Introduction to Gender Studies in Eastern and Southern Africa

A Reader

James Etim (Ed.)

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JAMES ETIM

INTRODUCTION

In the last thirty years, the research and discussion on women and gender studies in Africa has grown in diverse directions. We have moved from little or no studies on women to now departments of women and gender studies, centers for women and gender studies and in some countries, at the federal level, a ministry of women affairs. One way to look at gender studies is the way gender has been constructed, represented and enforced. For example, has the roles of both boys and girls beginning in the home, school, family and the workplace from traditional through colonial to post – colonial period changed? How have men and women been represented in literature, history texts, the media from pre-colonial to post-colonial era etc? How are expectations and roles ascribed to either sex been enforced? Another focus in the discussion and study of gender has been on the empowerment of women, the struggle for women to have a voice and to be heard and how to mitigate the strictures and traditions that perpetually work to keep women down. The issues of power, reproductive rights and body politics, violence against women in all its forms including rape, sex slavery, female gender mutilation, health policy and disparities, education for women and women and poverty reduction etc have also been fertile areas of study. African feminists address the place of women in society and according to Arndt (2002), African women and men "suffer not only from sexism and patriarchal social structures, but are also victims of racism, neo-colonialism, cultural imperialism, religious fundamentalism, socio-economic mechanisms of oppression and dictatorial and/or corrupt systems" (p. 73). This introduction sets out to discuss the conditions that have given rise to the growth of women studies programs in Africa, some of the programs in the universities and how this book fits into the current research and studies in women and g ender studies.

CONDITIONS THAT HAVE GIVEN RISE TO GROWTH OF WOMEN AND GENDER STUDIES PROGRAMS IN AFRICAN UNIVERSITIES

Three issues will be discussed here – global quest for human rights, the role of international institutions, and governments instituting gender policies.

a. Global quest for human rights

In 1948, member nations of the Untied Nations General Assembly ratified the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. This milestone document "sets out, for the first time, fundamental human rights to be universally protected". In the Preamble,

member nations "reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women". The 30 Articles that follow the Preamble deal with various rights including equality before the law, freedom of movement, right not to be held in servitude or slavery and right to education. Article 1 is however very instructive here for it declares "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights" (United Nations, nd). At national levels, the continued fight by blacks in United States for human and civil rights was in part satisfied with the passage of the Civil Rights Act in 1964 and the Voting Rights Act in 1965. With this struggle for black human rights also rose the women's movement of the 1960's and 1970's. This second wave feminist movement sought to achieve equality for women by challenging unfair practices and discriminatory laws. The focus was "for equal pay for equal work, an end to domestic violence, curtailment of severe limits on women in managerial jobs, an end to sexual harassment, and sharing of responsibility for housework and child rearing" (Walsh, 2010).

Finally, in 1979, the United Nations ratified the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women. In the ratification of the Convention, member states committed themselves to instituting measures to end all forms of discrimination against women including:

- to incorporate the principle of equality of men and women in their legal system, abolish all discriminatory laws and adopt appropriate ones prohibiting discrimination against women;
- to establish tribunals and other public institutions to ensure the effective protection of women against discrimination; and
- to ensure elimination of all acts of discrimination against women by persons, organizations or enterprises. (UN Women, nd)

b. The role of international institutions and agencies

Many African countries have been signatories to the UN Declaration on Human Rights and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women. The African Union in 2008 adopted the African Union Gender Policy which sets out to establish a clear vision and make commitments to "guide the process of gender mainstreaming and women empowerment to influence policies, procedures and practices which will accelerate achievement of gender equality, gender justice, nondiscrimination and fundamental human rights in Africa" (African Union, 2008, p. 9). This Policy has encouraged member states to set up apparatus and mechanisms to further gender equality and the empowerment of women (Republic of Namibia, National Gender Policy, p. 10; Office on the Status of Women). At the same time, international institutions have helped set up gender programs in African universities aimed at the study of gender issues. For example, Ahfad University for Women's Regional Institute of Gender, Diversity, Peace and Right has benefited immensely from funding by the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation.

c. Governments and gender policies

Several African countries like Nigeria and South Africa and Namibia have set up national gender policies. The South African gender policy framework "attempts to ensure that the process of achieving Gender equality is at the very center of the transformation process in South Africa within all the structures, institutions, policies, procedures, practices and programmes of government, its agencies and parastatals, civil society and the private sector" (Office on the Status of Women, p. ii). At the core of the policy are several guiding principles including the following:

  i) there is equality of all persons and that non-sexism and non-racism be enshrined in the Constitution of South Africa;
 ii) there is an understanding that women are not a homogenous group;
iii) women's rights be seen as human rights;
 iv) customary, cultural and religious practices be subject to the right to equality;
  v) affirmative action programmes targeting women be developed and implemented;
 vi) economic empowerment of women be promoted;
vii) serious attention be placed on changing policies and practices which have hitherto hindered women's access to basic needs, the economy and decision making (pp. v–vi).

The National Gender Policy of Namibia was designed to "create a society in which women and men enjoy equal rights and access to basic services. It serves also to provide opportunities for women and men to participate in and contribute towards the political, social, economic and cultural development of Namibia" (Republic of Namibia, National Gender Policy, p. 4). The priority areas include the following:

• Poverty and Rural Development
• Education and Training
• Health, Reproductive Health and HIV and AIDS
• Gender Based Violence
• Trade and Economic Empowerment
• Governance and Decision-Making
• Media, Information and Communication
• Environment (pp. 9–10).

Examples of gender studies programs in East and South African Universities

A. Gender Studies, University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa

"Gender Studies is a multi-discipline that incorporates a variety of questions, problems, theories, and methods in the analysis of structures, operations, relations, and representations of gender. Amongst other sources, the discipline draws upon several decades of work which has been informed by women issues studied within the women studies field. The discipline uses diverse methodologies, theories, and

knowledge(s) that aim to examine gender within a number of interrelated areas and practical case." (University of KwaZulu-Natal, Gender Studies)

B. Center of Gender Studies, Addis Ababa University, Ethiopia

Established in 1991, the Center main goal is to enable Ethiopian women "to empower themselves socially, culturally, economically and politically so that they can become active participants in, as well as equal beneficiaries of the development process". These goals are realized through education, research, training, documentation and publication. (Addis Ababa University)

C. Department of Gender and Development Studies, Kenyatta University, Kenya.

The mission of the Department is to "build intellectual capacity in gender and development scholarship by providing relevant academic programmes dedicated to strengthening and advancing the works of intellectuals, scholars, researchers, policy makers and practitioners committed to gender equity". The Department offers Bachelor of Arts and Master of Arts degree programs in Gender and Development Studies. (Kenyatta University, 2015)

INTRODUCING THE CONTENT

This book is divided into five sections. Section 1, Theory and Research has four chapters; Section 2, Gender, Culture and Power has three chapters; Section 3, Gender and Education has two chapters; Section 4, Gender, Law, Business and Economic Development and Politics has four chapters and Section 5, Gender, Health and Violence has two chapters. Most of the chapters are based on field work recently completed in parts of East and Southern Africa. The authors write from different perspectives and disciplines showing the interdisciplinary nature of women and gender studies. In their range and diversity, the book aims at furthering the discussion and empowering women.

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SECTION 1

THEORY AND RESEARCH

GERTRUDE FESTER

1. QUO VADIS WOMEN'S AND GENDER STUDIES IN AFRICA?

Assessing the Activism/Academy Association

In this chapter I explore the origins and development of Women's and Gender Studies[1] in Sub-Sahara Africa (SSA). The origins may in some cases overlap with the theoretical implications, as it was precisely the oppression of women that led to the women's movements and the subsequent establishment of Women's Studies. The title Women's or Gender Studies and others which I will explore indicate the ideological and political implications of the discourse. I also highlight my own positionality as a feminist using the insider/outsider perspective. I am an outsider as a researcher but also an insider as i was a student of Women's Studies and taught it as well.[2] I critique events using a feminist perspective.

In tracing its history I also highlight the patriarchal, colonial and racist context as well as some of my personal experiences. I emphasize the diverse areas in which Women's Studies impacted and how theoretically and practically the lessons and learnings have been intertwined. The origins also influenced the interdisciplinary nature of Women's Studies. I stress the specific nature of African feminism and its impact on the discipline. Social Science concepts were critiqued and new concepts formulated. Essentially Women's Studies constantly interrogated the relevance of the research to changing and improving women's lives. I trace some case studies and the political and all pervasive patriarchal context.

In conclusion I raise the challenges confronting Women's Studies and appeal for the return to its origins to strengthen the academic/activist links. Doing this would contribute to making Women's Studies more relevant and practically applicable and effective to its original central aim: that of improving the quality of women's and marginalized people's lives and promoting social justice in general. I have done desktop research, used my own experiences in Rwanda and South Africa, and did a few interviews. These are not representative as i had minimal responses to my requests for interviews due to workloads. Hence these interviews will indicate some tendencies that exist and in no way claim to be representative of what is happening in general. What has been obvious during the past is that the struggles of women/feminists are similar to the struggles for the implementation of Women's Studies – hence in what follows may be a conflation of the two in outlining the challenges and the development of Women's Studies.

ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT OF WOMEN'S STUDIES

The origins of Women's and Gender Studies as an academic discipline evolved out of the Women's movement and women's activism. With the Second Wave of Feminism in the 1960s, it was realized that rigorous and sound theory would enhance the women's struggles; hence the movement towards establishing Women's Studies emerged. This context: social movements, continued advocacy at all levels and women's rights as human rights were also manifested at government levels.

Hence there was a symbiotic relationship between the women's struggles on the ground and the evolving human rights and women's rights discourse at government and international levels. The United Nations (UN) Women's Decade (1975–1985) gave rise to progressive conventions, one of the most influential being the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). It was adopted in 1979 by the General Assembly of the UN and is seen as an international human rights bill for women. It outlines what discrimination means and proposes an action plan to cease the oppression of women. It defines discrimination against women as

> …(A)ny distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by women, irrespective of their marital status, on a basis of equality of men and women, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field. (http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/ accessed 28 October 2015)

This decade for women too strengthened the awareness for the need for Women's Studies and reflections and discussions began. This concurrence of events is the product of the period and to reiterate – they mutually influenced one another. Subsequently other global platforms followed: the UN Women's conferences at Mexico (1975), Copenhagen (1980), Nairobi (1985) and Beijing (1995). Most African governments ratified the Beijing Platform for Action (BPFA) and related international instruments like the African Union Declaration on Gender and Development.

A central concept acknowledged within a feminist analysis is that women are not homogeneous – hence movements emerging in SSA varied from grassroots or working class women's struggles which emerged out of women's struggles for their rights and middle class professional women's movements. Globally women were involved in diverse ways and countries: the Peace Movement in Northern Ireland, women against *sati*[3] in India and the suffragette women in Switzerland, for example. Women got the vote in Switzerland as late as 1971 after a protracted struggle. Swiss women first demanded the vote in 1886 (http://history-switzerland.geschichte-schweiz.ch/chronology-womens-right-vote-switzerland.html accessed 12 December 2015). In mid 20th century struggles women managed to unite despite race, class and location as in the case of women's campaigns against violence against women

globally and the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa (SA). The fact that the Third United Nations (UN) Women's World Conference took place in Nairobi, Kenya in 1985 also had a major impact on African women's activism and advocacy. It was a dynamic period in which women's activisms influenced and were influenced by government and global actions in return.

As part of this struggle women were also encouraged to enter previous male only domains. This meant that women were entering engineering and finance, for example. Another strategy that the women's movement explored was that women should go into positions of power and decision-making; in business and especially in government and promoting the establishment of National Gender Machinery and gender sensitive constitutions (Beijing Platform for Action-BPFA Critical areas 7 and 8). It was both pragmatic and strategic that women explore those positions where they could make most difference and politics was identified as a central and determining niche. The Australian women's movement was in the forefront of this and this hence gave rise to the formulation of the word '*femocrat*' feminist bureaucrat by them (Sawyer, 1990). Consequently, it was a global ploy of women activists to advocate for the participation of women in government. This interaction between activism, academia and policy-formulation also coincided with vigorous advocacy at different levels of influence.

But there was also opportunism and misinterpretation of the Beijing Platform for Action (BPFA) for individual and party political needs. For example, a phenomenon that I do not classify as feminist is what is termed 'wifeism' (Abdulla, 1995) and the 'First Lady Syndrome' (Mama, 2004; Ibrahim, 2004). Mama (2004) too, also distinguishes these movements from feminism. Both limit women's roles to those of wives/partners, mothers and secondary earners to men, wives supporting men in leadership and promoting narrow party politics. Nor do they dispute hierarchical gender relations. In 1992 Maryam Babandiga (Nigeria) and Susan Mubarak (Egypt), and others initiated these projects in their capacities as presidents' wives (Mama, 2004: 2). The 'First Lady syndrome' falls safely within the mode of patriarchal relations in that these women's actions stem from their being wives of the presidents and not presidents themselves, self-restricting women's roles. 'Wifeism' programmes were initiated as part of the decade for women (1975–1985) by government-sponsored women's bureaucracies in Nigeria (Abdullah, 1995: 213). Thus Nigeria's program was essentially to 'Build a better life for rural women' and to eradicate poverty (first critical area of concern in BPFA) for narrow party political needs only. Hence my analysis is that it was done on a party political card to promote their husbands. Of course it was important that some women's lives improved.

As stated earlier I will use Women's Studies instead of Gender Studies. I understand the concerns about the term feminist but this is decreasing as I will highlight later regarding the University of Buea in Cameroon where there was a deliberate choice to use the term feminist.[4] Hence the nomenclature, Women's Studies, is used. I do, however, want to accentuate that feminists initiated Women's Studies. It was in 1980 that Maria Mies, German feminist and prolific author, was one of the pioneers of

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Women's Studies at the Institute of Social Studies (now International Institute of Social Studies of Erasmus University, Rotterdam, Netherlands).[5] She emphasized that we study patriarchy, the position of women within society and the hierarchical gender relations in order to understand them so that we can change them for the improvement of women's lives and society in general (class lectures, 1980, Institute of Social Studies, Den Haag, Netherlands): 'the change of the status quo becomes the starting point for a scientific quest' (also Mies, 1983, p. 135).

It also needs to be stressed that, contrary to the general myth, Women's Studies and Feminism does not focus only on women's lives for improvement, but rather privileges the improvement of women's and all people in general.[6] According to feminist analysis improving women's lives is not possible without improving the social conditions of all people and radical social, political and economic transformation. Hence feminism works towards social justice for all and the starting point is women's lives. The ultimate aim of feminism then is to work for a social justice environment where everyone – women and men, girls and boys, can realize their full potential. This must also not be done at the expense and exploitation of the earth (Mies & Vandana, 1993).

Because of the controversial nature of the word feminism, some women, even though they are doing feminist work, prefer to call themselves women or gender activists (Hassim, 2006). Which term one uses is profoundly political as the following illustrates:

> We define and name ourselves publicly as Feminists because we celebrate our feminist identities and politics. We recognize that the work of fighting for women's rights is deeply political, and the process of naming is political too. Choosing to name ourselves Feminist places us in a clear ideological position. By naming ourselves as Feminists we politicise the struggle for women's rights, we question the legitimacy of the structures that keep women subjugated, and we develop tools for transformatory analysis and action. We have multiple and varied identities as African Feminists. We are African women – we live here in Africa and even when we live elsewhere, our focus is on the lives of African women on the continent. Our feminist identity is not qualified with '*Ifs*', '*Buts*', or '*Howevers*'. We are Feminists. Full stop. (Preamble African Feminist Charter, http://www.awdf.org/pages/?pid=1&sid=62, accessed 12 January 2014)

The African Feminist Forum took place from 15th–19th November 2006 in Accra, Ghana and it was at this meeting that feminist academics and activists from throughout Africa and the Diaspora reflected, deliberated and formulated the African Feminist Charter. The feminism referred to in this paper is the one promoted by the Africa Feminists' Forum. As we note from the above quotation, the name used is central – and to reiterate, the use of Women's and Gender Studies was a compromise in many cases as feminism was seen as too threatening for patriarchy. This new discipline was initiated precisely to promote and cement the link between

activism, academy, policy institutions and government. I will indicate examples later of how this manifested itself in South Africa and in SSA.

This concrete example of the activist/academy advocacy illustrates the impact of the two central aims of Women's Studies: that there must be a link between activism and academy and that this should lead to the improvement and empowerment of women's lives within a more just and equitable society. Having women in politics is believed to be one strategy to achieve this. Incorporating women into government was and still is a very uneven process globally because of patriarchal beliefs which are reinforced by most education, religion and culture. Rwanda is an exception. Despite its many contradictions and patriarchal structures, it has the highest representation of women in parliament (64%) in the world. Since September 2013 they broke their previous record of 56%. South Africa has, since 1994, always been in the top 6 regarding women's representation in government.

Academics from diverse fields, literature, economics, psychology, geography, etcetera, who all identified themselves as feminists used their disciplines to research the more women-centered aspects thereof. At the advent of Women's Studies many women also volunteered to teach Women's Studies. Apart from skepticism and hesitancy to engage in this 'new field', universities also did not always have the resources to fund new departments nor was it seen as a priority by management. Hence many feminists/women academics and later men from different departments offered their volunteer services as their contribution to the feminist struggle. Hence Women's Studies was born as an inter-disciplinary academic subject. This inter-disciplinary nature also accentuates the fact that our/women's lives cannot be compartmentalized into one discipline.

When a new discipline is germinating, there are often diverse opinions and struggles in order to coincide with various academic and ideological positionings. The use of the word gender also implies that a central aspect of investigation is to interrogate the unequal and hierarchical relationships between women, men, girls and boys and to explore strategies to challenge them. Male students are also encouraged to do Women's Studies as it is central to analyze male/female relations and hierarchies of power in order to change gender relations together with men.

But as much as there was collaboration between Feminist/Women's Studies scholars there were also tensions. Women from the developing world and black women in developed countries accused white women from the developed world of over-researching them and speaking from the 'gaze' as Mohanty (1988) stressed in aptly named article, *Under Western Eyes*. In a highly stratified and polarised country like apartheid South Africa this race/class tension too was prevalent. Many Black women accused white women of objectifying them. This is captured by Nkululeko (1987). She together with other Black African women writers claimed that African women are objectified by the 'oppressors'. Nkululeko argues:

Can an oppressed nation or segment of it (blacks), engaged in a struggle for liberation from its oppressors (whites), rely on knowledge produced,

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researched and theorized by others, no matter how progressive, who are members of the oppressor nation? (Nkululeko, 1987: 88)

This tension about whites writing about blacks in South Africa still continues today in some sectors as the new SA still struggles with racism and the challenges (although some would argue *failures*) of the 'Rainbow Nation'. As women academics and activists it is also important to constantly and continually self-reflect on these issues of power and how we use or even maybe abuse it.

We also need to be self-critical and evaluate our work. Hence hooks confronts black women or 'women of color' with her challenge:

By dismissing theory and privileging organization work, some women of color are able to see themselves as more politically engaged where it really counts. Yet by buying into this dichotomy of theory and practice we place ourselves always on the side of the experiential, and in doing so support the notion that … the role of … (white women) is to do the 'brain work, developing ideas, theories… while our role as (black women) is …to contribute to experience … (hooks, 1984: 113–114)

Hooks challenges black women to theorize and publish more, which is still often a challenge given the circumstances of the lives of majority black women academics and activists. But out of this black/white; first world/third world tension critical analyses emerged and strengthened the theoretical basis of Women's Studies and the politics of Difference.

There were major 'race' tensions at the 1990 *Women's and Gender Studies Conference* held in Durban, SA (Letlaka-Rennert, 1991; Funani, 1993). The same tensions emerged at the *Women in Africa and the African Diaspora* in Nsukka, Nigeria (Lewis, 1993; Funani, 1998). Hereafter, a central facet of Women's and Gender Studies was the acknowledgment of our differences: class, race, location, abilities, sexuality and other differences – all matrix-like axes of oppression.

This influenced Social Sciences. As more refined and detailed research and political struggles emerged within this activist/academic terrain in which Women's Studies was central, new subjects or subsections also were established, for e.g., Post-Colonial Studies, Identity Politics, Sexualities, Black Studies, Whiteness and many other fields of enquiry. Gay and Lesbian Studies and later Gay, Lesbian, Bi-, Transsexual, Intersexed and Queer (LGBTIQ) Studies and Queer Studies[7] emerged as a result of the marginalization of sexualities and LGBTIQ persons within Women's movements and Studies. These emerged out of rigorous debates and theorization but also practical struggles and tensions on the ground. Reinfelder (1997) and Fester (1997) underscore this also within the political movements and the importance of documenting these LGBTIQ struggles. Subsequently Masculinities Studies evolved. Another key analytical tool used is that of intersectionality:[8] how do issues of race, class, ethnicity, religion, language, location, sexuality, (dis)ability,

age and other axes of oppression. All these are linked or related to critical theory and critical race theory.

One of the key aims of Women's Studies and this activist/academic link was/ is to tangibly influence policy. One very influential instance of this example of the links between theory, praxis and policy is that of Development Studies. It was Naila Kabeer (1993) who first interrogated 'development for whom?' and critiqued the stance 'that the community will benefit'. This challenged policy makers to interrogate who benefitted most from development in, for example, rural villages. The question that thus should be asked in development projects are: who benefits most and disaggregate the 'community': will rural poor women benefit? What does this mean for those with (dis)abilities and or marginalized First Nations? (in other words question: will chiefs, senior men, young people, differently abled or women benefit specifically?) etcetera. By using disaggregation, analysis could be sharpened and hence the design of development projects and implementation. This policy/praxis outcome for development interrogation is reflected too by the transition from the Women in Development (WID) approach to Women and Development (WAD) to the Gender and Development (GAD) shift in paradigm. Another positive development that Women's Studies contributed to Development was the distinction that Molyneux (1985) postulated: women's practical and strategic needs and practical gender and strategic gender needs. Furthermore because of feminists' concern for the environment, eco-feminism became an important aspect of Feminist/Women's and Gender studies. One of the most central texts on this is Mies and Shiva (1993). What is key about this work is the collaboratively exploration by women from the developed and developing world; in this case of Mies and Shiva, Germany and India respectively.

A concrete example of how the academy/activist link enhanced legislation was advocacy around customary marriages and the eventual formulation of the Recognition of the Customary Marriages Act in the post apartheid South Africa (SA). The Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO), Rural Women's Movement appealed to feminist academics at the Centre for Applied Legal Studies (CALS), University of Witwatersrand (Johannesburg, SA), to work on submissions to parliament on customary marriages in order to change the customs that relegate women to permanent minors. Within customary marriage women do not have access to land and are not entitled to their children in the case of separation or divorce. A partnership between the Joint Monitoring Committee on the Improvement for the Quality of Life and Status of Women (JMC) at parliament, grassroots rural women and feminist legal academics at CALS culminated in the Recognition of Customary Marriages Act 120 of 1998. This act addresses the equality of women within customary unions and ensures women's access to constitutional rights (Mukhapady, 2004; Govender, 2007). However, the implementation thereof is challenging.

At the African Union (AU) level the drafting and eventually formulation of the Women's Protocol to the African Charter of Human and People's Rights is another

sterling example of the effective collaboration of feminist academics, political activists and femocrats/politicians. As a Gender Commissioner i was part of the South African representation. The Women's Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights (ACHPR-WP) was finalized at the Second Experts' meeting in Addis Ababa (March, 2003). What was impressive was the interaction between official delegations, women academics and activists beforehand. There was vociferous lobbying and all this was efficiently coordinated by the NGO, Femnet. Most of the Women's Protocol contained groundbreaking rights for women. However, because of consensus and compromise that these international documents have in order to maximize ratification, it is vague on reproductive rights and sexualities. So though women had different positions (progressive, radical or conservative), the compromise was a pragmatic and strategic one. The question of course is the long-term implications thereof.

Not only are women different in their class and other axes of impressions but also ideologically so. African feminisms and hence Women's Studies are diverse, contradictory, complex and differ ideologically, regionally and within cultural and faith contexts. In Africa, many women's or feminist movements were linked to national liberation struggles. This is in contrast to most feminists in the developed world where national liberation was not part of the women's movement. Mama (2002) succinctly summarizes these diverse aspects in Africa:

> In African contexts, feminism has emerged out of women's … commitment to national liberation, so it is hardly surprising that African women's movements today feature in … different … social movements characterising post-colonial life. African women are mobilising at [numerous] levels and deploying various strategies … They … range from the radically subversive to unashamedly conservative…. Today's women activists are as likely to be engaging the World Bank over the … impact of structural adjustment … as they are to be lobbying … national governments over the marginalisation of women in … political power, or challenging traditional and community-based organisations. (Mama, 2002: 1)

But these differences are not just a source of tension and negativity. These differences have led and stimulated rigorous and exciting research and enhanced the quality of debate and research output of Women's Studies departments continentally. However, because of the link between activism and academy and the resolve to work together as all women are oppressed by patriarchy, Transnational feminisms or feminisms without borders became a uniting strategy (Tripp, 2005; Mohanty, 2003).

Not only had there been tensions within the Women's Studies network but also outside within the academia, political science and politicians. Women's/Gender Studies was controversial in many aspects. Many men and also women accused academics involved in Women's/Gender Studies of promoting a foreign Western ideology. This is quite paradoxical as those accusers themselves were often

Christians, Communists or Socialists and these ideologies were not seen as foreign. However, this inspired African Women's Studies academics to do more research on pre-colonial African history and this resulted in a wealth of women's struggles documented. Qunta (1987) documented the pre-colonial women of power and rulers in Africa. Sri Lankan Jayawardena's seminal text *Nationalisms and Feminisms in the Third World* (Jayawardena, 1986) encapsulate the argument that women's struggles for liberation were integral to the pre-colonial and colonial history of the developing world.[9] In fact Walker (1982) stresses that it was a South African feminist, Schreiner (1883) that inspired the Suffragette Movement in the United Kingdom at the beginning of the 20th century.

METHODOLOGICAL AND THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS

New wine must not be poured into old vessels. (Maria Mies, 1979)

One of the main critiques of the social sciences is the claim that all research is objective. Feminist/Women's Studies scholars refute this. All researchers bring along their own contexts and prejudices (Fonow & Cook, 1991). By admitting one's bias the research is more honest. All researchers come with their paradigms/ frameworks (Mies, 1980, 1981) – hence there is no objective and unbiased research.

Linked to the above and by stating one's positionality is the essence of what is called Feminist Standpoint Theory. Standpoint Feminism is a position taken by feminist theorists that places women's knowledge at the center of research. It stands particularly for a specifically woman – centered or 'women's epistemological standpoint' (Assiter, 1996 quoted in www.yorku.ca/mic/sosc3990A/projects/standfem/stanfem.html accessed 2 March 2014). Women's Studies is eclectic and uses other disciplines and theories including Marxism. Standpoint feminism is imbedded in Marxism. Hennessey (1995) avers,

Marxism's usefulness to feminism is that it understands the social ensemble of economic, political, and ideological arrangements. (www.yorku.ca/mic/ sosc3990A/projects/standfem/stanfem.html accessed 2 March, 2014)

A feminist standpoint therefore is indispensable in examining the methodical patriarchal oppressions that negates or trivializes women's knowledge. Feminism standpoint theory embraces the following:

The principal claim regarding feminist standpoint theories is that certain socio-political positions occupied by women (and by extension other groups who lack social and economic privilege) can become sites of epistemic privilege and thus productive starting points for enquiry into questions about not only those who are socially and politically marginalized, but also those who, by dint of social and political privilege, occupy the positions of oppressors. This claim is captured by Sandra Harding thus: "Starting off research from women's lives will generate less partial and distorted accounts

not only of women's lives but also of men's lives and of the whole social order."
(1993: 56) (http://www.iep.utm.edu/fem-stan/ accessed 27 October, 2015)

Furthermore – all feminist standpoints stress all knowledge enquiries are socially situated and one's social situation (or axes of oppressions) – gender, class, race, ethnicity, language, sexuality and physical capacities, etc., – all contribute to forming what we understand and limits what we may know.

The concrete example by Terri Eliot succinctly illustrates this:

Person A approaches a building and enters it unproblematically. As she approaches she sees something perfectly familiar which, if asked, she might call 'The Entrance'. Person X approaches the same building and sees a great stack of stairs and the glaring lack of a ramp for her wheelchair [1994: 424]. The experience of person A is of the entrance to a building whereas the experience of person X is of a barrier to entrance and (at best) an inconvenience. Person X's social location—a person with a disability—means that the building presents differently to her from how it does to someone without a disability. (http://www.open.edu/openlearnworks/mod/page/view.php?id=52644 accessed 3 November 2015)

The above also illustrates another key aspect of Women's Studies: that aspects of our personal lives are profoundly political – in other words – the personal is political. 'The personal will thus also be analyzed and influence epistemology. 'Knowledge (which) projects that correctly produced knowledge will lead to the adoption of the best political strategies...' (Andermahr et al., 1997). (www.yorku.ca/mic/sosc3990A/projects/standfem/stanfem.html accessed 2 March 2014).

The above is significant. Because Women's and Gender Studies strives not to be merely academic but also practical in order to change and improve the position of women and other marginalized peoples, to have the most effective political strategies is imperative.

The Insider/Outside perspective is another significant concept Women's Studies brought to the academy (Hill Collins, 1991, 2002; Reay, 1996). This perspective refers to the acknowledgment of the ambivalent role researchers within classical Women's Studies have: that is, as an academic, usually privileged, but also as a political activist or participant in that women's struggle that seeks to change the position of women (Court & Abbas, 2013). Subsequently, unlike other research where the impersonal word, 'the researcher' is used, in Women's Studies the personal pronouns, like 'I' and 'we' are used. Hence we bring along feminist epistemology (knowledge from our own experience as activists) but also as an academic that critiques the work as far as possible. The insider/outside perspective is used in other subjects like in Education as Mercer (2007) postulates.

Closely linked to insider/outside perspectives is the concept of Reflexivity: that is that as academics we also constantly have to reflect on our own roles to what

extent we are using/abusing our power vis a vis ourselves and our institutions but more importantly to the research participants:

> The validity of our interpretations depends on the integrity of the interaction of our personal experiences with the power of feminist theory and the power or lack of power of the researched. Our conclusions should always be open to criticism. (Holland & Ramazanoglu, 1994: 146)

Not only do we interrogate our relationships with others but we also must be aware that there are many 'truths' and that our truth is not the universal truth.

Simultaneously the academic discipline like Women's Studies would be a critical platform from which to further promote the feminist agenda. The aim within this new discipline was also to do research exploring less intimidating and hierarchical data collection processes. Those 'researched' were not seen as 'respondents' but rather co-creators of new knowledge hence in feminist/women's studies the term preferred is 'research participants'.

In the analysis of women's lives the central stereotypical theory was that all women work in the private and that men do the public work and what men do is more valued by society. This confirms the critique that women cannot be homogenised and that women's lives are mediated by their context, culture and religion. This challenged African women in Women's Studies to research how most African women's lives differ from women in the developed world. This led to the conclusion that:

> Many of the life studies show how the public/private sphere dichotomy never accurately reflected the African experience and illustrate the distinctive ways in which women exercised their agency in the pre-independence period by subverting conventional understandings of appropriate gender relations. (Adomako Ampofo et al., 2004: 688)

Academics in Women's Studies also were challenged that they have to be academically sharp and endeavour always to ensure that their work is academically sound and thorough:

> Feminists' work needs to be rigorous if it is to be regarded as intellectually compelling, politically persuasive, policy-relevant and meaningful to anyone other than feminists themselves. (Maynard, 1994: 24)

It is hence noted that Women's and Gender Studies contributed new analytical and methodological tools to academia.

BRIEF CASE STUDIES

The Institute of Social Studies (ISS) in the Netherlands (now International Institute of Social Studies of Erasmus University, Rotterdam, Netherlands) was one of the

first globally to have a major course, Women and Development, for the Master's Degree in Development (late 1970s). Mia Berden (The Netherlands) was the driving force behind establishing it. She had world-renowned feminist academics, Prof Maria Mies (Germany/India) and Dr Kumari Jayawardena (Sri Lanka) to assist as staff. One of the unique features of it was to have a central module of fieldwork throughout the course, as the philosophy was not to separate theory from praxis. Participants/students had to work with women's organizations in the Netherlands. This meant a constant interrogation of theories and how these were applied to the reality. Whatever was discussed in the academia was then applied to the praxis/reality and tested. In this way there was a dynamic articulation between the relevance and applicability of theory to the reality. Students were consciously selected from various parts of the world to theorize collectively and emerge with specific as well as global perspectives on the oppression of women and patriarchy and the inter-relatedness through capitalism. As a student there during 1980 i participated in this fieldwork and it was a profound learning experience: critiquing and applying theories to the reality. The various Dutch women's projects we worked with were the Women's Open School, Women against Fascism group, the Sex workers' Trade Unions, to name but a few.

Rhoda Reddock, former students at the ISS, from Trinidad and Tobago is currently Vice Chancellor, University of West Indies (Caribbean). She shared her experiences as a student:

> It was an international programme which provided an understanding of the global reach of feminism. I was there in the period of Maria Mies and she was a great influence on me. My greatest lesson from her was the intrinsic link between women's studies and the women's movement and the need to maintaining the activist passion in academic programmes in order to maintain their *raison d'etre*. In terms of Best Practice and what we should emulate: they are the theoretical rigour and strength, innovative teaching approaches, building strategic alliances at all levels of university systems and the wider society. We need to make the unit/department known to the wider society and valued by the wider society. That way it is harder for programmes to be removed or downgraded. (interview, June 2013)

The essential foundations that Rhoda experienced at the ISS were helpful for her subsequent work in the Caribbean. The last two sentences, with references to threats for Women's Studies pertain to the very real threats that the Women's Studies programs experienced at the ISS in the 1980s and elsewhere.

Another ISS 1980s student, former coordinator of Women's Studies, Tata Institute Mumbai (India), Chhaya Datar noted her impressions:

> As a writer and feminist activist, coming from the Marxist background I relied too much on the class analysis and looked at the women from the class lens. Maria showed us how international division of labour was taking

advantage of women's cheap labour in the third world countries by reinforcing their feminine socialisation practices. Another very important lesson I learned was the role of violence in evolving and maintaining the patriarchal order all over the world history. (interview, June 2013)

Key lesson was that patriarchy has specific formats in different cultural country contexts and was adapted by capitalism in diverse ways. The impact of the work of the ISS in different countries is impressive. Many women that graduated from the Women's Studies course, have all, in their respective countries, initiated Women's Studies (India), women's radio station (Belize) and participated in formal politics in order to promote women's issues (South Africa).

There are many other institutions that emphasize the theory/praxis link. An example which concretely strives to link Activism and the Academy is the Women and Gender Studies, College of Liberal and Creative Arts. The Dean, Paul Sherwin, Department of Women and Gender Studies, stresses this (work study in Feminist Projects (3 units) – WGS 698 (http://www.sfu.ca/-bulletin/courses/index.html accessed 31 July 2013).

In 1977 feminists established the Association of African Women for Research and Development with the aim off 'envisioning an agenda for African feminism in order to strengthen scholarship and feminist activism (Mama, 1996: 6; in Adomako Ampofo, Beoku-Betts, Njambi, & Osirim, 2004: 4). African Gender Studies, especially in the South, highlighted historical and critical analysis in a more focused fashion. This too emerged out of women's liberation struggles, democratization and critique of neo-liberal economic reforms.

Formally modules in Women's Studies emerged in Africa post-1990s. The first formal structures were at the Makerere University, Kampala, Uganda in the form of the School of Women and Gender Studies in 1991. According Dr Josephine Ahikire (Dean), it developed into a dynamic institution impacting nationally and internationally in terms of its intake and influence. Apart from teaching, research and publications, it also sees its role as networking, doing outreach and advocacy and gender mainstreaming. It seeks to influence development in the region (http://womenstudies.mak.ac.ug/message-dean accessed 28 October 2015).

Diverse and ambivalent practices were experienced at various universities: University of Cheikh Anta Diop (UCAD), Senegal (Diaw, 2007),[10] Cape Town, South Africa (Bennet & Vasu, 2007), Buea, Cameroon (Endeley & Nchang, 2007), Addis Baba, Ethiopia (Mulugeta, 2007). University administrations are contradictory- on the one hand supportive and still reinforcing a heteropatriarchal discourse. Barnes and Mama (2007) speculate whether it is a postcolonial tendency that rejects proposals from local women but will execute the same ideas if proposed by international initiatives. This was the case with both Cape Town and Cheikh Anta Diop universities. At Addis Ababa University the management recognizes the importance of having the Women's Studies program but does not facilitate it. The already overworked women staff because of their commitment does extra work to

make their Women's Studies function optimally, cognizant of their collusion in their own exploitation (Barnes & Mama, 2007).

The University of Buea, the only English medium university out of 6 in Cameroon is also the only one that offers Women's and Gender Studies (Endeley & Nchang Ngaling, 2007: 64). Many believe that the progress at this university was due to its uniqueness as having the only woman vice-chancellor in the country. The representation of women in Institutions of Higher Education in Africa is minimal but so too is it at a global level. In 1994 93% professors in Sweden in Institutions of higher learning, colleges and universities were men (UNESCO, 1998: 2). This indicates the challenges and ambiguity of the situation in Sweden where women are prominent in all fields of life. It also is contradictory considering that Swedish women have been participating in higher education for 120 years and the number of women students at university is 60% (Endeley & Nchang Ngaling, 2007: 66).

Despite the hesitancy around the word feminist, Endeley and Nchang Ngaling use the word feminist in all their references. What they summarize as the aims of Feminist pedagogy seems to coincide with what most Women's Studies in SSA strive for:

Feminist pedagogy aims to promote 3 principles:

1. to strive for egalitarian relationships in the classroom so that all students would value themselves as individuals
2. use experience of classroom as a learning resource in order to bring about social transformation
3. also linked to praxis outside classroom. (Endeley & Nchang Ngaling, 2007: 66)

The above is not limited to tertiary institutions. The Federation of African Women Educators (FAWE) has also instituted gender responsive pedagogy for all their teachers at primary and high schools in order for them to promote girl/woman affirming and women-centered education which they refer to as 'gender-responsive pedagogy' (Ladegonde, 2013).

Further research by Endeley and Ngaling (2007) was based on primary data through questionnaires collected in 2002 from 185 teachers out of a total of 226 at UB. They do not indicate how they targeted the 185 and to what extent they are representative. Secondary data was gleaned from university records and related documents. Both quantitative and qualitative techniques were utilized. Some research findings give one an insight into the situation at UB:

- 13.6% claim that 'feminism does not deserve much attention in academia';
- 3.4% state that 'women want to override and control men';
- The majority believes that 'feminism is part of African thought and practice'.

Unfortunately the subsequent male vice-chancellor at UB does not have an understanding of gender equality according to Endeley and Ngaling. Subsequently this 'inevitably makes a mockery of Women's Studies' (2007: 81). However a

weakness of the institution is that UB does not have any gender policy or plan of action as noted by Endeley and Ardener 2004 (quoted in Endeley & Ngaling, 2007).

To reiterate: Lyonga and Endeley (2006: 57, quoted in Endeley & Ngaling, 2007) argue that it was the presence of the woman vice-chancellor, Dr Njeuma, that expedited the progress in attainment of Gender Equality. Her leadership style, transformative feminism and gender sensitivity since the inception of the university in 1993 to the end of her tenure in 2005 contributed to this change. Systems set up during Njeuma's tenure assisted with mainstreaming of gender. Hence having women in the top echelons of institutions is a good strategy to emulate.

At South African universities there are also many challenges. I was a member of the council of the University of the Western Cape (UWC), Cape Town from about 2008 to 2011. Committees i was assigned to were the Research and Senior Appointments Committees.[11] What stands out in my memory during an interview of a young woman academic for promotion. The patriarchal behavior of one the senior male professors and top management team humiliated the woman interviewee, resulting in her bursting into tears. As chairperson of the committee I intervened as i thought his behavior was unprofessional. He then accused me of not allowing him to speak. My response was that as chairperson i would not allow candidates to be humiliated and undermined as he had been doing. He then threatened that he would inform the university council of my silencing him. I was not intimidated. I reiterated that as chair i would ensure that everyone was respected in the meeting. There were several other cases of intimidation of women academics by this senior male manager through formal complaints to the university authorities. The outcome of one enquiry in which senior counsel was consulted was dissatisfactory. He was found guilty of 'inappropriate behavior' and was asked to apologize. He refused and after a while this was just left 'forgotten'.

As his contract was due to expire our senior appointments committee recommended after we interviewed him that his contract not be renewed. He, like other senior managers at that time, were all male and near or past retirement ages with the exception of one woman. The appointments committee believed that it was essential that there should be new, younger and more diverse representation at management level. This would complement the experienced older male senior management. According to Mary Hames, Director of the UWC Gender Equity Unit (GEU, telephonically interviewed 30 October 2015), this individual is still at the university in the capacity as senior consultant.

From my experience as vice-chair of the University of Western Cape University (UWC) Council i learnt there was a limited understanding of gender issues and specifically why one should use gender-sensitive language in all subjects. I raised the importance of gender-sensitive language being used in classes. A very central senior council management staff member referred me to further discuss this with the Dean of Humanities and Arts. The assumptions, I interpreted was that the Science, Dentistry, Education and other faculties were not affected by gendered and

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patriarchal powers and privileges. It seemed that the more i explained the more he did not understand. In my attempts to explore this further, I was constantly hampered because of other crises. The University has a gender policy but few know about its existence or its content. I was informed by Mary Hames (interview 30 October 2015), that the gender policy was outdated. Another observation was that it seems as if these policies must be done by women only. There appears to be an understanding that gender issues are not promoted by all but that this task is only for women.

Hames shared that initially she had to report directly to the Vice-Chancellor. However, when the new Vice-Chancellor started about a year ago (2014), she was informed by him that in future she did not have to report to him. This she interpreted as downscaling or that the Gender Equity Unit was not important to him.

Furthermore Hames elaborated that recently there had been a UWC review committee to assess restructuring. One of the recommendations was that the GEU should close. This was a shock to the director as the chairperson of the committee was an eminent feminist Political Science professor and author. Mary Hames believed that the chair should have been able to convince the committee of the importance of having the GEU. The GEU complements the work of the Academic department of Women's and Gender Studies in that it is more of a feminist advocacy unit for marginalized groups on campus, including foreign students. It also acts as a forum in highlighting feminist concerns and exposes the patriarchy on the campus and community. The tasks it was integrally involved in were the formulation of the language and sexual harassment policies. One of the many positives is the production of the play; 'Reclaiming the P-word', a very challenging and provocative play focusing on women's sexualities. GEU was also central in exposing the abysmal conditions that foreign students and their families were forced to live in.

An institution doing influential Pan-African work is the African Gender Institute (AGI) at the University of Cape Town (UCT), South Africa. They have regular summer schools and workshops in order to promote academic research and documentation thereof. An example of this was the Intensive Training three-week seminar for academics/activists from about 25 different African countries. The focus of the course was: 'Building Capacity for Feminist research in Africa: Gender, Sexuality and Politics'. The AGI has also started one of the most accessible journals in Africa on Women's and Gender Issues, *Feminist Africa*. It is available online and hard copies are sent free of charge to African universities. There is also a deliberate policy to include writers from various African countries regularly. It seems, according to two of the South African black women academics who had worked there that the AGI was Pan-African at the expense of South Africa which was marginalized (Anonymous; private conversations over the years). This was the tendency earlier. Whether this is currently still the situation I have not been able to assess.

At the College of Education, University of Rwanda (UR, former Kigali Institute for Education), i was the only woman professor during the April 2012–August 2014 period. Probably because of this and my earlier experiences I was the only woman on the Senior Appointments' and Research and Ethics Committees. Very

few women candidates applied for promotion positions. No matter how I highlighted the expertise, experience and qualifications of women candidates, I was outvoted. At one stage I drew the attention of the committee to the Rwandan Constitution (clause 9.4) that stipulates that there should be 30% women at all decision-making levels. There was no response to this. When two women were recommended for promotion at a later stage, the senate questioned the decision and requested that the committee reassess the applications. This recommendation was subsequently reversed on the grounds that they did not have the qualifications for promotion as they did not have the required number of publications. No women were promoted during my period there. There are two women in the top management of UR since the restructuring in 2014.

The above experiences also demand self -reflection on my part: how do I understand the power dynamics of the committee in which I often felt my voice was not heard? Was it because I was a woman and foreign or what was it that I experienced not being taken seriously as an individual? It is difficult to distinguish. On another occasion I wanted to recuse myself from the committee for the interview of the head of my department. The majority males all protested that I was an integral part of the committee and hence could not be recused. On this occasion I felt affirmed. How to understand my subjective experiences is complex.

Quo Vadis/Whither Women's Studies?

If we ask ourselves to what extent does Women's/Gender Studies still adhere to its origins and the initial political agenda, I need to emphasize that in all cases known to me there are no or minimal links with the women's movements. However, the African Gender Institute (AGI) in SA still has Pan African workshops to assist in the training of women academics and activists, assisting them with documenting their struggles and to deepen feminist theory and praxis.

It needs to be reflected on how in general at universities the content of courses has changed over time? To what extent is it feeding into policy and hence really contributing to the improvement of women's and marginalized people's lives? Or has it just become a vehicle for 'feminist careerists' (Mohanty, 2003) or 'gender divas' (McFadden, 2003)? Academia has also become vehicles for individual women's careers as Mohanty (2003) argues. Granted, often women academics do not have tenure and have enormous workloads. According to Elaine Salo (former AGI Staff member, currently at Delaware University) women staff of Women's Studies often have to be counselors and support for women students experiencing trauma and other challenging situations (private conversation).

Some Strategies and Way Forward

What have been some of the best practices globally and what can we learn from the past and from one another? It has also been argued that linking the academy with

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reality and political struggles will enhance the quality of activism and advocacy and vice versa.

Within the African context there are stark contradictions in women's lives and this polarity is increasing. Reflect, for example, on the status of women politicians, those in the gender industry and academia and assess the gap between rich and poor women widening. The very 'gender industry' targeted to erase women's inequality has furthered the gap between women themselves (Manicom, 2005).

The first observation I should emphasize is that the Women's and Gender Studies currently observed at most institutions is a far cry from what it previously was. There seems to be no link directly or indirectly with women's movements or any women's structures. For example, in Rwanda there is no link between the Gender Centre and the National Women Council (NWC), which is mandated by law to empower women at all levels of Rwandan society. The work of National Women Council may be strengthened if there were some links with Women's/Gender Studies. I had the opportunity to interview focus groups in six districts throughout Rwanda and 26 interviews with representatives from government, civil society, faith-based and international organizations and academics. All of them interpreted that in Article 9.4 of the National Constitution, which set a 30% quota for women in decision-making positions at all levels, applies only to central government and not all decision-making bodies (Fester & Makuza, 2013). If the NWC had more resources and a dynamic link and input with the Gender Center, it could have done more effective advocacy and education.

In terms of best practice I think the following should be explored: we should relook at our strategies and survey how the academy and activism can be enhanced by linking up. It is also important that Women's and Gender Studies has their autonomy and do not have to be bound by academic or political restrictions as is the case in some countries. The funding received from an international institution for the Rwandan Gender Center had to undergo stringent university policy processes. This is not the problem but laptops that had to be bought for students were not bought in four years.

There must be a deliberate policy to strengthen theory on African conditions and gender relations. Hooks is correct that we Black women sometimes privilege activism and do not theorize enough. When i enquired from staff about why they were not publishing they explained that they have demanding workloads and marking to do, and sometimes do not feel confident enough. There are also the domestic demands that most women still have.

There should be networking with government and policy makers in order to feed both research and policy reformulation. It is important that the research is made available- hence more publishing. An impressive body of African feminists' research has been made possible by the journal, *Feminist Africa.* It has made great strides. Complementing activism with academic will enhance both. Challenges are the lack of resources. There will definitely be much progress if there is the strengthening of collaboration, more sharing, supporting and solidarity.

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CONCLUSIONS

There seems to be ambivalent responses to Women's and Gender Studies by the management of universities. If international donors or foreign agencies propose a structure or event, the university authorities are eager to comply, unlike what they do when locals raise similar issues. This means that there is not an internalization of the importance of Women's/Gender Studies. If there is, it will ultimately, directly and indirectly, contribute to promoting gender equality and affirming women and marginalized groups. Considering the impressive constitutions of most African countries and their ratification of progressive international instruments, which states they should promote gender equality, promoting Women's and Gender Studies would contribute to this goal. Most African countries have ratified the very radical gender promotion highlighted by international instruments. The only exceptions are Sudan, Southern Sudan and Toga. These international instruments all relate to the. The universities as centers of learning are therefore neglecting their duties.

In reading about the experiences of many academics at African universities regarding Women's and Gender Studies what Diaw has to say about UCAD paints a very general picture:

> The hostilities of the institution towards the concept of gender can be linked to its institutional and intellectual cultures. This experience shows how the institutional culture can actually be anti-intellectual, upholding the notion that knowledge and the mode of production of knowledge are not gendered. (Diaw, 2007: 14)

These adverse contexts hamper progress in instituting effective Women's Studies departments and subsequently promoting gender equality directly or indirectly. Perhaps open dialogue and advocacy should be done. If the country has ratified international instruments and the constitution promotes gender equality, civil society and feminist groups could facilitate these open forums for accountability.

The reason for the universities' bias towards accepting foreign proposals may be financial. Often these proposals from foreign institutions come with substantial funding. However, one wonders why local funding is not prioritized to do women's studies. The limited funding that is there could be creatively budgeted if there were the political will to promote gender equality. It makes one reflect on Seidman's words:

> Does feminist rhetoric simply mask patriarchal intent, where male leaders claim to support gender equality but fail to provide resources or power to attain it? (Seidman, 2003: 542)

The empowerment of women and girl children as well as the rights of the child – also affirming and promoting girl children are constitutional mandates. But the majority of African countries do not popularize the contents nor do they implement them. Consequently relating to the above, i agree with Seidman. One just has to do

an analysis of some national budgets to learn to what extent major funding goes to military and salaries of politicians.

There has to be gender policies at universities related to promoting Gender Equality and countering patriarchy which prevails in all aspects of life in Africa, as well as globally. If there are policies these should be advertised vociferously so that people are aware of them and use them optimally to enhance the quality of their lives. Policies also have to be updated regularly so that they reflect the current situations and challenges.

Women academics should seek out strategic partnerships. Some of these could be with human rights male activists and politicians who claim they promote the poor and marginalized as allies, professional bodies (like women's legal centers) and engage collectively with them. Also big corporations who do social responsibility can support progressive endeavors financially without adding strings attached or expecting that women/feminist academics have to compromise themselves. Working with religious and traditional leaders as allies is also strategic and often religions and cultures reinforce patriarchy and the subservience of women and girls. Established leading women/feminist academics should also actively engage in inter-generational dialogues with younger feminists to mentor/femtor[12] them but also listen to what their needs and priorities are as they may differ from the older feminists' concerns.

Policies should include how to increase the number of women academics, inclusive gender-sensitive language and curriculum. Patriarchal concepts and understandings in all curricula should be analyzed, for example, Religious Studies. There could be committees established consisting of staff from different faculties. Together there should be research of how to present all curricula with less androcentric and patriarchal content. This will be challenging and solutions may not be immediate.

Best practices should be emulated or adapted. The example of women from different constituencies with access to power and influence and collectively promote women's empowerment with grassroots women is an excellent model to emulate The case of the rural grassroots women (Rural Women's Movement) with academics (Centre for Applied Legal Studies, WITS university) and Women in decision-making positions (women in the South African parliament) is an impressive example. Collectively they worked on policies and legislation to improve the quality of life of poor and grassroots women by formulating the Recognition of Customary Marriages Act in SA.

But fundamentally Women's Studies must return to its origins: that between link between Women's Studies and the civil societies political feminist/women's movements. This will ensure a consolidation of the origins. The current Women's Studies must engage with the central question – how to recreate if absent or consolidate where present the link between the women's/feminist movement and the academy? Or in the words or Barnes and Mama (2007: 1):

What do we teach the young women and men in our classrooms about their histories and traditions? How do we engage meaningfully with a generation seemingly mesmerised by the chimeric materialism of freedom? How do academics engage with women who live far outside the ivory towers but can have a strong organisational presence? How do feminists survive and mentor each other in the academy long enough to do all these things? Where do they find allies in the struggle to keep critical consciousness alive- and kicking? How long is this piece of string, anyway?

In order for feminist academics in Women's Studies to be able to find answers to the above, there should also constantly be self-reflection regarding commitment to the promotion of Women's Studies and the aims. This could be enhanced by providing a supportive atmosphere to colleagues. Linking up with a network of Women's Studies staff regionally and globally and exchanging strategies could be a positive enhancement.

In being true to ourselves we should acknowledge our differences and the various degrees of power and privilege many women have. This is as opposed to, for example, 'sisters' in rural areas, those with (dis)abilities, and those in non-heteronormative relationships. We must explore working in such a way in order to empower those who are most oppressed. In doing so our efforts in building effective and influential Women's Studies Departments, could contribute to empowering women and girls. Audre Lorde leaves us with some hope:

It is not our differences that separate women but our reluctance to recognize these differences and to deal effectively with the distortions that have resulted from ignoring and misnaming these differences… As Paulo Freire shows so well in 'The Pedagogy of the Oppressed', the true focus of revolutionary change is never merely the oppressive situations that we seek to escape but that piece of the oppressor that is planted deep within each of us and that knows only the oppressor's tactics, the oppressor's relations. Change means growth, and growth can be painful. But we sharpen self-definition by exposing the self in work and struggle together with those whom we define as different for ourselves, although sharing the same goals. For Black and White, old and young, lesbian and heterosexual women alike, this can mean new paths to our survival…develop[ing] new definitions of power and new patterns of relating across difference. (Lorde, 1997: 379, 380)

The challenge of feminism and implementing effective Women's and Gender Studies continues. Challenge of feminisms is that we take on not only the theories but also adapt our lives in accordance with those theories – the personal remains profoundly political: how precisely 'do we take the policies made in the board room and apply them in the bedrooms.'

NOTES

[1] In this paper I will use Women's Studies instead of Gender Studies. In some institutions the name Feminist Studies is used. Even though I personally, as a feminist, prefer the term Feminist Studies I accept that there are concerns about this term and that in general in Africa and elsewhere there is ambivalence about the term feminist. Hence the nomenclature, Women's Studies, is used.

[2] The small letter 'i' will be used within sentences and the 'I' at the start of a sentence. This is to express humility- why should i use a capital letter for me? In my own language and many others 'i' is always written with a small letter. It also follows in the tradition of eminent and influential black feminist, bell hooks, who never uses capital letters for her name.

[3] Sati is described as a Hindu custom in India in which the widow was burnt to ashes on her dead husband's pyre. Basically the custom of Sati was believed to be a voluntary Hindu act in which the woman voluntary decides to end her life with her husband after his death. But there were many incidences in which the women were forced to commit Sati, sometimes even dragged against her wish to the lighted pyre (http://adaniel.tripod.com/sati.htm/ accessed 12 December 2015).

[4] This even pertains to current Europe. See Anja Meulenbelt & Renée Römkens (2015), *Het F-boek feminisme van nu in woord en beeld (Current Feminism in word and images, my translation)* atria/ Spectrum, Amsterdam.

[5] In the USA it started in the 1970s: Salper, Roberta (November 2011). *"San Diego State 1970: The Initial Year of the Nation's First Women's Studies Program".* (Feminist Studies 37(3): 658–682). The Interdisciplinary journal, *Feminist Studies,* started in 1972 and the USA National Women's Studies Association was established in 1977.

[6] Granted there are different types of feminists like Radical who distance themselves from men and Bourgeois who want emancipation for women without critically assessing nor altering the current exploitative social relations and economic systems Others are: Eco feminists, but this cannot be elaborated on within the confines of this paper. I use feminism as defined by the African Feminist Charter referred to later.

[7] According to my research these are not at African universities.

[8] The concept 'Intersectionality' was first introduced by Kimberle Crenshaw (Yuval Davis, 2006: 193–202). It explores the interrelationship between gender, class, race, etc as systems of oppression that reinforce and enhance one another. Later, because of the development of struggles and greater insight and critique, other axes of oppression have been added, like (dis)ability, age, sexuality, nationality, ethnicity, citizenship and many others.

[9] Amadiume, Ifi (1987). *Male Daughters, Female Husbands.* Zed Press Ltd. London and New Jersey is a major text highlighting the powerful and ambivalent women's roles in pre-colonial Africa.

