliament.

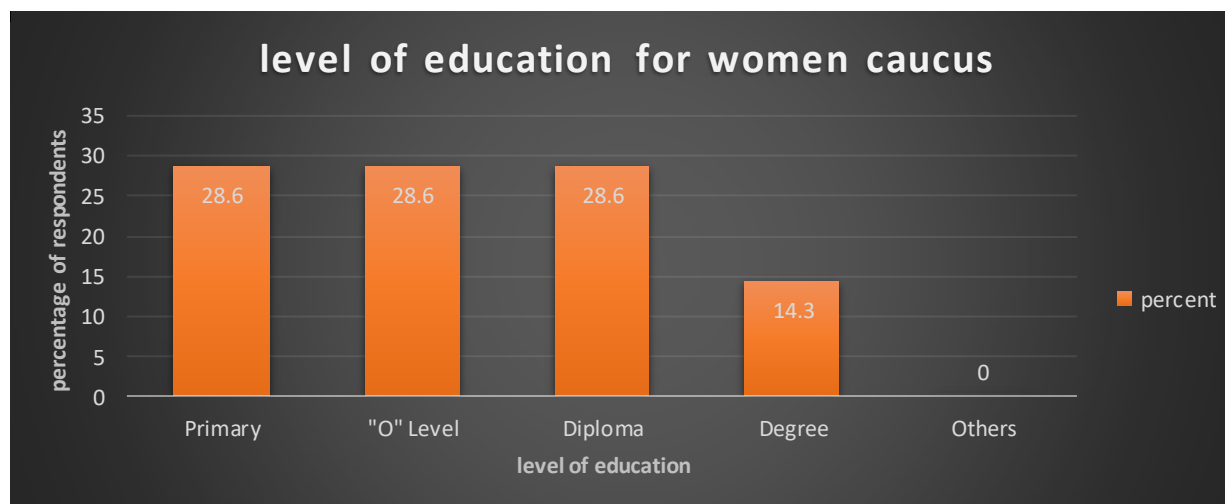
Table 4.8: Level of education in Women Caucus.

Question: what is your level of education?

| | frequenc y | percent | Valid percent | Cumulativ e percent |
|----------------------|-----------------------|----------------|----------------------|--------------------------------|
| primary | 2 | 28.6 | 28.6 | 28.6 |
| “O” level | 2 | 28.6 | 28.6 | 57.1 |
| Diploma | 2 | 28.6 | 28.6 | 85.7 |
| Degree | 1 | 14.3 | 14.3 | 100 |
| Total | 7 | 100 | 100 | |

Source: research data 2018

Figure 4.9: Level of education for respondents from Women’s Parliamentary Caucus and Secretariat.



Source: research data (2018)

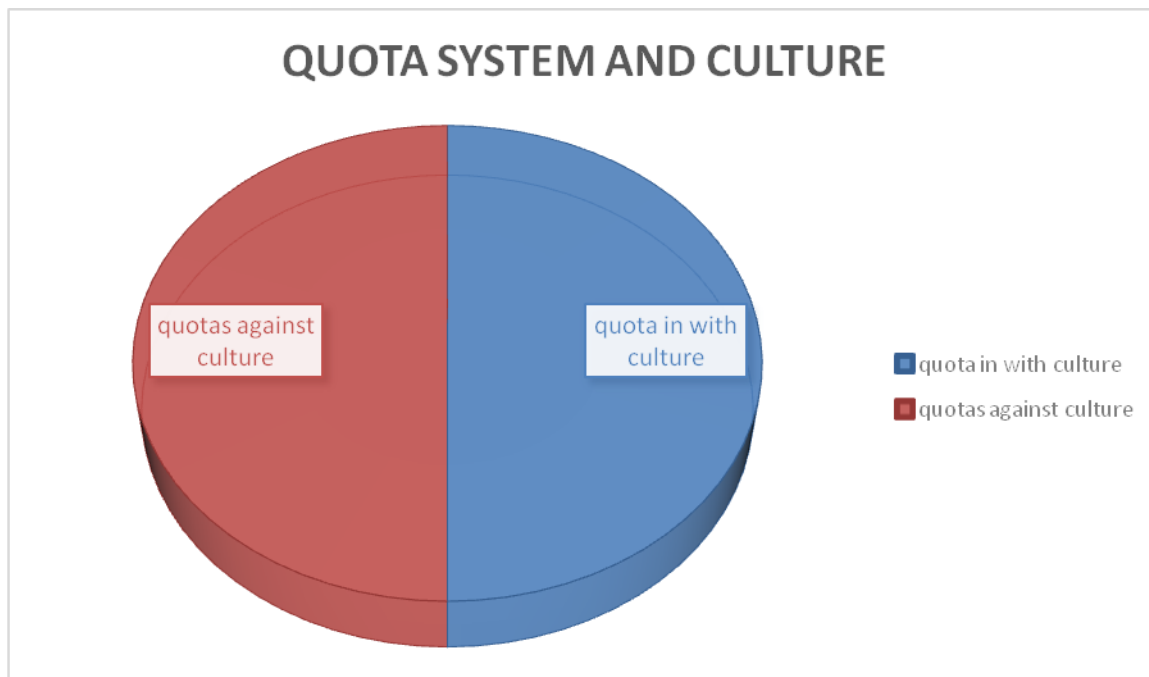
Table 4.8 and figure 4.9 shows the level of education for Women Caucus respondents. According to the table 28.6% of the respondents reached primary level, another 28.6% reached ordinary level, while another 28.6% attained diplomas and 14.3% attained degrees. From the seven purposively selected respondents from the women Caucus committee it shows that 57.2% of the females have primary and ordinary level of education and could not define quota system correctly. The remaining 42.8% was able to define quota system correctly thus including the female Parliamentarians and secretariats. The clearly points out the people in the women’s caucus have no higher learning qualifications compared to the man, hence coming to the conclusion that these same women will not effectively participate during parliamentary sessions. And from their response of defining quota system they related to as a favor from the males to be part of the political world. The table also shows that only one person from the selected group has a degree which is relevant to the field.

Table 4.9: Chiefs views of quota system and traditional beliefs

Question: is the quota system contradicting with your cultural beliefs about women participating in politics

| | frequency | percent | Valid percent | Cumulative percent |
|-------|-----------|---------|---------------|--------------------|
| Yes | 2 | 50.0 | 50.0 | 50.0 |
| No | 2 | 50.0 | 50.0 | 100.0 |
| Total | 4 | 100.0 | 100.0 | |

Figure 4.10: Chiefs view of the quota system with culture.



Source: research data (2018)

The research conducted shows that on table 4.9 and pie chart that from the selected chiefs 50% were against the quota system. These chiefs claimed that the quota system is going against their traditional beliefs that women should not be leaders and should not be part of the leadership committee but rather belong women as care givers. This shows that in some parts of the societies of Zimbabwe women are not allowed to be participate or rather compete for leadership position,

hence result in women participating at a very low rate because of fear of criticism from the society and labelled as immorally upright women hence resulting in low participation of women in politics for leadership positions. These respondents were very against the quota system and gender equality claiming loss of moral values and they also failed to define quota system correctly.

However, not all the respondents from the chiefs were against the quota system. Half of the respondents were in support of the quota system. These respondents were able to define quota system and gender equality correctly. They understood the need for representation of various groups in parliament.

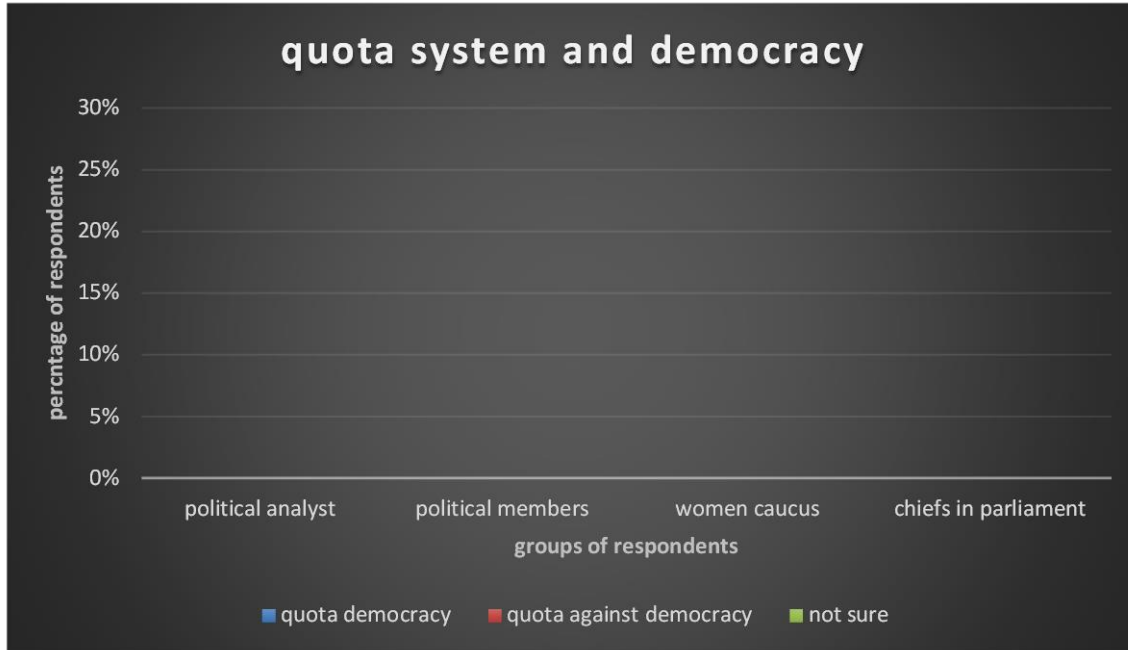
Table 4.10: Is there democracy in quota system?

| GROUP | Quota for democracy | Quota against democracy | Not sure |
|----------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------|
| Political analyst | 5% | 15% | 0% |
| Political members | 10% | 15% | 0% |
| Women caucus | 25% | 10% | 0% |
| Chiefs in Parliament | 10% | 0% | 10% |

SOURCE: RESEARCH DATA (2018)

Average percentage: $(3/20*100)$

Figure 4.11: Is there democracy in quota system?



The research findings shows on the table 4.10 shows that 15% ($3/20 \times 100$) of the political analyst from which the questionnaire were administered were of the view that quota system is against democracy. Political analyst are of the view that if quota system is about creating gender equality there should removal of the reserved seats for women in Parliament putting women on the same footing as man, hence treating them equally. The political analyst also pointed out that quota system undermines democracy as there are no primary elections for selection of the women for quota seats. However, 5% ($1/20 \times 100$) was of the view that quota system promotes gender equality since women have been a disadvantage group in the political arena because of patriarchal ideologies and cultural beliefs that women cannot be part of the political world but rather comply to their predetermined societal roles. From an analytical point of view from the findings at hand quota system undermines democracy.

Political members, an average of 15% ($3/20 \times 100$) also noted that reserving seats for a certain group is undemocratic since some members of the political parties may have a certain member that they want for instance a man who they see have qualities to represent them but because the seat is reserved the cannot elect their desired candidate. Therefore quota system become undemocratic to other aspiring politicians.

According to the respondents from the Women’s caucus 25% were of the view that quota system is democratic. They were of the view that women have been disadvantaged in the political world hence the quota system is giving a starting point to start venturing into the political world. Hence they appreciated the quota system as it is giving them a door to gender equality and are however, still advocating the representation of women to be 50/50 in parliament in the upcoming 2018 elections from the 34% of the 2013 elections.

A handful of the respondents from the chiefs 10% ($2/20*100$), were not sure if quota system promotes democracy.

In an interview with a respondent from the WIPSU respond was of the view that quota system is good for women since they a given a chance to lead but however, does promote democracy since the female candidates for quota seats are not voted for but rather handpicked.

A respondent from the Gender and Women Empowerment Portfolio was of the view that before the quota system was implemented there was male dominance in politics women were not able to be in leadership since they could not stand a chance from their male counterparts. As a resulting of the quota system women are now in leadership positions hence everyone has a chance to lead resulting in democracy.

Table 4.11: results for quota system in support or against democracy.

| Quota system in support of democracy | Quota system against democracy |
|---|--|
| Representation in politics is a question of representing the citizens and not only about merit and competition. | Representation in politics is about merit |
| Women should have half of the seats in politics since they constitute half of the national population | Representation of politics is about rights, justice, interest and ideas not gender |
| International, continental, regional and national level around the world have already implemented gender quotas and targets are | Some influential women want to be on the same footing as men of selection criterion not basing on their gender |

| | |
|--|-------------------------|
| already set | |
| Gender quotas servers to remove discrimination and the exclusion of women in politics also preclude future barriers and mechanisms leading to low representation and participation of women. | Discrimination of males |

Source: research data (2018)