[10] Diaw (2007: 21) refers to the 'Francophone heritage' of UCAD, hence it is 'not responsive' to gender issues. She further states '(a)s with many African francophone universities of the sub-region (West Africa), there is no women's or gender studies department. Also that 'Awa Thiam proposed in 1987 – in vain – the creation of a department of anthropology of the sexes'. Currently as part of an AU and UN project, at the Cheikh Diop there is a Master's degree in Women and Peace Studies.'

[11] In using feminist epistemological standpoint i utilise the first person, 'I'. The small letter 'i' will be used within sentences and the 'I' at the start of a sentence. This is to express humility – why should i use a capital letter for me? In my own language and many others 'i' is always written with a small letter. It also follows in the tradition of eminent and influential black feminist, bell hooks, who never uses capital letters for her name.

[12] Canadian feminists at the 25th anniversary of their Human Rights Charter on February 14, 2006 of the 1981 "Valentines Day" constitutional conference on women's equality, organized by the Ad Hoc Committee of Canadian Women on the Constitution. Here they shared that they preferred to use the word 'femtor' as opposed to mentor.

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2. WOMEN AND SOCIETY IN FEMALE AUTHORED SHORT STORIES AND POEMS FROM NAMIBIA

The Dimensions of Oppression and Violence

INTRODUCTION

In Africana women's literary criticism, there has been a lot written on whether women literary critics hold to the feminist, African feminist or womanist point of view (Etim, 2000a, pp. 71–72; Ogunyemi, 1993). There has also been the question of whether African female writers write from the feminist or womanist perspective. In defining womanist, Alice Walker declared:

> A black feminist or feminist of color. … usually referring to outrageous, audacious, courageous or *willful* behavior. Wanting to know more and in greater depth than is considered "good" for one. In charge. *Serious… Also:*
> A woman who loves other women, sexually and/or nonsexually. Appreciates and prefers women's culture, women's emotional flexibility (values tears as natural counterbalance of laughter), and women's strength. Sometimes loves individual men, sexually and/or nonsexually. Committed to survival and wholeness of entire people, male *and* female. Not a separatist, except periodically, for health. (p. xi)

Hudson-Weems (1993) in tackling the issue of naming and African women's literary tradition declares:

> The Africana womanist is not to be confused with Alice Walker's "womanist" as presented in her collection of essays entitled In Search of Our Mothers' Gardens… Neither an outgrowth nor an addendum to feminism, Africana Womanism is not Black feminism, African feminism, or Walker's womanism that some Africana women have come to embrace. Africana Womanism is an ideology created and designed for all women of African descent. It is grounded in African culture, and therefore, it necessarily focuses on the unique experiences, struggles, needs, and desires of Africana women. (pp. 23–24)

In another definition, Hudson-Weems (1997) pointed out that "Africana Womanism commands an African-centered perspective of Africana women's lives–their historical, current, and future interaction with their community, which includes their male counterparts" (p. 82).

According to Warhol and Herndj (1996), feminist studies have been the domain of white middle class straight women who share much of the cultural privilege of their male counterparts (p. xi), while for Hudson-Weems (1993), the African womanist "invites her male counterpart into her struggle for liberation and parity in society, as this struggle has been the glue that has held them together and enabled them to survive a particularly hostile and racist society" (p. 61). The idea of inviting men and women to tackle the problem of the position of women led Chukwuma (1994) to declare that African feminism "is accommodationist not exclusive and negativistic. Men remain a vital part of the women's lives" (p. xvi).

This view is in line with Ogini's (1996) declaration that the new form of Womanism, "desires that the man and the woman should be in harmony in the home and society at large" (p. 15). In presenting a fuller picture of the term womanism, Philips (2006) declares that womanism manifest five overarching characteristics including 'antioppressionist'. So, "A womanist knows oppression when she (or he) sees it, and she (or he) is against it…Womanism supports the liberation of all humankind from all forms of oppression …womanism seeks to enable people to transcend the relations of domination and oppression altogether" (p. xxiv).

Writing about the treatment of women in male authored texts in Nigeria, Etim (1996) found that in the plays, novels and short stories analyzed, there were "many types of male domination and subjugation of women, ranging from physical and sexual abuse to emotional abuse" (p. 163). Amouzou (2006) declared that women are often "devalued and considered second class citizens" (p. 97). Amouzou continued by indicating that Flora Nwapa, the first Nigerian female novelist was to change that since with her works "she has re-created and re-presented women to reflect the changing realities of African women" (p. 99). In the same manner, Nnolin, posited that male authors have often portrayed female characters "as helpless, dependent, brutalized, disparaged…prostitutes or concubines or good time girls" (1989: 59). In redressing this treatment, Uko (2008) pointed out that African women writers now place women at the forefront and that these writers are "largely concerned with the assertion of self, reaffirmation of female pride, authentication of African womanhood as well as a search for an independent identity" (p. 67).

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

Writing by African female writers (whether feminist or womanist in nature) could be regarded as a counter to the many male misogynistic writings. These women writers are concerned with depicting the ongoing degradation of women, " what has caused unhappiness and pain for women and how women can achieve happiness and ensure their full development and participation in society (Etim, 2000a, p. 71). Ogundipe-Leslie (1994) pointed out that feminists have posited two major responsibilities for the woman writer…" first to tell about being a woman; secondly, to describe reality from a woman's view, a woman's perspective (p. 57). This chapter examines women's realm of experience as reflected in the short stories

and poetry of Namibian female writers. Specifically, the issues of focus will be: (1) What is the "reality" depicted by women writers? What are their concerns as expressed in the literature? The areas of violence, human rights and oppression will be discussed in this area (2) How are women trying to assert their independence/ voices in the writing under study? How does "freedom" come for the characters? (3) How are the writings tied to the African feminist/womanist point of view? (4) How are men presented at the end and is there any relationship between the sexes to encourage their working together to solve the problem?

BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON NAMIBIA

Namibia gained independence from South Africa in 1990 after many years of liberation struggle. During the struggle, both men and women fought alongside each other. Post-independence, Namibia has adopted the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women" (CEDAW) in 1992 that condemns any form of discrimination against women, and states that measures have to be taken to eradicate all forms of barriers and restrictions that has the effect or purpose of "impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by women, irrespective of their marital status, on a basis of equality of men and women, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field" (CEDAW, 1979, Part 1 Article 1) Also according to the Ministry of Gender Equality and Child Welfare (2006), the Constitution of Namibia "commits Namibia to eliminate all discriminatory practices based on sex, race, colour, ethnic origin, religion, creed or social or economic status" (p. 5).

"Novels and short stories are in many cases a reflection of the society or period they were written" (Etim, 2000b, p. 103). According to Emenyonu (as quoted in Nnolim, 2015), the literature of a people is more or less "an imaginative recreation of a people's account of their social, cultural, political and economic perspectives at a given time and place".

ANALYSIS

1. Voices of women's concerns in the areas of violence, human rights and oppression.

UN Women (2015) in *Ending Violence Against Women: From the Beijing Platform for Action to the Sustainable Development Goals* declared that "women's rights are human rights" (p. 7). Furthermore, the paper defined violence as encompassing (a) Physical, sexual and psychological violence occurring in the family; (b) Physical, sexual and psychological violence occurring within the general community; (c) Physical, sexual and psychological violence perpetuated or condoned by the state (pp. 9–10).

In an earlier study, Etim (2000a) pointed out that many African women novelists write about the oppressive nature of patriarchy in pre-colonial and post-colonial Africa (p. 71). Writing specifically about Namibia, Andima and Tjiramanga (2014)

pointed out that in post-independent Namibia, the voices of women wrriters are advocating "for change" in the portrayal and situation of women in society. Using several stories from Elizabeth Khaxas' (2006) *Between Yesterday and Tomorrow*: *Writings by Namibian Women*, the themes l of violence, human degradation/loss of rights and oppression against women will be discussed.

Violence

The highest level of violence in many of the stories and poems is that of rape. In Londo "Nangula's Story'. Nangula is raped by Sam, a distant relative who is living in the same house. The experience leaves her frightened and depressed (p. 75). However, Sam does not end the abuse. When he gets Nangula pregnant, he denies being the culprit. Even when he is caught, the punishment does not fit the crime "Later on, he was found guilty of rape and murder but was jailed only for a few years and then released. Nangula died with her unborn baby, brutally killed by a man who raped her and got away with it" (p. 76). This violence also displays itself in the name calling and lack of sensitivity to the plight of women even by close relatives as expressed in Linumbu's poem, "I'm just a girl"

> They call me names
> The way they feel like
> They rape and abuse me
> They say I'm their property
> Coz I'm just a girl
> To them
>
> I call out for help
> But they don't care about my feelings
> No one helps at all. (p. 112, lines 7–15)

Human Rights

In her short poem, "Women's human rights". Iihuhwa pointed out the indignity and loss of human rights meted out to women in Namibia.

> But women are humiliated
> Their rights stolen
> Their humanity not counted
>
> In marriage, it's worse
>
> Women are exploited
> They are made slaves. (lines 6–11)

The humiliation continues in the area of decision making – women are not allowed to make decisions since they are regarded as "empty tins".

Londo in "Our Cultures deny women their rights" writes about how culture is used to deny women their rights. The author pointed out some of the rights denied:

- Women are not allowed to make decisions of any kind in their own homes.
- Women are expected to obey every rule made by the man of the house.
- Women are regarded as housewives, only there for reproduction or for satisfying men's sexual desires, for working in the fields, collecting firewood and water, and for cooking (Khaxas, p. 21).

Continuing on the theme of loss of human rights, Londo in "Questions men might have answers for" asked, "Why are we still being denied our rights?" and declared "We are tired of being victimized, brutally killed, raped, assaulted and stigmatized after 15 years of marriage" (p. 44).

In Msiska's "Evil in the name of culture", Jocinta has no rights after the death of her husband. First of all, she is accused of being the cause of his death and has to appear in a court called and run by her late husband's brothers. When she refused to listen to them and marry one of her late husband's brothers, is locked up as a common criminal – "She was locked up in a room where she stayed for days. When she was finally let out they told her she could stay in the village to look after her children but she could not take them anywhere" (p. 11). She has to hide to see her children and when she finally, for the sake of her children reluctantly surrenders to be one of her late husband's wives, she is rewarded by being infected with HIV. The description shows not only the loss of dignity but also the emotional toll she goes through as a result of a system that stipulates that the woman will be married to one of her late husband's brothers:

> Then Jacinta was also tested HIV-positive… She lived quietly in her small hut and made no contact with anyone. She just lay in wait for her death, listening to the whispers of the wind and the singing of the birds. She lost contact with others and her daughter took over her role. … Jacinta's only comforts were the bird's songs and nature. (p. 12)

Oppression

In Hashiyana's "Women", the narrator complains of the oppression of women world-wide – women are victims of everything especially rape and murder. They are not counted as human beings and "our human rights are violated everyday" (p. 17). The narrator also declared:

> We women are suffering in many ways because our husbands of nowadays do not assist us. They have many relationships with other women while they are married. That is why we become infected with HIV unexpectedly. Married women are suffering because they have to take care of kids, the house and everything which climbs on women's shoulders. (p. 17)

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In Mbala's "Nothing Can Stop Her" Namasiku the heroine goes through three levels of oppression. (a) denial of educational opportunity; (b) denial of voice; and (c) verball abuse. When she completes Grade 12, her parents refused to send her to college even though she strongly desired to further her education. This is a clear denial of opportunity. It is just that she is a girl and her parents judge that education is not important for her and a waste of money for the family. This is not the case for her younger brother for the father sent him to college immediately he is ready. Secondly, she is given to marriage without her consent and even in the face of her protests. And then the husband takes a second wife, as a matter of his rights, without any consideration of Namasiku. Then in her husband's house, she goes through a lot of verbal and emotional abuse: "On a very rainy day, while Namasiku and her husband were sitting in their house by themselves, she told him she wanted to go to college and complete a teacher's diploma. Her husband became very angry and started using abusive language" (p. 30). The oppression of women by denying them an education is also highlighted by Ilhuhwa in "Too late for regrets" where the father intentionally does not allow the girls to go to school. Thus, while the male child was educated, the girls in the household stayed "at home with their mother, toiling in the field day out and day in. They were illiterate; reading and writing was something strange… and he (the father) began to assault them and told them they were stupid since they were illiterate" (pp. 118–119).

Data presented by the United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (2011) showed the following for Windhoek, Namibia in terms of the various types of violence against women.

Table 1. Violence against women prevalence data for Windhoek, Namibia, 2002

	INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE		
	Physical	*Sexual*	*Physical and Sexual*
Last 12 months	15.9	9.1	19.5
Lifetime	30.6	16.5	35.9

Adapted from UN Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women 2011
Violence against Women Prevalence Data: Surveys by Country

Table 1 show there is some level of intimate partner violence in the areas of physical and sexual abuse.

2. How are women trying to assert their independence/voice in the writing under study? How does "freedom" come for the characters?

In an earlier study Etim (1996) reported that in many of the male texts analyzed, the female characters either died or were inhibited in their quest to develop themselves. Female authors on the other hand tended to allow the female characters to remain alive and fight for their freedom. The female characters "obtained their

freedom through various means including leaving the abusive environment, getting an education and a job, bonding with other women and making it clear to the spouse that they will not accept abuse" (p. 163) in many of the short stories and poems in this analysis, we find female resistance to patriarchy and male domination manifested in several ways.

i) We must speak out.

In many of the stories and poems, women have been denied their voices by men, their ideas often discarded and men have made decisions without allowing them to be part of the process; they have been marginalized. Ilhuhwa in the poem, "Women's human rights" advised women to speak up.

> No, No, No!
> We women must speak up
> We must be confident
> We have the power to win! (p. 7, lines 19–22).

Likewise, Londo in "Our cultures deny women their rights" called for women to advocate for themselves: "But all I know is that it is us African women who have to bring about change if we want to live our lives in peace, love and harmony" (p. 22). The same idea is offered in Iihuhwa's poem who declared that if women are quiet and do not struggle for their rights, then they will be disrespected by men (p. 32).

ii) Get an education.

In many of the stories and poems, women are not allowed to get an education either because of culture or the cost associated. In Khaxas, "The Unknown Himba girl", the heroine, name unknown, dies violently in the hands of her uncle simply because she dared to go to school. In Hangula's "The clever herd girl" we are introduced to Ndalila, who is determined to make it notwithstanding her condition. She goes to school and starts a small business to help sustain her while at school. In Gava's "If you were born a woman", Susan is also determined not to allow poverty to keep her down. We are introduced to life in pre-independence Namibia and immediately after independence for some women.

> There were many sorrows in her life, and all she had seen was oppression and pain. Although it seemed like a dream, one would say, Susan was determined to rise above it… Many women and girls in Susan's era submitted to the oppression and never rose above it. But, Oh no, not Susan. She had dreams for the future and she was determined to rise above her adversities. (p. 182)

It is instructive to note the authors repetition of oppression, pain and adversities and Susan's determination to rise above these condition. Susan "… went the extra mile and fought for her education" (p. 183).

In Mbala's "Nothing can stop her", we see Namasiku triumphing over male oppression at the end of the story when she completed her three year teaching

diploma and is given a job in her village. "Namasiku continued to motivate and encourage other women in her village and surroundings to stand up for their rights… she began encouraging parents not to marry off their daughters at a young age but to encourage them to geet the highest education they could achieve" (p. 31).

In Ntnda's "Mwalepeange: a woman of courage", Mwalepenge, caught in a very abusive relationship, decides to leave her husband, get an education and be free from "being beaten as if she were a punching bag. She feels free and she knows she has achieved much… freedom and liberty to be an independent woman" (p. 62).

iii) Leave the abusive environment.

In Nuunango's "I will leave you", the narrator is sadly disappointed at not only at the behavior of her boyfriend who broke all his promises- to marry her, to send her to school, to take care of her- but also the fact that he does not listen to her "… he doesn't care to listen and doesn't pay attention to any suggestions I have to make. He is always making excuses" (p. 172). The narrator leaves the relationship declaring words of advice to younger women:

> Don't think that a boyfriend will solve all your problems. You must make your own decisions. As girls, we have to make our education the first priority so that we can provide whatever we need for ourselves, including buying our house. And if you have done all that and you find yourself with a dictatorial boyfriend or husband, leave him. Divorce him. Right now. (p. 173)

3. How are the writings tied to the African feminist/womanist point of view?

Earlier, I pointed to the raging debate on whether African women writers write from a feminist or womanist point of view. Akung (2012, p. 114) pointed out that in Africa and Nigeria as the debate rages, the radical form of feminism has been played down both by writers and critics. According to Davies (1986), "African feminism examines African societies for institutions which are of value to women and rejects those which work to their detriment" (p. 9). Since "womanism seeks to enable people to transcend the relations of domination and oppression altogether" (Philips, 2006) we see in this analysis that women writers are giving voice to women's concerns, challenging patriarchy and all forms of oppression, marginalization and violence against women. In Iihuhwa's "Women's human rights", the narrator journeys from complaining about humiliation and loss of human rights through calling on women to speak up to ending in a voice of women's emancipation and triumph over male subjugation:

> You men must change
> We have been putting our eyes on you
> What you have been doing to us is enough.
> Just keep in mind that
> Once we have taken action
> You will know who we are

And we will walk with the crown. (p. 7, lines 22–29)

The women will move from humiliation to wearing crowns – a symbol of power and authority. In the resistance, the female writers portray some strong women who through persistence and determination, having some education or opening a small business, are beginning to carve out an independent path for themselves. Many of the women will agree with the narrator in Londo's "Nangula's Story" who declared:

Namibian women, let us stand up for our rights, let us speak with one voice
Let us fight injustices against us, be they physical, emotional or psychological
Namibian women, it is never too late to try.
…United we stand. (p. 76)

4. How are men presented at the end of the short stories and is there any relationship between the sexes to encourage their working together to solve the problem?

In many male authored texts, the female is often relegated to the background since patriarchy upholds the idea that women are inferior. Their roles are often regarded as inferior and given less cognizance – she is thought often as the homemaker (devalued) versus office worker/professional, child bearer (often devalued) versus breadwinner. In these short stories and poems, the male characters are totally non-existent at the end or have been rendered unimportant as the female character makes her decisions and charts her course for independence and development. The narrator in some of the short stories and poems analyzed want a society that is more just for women. IHoakhaos in "Time Changes", the narrator wants a new culture that respects everyone:

Now, it is time
To create a new culture
A culture where everyone is equal
Where all voices are heard

At the end of the short stories and poems analyzed, there is very little relationship between the male and female characters. Rather, the female characters with the new freedom and independence are "reborn a better spirit" (p. 209).

CONCLUSION

The female characters in these short stories and poems are aware of patriarchy and other forces that seek to constrict their development and desire for freedom. Many of the characters grow to be very assertive and utilize whatever is available to them to assert and affirm their independence from traditions or situations that seek to constrict them and their desire for freedom and growth. We see women trying to live lives worthy of note, even in the face of such barriers/structures as culture, polygamy and little education. These short stories are meant to show that the world is not phallocentric; that it does not and should not revolve around male dominance

and world view only but that women's views and perspective should be heard and implemented. These writers have elevated the concerns and issues facing Namibian women to the forefront. These include ending all forms of rape and violence against women, allowing women to have an education, equal justice and a voice in all kinds of affairs of concern to them.

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3. LOCAL CONTEXTS, LOCAL THEORY

Revisiting Standpoint Theory through Situated Ethnographic Vignettes

INTRODUCTION

Feminist movements had as their imperative, the redress of the political, economic and social asymmetries experienced by women. Within the literature in the West, a wave model has been popularly used to describe both the kinetic chronology as well as the gestation of the earlier movement from those of the latter. Feminist theory can be seen as having emerged from feminist movements, as the questioning and examination of the materiality of women's lives came to be mirrored in the scrutiny at the level of discourse. Feminist scholarship in turn worked to unveil how women's experiences, and even (the construction and understanding of) 'woman' herself, comes to be discursively (and variously) articulated. While earlier first and second wave feminist critiques were concerned with the under-representation of women and women's experiences within the social sciences (and the natural sciences), later strains of more reflexive and situated feminisms were suitably self-conscious and cognisant of the homogenising and hegemonic effect of the theories of Western feminist scholars when confronted with the realities of women in non-Western contexts.

This essay is positioned from a theoretical rather than an activist stance, and while some writers in the academy might still feel a lingering sense of guilt at 'doing' theory rather than practice, it is felt that while theory and practice are distinct, they are to be seen as one reciprocally feeding into the other. A good case in point is standpoint feminism or standpoint epistemology, which is critical social theory maintained as having as its starting-point, the lived experience of real women and their lived contexts. But of course all women are real women, in real-life contexts. More important is the exigency of knowing *which* of the very many real women out there we are referring to- for whatever it is we are saying.

This taking note of 'which woman' is thus, *core,* and feminists have quite rightly scrutinised and indeed criticised the tendency of dominant groups to unthinkingly universalise their own values and practices (Lawson, 1999: 25), and the feminists from within the dominant groups have also not escaped this scrutiny and criticism. That said, the essay does not claim to be definitive and is, rather, poised to offer some thoughts to the discussions around standpoint theory. It does this by drawing

on several of my earlier studies and ethnographies that sought to provide some insights around the specificity of Black African women's experiences within South Africa. Given the positioned framework of this piece, it is not possible to go into great detail with the rich data collected in the ethnographies mentioned, nor the individual methodological approaches adopted, which are published elsewhere (see Naidu, 2009a; Naidu, 2009b; Naidu, 2011; Naidu, 2013). However, I attempt to selectively draw little narrative 'clips' or what I shall refer to as 'ethno vignettes' that will hopefully act as lenses framing what I attempt to say. What is offered is proffered in the context of the possibility of tangible pockets of insights that may be extracted from ethnographic research, which could in turn resonate with the work of other researchers. This is attempted here, through the rich stories shared by the participants.

As the noted African 'feminist' Amina Mama (2007: 152) points out, feminist intellectual work has spawned intense ferment across all the conventional disciplinary landscapes. Indeed work in feminism and gender is generated from multiple disciplinary foci, perspectives, methodologies and theoretical pedigrees. Thus, one can be a feminist anthropologist or feminist geographer in as much as one can be doing eco-feminism and Marxist feminism and so on. What gives me pause though is not concern about insular boundaries on who is authorised to write what, and from what knowledge-producing disciplines, but that I, like many others, Indian and White[2] (and some African) feminist writers, are guilty of having been 'breast-fed' and raised on the canonised thoughts and texts of mainly White feminist writers, and so quite possibly guilty of allowing ourselves certain "theoretical luxuries" (Harding, 2004), or what I call 'colonial colloquialisms', that women outside of particular Western situated contexts cannot.[3] This is where I believe a disciplinary perspective of anthropology and anthropological training comes in with its signature emphasis on cultural relativism and intense methodological training around working from *within*, as well as *outside* one's own cultural *et al.* specificities. One of the ways it does this is through the emphasis on rich ethnographies and thick data elicited from participants through sustained levels of immersion and naturalization in the spaces of the people being observed, as well as emphasizing rapport and relationship with the people themselves. It is these contexts that help generate the data which in turn is used to generalize and theorise from. This becomes then, 'embodied data', (rather than data *disembodied* from socio-cultural realities) and (generated) theory that has actual empirical reference points.

In assuming this approach and the above context of ethnographies, I chorus concert with Mikell (1997) that African feminism/s and gender discourses distinguish themselves from their counterparts in the global north by attention to what are termed as critical indices of 'bread, butter and power' issues. This essay proceeds in turn through the refractive lens of selected empirical studies of African women and their experiences in various examples; of bread, butter and power issues. The essay attempts to illustrate, through a discussion drawing from these ethnographies that any understanding of gender and what we term African feminism and a standpoint

epistemic has to make contextual and situational sense to African women, and their local lived experiences and realities.

My starting point is that there is something called 'African Feminism/s. It was Mekgwe (2008: 11), writing in the context of feminism in Africa, who reminded us that feminism, "both as an activist movement and as a body of ideas", underscores the necessity for a "positive transformation of society" where women are not marginalized but recognized and respected as "full citizens in all spheres of life". Mekgwe went on to sound the rather gloomy warning that this proposition, had however, been alarmingly over theorised. Since her announcement (or dire pronouncement) in 2008, arguably, perhaps not too much has changed. We are thus still confronted, amidst the fine hair splitting (ball busting?) around whether there is such a thing as an African Feminism or not, as *just how* to have sub Saharan women fully recognized as bearing the cross of a double vulnerability and being given the passport to full citizenship and out of the entanglement of some aspects of that vulnerability.

For me, an important aspect of this full citizenship, alongside what has been termed the "bread and butter and power" issues (see Mikell, 1997; Akin-Aina, 2011) of African women, is that of ownership of body and sexuality. This core issue of the right to perform and enact one's body within personally chosen labour, sexual identity and sexual(ity) scripts is fundamental to owning that citizenship passport.

I consent that many aspects of the emancipatory agenda that holds the attention of gender activists in the global-north may well be foreign in both grammar (ideas) and speech (actions) to the women in the global south, especially in Africa, where reproductive rights and gender equality are perhaps differently understood (or differently positioned) by African women. However, I don't agree with Gwendolyn Mikell (1997) that African feminism is not preoccupied (or should *not* be preoccupied) with the female body, with perhaps the same intensity as are women in the north. Quite the contrary, in many respects, and as the qualitative illustrations in this essay reveal, it is the bodies of women in the developing nations and the bodies of African women in the global south that have been rendered especially docile (Foucault, 1982) by a cluster of colonial and postcolonial historical entanglements as well as by complicit African traditional and cultural scripts that hold sway over how her body, her labour and her sexuality should be enacted and enjoyed. The texture and shape of the particular specificities of women's experiences in any geo-cultural context becomes apparent when one turns to actual empirical experiences and face to face encounters with the women themselves, through qualitative work with the women

Anthropology, the signature perspective from where I write, and within which I am located, privileges rich 'face-to-face encounters' or thick ethnographies. While life is full of (very) naturally occurring (multiple) face-to-face encounters, ethnography is the conscious methodological seeking out and documenting of such encounters as part of a fairly meticulous disciplinary methodological praxis where we further refract these culturally relevant frames of reference through particular

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theoretical lenses. By drawing on ethnographic material collected as part of several other studies, in my career as anthropologist working with Black African women in South Africa, the piece attempts to revisit standpoint theory and what the notion of epistemic privilege may offer to a discussion of African feminism/s. The ethnographies in turn looked at:

- A group of Black African women cleaners working at a University (Naidu, 2009a);
- A group of Black African women working as Zulu dancers (Naidu, 2009b; 2011);
- A group of Black African women who self-identify as lesbian and active Christians (Naidu, 2013).

These stories are for me, and the anthropologist in me, powerful empirical points of reference. Likewise these narratives are offered as a kind of excavation of shared stories that can be re-interpreted and re-assembled for meaning, but re-assembled and reconstructed *with* the insights, thoughts and emotions that the narrators themselves, and the narratives offer us. The stories can be taken as prosthetics that we can use in attempting to get 'inside' the women's lived story and experiences of themselves and their 'phenomenal bodies'. As such, my cue is to allow the women's voices to dominate to show how theory articulates through their powerful stories, rather than frame a theoretical piece to which relevant data is attached. It is believed that it is through such stories that we can 'get at' what Lila Abu-Lughod (1991: 137) terms as "ethnographies of the particular".

My aim here is to see how the particular lived contexts and social realities of the groups of Black South African women that I worked with can be brought into dialogue with certain hermeneutical strands of standpoint theory. I in turn, attempt to take up this conversation by offering up particular 'ethno-vignettes', ethno-illustrations or extracts from my earlier qualitative studies. I begin by turning attention to a group of female cleaners,[4] working at a University.

VIGNETTE: THE (AFRICAN) FEMALE BODY AND 'WORK'

Background…

As academics, much of the work day begins for many with the regular cleaning staff, usually female, weaving in and through our work spaces as they quickly and deftly clean and tidy up in readiness for us to us begin our day. This was no less true for me. These were bodies that I saw on a daily basis, regular inhabitants of university spaces, not as so called intellectual consumers – the students or as so called co-constructors or teachers of knowledge as the faculty staff; but as labourers cleaning the spaces of both students and teachers. Their presence however, more often than not, is made noticeable when they are absent; when the bin stands brimming over or the desk lays covered with dust.

The cleaning women at the University that I was based at, were predominantly, although not exclusively, from the local regional *isi*Zulu-speaking African

communities. They were in the age group spanning 30–52 years. Of the 56 women interviewed, some were married, others lived with their partners or headed single households. Many of the African women cleaners traveled far, often taking more than one mode of transport to get to work (i.e. public bus and then public taxi or two different taxis). In many instances, the women had to get their school-going children or grandchildren ready and off to schools before themselves setting off for work.

All the women left home dressed in their 'day clothes' but changed immediately into their prescribed light blue uniforms when they reached the University; changing back at the end of the work day. My interactions with these women was sparked by what the women wore on their bodies immediately upon beginning the work day and how wearing the uniform further encoded particular subjectivities that were in turn consciously or subconsciously *enacted, and could be in turn critically read* as assertions of subordination and or of creative agency. After a period of establishing rapport and relationship through which the women granted access and glimpses into their daily realities, I was able to ask the question that sought to open the window into their experiences; *"would you consider wearing the uniform straight from home… to save time and effort?"*

Forty-seven year-old Lily, a married grandmother with one daughter and three grandchildren, had to use two taxis to get to work from her home in Umlazi. Lily looked astonished at my question as to whether it would save time to leave home dressed in the uniform. Her reaction made it clear that she thought it somewhat bizarre that one would consider wearing the uniform from home, or even straight from work back onto the taxi. Her answers were unhesitatingly, "no" and "never" to the question of whether she might consider coming dressed for work in her uniform. Thirty-four year-old Zulu-speaking Dorothy from Lamontville, an unmarried mother of three, was even more forthright in her answer, telling me she would never consider leaving the house in the morning in her uniform because "people would laugh at her", and that she "could not do this" because "it made her look old". Nomsa, forty-eight, echoed these sentiments confirming what all the respondents answered to the same question asked in different ways, that they would "never" come to work dressed in the uniform as it was "too ugly". She added an idea shared by more than two thirds of the participants, namely saying that the headscarf they were forced to wear as part of the uniform outfit, made her feel "like an old woman". Thirty-eight year-old Jabu, mother of two teenage children, explained to me that she could never leave her house in her cleaning uniform…although it would save precious time in an otherwise rushed morning , exclaiming; "No! No! They would laugh at me because it is too ugly". It was not clear exactly 'who' was meant by reference to '*they*' in the protestations of "they would laugh". When asked, most of the women claimed that this meant all who saw them.

During the early interviews with Nombusa, she indicated that she did not mind the blue colour of her present uniform "too much". She had thought however, that perhaps the workers could have been given "different colour dresses" so that they

could "look different … sometimes". She continued to tell me that "when we walk together" everyone "can see cleaners walking" and that sometimes people tossed their "papers" into boxes or bins they were holding, or approached them with the sentence "the toilet is dirty" and "they must please come clean". "The people are not rude" she said, "lots of the students and lecturers say hello or good morning, some of them know our names … but … we still look like cleaners … that's why they know us."

The women's stories of how they experienced and felt about themselves in the day-wear they chose for themselves in relation to how they experienced themselves in the prescribed uniforms, indicated that the uniform was experienced as making their bodies highly conspicuous as *cleaning women.* All the women (except in the later focus group meetings), spoke to me alone (during their tea or lunch breaks), away from the buildings they worked in and thus there was no opportunity for them to mimic each other's responses. All the women mentioned that they felt that "everyone saw" them as cleaners and far from being invisible, they were highly conspicuous. Beauty, a single thirty-year-old mother of two, added that even though everyone saw her in her blue dress, she still "felt like a nobody" wearing it. "So why must I wear it from my home?" She claimed that even though it was difficult to "wake up very early" and "take a taxi and a bus", to get to the University, she would, "No … no … not ever wear the uniform from home" as everybody would know that she was "working as a cleaner". She laughingly replied to the question of whether she thought men asked women in cleaner uniforms for dates, by saying "No, we look too old for them". All the women said that they arose fairly early to travel from their respective homes, in most instances using one, sometimes two modes of crowded public transport. Some mentioned that they had to "clean and make food", before coming to work. However, all were exceedingly skeptical of the suggestion that they might come for work dressed in the uniform in order to save time. The hidden subtext was also of course that when they arrived at work, only minutes later they would change into that same uniform.

The experiential import of the uniform as being "too ugly" or "really not very nice", as a few other participants phrased their response, was a sustained refrain in both the personal one-on-one encounters as well as during the later focus group discussion. Many women exclaimed that "you don't look nice' or 'it is not nice". Forty-four year-old Xhosa-speaking single mother, Princess, originally from the Eastern Cape and now living in Kwa-Mashu, in the KwaZulu-Natal province, confided that she was "sick and tired of it" and it was clear that she would never entertain the idea of wearing the uniform for *any time longer than was absolutely necessary*, or *outside of where it was absolutely necessary.* Others were not coy in sharing that "you don't look nice" and their initial responses were all fairly revealing with their strongly articulated "No! No!" Clothing is instrumental in representing one's identity to others and acts as a kind of visual metaphor of identity (Droogsma, 2007: 296). While, for the cleaners, this seemed far from a desirable

state of being (identified), it seemed that for obvious reasons it was tolerated within the context of organisational work, but not beyond.

Another woman, Gladys, claimed that the uniform was dirty and "full of germs" and she "could not wear it" to her home. However, further gentle probing revealed that she wore the same uniform the next day and that with just two uniforms, practical constraints meant she was unable to wash the dresses daily. The notion of 'dirty germs' must thus be refracted through other complex perceptions about the uniform which was deemed by mere necessity to be *okay* and wearable at work, but not to be worn outside the work parameters. Upon further probing Gladys revealed that she was not overly bothered about 'the germs', but sighed that the "uniform does not look nice".

Clearly, the women all understood that the practical exegetics of their work demanded that they needed clothing that they could actually work in, and possibly even risk soiling. In listening to them describe what they did wear to work and why they experienced the uniform as being ugly, it became clear that their notions of 'not nice' and 'ugly' went well beyond the material aesthetic, and was deeply entangled with what the uniform signified, i.e. cleaning work…which was experienced as almost a bodily tattoo once they put it on.

The beginnings of 'cleaning' can be traced as being part of women's physical/bodily work at home and of course the association with nonproductive and unpaid labour. On the hierarchy of domestic tasks, cleaning is positioned at the bottom of the rung (see Messing, 1998: 178/179). Writing in the South African journal *Agenda* more than a decade ago, Grant (1997: 62) drew attention to the then operating ideological framework for domestic labour within the country, claiming that South African society had historically attached a low premium to both the categories of women's work and to that of Black labour in general. Domestic work especially was perceived as particularly undervalued because it had traditionally been treated as women's unpaid duty in marriage, which extended outside of marriage when many 'unskilled' non White women entered the workforce and were obliged to take on cleaning work in private homes and organisational institutions, schools, universities, factories, and indeed the nooks and crannies of many economic institutions. Grant goes on to say that many Black African women found themselves in the position where they were obliged to perform underpaid, undervalued (women's) work, and returned home to do exactly that – women's work again as wives and partners, sometimes also undervalued, and in this context also unpaid (see Naidu, 2009a). To me there exists a clear continuity between the domains of private and public in the context of (Black African) women's cleaning work. Indeed, Lan (2003: 188) brokers a theoretical convergence of the two domains by viewing unpaid household labour and paid domestic work as structural continuities across the public and private spheres.

Observing and listening to the women revealed that within the public domain and work space of the University, the uniform acted as a powerful conscripting symbol,

visibly conscripting them into the cleaning work. The uniform as an artifact and symbol of obligatory organisational dress is of course not limited to categories of only female cleaning staff, or only African women. However, there were particular "techniques of the body" (Messing, 1998: 177) associated with the uniform of the African female cleaning staff that I spoke to. In many of the interviews, the women spoke about why it was important for them to remove the uniform and its deeply imbricated associative meanings of cleaning and change into their own clothing at the end of the work day, so that they might shed the image of cleaner, if only "while going home".

In the case of the women working as cleaners, their sense of 'self' as 'women' can be seen as being entangled with their socio-economic location as cleaning women, as well being clearly visible to all, as cleaners. Because of this hypervisibility created by their uniform, they shared narratives of having to be one kind of woman at work and another outside of work, *experienced as prettier and as being more themselves*. It is of course the socio-political trajectory of 'pastpresent' (Bhaba, 1994) in contemporary South African society that perpetuates the reality that the largest number of workers employed as cleaners are drawn from the communities of Black African women in the country.

The time spent with the female cleaners showed that, while at work, aspects of the women's personality were entangled with 'being-in-the-uniform'. Their narratives shared that the single-layered garment worked to discipline the body and strip down the complex multi-layers of their personality and attempted to naturalise their status as cleaners. The women's narratives revealed their attempts of subtle subversive resistance or counter dominance in attempting to destabalise this conscription, if only outside the spatial and organisational domain of the work space. For in both the later focus groups and in the earlier one-on-one interviews, the women spoke in poignant terms about how they experienced themselves while wearing their uniform within the spatial organisation of work, and how they experienced themselves in their own self-selected items of identity.

Formal dress (unlike that of the staff at an outlet like a McDonald's) is associated either directly or indirectly with the category of 'professional', even if they might well not be from a professional affiliation, such as the uniform worn by bank workers, etc., alluding perhaps merely (see Anat, Rafaeli, & Pratt, 1993: 38) to a particular organisation. However, there is not much that is unique about the dress of the cleaners. Their uniform-dress is very similar in design to the uniform of other cleaners in other companies and indeed, as pointed out by the narratives of the women, is a source of immediate association with the kinds of cleaning work that they perform. The women spoke about "how ugly" the uniform was and "how ugly and old" it made them "feel". Women especially seemed to resent having to wear the headscarf, which was part of the uniform ensemble. Peoples (2008: 37) states that particular relations of power appear to be masked in the hyper-visibility of Black American women.

Forms of expression through dress or what one wears or is made to wear take a multiplicity of forms, and are positioned in relation to constructs of race, gender, sexuality and power and operate across a broad range of historical and contemporary contexts. The narratives of the cleaning women reveal particular epistemic vantages of both subordination and subtle agencies that attempt to negotiate and perhaps in their own way, resist the constructs erected on their uniform coded bodies, thereby showing awareness of the workings of the inscriptions, and in turn a questioning of the power-relations stitched into the uniforms.

VIGNETTE: THE AFRICAN FEMALE BODY AND WORK (AND SEXUALITY?) IN TOURISM

Background…

Continuing to hold the gaze on body and the embodied power in clothing (or lack of it) took me to the site of a cultural tourism village in 2008–2009 which employed male and female Zulu dancers. Situated in the rather hilly and picturesque outlying area aptly named 'Valley of a Thousand Hills' was the extremely popular Phezulu Cultural Village. The village employed about 16–20 Zulu male and female dancers who performed three times a day over seven days of the week. The performance comprised a set 45 minute portrayal of Zulu 'traditional' drumming, dancing and short enactments of Zulu customs accompanied by a live guided narrative explaining the events to a largely (although not exclusively) overseas and predominantly 'White' audience. The cultural village had a long and continuous history and claimed to have employed largely the same two Zulu family members for many years. While my larger study focused on the construction of (African female) indigenous bodies in South African cultural tourism (Naidu, 2011) a smaller bolt on study (Naidu, 2009b) focused the gaze on the two younger girls; Pumi and Zodwa and their particular positionings in the cultural enactment.

Pumi and Zodwa are examples of girls that have entered, usually through other family members, the tourist industry as so called "ethnic" (sic) performers, or "Zulu" dancers. Unlike the older women in the group, when Pumi and Zodwa perform the Zulu cultural dance for tourists, they dance bare-chested, wearing only a beaded skirt (with shorts underneath) and beaded jewelry around the waist, ankles, and sometimes around the neck. This is explained by the guide as signifying that the young girls are *intombi* or unmarried *virgin maidens*. This signification is also something that many tourists claim to be aware of, from their reading of postcards and other popular tourist literature.

Introducing Pumi

Pumi is a beautiful and slightly built girl who is fifteen years old. She flashes a radiant smile that extends to her eyes as she coyly betrays that "yes" boys do

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"interest" her, although pointing out that many are just plain annoying. She tells me that she enjoys many subjects, but finds some are "boring" and says that her mother thinks that she ought to spend more time with the school books. At this point Pumi's narrative strays from what could well have been the text in the story of a fifteen year old living anyway and becomes a local story. While not wanting me to note the name of the school she attended, she pointed out that it was urgently in need of "text books" and teachers "who cared". Pumi also tells me that she worked over most week-ends and the holidays, and "helped her mother". She tells me that, as her mother works all week in the Cultural Tourist Village as a "Zulu dancer", *she* takes care of the "cleaning and cooking". On the week-ends however, she "helped her mother" at the tourist village and "danced as well". She had accompanied her mother to the tourist village most days as a little child. The mother worked from eight to four thirty, and was allowed to bring her little children "to work". Pumi tells me that as a little girl, she would occasionally "join in", much to the delight of the foreign tourists here, who were charmed at the sight of a three year old in a beaded skirt. She sighs that, "of course" she then grew old enough for school. She pulls a face and tells me that she then no longer accompanied her mother but was watched by her aunt, while her mother was at work. She tells me that she has "good" memories of those times when she had spontaneously won over the tourists.

Introducing Zodwa

Zodwa's quiet nature and pretty 'little girl' features belies her fourteen years. She attends the same school as Pumi and is in grade 9, a grade behind Pumi. Unlike other fourteen year olds who may scramble to music and dance classes, Zodwa has "to help her mother" during the week. She tells me that she does the cooking as her mother returns from work "late". Like Pumi she works at the Cultural Village over the weekends, although in her case, it is her aunt who invites her to join the group. She tells me that the people at the village are all related to each other and are in some instances, mother and daughter, or father and son, or sisters and immediate cousins. As her mother "worked elsewhere" she was not brought here as a child. She had begun coming to the tourist village when Pumi had started coming over about two years ago. Zodwa tells me that "everybody here is family". Zodwa reveals that the men and women here had been performing for many years. Some of the women had been working here continuously for about 17 years, some for about 14 years. For some of the women it was the only paid work they had ever engaged in. From what the girls described it appeared that, unlike the other performers who were paid a set weekly wage for working 6 days week, the girls were paid for just the week-ends they worked. This money, they claimed, went to their families rather than being spent on themselves.

African 'heritage', 'traditions' and 'culture' have found consumer markets in global cultural flows and the transnational movements of tourists. Echtner and Prasad (2003: 66) note that the primary targets of marketing efforts with respect

to tourist destinations, are located in the First World, as the so called developed countries are the main generators or producers of tourists. In KwaZulu Natal, 'Zulu' and 'Zulu heritage' and particularly the Zulu dance, have emerged as popular products that have found a demand in such global markets. Most foreign tourists that were approached confirmed in conversations that they wished to view "exotic" and "iconic" images in the dance of the "Zulu Warrior" and "Zulu dancing maiden".

MacCannell (1992) claims that the global diffusion of western culture and the accompanying institutions of tourism create a niche for the showcasing of deterministic forms of ethnicity. He points to (constructed) ethnicities in tourism, where so called exotic cultures become tourist attractions. 'Zulu' is one such ethnicity, and cultural commodities such as the Zulu dance narratives and 'Zulu' bodies showcased in cultural villages are likewise increasingly positioned to meet tourist expectations (see Naidu, 2009b).

Pumi and Zodwa performing topless in the cultural village is quite possibly about allowing the tourists to experience (constructed)-ness and *seeing the Zulu maiden*. It is also perhaps less about preserving cultural heritage, and possibly more about re-creating or reifying cultural identities as products that have found a supply in global tourism consumption.

While anthropological and sociological studies in tourism have alluded to the 'post-tourist' (see Urry, 1990; Ritzer & Liska, 1997) who is fully aware of the simulated scenes of '*authenticity*' in tourism products, the point is that the tourist still persists in searching out these created products, thereby feeding a growing market. In turn the tourist market and marketers are kept busy positioning the so called real and authentic. As part of this positioning, bare-breasted females, unmarried and culturally assumed to be virgins, are often seen performing the Zulu dance for the tourists. The rationale on the part of the tour managers in charge of tourist villages is that this is deemed culturally acceptable and indeed a part of Zulu 'culture'. Zulu-speaking girls, when interviewed about what *they* thought of the tourists' consumption of female 'cultural' bodies, reveal that the issue of *what is cultural,* and *for whom,* is complex and tiered with layered understandings. The experiences shared by Zodwa and Pumi, as the girls who perform for the tourists, also indicate a cultural discordance between how they see and experience themselves as Zulu girls and how they perform their *Zulu-ness* in the dance narrative. The narrative they share, show that while they are at times "fine with" dancing for tourists, there are many instances when they are extremely uncomfortable when it seems like they have to dress the part (or in this case un-dress the part) of Zulu girl. Of course in many of the constructed meetings or intercultural participation in tourism encounters, African-*ness* or specifically Zulu-*ness,* is the "specificity" (Van Binsbergen, 2003: 400) that is required to make the experience 'successful' for the tourist. This means that the girls, as young virgins are posed bare-chested or topless when they dance.

Thus, to satisfy tourists' demands, host culture comes to be performed or 'staged' and comes to be *consumed* in tourism. It was not so much that Pumi and Zodwa

were staging, or being made to stage being virgins. The *staging* in this context as the girls' narrative reveals, is about them having to perform bare-chested, to *sell the idea* of Zulu, and virgin body.

In the case of the women working as cultural dancers, there is another kind of hyper-visibility operating that to me is but a guise of invisibility. We see the 'Zulu' dancer, in the brochure and in the Zulu dance performance, but the woman in front of the tourist is relatively invisible alongside the robust image she is popularly packaged as projecting, that of the animated and beautifully beaded maiden on the ubiquitous postcard.

The African female performers here, Pumi and Zodwa included, revealed that they did not harbour any great measure of dislike for their "job" as dancers, and it was seen as legitimate work or in their words. It was clear though that they were able to 'switch on' facial expressions and bodily demeanour that sold them as thoroughly enjoying themselves in front of the tourists, who sought out this encounter with what they perceived as 'the African Zulu', and the 'culturally indigenous'. This, the performers confided, they managed to accomplish no matter how tired or bored they might have been, and was very much an expectation of their job. This did not mean that they despised the performance and act of dancing for tourists, but that the very sense of enjoyment they portrayed was very much performed.

It is claimed that inhabitants in the so-called Third World countries, more often than not spatially organised in the South, are usually more exposed to the tourist gaze. In many instances the locals are said to conform to and "mirror what the tourists want", and in so doing they enact the "Western imaginary" (Maoz, 2006). The fact that the female performers that I spoke to are at some level compelled to adopt a smiling disposition for the tourists reveals an ongoing display and consumption of so-called 'culture' and, more importantly, the 'cultural bodies' of the African women in tourism (see Naidu, 2009b; 2011). Again, the so-called First World has a seemingly never-ending queue of consumers of culture and bodies deemed exotic and available from the (sic) Third World. From the several observations of the performances and the narratives shared by the women and even the young girls Pumi and Zodwa, it is clear that they were well aware of the multiple worlds they straddled.

VIGNETTE: FEMALE AFRICAN BODIES IN CHURCH

Background…

Women's bodies and in this instance, the bodies of African women in the global south have been caught in an intersectional web that has defined and inscribed their behaviour in a multitude of ways. This is no less true for their sexuality, additionally reinforced by what is construed and constructed as African traditional norms and customs. A chance meeting with a woman who shared her painful encounter with the

pastor in her Church prompted a study in 2013 with a small group of women who were very clear about who they were; they were lesbian and they were Christians. This sense of 'self' however, is to be understood as cast against the wider social landscape that saw those two labels as mutually exclusive and not able to be appended to the same individual.

This prompted work with a small group of 12 women who were prepared to share stories of their experiences in various mainstream Churches. The thick descriptions shared by the women reveal bodies read within a narrow religious grammar that sentenced, robbed and stripped the women of their personhood and decried them as being possessed or demonic.

One of the women, twenty seven year old Mindy, who was previously a follower of *Jehovah's Witness,* which is strongly anti-homosexual, shared that *"The pastors and the other congregational members found it very hard to accept me into the church."* She narrated that *"they say that you cannot be gay and praise God because what we are doing is a sin."* She looks crestfallen as she tells me that, *"in the eyes of society, being lesbian or gay is a sin and some even believe that we are satanic and possessed…as far as they are concerned, we sin and don't belong in a Church with straight people."*

Thirty four year old Gloria shared that *"they find it hard to accept that we can be strong followers of the Lord because they* [referring to her old pastor and the Church members of the African Indigenous Church] *say we are sinners, we are sin…and we are not God's Children."* Jabu, who was from the Covenant Fellowship Church, and who was a university graduate in her mid-twenties, said she was not accepted by the pastor there. She articulated her experience in terms of doctrinal constructions of heaven and hell, and said that *"people think we will be accepted into heaven depending on things we have done".* She continued, *"in terms of this, they say we have sinned and done evil actions. They make us feel our bodies need to be cleansed… it's difficult to stand up to them… so we just leave off going to Church…".* Other women spoke about being preached at, indirectly through the pastor's sermons, and directly through aloof 'silences' from the congregation. They also spoke about being made to feel *different,* being told that they were acting like *"white ladies who sleep with each other"* and accused of being *"white in a black devil's skin".* They spoke about being told that they *"had no right to praise the Lord",* and that *"they were not the children of God".*

Gamson and Moon (2004: 51) point out that sexuality, and the meanings people impute to them *create* and *reproduce* sexual categories, as well being fecund in creating and perpetuating gendered relations of power. And while bodies may well be a vehicle for *staging* cultural, sexual *et al.* identities (see Brush, 1998) the study shows that in this particular context, the bodies of these lesbian women were *inscribed and read* within a repertoire of 'sexual difference' (Naidu, 2011). The body, far from being (only) biological materiality, is the 'site' where interactions of persuasion, discourse, and power (as well as agency) play themselves out. Colebrook (2000) maintains though, that thinking about the body beyond sameness

and difference allows us to see that the body is not a pre-representational ground, but an effect of representation. The female lesbian body' is labelled and made visible within a particular signification of *sin* even though the sexual orientation is not visibly discernible in the same manner that certain other physical (dis)abilities may be. Yet it is afforded the same (dis)function and acts to divide the lesbian women from the heterosexual women. It also appeared that amongst these women, it acted to divide them from 'other' African women. For the sense of sin appears amplified within the African Churches because, as they women pointed out, sex between two women is constructed as a western and white invention, that further 'betrays' that these women do not belong in the Church.

Queer theory claims that sexual power runs throughout social life, and is enforced through "boundaries and binary divides" (Stein & Plummer, 1996: 134). These boundaries and binary divides inhere between the lesbian female (one gazed upon) and the heterosexual, or the one who *gazes*. The lesbian women emerge as bounded bodies, bounded by the *invisibly-visible* markers of their sexual preferences and as (sexually) othered bodies.

STANDPOINT AND SITUATED VANTAGES

How can the various excerpts and ethno-vignettes presented above, help us frame an understanding about epistemic privilege? My opening words adopted Harding's (2004) thesis that standpoint theory (as feminist critical theory) attempts to explain the relationship between the production of knowledge and practices of power. The latter parts of the essay then went on to show the (routinised) experiences of women in a clutch of local African contexts and the 'entangled' and meshed particular historical connections of various groups of African women and various embedded asymmetries that spoke to the production of power of their bodies, labour and sexualities.

Thus for example, returning to the context of the cleaning women, we see that there has always been poor value and prestige associated particularly with the labour of cleaning work. One can perhaps trace the cleaning women's vehement aversion to wearing the uniform publically to their awareness of the exegetics of visible artefact of the uniform. The panoptic uniform clearly signaled their status and their place in the pecking order within the organizational work space of the university. The women are rendered bizarrely invisible through a process of hyper-visibility, and they share awareness of this. We see the cleaner as she is clearly to be 'seen' in her uniform, but she is, to all intents and purposes, also invisible as she looks like every other cleaner and is meant to do the work of any other and every other cleaner. As the women shared: "the people see us, but maybe they don't see us". The stories that the women shared showed that their uniform was acting as a sort of material exercise of disciplinary inscription, and emerged as a mode by which the cleaners are homogenously objectified and plastically turned into visibly working 'subjects' (Foucault, 1982). The observations and insights shared by the women show that

even in a post-apartheid South Africa many categories of Black female bodies are valued insofar as they kinetically hold the potential or become agents of (physical) labour. Thus, the uniforms of the African female cleaners acted as much more than an abstract object framed by the practical exegetics of work, as something that they just wore at work.

Likewise, Cohen points out that the reality is that many local individuals in tourism activities can be seen as engaging in participating in staging 'identity' as a resource in exchange for money, which "replaces one type of oppression with another, called poverty" (Cohen, 1996 cited in Ballengee-Morris, 2002: 238). In the both instances of the women working as cleaners and the women and girls working as cultural dancers, their paid labour is thus differently, but both very much a material, bodily practice where bodies are (discretionarily and coercively) organised, deployed and consumed.

This consumption and the women's reaction showed itself in different ways. In the case of the girls in the tourism village as well as the lesbian women attending Church, they all said that they were aware that they "were looked at", and sometimes it was "awkward". While the young Zulu girls bore this as part of their employment and erected protective structures (such as dancing somewhat further off and behind the male dancers where they could), the women who self-identified as lesbian, in many instances turned away from the fellowship (sic) of institutionalised mainline Churches while not turning their back on their faith. In both instances, the women had their own (different) ways of subverting the gaze on their bodies and their sexualities.

The (often one sided) pleasure of looking, according to Freud, derives from the sexual drive, and inherent voyeurism in these instances is linked with dominant-submissive behaviours seen to operate between host and tourist and the paternalistic-condemning behaviors on the part of the officiating pastors and Church congregations. The gaze is situated somewhere between the eye and what is seen, "since the gaze is pre-existent to the eye" (Johnson, 1996: 9). Looking involves not simply the act of seeing, but also translating and interpreting (Coorlawala, 1996: 19), and these are powers and prerogatives that lie with the on-lookers.

This masculine gaze is not necessarily more 'chaste' when cast from *within* religion. On a religious level it may play out in seemingly 'gentler' (yet equally violent) pastoral counselling or 'praying for the sinner to be free from the evil in them, a kind of 'religious corrective' where ministries accept the 'sinning (female) soul' so that they can change/fix and save it. On a social level it plays out in horrific 'corrective rape crimes', on the increase in the African communities as violent attempts to 'correct' and 'fix' the lesbian, who are seen as 'unAfrican' as documented in an Act!onaid Report[5] entitled "Hate Crimes: The Rise of Corrective Rape in South Africa". The assaults in these instances are layered with, both, deep revulsion as well as a morbid curiosity that a woman would (dare) choose another woman (as opposed to a man). The women's 'disruptive' bodies ('disrupting' and tempting the minds of other females perhaps) ostensibly provide further justification for their

gendered devaluation within religion where temptation is itself construed as a potential 'sin'. This potential sin is actualised in many Churches in Africa in what is perceived as female lustful same-sex enactments, against (privileged) heterosexual intimacy. Yet the work of Shefer and Foster (2009) as well the earlier work of Steyn and Van Zyl (2001) clearly show that in the South African context, there is a coercive and (continuing) violent nature of heterosexual relationships within which women are rendered, in many ways powerless. This, as studies show, is compounded within many peri-urban African contexts where women in heterosexual relationships are further entrapped by 'traditional' enactments of masculinities (Naidu & Ngqila, 2013).

Standpoint theory is of course not without many controversies, which both White (Harding, Hartsock), as well as Black (Hill Collins, Sandoval, bell hooks) and non-Western (Narayan, Shiva) feminists address. Standpoint theory has also been most trenchantly criticised by feminists no less, for what appears as its epistemic of privilege, the "inversion thesis" (Wylie, 2004: 339) that the marginalised and oppressed woman has privileged access and insight by virtue of her being the victim of various kinds of systemic violence/s. Black women or Black African women then, according to the contours of this reasoning, would be tapped into privileged access just by being Black and African women, who are (collectively) marginalised and oppressed.

<div align="center">BLACK FEMINISM AND AFRICAN FEMINISM,
ENTANGLEMENT AND PRIVILEGE</div>

I am mindful that the term 'Black', while a powerful signifier in many contexts, is also highly elastic and, as Rassool notes, is a powerful hegemonic construct that shapes the way the world views the non-White or non-Western other. "Black is conceived of as 'an amorphous, racially' and culturally homogenous outgroup" (Rassool, 1997: 185). Rasool quite rightly continues that the Black experience points instead to a complex tapestry of historical experiences and socio-political realities, and that Black people (and of course Black women) do not form a hermetically sealed category but is rather deeply entangled with other materialities.