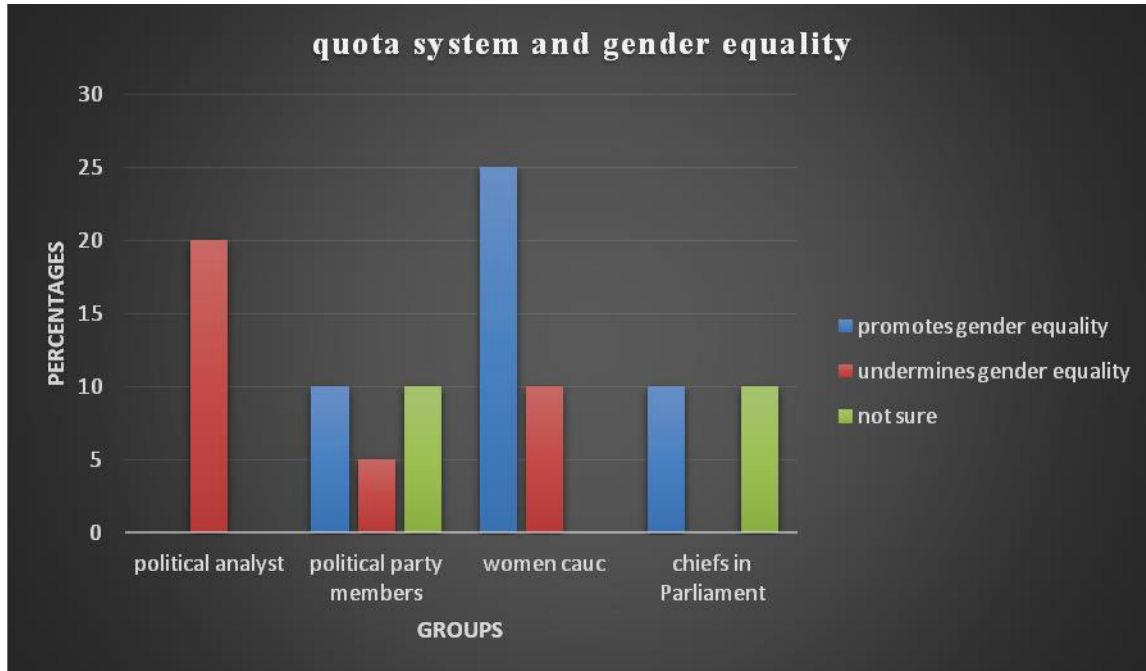
Table 4.11 above provides for the reasons why different respondents were in support that quota system promotes democracy and some citing reasons of why they say quota system is against the principles of democracy.

Table 4.12: To examine if quota system promotes gender equality

| Group | Promotes gender equality | Undermines gender equality | Not sure |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------|
| Political analyst | 0% | 20% | 0% |
| Political party members | 10% | 5% | 10% |
| Women caucus | 25% | 10% | 0% |
| Chiefs in parliament | 10% | 0% | 10% |

Source: research data (2018)

Figure 4.12: examining if quota system promotes gender equality.



The table 4.11 above shows the respondent’s view whether quota system promotes gender equality or undermines gender equality, some of the respondents were not sure because they did not know what it is and some were not in favor of it. From the 20 respondents of the question on the questionnaire 7 (7/20*100) 35% were of that it undermines gender equality, the most radical group was the political analyst who defined gender equality as sameness in the treatment of males and females, it is a 50/50 situation. They are of the view that the quota system in Zimbabwe was implemented for the wrong reason of increasing representation of women thus increasing the number, thus citing out there is a big difference between representation and participation and equality. The political analyst referred to the situation in Zimbabwe as women in power with no power and the female parliamentarians in quota seats view themselves as beneficiaries of the quota system rather than makers of the system.

However, on the other side 45% (9/20*100) of the respondents were of the view that quota system promotes gender equality. These respondents were citing that it promotes gender equality because there is increase in the representation of women in Parliament. The respondents failed to define gender equality in Parliament, defining it as having the same number of women in parliament as the males. The respondents from the women caucus had a response rate of 25% (5/20*100) of the view that quota system is in support of gender equality. This was as a result

that they took quota system from a literal side that it is having equally representation only in politics.

Four of the respondents (4/20*100) were not sure if quota system promotes gender equality since they were not aware of what is quota system.

According to the Gender and women empowerment portfolio during an interview a respondent raised a point that quota system in the Parliament of Zimbabwe is partially promoting gender equality for women in politics as it is moving towards achieving 50/50 representation but however, she raised an argument that they is need for the quota system to reach 50/50 in participation and use of the zebra system in the appointment of the Member of Parliament (MP) to various ministerial positions. The respondents were appreciating the quota system and are advocating that in the upcoming general elections of 2018 there should be 50/50 representation in Parliament.

During an interview with the WIPSU respondent, she appreciated the existence of the quota system in the parliament of Zimbabwe, she pointed out that there is an increase in female representation even thou there is still gender imbalance hence a lot of work still need to be done to reach 50/50 in the Parliament.

4.3.9 To identify challenges resulting in low representation of women in the parliament of Zimbabwe and recommend solutions.

4.3.9.1 Look down upon each other syndrome.

In an interview with a respondent from Women in Politics Support Unit (WIPSU) one of the challenges which result in low representation of women in the Parliament of Zimbabwe was a look down upon each other syndrome. The respondent was of the view that women do not support each other, instead of supporting each other they under estimate other females who wish to enter into politics. Also due to male dominance the respondent also pointed out that some women are used or paid to campaign for male candidates during elections rather than them supporting a female candidates they will be campaigning against her while campaigning for a male. According to census (2012) women constitute 52% the highest percentage of the national population, hence if there had been enough support from each other they could be holding

influential position in politics. The respondent recommended that women should be there for each other, support each other and encourage each other when it comes to politics.

4.3.9.2 Tense political atmosphere.

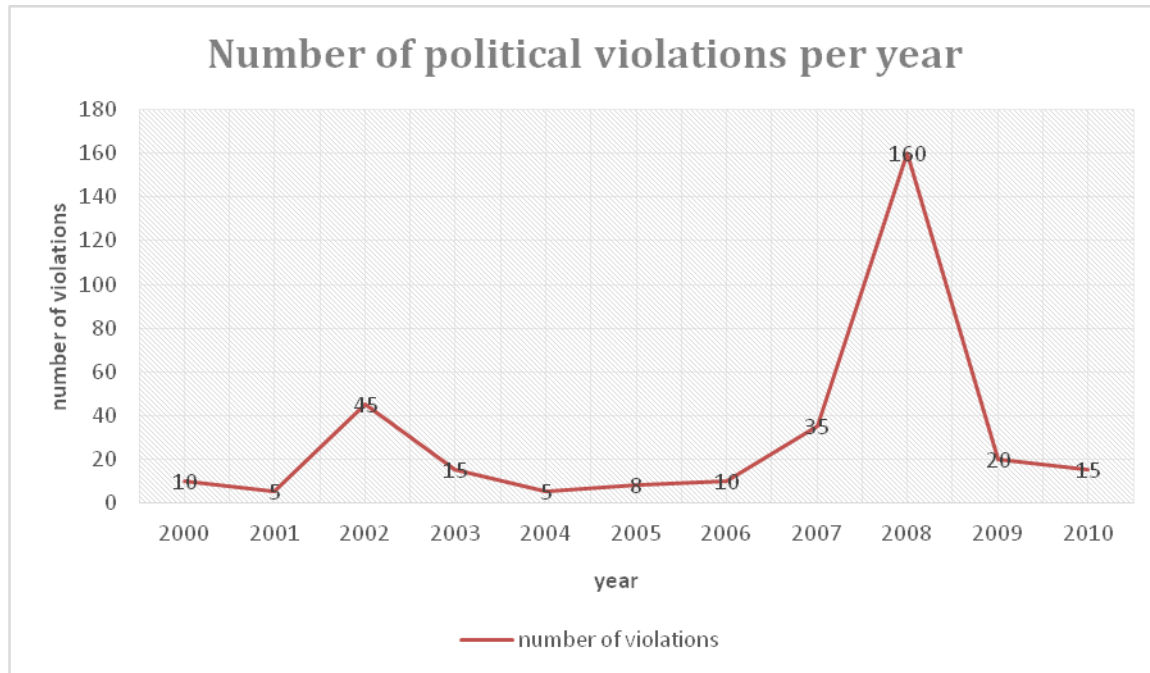
A respondent from the Women's Caucus answering an open ended question on the Women's Caucus questionnaire was of the view that tense political atmosphere prevailing in the country affects representation of women in the Parliament of Zimbabwe. Also during an interview with a respondent from The Parliament of Zimbabwe, Gender and Women Empowerment Portfolio she was of the view that the tense atmosphere which prevails in the political arena hinders women from entering into politics. She said most women prioritize their children and families over anything thus they feel that they have something to live for hence end up not embarking into politics due to political violence which often happen in Zimbabwe.

Also during archival collection the researcher also came across a WIPSU (2008) document which talked of the tense atmosphere in the political arena during 2008 general elections. WIPSU (2008) is of the view that in 2008 there was low women representation in Parliament of Zimbabwe due to the tense atmosphere in the political arena hence the tenseness of Zimbabwean politics is also a factor to consider when it comes to low representation of women in the Parliament of Zimbabwe. This shows that people are of the view that politics is a dirty game and it's a man's job. Hence the respondent from the Gender and women empowerment was of the view that an able environment should be created in the political arena so that women will also feel comfortable entering into politics because as it stand politics is like a masculine.

The graph (figure 13) below which was discovered through archival collection review from the RAU(2011) report on VAW 2000-2010, shows number of political violation on women during elections. Women has described the environment as very unsafe during elections, figure 13 shows amount of political violence per year indicating that there is shape increase of political violence during elections. The highest political violence was recorded during the 2008 harmonized elections which was the most violently contested elections as there was record forms of political violence. Political violence during election time do not only affect women but are more vulnerable especially in the rural areas. These violations does not only affect females decisions to vote, but also decision to seek a political office. This has resulted in the issue of low representation in political office by women in a boldly dominated patriarchal society of

Zimbabwe. The fact that political participation may invite violence discourages females from participating in politics.

Figure 4.13: Number of political violations per year.



Source: RAU (2011) report on VAW 2000-2010

4.3.9.3 Financial Constraints.

Financial constraints is one of the problems which was brought out or pointed out by respondents. In an interview with the Women in politics support unit (WIPSU) respondent she was of the view that there is low women representation in the Zimbabwean Parliament due to financial constraints since most women are not independent but will be married and their husbands will not let them use finances for campaigning purposes especially when the husband is not active in politics. Also a respondent from the Parliament of Zimbabwe Gender and women empowerment Portfolio was of the view that most women do not enter politics because they do not have campaigning equipment and funds hence they end up taking the back bench when it comes to politics.

However a respondent from the Women's Caucus answered an open ended question in the Women's Caucus questionnaire and was of the view that in order to increase women representation in the Parliament of Zimbabwe women should be funded in order for them to have adequate campaigning material. She was of the view that if women are funded it will be a lot easier for them to enter into the political arena since most of the women wants to be politicians but lacks finances.

4.3.9.4 Patriarchal Dominance.

During an interview a respondent from Women in politics support unit (WIPSU) also pointed out the issue of patriarchal dominance as a hindrance for women to enter into politics. She was of the view that Zimbabwean politics is dominated by men and men will also be competing for Parliamentary seats which women will also be eying as a result of patriarch a male candidate will win the seat. While a respondent from the Gender and women empowerment portfolio was of the view that due to societal gender stereotypes women are viewed as home managers, care givers and weak, so they are not seen as fit for politics. Some Chiefs in Parliament also answered in their questionnaires saying that the quota system was against our African culture hence culture has become a hindrance for women to venture into politics. Therefore patriarchal ideologies from the research finds is contributing to low participation of women in politics.

A respondent from WIPSU recommended that there is need to fight male dominance in politics and there should be 50/50 representation in the Zimbabwean Parliament after the upcoming 2018 general elections. While a respondent from the Gender and women empowerment Portfolio was of the view that women should fight societal stereotypes, ideologies and beliefs that women are weak and they are care givers and start viewing themselves as critical stakeholders in politics.

4.4. Chapter summary.

Chapter four presented, interpreted, discussed and analyzed data captured during data collection from respondents, through the archival collection, questionnaires distributed and interviews conducted by the researcher. The first part of the chapter shows the response profile, showing the response rate for the questionnaires which was 90.9% out of 22 questionnaires distributed the researcher failed to collect 2 which 9.1% of the response rate as shown in table 1. There was 100% response rate for the interviews conducted by the researcher as shown n table 2. The

respondent's demographic information is also provide as shown by figure 3, figure 4 and figure 5. Findings from the archival collection showed thematic issues discussed by female MPs as shown by the informative graph in figure 8 and also table 7 shows the attendance rate of female MPs in quota seats. Figure 7 which was discovered through archival collection shows that in the House of Assembly (HOA) no female MPs in quota seat is in the Senate, and figure 13 shows number of political violence per year indicating that there is shape increase of political violence during elections on this graph it shows that 2008 has the most violently campaigned elections. Through archival the researcher has discovered the issues resulting in low representation in political office by women as a result of boldly dominated patriarchal society of Zimbabwe, violence imbalanced allocation of Government ministries which considers gender and predetermined societal roles. The fact that political participation may invite violence discourages females from participating in politics. Table 9 shows that from the questionnaire administered to the chiefs 50% were arguing that quota system is contradicting with their cultural beliefs and 50% were in support. Figure 11 shows response of the objective if quota system promotes democracy, the chapter also provided challenges and solutions resulting in low representation of females in Parliament. Chapter 5 will provide the summary of the research, conclusions and recommendations.

CHAPTER V: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.

5.0 INTRODUCTION.

Chapter 5 gives the summary of the findings, conclusions and recommendations to the research question basing primarily on the findings of the research, aiming to summarize the previous chapters in a bid to come up with different linkages between theories, conceptual framework and reality of the research findings. As mentioned in chapter one of this research, the focus of this study was to look at the effects of the quota system in the Parliament of Zimbabwe. This chapter will also suggest recommendations for the success of the implementation of the quota system in the Parliament of Zimbabwe and also be used in future studies.