The concept of entanglement (Nuttall, 2009) as it is used in the social sciences is defined as gesturing towards a set of social relationships that may be complicated and ensnaring (2009: 1), implying a meshed background and historical connections. 'Entanglement' is thus, I believe, an appropriate conceptual lens that allows us to clearly 'see' Weekes' (1997: 111) claim, where she says that Black women come to construct definitions of themselves which reveal that they are intimately situated in the way that they experience their particular social positions, and their (racial and sexual) identities. African women's experiences are likewise intricately entangled within particular webs of socio-political realities that transcend the generic label of Black.

Within the literature, Black feminism is most especially associated with the experiences of Black African American women (and Black British women). It was Patricia Hill-Collins (2010) who pointed out that Black feminist thought is conjoined to the specificity of American multiculturalism. Thus, Black feminism articulates within a complex pattern of localised intersecting oppressions and social practices, which although appearing on one level seemingly universal, is entangled with the particular trajectory of American political history. Again reading through the scrutiny of the notion of 'entanglement', we see that the Black African woman and the Black African body is likewise deeply entangled within a colonial and post-colonial history, which in this instance is read within a 'register' (Nuttall, 2009) of South African socio-political archive and specific issues of subjugation, objectification and oppression. The context of post-colonialism is thus multivalent and polyvocal and characterised by uneven processes, playing itself out in sometimes very particularistic ways, in different spatial and geopolitical locations. All of this is clearly captured in the observances and narratives of the women in the various ethno-vignettes.

STANDPOINT THEORY AND AFRICAN FEMINISM: EPISTEMIC PRIVILEGE?

Early feminist standpoint theory (1970s/1980s) held that all knowledge is located and situated and that the experiences of women and their standpoint is to be valued in that it proffers a vantage point that reveals the truth of social reality. Realistically speaking, turning the experiences and potential 'values' in the oppression of African women into epistemic and political resources would demand that these oppressed groups need to be granted access to locations and structures (Narayan, 2004), institutional or otherwise, that give the women the tools to understand the systemic processes in which they are entangled. But this is the catch – the system itself does not easily allow for this and we are back to the reality of Black African women with little or no literacy skills having to take up work as shoddily paid cleaners, and Black African Zulu 'ethnic' women posing for the tourist gaze.

Calling attention to any kind of epistemic privilege also embraces a dark side. It's what Uma Narayan (2004) refers to as the dangerous double vision, where the oppressed groups' privileged access is assumed as translating to some kind of political resource that they can automatically muster in the contexts of their oppression. Harding (2004) reminds us, however, that epistemic privilege is not automatic. This of course makes sense at a very fundamental and material level. The women employed as cleaners and the women working as performers in tourism are certainly not automatically privileged by where they are located socially, or by the particular kinds of work that they do. It would certainly be ludicrous to suggest that they are and that they are somehow empowered by the levels of oppression they describe. The women who saw themselves as lesbians are also not to be thought of as 'blessed' by their experiences of being othered and ostracized. That would be

equally absurd. Just as it would absurd to simplistically assume that 'blackness' is a braided perverse/privilege and a ticket to empowerment.

The socio-economic scripts that are drafted in the texts of a post-apartheid society have indeed made it possible for (certain categories of) Black African women to legitimately audition for, and rightfully earn, the roles of high-flying corporate executive, complete with all incumbent business perks. Where once she was locked into accessing only particular kinds of lowly paid work as cleaner and being the object of tourism consumption as dancer, she is now able to travel for business and pleasure, and even act as the tourist in other countries, and in this way stake her place as economic and cultural consumer. However, also deeply embedded and entangled with the present are the socio-political scripts that naturalise the role of domestic 'cleaner' as being predominantly Black African women. Just as deeply embedded and entangled with the colonial past and spectacle of the 'exotic', are also reified contemporary images of the 'native'. And alongside a seemingly progressive South Africa constitution that grants full citizenship to all regardless of sexual orientation, (among others of race and gender and religion) sit deeply embedded prejudices and expectations of how Black African women (and men) should behave sexually.

Certainly on some level the behaviour of the women reveals an epistemic vantage in showing that the women understood the patterns of power relations that they are embedded in, as African women and employed in the kinds of work that they found themselves doing, and as African women who exercised their sexual preferences. However, within epistemic privilege is the hidden (imperial and Western?) transcript of epistemic violence. Gayatri Spivak (1988) speaks (and is no less famously and infinitely quoted) of epistemic violence as the projection of a White European epistemology onto the rest of the world (especially the so-called Third World) in assuming that African women necessarily recognise and articulate their resistances in similar ways as Western women. Moreover, the "moment of critical insight" comes through only in political struggle, Harding (2004: 9) tells us, as it is "blocked" and its "understandings obscured by the dominant, hegemonous ideologies and the practices that they make appear normal and even natural".

In my own studies and ethnographies, I was able to see moments and actions of personal insights operationalized, if not on large political contexts, certainly in profound personal contexts. While on one level I did not find the kind of grand large-scale oppositions that I had initially blinkered myself into looking for, I did find narratives of other kinds of resistances. I was reminded that 'power' is but a series of strategic relations (Foucault, 1980), and is in no single particular place but 'everywhere', and if not in one space offers in another, the possibility of resistance, situationally enacted. The women's experiences revealed in ways that may have otherwise been deemed small or indiscernible, that they *did* resist the contexts of embedded power in their work environment.

In the case of the cleaners, this was in the simple, yet profound fact that all 56 women interviewed were adamantly clear that they would never consider wearing

the uniform either to work or from work, even though it might have been simply easier and more convenient. Unlike almost all other categories of workers, the women arrived at work to, only minutes later, change out of their "prettier dresses" and remove accessories of make-up or jewelry and put on the cleaner's uniform. Observing them over several months as they shed their uniforms and dressed again in their self-selected clothing at the end of the work day, showed clearly that this was an attempt to destabilise the work and uniform-induced body hexis, if only *outside* the organisational space of the university. It was much more complex than simply not wanting to soil their clothing. Outside of work they refused to be associated with or be seen as cleaners. They knew that they worked as cleaners, but what they were saying to me, as indeed to all others, was that they were not (just) cleaners.

The work with the female cleaners showed that while at work, aspects of the women's personality were entangled with being in the uniform. Their narratives shared that the single-layered garment worked to discipline the body and strip down the complex multi-layers of their personality and attempted to naturalise their status as cleaners. The women's narratives revealed their attempts to destabilize this conscription, if only outside the spatial and organisational domain of the work space.

In the context of the 'Zulu' dancers, the young women indicated that they did not wish to create "problems" for their employer, or themselves, by complaining about playing at being Zulu or "exposing" themselves for the tourists. Yet the two girls were creative in the way that they positioned themselves in the dance. While not immediately noticeable, the girls pointed out to me that it was the men, dressed as warriors, who ventured more physically proximate to the tourists as they sat seated in the 'village' amphitheater. Many of the women told me that they felt more protected from the tourists this way, more especially for their younger dancers who were, more often than not, bare-chested. It was their way of occupying a safer psychological space as they posted themselves in front of the tourist gaze.

In the context of the lesbian women of faith, like many others I spoke to, Mindy had shared that "*The pastors and the other congregational members found it very hard to accept me into the church*". She had added that *"they say that you cannot be gay and praise God because what we are doing is a sin."* However, the situated Black African lesbian women seemed to exercise their own agency within their material reality. They claimed that "just like the man, the pastor was also not needed!" Their conveyed attitudes and words revealed that there was no need for the male for sexual intimacy and 'climax'. So too was there no (need for) recourse to the pastoral figure to mediate, through doctrine and sermon, for the women's religious fulfilment with God. Sexual boundaries are the crossroads where people make connections across borders. The African lesbian woman to me emerges as a 'situated knower' who crosses boundaries and subverts and disrupts 'the dominant social (and sexual) text' (Miller, 1988), which is also very much a traditional African as well as an orthodox religiously scripted text. She is in turn able to set in play the disruptive potential of gender performances (Butler, 1988) within the

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social cultural and religious milieu that she inhabits. In so doing she is potentially able to generate the most powerful awareness of its social construction, within Black African Christian religious congregations.

All of this is done through a strong awareness that she is 'not the other' to be privileged or ostracized. When the women were asked if they believed or felt that the Lord 'loved lesbians in any special way', the responses were simple, but eloquent. Sindi, who had sporadically attended the Apostolic Church (where she kept her sexual orientation hidden) said simply, *"The Lord loves us just like He loves straight people, no more and no less."* Eighteen year old Joyce was clear in her answer that *"No, God loves all his children regardless of race, age, sexuality."* It was revealing that the young woman's response placed 'sexuality' third in the line of intersecting variables, *after* (constructed) race and (biological) age. To Joyce, there was no need for any sort of divine privileging regarding her sexuality (just as there was no need for privileging from heterosexual men and women) for the simple fact that she experienced her sexuality (as did many of the other lesbian women) as being both the *norm* and *normal* for her. There was no sense of 'deviance' *that had to be excused*, or 'difference' *that had to be privileged.* Likewise many other women, such as Thandi, echoed these sentiments and did not see themselves as people whose desires lay outside normative heterosexuality, notwithstanding the pervasive sense in many Black African communities that homosexuality and lesbianism is unAfrican (see Msibi, 2012; Naidu, 2013).

Power is not innately hierarchical, so there is no single site of revolt (Barker, 1998: 28), and it made sense that there was no one particular point of highly dramatic resistance on the part of the cleaners and dancers, but ongoing and daily 'little' resistances. The women thus emerge as nodes in a web of relations as they simultaneously exercise some form of control and power over the corporeal (see Grosz, 1994) body and self, even as they experience the effects of power over them and their bodies. These instances of resistances may well appear insignificant or compromised, yet they need to be appreciated within the context of the precarious socio-economic lives of African women who did not wish to jeopardise their jobs.

The material examples of resistances and the psychological significance also played out differently between the different groups of African women. While the 'Zulu' women dancers erected 'fences' attempting to distance and 'protect' themselves from the invasive tourist gaze, the cleaning women saw how they could forcefully throw off (on some level) the cleaner-woman habitus, if only outside of work. This was when they spoke of reclaiming a social self beyond that of the visible-invisible cleaner, who out of the uniform was no longer under the 'surveillance' of the employer.

CONCLUSION

Situated and context-relevant feminist theory recognises that not only would there be multiple standpoints, but multiple African feminist standpoints, as the acts of

resistances on the part of African women play out in a myriad ways, perhaps in ways not even discernable to Western feminists raised in contexts of large vociferous lobbying and 'bra-burning' type protests. Of course the difficulty here is how to see the women as epistemic agents with an epistemic advantage, without the additional violence of essentialist, automatic privilege. One 'sideways' way of approaching the argument is to perhaps take up the merits of the discussion of Collins, Narayan et al., and their suggestion that standpoint feminism offers the way of developing multiple feminists of colour standpoints. Hirschman (2004: 320) points out that "feminists of colour are particularly critical of the way that standpoint's universalist potential has been unwittingly promoted by White feminists" and the "use of the term feminist standpoint as opposed to Black feminist standpoint or White feminist standpoint" (or African feminist standpoint, one adds!). The discussion is indeed nuanced and complex, and it is not the intention here to reframe these arguments.

My point is that ethnographic studies such as the ones referred to in this essay bring to the discussion of multiple standpoints, the voices of the African women and their experiences that serve to illustrate the multiple African standpoints, and give us real examples of different and differential resistance. If we are to erect notions of the homogenous African woman in the same manner as the homogenous Black woman, we would indeed be trading one (wide) referential term for another referential term, African. There is however, no singular understanding of African woman, just as there is no one Black woman collective. While I would not argue for any kind of 'oppositional consciousness' as developed in the works of Patricia Hills Collins and Chela Sandoval, my ethnographic insights bear out Patricia Collins' thesis that standpoint theory does refer to group-based experiences that serve to explicate knowledge/power frameworks.

Of course the individuals in the ethnographic groups have individual voices, but standpoint theory looks at the specific group and specific examples of power relations that work upon those particular groups of women as they work as groups of cleaners or groups of dancers. In my ethnographic examples, the power relations were enacted via devices such as the cleaners' panoptic, immediately visible uniform and the immediately apprehended visual of 'ethnicity' in the beaded 'Zulu' women. In the case of the lesbian women, their sexuality could be seemingly kept more invisible in some instances, although they did speak of being stripped 'naked' by stares (where their sexual preferences were known) and periodic vitriolic sermons from the pulpit (even when their preferences were kept cloaked).

The above discussion renders clear that there is room for ongoing dialogue for feminist theorising. One vital way of enriching the dialogue is to call for more situated ethnographic contexts of studies that can then be located and read theoretically, allowing multiple African standpoints to be heard and theoretical understandings developed. Clearly though, standpoint theory – as both a "political and social epistemology" still invites much wrestling and debate in terms of what it can offer to the agenda of African feminism/s and the understandings of Black African women's lived experiences.

NOTES

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[2] Much has been captured in sociological and political science scholarship as well as post-colonial literature about the social engineering wrought by apartheid South Africa, and what Homi Bhaba (1994: 7) refers to as the 'past-present'.

[3] Thus the thoughts on 'African feminisms' are proffered with suitable awareness about the possible shortcomings of my positionality and my (somewhat skewed) early intellectual pedigree and tutoring. I am also aware, given all my protesting, that it may appear decidedly odd that I draw somewhat heavily on some White (and Western) feminists. However, it is in the works of some White feminists such Sandra Harding, Nancy Hartsock et al. that we also get a sense of the sub-textualities as well as controversialities, and the contested and multiple positions that are embraced within standpoint theory, which is what I am constructing my discussion around. After all reflexivity does not unreasonably demand that we 'throw out the baby with the bathwater' to quote a rather quaint old proverb, but rather that we are alert to both baby and bathwater.

[4] *Nom de plumes* are used in all instances and in all the ethnographies.

[5] Martine, Andrew; Kelly, Annie, Turquet, Laura and Ross, Stephanie. (2009). Act!onaid Report: http://rapeoutcry.co.za/home/wp-content/uploads/2012/09/correctiveraperep_final.pdf accessed online 30 May 2013.

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4. REINFORCEMENT OR TRANSFORMATION

A Feminist Critique of the Representation of Women in Two
Popular South African Television Dramas

PROLOGUE

Media representation of women is a much debated and contested topic in feminist discourse. Before making my entrance into this discourse, I will briefly contextualise the status of women and the gender regime in South Africa as one is better able to understand and make senses of a situation when provided with a background. It also serves as the yardstick to measure whether the representation of women in two popular South African television dramas reinforces or transforms the status quo of women in South Africa. The South African story regarding the status of women is contradictory when one considers the fact that South Africa has been commended for having one of the most gender progressive constitutions worldwide, yet is steeped in cultural traditions that discriminates against women. This commendation relates to the Bill of Rights in the country's constitution. The Bill of Rights is described in Chapter 2 of the constitution as 'a cornerstone of democracy in South Africa and it enshrines the rights of all people in the country and affirms the democratic values of human dignity, equality and freedom'. The end of apartheid in South Africa in 1994 led to a revisit and amendment of the constitution and other government policies, to promote non-discrimination of any persons regardless of their background and identity. The Bill of Rights gives a number of rights to all regardless of race, class, sex, religion, sexuality among others and these include the right to equality, human dignity, life, freedom of expression, freedom and security, freedom of movement and residence, health care, food, water and social security, education, language and culture, access to information and just administrative action. These rights constitutionally give women the same rights as men and efforts are made by the government and other institutions to promote gender equality and women's rights as well as to combat discrimination, abuse and violence of women. As such, it is possible for women to fight for their rights and prosecute violators. Additionally, South Africa is a member of the international and regional community and has signed and ratified instruments that promotes human and women's rights such as the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women. Also, feminist activism to promote gender equality and non-discrimination of women is on the rise in South Africa.

Despite the above enabling environment that fosters gender equality and promotes women's rights and empowerment, the South African society is mired in cultural traditions that gives power to men and discriminates against women. For most South African cultures, roles and responsibilities are gendered and patriarchy is operative. Culture, social systems and religion promote patriarchy and the discrimination of women in the South African society. Patriarchy refers to a universal political structure which privileges men at the expense of women (Dugbazah, 2012). In other words, within patriarchy, men occupy positions of dominance and exercise control over women (Dugbazah, 2012). Different groups of feminists have over the years engaged with this ideology in their search for an explanation of women's oppression and subordination (Beechey, 1979). According to Salaam (2003), patriarchy justifies the marginalization of women in different spheres of life such as education, economy, labor, market and the family.

In essence, patriarchy places the majority of South African men in a position wherein they can control, dominate and exploit women and they are consequently the power holders. As Lips (1991) notes, power is a central aspect of gender relations and women generally have less access than men do to most kinds of power (Lips, 1991). Thus, despite efforts made by the government to improve the status of women, South Africa is still largely a man's world and women are expected to be submissive to men. The traditional law is most times at odds with the constitutional and legislative laws. Customary practices takes precedence at times, especially for women who are uneducated or who live in traditional settings. As Maluleke (2012) notes, customary practices such as *Ukuthwala* (abduction of girls for sexual and marital purpose) and widows rituals takes precedence over equality in the villages they are carried out. The author adds that although the harmful nature of these practices violate national and international human rights laws, they persist because they are not questioned or challenged and therefore take on an aura of morality in the eyes of those practising them.

Maluleke further questions whether the constitutional protection of gender equality makes any difference to women living in communities with a strong commitment to traditional norms and practices which could be further interpreted as that women as opposed to men do not have inherent rights. Sexual abuse, sexual assault and rape of women is also rampant in present day South Africa making the country to be termed as the rape capital of the world. One reason advanced for this is that a number of South African men tend to hold the belief that women are their playthings and are objects to quell men's sexual desires. Women in South Africa face other forms of gender based violence which includes spouse battering and intimate partner killing. Based on the above**,** the gender regime in South Africa could be said to be a mixture of patriarchy interlinked with discriminatory and violent treatment of women juxtaposed alongside the promotion of gender equality and rights of women. As such, women are still marginalised, victimised and accorded an inferior status. Against this background, one cannot help but wonder then how women are

portrayed in the South African media especially as the media tends to naturalise dominant discourses ideologies and ideas (Stadler, 2006).

The media is an expansive entity and research based on its influence can cover a wide range of topics including the representation of females and/or males in the Media (Velding, 2014). The representation of women in the media and the argument whether the media reinforces or transforms the status quo of women is a much contested and debatable topic as stated earlier and various scholars have joined in the debate over the years (cf. Emerson, 2002; Black-Sperry & Grauerholz, 2003; Buysse & Embser-Herbert, 2004; Massoni, 2004; King, 2008; Kuperberg & Stone, 2008). An early example of scholarly works on the representation of women in the media is that of McNeil (1975), who listed seven points of women in television dramas as follows:

a. Female characters are fewer in number and less central to the plot.
b. Marriage and parenthood are considered more important to a woman's than to a man's life.
c. Television portrays the traditional division of labour in marriage.
d. Employed women are shown in traditionally female occupations, as subordinates to men and with little status or power.
e. TV-women are more personally-and less professionally-oriented than TV-men.
f. Female characters are more passive than male characters.
g. Television dramatic programming ignores the existence of the women's movement.

However, whilst the representation of women is not a new debate or discussion, the media is quite expansive, making this topic far from being fully researched. My point of entrance in this discourse is engaging in a feminist critique of two television dramas namely, '*Muvhango*' and '*Generations: the legacy*'. I examined whether they reinforce the status quo of women in South Africa or work towards transforming it against the background of the status of women in South Africa presented earlier. As Boswell (2002) in Sanger (2007) notes, the media has the power and responsibility in shaping society's views about the world and it could either be a tool for maintaining the status quo or a tool for transformation. Thomaseli and Thomaseli (2001) focused more on the transformative role and state that the media is both a site and instrument of transformation.

This study employed a qualitative interpretivist paradigm as it allows the researcher to be part of the meaning making and knowledge production process According to Hennick et al. (2011), the interpretative paradigm recognizes that reality is socially constructed as people's experiences occur within social, cultural, historical or personal contexts. This paradigm focuses on the holistic perspectives of persons and environments and is based on methodological approaches that provide an opportunity for the voice, concerns and practises of the researcher to be heard (Weaver & Olson, 2006). Conclusion for this study is mostly drawn from the author's

frequent viewing of *Muvhango* and *Generations: The Legacy* and subsequent interpretation of the representation of women in them. To be objective however, I engaged in informal conversations with twenty people who I know are avid viewers (ten men and ten women) of both *Generations: the Legacy* and *Muvhango*. These conversations assisted me in drawing a conclusion on the topic. Since this study is a feminist critique, I have written from a feminist standpoint as it provides the opportunity to place women at the Centre of the research inquiry and the space to discuss about the experiences of women and motivate for social change. This study is underpinned by the broader feminist politics and ideology, basically, activism for the equality of both sexes and the human rights of women.

AN OVERVIEW OF MUVHANGO AND GENERATIONS: THE LEGACY

Muvhango is a popular South African TV series and it was first aired on the 7th of April 1997. It is currently aired on week days from 9am to 9.30pm on Channel Two of the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), with repeats in the mornings and afternoons and an omnibus on Saturdays. *Muvhango* is a story about culture, heritage, power, money, conflicts, revenge, blackmail and love with the powerful Vhakwevho/Mukwevho family in Venda at the hub of it all and they are always in conflict with the renowned Mokoena and Mojalefa family. In Muvhango, urban life is juxtaposed alongside rural traditional life and various dynamics emerge as the players straddle rural and urban life, a phenomenon which I will term as 'rubanisn' and it is reminiscent of the concept of transnationalism which involves migrants straddling host and home country. Currently, Muvhango is estimated to have about 3.5 million viewers. Some of the key players are Chief Azwindini (Gabriel Temudzani) and two of his wives Susan (Maumela Mahuwa) and Pfuluwani (Azwi Malaka); Nomthandazo (Sindi Dlathu), former CEO of MMC and currently head of Basadi Construction; Khakhathi (KK) (Mcdonald Ndou), Present CEO of MMC; Mulalo (Sydney Ramakuwela), a Mayor; James (Dingaan Mokebe), staff of Basadi Construction; Matshidiso (Buhle Samuels) and Lerumo (John Morapama), co-owner of Basadi Construction.

'*Generations: The legacy*' formerly simply termed as Generations is SABC's 1 longest-running locally produced soap based on the advertising industry, since 1994. Generations however went off the air in October to November 2014 following a dispute with sixteen actors, who were eventually fired from the show. At the start of December 2014, the drama made a comeback under a new name, *Generations: The Legacy*, without the old cast members. '*Generations: The Legacy* is about stimulating a conversation on the transfer of wealth, knowledge and culture and two key actors are Karabo Moroka (Connie Ferguson) and Tau Mogale (Rapulana Seiphemo) (SABC 1 online). This power couple sets out to establish the legacy of Paul Moroka, a business mogul who built the first African-owned media enterprise. Tau's arch enemy Gaddaffi (Vuyo Dabula) is married to his sister Tshidi (Letoya Makhene), who is best described as a trophy wife of a gangster.

(SABC 1 online). Other key players are JT Medupi as Jonathan; Musa Ngema as Mazwi; Kopano Zimba as Mary; Manaka Ranaka as Lucy; Andisiwe Dweba as Getty; Lebogang Mthunzi as Angela; Moopi Mothibedi as Smanga; Thulisile Phongolo as Namhla; Ronnie Nyakale as Cosmo; Asanda Foji as Simphiwe and Ivy Nkutha as Gog'Flo. *Generations-The Legacy* is a witch's brew of narratives of ambition and a drama set in a world where virtue and evil are in a stellar battle for supremacy (SABC 1 Online). *Generations: the legacy* is aired on SABC 1 at 8pm on weekdays with repeats in the mornings and an omnibus on Saturdays. Both *Muvhango* and *Generations: the legacy* are very popular and it is not unusual to hear people publicly discussing about them. Although these are long running TV dramas or soapies as it is commonly referred to, the incidents alluded to are mainly that of January to October 2015. Even then, only specific incidents will be mentioned which will serve in reaching a conclusion whether the status quo of women is being reinforced or transformed. This study explores whether the status quo of women in South Africa in terms of discrimination, sexual objectification and stereotypical roles, victims of gender based violence and the ideology that women are subordinate to men is reinforced or transformed in these drama programmes.

CONTEXTUALIZING WOMEN IN MUVHANGO AND GENERATIONS: THE LEGACY

In *Muvhango,* women, regardless of their status are mostly portrayed as subordinate to men, their main role being to serve men, bear their children, be their sexual partners and live up to the roles expected of them. Thus, whilst it does showcase women attaining and maintaining powerful or high profile positions or being successful in business or work such as women like Thandaza Mokoena (former CEO of MMC and current head of Basadi Construction), Thuli (corporate professional), Hangwani (successful owner of a café), these women however are expected to be under men's control and to be submissive to them. On the death of Hangwani's husband for instance, the chief, gave permission to his uncle Borosi to marry Hangwani without any discussion with her. She was summoned and instructed to marry Borosi and was even asked to put her daughter through a paternity test to prove that she was the rightful daughter of her late husband, Albert. Her step son Ndalamo equally bullied her and her daughter making it clear that she was just a mere woman. She was regarded as a property of the family, one that can be just controlled and subjugated by the men from her late husband's family men folk. The chief's other uncle, Gizara, later tried to woo Hangwani initially by invading her family space and trying to control everyone in the house and even tried to relocate Hangwani's daughter and nephew without discussing it with her. He believes that women do not need to be consulted or be involved in decision making. These two uncles and advisers of the chief, Borosi and Gizara see themselves as superior to women and regard women as people that should be controlled by men. They always talk demeaningly about women and are not happy with the chief when he discusses issues with his wives.

In another incident, Thandaza Mokeona was being asked to step down as CEO after successfully developing the family company (MMC) to make way for a Vhakwevo male, Ndalamo. This is an indicator that men are expected to be at the helm of business. This move was however counterproductive to the Vhakwevo family as Ndalamo did not do a good job and they eventually tried to get Thandaza back, by which time she had started her own company Basadi. There is also the case of Shola Babalola, a female Nigerian CEO of the Babalola oil company in Nigeria. She is street wise, intelligent, confident and sexually liberated but she is also under the control of a male (her father) and in the end pulled out of the negotiations as he was not happy about some of her business tactics.

Stereotypical roles and responsibilities of women are also presented as women are always shown performing such roles as cooking, cleaning, taking care of children and offering hospitality services. As Boswell (2002) cited in Sanger (2007) observes, the media plays a critical role in shaping constructions of feminities by reinforcing acceptable gender roles. Similarly, the media also present acceptable ways of being men (Kimmel, 1992). It must be noted here that unfair treatment against women are not always perpetrated by men but also by women themselves. Some examples of this in *Muvhango* are the case of the chief's mother encouraging Gizara to marry Hangwani despite the protest of his wife Sara and that of Mampho (the aunt of Thandaza's husband), bringing another woman into Thandaza and Ranthumeng's house to sleep with Ranthumeng and bear him a child. The drama also brings out how women have internalised the idea that they need men to succeed in life. Matshidiso's ploy for instance to snare first Ndalamo and then KK for financial and opportunistic reasons attest to this. As Van Djik (2008) asserts, ideologies can encourage dominated groups to have a 'false consciousness' which may lead them to act against their own basic interest. This can also be linked to the concept of subjectivity. Subjectivity is the process whereby an individual can think and act independently and be in a position to hold an opinion though it might not be in the best interest of themselves and others. In this case, the subjective position held by some of the women are not in the best interest of themselves and other women and that is why Weedon (1997) describes subjectivity as a site of disunity and conflict, central to the process of political change and to the preservation of the status quo. Thus, subjectivity can trap or liberate women.

The media is a dominant institution for transferring values, politics, culture, religion, behaviour and attitudes to society (Mkhize, 2015). Muvhango is viewed by many as a cultural drama that portrays the cultural practices of the Venda and other peoples of South Africa and unequal and discriminatory treatment of women is often justified in the name of culture. Muvhango is to a large extent embracive of the cultural relativists view which posit that each culture is worthy in its own right. Cultural relativism posits that cultural traditions should not be subjected to legal criticism by outsiders as 'culture is the sole source of the validity of a moral right; (Donnelly, 1984: 400). This approach of viewing different cultures as legitimate practises has even found support in some legal frameworks and it is known as

'cultural defence'. However, whilst tradition and culture can be commended for upholding the fabric of many African societies, they can on the other hand violate human rights, especially women's rights. The statement "It is our culture is an often quoted statement in Muvhango, used by some of the men to justify discriminatory treatment of women. As Maluleke (2012) states, culture becomes an umbrella under which some people try to hide. Although cultural traditions have every right of expression, it should be within a human rights framework and certainly not at the expense of women. In contrast to cultural relativism, the concept of universalism upholds that there is 'an underlying human unity which entitles all individuals regardless of their cultural or regional antecedents to retain basic minimal rights known as human rights' (Zechenter, 1997: 320).

Muvhango has a redeeming feature though. Despite women being shown to be bullied and controlled by their menfolk, the women often fight back. Hangwani fought back after being commanded by the chief to marry Borosi by outrightly refusing. Even when Gizara tried to control her household, she also fought back and only agreed to go out with him when he stopped being controlling and was willing to dialogue with her. Thandaza also fought back and despite various threats and blackmail, from the chief, the uncles and other family member, she started her new company and refused to be intimated. This shows that women are not always as subservient as they are made out to be and they look for ways to resist. As Baxter (2003: 99–100) observes, 'women are not permanently trapped into silence and victimhood or oppression by dominant discursive practices; rather, there are moments within competing discourses when females can convert acts of resistance into previously unheard but intertextualised forms of new expression.' In one episode, Vu Mukhondeli even questioned the unfairness of cultural traditions. She stated that she wished that she was born in a culture where women just like men could also have more than one spouse. This statement was made whilst she was pondering on Gizara's plans to have a second wife without consultation with the first wife. The media therefore whilst it can reinforce cultural norms and serves as an important instrument for transmitting social norms, it at times also resist cultural norms (Mkhize, 2015).

Muvhango has also made an inroad into exploring Black African women's image. The way contemporary back African women are expected to look like has become a topical issue with many Black African women modelling themselves like their western sisters with very fair skin, long hair weaves, and fake nails and eyelashes. Black African women who do not fit this ideal are regarded as freaks and unfashionable. Dworkins and Wachs 2004, note that research has shown that women face a great deal of societal pressure to look a certain way. The non-filter exhibition in *Muvhango* promotes the idea that Black African women should not be ashamed in embracing or showcasing their real outer selves.

In *Generations: The legacy*, cultural and societal perceptions of women is portrayed. For instance, even though Angela, the daughter of Tau is intelligent, ambitious and a go-getter, she is not taken seriously by her father career wise

because she is a woman. He is intent on having a male child to be his heir, to the extent of fertilizing the frozen egg of his wife with his sperm without his wife's knowledge and having a surrogate carry the baby. The preference for male sons is prevalent in many parts of the world, with the result being that girls and women are denied inheritance rights and the opportunity to attain leadership positions. The ideology that child care is the task of women is re-echoed as seen in the case of Mazwi telling Simphiwe that once she gets pregnant, she should stay home and look after the baby and Gaddafi encouraging his wife to stay home and look after their adopted son. Domestic and sexual abuse of women is also portrayed, as seen in Tshidi being physically and psychologically abused by her husband, Gaddafi and Namhla being sexually abused by Smanga. Both women however took action as Tshidi left Gaddafi and even got a restraining order against him. She however went back after he promised not to ill-treat her any more. Namhla also made a complaint about Smanga and action was taken against him. After a hearing, he was found guilty and had to attend a sex offender's rehabilitation class. The culture of violence against women also came out in Gaddafi throwing his former mistress over the balcony when he found out that she was conspiring with the police against him. Similar to Muvhango, the fact that some women also support the humiliating and abusive treatment of women by men was brought to light as seen in Tshidi's mum making light of Gaddafi's abusive treatment to her daughter, and even telling her that she should have become used to it. Also, similar to the character of Matshidiso in Muvhango, Mary (Tau's personal assistant) holds the belief that she needs a man to take care of her, financially and otherwise. She uses her sexual charms to lure the men and eventually dated a wealthy man twice her age, who she relocated to Greece with. This objectification of women is also featured as seen in Gaddafi's affair with Karishma. Gaddafi used to buy her sexy lingerie and feast his eyes on her body before sleeping with her. When the affair came to an end, she became a stripper, displaying her body to men who were willing to pay. The objectification and violent treatment of women appears to be tied up with power.

One way men demonstrate power over women is by abusing them in diverse ways. The character of Smanga is obsessed with female submission and supplication and he acted these out through sexual bondage games, initially with his former girlfriend and later with Simphiwe, hurting them in the process. Tieing them up, burning them with candle wax and commanding them to do his bidding was his way of exercising power over women. I must engage here a little with the concept of power as it is central to the negative treatment of women in South Africa and other countries worldwide. Foucault (1980) describes power as a complex strategic situation in a given social setting. Several authors have over the years grappled with this concept (Clegg, 1989; Gee, 2011; Luke, 1974; Vatiero, 2009) resulting in various interpretations of the concept. In their attempt to explain such terms as patriarchy, inequality, oppression and subordination, feminists have also had to grapple with this concept. Power can only be exercised when there are two or more people involved, hence the term 'power relations'. As Young (1990) argues, power is a relation and it exists only in

action as ongoing processes or interactions. Power relations can be found in various settings such as the work place and the household. This is why Connell (1987: 107) asserts that 'power may be an imbalance of advantage or an inequality of resources in a workplace, household or larger institution'. Hindess (1996) avers that people employ power in their dealings with things and with each other and as a result, the will of those with more power will normally prevail over that of those with less power. Hindess (1996) further argues that there is an unequal relationship between those who employ power for their own purpose and those who are subject to its effect. Contrary to the view that power is inherently bad, Van Dijk (2008) argues that power can be used for many neutral or positive ends. Van Djik further argues that it is when power is used illegitimately or abused that it becomes bad, as it hurts other people and produces injustice and inequality such as discriminatory and violent treatment of women by men.

On a positive side, women in *Generations: the legacy,* are usually presented as strong willed, independent, go getters and career/business oriented. Karabo, head of a high profile advertising company is at the helm of her company and shows that women can be successful leaders. She is strong and allows no one to bully or even intimidate her, even her husband. Lucy, *shebeen* (local bar) queen and gangster, is a risk taker, money driven and does whatever she can to get ahead. Other female actors like Scarlet, Nolwazi, Getty and Angela are all goal driven and are portrayed as women with a mind of their own and do not fit the usual status quo. Most of the women in Generations are sexually liberated and they deviate from the traditional expectations of women waiting for men to propose to them or waiting for the men to take the lead in sexual matters. Also, some effort have been made to examine the contemporary held ideology that big or plus size women are undesirable, unfashionable and unattractive. This is indicative in Jonathan's effort to get Scarlet to design and promote plus size lingerie with the argument that plus size women are also beautiful and that they should not be made ashamed of their size.

EPILOGUE

From the above discussion, it is not clear cut as to whether these dramas uphold or transform the status quo of women in South Africa as it is evident that they do both. There is a strong sense however of male power in them and an overriding ideology that women are not equal to men. As Buiten (2009), attests, the media is an important site of continued struggle over gendered meanings and power.To buttress my findings, I engaged in informal conversations with viewers of both drama programmes and they are also of the opinion that these soapies both transforms and reinforces the status quo of women but that Muvhango to a large extent reinforces more than transform. It was interesting to note though, that eight out of ten women elaborated further on episodes that reinforced negative images of women and appeared to more affected than the men. This is in line with Grabe and Kamhawi (2006) work on how gender can impact on the ways in which audiences receive the

same news form and content. Three of the women further stated that the soapies are a fair reflection of the South African society, where women are on one hand empowered and given equal rights as men but on the other are discriminated against and abused. I therefore argue that *Muvhango* and *Generations-The Legacy* reinforces as well as work towards transforming the existing status quo of women. To some extent, they reproduce discourses that stifle processes of gender transformation. This finding however is problematic, when one considers the fact that television is said to have the greatest socializing effects and greatly influences both young and old (Gonzales-Mena, 2009). Programmes that to some extent reinforce negative ideologies about women is bound to have a debilitating effect on society.

Whilst some may argue that the media is only showing the realities in society, I counter argue that the media should strive to promote a gender equal society. As Thomaseli and Thomaseli (2001: 124) notes, the media provides important platforms for information debates and education around 'issues shaping the kind of society we are, and the kind of society we wish to become'. The media also has an important role in raising awareness about issues such as HIV/AIDS, male violence against women and children, racism, poverty and other social problems in South Africa (Sanger, 2007). Furthermore, with the media being regarded as a major socialising influence, a carrier of culture, a source of information, education and entertainment and a communicator of ideological values and norms, attitudes and beliefs (Stadler, 2006: 373), it is important that media is instrumental in promoting values. Therefore, if a gender equal society is desired, cognizance should be taken of whatever is portrayed on television as it could send the wrong ideas and messages such as the normalizing the negative status quo of women.

Some media officials have argued that they do not have a responsibility in terms of what is portrayed. According to Sanger (2007), from interviews she conducted with magazine editors, some of them noted that it is not the job of the media to fight issues like racism, sexism and homophobia. According to them, the media does not play judge or jury and that readers should be given the chance to make their own opinions and judgement. In other words, the media as a fourth estate should be free from bias and judgement. Hall (1992) however argues that the media defines not merely produces reality. Therefore, the idea of the media being objective and neutral should not be condoned, especially as the media has been proved to be a powerful tool in the transformation of women. This is because it has the power to educate, effect social change, and determine the political policies and elections that shapes lives (Women's Media Center). In concurrence with Buiten (2009), I advance that there is a need for the media to employ a progressive gender lens in all aspects of production. If media personnel are trained to apply a gender lens in all aspects of their work, it will go a long way in positively influencing negative social perceptions of women. From a feminist standpoint, I argue that although gender debate and discourse has made a crucial entry into media spaces (Mkhize, 2015), it is not enough. It is imperative that gender activists and feminist continue to point out and denounce negative representations of women in the media and to unrelentingly

motivate for social charge. From the discussions above, there is no doubt that the representation of women in *Muvhango and Generations*: *The legacy* is hybridised as it reinforces as well as transform the status quo of women in South Africa. In light of this, I advocate that the producers of both *Muvhango and Generations: The legacy* should make more effort in portraying female characters in transformative roles – roles that enhance the status of women and which in turn will assist in dispelling stereotypical and negative images of women. Finally, it is crucial that with the potential of the media to transform the status quo of women positively, the discourse on the representation of women in the media should be an ongoing process.

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SECTION 2

GENDER, CULTURE AND POWER

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5. WOMEN AS MEDIATORS IN SOUTH AFRICA

INTRODUCTION

This paper presents results from an investigation of mediators and mediations in and around Johannesburg, South Africa, between 1978 and 1993, under the white-ruled apartheid system in effect at that time, which denied citizenship to indigenous Africans, who therefore had no rights. Some more informal updating to the present occurred after the nonracial democratic elections of 1994 instituted "the New South Africa." Virtually every block in Soweto and Alexandra, the apartheid-mandated "townships" attached to Johannesburg where non-whites were required to live during the years of the most intensive study, has at least one mediator that is recognized as such by members of their community. Individuals become recognized as mediators by consistently intervening in arguments, or they arrive from some other area bringing an established reputation with them. They are almost always older than their clients, especially female mediators. Younger people would not take it upon themselves to intervene in disputes among persons older than themselves, so even those who become recognized for successfully reducing conflict among their peers have no potential clients who are older than themselves until many years have passed. Mediators were also of higher rank than their "clients" economically and/or politically as well as due to their typically greater age.

MEDIATORS

I observed 16 mediations myself and interviewed participants in 21 more mediations, for a total of 37. Most of these, especially the direct observations, took place between 1978 and 1993 (14 observations and 17 reports). Additional cases have been added between 1998 and the present (two observations and four reports). The sample thus includes 37 mediators, male and female, white and black. The seven White mediators were Quakers, Catholics, and Methodists, all operating as part of organizations founded by their respective denominations. Although it might be instructive to distinguish among white mediators by language or nationality as well, only one mediator was Afrikaans-speaking and only two were American, the rest being English-speaking South Africans.

Among the black mediators, I did distinguish according to cultural group or home language, as Lovedu (4), Zulu (11), Sotho (6), Tswana (4), and Thonga (5).

Assigning Africans to a particular cultural group is very difficult, since many Africans have parents who belong to two or more different cultural groups from each other and virtually all are multilingual (Thornton, 2008). Since I was interested in the reputations of mediators from different groups, I identified them on the basis of their neighbors' opinions as to which group they represented rather than by asking the mediators themselves with which group or groups they felt they "belonged". The basic apartheid racial categories of Black, White, Coloured, and Asian continue to be used every day in South Africa (Kenny & Camenzind, 2007), and are used in that sense here, for simplicity.

There were 21 female mediators and 16 males. Although most mediators are female, I made special efforts to observe and to report on cases mediated by males. Specifically, the sample consisted of three white female Catholics, three white female Quakers, one white Catholic male, two white Methodist males, 5 Thonga females, four Sotho females and two Sotho males, eight Zulu females and three Zulu males, two Tswana females and two Tswana males, and four Lovedu males. Without exception, the African mediators identified themselves as Christian, but retained many traditional African religious beliefs. It would have been possible to find mediators in rural areas who were not Christian, but most of the types of cases that urban mediators consider are brought before chiefs' courts among traditionalists in rural areas.

The disputants in all cases were non-white, either African or, rarely, mixed-race "Coloureds". They, too, included both males and females, with no significant bias towards either sex. They ranged in age from 23 to 70. Most of them laughed when asked with which culture they identified, and said that even their parents were mixtures, but that the apartheid government had assigned them to the sector of Soweto or Alexandra designated to members of just one group, based on patrilineal descent. Cognizant of the critique of mediation/reconciliation processes by legal scholars who reject mediation between disputants of unequal power and authority (e.g. London, 1997), I questioned disputants, mediators, and interested onlookers about the extent to which they felt, in each case, that there was a significant difference in status and power between the disputants. I was surprised to find that they all claimed that there was no such difference. Some explained that when such differences exist, the more powerful disputant has many other avenues of achieving the desired end; others said that such disputes would have been taken to one of the local peoples' courts (see Anderson et al., 2003) so that a larger number of individuals of varying status would have been hearing the case and pronouncing judgment. All directly observed cases were conducted in English, usually with occasional interjections and exclamations in African languages, since I am unable to understand any other language well enough to follow the metaphorical, often heated, rapid-fire exchanges that occur during mediation. This language restriction was cheerfully accepted by all parties. Several mediators, in fact, stated that they prefer to mediate disputes between people from different language groups in English, rather than in only one of the disputants' languages, in order to ensure that the disputant whose language was

chosen was not advantaged in this way. Data contributed by others was also confined to mediations held in English. Cases not personally observed were described by mediators, disputants, witnesses and neighbors.

"Success" of mediators was defined by observers, by mediators, and by clients, and especially by neighborhood reputation, through questions like, "Who are the especially good mediators here in Mapetla?" (one of many suburbs of Soweto) and "To whom would you go if you wanted to be sure to get a problem settled for good?" Additionally, cases themselves were ranked as "complete successes", "partial successes" and "failures." A failure was a mediated dispute that left the participants unreconciled. "Successes" ended with reconciliation and vows not to continue conflict, but some – the partial successes – left one or both of the parties still grumbling. "Complete successes" ended with all parties declaring themselves to be completely satisfied.

For much of the period covered by this study (1978–1993), the government had declared states of emergency which prohibited white entry into the townships (Enwezor & Bester, 2013). Mediations by whites were all conducted outside the townships for this reason. Mediations by African mediators took place both in the townships and, occasionally, in white areas.

Two of the white mediators began acting as mediators after being asked by black maids, "garden boys" and other servants known to them to intervene in arguments and, especially, in any dispute which threatened to become violent (e.g. when two drunken adult men began arguing angrily). Most had also participated in at least two "training sessions" on mediation through their churches or other public-service organizations. None carried out mediations among their white neighbors, although one used the same methods among the boys at the high school where he was employed as a teacher. Though white Afrikaans-speaking South Africans have rates of interpersonal violence which exceed those of white Americans (Goodwin & Schiff, 1995; Minaar & Hough, 1997), they regard violence as characteristic largely of "inferior" races or teenagers; as far as I know, adult white males never use the services of mediators. Two cases where white men successfully intervened in brawls between black workers after being called to the scene by onlookers were excluded because, though successful, witnesses said no mediation as to causes occurred; the violence was stopped, but no other action was taken.

White mediators were usually older, and of course always much wealthier and much higher in rank, than any black disputant. The African mediators were also older and equal to or higher in rank than most disputants. They were not formally trained. No mediator was paid by disputants, though the African ones were always given gifts, and some of the white ones were receiving salaries from sponsoring organizations.

Disputes were often brought for mediation by the disputants themselves, although those involved in some of them were sought out by mediators after neighbors had notified a mediator that two residents were in conflict. The topics of the disputes were wide-ranging: slander, neglect of children, theft, promiscuity, lack of child

support, swearing at a wife or girlfriend using religious language – a very serious offense in traditional households of the past (Krige, 1936), physical abuse, and so on. More serious offenses, especially chronic theft, rape, and murder, were not brought to mediators but to community courts (described in Anderson et al., 2003; Anderson et al., 2006). Twenty years after the end of apartheid, not enough nonwhite lawyers and judges have had time to be trained and take office, so the system appears to be mostly white still, especially with the trappings of colonialism like black robes, wigs, and gavels continuing. Most African township residents do not trust the courts but rather fear them, and prefer to use more "traditional" means if at all possible (e.g. Swart, 2012).

RESULTS

Of the 37-case sample, fourteen cases were complete successes, 16 were partial successes, and seven were judged to be failures.

Of the variables examined, only the gender of the mediator had a significant effect, although some other variables would probably have been significant with larger samples.

Though black mediators settled more of disputes (12 complete successes and 13 partial vs. 2 complete and 4 partial for whites), the difference was not statistically significant, given the small number of white mediators; 83% of disputes mediated by blacks were successful, 86% of those mediated by whites. Further research should provide larger samples of the rarer cases and clarify the patterns reported here. The white mediators were very different from the general South African white population, especially between 1978 and 1993. They were relatively free of the pervasive racism that characterized the white population (then and now), and they were activists who were trying to improve the situation of the African population. They were well-known in the black townships because of these qualities, and their favorable reputation must have made it likely that disputants would try very hard to resolved disputes that they mediated.

For all groups, older mediators were more successful than younger ones. It was impossible to separate the effects of experience from those of age itself. Mediations were also more likely to succeed when the difference in wealth and rank between mediator and clients was greater. Gender had a marked relationship to mediation success. Only one of 23 female mediators failed to settle a dispute successfully (13 completely, 9 partial), while half of the fourteen male mediators failed (1 complete success, 7 partial successes). Possible reasons for this difference are presented below.

Other mediator variables did not significantly affect success, although some characteristics of the disputants had interesting effects. Mediations were more likely to succeed where disputants differed from each other in wealth, although such cases were few, and there were no detectable differences in rank, apart from wealth, between parties to a mediation. People must be either less likely to seek mediation for disputes with their "superiors", or, they are less likely to dispute matters with

their superiors; this must await further research. My impression is that a person with a grievance against someone of significantly higher rank sought to bring the case before the nearest community court rather than to a single mediator.

Independently of type of mediator, when disputes involved disputants of different language groups (often erroneously described as different "tribes"), they were only slightly less likely to be successful. Disputes between males and females were slightly more likely to be successfully resolved than disputes between women or between men. This may have been because of the preponderance of cases from the apartheid period, during which women were made dependent upon men and were more likely to give in to them than they are at present.

DISCUSSION

Differences in rank and wealth had some effect on success. This may be the main reason why mediations by whites, who did not usually know the disputants and whose mediations were held outside the townships, were only slightly less successful than those led by blacks. Whether this was due to the actual or perceived wisdom, skills, or power of the individual mediators should be tested. The higher success rate of older mediators may also derive from either or both their actual or perceived wisdom or power.

Four of the Zulu mediators were known to be twins, who have been thought to be particularly expert at dispute settlement for many generations (Krige, 1936). This may have been a more important factor than gender.

The only variable that obviously had a significant effect was that of gender, which therefore deserves a more lengthy treatment.

Remarking on the fact that more than half of the mediators identified in any neighborhood were women, I asked neighborhood residents if they thought this was just chance. A few said they hadn't noticed and that it might be chance, but the majority said that women were much more likely to be able to settle disputes. A typical statement was as follows: "The woman, she has many clans, so she doesn't try to choose them. The men have only their own clan and their own relatives so you wouldn't bring a dispute involving anyone related to him to a man." Others, especially female community members, said that a woman must constantly mediate among her children, among her co-wives, among her husband's relatives, in her brothers' families, and, in the cities, among her neighbors' maids. Many male community members stated that it is the nature of women to mediate, that they are "naturals" at it, due to their dual nature – both good and bad, by birth – and their passages from one state to another throughout their lives (see below).

Throughout Southern Africa, women are regarded as excellent choices for mediation because they are believed to be much more objective than men. As a Xhosa proverb states, "A woman has no country": because of patrilocal residence and patrilineal inheritance, a woman must live among outsiders all her adult life, among whom she has no relatives to favor, except her children (Vail, 1989). She

is a member of her father's clan until menopause, and she is protected by her father's ancestors until then; but when she marries, she begins to be protected by her husband's ancestors as well, and after menopause she becomes a member of his clan, whose ancestors she joins upon her death. Her relationships with the clans into which her daughters marry are also strong, and she often travels to visit them as she becomes an elder, so that she has numerous allegiances (Krige, 1936). Before the changes forced on every culture by Europeans greatly eroded female power, for every male in a position of power, there should be a female counterpart who may have a slightly different domain of concerns but should be of similar or even superior power. Among the Swazi and probably several other of the original states, the Indlovukazi or Queen Mother had the power to determine which man would be the next king. If the people were dissatisfied with a king's performance, they could complain to the Queen Mother, who could remove the king from office (Kuper, 2002). The early accounts of white officials who encountered such women describe them as overbearing, power-hungry viragos, judging them by European standards for rulers' mothers since they had no idea that African kings' mothers are supposed to wield equal power to the king (Mostert, 1992). European men immediately set about trying to destroy the power of female rulers in all positions of authority, and to further subordinate wives to their husbands (Bernstein, 1985).

Some of the traditional sense of women as mediators between their sons and the people seems to remain and to be carried over into these mediations today. When a king or a chief married a woman of such high status that she was likely to be chosen by the council to be the next queen mother, she was referred to as his Great Wife, and she was also "the mother of all the people," not just her own clan or that of her husband/son, since the cattle that were transferred to her clan from her husband's when they married included cattle contributed to the king by all his subjects (Krige, 1936; Krige & Krige, 1943; Mostert, 1992). It is not surprising that many black women in South Africa are able to wield great political and economic power today under the post-apartheid constitution which has created a hybrid political system with both local and international forms, with the extent to which traditional hereditary authority remains deliberately left vague and regularly contested (Ntsebeza, 2005).

Although married women, especially young ones, are subordinate to their husband and his relatives (Webster, 1992), women have a great deal of power in many other kinds of relationships. It is in the domestic sphere that they are consistently subordinated. Sisters are described as "ruling" their brothers' affairs in many Southern African cultures, especially the Lovedu and Thonga (Krige & Krige, 1943). More importantly for this discussion, a particular sister, designated as her brother's "cattle-linked" sister or, among the Lovedu, his *khadi*, served as an official mediator in her brother's household, mediating disputes between her brother and his wife or wives, between parents and children, and so on. When the brother died, the sister decided which of his descendants should inherit what from him, mediating among the descendants (Krige, 1985).

All four of the male Lovedu mediators were successful or partially successful, in marked contrast to men from the other cutlures. One attribute which sets Lovedu and Thonga off from the other cultures from which these mediators came is their relative gender equality.Lovedu women have been described as dominating men politically. The Lovedu ruler or *Mujaji* has been a female king for more than three hundred years, for instance, and almost half of the district chiefs and local representatives are female. The Lovedu word for district head literally means "mother" of the district. Women play a major public role in all ceremonies. In all five cultures from which black mediators came, older men spend a great deal of their time hearing cases and delivering judgments, while women become involved only among the Lovedu and Thonga. Among the Lovedu, a dead man's sister, or *khadi*, is the executor of his estate, and serves as judge and final arbiter of conflict within his family throughout her life (Krige & Krige, 1943). Because of her standing and, especially, her experience at judging cases within Lovedu society, a female Lovedu mediator might expect more power and be more skilled at the process of mediation than women from other groups.

This may be the case among the Thonga of KwaZulu-Natal province and Mozambique also, since their paternal aunts wield power in the same way that the Lovedu *khadi* does (Webster, 1992). The elevation among the Lovedu and Thonga of what they and the other cultures consider "feminine" virtues, especially the ability to effect reconciliation (Krige & Krige, 1943, Webster, 1992), may make even their men more successful mediators. These two cultures also do not make much of a distinction between male and female qualities; men and women are thought to be fundamentally equivalent, whereas most of the other cultures exaggerate the differences between males and females, at least from the perspective of the Lovedu/Thonga (Krige & Krige, 1943).

However, Lovedu religion requires that women remain within the Lovedu heartland, for drought is believed to ensue if they leave (Krige & Krige, 1943). Although non-Christian female Lovedu would probably be very successful, all Lovedu women who come to Johannesburg are Christian because of this restriction. I witnessed no mediations by Lovedu females, and when I asked neighbors for examples of cases mediated by them, they said that their success rate is lower than that of the non-Christian Lovedu males. Christian Lovedu are said to be much less likely to be unbiased, because they would always find in favor of a Christian over a non-Christian. People said that while traditional, non-Christian Lovedu were among the most generous of South African cultures, Christian Lovedu were much less likely to share with others, and much more greedy and ambitious. Why this should be thought to be true of Lovedu women uniquely and not of women from other cultures is unknown.

The Lovedu female king was certainly widely feared because of her power to achieve through supernatural means what mere men, using only natural means, could not. Some of these qualities are generalized to all non-Christian Lovedu, male and

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female. The Lovedu king could not be conquered, though she had no army; she was strong precisely because she was a physically weak woman; and she appeased rather than fought, one of the most important of Lovedu virtues (Krige & Krige, 1943).

The Lovedu encompass a large number of different cultures, incorporated into the Lovedu nation over centuries. This diversity might likewise help to explain their success in the urban townships of South Africa today, where men and women are drawn from hundreds of different locales, hundreds or thousands of miles away. However, the same is true of virtually all the other indigenous cultures in Southern Africa (Anderson & Heaton, 1996): they all have a long history of accepting other groups.

In most indigenous African cultures, particularly among Nguni-speakers, women are passages between states of being: through them, children are born; through them, the dead are buried; and they pass between clans during their lifetimes. Although men are either bad or good, all women are both good and evil. They have more supernatural power than men do because of this and are somewhat feared. Both men and women may become witches or sorcerers, but almost all people who are consulted in cases of suspected witchcraft are female. These are the *izisangoma*, usually translated into English as "diviners" or "mediums". Women are thus passages between the ancestors and the living in their roles as *izisangoma* as well as their exclusive control of the physical processes of birth and returning of the dead to the spirit world. They are by their very nature experienced at dealing with supernatural forces. The few male *izisangoma* wear women's dress and distinctive hair styles, especially when consulting ancestor spirits, in order to reassure their clients of their efficacy (Ngubane, 1987; Sibisi, 1973).

Quaker mediators, black and white, are significantly more successful than other Christian mediators. Like Lovedu, Quakers view people as good by nature, and avoid differential evaluation and competition. The Catholic and Methodist organizations in South Africa have also been steadfast opponents of apartheid, but many of their members believe in original sin, greed, and competition, and they do not share the Quaker history of nonviolence. Like most Euro-Americans (Wall & Blum, 1991), but unlike the Quakers, white Catholic and Methodist mediators were more likely to view humans as greedy and competitive, and to view the disputants as selfish adversaries (Allen, 2006; interview with Methodist Bishop Storey, July 1995). This view appears to reduce their success.

Perhaps Methodist and Catholic mediators are more successful if they are female because white female members of these churches hold beliefs about the nature of humans and society which are more like those of the Lovedu than do male members. I hope in the future to separate out the attitudes the mediator holds from the attitudes about the mediator which are held by the clients and the audience. I believe that both are important, and that the possibility of a difference between them may explain why female Zulu mediators are more successful at mediating disputes between Zulus but not between non-Zulus.

African mediators often criticized the actions of both disputants throughout the mediation process. Older women, especially, continually chided their clients in a stern, familiar manner that I have often witnessed in everyday interactions between grandmothers and their adult grandchildren. A typical example from my field notes (Alexandra, 1981) by a 67-year-old Zulu woman towards two men in their early thirties began with, "Well, good afternoon, Wesley. Why are you bothering us today?" and then continued "And what have you got to say for yourself, Petrus? What have you caused Wesley to upset our peace here today?" This wayward children banter was absent from mediations conducted by white mediators. It appeared to be quite effective in relaxing two angry people who had previously been very tense and hostile.

THE PAST, THE PRESENT AND THE FUTURE

It must be noted here that although my language here often indicates that traditional practices continue, this is not the case in most parts of the country. There are pockets of traditionalism almost everywhere, but, everywhere, there have been great distortions in the traditional system. This is also true of the various individuals and organizations that claim to be trying to revive traditions; rarely are the revivals identical to the traditional practices.

There did not appear to be a difference in the likelihood that a dispute would be solved successfully in either the earlier period or the later period. This is not surprising, since so few cases were observed in the later period. Cases actually were fewer then as grassroots dispute-settlement methods appeared to expand after 1994. The community-organized "peoples' courts", operating in ways very similar to the indigenous chiefs' courts, seem to be preferred over mediators now, making it more difficult to find mediators to observe or to interview.

Not only high-ranking women, or older women, had power in the past. Among the Zulu, for example, ordinary women could make new rules that would be binding for all members of society, regardless of rank or sex. If Nomkubulwana, the "Sky Princess" or Nkosazana, appeared to women working out in the fields in the springtime and announced a new rule, they would return and in turn announce the change. Work in the fields was the province of younger, lower-status women, but even they had the power to change the system (Krige, 1936).

The traditional roles of women, particularly as mothers of kings and chiefs, are long past in South Africa now, and even in Swaziland the current king, educated in England and not installed until the age of 18, rules according to European beliefs about the powers of kings, queens, and queen mothers (Kuper, 2002). White rule drastically changed the relative power of men and women, both under the British and under apartheid (Bernstein, 1985; Jewkes, 2009).

The law ensured that neither black nor white women could be employed without the consent of their husbands or fathers; they could not sign contracts, they could

not obtain loans, they could not buy anything on time, they could not own property, and they were specifically designated as having only the same rights as minors (Akileswaran & Lurie, 2010; Wickstrom, 2014). Each woman, then, was officially dependent on a man for almost everything of importance (Bernstein, 1985). African men gradually began to claim that those rights had been theirs traditionally, which African women vigorously resisted (e.g. Webster, 1992). As millions of black South African men were employed in the gold and diamond mines, they encountered there millions of men from elsewhere in Africa, some of whom from cultures with very different ideas about women's rights.

The first democratic government that began in 1994 with the end of apartheid attempted to enshrine women's traditional power in the constitution and the legal system. It is not surprising that South Africa is one of the world leaders in the percentage of women who hold real political and/or economic power today. What affect this will have on the view of women as unbiased mediators remains to be seen. In many African countries, men are resentful and angry as women compete with them economically (e.g. London, 1997; Niehaus & Jonsson, 2005). In South Africa, however, women are less able to get jobs (Griffiths, 2000) and to compete on an equal basis with men in the job market.

Struggles between men and women are ongoing everywhere in South Africa today, especially involving men and women who spent their teens and young adulthood under white rule in urban areas where they had little opportunity to observe the traditional African relationships between men and women. Those men today often insist that the position of women they experienced in their youth, under apartheid, was African tradition, and that the current legal, political and economic equality of women is a foreign intrusion recently imported from Europe, and that they should go back to the apartheid roles (Niehaus & Jonsson, 2005; Webster, 1992; personal interviews, 1995-present). During the liberation struggle, males in their teens and early twenties also claimed that all of their female peers belonged to the struggle and tried to command them to have sex with the male liberation fighters and have babies to join the struggle for freedom when they grew older (Bozzoli, 2004). Many of the men in positions of power in South Africa today served in such cadres in their youth, although those in leadership roles today seem to be supporting the official African National Congress position that there should be complete equality between men and women.

There is a worrying trend recently among younger, single women to use willingness to be subordinated as a resource in competing with other women for boyfriends and husbands. Male unemployment is now so high, as mines continue to close, and the economy of the world makes unskilled jobs obsolete, that a man who does have a job is so desirable that he can find many young women who are willing to be subordinated in order to enter into a relationship with him. For most women currently moving from rural areas to more urban locales in order to try to support their families, survival still requires establishing relationships with men, as it is almost impossible for such women to find jobs there (Akileswaran & Lurie,

2010; Coovadia, 2009; Mendenhall, 2015; Wickstrom, 2014). On the other hand, many older women and traditional organizations, as well as non-governmental organizations imported from outside South Africa, are attempting to strengthen young women's bargaining power in attempt to lower the tragically high rates of HIV infection in Southern Africa (Anderson, 2011; Carton, 2003; Green & Ruark, 2011; Khumalo, 2007). Women's groups banded together in removing a proposal during the development of the new constitution in the mid-1990s that would have given traditional chiefs' courts power to contradict the equality provisions of the new constitution (Fay, 2008).

For female Zulu mediators as well as for non-Christian Lovedu, success might also be related to the aura of supernatural power attributed to them by men, or by other cultures generally. Almost all Zulu spirit mediums, or *izisangoma*, are female, and women are associated with mediumship to such an extent that the rare male diviner wears women's clothing and hairstyles (Sibisi, 1973). Women are thought to be especially competent to mediate between rural and urban areas, or between members of different clans, because they are passages between different states of being: they take souls from the spirit world to the material world by giving birth, they reside in a clan different from their own after marriage, they belong to two different clans between marriage and menopause, they join their husband's clan's ancestors when they die, and they play the major role in funerals (Sibisi, 1973). They may be seen as more likely to be neutral than men are because of this, or, to be able to transcend sides (Ngubane, 1987). Or, they may be more successful because they are vehicles for power: female ancestors are more feared than male ancestors, and old women more than old men; dangerous lighting and storms are described as female, and gentle, steady ones as male. Female mediators may be thought to be capable of enlisting supernatural aid to ensure an agreement and to enforce their decisions.

The Alternative Dispute Resolution movement began in the U.S. some 40 years ago with a call to develop conciliatory processes described as characteristic of "tribal" societies (Danzig, 1973). These data from South Africa support the sentiment behind this movement, even though none of the groups involved are tribes.

I believe that a constellation of Lovedu beliefs about human nature and relationships is the key element in their success as mediators, and that these beliefs characterize the Thonga and Quakers as well, in contrast to the other European churches and indigenous cultures.

The Lovedu and Thonga believe that the natural world is just and orderly, and that it can be controlled by maintaining proper relationships among people. They have confidence that relations among people, and between humans and nature, will end in reciprocal balance. However, this also means that improper treatment of each other can produce natural disasters and endanger human life (Krige, 1936; Krige & Krige, 1943; Webster, 1992).

The two groups are quite different from the Zulu, Sotho, and Tswana in their avoidance of competition and of differential evaluation of individuals (Krige,

1985). They try to avoid making distinctions among people. Their adjectives and adverbs lack superlatives and other comparative forms (Krige & Krige, 1943). Non-Christian Lovedu view people not as willful and selfish, but as naturally cooperative and sharing. All this seems to make it difficult for them to see two "sides" in a dispute. They view the matter as of concern to the whole community, which comprises the only point of view. Individual parties in a dispute are not conceptualized as forming separate sides, but as being united in their opposition to the problem which vexes them all. Kramer et al. (1993) discovered that such an outlook can also increase the success of negotiations in the U.S. Many other people besides those directly involved in the conflict are present at all mediations conducted by non-white mediators, as audience or chorus. Especially with Lovedu or Thonga mediators, these others speak freely, criticizing the behavior of both parties, while also praising something about each.

Mediators were less important in rural areas in the past, where chiefs' courts served similar functions; this paper therefore reports on the urban situation. Even there, however, mediation seems to be declining in favor of the community courts that have been set up in most townships, although they consider slightly different situations that the mediators did, especially more serious ones. When someone is caught in the act of committing serious crimes, especially theft and rape, especially child rape, neighbors are often called to capture and beat the perpetrator, sometimes to death (Anderson et al., 2006).

SUGGESTIONS

Mediation has been described as a "cottage industry" in South Africa today, with experts flying in regularly to lead two-day workshops (e.g. Moore, 1993). I agree strongly with Rubinstein (1992) that this "proselytizing" too often *limits* the problem-solving techniques of peoples in developing countries rather than expanding them. I hope this paper will help increase awareness of the long history of successful indigenous mediation in South Africa. Indeed, the recent peace agreement leading to the non-racial election in South Africa last year would not have been possible without such a well-developed indigenous mediation network to pressure the main disputants to come to agreement (Gastrow, 1995).

I would like to suggest that mediators who have been trained in Western countries find some general, non-sectarian way to invoke supernatural concerns in the mediation. They should develop rituals to begin and end the mediation. I agree with Ngubane (1987) that ritual increases commitment, and I believe these results provide confirmation. Among the various Nguni-speaking cultures, the disputants must drink out of the same small cup simultaneously, forcing very close physical intimacy and cooperation upon them. If one or both are not truly reconciled, the ancestors, who know their hearts, will see to it that beer will enlarge their stomachs and give them terrible hangovers the next day. The former disputants may be bound with palm fronds and other means of ensuring their closeness and giving public recognition

to their progress in restoring harmony to the community. Or, the disputants ritually wash their hands together, washing away the anger in their hears, and then kill a goat and eat it together (Ngubane, 1976).

Mediations should also include this community, by encouraging a large number of people who are not directly involved in the dispute to attend, as witnesses and audience, to make the decision more likely to be followed. The more successful mediators were also willing to discuss matters for days rather than expecting a resolution after a few hours. Even in the U.S., speaking freely without time limits has been shown to decrease conflict and increase agreement between opponents (McCarthy, 1977). Insisting on confidentiality in the U.S. decreases the pressure on disputants to agree and to follow through their agreement. Since members of most of the Southern African cultural groups believe that their health is determined as much by social relations as by individual biology, people fear the envy of others (e.g. Wickstrom, 2014). Public criticism and, especially, fines and physical punishment delivered in public are preferred by disputants because such public shame defuses such envy, among other reasons.

In mediations by individuals and in the community courts with their group of elders, spokespersons ensure that both disputants are criticized in front of the whole community. Many disputants said that they prefer such public shaming to the more private processes of a formal legal courtroom, where one side is judged to be at fault, where most people are unaware of what went on, and, especially, where the disputants do not feel as though the community has accepted them and now believes that they will try in good faith to restore harmony to the community (Burr & Jensen, 2004; Hund & Kotu-Rammopo, 1983; Oomen, 2004).

I suggest that mediators everywhere experiment with making these simple changes, as I believe they would increase the likelihood of success of any mediation, not just those held in South Africa. Drinking beer out of the same small cup simultaneously may not be appropriate everywhere, for example, but some such simple ritual which is locally appropriate should be incorporated into the end of the mediation process.

These data should allow teams seeking to train local mediators to choose candidates for training more efficiently. We have an idea now as to what qualities are most effective in mediators: those holding the beliefs described here about human nature and society, with the identified age, rank, wealth, gender, and supernatural attributes are most likely to lead to success, at least in Southern Africa.

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6. AFRICAN MARRIAGES IN TRANSFORMATION

Anthropological Insights

INTRODUCTION

In this article, I will outline central transformations of African marriages and link these changes to four broad anthropological approaches which I label as metanarratives. I use the term 'metanarrative' to stress the rather high degree of coherence within these four anthropological interpretative frameworks. Similarly, James Ferguson applies the concept of a 'metanarrative' to analyze the way anthropologists among others have perceived and constructed 'modernity' and 'urbanization' in the Zambian Copperbelt (Ferguson, 1999: 14–17). I will start with British social anthropology and classify this approach as a first metanarrative centering on the *leitmotif* of the stable African marriage. The metanarrative of the stable African marriage is only one line of thinking that is prominent in African ethnography. There are at least three other influential metanarratives framing the work on African marriages during the 20th century, i.e. the metanarrative of the destruction of 'the' African marriage and family system and the (more unspecific) metanarrative of change of African marriage and family systems.[1] Finally, the fourth and most recent metanarrative used to interpret transformations in African marriages highlights fluidity and flexibility of African marriages. In the final section of my article I will discuss the possible emergence of a new metanarrative that aims at understanding the dramatic increase in wedding costs and the parallel decline in marriage rates, especially in Southern Africa.

THREE METANARRATIVES OF AFRICAN MARRIAGE: STABILITY, DESTRUCTION AND CHANGE

Stability

African marriages have played a pivotal role for the development of anthropological theory.[2] British social anthropology viewed African systems of kinship and marriage as the central ordering principle of pre-colonial society (Radcliffe-Brown & Forde, 1987/1950). For the British structural-functionalists marriage was a stable, timeless and recursive institution, as Borneman has so convincingly shown (Borneman, 1996: 220). Although marriage does imply movement (mainly of

women) and reification of social structure, from the level of abstraction "marriage itself remains bounded and stable as it functions to reproduce timeless structures" (Borneman, 1996: 220) in the eyes of British Social Anthropology. How then is structure reproduced through African marriage? First, marriage is described as universal. Everybody will sooner or later marry in his or her life and thus be an integral part of the reproduction and rearrangement of social structure (Barnes, 1952: vii; Fortes, 1949: 81; Radcliffe-Brown, 1987/1950: 43). The universality of marriage is vividly described by Meyer Fortes in his 'Web of Kinship among the Tallensi' (Fortes, 1949). To stay single is described as something only the most deviant members of society have to face:

> There is something wrong, by native standard, with men and women who never marry; and they are few. In the whole of Tongo I knew only knew five men who had never been married and who would, according to common belief, never marry. One was obviously mentally defective; another was an invert; two were said to be so ugly that no woman would accept them, but both were definitely unbalanced and eccentric; and the last was a gentle old man who, it was said, had never had the enterprise to find a wife. I heard of no women who had never married. Deformities which do not wholly incapacitate a person or arouse repulsion are not a bar to marriage. The blind, the deaf, and the lame find spouses if they are otherwise able-bodied and presentable. (Fortes, 1949: 81–82)

Meyer Fortes' ethnographic description leaves no doubt about the universal character of marriage.[3] However, what counts as marriage is a rather large and flexible category for the Tallensi. Meyer Fortes shows that many first unions dissolve after some time. To capture the flexible character of these marriages Fortes classifies them as 'experimental marriages' (Fortes, 1949: 84). This leads to the second important feature of African marriages described by many British social anthropologists, i.e. the procedural character of marriage: "To understand African marriage we must think of it not as an event or a condition but as a developing process" (Radcliffe-Brown, 1987/1950: 49). Marriage develops through different stages involving successive prestations (in general bridewealth in the form of cattle, payments, gifts, services) exchanged between the groom's and the bride's kin groups. Thus, marriage processes have a certain degree of flexibility and can even be reversed and dissolved. However, there is an endpoint to this process (in general after the negotiated bridewealth has been given) when a couple is being considered as married.

Finally, marriage is mainly defined in legal terms. African marriage 'legitimizes' children and manifests fatherhood publicly (Fortes, 1949: 82). Through marriage, the husband and his kin gain "certain rights in relation to his wife and the children she bears" (Radcliffe-Brown, 1987/1950: 50). Summing up Radcliffe-Brown (1950: 51) stresses that African marriage always involves two 'bodies of kin', i.e. two kin groups, that through marriage reproduce and rearrange social structure. The stability

of marriage as an institution (being universal and sooner or later involving all segments of society through kin groups) thus is essential for the general reproduction of society.

Given the dominance of social equilibrium and stability that underlines this theorizing of African marriage by the British school it is not surprising that the second prominent metanarrative of African marriage captures the opposite side of stability – destruction and decay.

Destruction

Following Radcliffe-Brown's and Forde's central aim to describe African systems of kinship and marriage as they exist at a certain time and "abstracting as far as possible from any change" (Radcliffe-Brown, 1987[1950]: 3) any reflection on change is restricted to a few lines in Radcliffe-Brown's introduction of the volume:

> African societies are undergoing revolutionary changes, as the result of European administrations, missions, and economic factors. In the past the stability of social order in African societies has depended much more on the kinship system than on anything else. In the new conditions kinship systems cannot remain unaffected. The first changes are inevitably destructive of the existing system of obligations. (Radcliffe-Brown, 1987[1950]: 84–85)

Because kinship and marriage are so central for the organization of African society as such any change in kinship and marriage is perceived as more or less 'destructive' for the whole society. Mark Hunter has termed these constructions of change as "teleological narratives of 'family breakdown' in Africa" (Hunter, 2007: 654). Hunter stresses that albeit their ethnographic richness a number of South African ethnographic studies since the 1930s (e.g. Krige, 1936; Longmore, 1959) have fueled the perception that "African families were in slow but steady decline" (Hunter, 2005: 396; 2007: 694).

Harriet Ngubane's research on Zulu and Swazi marriage and kinship is an example of both the ethnographic richness attributed by Mark Hunter to these South African ethnographic studies and the construction of a metanarrative of destruction of the African family (Ngubane, 1987). Many researchers have analyzed the centrality of bridewealth and cattle for Southern African marriage and kinship systems (for excellent discussions cf. Comaroff, 1980a; Kuper, 1982). Marriage payments among the Nguni (to which both Zulu and Swazi belong) are expressed by the term *lobolo* (Ngubane, 1987: 173). In great detail Ngubane shows how through the exchange of cattle between the bride's and groom's kin groups a complex web of economic and social rights and duties is built and maintained. Ngubane argues that this form of social organization is of special importance to women because it reduces their social and economic vulnerabilities. However, on a more general level, and very much in line with Radcliffe-Brown's and the British school's perception of the centrality of kinship for societal organization, Harriet

Ngubane stresses the fundamental importance of kinship for the general social, economic and political organization (Ngubane, 1987: 177). Consequently, if kinship and marriage are so central for the general societal organization any change has to be perceived as catastrophic. According to Ngubane, because of the monetization of *lobolo*, i.e. the substitution of cattle for cash in bridewealth prestations, marriage as an institution is substantially weakened. This of course has severe effects for both the kinship structure and society in general: "To undermine the structure of a kinship-based society, which by definition is one in which rights and obligations derive primarily from bonds of agnation and consanguinity, as in the institution of *lobolo*, is to undermine the whole social fabric" (Ngubane, 1987: 180). The language used by Ngubane very tellingly expresses the metanarrative of destruction: Ngubane writes that there will be 'social disorganization'; the consequences of change are 'devastating'; women are 'victims' and families 'suffer' (all citations Ngubane, 1987: 180–181). Main triggers behind these changes are processes associated with 'cultural contact' (Hunter, 2007: 694) and colonization, i.e. monetization and commercialization, urbanization, Christianization, Apartheid, migration and industrialization. However, Hunter (Hunter, 2004, 2005, 2007, 2010) and other researchers (Moore & Vaughan, 1994) have questioned the myth of the destruction of African families and marriages as misleading to appropriately understand the complex social dynamics observable in kin, family and marriage transformations.

Change

The metanarrative of 'change' is much more difficult to summarize than the two other metanarratives. Nevertheless, a closer look at anthropological work focusing on change of African marriages reveals that the change conception is a variation of the destruction metanarrative. Similar to the destruction conception of African marriages, research on change constructs pre-change phenomena and time, in general labeled 'traditional', i.e. traditional marriage, traditional society, traditional social organization etc., and contrasts these with phenomena representing change, often labeled 'modern', e.g. modern marriage, modern families, etc. There are numerous examples for this kind of conceptualization of the dynamics of African marriage (Barnes, 1952; Bledsoe, 1980; some articles in Comaroff and Krige, 1981; and also some articles in Parkin and Nyamwaya, 1987b; Pauw, 1963; Schapera, 1939). Some topics are especially prominent in this literature on change of African marriages, namely the decline of polygyny and the rise of monogamy; the monetization of bridewealth and the commercialization of gender relations; an increase in the number of children born out-of-wedlock; an expansion (or loss) of female autonomy and changes in household structures, especially an increase in female headed households.

   What distinguishes the change metanarrative from the other two metanarratives, however, is a lesser degree of generalization and a higher degree of internal variation. While in the metanarratives of stability and destruction large social entities are

pictured as rather homogeneous, the change perspective allows for variation and internal differentiation. But often these variations are only seen as consequences of change, while the pre-change time is constructed as relatively homogeneous. Isaac Schapera's work on 'Married Life in an African Tribe' (1939), i.e. Kgatla families in the former Bechuanaland Protectorate (today Botswana), provides an example. Schapera summarizes the dynamics of change in marriage and family life as follows: "It will have been gathered already that there has been no uniformity of change, and that the family is to-day not nearly as homogeneous as before. Some of its traditional features have disappeared completely, or else have become much common. Others persist strongly, or perhaps have been modified only slightly" (Schapera, 1939: 333). The tendency to imagine a past, i.e. to project contemporary ideas on past situations, has been thoroughly analyzed by historically oriented research, most prominent the work concentrating on the 'invention of tradition' (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 2003/1983). Equally, Jane Guyer (1994) has cautioned researchers of African marriage and family against the perception that present configurations always represent sharp transformations of the past. Much more, they may also be seen as "continuities with shifting emphasis" (Guyer, 1994: 249).

Nevertheless, despite these sometimes problematic constructions of past marriage, family and kin constellations that can be found in some of the above cited works, the attempt to understand internal variations clearly extends the limited perspectives of the 'stability' and 'destruction' metanarratives. Caroline Bledsoe's research on marriage in Kpelle society, Liberia, is a good example for this opening up of perspectives and complexity (Bledsoe, 1980). Bledsoe compares the options available and strategies applied by Kpelle women (and to a lesser degree Kpelle men) within what she classifies as more traditional and more modern arenas. Underlying her analysis is the 'wealth-in-people' system which binds people to superiors in ties of marriage, clientship, and filial obligation. Bledsoe argues that the 'wealth-in-people' system continues to be of central importance for the understanding of Kpelle marriage and other social relations (Bledsoe, 1980: Chapter 3). However, because of political economic transformations, especially the emergence of a cash economy and the creation of new income opportunities through wage labor, marketing and cash cropping, the 'wealth-in-people' model is being transformed – but not destroyed. Bledsoe's approach thus clearly fulfils Jane Guyer's request to study 'continuities with shifting emphasis'. Bledsoe shows the ambiguous consequences of the monetization process: while new opportunities may open for some women (based on combinations of generation, location and class), e.g. the choice to stay single, other women's agencies are further constrained. This complex perspective stands in sharp contrast to Harriet Ngubane's (1987, see above) approach. Ngubane's account does not distinguish between different groups of women but lumps all women into one category of 'victims' (for comparable insights about the problematic construction of the categories 'women' and 'gender' cf. Cornwall, 2005; Di Leonardo, 1991; Oyewumi, 1997; Sudarkasa, 1986). Bledsoe's approach goes beyond the narratives of destruction, victimization

and simple conceptions of change and also expands the narrow normative and categorical perspective of marriage, e.g. expressed in descriptions of Kpelle society as 'patrilineal with brideservice and bridewealth', through an analysis of "how people's acts create and change institutions such as marriage" (Bledsoe, 1980: 47). Agency, social practice and the dialectic of agency and structure, while not named explicitly, are nevertheless very present in her work. Hence in several respects, Bledsoe's ethnography, although still using the metanarrative of change and concepts like 'traditional' and 'modern' arenas, anticipates contemporary approaches highlighting negotiation, contestation and ambiguity of marriage.

Around the same time as the publication of Bledsoe's ethnography a number of other researchers equally started to theorize African marriages in more ambiguous and complex perspectives. For example, in Southern Africa, the effects of labor migration on marriage have been studied in comparable innovative ways as Bledsoe's research (Gulbrandsen, 1986; Murray, 1981a,b; Sansom, 1981; Spiegel, 1975). The theoretical movement from models of African marriage focusing mainly on structure to more dynamic models including actor's agency and the interplay between agency and structure can also be traced in the publication of three influential volumes on African marriage during the 1980s (Comaroff, 1980b; Comaroff & Krige, 1981; Parkin & Nyamwaya, 1987b). In the early 1980s, John L. Comaroff edited two volumes on marriage, one on the meaning of marriage payments (comparing cases from Asia, Africa and Europe), and one, together with Eileen Jensen Krige, on marriage in Southern Africa (Comaroff, 1980b; Comaroff & Krige, 1981). In the introductory remarks of both volumes Comaroff underlines that "the main thrust of research has been directed at the jural and structural aspects" (Comaroff, 1981: xii) of marriage and marriage payments. At length, Comaroff shows the deficits of the three variants of 'structure-focused' (in a broader sense) explanations, i.e. structural-functionalist, Marxist and structuralist approaches, to understand marriage payments. The contributions to his two volumes all try to go beyond these limits, as do the contributions to the volume edited by David Parkin and David Nyamwaya (1987b). Tellingly, Parkin and Nyamwaya have subtitled their introduction 'change and choice' stressing both structural dynamics and agencies (1987a). Several years after the publication of Parkin's and Nyamwaya's influential 1987 collection Parkin was invited as a discussant at a symposium on demographic and anthropological perspectives on African marriages (Bledsoe & Pison, 1994). Again, Parkin stressed that anthropological research on African marriage has moved away from normative approaches and towards 'interactional' approaches emphasizing process, strategy, and negotiation of conjugality (Bledsoe & Pison, 1994: 9).

The three metanarratives of African marriage I have discussed here, however, cannot be placed in a chronological order, i.e. from stability over destruction to change and complexity. Although stability conceptions following the British tradition have become rare, they are nevertheless still present, as a recent publication on African families shows: "Because African women and men are

expected to marry and have children, it has been suggested that marriage is nearly universal" (Oheneba-Sakyi & Takyi, 2006: 9). Also the metanarrative of destruction and the metanarrative of change continue to be influential. With the emergence and dramatic spread of the HIV/AIDS pandemic the 'destruction of African families' theme has certainly gained a new momentum (e.g. Gronemeyer, 2002). Yet, while on the one hand the tragic effects HIV/AIDS does have on social relations should not be underestimated one should on the other hand also acknowledge the resilience of kin and family ties in the midst of such a crisis.[4] Again, crisis and change do not have one linear effect, i.e. destruction of family and kin ties, but trigger various and complex reactions by individuals and groups of individuals. Thus, to understand African marriages and other types of conjugal and family relations as fluid and plural social fields of negotiation, ambiguity and hybridity is probably the dominant contemporary metanarrative.

PLURALITY AND DYNAMIC OF AFRICAN MARRIAGES

Plurality and dynamic of marriage types are central topics of recent research on African marriages (for instance Cole, 2004; Cornwall, 2002; Helle-Valle, 1999; Johnson-Hanks, 2006, 2007; Lewinson, 2006; Masquelier, 2005). These issues are not entirely new, though. Throughout the 20th century attempts to define and classify dynamic African marriages have been made. However, more recent approaches like Jennifer Johnson-Hanks' (2007) research on marriage, love and the Internet in Southern Cameroon or Jennifer Cole's (2004) work on sexuality, marriage and consumerism among Malagasy youth have shifted emphasis away from issues of classification and towards questions tackling the intermingling of love/sex/ marriage and money/consumerism.

The two related questions 'What is a marriage?' and 'When is a union a marriage?' are recurrent themes in most research on African marriages up to today. They are already mentioned by Meyer Fortes in his reflections of what he classifies as 'experimental marriages' (Fortes, 1949: 84). Some decades later, Philip Burnham suggests to consider marriage not as a stable category but as a "bundle of interactional possibilities" (Burnham, 1987: 50). Burnham places marriage as just one among several types of conjugal unions (informal cohabitation, or church, registry, or customary marriage) open to men and women, and their respective kin, for interaction. In their introduction to the same volume Parkin and Nyamwaya underline Burnham's approach and state: "This idea of all types of 'marriage' as representing a range of interactional possibilities for individuals and their groups complements that which sees marriage as the product of strategies: the logical possibilities are there, and people can strategize within them" (Parkin & Nyamwaya, 1987a: 4). Burnham, Parkin and Nyamwaya stretch their use of the term 'marriage' very far, virtually including most conjugal unions.

The difficulties in defining certain types of unions as marriage (and others perhaps as not) are closely connected to two central characteristics of African

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marriages: (1) polygyny and its transformations; and (2) the procedural character of marriage already mentioned by Radcliffe-Brown (1987[1950]) and then repeated in much research on African marriage (e.g. Bledsoe, 1980; Bledsoe & Pison, 1994; Comaroff, 1980b; Griffiths, 1997; Helle-Valle, 1999; Lewinson, 2006; Murray, 1976; Solway, 1990). I will first discuss the dynamics of polygyny.

Although polygyny has declined in many parts of Africa and some African countries even have prohibited polygyny the practice and transformations of the practice are nevertheless vital, as many studies indicate (Anderson, 2000; Blanc & Gage, 2000; Bledsoe & Pison, 1994; Comaroff & Roberts, 1977; Spiegel, 1991; Timaeus & Reynar, 1998; Van der Vliet, 1991). As early as in 1977, Comaroff and Roberts have argued for an understanding of changes in polygyny not as a decline of the practice but as its transformation. Restudying Schapera's earlier descriptions of Kgatla premarital sexuality (Schapera, 1933) Comaroff and Roberts found that "the practice of polygyny has been replaced by an emergent social form with an essentially similar cultural logic" (Comaroff & Roberts, 1977: 121). The emergent social form mentioned by Comaroff and Roberts is the practice of serial monogamy. Thus, men continue to have multiple partners yet the timing differs (for a related argument about women and their practice of 'polyandrous motherhood' cf. Guyer, 1994).

Another variation of polygyny is described by Kristin Mann in her historical study of elite settlers in the 19th and early 20th century colonial Lagos (Mann, 1985). 'Outside marriages', i.e. long-term unions contracted outside church or statutory codes, caused much conflict among elite men and women. These unions gave non-elite women access to resources and probably upward mobility but at the same time threatened the position of 'inside wives' and their children. Similar conflicts about 'outside marriages' are portrayed by Barbara Harrell-Bond for conjugal unions in Sierra Leone (Harrell-Bond, 1975) and by Wambui Wa Karanja for the contemporary upper classes of Lagos and Ibadan (Karanja, 1987, 1994). Other polygynous variations are the so called 'little houses' analysed by Anne Lewinson in her Tanzanian research (Lewinson, 2006), the *bobolete* described by Jo Helle-Valle for a rural community in Botswana (Helle-Valle, 1999) and the tavern women of Gauteng province, South Africa, Janet Maia Wojcicki investigates (Wojcicki, 2002). Thus, Bledsoe and Pison conclude in their review of multiple partner unions: "Many of the new marriage forms that outwardly resemble monogamy actually follow patterns of *de facto* polygyny" (Bledsoe & Pison, 1994: 7). Consequently, a range of conjugal relationships exists, dynamically combining customary practices, residence arrangements, state and religious laws, and sexual and other types of exchanges. Depending on one's definition, some of these relations will be classified as marriages, others not.[5]

The continuity of polygyny is also connected to the procedural character of marriage, the second characteristic of African marriages that renders a definition of the institution difficult (some argue maybe even impossible e.g. Ekong, 1989: 40). Marriage in many parts of Africa is a long, ambiguous process rather than

a discrete single event established by a legal, ritual or economic transaction (e.g. Bledsoe, 1980; Bledsoe & Pison, 1994; Comaroff & Roberts, 1977; Guyer, 1994, 2000; Murray, 1981b). Marriage payments, commonly in the form of bridewealth, are seldom transferred at once but through a process of events, thus negotiation of bridewealth has also implications for notions of legitimacy and personhood (Comaroff, 1980b: 30). Bledsoe and Pison describe the sequences of events that may finally lead to marriage: "The process transpires through a sequence of events that might include the exchange of symbolic tokens, making instalments on bridewealth payments, establishing a joint residence, or even the birth of a child. This process may extend over a period of months or even years" (Bledsoe & Pison, 1994: 4). Further, the marriage process is often not a linear process but resembles more a continuous mix of movements in which relationships can also be dissolved or renegotiated. Thus, it can be very difficult to define at what point in time someone is married and when a union begins. Additionally, Bledsoe has noted in her ethnography of Kpelle marriage, Liberia, that the marital status is neither visibly nor audibly expressed. There are no special clothes for married folks and the words for woman or man are the same words as for wife and husband (Bledsoe, 1980: 7). This fluid construction of marriage has caused some headaches for social scientists, especially demographers who want to compare, for instance, the average age at first marriage or the percentage of a population married (Bledsoe and Pison, 1994; van de Walle, 2006).

What then are the effects of these flexible structures for individual actors? Research written from a gendered perspective clearly stresses the enhanced agency some women may gain through the fluidity of the situation (Cole, 2004; Cornwall, 2002; Helle-Valle, 1999; Johnson-Hanks, 2007; Lewinson, 2006; Pauli, 2010b; Van der Vliet, 1984). As some rather fluid and flexible relations do eventually end in marriage this may justify that women also behave rather flexible. Further, because the exchange of gifts, money, and consumer goods is also an important aspect of betrothal and marital relations the mixing of money, sex and love described in much recent ethnography (e.g. Cole, 2004; Cornwall, 2002; Helle-Valle, 1999; Lewinson, 2006; Pauli, 2010b, 2012) is not necessarily condemned. This has also resulted in some puzzlement and confusion by Western observers, e.g. missionaries, early ethnographers and colonial administrators, if this intermingling may not be some type of prostitution (Gordon, 2002; Hunter, 2002).[6]

However, Jennifer Cole has stressed that while some women may profit from flexible conjugal notions, other women, especially those who have lost their 'reputation' and may even be perceived locally as 'prostitutes', experience severe downward mobility (Cole, 2004: 580–581). Reputation and its ambiguities are tightly intertwined with economic issues and the flexible character of conjugal relations. As Cole notes for her Malagasy informants: "All girls who engage in the game of sex for money are constantly involved in a politics of reputation" (Cole, 2004: 581). Cole demonstrates that the reputation of economically unsuccessful

women is especially threatened (Cole, 2004: 580). In other settings, the reputation of economically successful and independent women is questioned as well. In her research on gender relations in Ado-Odo, a small Yoruba town in Southwestern Nigeria, Andrea Cornwall shows that economically independent women are classified as wayward and troublesome (Cornwall, 2002). Similarly, in her 1970s Grahamstown research, a Southern African township, Virginia van de Vliet observes a high degree of moral resentment against economically independent women: "Men seemed aware that these independent women were a nail in the coffin of patriarchy. They often reserved a special scorn for them and their offspring" (Van der Vliet, 1991: 237).

To access the reputation and character of conjugal and sexual partners varying practices of 'testing' a partner have been described for both women and men (Bledsoe & Pison, 1994: 5; Dilger, 2003; Gulbrandsen, 1986: 13; Johnson-Hanks, 2007; Lewinson, 2006; Pauli & Schnegg, 2007; Smith, 2003). These may range from evaluations of the public reputation of a person, tests on how a partner behaves in certain crucial situations (e.g. providing money in times of need), cohabitation, and the birth and support of children. In times of AIDS, other dimensions of 'testing' have been added, e.g. 'examinations' of the partner's bodily surface in search of 'suspicious' bodily marks. Love is often constructed as the result of successful testing (Johnson-Hanks, 2007; Lewinson, 2006; Pauli & Schnegg, 2007), i.e. love is perceived as the central expression of a partner's involvement, caring and investment into a relationship that becomes visible through 'testing'. As Bledsoe and Pison remark (1994: 5) the sometimes yearlong liminal phase of 'testing' a partner is a central aspect of the procedural character of marriage. Consequently, it is important to stress that the above noted flexibility of conjugal relations is tightly embedded into a not so flexible moral and economic structure.

Yet there are limits to the metanarrative of flexible and dynamic conjugal and marital structures. I want to conclude this section with reflections on these limits. I argue that there are at least three central problems associated with the notion of flexible, plural African marriages: (1) To more or less classify most conjugal relations as 'marriages' results in an inflationary use of the term and a significant loss of differentiation and meaning; (2) The inflationary use of the term marriage discloses emerging mechanisms of marginalisation and new forms of exclusion; (3) A focus only on the flexibility of conjugal relations ignores that the construction of marriage as a process has ideally an endpoint when a couple is finally considered as married. My first argument has been inspired by a recent, undoubtedly controversial article by Warren Shapiro on the new kinship studies (Shapiro, 2008). Although I do not follow Shapiro's fierce critique of feminist and constructivist theory, I nevertheless think that Shapiro's objection that not all types of relatedness can be taken as equivalent to kinship ties is justified. There are limits to the construction of kin relations. Based on results from cognitive science, Shapiro highlights the distinction between focal notions of kin concepts, e.g. prototypes, from variations of these notions. Thus although concepts like

'father' are transferable, e.g. God as father, this does not mean that all relations subsumed under the concept have the same quality. Much more, certain aspects of the prototypical relation are taken while other aspects vary or are ignored. These thoughts may also be fruitfully applied to the study of African marriages. While there is no doubt a great amount of flexibility, plurality and dynamic in the construction of African marriages, this does not justify the conclusion that there might not be something like an emically defined 'prototypical marriage' or that all conjugal relations are de facto marriages. What exactly constitutes a 'prototypical marriage' will certainly vary from context to context (Pauli, 2011). This does not mean that the current prototype is fixed and has clear boundaries – quite the opposite, the edges are fuzzy and new elements are continuously added. But the marriage prototype acts as a baseline against which other types of relations are evaluated. This leads to the second problem associated with the flexible and plural notion of African marriages.

A strong focus on flexible constructions of marriage ties might potentially ignore mechanisms of exclusion underlying seemingly fluid structures. This point has been made by Claude Meillassoux in his role as discussant at a conference on anthropological and demographic approaches to African marriages:

> Claude Meillassoux, a discussant at the seminar, drew forceful attention to these sweeping changes in nuptiality and to their economic underpinnings. He stressed that these criteria become encoded into the marriage system, making conjugal hierarchies more entrenched: élite women are more likely to become 'legitimate' or 'insider' wives, while the status of other women deteriorates. (Bledsoe & Pison, 1994: 19)

Finally, to focus only on the procedural character ignores that there is an ideal endpoint to the negotiations and flexibilities and that this endpoint, i.e. formally and publicly being considered as married, is increasingly not being reached by more and more people. The decline in marriage rates is especially strong in Southern Africa (Bongaarts, 2007; Pauli, 2010a, 2011; Van Dijk, 2010).

DECLINING MARRIAGE RATES

For some time now, both demographers and anthropologists have noted significant changes in marriage rates and family relations (for an overview cf. Pauli, 2011). Discussing the effects of labour migration on Southern African systems of family and marital relations, from the 1930s onwards several anthropologists became increasingly aware of rising rates of children born premarital. An early example is Schapera's 1930s work on premarital pregnancies among Tswana communities heavily involved in male labour migration (Schapera, 1933). Two decades later and based on urban research from the 1950s and the 1960s, a number of South African anthropologists reported similar rising numbers of children born out-of-wedlock and an increase in unmarried female-headed households for several South African

townships (Mayer, 1961; Preston-Whyte, 1978). However, these developments were largely attributed to the effects urban life and migration has had on family composition in towns. Despite Schapera's earlier work, rural areas were seen as virtually untouched by these changes (Preston-Whyte, 1978: 82). But this changed soon. About another decade later and based on rural research from the 1970s and 1980s, both Adam Kuper and Ørnulf Gulbrandsen described tremendous changes in marital and family relations for rural Southern African communities (Gulbrandsen, 1986; Kuper, 1987). Kuper, who with his ethnographic comparison of four Southern African marriage systems titled 'Wives for Cattle' described in detail the universal marriage as part of the political and economic system (Kuper, 1982), observed in 1987 "dramatic changes in the incidences of marriage and in the incidence of illegitimacy" (1987: 141). In a 1978 restudy of the Botswana village Isaac Schapera had researched in the 1930s one of Adam Kuper's graduate students, Marja Molenaar, found "substantial increase in the number of unmarried women and in the number of children born out of wedlock. The decline in polygyny only partially accounts for these changes" (1987: 141). As recent anthropological and demographic work on Botswana shows these trends, i.e. declining marriage rates and an increase in children born out-of-wedlock and couples cohabitating without being married, continue until today (Griffiths, 1997, 1998; Helle-Valle, 1999; Mokomane, 2005, 2006; Upton, 2001; Van Dijk, 2010, 2012). Similar dynamics have been described for Namibia (Fuller, 1993; Gordon, 1972; Iken, 1999; Pauli, 2007, 2009, 2012; Tersbøl, 2002).

For South Africa comparable macro and micro level trends are described (Hosegood et al., 2009; Hunter, 2004, 2007). Based on long-term ethnographic fieldwork in South Africa's Kwazulu Natal province, Mark Hunter shows that "throughout the 20th century a growing number of women gave birth out of wedlock" (Hunter, 2007: 692). To further extend his ethnographic findings Hunter incorporates macro level national census data into his analysis. Despite a number of data problems[7] Hunter is able to present chronological data on marriage status for the South African population classified as 'African'. He shows that from 1936 until the 1980s between 50 to 60 percent of the 'African' population 15 years and older has been married (including both civil and customary marriages). Then the number of people classified as married declines to 42 percent in 1980, 38 percent in 1991 and 30 percent in 2001. Hunter concludes: "Census data support the claim that there has been a quite dramatic decline over the last four decades" (Hunter, 2007: 695). Hunter stresses that the factors behind the decline are complex and only summarizes the following ones: women's increased economic independence and with rising unemployment rates since the 1970s men's inability to secure bridewealth (*ilobolo*) and to act as provider (cf. also Hunter, 2002, 2004, 2005, 2007, 2009, 2010). Hunter states that in South Africa "marriage today is, in many respects, a middle-class institution" (Hunter, 2007: 695).

Although these developments are especially pronounced in Southern Africa, some of the trends can also be observed in other African regions. For example Uche Isiugo-Abanike has shown for highly educated Igbo-speakers in Nigeria that marriage is being delayed, age at first marriage increases and the proportion of never-married individuals rises (Isiugo-Abanihe, 1994). Isiugo-Abanike concludes that marriage is not early and universal anymore. According to Isiugo-Abanike the main reason for these marriage changes are exploding bridewealth costs far beyond reach for the majority of men. He even speaks of an 'inflation of bridewealth'.

Very similar developments are presented in a recent study of Dogondoutchi, a Hausaphone and predominantly Muslim town in rural Niger (Masquelier, 2005). As Adeline Masquelier shows there exists a common perception that today's youths are facing a crisis of unprecedented proportions: "The 'crisis' centres on their inability to marry and to achieve full social seniority" (Masquelier, 2005: 59). Marriage in Mawri society is central for social maturity and without marriage the young do not become adults. Bridewealth and wedding costs have increased tremendously and "young men without the means to marry find themselves condemned to a kind of limbo life" (Masquelier, 2005: 60). Adeline Masquelier provides further explanations why bridewealth and wedding costs have exploded so much. According to her there is "a widespread sense in Niger that a growing thirst for the prestige earned through the staging of extravagant wedding celebrations has contributed to the spiralling bridewealth inflation and, by implication, the postponement of marriage for many" (Masquelier, 2005: 62–63).[8]

Another West African example is Jennifer Johnson-Hanks research on marriage changes in Southern Cameroon (Johnson-Hanks, 2007). Johnson-Hanks demonstrates that age-specific marriage probabilities in Southern Cameroon have fallen markedly. Like Uche Isiugo-Abanike and Adeline Masquelier Jennifer Johnson-Hanks focuses on the entanglement of marriage rates and economic dynamics to explain these demographic trends: "Of course, there are many reasons for this decline; however, the disjuncture between aspirations for marriage and real-life opportunities plays a central role" (Johnson-Hanks, 2007: 652). Importantly, Johnson-Hanks stresses that a decline in marriage rates does not necessarily mean a decline in the meaning and relevance of marriage (for a similar observation cf. also Hosegood et al., 2009: 299). Indeed, it may just mean exactly the opposite:

> That is marriage rates are not declining because marriage is becoming irrelevant or because it is less systematically valued than in the past. Rather, marriage is becoming more rare precisely because it is so terribly important to women's status that it be done well. (Johnson-Hanks, 2007: 652)

Hence, marriage is hardly an option anymore for an increasingly larger group of people. Men and women who because of their vulnerable and meagre economic

and 'real-life opportunities' are unable to marry have been degraded to spectators of weddings of those privileged enough to afford them. The celebration of distinctions through luxurious weddings has become a central arena of class expression and legitimization in Southern Africa and beyond (Pauli, 2011).

CONCLUSION: TOO POOR TO MARRY

Much research has noted a strong increase in wedding costs and an 'inflation' of bridewealth (Gulbrandsen, 1986; Isiugo-Abanihe, 1994; Masquelier, 2005; Murray, 1976, 1981a; Tersbøl, 2002). This increase in wedding costs runs parallel to growing unemployment rates and increasing numbers of economically marginalized men and women (Hunter, 2005, 2007, 2009; Pauli, 2012). In many regions of Southern Africa today, marriage celebrations are beyond reach for the majority of the population. People who want to marry, actually the majority, are unable to do so. While the economic basis for survival of the majority is getting more and more meagre, emerging elites and middle classes have appropriated wedding celebrations to express their distinctions, increasing the symbolic and economic divide even further.

Following Ferguson (1999) I have labelled the different interpretations of African marriage transformations as 'metanarratives'. Especially anthropologists from or influenced by the British school of social anthropology have stressed the transition of marriage from a universal, virtually all aspects of life embracing institution before the rise of colonialism to an institution in ruins during colonialism. The two interrelated metanarratives 'pre-colonial stable/universal marriage' and 'decay of marriage during colonial times' perceive the decline of marriage rates thus as a logic consequence of larger macro dynamics. These approaches need to be supplemented with more agency based approaches that I have summarized under the two metanarratives of 'change' and 'plurality/fluidity' of African marriages. While the 'change' metanarrative basically stresses and empirically demonstrates that the metanarrative 'decay of 'African' marriage' is too simplistic for a nuanced understanding of the changes (which are perceived not as linear processes but complex dynamics with multiple outcomes for different actors) the currently dominant metanarrative 'plurality/fluidity' focuses on the great flexibility and adaptability of marriage (and also kinship) in both past and present times. Yet this metanarrative does also have limits, especially its non-theorizing of the strong increase in wedding costs and the parallel decline in marriage rates.

This transformation of costs and practices of weddings has been observed for several parts of Southern Africa. In general, these dynamics have to be linked to class formation processes and a strong increase in economic and social stratification. Weddings have become central arenas of distinction for the emerging elites and middle classes. Interestingly, the metanarrative capturing these dynamics is still in the making and not yet very common in the thinking about African marriages.

This metanarrative could be summarized as 'low rates, high value of marriage': it tells us that in many parts of Southern Africa marriage rates are historically unparalleled low while marriage as an institution is extremely valued.

NOTES

[1] My classification into these four 'metanarratives' is only one possibility to order thoughts and findings on African marriage. One might also differentiate between studies following British descent theory and studies following French alliance theory (cf. Parkin & Nyamwaya, 1987a).

[2] This brief review of some of the main arguments of anthropological thinking about African marriage in the 20th century is of course not at all comprehensive. I only want to show how selected anthropologists have theorized African marriage, i.e. what models and narratives they have constructed to understand, interpret and explain the institution and transformations of the institution they observed.

[3] Meyer Fortes' generalization focuses on the Tallensi. However, the same argument is made by Radcliff-Brown (1987 [1950]: 43) for African marriages in general and by John Barnes for the Ngoni of Zambia (at the time of research still Northern Rhodesia):

> "Adults are assumed to be married, and the assumption is justified. Marriage is seen by the Ngoni as part of the natural order. Unmarried adults cannot fill important roles and are regarded as overgrown children whose anomalous condition must be explained by reference to malady or a physical or moral defect" (Barnes, 1951: vii). Barnes concludes that both 'traditional' *and* 'modern' marriage among the Ngoni is of "universal and permanent character." (1951: vii)

[4] A similar reasoning has been suggested two decades earlier by Gulbrandsen (1986) in his reaction to Schapera's perception of the destructive character labor migration has had on Tswana family life. Gulbrandsen wrote:

> Although abandonment of polygyny and circular labor migration in combination have fundamentally transformed the systems of marriage and family relations, it can be argued that a pattern has evolved which ensures links of mutuality and support between productive and dependent family members. (1986: 25)

[5] E.g. a definition focusing on shared residence might include 'outside marriages' while a definition based on church or statutory codes will exclude these unions.

[6] The difficulties (impossibilities maybe) in transferring the Western concept of 'prostitution' to African contexts have been discussed at length by Helle-Valle (1999).

[7] Especially measurement difficulties, e.g. African marriages as processes and not single events, different systems of marriage co-existing and unreliability of Apartheid statistics.

[8] Masquelier further differentiates the varying responses by men and women of different generations to highlight how social reproduction is experienced under the combined effects of neo-liberal economics and reformist Islam.

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7. LGBTI RIGHTS AND EXPERIENCES IN THREE SOUTHERN AFRICAN NATIONS

INTRODUCTION

> LGBT people already have God's full love and acceptance—they are his
> children too. But they need our acceptance, our love. And to the extent that
> legal discrimination, those old laws and statutes that make them inferior still
> exist, it is up to all to work to change those laws. I have no doubt that in the
> future, the laws that criminalise so many forms of human love and commitment
> will look the way the apartheid laws do to us now—so obviously wrong. Such
> a terrible waste of human potential. Desmond Tutu 2012 (NCBI, 2012)

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a brief overview of basic information
pertaining to LGBTI rights, issues, experiences and activism in Botswana, South
Africa and Swaziland. The original data presented here were collected during
fieldwork conducted from December 2014 to May 2015 in these three Southern
African nations. My research was facilitated through my position as a visiting
scholar with the Namibian based NGO, Positive Vibes Trust (PV). This organization,
founded in 2004, envisions open, equitable and healthy societies in Southern Africa
in which civil society organizations play a key role in influencing progressive social
development in partnership with government and the private sector. PV facilitates
and promotes positive social change through a process of personalization, dialogue
and voice, working mainly with and promoting the rights of Key Populations.

PV has developed a curricula and process called LILO (Looking in, Looking out),
which is a personalized approach to exploring gender identity and sexual orientation
with the hopes to move people towards a positive LGBTI identity, a strong self-
concept and a high regard for themselves as LGBTI individuals (Church, n.d.). With
the permission and support of PV, I attended LILO workshops and administered
questionnaires and conducted interviews. The fieldwork data presented in this
chapter is augmented with extensive desk research.

With good reason, many articles, reports and books addressing LGBTI issues in
this region accentuate the negative, such as lack of legal rights and the obstacles
to obtaining social and legal equality (Selemogwe & White, 2013; HRW, 2011).
This chapter will summarize these struggles while also highlighting recent social
and legal developments that suggest a more promising outlook. My data bolsters
a more optimistic outlook, suggesting that despite legal restrictions in Botswana
and Swaziland and discrimination and prejudice in all three countries, many young

LGBTI people in in Botswana, South Africa and Swaziland are informed and exhibit a high degree of self-determination and self-esteem.

BACKGROUND OF LGBTI ISSUES

> The workshop changed my life under my own skin. It boosted my confidence so that I can't tolerant stigma and discrimination. Now I can just walk away because I know who I am. (26 year old gay male from Botswana)

Factors Impacting LTGBI Identity

It is important to situate any discussion of LGBTI people in Southern Africa in a global context. For example, in the following overview of LGBTI rights and experiences, lack of legal protections and discrimination, including hate crimes will be discussed. Yet, to put this in perceptive, it should be noted that LGBTI rights in the West were lacking or incomprehensive until recently and experiences in regards to discrimination and being victimized by hate-crimes is still all too real. For example, although "gay" marriage became legal in the United States in 2015 and was, according to polls back by the majority of Americans, 17 transgender people were murdered in the first eight months of 2015 (Rogersaug, 2015).

It is common in activist and academic literature refer to the LGBTI "community," implying that that LGBTI people are somehow automatically members of a cohesive group.[1] However, secrecy and fear of familial and societal rejection promote isolation and sometimes inhibit people from revealing their nonconforming gender and sexual identities even to other nonconformists. Furthermore, in Southern Africa, as in most parts of the world, there is significant variation and sometimes tension between and even within LGBTI populations. Keeping with the patriarchal dynamic that permeates African culture gay men are usually at the top of the LGBTI hierarchy. Lesbians, for the mere fact of being women have lower status. Many gays and lesbians dismiss bisexuality as an unauthentic sexual identity. During two of the workshops I attended, when it came time to discuss the "B" part of LGBTI, bisexuality was dismissed out-of-hand and no one protested. One facilitator simply said, "We know there is no such thing." Transgender people often consider themselves to heterosexual so do not fit neatly in with homosexual identity of lesbians and gays. Within the groups, people who are "out" sometimes stigmatize those that are still in the closet.

> I learnt that as much as I am transgender, whichever group you fall under, each and every one of us has challenges and it helped in sharing these challenges and provided comfort amongst one another. (23 year old transwoman from Swaziland)

As the quote above suggests, what binds LGBTI people together is the commonality of their experiences as sexual minorities. During the workshops post-workshop

interviews, many participants were exuberant because they had met like-minded people. Phrases such as "Now I know that I not alone" were common.

Gender and sexual identity are fundamental aspects of who we are as humans. The vast majority of people in the world are heterosexual and cisgender.[2] Heterosexism and heteronormativity runs deep in most cultures, sometimes forcing nonconforming people to live in secrecy, denial and/or fear. The idea of sexual rights as human rights is still a largely contested notion, and human rights violations against people with gender and sexual nonconforming identities have been well documented in Southern Africa (Cloete et al., 2010; ILGA, 2014). LGBTI people routinely face stigma, discrimination and marginalization in terms of access to healthcare, and employment and educational opportunities. In addition, they are often subject to harassment from the police, including arrest and detention, physical threats and abuse, blackmail and ridicule (UNAIDS, 2014). All nonconforming persons whether it be their sexual identity or gender identity are at risk of violence, particularly in the townships and rural areas (Vice, 2015). Lesbians, in particular, face and fear violence, including "correctional rape" (Hunter-Gault, 2015; Mkhize et al., 2010; van Dyk, 2011; Wesley, 2012).[3] It is difficult to determine the prevalence of such violence. It has been reported that many of these crime go unreported due to fear of retaliation or lack of cooperation from the police (Vice, 2015).

In Southern Africa legal, cultural and religious policies, beliefs and dynamics negatively impact the lives of LGBTI people. Below is a brief summary of some of the religious and cultural issues. The legal issues will be dealt with in a later section.

Religious Issues

The majority of the people in Botswana, Swaziland and South Africa identify as Christians and believe that same-sex relations are in direct conflict to Biblical teachings. Although this chapter began with a heartening message from Desmond Tutu, not all religious leaders in southern Africa embrace LGBTI identities and sexual practices. The following statement by Botswana Pastor Matlhaope, made in 2013, is also part of the dialogue: [It is] the church's strong view that homosexual practices [are] a distortion of God's blueprint for human sexuality and should not be tolerated in a God fearing nation" (thevoicebw, 2013). Hence, discrimination and prejudice toward LGBTI individuals is often thought to have a scriptural basis and justification. Many of the participants in the workshops cited their parent's strong religious beliefs as the reason why they could not come out to them.

Culture Issues

Cultural dynamics affect the self-determination of LGBTI individuals. Traditionally, Botswana, South Africa and Swaziland have, as do most other cultures, strict norms regarding appropriate male and female behavior and dress (LaFont, 2015). There is also a prescribed gendered division of labor, where men are expected to perform

certain tasks, while women are expected to perform others. All young people are expected to marry and have offspring. Parents often exert considerable pressure on their children, even those who are "out" to follow this tradition. During the workshop I attended in Botswana, one lesbian explained that she was "out" to her family and although they acknowledged her sexual orientation, they continued to ask her: "When are you getting married?" And of course, they were referring to a heterosexual marriage. Several women and men in the workshop group agreed that they had had similar experiences.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

As HIV rates have stabilized or dropped amongst the heterosexual populations in Sub-Saharan Africa, as well as in most of the world, the focus on HIV prevention has shifted to "key populations" (sometimes referred to as most-at-risk populations): Men who have sex with men (MSM); transgender people; sex workers and people who inject drugs (amFAR, 2013, University of California, 2015). According to the World Health Organization, "Between 40% and 50% of all new HIV infections among adults worldwide may occur among people from key populations and their immediate partners" (WHO, 2014). One of the reasons for this development is that until recently most HIV prevention programs in Sub-Saharan Africa focused on heterosexuals.[4]

With the exception of those who engage in same-sex sexuality in South Africa, key populations, due to the illegality of their activities, real or perceived discrimination from healthcare workers and/or fear that healthcare workers will report them to the police has created a situation in which key populations, in particular MSM, are difficult to reach (University of California, 2015). This has prompted many conventional NGOs and newly formed NGOs in Africa to develop outreach and educational programs geared specifically towards key populations. This is a relatively new field of inquiry in terms of scientific inquiry. Subsequently, since 2012, there has been a dramatic increase in activism and research on LGBTI people in southern Africa (Ricardo et al., 2015).