It is the researcher's desire and belief that the recommendations suggested recommendations will provide guidelines and a dictionary to the Parliament of Zimbabwe in implementing the quota system. Also the recommendations provided for will go a long way in resolving challenges encountering the nation at large.

5.1 Summary findings.

The research's main objective was to analyze the effectiveness of women in quota seats in the Parliament of Zimbabwe. The research objectives included, to understand the policy and legal frameworks which Zimbabwe is a signatory that advocates for women's representation, to examine the effects of the quota system on democracy, to examine if quota system promotes gender equality, to examine the role culture and level of education play in women's representation in Parliament and to identify challenges resulting in low representation of women in the Parliament of Zimbabwe and recommend possible solutions. The research took note of a number of negative effects from quota system such as negative effects on democracy and development, patriarchal dominance and predetermined roles affecting the participation of women in politics, women being used as symbolic representation to meet the competition at international levels and nepotism during selection of women for quota seats. The research was

targeting the parliament of Zimbabwe, however the researcher took in line with other case studies.

The first chapter of the research highlighted the reasons for conducting the research in the background of the study which provides a brief history and insight of the study, it also provided statement of the problem which provides a gap which this research intends to cover. In this same chapter the researcher formulated research objectives and five research questions which were derived from the objectives to help as guidelines of the study. The significance of the research to the board of knowledge, Parliament of Zimbabwe and the university were pointed out. The chapter also brought to book the delimitations and the limitations of the study and last it defined crucial gender key words which will be used within the research.

The second chapter which is the literature review addressed the research objectives through works of different scholarly views. In the form of conceptual framework which provided for legal framework which Zimbabwe is signatory, various scholars commenting on the issue of quota system and democracy, if females in quota system are symbolic representative for other females, structures and beliefs hindering women participation in politics and patriarchal ideologies. Various theories were analyzed which explain the research topic through theoretical framework, Critical mass theory was clearly explained and analyzed showing it best suits the research compared to other theories. And last it looked through empirical framework which reviewed different country case study which implemented quota system to achieve gender equality.

The research methodology discussed methods which were used in analyzing the effects of the quota system. The research did triangulation as a way to accommodate different methods of data collection strategies in collecting data for the research. Thus the research is comprised of both qualitative and quantitative data. Both secondary and primary data sources were used. The researcher used both probability and non-probability samplings. The data collection instruments used include questionnaires, semi structured interviews (primary sources) and archival collection (secondary sources), they were used together to complement each other, since the weakness of one instrument was a strength of the other. The chapter also looked at ethical considerations which the researcher was supposed to respect during data collection. The researcher also carried

out a pre-test with co-students and lecturers to measure the reliability and validity of the research instruments. The research methodology was designed in this way to gather data.

Chapter four presented, interpreted and analyzed the collected data by instruments in chapter three in the field. The chapter outlined how data was analyzed and the software used to analyze quantitative and qualitative data collected, the researcher used Microsoft Excel Package for qualitative data entry and recurring themes emerging from objectives were used as a basis for analysis. Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) for quantitative data analysis to generate graphs, tables and charts, as well as measuring variables under investigation. Graphs, pie charts and tables will be used to present the analyzed data and discussions will be generated from these tables, pie charts and graphs thus drawing conclusions to the study. The analyzed data from chapter three managed to address the literature gap in chapter two and at the same time addressing the objectives in chapter one and answering the research questions.

5.2 Conclusions.

In the first chapter under limitations of the study the researcher listed a number of challenges, the researcher managed to surf through the drawbacks with the solutions provided thereto. The researcher managed to get funds from family members and friends. To minimize the time needed to be authorized to carry out the research and to get information from the Parliament of Zimbabwe, the researcher, because of the long protocol and procedures at the Parliament applied well in advance and was given the permission in time. The researcher from the research done noted that there are a number of negative effects that arise as a result of the quota system in the Parliament of Zimbabwe. The effects include undermining of democracy, nepotism in selection procedure of women in quota seats and women used as gate keepers during election time because of their contribution on the national population and also women parliamentarians. The researcher also noted the reasons for the implementation of quota system in the Parliament such as to achieve gender equality and validate decisions made in Parliament since various groups with different interests and background are represented.

The conclusion of the research findings will be summarized as per objective of this study. The objectives of the study comprise of:

- **To understand the policy and legal frameworks which Zimbabwe is a signatory that advocates for women's representation.**

The researcher managed to find out the policy and legal framework which Zimbabwe is a signatory that advocates for women's representation. Zimbabwe is a signatory to international, continental, regional and local policy and legal framework which advocates for women's equal representation. The Beijing Platform for action states that women's rights are human rights and encouraged nations to promote equal representation of women to men in politics. The research has identified some of the issues why women have a low representation in politics, such as lack of resources to finance their campaigns, political violence, and culture and predetermined roles by the society. However due to the legal frameworks which advocates for women's representation there is an increase in women representation in Parliament from 19% in 2008 to 34% in 2013 according to an article in the herald of 29 august 2013.

The Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), advocates for the participation of women in decision making in order to achieve full and complete development for a country. The CEDAW goes a step further when it mandates member states to implement its provisions including the enshrinement in the constitution of the principle of gender equality. The constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment No 20 (2013) contains provisions that promote gender equality in all parts of life be it policy formulation, holding a public office among others. This is a positive step taken by the government of Zimbabwe towards achieving gender equality in the Parliament of Zimbabwe.

However the enactment of the quota system in the constitution of Zimbabwe is not enough for the effectiveness of the quota system and achieving gender equality in parliament. For instance women parliamentarians are still below 50% of the parliament members, women are lacking financial resource to finance their political ambition and also the ministry held by women cannot be compared to the lucrative ministries held by men such as finance, defense and mines. This is a very small figure when looking at the fact that women constitute 52% of the national population.

- **To examine how the quota system overshadows democracy.**

The research also managed to investigate and examine the effects of the quota system on democracy. Women in African Parliaments are identified to be symbolic representative to

provide with the quantitative representation rather than providing qualitative contribution in parliamentary debates, hence women's increased presence may be partly to increase their own support and be partly meaningless in participation. Research findings show that quota system is undermining democracy and also has effects on development. Democracy is undermined since there are no primary elections in to choose the representative they want. Due to the quota system for women some qualified and candidates with enough knowledge cannot context for the same position since it is reserved for women. Thou the seats are reserved for women a number of female political members are complaining that it is not democratic since most of the quota seats as discovered by the research are held by spouses of already Members of Parliament and few are taken by ordinary women hence undermining the concept of democracy. This shows that quota system is partially undermining democracy and impinging democracy as there are elements of unfair practices.