The progress towards the acceptance of sexual and gender diversity has resulted in the conjoining of HIV prevention amongst key populations with the LGBTI right's movements. For example, in 2012 the Swaziland the Alliance of Mayors' Initiative on Coordinated Action against AIDS at the Local Level (AMICAALL) partnered with PSI International, a family planning company, to become the first health initiative in the country to welcome same-sex couples, encouraging them to utilize their HIV testing and counselling services (IRIN, 2012).

Such efforts have been slow to come and are sometimes met with resistance. It is often proclaimed, contrary to much evidence, that homosexuality is "un-African" – a Western import and indicative of the moral depravity and decadence of the Europeans who colonized Africa (Roscoe & Murray, 2001; McKaiser, 2012). Yet, despite negative political, cultural and legal dynamics, grass-roots African LGBTI

organizations, sometimes with support from Western donors, have become more vocal and visible (Ricardo et al., 2015).

Local or international human rights organizations have also expanded their scope to include LGBTI rights in their human rights campaigns. Most organizations embrace the entire spectrum of LGBTI, for example Rock of Hope in Swaziland and LeGaBiBo (Lesbians, Gays and Bisexuals of Botswana) in Botswana. However, there other organizations that support specific populations such as the South African based organizations Transgender and Intersex Africa and Gender DymaniX (which focuses solely on transgender issues). Reports often cite very low membership in these organizations but these numbers need to be read with care. I was informed that although many people may participate in an organization's activities, few can afford or are inclined to pay the dues in order to become official members.

While there is diversity amongst Sub-Saharan countries, some generalizations can be made: (1) HIV prevalence rates amongst heterosexuals are stable or decreasing in these countries; (2) HIV prevalence rates amongst key populations are increasing; (3) reducing discrimination against transgender and intersex people is often included as part of the mission of LGBTI organizations but specific information as to their plight is often not addressed; (4) in terms of LGBTI rights, some countries seem to be moving forward in terms of tolerance and upholding LGBTI rights as human rights, while in other countries legislation has been introduced to increase the penalties for same-sex sexual conduct; and (5) in most countries it is not illegal to be LGBTI rather it is the related sexual contact, such as same-sex sodomy, that is illegal.

LGBTI RIGHTS AND EXPERIENCE IN BOTSWANA, SOUTH AFRICA AND SWAZILAND

Laws specifically protecting LGBTI persons are desirable but South Africa is the only country in Africa where such legal protections are in place. However, Botswana and Swaziland have ratified international treaties that by definition, without specific mention of LGBTI identities, protect the rights of LGBTI people as human rights. The African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights of 1981, which has been ratified by all of the 54 member states of the African Union, requires tolerance and respect towards all individuals and states that each person is to be treated equally before the law. This treaty was ratified by Botswana in 1986, in South Africa in 1996 and in Swaziland in 1995 (Ricardo et al., 2015). The United Nations (UN) International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights was ratified by South Africa in 2015 and by Swaziland in 2004. It has not been ratified by Botswana (University of Minnesota, 2015). The first line of this treaty is "All people have the right of self-determination. In 2014, the United Nations Council adopted a resolution to protect "human rights, sexual orientation and gender identity" (HRC, 2014). South Africa was the only African country that voted in favor of the resolution. Botswana voted against it. Swaziland is not a member of the HRC. In general, the resolution was met

with extreme resistance by Middle-Eastern and African nations. It was supposed to be revisited in 2015 but as of November 2015, I could not find any recent action regarding the resolution (UNC, 2014). Nevertheless, it is significant that the issue was put forth to the council.

Botswana

It is not illegal, per se, to be a LGBTI person in Botswana. However, the penal code criminalizes against the order of nature" which is punishable by up to seven years in prison. Same-sex sexuality amongst men and women is criminalized (ILGA, 2013). Section 164 reads: "Unnatural offences – Any person…who has carnal knowledge of any person against the order of nature or permits any other person to have carnal knowledge of him or her against the order of nature" (LoC, 2014). Consequently, there is no legal recognition of same-sex couples in terms of marriage, adoption, etc. (Godisang et al., 2004). Yet, despite the law and anti-LGBTI comments by politicians (see below), the law is rarely enforced and there is considerable activism supporting LGBTI rights (Ricardo et al., 2015).

In 2010, the Botswana Employment Amendment Act: 10 was passed. This Act amended the Employment Act by outlawing discrimination in employment based on sexual orientation and health status, including HIV/AIDS status (ICJ/Sogi, 2013). In 2013, BONELA, the Botswana Network on Ethics, Law and HIV/AIDS, hosted a meeting with activists and 25 local chiefs to discuss the discrimination against LGBTI people in the country. In contrast to general claims of homosexuality being un-African, Steward (2013) reported that "the chiefs said that homosexuality has always been part of local society, as is clear from the existence of a word for it—"matanyola"—in the local Setswana language, which is spoken by about 4.5 million people in Botswana and South Africa" (Stewart, 2013). Just the acknowledgement that LGBTI identities are indigenous to Botswana was a significant move forward in terms of the acceptance of sexual minorities.

In 2014, the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights announced that it had adopted a "Resolution on the Protection against Violence and other Human Rights Violations against Persons on the Basis of their Real or Imputed Sexual Orientation or Gender Identity" (ISHR, 2014). Botswana supported the adoption of the declaration but there was no word that this would lead to a repeal of the countries laws which criminalize same-sex relationships (Potts, 2014). Also, in 2014, LeGaBiBo, the largest LGBTI organization in Botswana, won an important victory in the courts by being allowed to register as an organization. This ruling legally recognized their right to exist but despite the fact that LeGaBiBo has a visible office in Gaborone, in 2015, the workshop I attended there was held in a "safe house." This certainly indicates that LGBTI people still need to be protected from perceived violence. Yet, you would have not known this from the atmosphere at the workshop which was upbeat and lively. Most of the participants in the workshop were openly gay or lesbian and two transgender people also participated.

While the laws against same-sex sodomy are largely ignored in Botswana harassment and hates crimes still exist. One of the transmen at the workshop related his experience of correction rapes several years ago and gave birth to a child as a result of the rape. Others transmen and lesbians at the workshop reported being harassed, threatened and often living in fear.

It is not against the law to be transgender in Botswana but this does not mean that transgender people are free from ridicule and harassment. However, while out to lunch at an upscale restaurant café in Gaborone with the organizers of the workshop, one of whom was a transman, a beautiful transwoman stopped by our table to announce an upcoming event in which she was featured and was also selling rainbow bracelets. While our presence at the restaurant and the arrival of the transwoman seemed to spark a bit of interest, and this could have been because we were a mixed race and multinational groups, there was nothing to suggest disapproval or prejudice.

South Africa

Legally, South Africa ranks as one of the most progressive countries in the world regarding LGBTI rights. After the end of apartheid in 1994, there was a deep respect for human rights and the new constitution offered broad protections against human rights abuses. The South African constitution is the only constitution in the world to outlaw discrimination based on sexual orientation. It is also the only country in Africa to allow for same-sex marriage, which became legal in 2006. Discrimination based on gender identity and sexual orientation is legal prohibited and joint adoption is allowed (BBC, 2002).

However, the lived experiences of many LGBTI people in South Africa does not always reflect the liberal laws and legal protections. In 2012, the Congress of Traditional African Leaders of South Africa submitted a proposal to remove the protection against discrimination based on sexual orientation from the South African constitution. Although, The African National Congress (ANC) rejected the proposal, it provides insight into lack of support of LGBTI rights (Mbutho, 2013).

Five people, including three lesbians were murdered in 2013–2014 in what is believed to be hate crimes related to their gender identity and/or sexual orientation (AI, 2014/15). In an interview, a woman who lives openly as a lesbian stated, "Every day I live in fear that I will be raped…Lots of my friends have been raped for being lesbian. It's not an unusual thing" (Bendix, 2014).

In response to such violence, in 2013, a Combating Hate Crimes, Hate Speech and Unfair Discrimination policy was proposed. Deputy Minister of Justice and Constitutional Development, the Hon JH Jeffery, MP announced in 2014 that significant progress had been made but noted that it had been held up because there is much debate about trying to protect free speech while outlawing hate speech (doj & cd, 2014). As of November 2015, I could not find an update on the status of the policy.

Advocates for LGBTI rights claim that the need for such a policy is overdue. Currently there is no systematic collection of data related to violence or hate crimes against LGBTI people (Bendix, 2014). And while many laud the prospect of the new policy, others suggest that there is already enough legislation in place to protect LGBTI people and that the violence will not end until there is a change of mentality with South Africans and with the attitude of the police (Anderson, 2013).

Research conducted in 2013 found that 61 percent of South Africans did not think homosexuality should be accepted by society. However, this figure should be put in the context. Compared with the other Sub-Saharan countries surveyed South Africa's acceptance of homosexuality was by far the highest – in Kenya the figure was eight percent, Uganda four percent, Ghana three percent, Senegal three percent and Nigeria one percent (PRC, 2013).

On the positive side, South Africa elected its first openly gay member of parliament and another openly gay man was appointed as a cabinet member in May 2014 (HRC, 2014). In addition, there are thriving LGBTI organizations in South Africa, annual gay pride parades and even a "pink" map to Cape Town, listing and showing all the LGBTI friendly establishments in the city.

Swaziland

In Swaziland anal sex between males is illegal as a common law offence with the penalty of less than ten years in prison. Same-sex sexual activity amongst women is not criminalized. Same-sex couples cannot jointly adopt children and there are no legal protection against discrimination (ILGA, 2013). Although there are people in Swaziland living openly as LGBTI, the topic is basically taboo. LGBTI people face stigma, discrimination and violence (KENWORTHY, 2013).

In 2012, Minister of Justice and Constitutional Affairs, Magwagwa Gamedze, dismissed a request by a United Nations human rights group working in Swaziland to recognize LGBTI people, stating, "It was difficult for government to formulate a policy on homosexuals or enact a law to recognize them because they actually formed a minority if ever they existed. Their numbers do not permit us to start processing a policy" (IRIN, 2012).

The LILO workshop I attended in Swaziland was much more subdued than those I attended in the other countries. This could be attributed to the fact that it was held in the countryside instead of a major city. But the atmosphere was probably more somber due to the fact that in attendance were the sister and girlfriend of a recently slain lesbian. A month before I arrived in Swaziland, a young lesbian, Kayla Glover had been murdered in what is believed to be a hate crime. The day I arrived, Malume, the founder of Rock of Hope, the largest LGBTI organization in Swaziland, and I went to visit her grieving family. They informed us that the man who brutally murdered Kayla was out on bail the same day he appeared in court, and they had little hope of justice.

There are organizations such as Rock of Hope and House of our Pride (HOOP) that operate openly. Sibusiso Masango, Secretary General of HOOP stated in a 2013 interview, "We see that there are some changes and we do push." Beginning in 2012, LGBTI groups have organized an event to commemorate International Day against Homophobia and Transphobia. In 2015, the event was themed 'Fighting Against Hate Crime'. A moment of silence was observed for Kayla Glover, Themba Zwane and Floyd Mhlongo of Swaziland and all those who had been murdered for their gender identity or sexual orientation (Shongwe, 2015).

I interviewed LGBTI people who had attended previous LILO workshops at the Rock of Hope headquarters in Manzini. They were much more upbeat. When discussing his experience at the workshop, a 21 year old gay interviewee said, "It made me take time to look at my inner self and find out if I am happy and in time I did discover that I was happy and free to do whatever my heart tells me to do." And when I was interviewing a transwoman, she said she had to cut the interview short because she was playing a game with a men's basketball team. This confused me as I knew this person as a transwoman. I asked Malume about this, and he informed me that transwomen had their own basketball team in Manzini.

METHODOLOGY

I think it [the workshop] has helped me understand who I am – issues to do with who I am, issues to do with my personality and also being able to put me in the society part of the equation. Because, for the most part, people tend to look at them vs the society instead of them as part of the society. (26 year old gay male attending a workshop in Johannesburg)

The main hypothesis of the original research is that attending a LILO workshop has a positive impact on understanding LGBTI identities and helps to enable LGBTI people to lead healthier and safer lives.

In-house PV curricula developer, Patsy Church, who has over 15 years of experience facilitating workshops and formulating mental health and HIV prevention programs, has developed a three day LILO workshop curriculum based on positive psychology with the goal of empowering LGBTI people (Church, 2013). The workshop was been rolled out in seven Sub-Saharan African nations (South Africa, Namibia, Lesotho, Swaziland, Botswana Tanzania, and Zimbabwe). PV is planning on expanding this offering into additional Sub-Saharan African countries and potentially beyond the African continent.

The method of their operation is to work longitudinally with local LGBTI organizations, with LILO workshops often being the catalyst forming the long-term partnership. Initial workshops are conducted by LILO facilitators. Persons with leadership skills are identified during the workshops. After several workshops are conducted in the selected countries, LILO schedules a five day ToT (Training

of Trainers) workshop. During the course of the five days, would-be trainers go through the curriculum provided with holistic capacity strengthening support, and then teach it back to the group. They are evaluated and designated into the categories of Master Facilitators (qualified to conduct workshops in all SADC countries), Lead Trainer (qualified to conduct workshops in their own countries), Support Trainer (qualified to aid a Master Trainer or Lead Trainer in conducting a workshop). This method has been creating and continues to create a network of qualified educators/ activists throughout Southern Africa.

The findings presented here are based on data collected via questionnaires and interviews with people who attended LILO workshops in South Africa, Botswana and Swaziland. There were a total of forty-five workshop attendees who completed the pre workshop questionnaire, the post workshop questionnaire or both. Participants were from South Africa, Swaziland, Botswana, Zimbabwe, and Malawi. Interestingly, the only Malawian attendee was a male heterosexual who had recently become a king. He informed us that his new status would provide him with more influence and power and that he planned to use this to affect change and empower LGBTI people in his country.

There was 100% compliance in completing the questionnaires. Attendees were read a consent statement informing them that we were not required to complete the questionnaire or answer any of the questions. To insure confidentiality questionnaires were folded in half and collected into a bag or box by the workshop facilitators. The questionnaires were administered either by me or one of the LILO facilitators. I conducted all of the interviews. The data present here is a total of all participants unless otherwise noted and will only be presented if a significant difference exists between attendees from different countries.

As per my Internal Review Board permission to conduct this research, all participants were at least 18 years of age. This did not seem to be an issue as everyone at the workshop acknowledged that they were 18 years old or older. The age issue was, however, based on a self-reporting honor system.

Four research tools were employed to collect qualitative and quantitative data: (1) a pre-workshop questionnaire administered directly at the beginning of the workshop; (2) a post-workshop questionnaire administered at the end of the workshop; (3) post workshop interviews; (4) and interviews with individual who had attended a workshop in the past.

LIMITATIONS OF DATA

Because LILO depends on local LGBTI organizations to organize and spread the word about LILO workshops, the research cohort was self-identifying and had at least knowledge of or experience with LGBTI activism.

For the most part, I participated in all the workshop as an attendee. I did this to experience what the other attendees were experiencing and also to build trust that would be carried over to the interview process.

The workshop I attended in Johannesburg was a "Trainer of Trainers" workshop, meaning that those attending the workshop in order to be certified as a trainer. Thus, nine of the 16 participants had previously attend at least one LILO workshop. Also, the number of people completing the pre workshop questionnaire is different from that of those who completed the post workshop questionnaire. This is due to the fact that people who were not present at the very beginning of the workshop, missed the pre workshop questionnaire but usually completed the post workshop questionnaire. Some workshop participants completed the pre workshop questionnaire but were not in attendance when the post workshop questionnaire was administered. So it should be noted that there is not always an exact match between those who completed the pre workshop questionnaire and those who completed the post workshop questionnaire. While this is not ideal, data collection amongst this population under the present circumstances is challenging at best.

All questionnaires and interviews were administered/conducted in English. English is one of the 11 official languages of South Africa. English is one of the two official languages of both Botswana and Swaziland. I can state with confidence that everyone I interviewed was fluent in English. However, since there was no oral component to completing the questionnaires, it is unknown if there were language difficulties.

RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

> The most valuable things I learned at the workshop is that I don't always have to stick my problems under the mat. I am not alone in this. I always have to face up to my problems and not run away from them. It gives me ways of actually helping other who are going through the same thing. (32 year old gender nonconforming person who identified as heterosexual from Botswana)

There are stereotypes and misconceptions, held both by locals and foreigners, about what it means to be a LGBTI (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex) person in Southern Africa. This unfortunate because the issues facing LGBTI people are varied, complex and often misunderstood. There are variations from country to country and within countries, between rural and urban populations and within families, ranging from full acceptance to being totally ostracized (Walters, 2015).

The atmosphere at all the workshops was exuberant – there was an abundance of laughter and more than a few tears. The support they provided each other was constant, sincerely and truly touching. Due to the intimate nature of the workshop exercises bonded the group together quickly. It was an amazingly uplifting and soul-searching series of exercises. After experiencing the workshop, reviewing the preliminary results and conducing a few interviews, I thought that the bonding of the participants and trainers would be facilitated by having the attendees set up a Facebook page, a WhatsApp or Google+ site. I added a question at the end of the questionnaire and interview script asking if they would be willing to stay in touch

with their fellow workshop attendees via one of these forms of social media. Every single participant seemed eager to do so. Even without this more organized way to keep in touch, information and cellphone numbers were exchanged with promises to stay in touch.

The final version and the pre-workshop questionnaire consisted of 32 questions, 29 of which were multiple choice and true/false. The questions about their age, what the letters LGBTIQ stand for and listing names of all the African LGBTI organization that they knew of were fill-in-the-blank. All questions except basic information questions such as age and gender identity included an "I don't know" option.

The post-workshop questionnaire consisted of all but two of same questions as the pre-workshop questionnaire (questions about how they found out about the workshop and their motivation for attending were omitted), plus eight additional questions relating to their workshop experience. This allowed me to determine what knowledge was gained or what opinions were changed during the workshop experience. Each participant assigned their pre-workshop questionnaire a secret number/name and added that same number to the post-workshop questionnaire.

The questions fall into five categories: (1) basic background information such as age, gender and sexual identity; (2) basic knowledge of LGBTI terms such as selecting the correct definition of transsexual, intersex, and asexual; (3) exploratory questions about their beliefs related to gender and sexual identity such as "is gender fixed or fluid?' and true/false and yes/no questions such as "Homosexuality is curable"; (4) questions about their opinions of gender and sexual identity issues such as "How important do you think it is for LGBTI people to be "out?"; and (5) questions about the lived experience of being a conforming or nonconforming person such as "Have you experienced discrimination because of your sexual orientation."

Background Information of the Research Population Who Completed the Pre and/ or Post-Workshop Questionnaires

In general, the workshop attendees were young The average age was 27 with the youngest participant being 18 years of age and oldest being 42 years of age. All attendees, except for a few who attended the workshop in a small town in Swaziland, demonstrated a high command of the English language. All participants were black or of mixed racial descent. They were not asked about income or economic background. However, there were indicators that they were not affluent. For example, some participants dressed stylishly but their attire looked neither new nor expensive. Cigarettes were a commodity that were shared. Everyone had a cellphone but calls were few, with the less expensive option of texting being the preferred mode of communication. As far as I know none of the participants in Botswana or Swaziland had an automobile and transportation to and from the

Table 1. Background information*

Average Age	27
Female Gender Identity	47%
Male Gender Identity	51%
Nonconforming Gender Identity	2%
Sexual Identity Lesbian	24%
Sexual Identity Gay	40%
Sexual Identity Bisexual	16%
Sexual Identity Heterosexual	7%
Nonconforming Sexual Identity	4%
WSW (women who have sex with women)	4%
MSM (men who have sex with men)	7%
No answer	4%

**The sexual identity percentages do not add to 100% because
some respondents chose more than one sexual identity*

workshops was paid for by the LGBTI organization through a grant they received for rolling out LILO workshops.[5]

Although transmen and transwomen completed the questionnaire, they all selected the gender identity they identified with rather than choosing the transgender option. This is significant because it makes a statement about their commitment and comfortableness with their adopted gender identity. They do not see themselves as transwomen but as women and not as transmen but men.

At the beginning of each workshop, everyone was asked if they preferred to be referred to as a he or she or by some other pronoun. One transwoman in Botswana beamed when it was her turn and proclaimed, "I am a she." "I am a she!" she repeated with a broad grin. She seemed was so relieved and happy to make this proclamation.

All but one of the people who identified as bisexual had a female gender identity. This supports recent scientific research that suggests that women have a higher degree of bisexuality than men. Of course, bisexuality is also strongly impacted by social and cultural dynamics. Women are under more pressure than men to marry and have children. Many countries that criminalize same-sex sexuality among men do not criminalize same-sex sexuality among women. In addition, it is increasingly popular to see women kissing and fondling other women as sexy rather than taboo. This is similar to attitudes in the West, where lesbianism finds greater acceptance than male homosexuality (Jennings, 2007). Although as Jennings notes, only androgynous or attractive lesbians enjoy popular acceptance in the West.

For example, in popular culture, such as the TV series The Game of Thrones, the women need to beautiful for this to be titillating. There is however cross-cultural variation, for example in Jamaica lesbians and gays face rather equal (and fierce) discrimination (LaFont, 2009). In India, lesbians face greater discrimination than their male counterparts, primarily because women's lack of autonomy inhibits their freedom of sexual expression (Sharma, 2006).

> I love being gay! That is why I got my job as a fashion designer. (male LILO workshop participant from Swaziland)

One of the exercises called "The Fish Bowl" involved all those who identified as the same sexual orientation moving their chairs into a small circle in the center of the room, while those in the outer circle listened to them talk amongst themselves about what it was like to be gay or lesbian, nonconforming or heterosexual. The quote above is from workshop in Johannesburg. During the exercise, for the most part, the gay men joked, laughed and discussed the benefits of being gay. In contrast, the lesbian circle was much more subdued. They spoke about worries of violence, being pressured by their families to marry, and that if they dated men or had children, they were discriminated against in the lesbian community and declared to be "hasbiens" (a play on the terms "has been" and "lesbian" to indicate that a woman who in the past was a lesbian but has betrayed the lesbian community by being sexually active with men). When workshop attendees were asked to "trash" negative terms related to their gender and sexual identities, hasbien was high on the list. Many of the women who identified as lesbian or nonconforming had children. They often explained that they had their children while they were young and before they had the conviction or courage to self-identify as lesbians or nonconforming individuals.

Baseline Knowledge of Research Population Who Completed the Pre and/or Post-Workshop Questionnaires

> It [the workshop] made me feel new because there were a lot of things I didn't know and that helped me to see a view of life in a different way. (24 year old heterosexual woman from Botswana)

It is clear to see that the workshop provided a learning experience. The participants who completed the post workshop questionnaire were better informed than those who completed the pre workshop questionnaire. Information about intersex, asexuality and transsexuality were included in the content of the workshop. However, it should be noted that even before attending the workshop, there was a high degree of knowledge.

Asking about the discovery of a "gay" gene was a wild card question.

Table 2. Basic knowledge*

Pre-workshop questionnaire	Correct	Incorrect	DK, INC, NA***
What do the letters LGBTIQ stand for?**	73%	0%	27%
Identifying the definition of intersex	53%	37%	10%
Identifying the definition of asexual	60%	3%	37%
Identifying the definition of transsexual	77%	3%	20%
Scientists have found the "gay" gene	43%	13%	44%
Sex and gender are the same thing	67%	17%	17%
Gender identity and sexual orientation are the same thing	73%	13%	13%
Post-workshop questionnaire			
What do the letters LGBTIQ stand for?**	91%	0%	9%
Identifying the definition of intersex	100%	0%	0%
Identifying the definition of asexual	91%	0%	9%
Identifying the definition of transsexual	96%	0%	4%
Scientists have found the "gay" gene (no)	74%	4%	22%
Sex and gender are the same thing (no)	96%	0%	4%
Gender identity and sexual orientation are the same thing (no)	92%	4%	4%

Notes on this and subsequent tables:

*   To simplify the interpretation of the data in table form, the some of the questions have been simplified. Please see Appendix A and B for a complete list of all the questions covered in this chapter.

**   This question was fill in the blank. Participants were asked to fill in: "L stand for _____, "G stands for _____, "and so on. Also, Q can stand for queer or questioning so both answers were considered correct.

*** DK stands for "I don't know", INC stands for an incomplete answer, and NA stands for no answer. I will use these abbreviations through the presentation of the data.
      I have also married the DK, INC and NA responses to simplify the presentation of the data. It is safe to assume, for the most part, if a question was not answered it was because the respondent did not know the answer.

Questions Exploring Beliefs about LGBTI Issues

> …I used judge people who were in the closet but now I get why someone would stay in the closet. (30 year old lesbian woman from Swaziland)

No one left this question unanswered which indicates that everyone had an opinion on this issue. However, change in responses from pre-workshop questionnaire to

Table 3. How important do you think it is for LGBTI people to be "out"?

Pre-workshop questionnaire	
Very important	87%
Somewhat important	10%
Not important	3%
Post-workshop questionnaire	
Very important	74%
Somewhat important	36%
Not important	0%

the post-workshop questionnaire suggests that the participants were not dogmatic in their opinions. I believe that the changes in the percentage from pre workshop questionnaire of those choosing that being "out" was very important to a smaller percentage of such responses in the post-workshop questionnaire is due to the content of the workshop. A significant amount of time was spent on the issue of "coming out." The "to who," the timing, the benefits, the downside, how to do it and the importance of it being an individual choice were points that were emphasized during the workshop. As the quote above suggests, the realization that those who were "out" were not entitled to discriminate against those who were not, seems to have influenced this change in responses.

Many LGBTI people throughout the world compartmentalize their lives, coming out to like-minded individuals in support organizations and/or friends, while staying in the closet at work or with family. Setuke (2011) notes that lesbians in Botswana are more likely to "come out" to friends rather than their families. Discussions that took place in the workshops confirmed this, with many LGBTI people disclosing that they were "out" to friends not but family. Many of the workshop attendees feared "coming out" to their families because they perceived their family members to be trans/homophobic.

When asked "Who should decide who is male and who is female?" 98 percent of the respondents selected the option "the person themselves." Other options were society, parents, the law, or doctors. One person did not answer the question and another person added "parents" to the "themselves" options. This indicates a high level of self-determination.

In the past, I had to keep my identity to myself but after the workshop, I learned ways of coming out, how to survive discrimination and stigma…–
I was indoors and keeping my feeling to myself, feeling discriminated by society but after the workshop, I go to know my rights as a LGBTI person. I have the same rights as a straight person so I should not be discriminated against. (23 year old gay man from Swaziland)

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Table 4. Findings on the desire/non-desired to gender or sexual identity

Pre-Workshop Questionnaire	Yes	No	DK, NA	NC*
If it were possible, would you change your gender identity?	30%	65%	4%	NCNA
If it were possible, would you change your sexual orientation?	22%	74%	4%	NCNA
Have you experienced discrimination because of your non-conforming gender identity?	70%	22%	9%	0%
Have you experienced discrimination because of your sexual orientation?	83%	13%	0%	4%
Has self-stigma been an issue in your life?	48%	52%	0%	NCNA
Do you think LGBTI rights are a human rights issue?	83%	9%	8%	NCNA
Post-Workshop Questionnaire				
If it were possible, would you change your gender identity?	14%	86%	0%	NCNA
If it were possible, would you change your sexual orientation?	14%	86%	0%	NCNA
Have you experienced discrimination because of your non-conforming gender identity?	72%	14%	0%	14%
Have you experienced discrimination because of your sexual orientation?	86%	14%	0%	0%
Has self-stigma been an issue in your life?	28%	57%	14%	NCNA
Do you think LGBTI rights are a human rights issue?	100%	0%	0%	NCNA

*   *NC = I do not have a non-conforming gender and sexual identity. This option was only available in the questions that addressed nonconformity. In this table NCNA indicates not nonconforming was not an answer option*

The results from the pre- and post-questionnaires shown in Table 4 support my assertion that at least some of the LGBTI people in Botswana, South Africa and Swaziland have a high degree of self-determination and self-esteem. Findings from the pre-workshop questionnaire show that although 70 percent of the attendees reported experiencing discrimination due to their nonconforming gender identity, only 30 percent answered that they would change their gender identity. It should be noted that only one person who completed the pre-workshop questionnaire identified as nonconforming in the basic information part of the questionnaire. However, many of the attendees challenged traditional gender norms in terms of dress and behavior. Despite this, no one chose the answer: "I do not have a nonconforming gender identity" in the multiple choice part of the questionnaire.

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Eighty percent of the LILO workshop attendees identified as lesbian, gay or bisexual. Yet, despite the fact that 83 percent of the workshop attendees completing the pre-workshop questionnaire chose "Yes" to the question; "Have you ever been discriminated due to your sexual orientation?" Only 22 percent responded that they would change their sexual orientation if it were possible.

Not surprisingly, the responses to the post-workshop questionnaire showed an even stronger level of self-esteem. While 72 percent of selected "Yes" to gender identity discrimination, only 14 percent selected "Yes" to changing their gender if they could.

> I see myself different through the workshop – a good person, a person who can get anything he wants. Back in the days, I saw myself as this weird kid but not anymore. (21 year gay man from Swaziland)

Forty-eight percent of the attendees who completed the pre-workshop questionnaire answered that self-stigma had been an issue in their lives. It is significant that no one left this question unanswered and no one chose the "I don't know" option. While this figure is high, it is much less than those who experienced discrimination based on gender identity or sexual orientation. Again, this suggests a fairly high level of self-esteem with 52 percent responding that they had not had an issue with self-stigma.

The responses from the post-workshop questionnaire are more ambiguous, with less attendees (28 percent) reporting self-stigma and slightly more (57 percent) reporting no self-stigma and 14 percent choosing "I don't know" or leaving the question unanswered. I thought it would be the opposite with post-workshop attendees reporting more self-stigma after reflecting on their experiences during the workshop. It may be that the question was too broad or that they had not thought much about self-stigma prior to the workshop, or that they thought of self-stigma differently after it was thoroughly explained in the workshop.

Perhaps the most positive outlook that can be gleamed from these findings is the answer to the question "Do you think LGBTI rights are a human rights issue?" Eighty-three percent of the participants completing the pre workshop questionnaire agreed with this statement. Nine percent disagreed with the statement, while eight percent chose the "I don't know" option. All of those who complete the post-workshop questionnaire affirmed that they believe LGBTI rights as a human rights issue.

CONCLUSION

As stated in the introduction, many articles and reports written about LGBTI experiences in this part of the world accentuate the negative (Selemogwe & White, 2013). There is no doubt that sexual and gender minorities in Botswana, South Africa and Swaziland experience discrimination, prejudice and stigma but the findings presented here add another dimension to our understanding of the lived

reality of LGBTI people in these countries. The responses to questions regarding self-determination, self-esteem and their experiences of discrimination and self-stigma suggests a more hopeful future. This research was limited to people attending LILO workshops, therefore, broad generalizations cannot be made but increased advocacy should lead to the "cascade effect," which refers to behavioral change in a few ultimately affecting many. So the hope is that these primarily young and pro-active member of these countries will take their empowered message back to their families and communities and that tolerance and acceptance of LGBTI people will grow.

One hundred percent of the participants indicated that they would recommend LILO workshops to others. Most recommendations for what could be done to improve the workshops including increasing the number of workshops being help and expanding the targeted audience such as developing a workshop for health care workers, adding one workshop which included parents and family members and creating a follow-up workshop so that participants could reconnect, have an opportunity to touch base to reinforce the empowerment their experienced at the workshops and share their post workshop experiences. The quote below succinctly summarizes why LGBTI people in these Southern African nations will benefit from activism and the programs aimed at empowering them.

> I would recommend the LILO workshop to others because there are a lot of people going through life with no one to help them through and these workshops are critical in Africa where sometimes there is no therapy so you go through the emotions on your own. Through LILO, you can reach quite a few people in that situation. (27 year old lesbian attending a LILO workshop in Johannesburg)

One commonality to the discussion of LGBTI issues in Botswana, South Africa and Swaziland is that of contradiction. LGBTI pride is visible in organizations and events yet stigma, discrimination and hate crimes continue. The anti-LGBTI rhetoric by politicians is being met with some success of societal recognition. As LGBTI rights is increasingly framed as a human rights issue, the plights of nonconforming people in these countries will become more difficult to ignore. With pressure from above from the United Nations and other international organizations and pressure below from local LGBTI activists, governments will eventually have to take notice.

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NOTES

[1] It is not unusual to conflate minority identity with community membership. For example, we speak of the black community, the Jewish community, etc.

[2] Cisgender refers to people whose gender identity conform to their biological sex. Correctional rape is a hate crime. The victims are usually biological women who are or are perceived to be tomboys, lesbians or transmen. It is falsely believed that by forcing these conforming persons into taking the female role during sex, in other words, being penetrated, their "deviant" sexuality will be cured, hence the term correction rape.

[3] Correctional rape is a hate crime. The victims are usually biological women who are or are perceived to be tomboys, lesbians or transmen. It is falsely believed that by forcing these conforming persons into taking the female role during sex, in other words, being penetrated, their "deviant" sexuality will be cured, hence the term correction rape.

[4] Although lesbians and intersex individuals are not considered key populations, these groups often belong to organizations that are formed under the LGBTI umbrella and as such are included in this research.

[5] The workshop participants were all lodged in the hotel where the workshop was hosted so local transport was not an issue.

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APPENDIX A

How old are you? _____

What is your gender identity? Please tick one of the boxes.

□ Female
□ Transgender
□ Male
□ Other, please specify _____

What is your sexual identity? Please tick all identities that apply.

□ Bisexual
□ Gay
□ Heterosexual
□ Queer
□ Lesbian
□ MSM (men who have sex with men)
□ WSW (women who have sex with women)
□ Other, please specify _____

What do the letters LGBTIQ stand for? (Please answer as many as you can)

L stands for _____
G stands for _____
B stands for _____
T stands for _____
I stands for _____
Q stands for _____

How important do you think it is for LGBTI people to be "out"?

a. very important
b. somewhat important
c. not important

What is the term to describe a person who is born with chromosomes, external genitalia or an internal reproductive system that are not considered standard as male or female?

 a. intersex
 b. homosexual
 c. metrosexual
 d. I don't know

What is the term to describe people who lack sexual attraction or interest in sex?

 a. asexual
 b. pansexual
 c. queer
 d. I don't know

Who should decide who is male and who is female? Please tick all that apply.

 □ society
 □ the person themselves
 □ their parents
 □ the law
 □ doctors
 □ other, please specify _____
 □ I don't know

What is the term to describe people who have or are in the process of transitioning from one sex to the other?

 a. hermaphrodite
 b. bisexual
 c. transsexual
 d. I don't know

If it were possible, would you change your gender identity?

 a. Yes
 b. No
 c. I don't know

If it were possible, would you change your sexual orientation?

 a. Yes
 b. No
 c. I don't know

Have you experienced discrimination because of your non-conforming gender identity?

    a. Yes
    b. No
    c. I do not have a non-conforming gender identity
    d. I don't know

Have you experienced discrimination because of your sexual orientation?

    a. Yes
    b. No
    c. I do not have a non-conforming sexual orientation
    c. I don't know

Has self-stigma been an issue in your life?

    a. Yes
    b. No
    c. I don't know

Do you think LGBTI rights are a human rights issue?

    a. Yes
    b. No
    c. I don't know

SECTION 3

GENDER AND EDUCATION

JAMES ETIM AND RANDA GINDEEL

8. WOMEN, EDUCATION AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT IN SUDAN

In 2002, the United National General Assembly through Resolution 57/254 established the United Nations Decade of Education for Sustainable Development for the years 2005–2014. According to UNESCO's UN Decade of Education for Sustainable Development (n.d.) "Education for sustainable development is everyone's business". It consists of the following – fostering peace, fighting against global warming, reducing North/South inequities and fighting against poverty, and also fighting against the marginalization of women and girls. This document also indicated that education for sustainable development should do the following:

a. Encourage the education of women and girls since literate women guarantees the well-being of their families, the education of their children and allows women to fully take part in community life.
b. Promotes quality education that encourages sustainable livelihoods and supports citizens to live sustainable lives.
c. Provide practical training for all workers so that the workforce can have the knowledge and skills to perform their work in a sustainable manner.

In another UNESCO document titled *Shaping the Future We Want* (2014), Education for Sustainable Development is "based on values of justice, equity, tolerance, sufficiency and responsibility. It promotes gender equality, social cohesion and poverty reduction and emphasizes care, integrity and honesty, as articulated in the Earth Charter" (p. 21). According to the Brundtland Commission (1987), sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs (p. 16). This Report also encouraged the broadening of education for all, and especially for girls at all levels since education "can enhance a society's ability to overcome poverty, increase incomes, improve health and nutrition, and reduce family size" (p. 95, Section 61). This report ends the section on education for sustainable development by declaring:

Sustainable development requires that these trends be corrected. The main task of education policy must be to make literacy universal and to close the

gaps between male and female enrolment rates. Realizing these goals would improve individual productivity and earnings, as well as personal attitudes to health, nutrition, and child-bearing. It can also instill a greater awareness of everyday environmental factors. Facilities for education beyond primary school must be expanded to improve skills necessary for pursuing sustainable development. (p. 96, Section 64)

EDUCATION IN AFRICA AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

Education therefore is integral to sustainable development. There is the need not only to increase the number of students completing primary education (in line with new sustainable Development Goals; goal no. 4), but there is the need to increase the number and percentage of girls and women in post primary to tertiary education in line with education for sustainable development. Table 1 below presents recent data on female students in lower secondary schools in selected African countries.

Table 1. Percentage of students in Lower Secondary School who are female by year

Country	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Cameroon	45.0	44.3	45.5	47.6	–	48.5	48.8	–
Namibia	53.9	53.9	53.6	53.5	53.3	–	52.7	–
Niger	38.9	38.7	38.5	38.5	41.0	39.6	40.1	–
S. Africa	50.3	49.6	49.4	50.1	50.0	49.6	49.4	50.8
Sudan	47.2	45.7	46.5	44.0	44.5	46.1	46.2	–
Swaziland	50.7	46.6	–	50.0	49.7	48.8	49.6	–
Zambia	46.3	47.5	46.5	46.4	47.2	46.1	47.4	47.5

Compiled from UNESCO (n.d.) Education: Percentage of female enrolment by program orientation.
http://data.uis.unesco.org/
Retrieved May 12, 2015

Table 1 above showed that for many of the countries, the percentage of students in the lower secondary school who are female is less than 50 percent (except for Namibia and South Africa and Swaziland in selected years).

Table 2 below showed that the situation is worse for the secondary school as a whole, where the net attendance ratio is less than 50 percent. Table 3 below compares secondary net attendance for several regions.

Table 2. Secondary school net attendance ratio (in percentages)

Country	Year	Total	Male	Female
Cameroon	2011	45	46	45
Namibia	2007	54	47	62
Niger	2012	17	21	13
Nigeria	2013	49	53	45
South Africa	–	–	–	–
Sudan	2010	32	33	30
Swaziland	–	–	–	–
Zambia	2010	46	47	44

Compiled from UNICEF (n.d.) Education: Secondary net attendance ratio-Percentages.
http://data.unicef.org/education/overview
Retrieved May 5, 2015

Table 3. Secondary school net attendance – Regional Averages 2008–2013 (in %)

Region	Total	Male	Female
Sub-Sahara Africa	32	34	30
• Eastern and Southern Africa	24	24	24
• West and Central Africa	39	42	35
Latin America and the Caribbean	75	73	78
World	58	60	56

Source: UNICEF (n.d.) Education: Secondary net attendance ratio-Percentages.
http://data.unicef.org/education/overview
Retrieved May 5, 2015

When compared to other regions, Table 3 showed that net attendance ratio for Sub-Sahara Africa was only 32 percent compared to 75 percent for Latin America and 58 percent for the World.

UNESCO (2012) sums up the situation by pointing out that in most developed societies, there is gender parity at the primary school level but in developing societies, "boys frequently have an advantage over girls with regard to access to education; but once they make it into schooling, girls often outperform boys both in terms of educational progression and academic performance" (p. 21). Given the importance of education to national and personal development, many countries in Sub-Saharan countries need to improve access to education at the post primary and above to encourage and enable development.

Education in sudan and sustainable development. Education in Sudan consists of eight years for primary education and three years for secondary education. According to UN Institute of Statistics (n.d.), the transition rate for primary to secondary in 2004 was 89 percent, primary completion rate in 2005 was 46.9 percent, teacher pupil ratio for secondary education is 1 to 21 and percentage of trained teachers at the secondary level in 2005 was 80 percent for male teachers and 56 percent for female teachers. The curriculum at the secondary level includes, in addition to main subjects, subjects that focus on increasing students' civic engagement and participation while increasing nationalism. However, no direct stress on the role of women on sustainable development or encouragement of women education is reflected in the curriculum. Generally, low emphasis is placed on developing women leadership capacities.

In a more recent study, UNDP's report titled Sudan National Human Development Report 2012 indicated that,

> … total gross enrolment rates in basic education stand at just two-thirds of the school-age population in the 2009/10 school year. Moreover, a significant dropout rate shows that a large majority of children fail to advance to secondary school, with the total secondary gross enrolment rate standing at under one-third … Universalization of basic education faces two challenges: unavailability of schools in underdeveloped areas, and inaccessibility for poorer children. (p. 36)

In another UNDP (2013) study, for Millennium Goal 3 (Promote Gender Equality and Empower Women), " In terms of labor force participation, males constitute 38.3% while the share of females stood at 14.1% and, unemployment among men stood at 13% compared to 20% for women." For most of the indicators that encourages sustainability- education, skills and employment, women were far behind.

Purpose of the Study

In this study, we employed a feminist standpoint theory (Hill-Collins, 2009) which seeks to make women's experience, instead of men's, the point of departure. Hennessy (1995) also shows that feminist standpoint theory emphasizes women's way of knowing. Crawford (2011) in writing a critique of feminist standpoint theory asserts that a feminist standpoint

> can be identified as the view that the position of women in society, as both outsiders and insiders, provides a vantage point from which to produce more accurate knowledge claims compared to the position of men who are able only to produce partial knowledge claims.

Given that everyone is important in the success of sustainable development, the study investigated the perceptions of female university students' on the role of women in sustainable development. Specifically, the study investigated the following:

- What is the perception of women of the role of women's education in sustainable development?
- What is the perception of women of the importance of education in self-development and family sustenance?
- What is the perception of women on the barriers to their attainment of educational and personal development?
- How do current educational strategies facilitate women's education?

Method of investigation and data collection. 180 students from one of the universities in Khartoum were selected for the study. Students were selected using a stratified random sampling technique. The sampling yielded 90 first year and 90 fifth year students. Each subject completed a questionnaire titled Women's Perception of the role of Education in Sustainable Development. The questionnaire was made up of four sections Section 1 consisted of questions that sought to find out the demographic information of the subjects in the study- age, marital status, number of children etc, Section 2 used comments/ questions in a Likert type scale format to seek for information on education for sustainability. Section 3 with two questions was focused on barriers to women's education while Section 4 focused on family and government influences on education and employment. The questionnaire was completed in April–May 2015.

Data analysis. Demographic information showed that for first year students, 97.8 percent of the respondents were 17–21 years old while 67.8 percent of the fifth year respondents were ages 22–26 years. 97.8 percent of the first year students and 85.6 percent of the fifth year students were single. 96.7 percent of first year students and 93.3 percent of fifth year students did not have any children.

Question 1: What is the perception of women of the role of women's education in sustainable development?

Table 4 below showed data on respondents' perceptions that society cannot survive if women are not well educated.

Table 4. Respondents' perceptions that society cannot survive if women are not well educated

	First year respondents N=90	*Fifth year respondents N=90*	*Distribution of respondents by category N=180*
Strongly agree	38.6%	45.5%	42.0%
Agree	31.8%	40.9%	36.4%
No opinion	20.5%	5.7%	13.1%
Disagree	4.5%	3.4%	4.0%
Strongly disagree	4.5%	4.5%	4.5%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 4 above showed that more than 70 percent of first year respondents and more than 85 percent of fifth year respondents Strongly Agreed/Agreed that society cannot survive if women are not well educated. When these two groups are taken together, more than 78 percent of women Strongly Agree/Agree that society cannot survive if women are not well educated. Although the number of respondents who strongly agree/agree that society cannot survive if women are not well education, the percentage of No Opinion, especially for first year respondents is large (20.5 percent). Women's support of education as a means of ensuring national development is also shown in Table 5 below.

Table 5. Respondents' perceptions that education is necessary for national development

	First year respondents N=90	*Fifth year respondents N=90*	*Distribution of respondents by category N=180*
Strongly agree	64.0%	69.3%	66.7%
Agree	24.7%	27.3%	26.0%
No opinion	5.6%	2.3%	4.0%
Disagree	1.1%	1.1%	1.1%
Strongly disagree	4.5%	.0%	2.3%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 5 above showed that about 90 percent of first year respondents and more than 90 percent of fifth year respondents Strongly Agree or Agree that education is necessary for national development. In order to make education more relevant to the social and economic challenges that the nation faces, the respondents supported women's training in entrepreneurship and leadership skills as shown in Tables 6 and 7 below respectively.

Table 6. Respondents' perceptions that all women should be trained in entrepreneurship at university level

Variable	*First year respondents N=90*	*Fifth year respondents N=90*	*Distribution of respondents by category N=180*
	%	*%*	*%*
Agreed	78.9%	77.5%	78.2%
Undecided	11.1%	14.6%	12.8%
Disagreed	10.0%	7.9%	8.9%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

As part of sustainable development, more than 77 percent of first year and fifth year students Agreed that all women should be trained in entrepreneurship at the university level. In Table 7 below, at least 61 percent of respondents Agreed that all women should be trained in leadership skills at the university level.

Table 7. Respondents' perceptions that all women should be trained in leadership skills at university level

Variable	First year respondents N=90	Fifth year respondents N=90	Distribution of respondents by category N=180
	%	%	%
Agreed	81.1%	85.2%	83.1%
Undecided	4.4%	3.4%	3.9%
Disagreed	4.4%	3.4%	3.9%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Question 2: What is the perception of women of the importance of education in self-development and family sustenance?

In Table 8 below, more than 97 percent of first year and fifth year students Strongly Agree/Agree that women need education for their own personal development. Less than 2 percent of respondents Disagree that women need education for their own personal development.

Table 8. Respondents' perceptions that women need education for their own personal development

Variable	First year respondents N=90	Fifth year respondents N=90	Distribution of respondents by category N=180
	%	%	%
Strongly agree	83.3%	82.0%	82.7%
Agree	14.4%	16.9%	15.6%
No opinion	1.1%	.0%	.6%
Strongly disagree	1.1%	1.1%	1.1%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

In Table 9, data showed that women not only perceived that they need education for their own personal development, but also, education was important for their social development.

Table 9. Respondents' perceptions that women need education
for their own social development

Variable	First year respondents N=90	Fifth year respondents N=90	Distribution of respondents by category N=180
	%	*%*	*%*
Strongly agree	69.7%	75.0%	72.3%
Agree	27.0%	22.7%	24.9%
Disagree	2.2%	2.3%	2.3%
Strongly disagree	1.1%	.0%	.6%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 9 showed that more than 97 percent of first year and fifth year respondents Strongly Agree/Agree that women need education for their social development. The idea of education being important for family sustenance is presented in Table 10 below.

Table 10. Respondents' perceptions that women need education to
ensure family sustenance

Variable	First year respondents N=90	Fifth year respondents N=90	Distribution of respondents by category N=180
	%	*%*	*%*
Strongly agree	62.5%	67.0%	64.8%
Agree	25.0%	25.0%	25.0%
No opinion	10.2%	8.0%	9.1%
Disagree	1.1%	.0%	.55%
Strongly disagree	1.1%	.0%	.55%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 10 above showed that more than 87 percent of the first year respondents and 92 percent of fifth year respondents Strongly Agree/Agree that women need education to ensure family sustenance.

Question 3: What is the perception of women on the barriers to their attainment of educational and personal development?

Table 11 below presented data on the barriers to women's education. Data from Table 11 showed that the five areas that were barriers included school fees and levies, early marriages, tradition and customs, lack of nearby school and help in family economic activities.

Table 11. Barriers to women's education at university level

Variable	First year respondents N=90	Fifth year respondents N=90	Distribution of respondents by category N=180
	%	%	%
School fees and other levies	63.3%	74.4%	68.9%
Early marriage	53.3%	63.3%	58.3%
Tradition and customs	42.2%	56.7%	49.4%
Lack of nearby schools/universities	37.8%	44.9%	41.3%
Help in family economic activities	34.4%	46.7%	40.6%
Lack of boarding schools/universities	32.2%	41.6%	36.9%
Helping in household activities/work	30.0%	42.7%	36.3%
Not much support from family members (brothers or husband)	30.0%	33.3%	31.7%
Sexual violence in the school against girls in general	33.3%	27.8%	30.6%
Lack of parental support	26.7%	27.8%	27.2%

Table 12 below showed the educational barriers to women attaining self-development. The first factor as perceived by about 49 percent of respondents was the high cost of education/lack of financial support. The other issues that garnered less than 20 percent each included lack of infrastructure, unsuitable syllabus, lack of sufficient trained teachers and teachers using none motivating teaching methods.

Summary of findings. This study investigated the perceptions of female university students' on the role of women in sustainable development. The investigation sought to answer three questions – What is the perception of women of the role of women's education in sustainable development? What is the perception of women of the importance of education in self-development and family sustenance? and, What is the perception of women on the barriers to their attainment of educational and personal development? Some of the findings included:

i) more than 78 percent of respondents Strongly Agreed/Agreed that society cannot survive if women are not well educated.
ii) more than 77 percent of first year and fifth year students Agreed that all women should be trained in entrepreneurship at the university level.
iii) about 90 percent of respondents Strongly Agree/Agree that education was necessary for national development.
iv) at least 61 percent of respondents Agreed that all women should be trained in leadership skills at the university level.

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Table 12. The educational barriers to women attaining self-development

Variable	First year respondents N=45	Fifth year respondents N=35	Distribution of respondents by category N=80
	%	*%*	*%*
High cost of education/ lack of financial support	48.9	60	53.75
Lack of infrastructure (schools, transport, etc.)	17.8	11.4	17.5
Unsuitable syllabus (Difficult and needs development)	8.9	5.7	7.5
Lack of sufficient trained and experienced teachers	6.7		3.75
Non-motivating teaching methods	4.4	5.7	5
No consideration to local dialects and mother tongue languages as medium of instruction	2.2	–	1.25
Use of English language as medium of instruction in some universities	4.4	5.7	5
Insufficient professional training centre	2.2	–	1.25
Weak personality of some women to demand her right to education	2.2	8.6	5
Insufficient text books and access to information	–	2.9	1.25

v) more than 97 percent of first year and fifth year students Strongly Agree/Agree that women need education for their own personal development.
vi) School fees and early marriages were some of the barriers that militated against women's continued education.

   In this study, we employed a feminist standpoint theory. The starting point for this study was women's perception on the subject of education and sustainable development. We began with the idea that women's perception was important to our understanding of education and sustainable development. Based on the study, discussion will be centered on three areas – the importance of women's education to women and sustainable development, the skill areas that need to be emphasized, the barriers to women's education.

a. Importance of women's education to women and sustainable development.

According to Fagerlind and Saha (1989), "an educated population contributes to the socio-economic development of society and, … contributes to the well-being of individuals within the society" (p. 3). Also, as pointed out by Cornwell (2004) education has an impact on family's well-being among other things.

> Education is one of the many variables that can impact upon a household's or a community's ability to secure survival and livelihoods. The nature and extent of this impact will be shaped—even determined—by the conditions prevailing within that household or community. It is arguably in the field of education where the complex inter-linkages of factors such as poverty, health, politics, security, social relations within a gendered society, values and religion are most apparent. These two perspectives show that there are different ''scales'' to develop. (p. 79)

This study has shown that for women, women's education is important for both national and personal development. In this study, 78 percent of respondents Strongly Agreed/Agreed that society cannot survive if women are not well educated. In societies like Sudan where the percentage of female students attending lower secondary school is very low (see Table 1) and the net attendance ratio for females attending secondary school is about 30 percent (see Table 2), a lot needs to be done to increase attendance and provide quality education especially for female students in order to achieve sustainable development.

b. The skill areas that need to be emphasized

For the respondents two areas need to be emphasized in the education of women-training in entrepreneurship and leadership skills. The CIA World Fact Book (n.d.) for Sudan gives the unemployment rate at 20 percent and the percentage of population below poverty rate at 46.5 percent (2009 data). Nour (2014) found gender gaps in favor of males in the areas of employment, education and wages. The UNDP report (2012) on human development indicated that "Human development in Sudan remains constrained by war, violence and poverty" (p. 1). In this same UNDP report, 59 percent of women were found to be employed in the non-agricultural sector. USAID (2010) reported on several constraints to the development of female entrepreneurship in Sub-Sahara Africa. These included socio-cultural, limited enabling environments, skills and access to financial and other resources. In the area of skills, this USAID report indicated that "lack of skills based training, technical training and relevant education "constrained the growth potential of female entrepreneurs (pp. 2–3). Education and skill development has been found to be the best vehicle that reduces poverty. There is therefore the need to train women in the area of entrepreneurship to enable

them establish and successfully run their businesses given the high poverty and unemployment rate. The training will also provide young girls to be mentored. Writing on the importance of women to economic and sustainable development, the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (n.d.) opined that there is the urgent need to harness the economic potential of women – half of the world's population…

> It is becoming increasingly clear that women are, and will continue to be, powerful drivers of development… Studies have reported that raising female employment to male levels can have a direct impact on GDP growth rates, increasing it by as much as 34% in some countries, and that countries' productivity can increase by as much as 25% if discriminatory barriers against women are removed. When women do not participate equally in entrepreneurship, economies lose the benefits that would otherwise be provided by new products and services; economies also lose out due to the long-term negative effects on workforce skills and education occurring when half of the potential pool of labour is not developed. The clear consequences of women's economic marginalisation further emphasise the pressing need for gender equality and the economic empowerment of women. (p. 1)

Regarding training in leadership for sustainable development, Wakahiu and Salvaterra (2012) pointed out that women in Eastern Africa have many obstacles as they seek to climb the leadership ladder. To overcome the said obstacles, there is need of leadership development for women. At the end of their study, they conclude that "leadership development can be a fundamental strategy to cultivate leadership competencies in women in developing countries. Research studies demonstrate a positive relationship exists between quality leadership, institutional effectiveness and personnel performance" (p. 163).

c. Barriers to education

This study showed there were several barriers to the education of women including school fees and other levies, early marriages, tradition and customs, lack of nearby schools and girlshelping at an early age activities that help in generation of family income. This finding is in line with some of the research of Ombati and Ombati (2012) and Sutherland-Andy (n.d.) on barriers to women education in Africa. Sutherland-Andy indicated that "fees reinforce and widen inequities" and the greatest effect of these fees and levies is on the poor (p. 44). There is the need to remove these barriers to ensure continued empowerment of women.

CONCLUSION

Increasing the education of women in terms of number attending and completing schools, the quality of and variety of the courses in the curriculum is a very powerful way of empowering women and building a sustainable society. Many studies show

that highereducation for women leads to skill acquisition which eventually leads to higher wages, fewer children and better educated children (Herz & Sperling, 2004).

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9. WOMEN IN TEACHING AND EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION IN KENYA

INTRODUCTION

Integrating women fully into educational leadership positions remains one of the major challenges facing many countries. Growing literature documents that female educational administrators tend to conduct more unscheduled meetings by others, be more consistent presence in the school, and keep more abreast of instructional programs than men. Their leadership styles are more transformational, participative, and inclusive than the leadership styles of their male counterparts (Regan & Wen, 1995; Reskin & Padvic, 1994). They bring to the exercise of leadership an arsenal of strengths, which increasingly are consistent with the current reform efforts in school leadership, governance, and instructional improvement. These qualities combine to create a leadership style that is inclusive, open, consensus building, innovative, collaborative, collegial and meticulous (Restine, 1993; Gutek, 1993). Therefore their equal representation in school administration will offer them opportunities of developing and utilizing their skills and talents they possess.