- **To examine if quota system promotes gender equality.**

In trying to achieve gender equality the government of Zimbabwe implemented the quota system it went further to enshrine the quota system into the constitution hence part and parcel of the supreme law of the land that they should be gender equality in the country. Findings from related literature summarize that women should reach a critical mass to influence in decision making. Quota system promotes gender quality in numbers (representation). However, quota system failed to give equality in participation of women, for women in quota system to hold influential positions like man. For instance in the parliament of Zimbabwe women in the Senate where elected trough FPTP and all those in quota seats are in the National assembly and also men hold powerful ministries like defense, finance and mines while women have ministries like women and gender.

The initial objective of the quota system was not to redress the imbalance but rather to ensure that the voices of women are heard in Parliament of Zimbabwe in order to enhance the representation of varied interests. Female Parliamentarians are used as gatekeepers of votes during election time because of their large population. Hence, the findings indicated that quota system in Zimbabwe is a quantitative symbolism rather than female parliamentarians considered as main actors in Parliament.

- **To examine the role culture and level of education play in women's participation in Parliament.**

Structures and various beliefs in the societies of Zimbabwe constructed gender stereotype thus viewing women as weak, incapable to lead and housewife hence limiting them opportunities to lead. GADC (2008) also in our Zimbabwean culture institutions like schools, churches, families and workplaces act as ideological state apparatus thus, socializing women and girls in a way that do not enable them to lead but to be home managers. The patriarchal dominance continue to haunt women in Parliament, since males dominant most of the seats in parliament constituting 66% of the seats. Due to the patriarchal nature of Zimbabwe males used to be priorities when it comes to education and women were left behind. This affected the levels of education of most Zimbabwean women as a result most women hesitate to embark in politics and most of those in politics according to the research findings are not well educated enough, hence they do not raise typical issues in Parliament.

- **To identify challenges resulting in low representation of women in the parliament of Zimbabwe.**

The first challenge outlined was from the interview conducted of the Women's in politics support unit (WIPSU) was that women among themselves look Down syndrome upon each other. As a result of this female Politician, as a result of tense political atmosphere prevailing in the country most women are afraid to participate in politics, women face financial constrains resulting in failure to finance their campaigns leading to dominance of male counterparts, patriarchal dominance, societal ideologies and predetermined roles minimize the participation of women in politics and nepotism during the selection of women for quota system.

5.3 Recommendations.

- Appoint female parliamentarians as minister of crucial and powerful positions such as finance and state security. Female parliamentarians need to be treated as crucial stakeholders in Parliament rather than being symbolic representatives and goal keepers during elections to secure female votes. Introduce affirmative action measures, policies and strategies to increase female representation in Parliament. Political parties must have a gender complex leadership structures.
- Inducing an effective quota system for political parties (proportional representation) which has sanctions for not meeting the required number of women candidates, for instance the electoral authorities should not accept a party list which is not meeting the criterion of women specified and should not be registered to participate in elections. Thus fulfilling the commitment of member states of SADC Protocol on Gender and Development of meeting the 50/50 regional target.
- In order to achieve gender parity there is need to use the Zebra system and enshrine it in the constitution such that it will be the supreme law of the land, will be used in the appointing of the ministerial position such that male and female parliamentarians will be on the same footing in Parliament. Thus allowing women to lead influential ministries like state security and defense appointment without considering gender.
- Government should permanently enshrine the quota system in the constitution rather to be given a timeframe such as the current timeframe of up to 2023. Such that women will always be represented and achieving gender parity in politics and Parliament representation.
- Need to address the cultural, economic and societal factors affecting the general participation of women in politics. Thus addressing opposition from patriarchal subjugating ideologies and predetermined roles and beliefs that women are the care givers and start viewing them as critical stakeholders in politics, these need to be tackled from any angles such as churches, society and schools through changing the curriculum. Through educational campaigns to remove perception attitude about females in politics and also sensitize the public sector on the importance of equal representation of men and women MPs. Need to change attitudes, beliefs, practices and mentality of politics as territory of men.

- There is need for close and regular monitoring and evaluation on the process of selecting women in quota seats, also ensuring they permit the equal participation of females as candidates and introducing gender monitoring tools
- There is need for the revision of the Constitution of Zimbabwe on the qualifications in order for one to attain a parliamentary seat. This should be done in order to effective discussions and debates during parliamentary sessions. Most female parliamentarians as discussed in chapter 4 do not have ordinary education, hence effecting the competence and effectiveness of female contributions, hence need for educational qualifications.
- To address the issue of nepotism during selection of women in quota seats, women selected for quota system should not be elected by seniors in the political party not be affiliated to any political party to evade the issue of women who are carried by their spouses in politics but should be independent candidates and competent females in the society, as what is being practiced in Uganda.

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Midlands State University

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APPENDIX I: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR WOMEN'S CAUCAUS AND THE SECRETARIAT OF THE PARLIAMENT OF ZIMBABWE.

My name is Faith Dube registration number R146294W. I am an undergraduate student at the Midlands State University doing BSC Local Governance Studies Honors Degree. I am currently doing a research entitled, "**Quota system in Zimbabwe. An examination of the effects of the quota system a case study of Parliament of Zimbabwe.**" So I am kindly asking for your assistance by filling the questionnaire below to the best of your knowledge. I believe your insight will prove vital to my research in understanding the real issues underlying quota system. I also would like to inform you that the information will be used only for academic purposes. All the information will be treated with confidentiality, therefore you may answer all the questions honestly without fear.

For the questions which are providing boxes for answer, please put a **tick**✓ to highlight your choice. For the other questions please fill in the space given.

Your assistance will be greatly appreciated.

INSTRUCTIONS: a) Answer all questions

b) Do not write your name

c) Tick below the box which best suits you.

SECTION A: Demographic Information

- **GENDER** **MALE** **FEMALE**

- **AGE** **21-30** **31-40**
 41-50 **51-59**
 60+

3. LEVEL OF EDUCATION

- “O” LEVEL** **“A” LEVEL**
- DIPLOMA** **DEGREE**
- OTHERS**

SPECIFY

SECTION B

- How long have you been a chairperson for the women’s caucus?
5 years and below **6-10 years**
11-15 years **16-19years**
20+

4. Do you think Zimbabwe will achieve gender equality by 2023?

| | | |
|-----------------|--|--|
| YES | There is notable increase in female representation in the parliament | |
| NO | The time is limited and there is still much to achieve | |
| NOT SURE | | |

5. What do you understand about the quota system?

| | |
|---|--|
| 1, Affirmative action measure to increase women parliamentarians | |
| 2, Giving women a voice in decision making in Parliament | |
| 3, A move by political parties to secure female votes during elections. | |
| 4, none of the above. | |

B. what is your view?

.....

.....

.....

6. Has the quota system improved women representation in the Parliament of Zimbabwe?

| | | |
|-----------------|---|--|
| Yes | Because the percentage of women in the Parliament rose to 35% | |
| No | Because women are still outnumbered by men in the Parliament | |
| Not sure | | |

B. what do you think should be done to increase the number of female parliamentarians.

.....

.....

.....

7. What are the challenges which are resulting in low representation of women in the Parliament of Zimbabwe?

| | |
|---|--|
| There is favoritism in the selection process. | |
| Passiveness of women in the political arena. | |
| Resistance from male counterparts. | |
| Not sure | |

B. what challenges do you encounter in working with female parliamentarians?

.....

.....

.....

8. Do female parliamentarians participate in a qualitative manner as compared to their male counterparts in the Parliamentary debates?

| | | |
|-----------------|--|--|
| Yes | Women raise issues concerning day to day living of a people. | |
| No | Increasing number does not mean there will be effective decision making. | |
| Not sure | | |

B. what do you think can be done to improve the quality of women's participation in parliament.

.....

.....

.....

THANK YOU SO MUCH



APPENDIX II: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR POLITICAL ANALYSTS.

My name is Faith Dube registration number R146294W. I am an undergraduate student at the Midlands State University doing BSC Local Governance Studies Honors Degree. I am currently doing a research entitled, “**Quota system in Zimbabwe. An examination of the effects of the quota system, a case study of the Parliament of Zimbabwe.** So I am kindly asking for your assistance by filling the questionnaire below to the best of your knowledge. I believe your insight will prove vital to my research in understanding the real issues underlying quota system. I also would like to inform you that the information will be used only for academic purposes. All the information will be treated with confidentiality, therefore you may answer all the questions honestly without fear.

For the questions which are providing boxes for answer, please put a **tick**✓ highlight your choice. For the other questions please fill in the space given.

Your assistance will be greatly appreciated.

INSTRUCTIONS: a) Answer all questions

b) Do not write your name

c) Tick below the box which best suits you.

SECTION A: Demographic Information

| | | | | |
|---|---------------|----------------------|-----------------|----------------------|
| 1. GENDER | MALE | <input type="text"/> | FEMALE | <input type="text"/> |
| 2. AGE | 25-29 | <input type="text"/> | 30 -39 | <input type="text"/> |
| | 40 -49 | <input type="text"/> | 50-59 | <input type="text"/> |
| | 60+ | <input type="text"/> | | |
| 3. HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATION ATTAINED | | | | |
| “O” LEVEL | | <input type="text"/> | “A”LEVEL | <input type="text"/> |
| DIPLOMA | | <input type="text"/> | DEGREE | <input type="text"/> |
| OTHERS | | <input type="text"/> | | |

SECTION B

| | | | | |
|---|--|----------------------|------------------|----------------------|
| 4. How long have you been a Political analyst? | | | | |
| Below 5 years | | <input type="text"/> | 5-9 years | <input type="text"/> |
| 9-14 years | | <input type="text"/> | 15+ | <input type="text"/> |

5. Do you think Zimbabwe will achieve gender equality by 2023?

| | | |
|-----------------|--|--|
| Yes | Yes since there is notable increase in female representation in Parliament | |
| No | The time frame is limited and there is still much to achieve. | |
| Not sure | | |

6. Is the implementation of the Quota system a success?

| | | |
|--------------------------|--|--|
| Yes | Most of the female parliamentarians were elected through the quota system | |
| No | Most of the female parliamentarians do not bring significant contributions | |
| None of the above | | |

7. Is there democracy in the quota system?

| | | |
|-----------------|--|--|
| Yes | It is being done according to the constitution | |
| No | There is nepotism | |
| Not sure | | |

8. What recommendations can you suggest for the challenges facing women in quota seats in the Parliament of Zimbabwe?

.....

.....

.....

THANK YOU SO MUCH.

Midlands State University

Established 2000



APPENDIX III: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE POLITICAL PARTIES MEMBERS

My name is Faith Dube registration number R146294W. I am an undergraduate student at the Midlands State University doing BSC Local Governance Studies Honors Degree. I am currently doing a research entitled, **Quota system in Zimbabwe. An examination of the effects of the quota system, a case study of the Parliament of Zimbabwe**. So I am kindly asking for your assistance by filling the questionnaire below to the best of your knowledge. I believe your insight will prove vital to my research in understanding the real issues underlying quota system. I also would like to inform you that the information will be used only for academic purposes. All the information will be treated with confidentiality, therefore you may answer all the questions honestly without fear.

For the questions which are providing boxes for answer, please put a **tick**✓ to highlight your choice. For the other questions please fill in the space given.

Your assistance will be greatly appreciated.

INSTRUCTIONS: a) Answer all questions

b) Do not write your name

c) Tick below the box which best suits you.

SECTION A: Demographic Information

1. GENDER

MALE

FEMALE

2. AGE

18-20

21-30

31-40

41-50

50-60

60+

3. MARITAL STATUS

SINGLE

MARRIED

WIDOW

DIVORCED

4. HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATION ATTAINED

BELOW "O" LEVEL

O LEVEL

A LEVEL

DIPLOMA

DEGREE

OTHERS

SECTION B

5. What do you understand about the quota system?

| | |
|--|--|
| Affirmative action measure to increase female representation. | |
| Giving women a voice in decision making in Parliament. | |
| A move by political parties to secure female votes during elections. | |
| None of the above | |

6. Do you support the Quota System?

| | | |
|-----------------|---|--|
| Yes | It is increasing gender parity and participation of women in politics | |
| No | Its undermining democracy | |
| Not sure | | |

7. What do you think about quota system and democracy?

| | | |
|-----------------|---|--|
| Yes | Yes because there are female parliamentarians elected through proportional representation | |
| No | There is lot of nepotism in political parties. | |
| Not sure | | |

8. Do you think there is need for more women representations through the quota system in the Parliament of Zimbabwe?

| | | |
|-----------------|--|--|
| Yes | There should be gender equality | |
| No | There should come through the first pass post because quota system undermine our democracy to vote for who want. | |
| Not sure | | |

9. What do you think should be done to improve the quality of women’s participation in parliamentary debates?

.....

.....

.....

10. Does quota system ensure gender equality in the Parliament of Zimbabwe?

.....

.....

.....

THANK YOU SO MUCH



APPENDIX IV: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR CHIEFS IN PARLIAMENT.

My name is Faith Dube registration number R146294W. I am an undergraduate student at the Midlands State University doing BSC Local Governance Studies Honors Degree. I am currently doing a research entitled, **Quota system in Zimbabwe. An examination of the effects of the quota system, a case study of the parliament of Zimbabwe.** So I am kindly asking for your assistance by filling the questionnaire below to the best of your knowledge. I believe your insight will prove vital to my research in understanding the real issues underlying quota system. I also would like to inform you that the information will be used only for academic purposes. All the information will be treated with confidentiality, therefore you may answer all the questions honestly without fear.

For the questions which are providing boxes for answer, please put a **tick**✓ highlight your choice. For the other questions please fill in the space given.

Your assistance will be greatly appreciated.