WOMEN IN TEACHING

In many countries, the widening of educational opportunities has come to positively contribute to the entrance of women into modern salaried employment (Lam, 1993; Pigford & Tonnsen 1993; Acker, 1987; Shakeshaft, 1989). According to Wailer, and Griffiths, the field of teaching, mostly at the primary and secondary levels, is one of few the occupations that have attracted quite a number of women, to the extent that the profession is now "feminized" or labeled as women's career (1995, 2006). Women in North America, Western Europe, Central and Eastern Europe, Latin America and the Caribbean, Central Asia and – to a certain extent – the Pacific are the majority of the of women teachers. From a Commonwealth perspective, high numbers of female teachers are found in a variety in the Caribbean, Europe and the Pacific. These include Australia, Canada, New Zealand, St Lucia, Trinidad and Tobago, and the United Kingdom (Kelleher, 2011). According to UNESCO report (2010) women dominate the teaching profession at primary and secondary levels in several regions of the world, Sub-Saharan in Africa and South and West Asia being exceptional as shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Global overview; Teaching staff – percentage female

Region	Primary education school year ending in 1999/2007		Secondary education school year ending in 1999/2007	
	1999	*2007*	*1999*	*2007*
Arab States	52	59	49	51
Central and Eastern Europe	82	80	72	74
Central Asia	84	86	65	68
South East Asia and the Pacific	55	60	46	60
East Asia	55	59	46	47
Pacific	71	75	57	56
Latin America and the Caribbean	76	78	64	60
North America and Western Europe	81	85	56	61
South and West Asia	35	45	35	36
Sub-Saharan Africa	43	44	31	30

Source: UNESCO, 2010

In Sub-Saharan Africa- Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia and South Africa stand out for their high female teacher numbers, as Table 2 demonstrates. In Burundi, Kenya, Malawi, Nigeria, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe their numbers are rising and nearly getting balanced. At the secondary the school level, the percentage of female teachers stands at 32.9 percent and they are outnumbered by men, Lesotho, Botswana, Zambia, South Africa and Rwanda being exception. Namibia has a balanced percentage of 50 percent female and male teachers. The proportion of female teacher's declines as the education level they work in rises. According to Hoffmann-Barthes, Nair & Malpede, in Benin, Ethiopia, Mali, Mozambique and Senegal, there is only one female teacher out 4 and in Chad and Togo only percent and 14 percent respectively (1999).

The historical prevailing perception that has rendered teaching as feminine work is rooted in the days of the Industrial Revolution when the shortage of male teachers led to the hiring of women from the middle class to cater to the educational needs of the industrial workers' children (Evetts, 1994; England & McCreary, 1987; Keith, 1975). In England, for example, women's success in handling the Dame, Infant and Charity schools resulted in the birth of the notion that teaching was the most ideal and compatible career for a woman (Rury, 1991; Hoffman, 1981). In most of Europe and North American, teaching developed into a brief career period of an educated woman's life, between her position as a daughter in her father's household and as a wife in her husband's household (Wailer, 1995; Tyack & Hansot, 1982). Prior

*Table 2. Female teacher percentages in selected commonwealth countries
in Sub-Saharan Africa*

Country	Primary education school year ending in/1999/2007		Secondary education school year ending in 1999/2007	
	1999	*2007*	*1999*	*2007*
Botswana	81	78	45	54
Ghana	32	33	22	22
Kenya	42	44	–	40
Lesotho	80	78	51	55
Mozambique	25	34	–	16
Namibia	67	65	46	50
Nigeria	46	50	36	38
Rwanda	55	53	–	53
South Africa	78	77	50	53
Uganda	33	39	–	22
Zambia	49	48	27	54

Source: UNESCO, 2010

to the 1917 revolution in Russia, school officials expected women to teach until they married, at which time they would quit to take their natural roles as wives and mothers (Raune, 1994).

More and more women in the nineteenth and twentieth century's entered into the labor force and the teaching profession in particular with the formation of state supported compulsory schooling starting in Europe spreading to the rest of the world (Hoffman, 1981). In the United States, the entrance of women into teaching was not only linked to economics (women provided cheaper labor) but also enriched the shortage of male teachers. As public schooling expanded and lengthened from weeks to many months a year, women were frequently hired to enable schools to stay open and fill positions vacated by men who often left for other careers. Women were often called upon to fill the teaching position at cost saving salaries. From the mid nineteenth-century on, women steadily entered the teaching profession" as "teacher shortages" and budget deficits caused states to turn increasingly to women teachers. The second factor for hiring women to teaching was linked to their perceived ability of nurturing and raising children (Kaufman, 1984; Apple, 1986). Teaching was also considered an extension of mothering and became an acceptable occupation for women before marrying. Biklen and Brannigan (1980) assert:

Bringing women into the system meets approval on two fronts: with taxpayers' desire to spend as little as possible… Since the expense of common schools

was objectionable to many citizens, they welcomed a cheap supply of labor. During the nineteenth century women teachers received salaries one-half to three-fourths less than men… even in 1870 and 1880. Whereas men had been regarded as the "natural teachers" in the eighteen-century, in the nineteenth century financial argument won and teaching came to be seen as the woman's natural profession. Arguments linking the cheapness of women as a labor supply and women's "natural" ability to teaching the young multiplied. (p. 3)

The popular acceptance of the notion handed down from the revolutionary period—that women were especially suited for the role of raising and training a republican citizenry—had meant that teaching was one of very few professions open to women prior 1850. From mid 19th century, women were making up a significant proportion of the teaching force given that the demand, together with women's own aspirations for an alternative to the narrow opportunities available to them and the rise of an intermediary, bureaucratic layer of administrators, opened the door to their large-scale employment in the classroom (Apple, 1986).

The popular acceptance of the notion handed down from the revolutionary period—that women were especially suited for the role of raising and training a republican citizenry—had meant that teaching was one of very few professions open to women prior 1850. From mid-19th century, women were making up a significant proportion of the teaching force given that the demand, together with women's own aspirations for an alternative to the narrow opportunities available to them and the rise of an intermediary, bureaucratic layer of administrators, opened the door to their large-scale employment in the classroom (Apple, 1986).

In the turn of the 20th century, almost every school district in the United States reported a shift in the direction of favoring the hiring female teachers. In 1928, women were not only the majority teachers but also they held over half of all principal positions in elementary schools. Even in secondary schools, they constituted at least twice the percentage of principals at this period as they did in 1973 (Acker, 1994). However, the balance of women holding superintendence positions started to tilt following World War II, as many men returned from the armed services and sought employment in the school settings. From that point on, women steadily lost ground in the pursuit of administrative positions. In the 1940s in the United States (and the results are similar for Canada) approximately 41 percent of elementary principals were women; in the 1950s, 38%; in the 1960s, 22 percent. By the early 1970s, less than 1 percent of school superintendents were women; women were only 13 percent of elementary school principals, 3 percent of junior high school principals and a mere 1.4 percent of high school principals (Sadker & Sadker, 1989). By 1980 the figure dropped to less than 20 percent (Acker, 1994). The disparity between who's leading schools and who's teaching the students is rather ironic since 76 percent of public school teachers are female, and 52 percent of them have a master's or higher degree but they only represent about 30 percent of public school administrators (U.S. Department of Education, 2008). It may be argued that teaching profession in the

US continues to be populated by and best-known as the "women's profession" while led by men.

Studies by Wilson, Tyack and Hansot, Cortina, and Griffith have noted that in most of Western Europe, North America and Latin America, women form the highest proportion of elementary and secondary school teachers; however, as one moves up the educational ladder, their percentage gets smaller (1997, 1982, 1998, 2006). For example, in the United Kingdom, only 75 percent of head teachers are women at primary level, while in secondary education female head teachers account for just 40 percent. Furthermore only 9 percent of universities are led by a female head (EC, 2009). A review of feminized workforces mostly in developed countries demonstrates that high number of female teachers does not automatically translate into a similar level of feminized management within the system. It may be argued that the higher the hierarchical level associated with power, decision making and prestige, the less the number of women in those positions.

Similar disparities exist in the structure and organizations of Kenya's municipal primary schools where women comprise majority of teachers force, but occupy the lower ranks of the profession and are generally controlled and supervised by men. The under representation of women in Kenya's municipal primary schools is a clear manifestation of bias that women experience in their careers and labor market. Coffey & Delamont allude that the belief that women are more willing to take orders, accept lower wages and are less prone to complain about working conditions underpins the tenacity of gender segregation in the teaching profession or labor market (2000).

WOMEN IN EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

The under representation of women in educational administration has been the focus of a number of research studies carried out mostly in the industrialized countries, over the past three decades, particularly in Europe, the United States, Canada, Australia and Japan (Welch, 1997; Tanaka, 1995; Lam, 1993). In these countries, the teaching profession, especially at the elementary and secondary school levels, represents one of the most highly feminized professions where women can easily enter into but find it difficult to advance to school-level management personnel positions. According to Wilson, in Europe, for example, women represented 80 percent of the primary schools teachers, around 50 percent of the secondary teachers and 20–30 percent of the teachers in higher education for the years 1991–1992. As for primary teaching, they account for from between 90 percent in Italy to 50 percent in Greece; and among secondary teachers from 60 percent in Ireland and Portugal to 40 percent or less in Germany and the Netherlands. At the secondary school level, the percentage of female head teachers was less than a half of the female teachers. The Scandinavian countries and Eastern Europe have generally a higher percentage of women in headship (1997) as shown in Table 3.

*Table 3. Representation of women teachers in educational
management in selected countries (%)*

Country/year	Primary teachers	Primary head teachers	Secondary teachers	Secondary head teachers
England and Wales 1992	81	49	49	56
France 1995	70	64	56	30
Greece 1995	50	41	53	36
Hungary 1995	85	33	97[1]	30
Ireland 1996	78	46	54	29
Italy 1995	93	46	54	29
Netherlands 1996	76	13	33	7
Norway 1994	74	40	39[2]	22[3]
Spain 1995, 1985[4]	74	47	50	20

Source: Wilson, M. (Ed.). (1997). Women in educational: A European perspective. *London: Paul
    Chapman Publishing Ltd.*

Notes:
  1. *Figure given is for Gymnasium; 60% of vocational school teachers are women.*
  2. *This for upper secondary school; 51% are women teaching in lower schools.*
  3. *This figure is for upper secondary school; 24% are women teaching in lower schools.*
  4. *1995 figures given for the percentage of women primary and secondary teachers; 1985 figures
     given for the percentage of women head teachers.*

With higher education, one can argue that the increased proportion of female students is in contrast to the number of women professors. The proportion of women professors is about 10 percent in Germany, the Netherlands, Australia, Greece and Poland and in Turkey about 16 percent, Spain 20 percent and 38 percent in Hungary. At the upper echelons of power, such as university rector or vice chancellor they are severely under-represented. Only percent of the vice- chancellors, principals and rectors, 14 percent of pro-vice chancellors, assistant principals and assistant rectors, 15 percent of the deans and 24 percent of the registrars and administrative heads are women in British universities (Wilson, 1997). Table 4: shows the percentage of representation of women in university and educational management in some selected European countries

Throughout the history of United States public education, women have been underrepresented in administrative positions among elementary and secondary schools, relative both to their participation in the teaching force and their proportion of the general population. From 1905 to 1928, women's representation among elementary school principals declined from 62 percent to 55 percent. This rate continued to decline to as low as about 20 percent in 1972 (Shakeshaft, 1989). Women were never more than a small minority of the secondary school principals. Only 6 percent of secondary school principals in 1905 were women, and by early

Table 4. Representation of women in university and educational management (%)

Country/year	Undergraduate students	Lecturers	Professors
England and Wales 1992	81	28.0	8.0
France 1995	55.0	35.0	13.0
Greece 1996, 1992[1]	51.0	26.5	7.6
Hungary 1995, 1996[2]	51.0	37.0	3.0
Ireland 1996	53.0	21.0	5.0
Italy 1992	50.0	24.0	9.5
Netherlands 1995	45.0	32.0	4.2
Norway 1991–1993	57.0	20.0	9.5
Spain 1995	50.0	31.0	8.0
West Germany 1995	41.5	22.7	5.7

Source: Wilson, M. (Ed.). (1997). Women in educational administration. A European perspective. London: Paul Chapman Publishing Ltd.

Notes:

    1. 1992 figures are for the percentage of women undergraduate students; 1996 figures for the percentage of women lecturers and professors.

    2. 1996 figures are given for the percentage of women undergraduate students; 1995 figures for the percentage of women lecturers and professors.

1970's this had dropped to about 1 percent (Tyack & Hansot, 1992). By the mid-1970 women represented 13 percent of all the school principals in the United States. However, over the last two decades, the prospects of women in school administration have gradually improved. In 1993, women held 34 percent of the school principal positions and 41 percent of the assistant principals in the nation's public schools. Forty-one percent of elementary school principals were women. Women secondary school principals were 16 percent in the same period. Although these figures are encouraging, women are still far away from equally hired into administrative positions (Montenegro, 1993).

A study conducted by Fujimura and Imumura in Japan found that in 1991 women totaled 94 percent of the teachers at the kindergarten level. At the elementary level, they comprised approximately 56 percent of the teachers but only 2.4 percent of the principals. In lower secondary, women accounted for 34 percent of the teachers and just 0.4 percent of the principals. At the upper secondary school, they were 19 and 2.4 percent of the principals. In junior colleges, 39 percent of the faculty was comprised of women. Women made up 8.5 percent of the undergraduate faculty and less than 4 percent of graduate level faculties. They comprised only 4 percent of the full professors in junior colleges (1991).

In most of the developing countries, very few studies have examined the participation of women in the teaching profession and educational administration.

Since the employment of women in developing countries is predominantly in the agricultural sector, this has been the focus of most studies. However, even in these predominantly agricultural countries, such as those in Latin America, there are studies that show that women form the highest proportion of teachers especially at primary and secondary levels. For example, in Ecuador, women predominantly staff primary schools but men dominate the higher levels of the profession and its administrative structures (Preston, 1985). The same pattern is reflected in Mexico where women constituted the majority of employees in the field of education, but have little influence on the management of schools and policy making (Cortina, 1998).

In developing countries, generally a lower percentage of girls are enrolled in school as compared to those in industrialized countries. This under-representation thereby explains the low percentage of women in the teaching profession. Thus generally women only make up 33 percent of the teachers at the primary level in developing countries. Their percentages are significantly lower in specific countries and regions, such as Nepal, where fewer than 8 percent of primary teachers are women, and in Africa, where women's representation in the profession is significantly lower than elsewhere in the developing world.

In Kenya, throughout the colonial period, women did not receive as much education as their male counterparts, and their illiteracy restricted their participation in public life. The prevailing ideology of colonial period did not support girls from pursuing education because it was culturally considered unnatural for a woman to be educated. If a girl advanced her intellect, society thought she would be "unsexed". The girls who obtained education were instructed in home making (sewing and cooking) and basic elements of religion so that they could pass religion and moral values on to their children. Women were supposed to be guardians of virtue and home makers ready to protect their families from a world that grew further from religion and coarser to wickedness" of the society.

Kenya has always placed education as a priority at all levels, promoting it as a key indicator for social and economical development rights since independence in 1963. Expansion of educational opportunities with an aim of improving access for all is anchored in international frameworks including universal declaration of Human Rights, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labor, the Convention on the Rights of the Child, the World Conference on Education for All in 1990 (EFA), the Beijing Platform of Action, the Dakar World Conference on Education for All and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The Kenya Government, being a signatory to major international conventions and agreements on human rights and gender equality, is expected to pursue policies that lead to the realization of these goals. The massive educational expansion that has resulted in attainment of nearly national gender parity at primary level (although the national averages hide pockets of gender disparity disadvantaging girls in rural and remote

areas, especially the arid ad semi-arid (ASALs) lands), is what the Government has identified as critical in achieving these goals, much as enrolments for girls tend to decline as they transition from level of education to the other. For example, female students made up only about 30 percent of total enrolments in the public universities in Kenya in 2003. This trend continued in 2007 when women continued to make up only 30 percent of the student population in public universities and 53 percent of the total population in private universities (Mulongo, 2013). The increasing number of females attending private universities reflects the limited numbers of females attaining the entry cut-off points into public universities since the majority of Kenyans who attend private universities are those who have failed to achieve the high cut-off points for entry into public universities.

Teaching remains the major attraction for women entering the labour force in Kenya. The profession is the most popular avenue for women aspiring to enter into public life as it was in the past in industrialized countries before other professions become open for women. The number of women entering into the teaching force keeps improving and at the junior ranks, parity may soon be achieved. For example, in 2010, women comprised 46 percent of primary teachers (184,873) and 37 percent of secondary teachers (53,047). Their number in the teaching force continues to improve year after year. For example, in 2003, female constituted 35.2 percent of the teaching force, with a larger proportion of the entire force, 65.6 percent having attained graduate status (Chege & Sifuna, 2006). In 1996, the teaching profession engaged 110,600 females with a share of 24.1 percent of the total female wage employment. They comprised 41.2 percent of the teaching force in primary schools and 33.8 percent of secondary school teachers in 1999 (GoK, Economic Survey, 1997). It is estimate female head teacher's representation to have been fewer than 15 percent at primary level 20 percent in urban and just over 10 percent in rural schools school in 2007 (Chege & Sifuna, 2006). But even in Kenya municipal primary schools, statistical and as shown in Table 5A, B & C reveal that although women hold the largest proportion of teaching position in these schools, women hold only a small fraction of available administrative posts (Ombati, 2010).

In the upper hierarchy of the Kenya National Union of Teachers, like school administration, women are also underrepresented and are nowhere to be found in substantive posts. Only three or so women are on the steering committee. The women in trade union politics are mainly found in reserved posts such as districts and branch representatives. This confirms the assertion that the trade union movement has literally been a graveyard for women seeking worker leadership. Of the 33 affiliates of the Central Organization of Trade Unions, for example, none has a female secretary-general. The highest-ranking women are Roselinda Simiyu, the chairperson of the Kenya Union of Sugar Plantation Workers and Caroline Ng'ang'a, the Deputy Secretary-General of the Bankers, Insurance and Financial Union (Oriang', 2002). Political representation of Kenyan women now stands at 15 percent versus Rwanda's 56 percent, South Africa's 42 percent, Tanzania's 36

*Tables 5. A, B and C Gender proportion of teachers & administors in
Kenya municipal primary schools*

Table 5A

Municipal	Men teachers	Women teachers	Total	% Men teachers	% Women teachers
Nairobi	1789	3120	4909	36	64
Thika	550	914	1464	38	62
Mombasa	920	1050	1970	47	53
Nakuru	810	886	1696	48	52
Eldoret	450	668	1118	40	60
Kitale	151	307	458	33	67
Kisumu	700	950	1650	42	58
Total	5370	7895	13265	40	60

Table 5B

Municipal	Men deputy head teachers	Women deputy head teachers	Total	% Men deputy head teachers	% Women deputy head teachers
Nairobi	143	57	200	71	29
Thika	41	27	68	60	40
Mombasa	62	53	115	54	46
Nakuru	44	39	83	53	47
Eldoret	39	33	72	54	46
Kitale	24	20	44	55	45
Kisumu	48	37	85	56	44
Total	401	266	667	60	40

Table 5C

Municipal	Men head teachers	Women head teachers	Total	% Men head teachers	% Women head teachers
Nairobi	130	70	200	65	35
Thika	38	30	68	56	44
Mombasa	60	45	105	57	43
Nakuru	43	40	83	51	49
Eldoret	37	35	72	51	49
Kitale	25	19	44	57	43
Kisumu	45	40	85	53	47
Total	378	279	657	57	43

*Source: Unpublished statistical reports from the municipal primary schools of Nairobi, Thika,
Mombasa, Nakuru, Eldoret, Kitale and Kisumu 2000/2001*

percent and Uganda's 35 percent. This is an improvement from the previous 9.8 percent representation in the 10th Parliament and the numbers have been greatly boosted by the 47 women representatives.

In the public service, women in management positions are very few as compared to men. Women in executive positions, like in Job Groups P and above represent only 4.9%, compared to 95.1% of men in the same groups (Source, Directorate of Personnel Management). Their overall representation among the professional education cadres of the Ministry is 21 percent, ranging between 0 and 38 percent at each rank (Table 6). They represent 25 percent of the decision makers, down to one step below the directors of directorates, Job Groups U to R; and 25 percent, cumulatively of the 'senior management'. Again, cumulatively, women comprise 27 percent of those reportedly involved in the totality of the policy decision making, shaping and originating process. An organigram of the Ministry of Education is reproduced in Appendix as designated by the Ministry of Gender Report, noted above, (Job Groups U to P).

At Kenya's higher educational institutions, the men continue to dominate the top echelons of university administration while women tend to occupy middle level management positions and in support services like secretarial services, catering and cleansing (Odhiambo, 2011). For example, of the 17 directors of institutes in all public universities only three were women, of the 186 heads of departments only 16 were women. There was only one female registrar, 2 deans of faculty and one librarian. All the deans of faculties in these universities were men. At Kenyatta

Table 6. MOE education professional staff by gender, August 2011

Job group	Title	M	F	F%	Total	Cumulative F %
U	PS	1	0	0	1	
T	ES	1	0	0	1	
S	D	5	1	17	6	
R	SDDE	5	3	38	8	25
Q	DDE	24	5	17	29	
P	SADDE	42	17	29	59	25
M	ADD	149	56	27	205	27
N	SEO	684	168	20	852	
L	EO	205	41	17	246	
Total	9	1116	291	21	1407	21

Source: MOE HRM, Data at 29.8.2011
PS= permanent secretary; ES= education secretary; D= director of directorates;
SDDE= senior deputy director of education; DDE= deputy director; SADDE= senior assistant
deputy director; ADDE= assistant deputy director; SEO= senior ed. officer; EO= ed.
*Officer * Job Group O does not exist.*

University, among the 31 heads of department only 4 women were heading departments that traditionally have been identified as feminine (Literature, Home Economics, Cultural Studies and Development Studies). The situation applied to private universities (Lodiaga & Mbevi, 1995). Onsongo's study of the leadership

Table 7A. Status of women in management in Kenyan public universities

Position	Male	Female	Total	% Men	% Women
Vice Chancellor	6	0	6	100	0
Deputy Vice Chancellor	13	2	15	87	13
Registrar	14	0	14	100	0
Principal	7	2	9	78	22
Director	42	18	60	70	30
Dean of Students	3	2	5	60	40
Dean of Faculty	38	5	43	88	12
Finance Officer	6	0	6	100	0
Librarian	6	0	6	100	0
Heads of Department	208	35	243	86	14
Council Members	119	18	137	87	13
Total	462	82	544	85	15

Table 7B. Status of women in management in 4 Kenyan private universities

Position	Male	Female	Total	% Men	% Women
Vice Chancellor	3	1	4	75	25
Deputy Vice Chancellor	8	1	9	89.9	11.1
Registrar	2	3	5	40	60
Human Resources Management	2	1	3	67	33
Director	2	1	3	67	33
Dean of Students	2	1	3	67	33
Dean of Faculty	11	1	12	8	92
Finance Office	4	0	4	100	0
Librarian	2	2	4	50	50
Heads of Department	35	17	52	67	33
Total	71	28	99	72	28

Source: Onsongo, J. K. (2002, July 21–26). Empowering women in higher education management: The case of Kenya. *Paper at the World's Women Conference 2002 Organized by the Department of Gender Studies and Development. Makerere University, Kampala Uganda.*

profiles of six Kenyan public universities and four private universities established that women were still under-representation in the leadership structures of higher educational institutions. For instance, out of 10 Vice Chancellors, only one was female (from a private university) while out of 295 Heads of Departments, only a few were female. The study also established that most of the female Deans, Directors of Schools and Institutes and Heads of Departments were in 'traditionally feminine areas' such as home economics, languages, history and religious studies (2003). Tables 7A and B, shows that apart from the Registrar, Liberian and Dean of Faculty positions in the private universities, women are missing in most senior management positions in both public and private universities.

Women are missing in most senior management positions yet some of them have overcome serious impediments to become successful educationist or educational managers in Kenya. They include the likes of Mary Okello of Makini Schools, Eddah Gachukia of the Riara Group of Schools, and Nelly Njuguna of St. Nicholas Academy – successful private schools of national repute. After decades of under presentation of women in leaderships, some educational institutions in Kenya are starting to adapt their organizations to women and appointing them to senior positions of management. Some of the women who have proven that they are capable leaders include: Professor Florida Karani does not earn accolades just because she is the first woman in Kenya to become Chancellor, but also the Maseno University's Chancellor is among Kenya's pioneer women lecturers. She lectured at the University of Nairobi in the 60's, and has held various positions of affluence at the University, including that of the Principal, College of Education and External Studies (1988 to 1994) and DVC in charge of Academic Affairs (1994 to 2004). Prof. Leah Marangu, Vice Chancellor, Africa Nazarene University is the first woman in Kenya and the East Africa to be appointed to that coveted position in 1996. Prof. Rosalind Mutua is Vice Chair of Kenya's Commission for Higher Education. She became the founding VC of Kiriri Women University in 2002. Prior that she served at Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology. Prof. Margaret Jepkoech Kamar served as Minister of Higher Education, Science and Technology 2007–2011. She also served as a nominated member of the East African Legislative Assembly from 2001 to 2006. Kamar earned her PhD in soil and water conservation from the University of Toronto in 1992. She joined Moi University as a tutorial fellow, and from 1989 to 1999, rose up the ranks of assistant lecturer, lecturer, senior lecturer, Principal and a Deputy Vice Chancellor – Academics before venturing to politics . Prof. Lucia Omondi served as the Principal at the University of Nairobi, Kikuyu Campus where she replaced Karani when she became a DVC. Prof Mugenda is the first woman to be appointed Vice Chancellor (VC) of a public university – Kenyatta University in 2006. Prior to her appointment as VC, she was KU's Deputy VC in charge of Finance and Planning for four years. She also served as director of international programmers and chairman, faculty of education post-graduate studies committee. Between 1999 and 2002, she was chairlady of the school of applied and human sciences and she is credited with starting three new departments, including family

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and consumer sciences and tourism. Following her appointment in 2006, Kenyatta University (KU) was recognized as the best performing state corporation in the 2006–07 performance contract evaluations and went on to receive ISO certification becoming the first public university to be certified. She has also championed an expansion strategy at the university establishing new campuses and overseeing the construction of several multi-million state of the art facilities. Prof. Mabel Imbuga has served as Vice Chancellor of Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology (JKUAT) since August 2008. Imbuga a professor V. F. O. OMBATI 170 of chemistry has had a long teaching stint at JKUAT.between 1998 and 1999 she headed the Department of Biochemistry. For five straight years between 1999 and 2003, she was the Dean of the Faculty of Science, before taking the appointment as the Director in charge of the University's academic programs. In 2005, she was appointed to fill the position of Deputy Vice Chancellor in charge of Academic Affairs, a position she held until becoming the Vice Chancellor. Prof. Monica Mweseli is Vice Chancellor, Kiriri Women University of Science and Technology (KWUST). Mweseli graduated from University of Nairobi in 1979 and proceeded to Atlanta University in Georgia, US, where she obtained an MA in 1981 and Ph.D., in 1987. She taught briefly at the Florida based Daytona Beach Community College, and upon returning to Kenya in 1988, she enrolled as a lecturer in the Department of Literature at her alma mater, the University of Nairobi (UoN). At the University of Nairobi, Mweseli played various significant roles that included chairing the post graduate students committee, a position that gave her the onus to review the Masters and Ph.D.'s thesis proposals. Other women professors that have curved an indelible mark administration include Lucy Irungu and Agnes Mwang'ombe, the Principals at UoN's College of Biological Sciences, based at Chiromo Campus and the College of Agriculture, based at Upper Kabete Campus, respectively. Respectively we have Prof. Mary Walingo (DVC Finance and Administration) and Esther Mombo (DVC Academics), Maseno and St. Paul's Theological universities. Prof. Ruth Khasaya Oniang'o has lectured in University of Nairobi, Kenyatta University and Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology served as an external examiner in many local and foreign universities apart from being former nominated Member of Parliament. Despite the fact that women are making big strides—better educated than ever, stepping into high-profile educational administrations positions, they are still underrepresented in academic leadership positions, both absolutely and relative to the eligible pool of qualified women (Musukuya, 2011).

ACCOUNTING FOR WOMEN UNDERREPRESENTATION IN EDUCATION ADMINISTRATION

It is the truth that men continue to run most major institutions and make most of the important political, executive, policy and other decisions in across many countries. Across Western Europe and North America, women are underrepresented in leadership positions as the power is in the hands of men and the masculine perspective

determines who rises to leadership position (Summers, 1994; Pigford & Tonnsen, 1993). Ombati established that to be true with Kenya municipal primary schools where women constituted majority of the teaching force, but minority in leadership (2010). Women's ongoing failure to attain leadership positions can no longer be blamed on a lack of qualified candidates in the professional pipeline that ultimately limits the executive talent pool; even when women are abundantly represented in a given field, they rarely manage to reach the top levels of management.

A significant body of research (Wilson, 1997; Dunlap & Schmuck, 1995; Crompton & Sanderson, 1990) shows that for women, the subtle gender bias that persists in organizations and in society disrupts impacts women aspiration into leadership position. For example, women have been used as industrial fodder or 'a reserve army of laborers' employed as the need arose, and discarded when men were available in Europe, North America and Australia historically. Women were recruited in great numbers into the teaching force with the shortage of teachers in 1870 but forced out to create room for unemployed men during the economic depressions of the 1890's and 1930's.They sustained schools during world wars only to be replaced at the end of the wars to make room for returning veterans. In Europe and Australia, they were paid half of what the men received and were dismissed at will for most of 19th and earlier parts of 20th centuries. Those entering the work force have or are met with overt hostility and discrimination. Evidence from repeated studies has demonstrated that women in the workforce are paid less than men for similar work (Raune, 1994). Welch has documented an incident in which a bold woman protested for working unpaid for 18 months while her husband received an additional £12 pounds per month for her work. She was dismissed instantly with the husband, the woman for showing frivolous behavior and the husband for failing to discipline her (1997).

Advocating for women equal rights and combating discriminatory practices is one way of bringing them to leadership positions. Addressing policies and practices that generate inequality and exclude women from leadership may help to bringing them to leadership. Low motivation and self-confidence for administrative positions is what is making women shy away from school management positions. Women believe they are subjected to higher standards than men and have to work harder to have the society accept them that they have same level of competence as their male peers (Drudy, 2008; Tanaka, 1995; Seifert & Atkistone, 1991; Crompton & Sanderson, 1990). Their subordination in the labor market has also left majority of them to believe that being "pushy, bitchy or shrill" for leadership positions are traits that are not idle for women while it is okay for men to seen as "ballsy (Griffiths, 2006; Raune, 1994).

Encouraging women to join professional associations or community organizations to find role models or pairing top leaders (often male) with female mentors who have been identified as future leaders is one way of developing women and making them to have confidence and motivation for leadership position. Lack of enough role model does not allow women succeed in positions that are driven by current male culture.

Women's values and approaches are different, and when entering the work force women find that the male culture is not to their taste or are driven off. Those women who do succeed adapt to the male culture. This has led to the socialization of both men and women to perceive men in positions of leadership as normal (Davidson & Cooper, 1992; Bell & Nkomo, 1992). This is slowly contributing to the development of a two-tiered system of employment in education, one in which women do the bulk of the teaching under the supervision of an increasingly authoritative cadre of male administrators (Rury, 1991).

Applying the quota system as used in several European countries; Norway, France, Spain, Italy and now Germany – where governments have set mandatory targets for female representation way above the UK's "voluntary" 25 percent can be a quick fix of getting more women into leadership and in doing so create more female role models at the top. The arguments against quotas are that they are patronizing and unhelpful, and encourage the view that women are unable to rise on their own merits. The conflict between work and family obligations that teachers experience is more acute for women than for men teachers. Giving birth and raising children are distinctive events. Only women give birth, and it is an event that interrupts the career of a higher percentage of women teachers than any other "physical disability" or family obligation (Marshall, 1992; Cortina, 1998; Warwick, & Adler, 1993; Shakeshaft, 1993). According to Kawashima and Wilson in Japan, Denmark, Sweden, Germany and France, child rearing is still viewed as a woman's primary occupation (1995, 1997). Family responsibilities are a hindrance to the participation of women in the work force and can be an impediment to their advancement to high career ranks (Drudy, 2008; Tanaka, 1995; Seifert & Atkistone, 1991; Crompton & Sanderson, 1990). This is because women have to make hard choice between family responsibility and career. In every society from Pakistan to Kenya, in every era from ancient times to today, and in all political contexts from communist to capitalist – women have to struggle to perform a balancing act in order to fulfill the expectations attached to both family and career roles (Warwick & Jatoi, 1994). Offering families flexible work program to enable them work from home, stay home to be with kids or sick parents or to focus on a specific project is another way of bringing women to leadership

SUMMARY

The advancement of women in educational administration is critical area of concern in ensuring that women are provided with equal opportunities to develop and utilize their skills in decisions making that affect their lives. Women can no longer be ignored underrepresented in schools administration when they bring into the job certain characteristics that are consistent with the current reform efforts in school leadership, governance, and instructional improvement. Women's equal representation in school administration will further offer them opportunities of developing and utilizing their

skills and talents. The potential of women has remained unexplored because of the continued subordination of women in the occupational structure, varying forms of socialization, lack of role-models and family responsibilities at home. It is women's equal representation in school administration that would offer them opportunities of developing and utilizing their skills and talents.

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SECTION 4

GENDER, LAW, BUSINESS AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND POLITICS

RAVINDER RENA

10. WOMEN AND ENTREPRENEURSHIP DEVELOPMENT – THE CASE OF SOUTH AFRICA

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

Women entrepreneurs in developed countries enjoy an advantage over those in developing countries in that they have access to greater support from women mentors and role models and easier access to formal training in the principles of business planning and organisation. Furthermore, access to capital and the acceptance of women as business owners and women in the workplace has dramatically improved. Where women in developed countries do face obstacles, these are societal and based on old norms. Women entrepreneurs are a driving force in today's modern economy. They shape and redefine the workplace, business networks, financial institutions and culture. There are a number of initiatives designed to motivate women entrepreneurs. Studies show that the experience of women in business is different from those of men. There are profound gender differences in both women's experiences of business ownership, and the performance of women-owned firms (DTI, 2005).

Most of the research on women entrepreneurs, limited largely to women in developed countries, has tended to concentrate on unique aspects of the entrepreneurship of women. The studies understanding the different goals that women have for entrepreneurship in the global context, and the relationship between these goals and the structural factors that influence women's entrepreneurship, will be of great help to researchers, planners, as well as practitioners working to promote women entrepreneurs in developing countries, especially on the African continent. This understanding can lead to the development of an "African paradigm", more finely tuned policies and programmes of support for women entrepreneurs (DTI, 2005).

Our clear understanding of the full range of indigenous women's entrepreneurial activities in Africa, from small-scale trade in the informal sector to large-scale enterprises, will enable us to put the importance of African women entrepreneurs to economic growth on the agenda of international development agencies, as well as African governments.

Women entrepreneurs in South Africa remain on the periphery of the national economy. The concentration of activities of women in business is located in the areas of crafts, hawking, personal services and the retail sector. There are low participation levels of women entrepreneurs in value-adding business opportunities. Some of

the chief barriers to promoting women in business include cultural and societal problems, the psychological impact of cultural norms, employment legislation and policy, lack of information, training, finance, markets, technology and business infrastructure, absence of vehicles for skills development and capacity building, fragmented approaches to identifying issues and developing strategy to influence policy affecting business and government interventions.

Accordingly, more and more women are taking the route to informal sector entrepreneurship. The low absorption capacity of the formal economy has forced people to adopt diverse income-generating strategies. These strategies, aimed at ensuring "sustainable livelihoods", have mostly been only successful for households that possess labour, human capital, productive assets and social capital. The study shows that income sources vary significantly between households in formal housing, informal settlements and backyard shacks. The livelihood strategies of the poor and ultra poor are considerably more varied than those of others.

As we know, economic growth is an essential pillar in the development process. It addresses the serious problems like unemployment, gender equality and poverty worldwide. Due to lack of proper financial and infrastructural support in granting loans, integrated support systems, increased accessibility to finance, job creation and poverty reduction strategies, South Africa will not achieve a 6 percent economic growth 2020. Small business-enterprises (SBE's) development was identified by the government as a priority in creating jobs to solve the high unemployment rate in South Africa and therefore the Small Business Act was introduced in 1996.

The emphasis of the government's strategy was primarily on the development of in previously disadvantaged communities especially women. Moreover, the informal sector contains a large number of the entrepreneurs although many traders enter the informal sector to survive, they become and seek to remain, self-employed entrepreneurs (Anderson et al., 2007). It has been argued that the high unemployment in South Africa can, axiomatically be ascribed to slow economic growth rates and relatively low labour-intensity of economic growth (Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) report, 2005).

The complexity around this issue emanates from the multiple effects of apartheid's exclusion and discouragement of entrepreneurship culture among black women which have led to a lack of positive outlook towards entrepreneurship in South Africa (Ozoemena, 2010). It is to note that about 59.3 percent of poor individuals are rural dwellers and the highest prevalence of poor rural dwellers is found in the female population between the ages of 25–49. 45 percent of the female headed micro and small enterprise were home-based as compared to only 19 percent of the male headed Small Business Enterprises in South Africa. According to the Human Development Report (2011) women are said to be the largest single self-employed segment of the population. With this understanding, the consensus around the Beijing Platform for Action was endorsed by 189 governments and leaders of key international institutions at the United Nations (UN) International Conference on Women in 1995 held in Beijing. The centrality of gender equality was regarded

as one of the prerequisites for poverty reduction and further recognized a set of time-bound and measurable goals, which is now called Millennium Development Goals (MDG's). MDG's were aimed at halving poverty and hunger, improving environmental sustainability, achieving gender equality and women's empowerment.

Statement of the Problem

South Africa has been characterised as a diverse society with great disparities between the rich and the poor (Republic of South Africa, 2006). Whilst agriculture is the cornerstone of South African economy (Republic of South Africa, 2007), some 70 percent of South Africans are the poor and under privileged who either live in shacks near cities or in rural settlements (Republic of South Africa, 2007). According to the former President of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki (2001), agriculture is a key contributor to South Africa's economy. He states that the agricultural sector's importance lies in its potential to provide significant contribution to economic development through job creation, assisting with poverty alleviation and economic foreign exchange earnings. South African women have been previously marginalised even though their contribution towards economic growth vital. This inherent nature coupled with development of gold mines in the cities resulted with men migrating to cities. Women in rural areas were therefore left unemployed and resorted to agriculture as a business to sustain their families. South Africa needs to encourage women owned small business enterprises in agriculture which will eventually create jobs, contributes to innovations, stimulate economic growth, alleviate poverty and ultimately reduce the crime rate. This will be in line with MDG's.

However, women-owned enterprises have their fair share of challenges and constraints that need to be addressed and specific needs that have to be identified to help them perform on par, if not better, than their male counterparts.

According to Department of Trade and Industry (2005) the key issues facing new and growing women-owned small business enterprises this includes amongst other things: access to capital, access to information and access to networks. Women business owners also experience financing and the effort to balance work and family as their most difficult task (DTI Report, 2005). Females are mostly involved in sole-proprietorship businesses, which are very small firms and as such may lack the necessary collateral to qualify for loans. Women generally lack the necessary natural resources for starting and developing their own businesses such as land and water. Resources critical for success is the assets that women bring with them to the entrepreneurial process in the form of human capital (formal and occupational experiences) and the entrepreneur's ability to access resources in the environment (e.g. capital, suppliers, customers). Human capital is derived through investment in education and training. Research supported the theory that women have been impeded from acquiring adequate levels of human capital because of social and cultural forces. Socio-cultural constraints have limited women's access to a meaningful

business experience and led to careers interrupted by family obligations. They have less human capital for the management and development of their businesses.

Demands on human capital, in terms of education and experience are specific to the nature of the entrepreneurial venture hence vary between industries. The lack of management skills and low levels of management training are issues facing women's entrepreneurial ventures (Andersson et al., 2007).

The narrowing of the gap between the growth in women entrepreneurship and the contextual reality is contingent on skills training and tertiary education; removal of hidden and subtle gender discrimination; change in existing prejudices and stereotypes regarding the role of women in a male-dominated economy; the demand for socio-economic rights and policy advocacy. The paper aimed to determine factors that motivate women into entrepreneurship; to find out factors that affect growth of women-owned SBE's, to identify strategies for growth of these enterprises and to provide policy recommendations that would encourage growth of women owned SBE's in the agricultural sector of South Africa. The study is expected be useful to women entrepreneurs specifically those in agriculture, to the government and other policy institutions.

It is argued that socio-economic transformation in South Africa will continue to be top priority, given the lasting legacy of apartheid on the economic structure and control mechanisms of the economy. Upon analysis, this apartheid legacy left many South Africans ill-equipped with the necessary skills, resources and confidence to start up and run viable businesses of their own. Generations of discriminatory legislation and practice meant that the majority of black South African women had limited access to business opportunities and formal business training. The accumulation process under apartheid confined the creation of wealth to a racial minority and imposed underdevelopment on black communities especially women. This resulted in an economic structure that today still excludes the vast majority of South Africans (Chea, 2008).

Objectives

The objective of this paper is to research women enterprenuers in South Africa and identify challenges that women encounter to develop their businesses. The following aspects were looked at: to investigate and obtain an insight into the successes and failures of women entrepreneurs in South Africa; to explore and understand the policies and programmes that promotes the growth of women entrepreneurship in the business development.

Research Questions

1. What are the key challenges facing by the women entrepreneurs in South Africa?
2. What are the strategies, policies and programs employed by the government to mitigate the entrepreneurial challenges in South Africa?

It is envisaged that the results of these study will enable the nation to adopt strategies/policies which will help to achieve the objectives of the women entrepreneurial development.

In this chapter an attempt is made to create a better understanding to the constraints and opportunities as perceived and experienced by women entrepreneurs in South Africa. The chapter further reviews existing programmes, policies and funds that provide access to financing for such entrepreneurs in South Africa and to determine the extent to which they are reaching women entrepreneurs. It provides business development support and other ancillary services to support women to grow their businesses in agriculture and access finance. Finally the chapter provides some policy recommendations about the state of access to finance for women entrepreneurs in South Africa, identify where gaps exist, and what programmes or services could be considered to address these gaps in a sustainable manner.

Technical co-operation programmes between South Africa and outside countries to be strengthened to draw experience and partnerships and to ensure women capacity building programmes for the development of entrepreneurs. To review incentives programme to be directed towards providing necessary interventions to restore activities in entrepreneurs in South Africa. Since this study will involve identifying some measures of success, it is anticipated that the 'right' female entrepreneurs will be identified to be part of entrepreneurs development initiatives in the country.

Nelson Mandela once said "A nation will never be free until its women are free". South African women have experienced bitter lives during period of Apartheid and beyond. This has perpetuated poverty hence women in South Africa have carried a disproportionate burden of being underdeveloped and majority still does. South African women therefore continue to face serious inequalities and disadvantages especially in aspects of business development and forming the mainstream of the economy.

Research Methodology

The aim of this survey was to establish the challenges faced by Small Medium Enterprises, and what needed to be done to address these. The main methodologies used in the study were desktop research and a document review.

There is acute shortage of empirical studies on women entrepreneurs in South Africa, in spite of the fact that it is one of the important sectors of the economy with great potential to contribute to the economic growth and development which eventually helps in employment generation. The data available only scan the surface and helps to scrutinise the important issues in relation to the entrepreneurial activities of South African women. Its a fact that the literature on women entrepreneurs in developing countries is limited and that the literature on women entrepreneurs in industrialised countries may not be relevant, the present study is aimed primarily at theory building rather than theory-testing. To guide future research, a new

perspective on women entrepreneurs is proposed and research questions, methods, and implications are discussed.

A major problem in South Africa is the lack of empirical studies on women entrepreneurs and the inadequate quality of statistical data. Research on women entrepreneur's contribution to the South African economy is non-existent and few studies point to a general profile of women entrepreneurs in South Africa. The data available and the profile that emerges are indicative rather than complete. Thus the available data is interpreted carefully, recognising potential inaccuracies.

Women business owners cite a number of reasons for becoming entrepreneurs. An analysis of the main reasons suggests the following trends:

• Challenges/attractions of entrepreneurship;
• Self-determination/autonomy;
• Family concerns – balancing career and family;
• Lack of career advancement/discrimination; and
• Organisational dynamics-power/politics (DTI, 2005).

The desire to make a social contribution is also a strong motivating factor for women entrepreneurs. Helping others has been found to be a key factor in women choosing to become business owners.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The aim of this literature is to study what other authors have done specifically in this area. The literature review will therefore focus on all aspects that may potentially affect the performance of women entrepreneurs that includes: It explores the challenges faced by women owned small business enterprise in South Africa and the strategies, policies and programs implemented in addressing those challenges.

There are very few studies on women entrepreneurs in Africa. This is largely due to the lack of indigenous research studies, lack of information, lack and limitation in contextual African methodologies, lack of relevant and up-to-date data and appropriate instruments of measure and problems of access to African women entrepreneurs in most African cultures and countries. African women entrepreneurs follow a path that is in most cases different from entrepreneurial activities in the developed countries of the West in an attempt to find an African answer to the applicability of models and theories developed in other parts of the world. In Africa, entrepreneurial activities are gendered in terms of access, control and remuneration. Many women tend to be in small sector microenterprises, mainly in the informal sector. It is inappropriate and undesirable for Africa to import entrepreneurial techniques wholesale from developed countries.

According to Kongolo (2012), women think facing gender challenges depends not only on their training and their own attitude, but also on overcoming cultural barriers that are linked to the gender-based social structure. Abedi et al. (2011) stated that the first South African Convention for the elimination of all forms

of Discrimination against Women defined discrimination as "any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition or enjoyment of exercise by women". According to Chiloane (2010), the former President Thabo Mbeki stated that the "struggle for the rights of women continues" after the long period of colonialism and apartheid, imposed oppression and exploitation, especially on black women. The South African National Policy Framework for Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality was aimed at eliminating all forms of discrimination against women internationally. Moreover, the Beijing Platform of Action and the United Nations Convention also were put in place to eradicate all forms of discrimination, be it in business or society at large (Republic of South Africa, 2006). To redress this, the South African government has put in place in the form of policy programmes to recognise women in business, such as the Small Business Act no. 26 of 1996. This Act was as a result of amendment to legislation and regulations to create the spirit of entrepreneurship (http://readperiodicals.com).

Mmbengwa et al. (2011) stated that the business is launched and either develops to a viable size or it is aborted at an early stage. Typically in this stage, women in agricultural environment must manage the enterprise largely through their own efforts. In this stage women are bound to show case their leadership skills while faced with ongoing global food price crisis which has refocused international attention on the importance of investing in agriculture, food and nutrition security. This will however not be achieved while gender disparities persist (Bowen et al., 2009). These disparities seriously undermine the potential of women as drivers of agricultural growth and disable them in their roles as the preeminent agents of household food security and welfare. The omission of gender variables in agricultural policies and interventions can represent more than opportunity costs and it can actively hurt or destroy women. In many rural contexts women often toil under the burden of fulfilling multiple tasks as entrepreneurs, producers, gatherers of water and fuel-wood and caregivers of the children as well as their family (Mmbengwa et al., 2011). Labour scarcity often becomes endemic in areas where there have been high levels of male outmigration to the cities. Based on the above mentioned women in the agricultural SBE's sector tend to have little or no interest in or commitment to their business activities and the entrepreneurial career. They are also said to have limited motivation from their husband or spouses or the society as whole due to gender disparities. The general gender gap is explained by multiple factors (Bowen et al., 2009). The most important among these factors are social and cultural patterns keeping women out of the labour market as well as a tendency of government authorities to invest too little attention and resources in promotion of women's in agriculture. This is a particularly vulnerable stage for a business as

According to Integrated Growth and Development Plan (IGDP) (2012) despite their small direct share of the total Gross Domestic Product (GDP), agriculture, forestry and fisheries are vital to South Africa and its economy.

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Small Business Enterprises Development in South Africa

Women play a significant role in economies and are highly represented in the small business enterprises sub-sector. The majority of them are engaged in small income generating self-employment in agriculture and non-agricultural activities with low prospect for growth. Since women's economic wellbeing is linked to the development of the sectors and subsectors in which they operate, the research will be devoted in examining women's role in SBE's and assessing the challenges and opportunities for promoting women's economic development and empowerment through developing the SBE's (Welter & Andersson, 2007).

The SBE sector is globally regarded as the driving force in economic growth and job creation. The South African Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) estimates that small businesses employ almost half of formally employed persons, and contribute to 42 percent of the country's gross domestic product (Whiteside & Sunter, 2000). The role of government in South Africa is of critical importance in shaping the present and future of the SBE sector. A watershed shift has taken place since 1994 in the national policy environment surrounding small enterprises in South Africa. Post-apartheid South Africa has seen the emergence of a changed institutional and policy context, which governs the operations of the SBE economy. This sector has thus received considerable attention in recent years. The South African government has acknowledged the economic potential of a strong SBE sector, and is committed to its promotion and growth. It aims not only to increase the number of new ventures, but also to create an enabling environment to ensure the survival and growth of small businesses (Whiteside & Sunter, 2000).

The current legislation sets forth the national objectives for the SBE economy in South Africa. The goals proposed for the SBE economy, target the spectrum of SBE activities (RSA, 1995). The primary objective is to create an enabling environment for national, regional and local frameworks to stimulate economic growth through removing obstacles and constraints that prevent SBE from contributing to overall growth, to strengthen the cohesion between SBE, to overcome their isolation by promoting the networking of SBE to build collective efficiency, to address development obstacles, and to take opportunities. The other objective is to level the playing field between large enterprise and the SBE and between rural and urban businesses. Lastly, the national strategy targets the goal of enhancing the capacity of small business to comply with the challenges of an internationally competitive economy (NSBA). Small Enterprise Development Agency (SEDA) was established in terms of the NSBA to provide nonfinancial business development services to SBE. This includes amongst others: the provision of business development services; facilitation of business registration and facilitation of financial assistance and business advices (Creedy, 2008).

According to Makgoe (2009), since 1994, the South African government introduced and implemented a range of policy initiatives and programmmes aimed at economic reform and in particular, those that give effect to the vision and

objectives of addressing the economic imbalances and uneven development within and between South Africa's regions. The past apartheid regime was characterised by segregated and unequal access to resources. The white minority in South Africa then, which was male dominant, used its exclusive access to both political and economic power to promote own sectional interests at the expense of other population and gender groups (Suda, 2002). This led to not only economic disparities between the different groups of South Africans, but also inequalities in terms of economic growth within South Africa. As tools to address the imbalances in economic inequalities, the government passed certain policies and promulgated a number of pieces of legislation.

Among these pieces of legislation and policy frameworks are: the Preferential Procurement Policy Act, Act 5 of 2000 (PPPFA), the Broad based Black Economic Empowerment Act, Act No. 53 of 2003 (BBBEE Act), (AgriBEE) and the National Small Business Act, Act 102 of 1996 (NSBA). All these are based against the background and vision that the achievement of a democratic system which cannot address the socioeconomic problems within an expanding and growing economy will have little content and will be short-lived. All these Acts and other related policies, underpin in some way both the bill of rights and the obligation of the government to redress and address the socioeconomic imbalances as enshrined in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996 (Constitution) (Kongolo, 2012).

It is estimated that the failure rate of the SBEs in South Africa is between 70 percent and 80 percent (South Africa Yearbook, 2000). Rogerson (2006) in the study conducted identified that the following challenges as attributes to the failure rate in the Provinces:

- Access to finance
- Inadequate premises
- Lack of equipment and tools
- Lack of land, irrigation system and pest control
- Inadequate markets or marketing
- Theft
- Transport

According to Witbooi and Ukpere (2011) historically, the financial markets have always been gender blind, thus becoming the major obstacle for women to start, grow and strengthen their enterprises. In the past, many black women in South Africa often saw themselves as third- or even fourth-class citizens and disadvantaged because they were both black and women. Some people (not black women themselves) may say that they are now doubly privileged in times of affirmative action, more so as they can be double-counted, if a quota system for the" disadvantaged" is instituted. It is thus true that race has been identified as the primary driver of economic inequality in South Africa. However, other forms of disparity prevent certain groups, such as women from accessing economic

freedom and opportunity. Although they represent 52 percent of the South African population, women still suffer from historical and cultural disadvantages in terms of accessing opportunities, for a number of reasons. For example, risk taking among female entrepreneurs is based on a number of factors, namely financial risk, social and personal risks (Abor & Quatey, 2010).

Whiteside (1998) mentioned that while access to financial services continues to be largely racially defined in South Africa and other countries, the gender gap between men and women in terms of entrepreneurial venturing does exist and is likely to grow if special efforts are not undertaken to address the underlying issues that constrain women from growing their businesses. The lack of awareness about financial institutions, that helps women to participate in economic activities and lack of entrepreneurial skills were the important problems for them (Zimmerman, 2000).

There is a lack of capacity within government and state-owned enterprises to reach and offer efficient and sufficient support, limiting their scope to achieve the scale required. In agriculture, there has been a significant growth in budgets to provide direct support to black and disadvantaged women in small business development in the form of grants for infrastructure, production inputs.

Although the recent performance of South Africa's economy has been generally positive, both investment and output growth are still below the levels necessary to reduce unemployment and to achieve a more equitable income distribution. Despite growing emphasis on reducing poverty and increasing social spending, enormous social needs remain unmet and a large segment of the population is excluded from the formal economy as indicated by very high unemployment rates and has limited access to social services. Agriculture and rural development in South Africa is not possible without broad economic growth and macroeconomic stability (Kongolo, 2012).

This in turn calls for well gauged fiscal and monetary policies designed to achieve economic growth above the rates prevailing currently. However, in a country like South Africa, broad economic growth is inconceivable without resolving profound humanitarian problems, such as social divisions, illiteracy and low education levels and HIV/Aids. These problems are largely rooted in rural or urban South Africa in which agricultural development has an important role to play in their resolution. There is therefore a circular dependence between agricultural, economic growth and human development, which ultimately represents the most difficult challenge facing South Africa's policy makers (Egun, 2009).

However, the long-term solution requires involving a greater part of the rural poor in economic activities generating sufficient income. While recognising the important role of agricultural development in addressing poverty and inequalities, it should also be clear that the potential of agriculture and agricultural (land) reform itself to reduce poverty is limited. The current and prospective role of agriculture in the economy and South Africa's relatively scarce natural resources (arable land, water) suggest that only a limited number of people may secure fair living standards from agriculture only. The main potential to reduce rural poverty and inequity lies

in the development of overall frameworks providing social security, education and training as well as health care and also developing adequate infrastructures in rural areas. There is therefore a need to examine how recent and ongoing sectoral and economy-wide policies contribute to poverty reduction by integrating poor population in broader economic activities (Gumede, 2000).

CHALLENGES AND OBSTACLES FOR WOMEN ENTREPRENEURS

Women entrepreneurs in most countries in Africa are severely constrained by factors such as the collapse of the official banking systems, poor transportation systems, the unavailability of foreign exchange, the decline in public services and administration, the collapse of supply systems, harassment, extortion and arrest of entrepreneurs for illegal activities. Women suffer from lack of critical resources.

Women in Africa tend to work in small-scale enterprises. African women in informal sector activities seem to be the norm on the continent. Engendered access to control and remuneration creates handicaps that include: insufficient capital, limited expansion and women's networks being restricted to micro-entrepreneurial activities. Female solidarity has had little success in the face of culture, class, ethnic and socio-economic differences (DTI, 2005).

The major constraints to the expansion of entrepreneurial activities for South African women entrepreneurs are lack of capital, landlessness, labour, education, family, discrimination and training.

It can be concluded that the key challenges facing women entrepreneurs in South Africa are:

• Inadequate access to formal credit;
• Vulnerability of women to adverse effects of trade reform;
• Restraints with regard to assets (land);
• Lack of information to exploit opportunities; and
• Poor mobilisation of women entrepreneurs (DTI, 2005).

For sustainable development to succeed in Africa, the participation of women in the economy needs to be promoted by reducing poverty amongst females, increasing their access to educational opportunities and enhancing their access to power and decision-making.

Women generally lack the necessary resources for starting and developing their own businesses. Resources critical for success are the assets that women bring with them to the entrepreneurial process in the form of human capital (formal and occupational experiences) and the entrepreneur's ability to access resources in the environment (e.g. capital, suppliers, customers). Human capital is derived through investment in education and training. Research supported the theory that women have been impeded from acquiring adequate levels of human capital because of social and cultural forces (DTI, 2005).

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Socio-cultural constraints have limited women's access to a meaningful business, and led to careers interrupted by family obligations. They have less human capital for the management and development of their businesses. Demands on human capital, in terms of education and experience, are specific to the nature of the entrepreneurial venture, and hence vary between industries etc. Additionally, barriers have been seen to impede women's access to financial resources (DTI, 2005).

Thus the main obstacles that women face in business are educational and work background, psychological characteristics, motivation, perception and career efficacy, training and skills development, comparative earning levels, management practices, external networking, desire to succeed and other obstacles (DTI, 2005).

The lack of management skills and low levels of management training are issues facing women's entrepreneurial ventures, particularly in the case of micro enterprises. Support organisations cite a lack of sales and marketing skills as the most commonly reported problem faced by female entrepreneurs, after finance (see also DTI, 2005: 6–7).

As women are an emerging sector in the global business environment, support is a potentially important means of raising the level of entrepreneurship in society overall. Support for women in business encompasses the following interventions:

- Encouraging and assisting relevant business support initiatives;
- Appropriate financial assistance to women entrepreneurs;
- General information and education programmes;
- Mentoring programmes; and
- Support for networking structures.

The probability of a woman becoming an entrepreneur can be increased by exposure of the individual to formal learning experiences and to the tasks associated with owning a business. This exposure can be accomplished through mentors or role models in the workplace, home, career guidance, internships, and cooperative education programmes.

Effective networking that aims to inform women entrepreneurs about policies may have secondary benefits in terms of encouraging women in business. Given the increasingly international nature of the business environment, there is a case for introducing specific measures to enable women entrepreneurs to communicate with their counterparts in other countries.

Women and the Economy

South Africa is an Upper Middle Income country with a population of 48,687,000. Of this number 24,693,026 are female. Fifty percent of the workforce is made up of women (World Bank, 2010).

Since Independence, South Africa has been focussing and moving on the right direction to create a conducive environment for entrepreneurs especially for the

women who are more than 50% of the total population in the country. However, the women entrepreneurs have been facing immense challenges in the course of their entrepreneurial journey. Therefore there is an urgent need for the Government to accelerate its unconditional support to provide necessary skills training and financial help to minimise the challenges and provide the cost-effective solutions to make the business more robust and sustainable.

South Africa is the second largest economy in Africa after Nigeria. It leads the continent in industrial output and mineral production and generates a large proportion of Africa's electricity. It has abundant natural resources, well-developed financial, legal, communications, energy and transport sectors, a stock exchange ranked among the top twenty in the world, and a modern infrastructure supporting efficient distribution of goods throughout the Southern African region.

Until the global economic crisis hit South Africa in late 2008, economic growth had been steady and unprecedented. From the first quarter of 1993 to the second quarter of 2008, the country enjoyed an unprecedented 62 quarters of uninterrupted economic growth. However, as the crisis made itself felt, GDP contracted in the third and fourth quarters of 2008, officially plunging the economy into recession (World Bank, 2010).

The global financial crisis 'sharply changed the outlook for an already slowing economy and posed new challenges for macroeconomic policies' in South Africa. Large capital outflows, triggered by investor withdrawal from emerging market assets lowered stock prices and depreciated the South African rand close 15 per dollar in November 2015. South Africa-specific factors, such as the high current account deficit and policy uncertainties created by the upcoming national elections in April 2009, also contributed to an elevated perception of risk. In addition, a sharp decline in external demand and a slump in the prices of some major export commodities further weakened the economy. These shocks pushed the economy into a recession, while the costs of borrowing in international markets rose significantly, as it did for other emerging market economies.

According to the National Development Plan (NDP), government views small and medium enterprises (SMMEs) as contributing about 90% to the growth target of 2030. In line with this, the importance of small businesses in the country has been widely recognised both by the public and private sector.

Currently, about two-thirds of the labour force in the country is employed by SMMEs, translating to a contribution of about 50% of the country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP). The main factor is that small enterprises are usually more labour-intensive than large corporations, therefore possessing the ability of creating the much needed employment for the economy.

Factors Affecting Women Entrepreneurs in South Africa

While South Africa has long recognised the need to support entrepreneurship to boost economic growth and job creation, the existing policy interventions and

programmes are not having the anticipated impact. The narrowing of the gap between the growth in women entrepreneurship and the contextual reality is contingent on skills training and tertiary education; removal of hidden and subtle gender discrimination; change in existing prejudices and stereotypes regarding the role of women in a male-dominated economy; the demand for socio-economic rights; and policy advocacy.

The effective voice of women in business must shift from the survivalist sector to small business ventures and medium to large-scale enterprises.

Entrepreneurship in South Africa is affected by a number of factors including race, gender and location. The statistics on gender in the economy reveal large differences between women and men and between black and white women. Because of the limited opportunities in the formal employment sector, many women, and especially black women, are forced to work in the poorly paid and largely unregulated informal sector. Access and control over resources is still based on 'race', gender and class. Consequently South Africa remains characterised by extreme poverty, social disintegration, mass unemployment and the exclusion of the majority of people from socio-economic development and growth.

In South Africa men are 1.7 times more likely than women to be involved in entrepreneurial activity. Total entrepreneurial activity rates vary significantly across regions, ranging from 9.9% in Gauteng to 3.1% in the Northern Cape and North West. The difference in prevalence rates is due to differences in opportunity-based entrepreneurial activity rates, which are significantly higher in Gauteng and the Western Cape than in other provinces (DTI, 2005).

There is considerable variation in total entrepreneurial activity across the regions. Total entrepreneurial activity rates range from 9.9% in Gauteng to 3.0% in the Northern Cape and North West. Gauteng and the Western Cape have the highest levels of entrepreneurial activity, although the difference between them is not significant.

Entrepreneurial activity in KwaZulu-Natal is significantly different from either the Western Cape or the Free State. The Free State and the Eastern Cape have similar rates of entrepreneurial activity, which are slightly over half the rate in Gauteng, Mpumalanga and Limpopo and the Northern Cape and the North West. Overall the higher activity levels in Gauteng and the Western Cape considerably boost entrepreneurial activity in South Africa (cf. DTI, 2005).

According to the 2010 Small Business Survey, the largest proportion of small business owners resided in Gauteng province (23%) compared to 9.8% in Limpopo province. The majority of small businesses in Gauteng were service providers (34.2%), while the majority in Limpopo were retail services (78.2%). Small businesses in Gauteng were larger than those in other provinces which contributed significantly in job creation, while small businesses in Limpopo were smaller than those in other provinces. Thus, greater credit demand for investment purposes is expected in Gauteng compared to Limpopo (NCR, 2011).

Government Policy

Whilst it is strategically important for the government to target 'women's entrepreneurship' in South Africa for policy attention, it is critically important to address the limitations and exclusions of issues affecting women entrepreneurs and the ways in which these are interred within policy and state regulatory practices. Government policy and the availability of inputs determine the success of women's business enterprises:

The quality of social life in a society is one of the most powerful determinants of health strategies in addressing the effects of HIV/AIDS on women entrepreneurs in South Africa. Researchers have emphasised the important role that social networking plays in the entrepreneurial development of women.

CONCLUSION

This study concludes that further research is needed that would present a realistic profile of women entrepreneurs in South Africa and make a meaningful contribution to women's business success, personal achievement and multiple societal and national developmental objectives that promote sustainable livelihoods. Therefore, there is an urgent need for more government involvement in women's entrepreneurial development and greater emphasis should be placed on funding women entrepreneurship in South Africa. Adequate government funding is crucial to the development of women's entrepreneurship.

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11. WOMEN AND SMALL SCALE ENTREPRENEURSHIP

Perspective from the SADC Region

INTRODUCTION

Globally, entrepreneurship is considered as a means to create jobs and improve social and economic conditions of a country. Particularly, in the context of developing countries, owing to high unemployment rate, social inequality, and high levels of poverty, the need for entrepreneurship is further emboldened. Essentially, of late, most discussions on entrepreneurial empowerment have focused on the youth and women. This new focus has emerged as a result of the common denominator in the development agendas of most African governments i.e. children, youth and women. The focus on women may have resulted from the fact that gender equality has remained an important issue in the global economy (Shirokova & Tsyganova, 2010); men-owned businesses outperform those owned by women in terms of growth and profitability (Rodríguez Gutiérre et al., 2014); women have consistently ranked second to men in terms of employment opportunities and so on (Iwu & Nxopo, 2015); female-owned businesses serve as an opportunity for self-employment for them (Shirokova & Tsyganova, 2010); and female businesses, though few in mumber, are in some cases job creators (Gundry et al., 2014). The gender debate rages on spanning discrepancies in income earnings (Startiene & Remeikiene, 2008); the role of women in families (Welter et al., 2014) and funding opportunities for their business (Nxopo, 2014). Although there seems to be an improvement in all of these, according to The Global Entrepreneurship Monitor (GEM) (2011), men are still better opportune to access both funding and any other support for their entrepreneurial ventures than women. More specifically within Southern Africa, the GEM report suggests very low entrepreneurial activity when compared to their counterparts in Latin America. Again, according to Herrington, Kew and Kew (2009), unemployment rates in Africa are higher among women in comparison to their male counterparts. This is an indication that African women make up the group primarily affected by unemployment within the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC). While there seems to be some improvement in the informal sector economy, female entrepreneurship is yet to put up an impressive record. It is therefore necessary to find ways to improve levels of self-employment among women in Southern Africa.

Several researchers have explored the reasons why women leave the mainstream labour market to pursue an entrepreneurial activity. The findings suggest that about one-fifth of women are drawn to entrepreneurship by pull factors, while the rest are drawn by push factors (Ghosh & Cheruvalah, 2007). Push factors are often regarded as negative factors that coerce women into entrepreneurship and they include loss of jobs, frustrations in their previous employment, the need to balance work and family to maintain a flexible work schedule and more importantly to earn reasonable living (Orhan & Scott, 2001). In fact, as far back as 2000, Deakins and Whittam indicated that entrepreneurship was not usually a first choice for many women, but because of the desire not to continue to confront discriminatory attitudes of men, they instead opt for self-employment. This decision is also often facilitated by the need to balance conflicting personal and work demands. In short, women often pursue business and or self-employment with the intrinsic motivation to be independent and also because of flexibility that it allows them to balance work and family commitments (Rosa et al., 1996). There is also the argument by Orhan and Scott (2001) as well as Still and Timms (2000, 2000a) suggesting that women are driven socially to change the lives of those around them and their communities at large.

This chapter presents a commentary on female entrepreneurship within the SADC. This commentary seeks to review history of women in entrepreneurship, challenges faced by these women, growth and development opportunities as well as support mechanisms available to advance women in entrepreneurship in the Southern African region. The authors are of the view that opening up opportunities for discussions on an important subject such as this will assist emerging and existing female entrepreneurs in not only finding ways of scaling some of the hurdles of entrepreneurship but also broaden their horizons especially considering that resourceful networks present an opportunity to share and manage issues that are pertinent to the growth and development of female entrepreneurship.

Overall, female entrepreneurship should be seen as an important vehicle that can bring about the necessary economic growth and development in SADC region.

SCOPE AND BACKGROUND OF SADC

SADC is widely known as an inter-governmental organization made up of 15 member states from Southern Africa. The aim of this organization is to promote regional integration in order to facilitate and promote economic growth, peace and security in the region (SADC, 2012). While the member states are dedicated to upholding human rights, the rule of law and achievement of peaceful settlement in case of a conflict, they continue to also uphold their sovereignty. SADC emerged from the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) which took place in Lusaka, Zambia to adopt the famous Lusaka Declaration (known as Southern Africa: Towards Economic Liberation) (Southern African Development Community, 2012). According to Campbell (2013) the SADCC provided ample opportunity for extensive discussions by presidents of countries which had

majority rule in Southern Africa. These 'frontline states' (as they were referred to) were Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Swaziland, United Republic of Tanzania and Zambia. These member states held a summit in Windhoek, Namibia on the 17 August 1992 where they signed the SADC Treaty and Declaration which effectively transformed the SADCC into the SADC. This transformation led to a shift in the objective to include economic integration following the independence of the rest of the Southern African countries (Southern African Development Community, 2012).

The following map depicts the countries that make up SADC to date.

Figure 1. SADC map
Source: http://www.sadc.int/about-sadc/overview/ (Accessed 19 October, 2015)

SADC's head office is located in Gabarone, the capital of Botswana.

OVERVIEW OF FEMALE ENTREPRENEURSHIP LANDSCAPE IN SADC

There is evidence to show that women outnumber men in SADC (see Table 1). It can be argued then that opportunities for economic growth should also be extended to women considering their varied demographic patterns and labour capacities (Meyer, 2009). Therefore, it behooves any government to also throw its weight behind female entrepreneurship so as to promote its economy (Botha, 2006).

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Table 1. Overview of female entrepreneurship landscape in SADC

Country	Sex	2010						Latest Available				
		0–4	5–19	20–54	55–64	65+		0–4	5–19	20–54	55–64	65+
Angola	Female	17.38	39.17	36.82	3.61	3.03						
	Male	17.9	39.9	36.4	3.3	2.4						
	Total	17.65	39.55	36.63	3.43	2.74						
Botswana	Female	11.14	32.21	45.66	5.76	5.23	2011	11.94	32.96	43.57	6.31	5.21
	Male	11.2	32.2	48.0	5.0	3.6	2011	11.57	34.62	47.13	3.39	3.30
	Total	11.17	32.21	46.83	5.37	4.43	2011	11.81	33.92	45.08	4.90	4.29
Democratic Republic of Congo	Female	17.73	38.92	36.31	3.72	3.32						
	Male	18.1	39.6	36.4	3.3	2.5						
	Total	17.91	39.27	36.36	3.53	2.93						
Lesotho	Female	12.80	32.02	43.46	5.11	6.61	Projection	13.29	31.53	43.56	5.12	6.50
	Male	13.7	34.6	43.2	4.3	4.2	Projection	14.28	34.18	43.18	4.20	4.10
	Total	13.26	33.25	43.35	4.70	5.44	??	13.77	32.81	43.38	4.68	5.36
Madagascar	Female	15.70	37.68	38.86	4.00	3.77						
	Male	16.1	38.1	38.7	3.8	3.4						
	Total	15.89	37.87	38.77	3.91	3.57						

Malawi	Female	9.16	19.56	18.83	1.68	2.00	2011	9.19	19.53	18.84	1.67	1.79
	Male	9.2	18.8	17.7	1.5	1.6	2011	9.3	18.8	17.7	1.5	1.5
	Total	18.33	38.38	36.57	3.16	3.56	2011	18.47	38.37	36.58	3.14	3.45
Mauritius	Female	6.23	23.03	52.55	9.77	8.42	2011	5.95	22.61	52.58	10.25	8.61
	Male	6.6	24.3	53.8	9.3	6.0	2011	6.2	24.0	53.8	9.8	6.2
	Total	6.41	23.67	53.10	9.52	7.30	2011	6.10	23.20	53.20	10.10	7.40
Mozambique	Female	17.02	37.55	38.45	3.79	3.19	??	16.58	37.41	39.02	3.75	3.23
	Male	18.2	39.3	36.1	3.5	3.0		17.7	39.7	36.2	3.5	2.9
	Total	17.57	38.41	37.30	3.64	3.08	??	17.15	38.52	37.66	3.62	3.06
Namibia	Female	12.3	34.5	43.5	5.1	4.7	2011	13.0	31.0	49.0	5.0	4.0
	Male	12.7	35.5	44.2	4.1	3.6	2011	14.0	35.0	46.0	4.0	3.0
	Total	12.5	35.0	43.8	4.6	4.2	2011	14.0	33.0	45.0	4.0	3.0
Seychelles	Female	3.6	11.2	26.1	3.3	4.6	2011	3.9	11.2	27.0	3.8	4.8
	Male	3.7	11.7	29.2	3.5	3.0	2011	3.8	11.7	26.9	3.8	3.1
	Total	7.3	23.0	55.3	6.8	7.6	2011	7.7	23.0	53.9	7.6	7.8

(Continued)

Table 1. (Continued)

Country	Sex	2010						Latest Available				
		0–4	5–19	20–54	55–64	65+		0–4	5–19	20–54	55–64	65+
South Africa	Female	9.9	30.2	47.9	6.3	5.7	2011	9.9	30.1	47.7	6.5	5.9
	Male	10.6	32.3	47.3	5.6	4.2	2011	10.7	32.5	47.3	5.4	4.1
	Total	10.2	31.2	47.6	5.9	5.1	2011	10.3	31.2	47.5	6.0	5.0
Swaziland	Female	13.2	39.0	48.7	4.6	4.3	??	12.2	35.0	44.9	4.2	3.8
	Male	13.8	38.1	41.2	3.8	3.2	??	12.7	34.4	37.6	3.4	2.9
	Total	12.9	36.7	42.8	4.0	3.6	??	13.0	36.3	43.2	4.0	3.5
United Republic of Tanzania	Female	17.60	36.50	39.20	3.50	3.30	2011	17.50	36.50	39.20	3.50	3.20
	Male	18.5	37.9	37.3	3.3	3.0	2011	18.30	37.90	37.50	3.30	2.90
	Total	18.10	37.20	38.30	3.40	3.20	2011	17.90	37.20	38.40	3.40	3.10
Zambia	Female	17.9	37.9	38.7	3.1	2.5	2010	17.9	37.9	38.7	3.1	2.5
	Male	18.0	37.7	38.6	3.2	2.5	2010	18.0	37.7	38.6	3.2	2.5
	Total	18.2	37.6	38.6	3.1	2.5	2010	18.2	37.6	38.6	3.1	2.5
Zimbabwe	Female	13.1	37.5	39.3	4.7	5.3						
	Male	13.6	38.7	40.0	3.5	4.3						
	Total	13.4	38.1	39.6	4.1	4.8						

Adapted from http://www.sadc.int/information-services/sadc-statistics/sadc-statistics-yearbook-201/ (Accessed 19 October 2015)

The table above shows that women are more in number than men. Sadly the presence of direct programmes to assist new and growing businesses at all levels of government (national, regional and municipal) do not exist, or are not effective and efficient enough to assist female entrepreneurs (Orford, Herrington, & Wood, 2004). To deal with this challenge, there is a need for SADC governments to (1) introduce and implement female entrepreneurship oriented policies (Daymard, 2015); (2) implement more responsive judicial and legal system that is sensitive to women (Sorsa, 2015); and (3) create enough awareness of financial availability and government support for women (Iakovleva et al., 2013). It is hoped that these would enable a much enlarged female participation in entrepreneurial activities in SADC.

CURRENT STATE OF FEMALE ENTREPRENEURSHIP IN THE SADC

In recent decades, female entrepreneurship has gained some traction globally despite its low success rate in Africa, but more significantly within the Southern African Development Community (SADC). In fact, in Africa, it is common knowledge that female entrepreneurship has remained in the second position to men (see Table 2 below).

Table 2. Comparative levels of entrepreneurship among continents
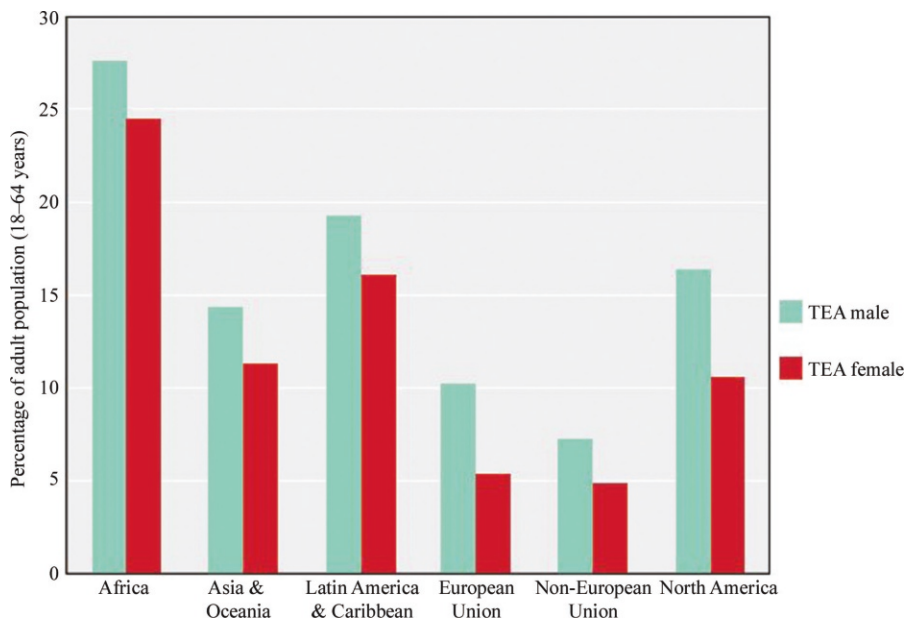
Source: Global Entrepreneurship Monitor, 2014

Nonetheless, within Southern Africa, women seem to dominate the informal sector economy (Mirand, 2015). USAID (2012) once stated that an approximate USD 7 billion was generated annually by women in SADC cross-border trade perhaps prompting Mirand (2015) to attribute that to unemployment, high illiteracy levels, lack of skills, and experience. Earlier, Ramani et al. (2013) considered female entrepreneurship as a source of employment for them from either their homes or in the street as they deem necessary.

Although it seems women dominate the informal sector economy of SADC, their impact is still inadequately addressed (Mirand, 2015) considering that they experience several difficulties. These include lack of collateral, limited access to independent asset base and violence against women (Nxopo, 2014). Inadequate financial and economic literacy also impede women's participation in the mainstream formal economy (Dube et al., 2014). Microcredit, income generating loans and small loans have not removed women from intergenerational cycle of poverty (William, 2007).

Generally, SADC's female entrepreneurs confront several challenges raging from socio-cultural to economic. In fact, even the socio-cultural status of women as homemakers limits their resolve to set up businesses and subsequently reduce their likelihood of accessing support (Bruni, Gherardi, & Poggio, 2004). Inability to own land and general perception of women as lacking the requisite intelligence to run a business successfully are common sociocultural difficulties that women confront.

These factors are also commonly considered to generally impact the socioeconomic growth of developing regions such as Southern Africa. For women in this region, involvement in entrepreneurship may mean that self-employment is a way to avoid institutional and cultural constrains and to provide the necessary family income. Thus, greater economic security such as welfare payments or stable employment is associated with less opportunity and necessity entrepreneurship in the region (Minniti & Arenius, 2003). Table 3 below further outlines the socio-economic factors that seem to have the most significant influence on entrepreneurship.

The below table succinctly captures some of the major factors that influence entrepreneurship. These factors are unique to various activities of entrepreneurship; in most instances these add to the success of entrepreneurship (Agbenyegah, 2013). However, cultural values do not positively impact on entrepreneurial activities or entrepreneurship intentions within the general society (Urban, 2006: 182). We insist therefore that these factors present considerable hurdles to women's economic empowerment in the region. On this basis, we therefore suggest that SADC member states should review their strategies and prioritise female entrepreneurship. This is because key success factors for female entrepreneurship need to be understood otherwise SADC member state governments are unable to provide for them.

Table 3. The socio- economic factors that seem to have the most significant influence on entrepreneurship

Socio-economic factor	Findings
Family background	Entrepreneurs tend to have self-employed father (Hisrich & Peters, 1998; Lordkipanidze, Brezet, & Backman, 2005: 789). Children growing up with the background of a family business and who are thus exposed to mentorship on a daily basis are more inclined to be entrepreneurs (Co, 2003: 39). Business acumen does not necessarily run in families (Nair & Panday, 2006: 60).
Financial status	The more economically better-off a family, the greater the chances of embarking on entrepreneurial venture and succeeding in them (Nair & Panday, 2006: 60; Brislin, 2000: 119; Mitchell, 2003: 728).
Family support	Family support, especially in enabling funds and access to markets, contributes to the creation and development of entrepreneurial ventures (Morrison, 2000: 69). The manner in which they are conditioned from an early age through the formal education system and family life also plays a significant role in the initiation of characteristics generally associated with entrepreneurial behaviour (Schindehutte, Morris & Brennan, 2003: 94). It is not only the values taught by elders that play a role, but also experiences during childhood within the community (Brislin, 2009: 9).
Level of education	Successful entrepreneurs have a higher level of education and seem to use opportunities more (Co & Mitchell, 2006: 349–350; Bogan & Darity Jr., 2008: 2000; Brink; Cant & Ligthelm, 2003: 19).
Acquired skills	Both technical education/training and work experience in a similar or related field positively affect entrepreneurship (Nair & Panday, 2006: 60; Hisrich & Peters, 1995).
Age	Maturity in age favours success in entrepreneurial ventures (Nair & Panday, 2006: 60). Individuals between the ages of 25 to 44 are most likely to be involved in entrepreneurial activity.
Gender	Entrepreneurship is largely seen as dominated by males (Human, 1993: 50; Brislin, 2000: 323; Saffu, 2003: 70; Botha, 2006: 28; Chitsike, 2000: 72–73. However, more female entrepreneurs are seeking independence, opportunities and accepting challenges (Brislin, 2000: 129).
Religion	The religious community to which one belongs does not impact individuals' venturing into entrepreneurial pursuits or succeeding in them (Nair & Panday, 2006: 60).
Race and business ventures	Whites and Indians are more likely to start a business than Coloureds or Blacks (Herrington et al., 2008: 23). Whites are also more prone to start a business earlier (at a younger age) compared to Blacks (Herrington et al., 2008: 23).

Source: Minniti & Arenius, 2003: 11

THE GENDER DISCOURSE

African societies are principally patriarchal. This suggests that men are perceived to be superior to women. In fact, women are considered to be second class citizens. Therefore it is not unusual to find that women are often discriminated against in terms of resources. It is also not uncommon to find that there is wider access to opportunities/resources for men than women. For instance, it is normal for a man to own property such as land. Within entrepreneurship, the narrative is not different. Several literatures have discussed female entrepreneurship challenges to include the society's perception of women as subservient to men, women's lack of worldly experience and their strong emotional attachment to things which may hamper the intention to take risk and so on. While recently many of these have been challenged by feminist writers, perhaps spurred by neo-liberal thinkers and international organisations such as the United Nations, not much seem to have changed. In fact, McEwan (2000) and The Women's Charter for Effective Equality (1992) have for a long time argued that the so-called fight for the liberation of women may never be realised on the basis of the woman's position as a second class citizen in society.

As far back as the nineteenth century, the SADC was already associated with entrepreneurial activities. According to Turkon (2009), entrepreneurship surged because of two main reasons namely different governments' policies that favoured cooperative investments over localised indigenous enterprise and secondly, an obvious lack of domestic jobs for women. There is no doubt that this quandary meant the deprivation of opportunities for innovation, growth and development for most SADC families. Additionally, with a delicately growing socioeconomic environment coupled with high levels of unemployment, poverty and HIV/AIDS, informal and cross border trade (ICBT) seemed like a welcome resort for SADC indigenes (Makombe, 2011) including females (Leboha, 2015).

While ICBT brought the necessary relief, it also unleashed a different kind of economic crisis. For instance, even those who were employed compromised their jobs for the gains of ICBT solely to augment their earnings. It is instructive at this stage to refer to Makombe (2011) who found that Swaziland and Zimbabwean 'ICBT' traders were not keen to give up this 'other' source of income even if the nations' economies improved. It is doubtless that this situation did not augur well for SADC thus resulting in an urgent call by SADC member states to address issues of poverty, unemployment and social inequality. For broader engagement, it was decided that 'doors should be open' for female entrepreneurs to participate freely and create network and collaborations within the region and possibly bring about opportunities to alleviate poverty, curb unemployment and uplift the communities and society at large. On this basis, 12 SADC member states (Botswana, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe) established Free Trade Areas (FTA) (Southern African Development Community, 2012). These members phased out tariffs on at least 85% of all goods that met the "Rules of Origin" criterion and are traded within the region with the

aim to curb cumbersome taxes levied on goods. Although agreements of this nature help to improve the lives of those in the Southern African economy, Machacha (2015) aver that much of these negotiations were concluded behind closed doors in exclusion of those (in reference to women) who are most adversely affected by such agreements. Machacha's blunt declaration is somewhat congruent to Elson and Pearson (1997) who warned that though an increasing number of women had gained paid employment, majority of them were deployed in low wage factory jobs particularly in processing zones which noticeably attract exclusive female labour. Although jobs of this kind have created opportunities (for instance Basotho women) in labour intensive exports with focus on the clothing sector (UNCTAD, 2012), they have additionally contributed to new forms of inequality and vulnerability, in countries such as Lesotho which would benefit a great deal from trade liberalisations, yet they are offset by various challenges (Machacha, 2015).

According to International Labour Organisation (ILO) (1991) informal trade is the vital source of employment among self-employed women particularly in the Sub-Saharan Africa. However gender inequalities manifest in informal trade and negatively affect the manner in which women make their living (Makombe, 2011). To juxtapose against the hurdle of gender inequalities, SADC's protocol on gender and development (PGD) is in favour of women participating in informal cross boarder trading (SADC-PGD, 2008). Evidence of this is found in Article 17 on economic empowerment: "*parties shall by 2015 adopt policies and enact laws which guarantee equality for women and men in entrepreneurship, benefits and opportunities while taking into account the contribution of women in the formal and informal sectors*". It does further state '*that parties shall by 2015 review their national trade and entrepreneurship policies to make them gender responsive*'. Despite these efforts, SADC is lagging behind in prioritising gender development in its policies and development plans (Machacha, 2015). For instance, the SADC protocol on trade is perceived to undermine the fulfilment of obligations created under Article 17 of the SADC-PGD by cautiously going blind on gender issues.

Tracing the origins of the focus on gender and development, Dejeve (2007) notes that apart from the millennium development goals, gender and development discourse has been the focal point in the last three decades. This suggests that the significance of women participation in mainstream economic activity of any nation cannot be overemphasised. Thus if women are not supported, communities may not experience the necessary growth they deserve. Therefore women empowerment, in particular female entrepreneurship should be at the forefront of any government's developmental programme. This is perhaps true considering that though female participation in mainstream economy had risen in the last three decades, yet female entrepreneurship lacks behind in the region to date (Machacha, 2015). Nonetheless, there have been statistically noticeable strides indicating an improved level of participation in micro and small entrepreneurs. According to Dejeve (2007) women's contribution in micro and small enterprises rank high in the region with 73% participation in small and micro business in Lesotho, 84% in Swaziland, 62%

in South Africa and 67% in Zimbabwe. These findings however do not provide evidence of sustainable business activity which is worrying especially with regard to further development of the businesses and innovation. Most women-led businesses in this sector simply operate from 'hand to mouth': basically to provide food for their families. They often run their business in silos without significant support from any external sources including the government. With regard to government, research (Gwija et al., 2014) shows that female entrepreneurship particularly entrepreneurs in remote areas are unaware of government's agencies and institutions created to support small businesses. It is therefore ideal for these institutions to penetrate rural areas and provide training and mentorship to female entrepreneurs in rural areas. A common assessment of the support centers in urban cities is that they have not effectively served the needs of both active and aspiring female entrepreneurs because many of them do not have easy access to them and in most cases are not even aware of the existence of these support centers and the services that they provide.

GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OPPORTUNITIES

Entrepreneurship is characterised as an integral part of the renewal process that defines market economies, including the opening up of opportunities for women and immigrants to access the pursuit of economic success (Kuratko, 2005). In Africa, involvement in entrepreneurship and self-employment is a way to avoid institutional and cultural constrains and to provide the necessary family income (Minniti & Arenius, 2003). In fact, Demartino and Barbato (2003) contend that women use the autonomy of entrepreneurship to integrate the goals of family and personal interest into the goals of their work. Bradley and Boles (2003) as well as McKay (2001) contend that many women seek self-employment in order to satisfy personal needs but primarily because of the dissatisfaction they experience at work.

While support mechanisms are essential for female entrepreneurs to succeed, it is imperative for an entrepreneur to be passionate about creating and implementing new ideas which may lead to creative solutions. Other vital ingredients include the ability and willingness to take calculated risks (Kuratko, 2005), and the vision to identify an opportunity where everyone sees disarray and contradiction (Kuratko & Hodgets, 2004). To ensure growth and development in entrepreneurship, the subject must be introduced in all schools at an early stage and in universities across faculties and disciplines. The implementation of entrepreneurship module in schools may serve as a breakthrough for women in generations to come. Young women need to be taught, mentored and steered in the direction of entrepreneurial mind-set. As Drucker (1985) earlier said entrepreneurship is not magic and nothing hereditary but can be taught like any other discipline. This will inculcate a culture of entrepreneurship with the aim to produce more entrepreneurs than job seekers of the future.

Women in business should possess the entrepreneurial mind set to exploit opportunities created by uncertainties and discontinuity in the creation of wealth (Hitt & Ireland, 2000). Entrepreneurship mind-set encompasses exploiting

opportunities in the external environment (Ireland & Kuratko, 2001; Zahra & Dess, 2001). In other words, collaboration and networks are essential for SADC women to facilitate entrepreneurial behaviour. Collaboration and partnership would help in promoting their products and innovation, increased market share and profits. McEvily and Zaheer (1999) aver that the greatest value of networks among entrepreneurial firms is the provision and availability of skills, resources and capabilities required to compete effectively in the market place. However, the skills, resources and capabilities are rewarding if complementary among members in the network (Chung, Singh, & Lee, 2000). Hitt et al. (2001) posit that firms usually search for partners with complimentary capabilities when establishing networks. Through these networks female entrepreneurs in the region would learn from one another. Those from poor countries and lacking necessary resources such as Lesotho, Botswana, Swaziland and Zimbabwe would benefit from utilising for instance advanced technological resources from more "developed" countries within the region such as South Africa. It would be of utmost importance for these entrepreneurs to create a platform mandated to source skills, and other resources and expertise unique to each country in the SADC region. Once that is established, these resources should be interpreted to enhance the level of entrepreneurship among women in society and the region as a whole. Zahra (1999) aver that enhanced entrepreneurship in a country leads to national prosperity and competitiveness. Apart from that, the Regional Export Promotion Women's Trust (REPT) is a good example of an established platform for women in Zimbabwe from which other communities in the region would learn (Machaha, 2015). According to Machacha, REPT serves as *a pressure group, well versed on the issues of women advocating people-driven regional trade development that is led from the grassroots respecting gender rights for economic development.* Critical to the development of female entrepreneurship in SADC is the establishment of systems and programmes that persuade women to venture into business and consider running them successfully.

In fact, what has become clear according to Leboha (2015) is that several trade policies have been amended with the aim to facilitate access to credit and land by women. Dube et al. (2014) also acknowledge that there have been some notable developments in the region to improve women's financial position such as women's banks, development funds, credit unions and entrepreneurship programmes. Leboha (2015) sadly notes that some women continue to face challenges that influence the economic landscape. And as Dube et al. (2014) suggest, despite these developments in SADC, economic activity among women is only dominant in micro enterprise and parallel sectors which encompass agriculture, Cross Border Trade and in-the-market trade.

CONCLUSION

This chapter sought to provide a commentary on women and small scale business with a focus on the Southern Africa Development Community. Our account is that

although there have been attempts to promote and encourage female entrepreneurship; resulting in many more women engaging in one form of entrepreneurial activity or the other, SADC has not travelled far down the road to achieve a significant increase in sustainable and well established female entrepreneurship. With the new government ministry in South Africa- the department of small business development, there seems to be a glimmer of hope for South African female entrepreneurs. This assertion is based on what the head of the department Ms Lindiwe Zulu, indicated as her core focus: women and people with disability. It is also hoped that considering the status of South Africa as the beacon of hope for SADC, there will be a spill over of ideas which other SADC member states can learn from. SADC should create platforms for its women in entrepreneurship to meet and share ideas and innovative strategies on how to take entrepreneurship forward in their countries. These platforms should also enable collaborations with other women in other regions in order to achieve market penetration in the international environment. Member states should allow dialogue with women in entrepreneurship so as to have the opportunity to understand women's needs and support required from their governments. In addition to that, government and support institutions should prioritise mentorship for new and emerging entrepreneurs. Women should also support one another in order to build a strong nation thus curtailing unemployment and creating sustainable businesses for the good of the Southern African Development Community.

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12. WOMEN, LAND USE, PROPERTY RIGHTS AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT IN ZIMBABWE

INTRODUCTION

The marginalization of women in all aspects of development had characterized the development landscape for a long time and this is not sustainable. Women had been on the fringes of development for a long time even though they command a very large number in population. For example in Zimbabwe they constitute 52% of the national population. A lot of factors had been put forward to try and explain why women had been lagging behind their male counter-parts; there is no conclusive reason that had been agreed in the field of academia. Various circumstances are being proffered as the reasons for women marginalization in development and these include political, social and economic. This research examined how land rights and land use had led to sustainable development in Zimbabwe. Women empowerment is critical to sustainable development because it is an attempt to achieve development through upliftment of marginalised groups of the society. Access to land can go a long way in empowering women because it gives women access to means of production that had for long been dominated by males. Woman had limited land rights and this had serious social and economic ramifications which negatively affect sustainable development. Lack of land rights is the major cause of high prevalence of absolute poverty among women and their marginalization in development. Empowering women through access to land is therefore critical in improving their social status and will also go a long way in enhancing agricultural productivity and food security. Women need access to productive resources and to be integrated in all developmental projects to alleviate poverty and ensure sustainable development because it give them access to resources that make them productive.

Throughout history and worldwide, land has been recognized as a primary source of wealth, social status and power (Komjathy & Nichols, 2001; FAO, 2002). It has been regarded as the 'God given natural resource,' (Ison & Wall, 2007), and as 'the basis for shelter, food and economic development,' (Komjathy & Nichols, 2001). They further hypothesized it as major source of employment opportunities and livelihood strategies in rural areas. However it is becoming increasingly scarce resource in both rural and urban areas. Land as a resource had been the source of many conflicts all over the world due to its scarcity. FAO (2004) in its analysis of role of land described it as a social asset, crucial for cultural identity, political power and participation in local decision making processes. Land is therefore an

important resource in production, and accessing secure land rights can go a long way in empowering people and moving them out of marginalization. Access to land is critical (Komjathy & Nichols, 2001; FAO, 2002), because it is a crucial asset for food production and a key factor for shelter, community development, empowerment and sovereignty in many African countries, especially Zimbabwe.

In most of today's societies, there is a great gender inequality in access to land, housing and infrastructure. Gaidzanwa (1995) revealed that access to land in Zimbabwe is based on the patriarchal systems. Patriarchy is a social system in which: males hold androcentric rights; males predominate in roles of political leadership, moral authority, social privilege and control of property; and, in the domain of the family. Fathers or father-figures hold authority over women and children (Hooks, 2004). Whilst equitable access to land is a basic human right, and many organizations are fighting for women to be granted fair access to land, in Zimbabwean rural communities, distribution, access and ownership of land is biased towards the male counterparts at the expense of women (Gaidzanwa, 1995). Patriarchal tendencies have hindered women from applying for land in their own right (Hooks, 2004), resulting in most of them preferring their husbands to do the application process and own the land on their behalf. In such a situation, the women can only live on the land and carry out agricultural activities with their husbands' permission or approval. Costa (2010) observed that in these contexts, women would lose their land rights in situations of their husbands' death, in case of separation or divorce, or when forced displacements take place.

United Nations Economic and Social Council Commission on the status of women actually stated that 'land rights discrimination is a violation of human rights,' (UN Habitat, 1999). A lot of developing countries still lack adequate provisions that assist women to acquire land rights independent of their husbands or male relatives (FAO, 2004; Costa, 2010; United Nations, 2013). Their legislations do not provide for women's independent land rights, in situations where they exist, mechanisms to enforce it are often absent or weak, leaving women vulnerable and exposed to abuse and this contributed to their poverty and discrimination (Costa, 2010). So women's direct access to land through purchase or inheritance is severely limited, yet they may have greater management and use rights than men (FAO, 2010; United Nations, 2013). The 2004 African Gender and Development Index (AGDI) findings from 12 African countries (Benin, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Egypt, Ethiopia, Ghana, Madagascar, Mozambique, South Africa, Tanzania, Tunisia and Uganda) revealed that women's access to land was, on average, less than half of that enjoyed by men (FAO, 2004).

Zimbabwe like other Sub-Saharan countries has cultures that have similar restrictive traditional laws (Gaidzanwa, 1995). Women are seen just as mere household producers and are mostly customarily given indirect access to land, which are acquired through kinship relationships either as wives, mothers, sisters and daughters (Mots'oene, 2014). Rocheleau and Edmunds (1997) added that, women enjoy access to a variety of forest and rangeland resources across the

rural landscape but find themselves with restricted access to land because they do not hold titles to the land they are using, which is always held by the male relative. The formal land titling or land tenure systems have vested greater powers of exclusion in land ownership in men, where women had been excluded from owning land in their own right, which will allow them to make meaningful investment on land for better production. Even where formal title is given through joint ownership between husband and wife, women have lesser rights and may lose use rights in times when severed relations exist between them and their male relatives. Characteristically women have less authority in important decisions made over land such as when to buy or sell the land. In most aspects of life, women compared to their male counter-parts, had assumed second class citizenship. It is against this background that the paper seeks to examine how access to land helped in the empowerment of women. Further, the paper seeks to find out how women empowerment through accessing land rights had contributed to sustainable development.

WOMEN, LAND RIGHTS IN ZIMBABWE: A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

In Zimbabwe the disposal of land from native Africans by whites has greatly contributed to marginalization of black majority in all aspects of life. The land apportionment Act of 1930 was the damaging piece of legislation that was used to dispose black Zimbabwean of their land. It divided the land of Zimbabwe into European and African lands. The Africans who were the majority were given 30% of the land and the whites who constituted only a quarter of the national population were given 51% of the land (Manjengwa et al., 2014). The scarcity of land among the African population was the genesis of marginalization of women in the ownership of land. The colonial system with its land grabbing system destroyed the African land holding systems that led to women losing some of their land rights. In Zimbabwean black societies, women were allowed their piece of land where they grew their crops such as groundnuts, round nuts and even maize. The land holding systems in the colonial era exhibited a racial superiority where the whites were the dominant race that held land rights. This changed after the attainment of independence in 1980 where the black took over from racial dominance and they were the ones that controlled land rights. The land rights therefore seen to be defined on racial basis and therefore took very little cognizance of the gender issues on land holding (Muzondidya, 2007) Land right in Zimbabwe therefore overlooked a lot of significant issues of rights that include rights of the minority groups, rights of women and the rights of farm workers (Moyo et al., 2001; Murisa, 2011; Muzondidya, 2007). Muzondidya 2007 further argued that rights of minority groups such as children, women and ethnic groups were not reflected in the land reform policy of the country, which was mainly defined in terms of the racial binary. Women were therefore economically, socially and politically marginalized despite constituting the majority of people in poverty. This marginalization especially

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through alienation of land rights deprived them of sources of livelihoods and minimized their ability to diversify their livelihoods.

Soon after gaining independence in 1980, the Zimbabwean government embarked on land redistribution programme and by 1995 the government had purchased 2.9 million hectares of land (Chitsike, 2003).The initial target was to resettle 18,000 households on 9 million hectares of land but was later revised to 162,000 households (Chitsike, 2003). The land reform programme was heavily handicapped by some of the provision of the Lancaster House Constitution that only allowed government to access land through the willing buyer willing seller basis. In terms of providing land for women the whole process of land redistribution was silent of gender issues hence it did not give women their land rights (Gaidzanwa, 1995).

Land titling in the resettlement reflected patriarchal systems of land holding where women could only access land through their male relatives e.g. husbands or brothers. Land was registered in the name of the husband and he was entrusted to hold the land rights on behalf of the family. This severely limits women to make productive use of the land. In situation where their rights are poorly or not defined, they do not have incentives to invest in the land hence they are likely to experience poor production (Horrel & Krishnan, 2002). The patriarchal nature of the land holding system in Zimbabwe is a true reflection of many Shona societies that had deep seated structures that work to suppress women right and promote male rights in the society. Women in most Shona societies had very little power within the household and are constantly under supervision of their male counter-parts (Horrel & Krishnan, 2002). They further argued that women are regarded as minors in these societies hence they are subjects not only to their husbands but also to the relatives of their husbands. Such traditional practices effectively work to disenfranchise women from key decision making processes in the household and the family. As a result their views in issues that pertains farm productivity are not included in the planning and management of farming activities. Consequently only male related issues are reflected in the farming systems. Males are therefore the ones that determine which crops to grow, and under which hectrage. This is not sustainable because it is the voice of the marginalsied that needs to be heard in and development intervention. These should be the chief architects and engineers of development (Chambers, 1983). Sustainable development should look into the needs of the marginalised and excluded with the major aim of improving their conditions and the ultimate goal of empowering them. The disproportionate marginalization of women on land rights and exclusion of women in decision making processes on land is a disempowerment and marginalization of women strategy that had kept them out of development. The last phase of land reform in Zimbabwe was the Fast Track Land Reform Programme, which was characterized by a lot of violence. The delayed land redistribution process in Zimbabwe prompted war veterans and other land hungry Zimbabweans to occupy white commercial farms and other derelict farms throughout the country. This prompted the government of Zimbabwe to embark on a chaotic Fast Track Land Reform Programme. This programme was characterized

by violence and coercion (Muzondidya, 2007). It was administered on military basis, where war veterans were directing operations and had established structures that supervised farm occupation and allocation of pieces of land (Murisa, 2011). The most notorious organization was the committee of seven that was dominated by war veterans and was superintending operation in the farms. The violent and chaotic nature of the land reform worked to effectively exclude women from the land redistribution process (Murisa, 2011; Goebel, 2005). According to Goebel 2005 most of the violence mainly in form of rape and assault was targeted to women and children. The most affected were women farm workers who were often accused of supporting the white commercial farmers, hence were treated with suspicion of betraying the struggle for land acquisition dubbed the third Chimurenga (the third version of war of liberation). Women therefore, because of their vulnerability could not participate in such shambolic land reform programme. However some women who had good political connections managed to get access to land in the same process. They used their political connections to get access to land but the programme recorded marginal increase in the number of women who accessed land from previous 4% to 18% (Mutopo, 2011; Manjengwa et al., 2014).

WOMEN'S LAND RIGHTS IN ZIMBABWEAN CUSTOMARY TRADITIONS

In most Zimbabwean societies there are very strong patriarchal systems where women are continuously regarded as minors and are only allowed land through their male relatives (Gaidzanwa, 1998). Under such tradition wives and daughters have no land rights but can only access these rights through their male relatives. This situation is obtaining against the backdrop of massive contribution of women in agriculture and food security. Women are the majority participants in agriculture as they constitute the majority workforce (Mutopo, 2011; Goebel, 2005). In some cases the discrimination of women in accessing land is really unwarranted as women had proved to as productive as their male counter-parts and in some cases they could surpass their production levels (Goebel, 2005). The secondary rights can only allow them use rights while real land rights remain located in their male counter-part. This feature remains a permanent imprint in most societies in Zimbabwe despite attempts to change this situation and bring women at parity with their male counter-parts. New laws are taking too long to eradicate these traditional practices. For example the government of Zimbabwe soon after independence tried to overhaul the skewed patriarchal system that dominated Zimbabwean societies by enacting legislation that would help to uplift the conditions of women, but they remain overshadowed by traditional practices. The Legal Age of Majority Act was an attempt to give women legal status to represent themselves just like any other human being at the age of 18 (Goebel, 2005; Moyo & Kawewe, 2002). This piece of legislation allowed women legal equality with their male counter-parts and allowed them to hold land rights. This moved them from the minor status that underpinned their disenfranchisement in holding land. The legal Age of Majority of 1982 was an

attempt to open opportunities for women acquire land right just the same way men did. However strong patriarchal systems continued to sideline women in accessing real land right. The government though they enacted the legal Age of Majority that allowed equality between the gender divide they also had strong traditional beliefs that women cannot hold land in their own right. Gaidzanwa, 1995 commended that the government had no serious intention and lacked the political will to give women land rights because the President of the country and his deputy were quoted in the local media as saying women cannot hold land rights in a marriage system. They further argued that if women want right they should decide not to marry. Such utterances especially coming from those holding powerful position in the country, reflect strong patriarchal notions which waters-down all efforts of empowering women through accessing secure land rights. As a result, despite massive land redistribution that happened in the fast track land reform programme less than 20% of the land was given to women (Goebel, 2005). Those who benefited were not the ordinary women in the rural areas, who constituted that majority of those in poverty but those who had political connections specifically those who were connected to the ruling ZANU Pf party. Women groups fought an arduous struggle for women emancipation especially women participation in politics and women land rights. These efforts yielded when the government allowed for joint ownership and entitlement of land between the husband and the wife especially in resettlement areas. However, this did very little to improve the situation of majority of women in rural areas who are in customary marriage (Goebel, 2005). These could not jointly register on the leases and titles of the land due to the nature of their marriage, which were not recognized in the legal systems.

The domination of culture in most facets of African lives was the major impediment factor in the empowerment of women through accessing of real land rights. In most Shona societies the lives of women are conspicuously misrepresented and at most not represented due the subservient roles that they hold in these societies. These strong cultural practices had straddled across all facets of life, which include the social, economic and political circles. The result was the failure of women issues to be escalated on national and economic agenda (Moyo & Kawewe, 2002). The nature of political economy in Zimbabwe allowed for domestication of women in most African societies. This had been allowed because most men leave their rural homes for towns and cities in search of employment and in most of these cases women are left in the rural areas looking after the rural home. Women live under the care of their husbands who stays in urban areas. This kind of practices had led to development of the ideology of domesticity among African women who are socialized into accepting and believing that they are to stay at home allowing their husbands to fend for them and the family (Moyo & Kawewe, 2002). This effectively prevented most of the women from acquiring important assets that could be used to make productive use of land. Unlike women, men had been able to acquire important assets such as ploughs and drought power that are critical in the agricultural production.

The customary laws that are more dominant in African societies had a lot of ramification on women access to land and use of that land. The dominant patriarchal systems do not allow women to inherit their husband's land rights or the property they worked to build (Vambe & Mpfariseni, 2011). Such rights are vested in the male relative who can be the male's kins or her elder son. Women and daughters are not considered and generally excluded in the process. This practice works to deprive women of their sources of livelihoods and offends the principles of equality and natural justice (Vambe & Mpfariseni, 2011). It violets the provisions of international agreement and conventions such as the Convention of Elimination of All forms of Discrimination Against women and the United Nation's universal declaration of Human Right Article 17 which provides for every human being to have access to property right. The universal declaration of human right therefore provide for women to have property rights. Property rights are therefore human rights recognized internationally. What is worrisome is that the traditional systems seem to practice double standards in that sons even when they are minors in some cases are preferred to inherit father's property ahead of their mothers who is more senior in terms of age and experience in agriculture. This obtaining situation therefore spells out the position of women in the some Shona societies. Women are perpetual minors when it comes to land holding but they are the majority of workers and active participants in agriculture as men are usually away working in cities and towns (Mutopo, 2011). They are actually the de facto household heads who had the responsibility to produce and control production at household level. The position that women hold in the absence of their husbands put them at a critical position in terms of responsibility in agriculture, which does not commensurate with the authority that they hold on land. It therefore calls for total empowerment of women if we are to achieve sustainable development. They need to have land rights that should allow them to invest in the land, which will also result in higher production and food security bot at household level and national level. The user rights that most the women have are not sufficient for them to invest in the land mainly because the rights are not secure as they can lose them at any time and in most cases do not allow women to have access to sufficient land (Daley & Englert, 2010; Chigwenya, 2013). The insecure land rights that most women have, had a lot of ramifications on the production and management of landed resources. According to Fortmann et al. (1997), the insecure land rights that most women have prevent them from investing in good land management practices such as tree planting that will help in the conservation of land and the environment. In their study in two Zimbabwean villages they found that women are less willing to participate in such land management practices, as only 44% of women were into tree planting and other land management practices as compared to 83% men. The obtaining situation is not good for the environment and does not augur well with the tenets of sustainable development. Issues of environmental sustainability are very critical to sustainable development. There is need to take measures to protect and manage our environment for our benefit and the benefits of generations to come.

Customary laws and practices that are dominant in most African societies had been responsible for the impoverishment of women. They had exposed women to some grueling experiences characterized by life challenges. These practices are so restrictive on the advancement of women and their economic emancipation (Peterman, 2011). The major impediment in women advancement is the lack of access to resources that are critical for empowerment such as secure land rights. Secure land rights enhance agricultural productivity and lack of such rights among women is the chief cause of the negative economic outcomes among them (Peterman, 2011). He further argued that insecure land rights negatively affects the health of women. This is not sustainable because women as human capital cannot be as productive as the other healthy people. The quality of human capital is very essential in the production system because the healthier they are the more productive they are and the more sustainable the livelihoods they engage in.

LAND RIGHTS, LAND USE AND EMPOWERMENT

The secondary land rights, which mostly women hold, seriously disempowered them and this also affects their decision making processes, especially on issues regarding land use. In most cases the right to decide on land use allocation is vested in patriarchal lineages where this authority is ascribed to elderly men. They have the right to make critical decision on land on behalf of family or clan (Oxfam, 2001). They can decide whether the land is to be bought, sold or the use to be given to the pieces of land they own. Women only have use rights which they can access through their male relative. According to Boserup (1970, cited in FAO 2010), women farming systems are characterized by communal ownership of land with usufruct rights. They seldom own land they cultivate and in situation where they own land it is in fewer amounts. On average women own land, which is less than half of that held by their male counterparts (FAO, 2010). This then handicap them in terms of production, where their pieces of land do not allow them to make productive use the land.

The secondary rights held by women are therefore important drawbacks in the empowerment of women and had contributed immensely to their marginalization. It is important therefore for women to acquire real land rights on equal terms with their male counter-parts if any improvement in their social and economic status of women is to be realised. Land rights will give them access to means of production, which will make them productive and in the process help to uplifting their conditions and avoiding economic and social marginalization (Gaidzanwa, 1998). She further argued that the existing subservient roles that women have in the society makes their male counter-part very import social figures and make them the only conduit through which they can access land. This gives women torrid time to maintain these relationships even in situations they are abused. They will stay in such severed relationships for fear of losing these secondary land rights. This makes women very vulnerable socially and economically and this is not sustainable. The situation is more difficult for divorced women who had an extra and arduous task of proving

to relevant authorities that they have custody of their surviving children in order to continue enjoying land rights. They are at a risk of losing that land to greedy husband's relatives. Some of them will get portion of land from their parents, who on compassionate grounds often offer them a more safe use rights. In such situations they will need to leave their matrimonial homes to go and stay with their parents.

The secondary rights that most women hold over land are not enough to allow them to make economic use of the land as in most cases they cannot invest on the land because they do not have real rights over it. Their pieces of land are usually difficult to use as they will be marginal and hence demands a lot of inputs, of which most women because of their economic status do not have. These use rights can only enable them to carry out very minor economic activities that will bring in very little in terms of cash that is critical in empowering them (Meer, 1997). Their contribution to economic development is therefore very marginal as their production is mainly subsistence and does not allow them to venture into meaningful economic activities. Women constitute the majority of rural population and the number of people in absolute poverty (Mutopo, 2011; Peterman, 2011; Mutopo & Chiweshe, 2014). The limited access to land by women also restricts them to grow mainly vegetables and other non-commercial crops such as groundnuts and round nuts. This situation is obtaining despite the fact that these women have the ability produce cash crops just the same way their male counterparts and the fact that women constitute the majority of able bodied work force in most rural areas (Fortmann et al., 1997). They play a very critical role in agriculture, which is a sector most of them are employed. In Sub-Saharan Africa for example, they are 54.9% women employed in agriculture and in other countries the figures are even high, for example in Mozambique they constitute 60% and Tanzanian 81% (Arisunta, 2010). They are also the major producers of food crops such as maize, rice and cassava in the Sub-Saharan Africa (FAO, 2010). According to Geisler (2001) women in South Africa have managed to supplement their husband's wages through productive engagement in farming of cash crops. This therefore shows that there is no basis for marginalizing women in agriculture and giving them land right will increase production and food security both at household level and national level. The result will be sustainable development where the previously marginalised groups of the society will be empowered to actively participate in development. Giving secure land rights to women will transform the structural conditions that had marginalised women and resulted in their vulnerability and disempowerment. It will political empower them and created an opportunity for addressing inefficiencies in farming (Moyo et al., 2000).

The secondary rights that most women have are highly uncertain and in most cases poorly defined. These tenurial rights are not titled in any formal documentation neither are they customarily acknowledged. In Zimbabwe the situation that most women find themselves in is defined by a combination of customary laws and inherited colonial laws that are working to keep women marginalised (Mutopo, 2011). Furthermore the rights are subject to change and these changes

rarely take into consideration the needs and rights of women and in most cases women are always on the losing side mainly because their rights to land are no recognized and there are no institutions that support women land rights. In very few situations where these rights are defined by the customary laws, it is very difficult to reconcile women and male land rights mainly because the customary laws do not have gendered land policy and then dominant patriarchal system that is in many societies prevent women land rights. This effectively alienation of women on land rights and hence minimize their contribution to their empowerment and development. As a result, women constitute the majority of the poor in the society (Horrell & Krishnan, 2002). The new demographic trends show that there are increasing numbers of female headed households, which therefore calls for a greater need for women empowerment so that they can be able to look after these families. To achieve this, institutions and policies should be put in place to support women empowerment and such interventions are likely to improve probabilities for women to economically contribute to development (De Villard et al., 2000 in FAO, 2010). Restricted access to land and poorly defined land rights does not only work to keep women in perpetual poverty but also limit their contribution to economic development and this does not augur well with tenets of sustainable development which calls for support of the marginalised groups of the society.