INSTRUCTIONS: a) Answer all questions

b) Do not write your name

c) Tick below the box which best suits you.

SECTION A: Demographic Information.

| | | | | |
|---|------------------|----------------------|-----------------|----------------------|
| 1. GENDER | MALE | <input type="text"/> | FEMALE | <input type="text"/> |
| 2. AGE | 25-29 | <input type="text"/> | 30 -39 | <input type="text"/> |
| | 40 -49 | <input type="text"/> | 50-59 | <input type="text"/> |
| | 60+ | <input type="text"/> | | |
| | | | | |
| 3. HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATION ATTAINED | | | | |
| | “O” LEVEL | <input type="text"/> | “A”LEVEL | <input type="text"/> |
| | DIPLOMA | <input type="text"/> | DEGREE | <input type="text"/> |
| | OTHERS | <input type="text"/> | | |

SECTION B

| | | | | |
|---|----------------------|----------------------|------------------|----------------------|
| 4. How long have you been a Traditional Chief? | | | | |
| | Below 5 years | <input type="text"/> | 5-9 years | <input type="text"/> |
| | 9-14 years | <input type="text"/> | 15+ | <input type="text"/> |

5. What do you understand about the quota system

| | |
|---|--|
| Affirmative action measure to increase female representation | |
| Giving women a voice in decision making in parliament. | |
| A move by political parties to secure female vote during elections. | |
| None of the above | |

6. Is the quota system contradicting with your cultural beliefs about women participation in politics?

| | | |
|-----------------|--|--|
| Yes | We believe in a patriarchal society. | |
| No | We are now living in a dynamic world where women a given a voice in decision making. | |
| Not sure | | |

7. Is there any female parliamentarian in your area?

Yes

No

8. What do you think can be done to increase the number of female parliamentarians?

| | |
|--|--|
| Advocating for 50/50 representation in Parliament. | |
| Do away the patriarchal system at societal level. | |
| Providing women with campaigning resource. | |
| Not sure | |

9. Is there democracy in quota system?

| | | |
|----------|---|--|
| Yes | Yes women were once undermined hence need for a starting point in politics | |
| No | Its undermining democracy because we have our own representatives which qualify for the same position | |
| Not sure | | |

10. Does the quota system ensure gender equality?

| | | |
|----------|--|--|
| Yes | women representation is increasing in the Parliament of Zimbabwe | |
| No | Women are not on the same foot as man in ministerial positions | |
| Not sure | | |

THANK YOU SO MUCH



APPENDIX V: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR PARLIAMENT OF ZIMBABWE FOR GENDER AND WOMEN EMPOWERMENT PORTFOLIO.

My name is Faith Dube registration number R146294W. I am an undergraduate student at the Midlands State University doing BSC Local Governance Studies Honors Degree. I am currently doing a research entitled, “**Quota system in Zimbabwe. An examination of the effects of the quota system, a case study of the Parliament of Zimbabwe.** So I am kindly ask for your assistance by answering the questions below to the best of your knowledge. I believe your insight will prove vital to my research in understanding the real issues underlying quota system. I also would like to inform you that the information will be used only for academic purposes. All the information will be treated with confidentiality, therefore you may answer all the questions honestly without fear.

Your assistance will be greatly appreciated.

1. Do you understand what quota system is?
2. What pushed the Parliament of Zimbabwe to adopt quota system?
3. What do you think about the implementation of the quota system in the Parliament of Zimbabwe?
4. What do you think about quota system and democracy?
5. Does the quota system ensure gender equality in the Parliament of Zimbabwe?
6. What are the challenges facing women in quota seats in the Parliament of Zimbabwe?
7. What do you think can be done to address challenges facing women in quota seats in the Parliament of Zimbabwe?

Midlands State University

Established 2000



APPENDIX VI: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR WOMEN IN POLITICS SUPPORT UNIT (WIPSU) COMMITTEE.

My name is Faith Dube registration number R146294W. I am an undergraduate student at the Midlands State University doing BSC Local Governance Studies Honors Degree. I am currently doing a research entitled, “**Quota system in Zimbabwe. An examination of the effects of the quota system, a case study of the Parliament of Zimbabwe.** So I am kindly ask for your assistance by answering the questions below to the best of your knowledge. I believe your insight will prove vital to my research in understanding the real issues underlying quota system. I also would like to inform you that the information will be used only for academic purposes. All the information will be treated with confidentiality, therefore you may answer all the questions honestly without fear.

Your assistance will be greatly appreciated

1. What do you understand by the term quota system?
2. Do you think that quota system is relevant to Zimbabwe, and why?
3. Does the quota system ensure quality participation in parliamentary debates?
4. Do you think the nomination for the quota system is being carried out fairly? And why?
5. What do you think about quota system and democracy?
6. What do you think the Parliament of Zimbabwe should do to improve active participation of women in Parliamentary debates?
7. Do you think the quota system is enough to achieve gender equality in parliament? And why?
8. What are the challenges facing women in quota system in the Parliament of Zimbabwe?

APPENDIX VII: APPROVAL LETTER FROM MSU



MIDLANDS STATE UNIVERSITY
P. BAG 9055, Gweru.
TEL: (263) 54 260450 Ext 2159
FAX: (263) 54 260223

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
LOCAL GOVERNANCE STUDIES

17 - 04 - 18 (date)

Dear Sir/ Madam

RE: RESEARCH INTRODUCTORY LETTER

The bearer F. M. M. M. M. Registration Number 1111111111 is a student at Midlands State University studying for a Bachelor of Science Honours Degree in Local Governance Studies. One of the requirements of the programme is the submission of a researched dissertation in the final year of the study. The student's research topic is Disruption of the operations of a business in the case of a natural disaster

May you please assist him/her by allowing him/her access to your organisation so that he/she can use it as a case study. The research is for academic purposes only and findings will not be published anywhere. Your privacy and confidentiality is guaranteed.

S. Chakapa
CHAIRPERSON



APPENDIX VIII: APPROVAL LETTER FROM PARLIAMENT OF ZIMBABWE

48 Nehosho Road,
Senga
Gweru

The Clerk of parliament
P.O Box CY 298
Causeway
Harare

23 April 2018

Dear Sir/ Madam.

**RE: ASKING FOR PERMISSION TO CONDUCT A RESEARCH AT THE
PARLIAMENT.**

My name is Faith Dube registration number R146294W. My national identity number is 03-2000402-V 03. I am an undergraduate student at the Midlands State University doing BSC Local Governance Studies Honors Degree. I am kindly asking for permission to conduct a research at the parliament entitled, "**Quota system in Zimbabwe. An examination of the effects of the quota system, a case study of the Parliament of Zimbabwe.**" I would like to conduct 25 April to 8 May 2018. I also would like to ensure you that the information will be used only for academic purposes. All the information will be treated with confidentiality.

Your favorable response will be greatly appreciated.

Yours Faithful

Faith Dube.