The disempowerment of most women is predicted on the fact that their rights to land resources are heavily dependent upon their marital status (Gaidzanwa, 1998). This construction put most women in a very vulnerable position economically, since it pushes women out of decision making processes involving land. They can therefore not decide on which crop to grow, how much land to be allocated to which crop because all these responsibilities are located in their male counter-parts. The situation is reinforced by some deeply seated perception that women in agriculture simply exist as house wives responsible for baby care and running household chores (Mkandawira & Matlosa, 1995; Gaidzanwa, 1995; Mutopo, 2011). They are therefore regarded as peripheral actors in agriculture which is regarded as male domain. However women are very critical actors of household agriculture labour and had shown that they can make huge contribution to agriculture and in some cases can match production figures of their male counter-parts, for example in Ghana women coco farmers were able to match yields of their male counter parts (FAO, 2010).

The insecure tenure of women land rights are the major drivers of their vulnerability because they can hardly afford them to be economically viable. They cannot venture into viable commercial farming because of the sizes of land they hold (Mutopo, 2011). They therefore concentrate on production of women crops, which are labour intensive and require a lot of patience. These crops also had low market values hence cannot be very useful in the economic empowerment of women. In cases of land appropriation women are often victims of land grabs especially by the male relatives (Gaidzanwa, 1995; Horrell & Krishnna, 2002; Cooper, 1997). This is because traditional customs do not recognize women as custodians of land

rights and such practices are more likely to leave women in dire conditions of poverty as they will have been dispossessed of their means of production. However, women in resettlement areas enjoy some freedom from their husband's relatives mainly because families in resettlement areas exist as nuclear families unlike in communal areas where there are extended family ties. Giving women access to land and creating institutions that support land rights can make them as effective as males. Most husbands do really feel socially threatened when their wives have a reliable source of income hence they will do whatever is in their capacity to keep them economically handicapped so that they can force them to depend on them (Oxfam, 2001).

Women rights are often taken for granted yet they play a very important role in the society. They are de facto heads of households and in such situations they are bestowed with responsibility of food production for the family. Women in particular constitute the majority in the rural population (85%) (Karanja, 1999), and are most affected by poverty. This situation is obtaining against the backdrop of the critical role they play in the economy. They are responsible for producing half the world's food, they contribute 75% of agricultural labour and responsible for processing and storage of 90% of food (Mehra & Rojas, 2008). In developing countries, women's' contribution to food security is even higher (over 60%) (Mehra & Rojas, 2008). Giving women access to land has therefore have far reaching consequences as it has the potential to increasing agricultural production by between 20% and 30% and reduce poverty by between 12% and 17% (Women Thrive Worldwide, 2009). This will significantly contribute towards achieving the Millennium Development Goal which aimed to halve poverty by 2015. It is also a fulfillment of human rights to development as dictated by the United Nation High Commission, which argued that any development that alienates other human beings is travesty to development. The Beijing Declaration in its article 35 also supports the same argument as it calls for equality to access to economic resources, which include land (Chigwenya, 2013).

WOMEN LAND RIGHT AND AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

The land rights that the majority of women hold are not secure and heavily depend on their relationship with their male counter-parts. Most of the rights are communal with very few holding freehold. Most of those with freehold land tenure rights got them in the fast track land reform where they were issued with 99 year leases by the government. Women with real rights were mostly widows who had used their political connections to access land during the chaotic Fast Track Land Reform (Murisa, 2011; Mutopo, 2011; Murisa, 2014). Some had benefited from the improved land policy that allowed women to acquire real rights through joint ownership of land with their husbands. However even in joint ownership patriarchal systems continue to dominate such that joint ownership is just spelt on paper but in actual fact men dominate all facets of land ownership. They have a bigger and louder

say and also overriding decisions over land as they are the ones who determine which crops and the hectarage to be put under each crop. It is also their crops that consume the bigger share of land and the income driven from these crops is held under the control of males. In the joint ownerships, the real practice prescribes males as customary and traditional owners of land, and therefore has the final say on land.

In terms of production, those with freehold land rights seemed to perform marginally better than those without. The case study from Zvimba rural area showed that those with secure land rights were not among the poor agricultural performers. Even though they were not among the best performers they performed reasonably well as some of them could achieve production figures of three tons per hectare. Table 1 below shows maize production per hectare in Zvimba.

Table 1. Maize Production (Tons/ha) in Zvimba

Maize production (tons/ha)	Land rights (%)			
	Usufruct	*Communal*	*Lease*	*Freehold*
Less than 0.5	48	24	1	–
0.5–1	13	4	2	2
1.1–3	–	–	4	1
More than 3	1	–	–	–
Total	62	28	7	3

Source: Survey, 2013

There is still a clear distinction between the crops that belongs to males and those that belong to female. In all situations the male crops were dominant in terms of hectarage and investments. In a case study of Zvimba communal areas, female crops were allocated on average a sixth of the family arable land and receive very little or no investments. This land was supposed to be further divided for 2–3 crops, which further diminish the economic viability of the piece of land. Women in Zimbabwe are among the poor in asset possession. They neither hold enough land nor have the means to make their land productive (Manjengwa et al., 2014; Horrell & Krishnan, 2002). They do not have enough income, fewer livestock and less machinery to make their land productive (Horrell & Krishnan, 2002). According to Horrell and Krishnan (2002), the thin asset base is the major limiting factor for women to diversify their livelihoods. Even though widowed women in resettlement areas in Zimbabwe have the same land size as their male counter-parts their production remains comparatively lower than their male counter-parts. Their households also remain poorer than their male counter-parts. The male crops also receive most or all of the farm inputs such as fertilizers, manure, pesticides and in most cases they use hybrid seeds while women utilise open pollinated varieties (Horrell & Krishnan, 2002). Even in terms of prioritization, women's crops get the

last priority as they are planted last after the male crops usually towards the end of rain season.

A significant number of women were holding communal land rights which they gained through joining community organizations such as cooperatives. These community organizations were established by donor agencies, which encourage women to work in groups especially in community nutritional gardens. Communal land rights in co-operatives were dominated by divorcees and widows who usually find it difficult to be allocated land in their villages. However, land allocated for these communal agricultural activities is very small and cannot allow them to make meaningful contribution to economic development. For instance they are allocated only 12 square meters per women in communal gardens, which only allow them four vegetable beds. These communal gardens are also affected by lack of inputs which severely limits their productions as they do not have pesticides and fertilizers that will boost their production. For example the butter nut project was severely affected by pests and diseases that completely wiped the entire crop. Another challenge is lack of a ready market for their horticultural produce. They only rely on the local demands, which fetch low prices leading to low returns.

Land leases were introduced just after the 2000 fast track land resettlement programme in Zimbabwe. These leases given in form of 99-year land leases, and were granted to A2 farm holders. These leases were granted so as to help the new farmers to access credit facilities from financial institutions. They were introduced after realization that black farmers who were allocated farms under the A2 scheme were failing to put their lands to productive use due to lack of financial resources. However, banks and financial institutions were refusing to accept these leases as collateral security because of political overtones in the whole land reform process. The whole resettlement programme was regarded as a political gimmick, irrational and with very little economic value, hence the refusal of accepting 99 year government leases as collateral security. As a consequence, beneficiaries were forced to only use their meager resources to fund their agricultural activities resulting in low utilization of land and low productivity. They sometimes rely on government handouts for farming inputs however these are not reliable, as they often come well after the commencement of the farming season, and inadequate to allow large scale commercial farming and usually are allocated along political allegiances.

The user rights, which most of the women are holding are only allowing them to produce very little as the majority of them are managing only less than a tonne per hectare. Women are only permitted by their husbands to grow groundnuts, round-nuts and sweet potatoes on their allocated spaces. The rest of the land is utilised by their husbands to grow cash crops, and food crops to sustain households. Only a few (1%) women were managing to produce more than a tonnes per hectare. This is necessitated by the facts that most women do not own large pieces of land and have limited decision making powers on land allocation at family level, they also do not have capital and inputs to invest on their land and all these factors weigh down women in the empowerment process. It is only those with more secure rights

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(99 year leases and freehold) who were performing marginally better. Normally, these were the widows farming on their late husbands' pieces of land.

LAND RIGHTS, WOMEN EMPOWERMENT AND
SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

The land reform programme in Zimbabwe has been an arduous struggle for women empowerment but the struggle still continues because the majority of women still struggle for land rights that enhances empowerment. The obtaining situation right now does not afford sustainable development because women who constitute the majority in the country they still constitute the majority of those in poverty (Mutopo & Chiweshe, 2014). They still constitute the majority of disempowered population in agriculture because they do not have enough land to engage productive agriculture and they also lack sufficient assets to carry out their agricultural activities, Very few women who had benefited from the land reform programme as an estimated 18% had benefited from the land reform (Manjengwa et al., 2014). The whole prgramme of land redistribution was shambolic and the land rights given in the process were poorly defined. They gave people offer letters, which were not registered in the deeds office for secure and protected land rights. It therefore created opportunities for corruption where these offer letters were issued to various tenants and when such situations involve women, they are the ones that are on the losing side. Land as an important resource requires stable institutions that protect property rights. It is only when such institutions are in place those women and any other vulnerable groups can think of secure land rights. It is only when people have secure land right that they can engage in productive agriculture that will lead to sustainable development. The situation obtaining in Zimbabwe is that people with political connection can manipulate the situation of offer letter when they want land and they can use their connection to have these offer letters and dispossess sitting tenants (Murisa, 2011).

Women access to land is also defined by their ability to negotiate and bargain access to land in a system that is highly patriarchal. However such skills and bargaining power is lacking among women. They are therefore always found losing when it comes to negotiations on land rights. Women therefore need to be skilled so that they stand a chance to succeed when it comes to negotiations for access to land. The prevailing situation where women's land rights are defined by their relationships with men is not sustainable. They need to put the situation in their hands not to depend on ties to men. This put them at a very vulnerable position and exposes them to exploitation. There is need to put in place institutions that safeguards the rights of women to land.

Women also need to move away from growing crops with low market values and start to grow cash crops that will allow them to reap more from their agricultural production. This will economically empower them and allow them to acquire assets that will make them more productive on land. They can then be able to have drought

power, plant hybrid crops and the result will be more production. This will go a long way in uplifting their conditions and help in sustainable development. Women and children are the most vulnerable people of the society, when their conditions are improved this will led to sustainable development. When they are economically empowered they will be able to participate in the decision making processes in the society and this will open our societies to democratic systems, which is important for sustainable development. The situation obtaining in Zimbabwe is that women constitute the minority of those who benefited from the land reform, thus making it difficult to fulfill the tenets of sustainable development. They need to be given land rights so that they can effectively participate in economic development through agriculture (Mutopo, 2011).

Land right and women empowerment remains an elusive concept in Zimbabwe. The major problem is that society remains strongly embedded in a culture that disenfranchise women from accessing land right. There are strong belief systems that land rights are men's rights and the only safe way for women to access land rights is through marriage (Mutopo, 2011). Women are only allowed secondary rights, which effectively prevent them from accessing and controlling production. These beliefs therefore continue to alienate women from the means of production and this has the greater probability of impoverishing them. This is not sustainable because everyone has the right to economic resources and in order to achieve sustainable development it is the marginalised groups of the society that need to be uplifted economically. Opportunities still exist in Zimbabwe because of existence of institutions that promote women empowerment such as women in politics and women and land groups, but there is need to move away from being talk show to be real organisation that champion women issues .They should come up with policies that are actionable and enforceable. The situation obtaining so far is that even in situations where women have equal shares with their husbands, it is the husband that controls most of the activities on the land. They are the ones who determine what is to grown and how much hectarage is to be allocated to what crop (Gaidzanwa, 1995; Chigwenya, 2013). Male-controlled crops are to be cultivated first and they get the most best agricultural lands and consume most of the inputs. This therefore works to effectively keep women disempowered and maintain their roles as subservient subjects of the household and the society. This is not sustainable because it is travesty of justice and equality, which is important as enshrined in the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Right Article 17. Access to land should empower women and this should be done through availing real rights to women so that they can make meaningful contribution to development and in that way help to reduce people in poverty. In that way they will be contributing positively to one of the sustainable development goals of halving the people in poverty by 2015. Land titling should not only be reflected on paper but should see land right being equally shared between males and females. This will allow women to make economic use of the land and contribute to production, which will ensure food security.

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There is need for women to own productive assets such as livestock and ploughs, which are very critical in the process of their empowerment. This will allow them to make productive use of land which will make them active economic agents. This will in turn improve their social status and make them critical decision makers in the society (Manjengwa et al., 2014; Peterman, 2011). According to Peterman (2011), women with secure land rights have more respects from their male counterparts and again have high decision making powers. Access to land is therefore an important empowerment tool for African women who are in perpetual struggle for personhood and recognition in societies that have institutionalized discrimination of women (Nkiwane, 2000; Moyo et al., 2000). Land ownership with secure rights goes a long way in developing a sense of nationalism and independence (Manjengwa et al., 2014).

CONCLUSION

Woman in Zimbabwe have tenurial rights that can hardly empower them because they have very little economic value. Most women had user rights or communal right. Very few had real rights over their land they are using. Even those with joint ownership, which give them equal rights with their husbands, it was their male counterparts who have overriding powers and seem to be in control of agricultural activities. Those with user rights are even worse off as they are not allowed to grow their crops in right quantities. They are growing non-cash crops like ground nuts and round nuts on very small pieces of land as compared to their male counterparts who grow cash crops such as cotton, tobacco and maize and usually on bigger pieces of land. These crops bring the bulk of family income. The 99-year lease that some women were given are not helping much as these leases are not recognized by most financial institutions. They can hardly use these leases to develop their lands. Lack of access to land with real rights has done a lot in disempowering women. They are economically weak as compared to their male counterparts and contributed to their low social status in the society. Males also own more important farming equipments in their names unlike women who own mainly kitchen utensils, which cannot be used for any productive farming business.

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13. THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN POLITICAL DECISION MAKING IN EAST AND SOUTHERN AFRICA

A Case Study of Kenya and South Africa

INTRODUCTION

Women have both a right and an obligation to active participation in political leadership. Their role in modern politics is a subject that needs further insight, considering the rise in the number of women with relevant political positions on the international stage (Zamfirache, 2010). In our society, the media and how women are perceived plays a vital role in either advancing or limiting women participation in politics. The media plays a significant part in furthering stereotypes and setting standards for women.

BACKGROUND

For most of history, women were considered second class citizens. In the early 21st century, *the glass ceiling* was considered to be the reason why the arenas of power were dominated by men. The concept stresses out the impossibility of women to advance on the scale of professions higher than they already have, claiming that women do not lack ambition or strong will, but they are kept from doing so by invisible obstacles. The glass ceiling is described as 'those artificial barriers based on attitudinal or organizational bias that prevent qualified individuals from advancing upward in their organization into management level positions. The artificial barriers are stereotypes, media related issues, informal boundaries. There existed flaws of the state and politics, which undermined gender equality in the favor of men.

The state, the political system, and the positions of power were male dominated. The glass ceiling made it difficult for women to obtain and secure their places in the same way men did.

Since men were often associated with leadership in politics, foreign affairs etc, then women were often associated with the private, personal sphere of life, like the family. The way men and women think about themselves has direct consequences on the way men and women act in matters concerning politics, so it is not only an issue regarding the public, but also regarding the way oneself understands his or her role. Politics has a male-related meaning and, as a result, it remains the prerogative

of men. The public domain is ruled by men, while the private, personal sphere of life is mostly feminine.

Nowadays we face what seems to be a redistribution of power – public policies, strategic planning, the public and the private all seem to adopt a common language concerning gender equality, social equality, and equality of opportunity and so on. The glass ceiling is formally broken by all the official prerogatives or institutionalized norms that state the equality between genders. This has been achieved through encouraging women to join politics, coming up with laws that are pro affirmative action and implementing policies that favour women's participation in politics. In some of the countries in Africa the process has also been facilitated in a normative matter where special seats are assigned or left up to women in the political arena. The important contributors to women's high parliamentary representation across the world including Africa came from a combination of socioeconomic, cultural, and institutional factors interacting with women's mobilization and party activism.

THE PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN POLITICS

Women's involvement in politics varies throughout the world and their participation in politics and the democratic process has become an integral part of contemporary discourse on development and governance. In spite of the cacophony for women's political empowerment by international organizations, research consistently shows that in many parts of the world women still linger on the fringes of political realm and their participation in government structures and the democratic process remains low (Ogbogu, 2012).

Due to widely held views on the appropriateness of political activities for women, their participation is constrained. The following factors affect women's participation in politics: multiple roles of women, religion, finance, lack of mentors, lack of adequate mechanisms for monitoring electoral outcomes and protecting women's mandate, patriarchy/cultural barriers, exclusion from informal political party network, education/training and biologically inherited weakness (Ogbogu, 2012). Lack of resources works against the aspirations of many women to run for political office. For women to participate effectively in the political process, substantial amounts of resources are required. These include finances, time, infrastructure and people (Women Direct Service Center, 2006). Despite the difficulties faced by women, they continue with their political ambition, contributing enormously to politics and the democratic process with a view to advancing national development (Ogbogu, 2012).

Women have performed noble roles in government and have served as agents of change, women in government have been accountable and have promoted transparency and good governance. Most self-help development projects in the rural areas in Africa are initiated by women politicians in government, Women have

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contributed to national development despite the limited support and resources at their disposal. The few women in politics use different styles from men to build consensus on issues.

THE ROLE OF PARLIAMENT AND POLITICAL PARTIES

The extent to which parliaments are informed determines their scope for action (United Nations Programme for Development). They clearly play a key role in social change, especially in the advancement of women, not only because of their responsibility for shaping and amending the legal framework that underlies and determines women's rights in all areas (particularly as regards participation in decision-making, discussion and voting of the funds required for administrative initiatives, and reorientation and oversight of government action), but also because they fuel public debate and inform public opinion and the media, which influence them in turn.

Each parliamentarian is also a male or female party member and can thus stimulate his or her party and vice versa. Individual parliamentarians also engage in a dialogue with their voters, registering their aspirations and perceiving the motivation for their choices. As interaction between civil society and parliamentary institutions is essential, parliaments must be truly representative of both halves of the population.

Political parties have become more aware of the issues involved and the need for women to participate more fully in the decision-making process. However, difficulties in changing electoral customs and legislation and in establishing new practices contribute to the persistence of strong opposition in society and among women. Political parties have also made adjustment in their operations in an attempt to take account of the constraints affecting women.

WOMEN AND POLITICS IN KENYA

Kenya gained independence from the United Kingdom in 1963 and returned to multiparty politics in 1992 (Magnus Ohman). Since then, five parliamentary elections have been held, and the 2002 election marked the first major change in recent Kenyan politics (the then-sitting president, Moi, was not eligible to run, and his party lost almost half its seats in parliament). However, the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC), which won the election, later collapsed, and the 2007 elections saw widespread violence in parts of the country. The political situation stabilized after the 2013 elections, although its sustainability is uncertain in light of current security challenges facing Kenya.

Throughout Kenya's history, women have been subjugated to consistent rights abuses while shouldering an overwhelming amount of responsibilities. In Kenya the traditional view that women should concentrate on their domestic roles has

made politics be seen as a 'no go zone' for them. Women continue to be socialized to believe that it is only men who can take up political leadership. A woman who takes up such challenges is said to be a bad woman (i.e., not a good mother, wife). In fact, most of the women in Kenya who have tried their hands in politics have been branded as divorcees and men-bashers. This name-calling discourages other women from getting into politics. They continue to get discouraging comments such as: politics is dirty, it is not good for any woman of good moral standing, it is too violent, one requires a lot of money, who can vote for a woman? Who wants to be led by a woman? We are not yet ready for women leaders (Kamau, 2007). Some women are still affected by customs and traditions that have long since been declared as harmful cultural practices (Article 5 of the Maputo Protocol). It has been the experience in Kenya that women are underrepresented. From the 1st general election held in Kenya to the most recent 2013 general election, men have been the majority in parliament

THE PLACE OF WOMEN IN POLITICS PRE-2010

Before Kenya attained its new Constitution in 2010 women were discriminated against and there existed no level playing ground for women and men in politics. Politics and government were dominated by men. The gender disparities that existed in Kenya was due to the deep-rooted patriarchal socio-cultural, economic and political structures and ideologies. Under these conditions, Kenyan women have been excluded from participation in key governance capacities (Nzomo, 2003). Retrogressive cultural and traditional practices such as the son-preference ideology, lack of belief in the importance of educating girls, forced marriages, female genital mutilation, bride price collection, widowhood rites and disinheritance of girls and women, as some of the ills that impede the quest for women's leadership in Kenya (Omtatah, 2008). Poor socialization where boys are prepared for leadership and girls for domestic roles also worked and still works against women's ascendancy to leadership in Kenyan politics (Kamau, 2008). The 1963 Constitution was also a key factor in ensuring that there was no level playing field between women and men in politics. It provided for only the first generation rights known as civil and political rights under Chapter V from section 70 to 86 (The Repealed Constitution of Kenya, 1993). These rights were general in nature and did not specifically include women's cluster of rights.

In the first democratic elections ever conducted in Kenya in 1963, not a single woman was elected to Parliament (Migiro, 2015). It should be noted that this were important elections as they ushered Kenya into independence (Migiro, 2015). Female representation has only improved slightly. There was 4.1% female representation in Parliament in 1997, 8.1% in 2002 and 9.8% in 2007. Even with the 2010 Constitution providing for the two-thirds gender rule, the 2013 general elections saw only 16 of the 290 women elected as members of parliament (Kaimenyi et al., 2013).

SUBSTANTIVE EQUALITY AND TRANSFORMATIVE CONSTITUTIONALISM

Klare in his seminal article on the transformative constitutionalism (Klare, 1998) notes that equality is a foundational value that underpins the new constitutional dispensation. This is borne out by various provisions in the constitution. The provisions are the preamble, national values and principles of the constitution (Constitution of Kenya, Article 10) and value that underpins the Bill of Rights – Articles 19(2) and 20(4). Article 27 envisages a substantive right to equality and non-discrimination which prohibits direct or indirect discrimination by both state organs and private persons on prohibited grounds. Importantly, it recognises that there are individuals, groups and communities that have been adversely affected by past discrimination, and it obliges the state to put in place legislative and other measures, including affirmative action programmes and policies, to guarantee their equality rights as well as redress their past disadvantages. This expansive substantive conception and understanding of equality excludes a formal conception of equality which has the potential of entrenching the existing status quo and thus derail the transformative goals of the Constitution (Petition No. 15 of 2011 and High Court Petition No. 102 of 2011).

THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN POLITICAL DECISION MAKING UNDER THE *CONSTITUTION OF KENYA, 2010*

In the recent past Kenyans have experienced democratic transitions and legal reforms that have resulted in the gradual political changes evident in the rise, though very small, in the number of women in senior political positions. The Constitution of Kenya provides that 'women and men have the right to equal treatment, including the right to equal opportunities in political, economic, cultural and social spheres' (Constitution of Kenya 2010, Article 27(3)).

It also provides for affirmative action where the State is required to take legislative and other measures to ensure that not more than two-thirds of the members of elective or appointive bodies are of the same gender (Constitution of Kenya, Article 27(8)). It further reiterates that the same rule should be applicable in elective public bodies (Constitution of Kenya, Article 81).

Article 27 of thus aims to address some of the unfairness inherent in this state of affairs while also providing a legal framework to prevent unfair treatment of individuals based on the listed grounds in Article 27(4) and other personal characteristics or attributes. As such, the right to equality is an essential component of the transformative Constitution. The reason for this is that the right to equality encapsulates the aspiration of eventually achieving a society in which all enjoy equal access to the resources and amenities of life, and are able to develop their full human potential.

Two important consequences flow from this conception of the right to equality:

1. First, the right to equality cannot entail a guarantee that all people should be treated identically at all times, regardless of their personal attributes or characteristics,

social or economic status. The right should therefore be viewed as entailing more than a formal prohibition against discrimination.

2. Second, the right to equality must guarantee more than equality before the law and must focus on the effects or impact of legal rules or other differentiating treatment on individuals. The right to equality cannot therefore focus merely on whether two people have been treated in an identical manner by the legal rule or by the institution or individual concerned. The idea of substantive equality best captures this approach to equality jurisprudence.

Affirmative action is a deliberate move to reforming or eliminating past and present discrimination using a set of public policies and initiatives designed to help on the basis of colour, creed, geographical location, race, origin and gender among others (WilDAF Ghana, 2010). Affirmative action for women has been clearly enshrined in the constitution through the two-thirds gender rule, a framework for implementation does not exist, giving leeway for gaps. The executive arm of government must have the will to pursue such affirmative action policies by presenting Public Bills to the National Assembly on such policies thereby legalizing it for ease of application and enforcement (Omtatah, 2008). In Kenya, some quotas view affirmative action for women as a weapon to destroy the already rooted male prominence in public life and decision making positions and is unlikely to be fully achieved without an expressed mechanism as well as a change of mindset by not only the policy makers but also the general public (Daisy, 2010). Where a mindset change is achieved affirmative action for women would even be voluntarily achieved, and with expressed mechanisms for implementation, quotas would enable Kenya to reach the 33% mark (Daisy, 2010).

The Constitution also provides that "not more than two–thirds of the members of elective public bodies shall be of the same gender" (Constitution of Kenya, Article 81(b)). In December 2012, the Supreme Court gave an advisory opinion that the one-third gender rule be fully operational by August 27, 2015 (Supreme Court Advisory Opinion 2 of 2012).

When it comes to the allocation of the party list seats the Constitution explicitly states that except in the case of the seats provided for under Article 98(1)(b), each party list comprises the appropriate number of qualified candidates and alternates between male and female candidates in the priority in which they are listed (Constitution of Kenya, Article 90(2)(b)). Political parties are also expected to promote gender equality and equity (Constitution of Kenya, Article 91(f)).

Under the devolved government system the two thirds gender rule also applies. The Constitution puts forth that *not* more than two-thirds of the members of any county assembly or county executive committee shall be of the same gender (Constitution of Kenya, Article 197(1)). In addition, the National Gender and Equality Commission is also established by the Constituion. It is a successor to the Kenya National Human Rights and Equality Commission (Constitution of Kenya,

Article 59(4)). The Commission helps bring about equality between women and men in various sectors including politics.

A reform in the 2013 elections was the introduction of WCR seats. They are to be contested only by women candidates nominated by political parties and presented for election in each of Kenya's 47 counties. This system does not exclude women from contesting for regular constituency seats, but rather to complement it and increase women's representation. This reform led to a significant increase in the number of women in parliament.

When it comes to political parties Kenya women politicians as well as those working in civil society have to date been generally unsuccessful in shaping or setting the agenda in political Parties (Nzomo, 2003). Parties have historically been highly gendered institutions with male gatekeepers that incorporate women into party structures on a different basis from men, and in ways. Although women play important roles in campaigning and mobilizing support for their Parties, rarely do they occupy strategic decision-making positions in Party structures or benefit from political parties resources for conducting election campaigns.

In Kenya Women's leadership not only aid in building nations but also helps to balance up decision making processes , decisions concerned with issues of education, health, gender violence, women's economic empowerment, peace, rights, dignity, and democracy are usually of great concern to women leaders. They bring a different perspective to leadership as opposed to men.

WOMEN AND POLITICS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Role Played by Women in Political Decision Making in the Apartheid Regime

During the Apartheid period, women were prominent in almost all areas of protest. Of all the campaigns in that women were involved, the most significant was the anti-pass campaign in 1956 which saw thousands of women of all races gathered in Pretoria to present a petition against the carrying of passes by women to the then Prime Minister, J. G Strijdom (Women Protection and Representation in South Africa after 20 Years of Democracy).

In the early day of the apartheid regime in South Africa political organizations were banned and those who defied this order were taken prisoner. This in turn greatly curtailed the participation of women in political scene in the country (Women Protection and Representation in South Africa after 20 Years of Democracy).

With time this changed and Africans were allowed to form political parties and liberal movements giving an opportunity to women to get involved.

In September 1991, the African National Congress Women's League (ANCWL) brought together women from different communities and spheres of life as well as political parties, women's organizations, advocacy non-governmental organizations, grassroots organizations and trade union movements to discuss the possibility of

a national women's structure that would link women across racial and ideological divisions. This resulted to the creation of the Women National Coalition (WNC) a year later in April. The main idea for the formation of the WNC was to ensure women's demands and hopes of their role and status for a new nation formed part of South Africa's new Constitution. It was aimed at ensuring that women participated in the making of the constitution and in the formulation of the Women's Charter for Effective Equality that was launched in 1994 (Women Protection and Representation in South Africa after 20 Years of Democracy). WNC made the parties involved in the transition aware of an organized women's constituency (Albertyn, 1994). Women's interests in gender equity were written into the draft constitution, and women and their concerns became important targets in the election campaign in 1994. ANC Women's League (ANCWL) also engaged in extensive internal lobbying to in an attempt to ensure that a third of the National Executive Committee of the ANC would be women (Wendy, 1990). Although they were not successful, their passionate and bold attempt to secure women's participation at the highest level of decision-making structures changed the nature of the debate within the ANC, and by the 1994 elections, the ANC had committed itself to ensuring that one third of the parliamentary candidates on the ANC's party list would be women. Women continued to work together to take advantage of the powerful opportunity created by the political transition that was occasioned by the apartheid regime coming to an end (Wendy, 1990). The lobbying of women within their own parties, and the political alliances formed among women across parties (including the National Party, ANC and IFP), played a pivotal role in ensuring that a commitment to gender equality remained a defining feature of South Africa's Constitution (Wendy, 1990).

The Role of Women in Political Decision Making Post-Apartheid (Under the 1994 South African Constitution)

After South Africa attained its independence in 1994, it made significant steps in empowering women in the political scene and encourage more women to get involved. This was achieved through coming up with legislation and setting up policy frameworks that level the playing field for women in politics (Southern Africa). The South African Constitution puts emphasis on a non-racial and non-sexist democracy (The Constitution of South Africa 1994, Preamble). The feminist and women's rights movements took advantage of this era of expanded political and civil freedom, and were able to achieve meaningful democratic participation in legal and Constitutional reform (Nobrega, C.).

On 15 December 1995, South African Parliament adopted without reservation the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and its Optional Protocol, thus committing itself to a wide range of obligations under international law inclusive of giving equal opportunities to women and men in politics (Women Protection and Representation in South Africa after 20 Years of Democracy). On 10 December 1996, International Human Rights day,

the late former State President, Nelson Mandela signed into law a final constitution for South Africa which allowed the establishment of the Commission on Gender Equality (CGE) in April 1997. The CGE is an independent statutory body established to promote and protect gender equality (Constitution of South Africa Act 108 of 1996, Section 187).

South Africa also signed other key international and regional instruments, such as the Beijing Platform for Action; the Millennium Declaration; the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa; the Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa; and the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development all which play a key role in advancing the role played by women in political decision making (Constitution of South Africa Act 108 of 1996, Section 187). The SADC protocol on gender and development gives a target of 50% representation of women in all areas of decision making including politics.

The Constitution of South Africa also establishes the commission on gender equality which advances and promotes gender equality and the women's status in politics and other relevant sectors (Constitution of South Africa Act 41 of 1996, Section 119(3)) After South Africa's first democratic election in 1994, women formed 27.75% of members of the National Assembly (Kaimenyi et al., 2013). This number increased to 44% in 2009. By mid-2014, out of 400 seats in the National Assembly, women's representation stood at 40.8% in the Lower House and 35.2% in the Upper House, ranking South Africa third in the world in terms of women representation in Parliament. In 2009, the number of women in the South African government was higher at 58.2% as compared to males. The South African Parliament recently passed the Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality Bill, which strongly called for equal participation of women in the economy and for equal representation of women in positions of decision-making, (50/50) in both private and public sectors (Kaimenyi et al., 2013). In South Africa the party list version of the proportional representation system has been a key electoral tool for bringing large numbers of women into office. It has also been observed that quotas on party lists for women are more effective at advancing women participation in politics than reserved seats (Goetz, 1998).

CONCLUSION

The question that the jurisprudence begets is that must the country wait for policies and laws to be passed for women to benefit from the equality and non-discrimination clause entrenched in the Constitution? In fact, the failure to have specific mechanisms in the Constitution for attainment of the gender quota means that feminist activists have to go back to the trenches to lobby for enactment of requisite legislation for the fruits of the gender quota to be realised. Thus in the Kenyan case, Constitutional entrenchment is not enough to realise gender equity in representation. Substantive equality asks what impact differentiating legal rules or

other differentiating treatment will have on groups or individuals, given differences in the social and economic status of such groups or individuals, and given the way in which existing 'neutral' legal rules privilege the economically and culturally dominant and powerful in society. A legal commitment to substantive equality therefore entails attention to the context.

CASE LAW

Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA-K) & 5 others v Attorney General & Another, High Court Petition No. 102 of 2011.

John Kabui Mwai & 3 Others v Kenya National Examination Council & 2 Others, High Court of Kenya at Nairobi, Petition No. 15 of 2011

LIST OF LEGAL AUTHORITIES

Beijing Platform for Action
Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa
SADC protocol on gender and development
Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa
The Constitution of Kenya 1963
The Constitution of Kenya 2010
The Constitution of South Africa

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SECTION 5

GENDER, HEALTH AND VIOLENCE

SHELENE GENTZ AND MÓNICA RUIZ-CASARES

14. GENDER AND HIV IN NAMIBIA

*The Contribution of Social and Economic Factors in
Women's HIV Prevalence*

At the end of 2011, 34 million people worldwide were living with HIV/AIDS
(PLWHA), 68% of these in Sub-Saharan Africa (UNAIDS, 2012). HIV and AIDS
remain a major public health challenge that continues to affect the lives of millions
of people globally. Gender inequality has been recognised as a key factor to
understand the dynamic and impact of the epidemic, particularly in Sub-Saharan
Africa (Niëns & Lowery, 2009; Steinitz & Ashton, 2007; UNAIDS, 2012). In this
chapter we examine how women's relative and unequal position in society increases
their vulnerability to HIV, in particular, how social, cultural and economic factors
limit women's power to make decisions about their health and sexual behaviour.
Such an analysis serves to illustrate why behaviour change, such as motivated by
the once leading "Abstinence, Be Faithful, Condomise" (ABC) campaign, is not
always a product of rational and individual choice, but may be strongly dependent
on socio-cultural and economic structures (Fox, 2002). We start by presenting key
information regarding Namibia, including its HIV situation and the position of
women. We then elaborate on the role that women's unequal position in society
plays into driving the epidemic. The chapter ends with some recommendations for
future research.

COUNTRY BACKGROUND

The Republic of Namibia forms part of the Southern African Development
Community (SADC) and shares borders with Angola, Zambia, Botswana and South
Africa. With a population of only 2.1 million (Namibia Statistics Agency, 2013a) and
covering a geographical area of 825 616 km^2, it is one of the countries with the lowest
population density in the world. Namibia is a diverse country, with 13 recognised
languages and a large proportion of the population still living in rural areas (57%).
Furthermore, with 37% of its population under 15 years of age, it is considered
a very young population (Namibia Statistics Agency, 2013a). The World Bank
classifies Namibia as an upper middle income economy, yet a GINI co-efficient of
59.7 puts the country as one of the most unequal societies in the world (CIA, 2014).
A recent labour force survey found that 30% of the eligible workforce is unemployed
(Namibia Statistics Agency, 2013b). However, of the 70% in employment, 21% are

considered to be in vulnerable employment, mostly working as unpaid workers on subsistence farms. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) reports that Namibia's Human Development Index of 0.608 places the country 128th in the list of 186 (UNDP, 2013). While this shows an improvement since Independence, the same report points out that 39% of Namibians live in a state of multi-dimensional poverty.

HIV continues to be a major challenge for Namibia. The first nationally represented prevalence survey was conducted during the Namibian Demographic Health survey (NDHS) in 2013 and found an HIV prevalence of 14.0% in adults between the ages of 15 and 49 (MoHSS & ICF International, 2014). Previous to this, sentinel surveys conducted every two years with pregnant women attending antenatal clinics at primary health care facilities were the only source of HIV prevalence. The sentinel surveys show that HIV prevalence increased steadily since 1992 until it peaked at 22% in 2002. Since then there has been a slight decline and recent surveys indicate that the level in pregnant women has now steadied at 16.9% (MOHSS, 2014). While the HIV situation remains urgent, the country has made notable progress, particularly in the last ten years. Antiretroviral therapy (ART) coverage has increased; in fact, Namibia was one of the few low- and middle-income countries that obtained ART coverage of over 80% in 2011 (UNAIDS, 2012). Furthermore, positive behavioural changes were also noted, including a statistically significant increase in condom use among women aged 15–24 with multiple partners between 2000 and 2006 (Gouws, Stanecki, Lyerla, & Ghys, 2008) and a statistically significant decrease in multiple partners for men from 21% in 2000 to 16% in 2006 (De la Torre, Khan, Eckert, Luna, & Koppenhaver, 2009).

While the epidemic may be stabilising overall, the picture is more complex as seen by the large variations in prevalence across regions and demographic groups. The 2013 NDHS data shows that, in some regions, the prevalence was as high as 23.7% (in the Zambezi region, previously Caprivi), while other regions had a much lower prevalence (e.g. 7.3% in the Omaheke region). Furthermore, the sentinel survey data which allows comparisons to be observed over time, shows that the epidemic in pregnant women may still be rising in some sites, such as Usakos (in the Erongo region), while, at other sites a statistically significant decline in prevalence has been observed from 2010 and 2014, for example in Opuwo (in the Kunene region) and the Windhoek Central Hospital (in the Khomas region) (MOHSS, 2014). In addition, while the prevalence may be declining in younger women (15–24 year-olds), it has been rising or is at least stable at a high level in the older age groups (e.g. for both the 30–39 and 40–44 age group it is over 30%). However, since incidence testing is not a component of the HIV sentinel survey, it is difficult to conclude whether high rates are due to ART associated survival or an increasing incidence in the older age group. It is most likely a combination of both (MOHSS, 2012b).

Data from the SADC region suggest that women, especially younger women, tend to have higher infection rates. National population-based surveys conducted in seven SADC countries (i.e., Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, South Africa, Swaziland,

Zambia and Zimbabwe) demonstrated that, overall, women in the 15–24 age groups were reported as 3.3 times more likely to be infected as young men (Gouws et al., 2008). For the first time, the 2013 NDHS allows us to compare male and female prevalence at a national level in Namibia. In line with data from SADC countries, HIV prevalence in men was found to be lower than women (10.9% to 16.9%) for respondents aged 15–49. These gender differences in prevalence persist, not only in the younger age groups, but remain until age 49 at which point male prevalence seems to catch up with female prevalence. These trends in gender differences are consistent with findings from smaller scale studies in Namibia. For example, a study with 7000 participants from Namibia, Botswana and Swaziland, found a prevalence of 16% in women and 4% in men for participants from Namibia in the 20–29 age groups (Andersson & Cockcroft, 2012). Women in Namibia, particularly in the younger age groups, may be more vulnerable to infection than men in their age group, however future national prevalence surveys are needed to understand this trend. This is noteworthy given Namibia's high percentage of youth.

GENDER INEQUALITY: WOMEN'S POSITION IN NAMIBIAN SOCIETY

Gender inequality has been proposed as a key factor to explain the high HIV prevalence in SADC countries and also the dynamics of male to female prevalence. Niëns and Lowery (2009) assessed the relationship between gender equity and HIV prevalence in Sub-Saharan Africa by comparing country scores on the composite Gender-Related Development Index (GDI), a measure of gender equity, and HIV prevalence. The GDI, which has since been replaced by the Gender Inequality index, was constructed using information for men and women on three dimensions: life expectancy, educational attainment, and adjusted real income. Lower scores on gender equity were significantly associated with higher levels of HIV prevalence (Niëns & Lowery, 2009). Furthermore, over time (2000 and 2005), those countries that reported improved levels of gender equity also reported a decline in HIV prevalence within the same time period, supporting the view that effective implementation of policies aimed at improving women's position can have direct effects on HIV prevalence. While Namibia, with a value of 0.455 on the Gender Inequality Index, scores higher than 57% of the countries, it performs poorer on indices that take into account women's economic participation and political empowerment, such as the Global Gender Gap Index (GGGI) (Ruiz-Casares, 2014). With a score of 0.7131 on the GGGI, Namibia only performs 41st of the 132 countries on the list, only higher than 30% of the countries (Hausmann, Tyson, & Zahidi, 2013). These indicators serve as a reminder that, despite Namibia's good progress in the development of policies aimed at gender equality and the rights of PLWHA, there remain significant barriers to their implementation (Ruiz-Casares, 2014).

Gender-based violence (GBV) continues to be an important issue for women in Namibia and has been directly linked to HIV (Andersson & Cockcroft, 2012; Dunkle et al., 2004). The World Health Organisation (WHO) multi-country study

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on interpersonal violence (IPV), conducted in Windhoek with 1500 women, found that 36% of ever-partnered women reported having at some time experienced physical or sexual violence at the hands of an intimate partner. Thirty-one percent reported physical violence and 17% sexual violence (Garcia-Moreno, Jansen, Ellsberg, Heise, & Watts, 2006). Analysis of the same dataset revealed that 20% of women reported sexual violence before the age of 15, when using anonymous reporting (MOHSS, 2004). While this study only reported findings from Windhoek, the Global School's based health survey conducted with learners across Namibia (n = 6089), reported similar amounts of sexual violence: 20% of learners (21% of females) reported that they had been physically forced to have sex (MOHSS, 2008). However, since this latter survey was administered to all learners in English and not their mother tongue, caution should be observed in interpreting the findings. High rates of violence have been reported in other studies: a survey in eight regions across the country reported that 41% of females and 28% of males had experienced physical violence in some point in their lives (Social Impact Assessment and Policy Analysis Corporation, 2009).

While the 2013 NDHS did not collect data on GBV, it examined attitudes towards wife beating by asking participants whether a husband is justified to beat his wife for 5 specified reasons. Women with more education and those in better economic positions were more likely to disagree that a husband may beat his wife for any of the stated reasons, although it was not clear whether the differences were statistically significant. For example, of currently married and employed women, those who receive no cash earnings were more likely to agree that a husband may beat his wife for the stated reasons than women who earn cash (38.5% to 23.5%). For education, 43.5% of women with no education, compared to 9.8% with more than secondary education, agreed with at least one of the reasons that a husband may beat his wife. However, it should be noted that at least 59.5% of women in Namibia have never been married (MOHSS and ICF International, 2014), thus setting limits to the generalizability of these findings to all women in the country.

Women's relatively weak economic situation can contribute to their vulnerability to HIV. The most recent Namibia DHS (2013) explored women's economic position by looking at their employment relative to men. Analysis of NDHS data revealed that fewer women (43%) than men (56%) were employed (MOHSS and ICF International, 2014). In the next section we explore the consequences of this economic disadvantage for women in the context of the spread of HIV.

GENDER, BEHAVIOUR AND CONTEXT IN THE HIV EPIDEMIC

We now examine the different drivers of the HIV epidemic from a gender perspective. Amongst others, these include multiple and concurrent sexual partners, transactional sexual relationships, migration and intergenerational relationships. While we examine each practice separately, in reality the distinctions between them are not so clear cut. Multiple and concurrent sexual partnerships have been

increasingly recognised as an important factor in the high incidence of HIV in Sub-Saharan Africa (Mah & Halperin, 2010). Sexual relationships that overlap or are very closely spaced (concurrent) increase the chance of HIV infection due to high viral load in the first 6–8 weeks after infection (Sawers & Stillwagon, 2010). There is currently no representative data on the prevalence of multiple and concurrent partnerships in Namibia. The 2013 NDHS assessed multiple partners in the last 12 months, but excluded concurrency. Ten percent of men and 2% of women reported having multiple partners in the last 12 months (MOHSS and ICF International, 2014). Despite the low rate of multiple partners among women, there may be certain subgroups with higher rates; for example higher rates of multiple partners (11%) were reported in women aged 15–24 years residing in urban areas (De la Torre et al., 2009). Concurrency, defined as having two or more partners, was assessed in a series of surveys with participants over 15 years of age in 10 selected Namibian communities (Parker & Connolly, 2007; Parker & Connolly, 2008a; Parker & Connolly, 2008b). Higher rates of concurrency were found in men—the highest rates reported in Oshakati (22% of men and 3% of women), Rehoboth (20% of men and 4% of women) and the lowest rates in Grootfontein (6% of men and 2% of females) and Onanjokwe (13% of men and 1% of females). These percentages are for participants who reported having had sex in the last 12 months and therefore should not be interpreted as overall rates of concurrency. While women may not have as many multiple or concurrent partners as men, it does not mean that this is not a risk factor—their risk stemming from their choice of partner, rather than their own behaviour (De la Torre et al., 2009). They may be involved with men who engage in multiple and concurrent partners, where, due to economic and socio-cultural reasons they are unable to negotiate safe sex. More representative data are necessary linking concurrency and multiple partners to HIV and risky behaviour in Namibia especially since some researchers have questioned their role as major drivers of the HIV epidemic (Sawers & Stillwagon, 2010).

Transactional sexual relationships represent yet another avenue for increased risk of HIV transmission. The exchange of sex for money or other commodities and partner financial support occurs all over the world, yet in Sub-Saharan Africa, owing to socio-cultural and economic factors, women are often at an unequal power relation within these relationships. Voluntary counselling and testing (VCT) data collected throughout Namibia found that engaging in transactional sex significantly increased the chances of testing positive for HIV (De la Torre et al., 2009). The 2013 NDHS reports that 2.3% of male respondents aged 15–49 "pay for sexual intercourse". Since this excludes other incidences of transactional sex, actual occurrence of transactional sex in a representative sample for men and women is not available.

Migration has historically been a male phenomenon, yet increasing numbers of women are migrating to urban areas for employment (Winterfeldt, 2002). While data on transactional sex are limited (De la Torre et al., 2009), qualitative research such as Edwards (2007) has shown that migration, specifically rural-urban migration,

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increases women's vulnerability to transactional sex, especially as few migrants are able to secure full-time employment (only 3% of participants interviewed in 4 informal settlements in Windhoek secured full time employment). Edward's study found that women enter into either serial monogamous relationships or with multiple partners because of their dependency on male income.

Furthermore, owing to women's economic dependency and fear of intimate partner violence, men had more control over condom use (Edwards, 2007). Women's lack of control was reflected in disparate rates of condom use: 55% of female respondents compared to 90% of male respondents reported condom use with casual partners. The low level of condom use in women was also linked to fertility desires: women may want to get pregnant to assert their health, but also, children were seen as a basis for cash transfers from males to females. NDHS data reveals a similar gendered pattern in condom use: for example 67.9% of women and 82.8% of men aged 15–24 used condoms at their last sexual encounter (MOHSS and ICF International, 2014). Similar trends were reported for condom use for men and women with multiple partners in the previous 12 months, although these differences were not tested for statistical significance. While no prevalence estimates exist for individuals in same-sex relationships, qualitative research suggests that they may be vulnerable to interpersonal violence within transactional relationships, which decreases their ability to negotiate for safe sexual practice (Lorway, 2006).

Intergenerational relationships, which can occur as a transactional sexual relationship, are a further potential space that increases the likelihood of HIV transmission. While HIV peaks in women in younger age groups, for men it peaks in older ages (Gouws et al., 2008) thus increasing the chances of infection for young women and men who engage in intergenerational relationships. The 2013 Namibian DHS found that just under 6% of women between the ages of 15 and 19 engaged in sexual relationships with men at least 10 years older than them in the previous 12 months. Furthermore, in a study with youth in Namibia, Botswana and Swaziland, Cockroft and colleagues (2010) found that there was consensus that these relationships are common practice, although the study did not assess their frequency. Participants in that study reported more difficulties in negotiating safer sex within intergenerational relationships. Social and cultural norms in which girls and young women are expected to respect and be dutiful to older men (Jewkes, Penn-Kekana, & Rose-Junius, 2005) reduce their ability to negotiate safe sex within these relationships. The dynamics of these relationships are complex and women may enter into them for basic survival, but also, at times for the social status they may confer, even if, oftentimes, women are aware of the dangers associated with these relationships (Leclerc-Madlala, 2008). Similarly, a scoping review of the literature revealed a number of individual (e.g., substance use) and social factors (e.g., family support, intimate partner violence, economic disparity and race/ethnicity) that may influence HIV risk among young men who have sex with men in the context of intergenerational sexual relationships (Anema et al., 2013). Nonetheless, further research is needed to reach unambiguous conclusions regarding the extent to which

intergenerational sex is a significant driver of the HIV epidemic for women in Namibia.

As contended earlier, economic differences in transactional sex or age and power differences in intergenerational sex reduce women's choice, particularly regarding sexual practices such as condom use (Andersson & Cockcroft, 2012). In the 2013 NDHS, women with higher education reported lower frequency of intergenerational sex (11.2% for women with no formal education compared to 4.4% for women with at least secondary education in the 15–19 age group) and, women with higher education reported higher levels of condom use. In a multi-country study, Andersson and Cockroft (2012) explored the link between HIV and the presence of particular factors defined by the authors to reduce individual's ability to make choices around sexual practice, referred to by the authors as "choice-disability factors". These included lower educational level, extreme poverty, lower education than partner, earning less than partner, experience of IPV in last 12 months, lifetime experience of forced sex, and risk intention (would have sex if partner refused to use a condom and whether they believed partner was at risk of HIV). For women in Botswana, Namibia and Swaziland partner income disparity, experiences of IPV and lower education were all independently associated with HIV status. In addition, as the number of "choice-disability" factors increased, so too did the rate of HIV prevalence for both men and women. For women, where no factors were present, HIV prevalence was 8%, but prevalence increased by 10% with the presence of each factor, so when there were 3 factors present HIV prevalence was 36%. Other studies have reported links between gender-based violence and high levels of male control in relationships and HIV status (Dunkle et al., 2004).

However, since these studies and the NDHS used a cross-sectional design it is not clear whether these factors increase the chance of HIV infection or whether once a person has been infected with HIV, they are more vulnerable to these factors. Evaluating the effects of intervention programmes focused on improving gender equity, such as the "stepping stones" programme (Jewkes et al., 2008; Skevington, Sovetkina, & Gillison, 2013), will help clarify how improving these factors may affect both HIV prevalence and also behaviours associated with vulnerability to HIV.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In this chapter we have argued that structural factors, such as poverty and gender-based violence, place women at an increased risk for HIV infection. This is not to negate that individual motivations play an important role in behaviour. However, understanding the complex interplay between socio-cultural determinants of health and their role in shaping individual choice will help understand why traditional ABC campaigns have not had the expected impact on changing behaviour, as they are often focussed only on choice as a rational and individually oriented action (Edwards, 2007; Sovran, 2013).

It was beyond the scope of this chapter to reflect on the biological factors implicated in women's vulnerability to infection as well as on how women's position may affect their wellbeing once infected with HIV. Nonetheless, ensuring quality of life for PLWHA is important, as reflected by Namibia's successful ART programme. Overall improvements in women's status in society are likely to decrease their biological vulnerability to HIV and improve their health and nutrition which, in turn, will make those who are already infected with HIV less infectious.

Future studies in Namibia should look at more gender-desegregated data, both regionally and within specific sub-groups of the population (e.g., younger women and men who have sex with men) in order to identify which aspects of gender play a role in increasing vulnerability. There is also a need to elaborate more fully on the pathways through which particular programmes, particularly those that focus decreasing gender inequality, have been successful. There are specific data lacking on some of the drivers in Namibia, including transactional sex, intergenerational sex and multiple and concurrent partners. While research on attitudes and perceptions of the existence of these behaviours is important, it should be recognised that these only show what people think about these practices and their occurrence, but not how they or other people behave in a specific context and how that contributes to the spread of HIV. Furthermore, these issues and their impact should not be limited to heterosexual relationships, but should be extended to same-sex partnerships in Namibia.

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15. WOMEN AND STATE VIOLENCE
IN ZIMBABWE, 2000–2008

INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines the challenges that were faced by women as a result of the economic and political crisis that engulfed Zimbabwe from 2000–2008. The conflict spared no one but heavily affected supporters of the opposition Movement for Democratic Change (MDC). Women in Zimbabwe were victims of political violence engineered by the Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU PF) in order to win the 2000 and 2005 parliamentary elections and the 2002 and 2008 Presidential elections. Women became so vulnerable because men left them alone as they fled to urban areas for safety which was not guaranteed after all. In the midst of loneliness and harassment, women had to confront the dual burden of providing for the families and absorbing ZANU PF torture. In view of these abuses, women in Zimbabwe remain practically vulnerable to physical, verbal, sexual and economic abuse during periods of political and economic turmoil. The year 2008 demonstrated that women in Zimbabwe are arguably between a rock and a hard place. This is because there are still cultural practices which stipulate that cultured women are submissive to what men say. Christianity on the other hand does little to liberate women from male bondage. This means that during the 2000–2008 era women were alone because the government, the church, and the society did not sympathise with them and did little if ever to ameliorate the situation.

This chapter is divided into six sections. The main objective of the first section is to provide some insights into the HIV and AIDS situation in eastern and southern Africa. This was done in order to establish how gender based violence (GBV) can exacerbate the HIV and AIDS condition in the region. Violence in Zimbabwe from 2000–2008 demonstrates that if left unchecked, political violence has an impact on the spreading of HIV on the continent. The second section investigates why women should participate in politics. Linked to that, in the third section the authors assess the factors hindering the participation of women in politics. The fourth chapter briefly analyses Zimbabwe's political and economic crisis for the necessary background information on political violence in Zimbabwe from 2000–2008. The fifth section dwells on the challenges faced by Zimbabwean women as a result of the political crisis from 2000–2008. The last section examines the responses of stakeholders and

the challenges faced. Overall, violence in Zimbabwe has had negative effects on women. This therefore cements the fact that violence affects women more than men especially in conflict situations.

GENDER AND HIV/AIDS IN EASTERN AND SOUTHERN AFRICA: SOME INSIGHTS

Gender as defined by UN Women is about the roles and responsibilities that are given to women and men because they are women or men. Some common gender roles are: women are expected to keep the house clean and to take care of the children and have children. On the other hand men are expected to make money for the family and take a leadership role. Men are also expected to do the heavier tasks around the homestead (UN Women, 2013: 3). Gender based violence is recognised as a major challenge to development across the world in general and Zimbabwe is no exception (Wekwete et al., 2014: 24). GBV means physical, sexual, emotional or psychological violence carried out against a person because of that person's gender (SAfAIDS, n.d.: 2). According to Mcfadden (1994), gender based violence can be defined as any act that results in sexual, physical or psychological harm to the survivor. Both women and men are victims of gender violence but women constitute a larger group of victims. Gender based violence is based on power (Mcfadden, 1994). The person who enjoys more power over the other is usually the perpetrator while the one with less power is the victim. In simple terms, gender based violence is discriminatory conduct, action or treatment that causes pain to the victim in many ways. GBV is a form of discrimination that seriously inhibits women's ability to enjoy their rights and freedoms and equality with men (Tuyizere, 2007: 134). It is intended to keep women in a subordinate and submissive state so as to perpetuate their dependence on men. It arises from the patriarchal system which since time immemorial has extended control over women's lives. Violence against women (VAW) is rooted in historical unequal power relations between men and women resulting in domination over and discrimination against women by men. GBV throughout the life cycle derives principally from cultural patterns and aspects of religion which perpetuate the lower status accorded to women in the family, the workplace, the community and society (UN, 1995: 77–78). Despite the enactment of many gender responsive laws and policies such as the Domestic Violence Act of 2007, women and girls in Zimbabwe continue to be the victims in 99% of GBV cases, especially within the private sphere (Ministry of Women Affairs, Gender and Community Development, 2012: v). There is a closer link between GBV and HIV which follows that unless GBV is dealt with, the scourge will continue to haunt both men and women.

HIV/AIDS is one of the most devastating challenges to developmental efforts in southern Africa (Wangulu, 2011: 7). The prevalence of HIV in east and southern Africa remains at unacceptably high levels (Guidelines for integrating HIV and gender-related issues into environmental assessment in Eastern and Southern Africa, 2012: ii). Although eastern and southern Africa (ESA) has only 5, 4 percent of the

world's population, it has 48, 3 percent of global HIV infections. Sixty percent of the world's women with HIV live in this region, with a large proportion of new HIV infections being among young girls (Guidelines for integrating HIV and gender-related issues into environmental assessment in Eastern and Southern Africa, 2012: 2). More women than men of the same age in southern Africa are living with HIV (UN Women, 2013: 5). These statistics point to a region in the midst of a virus that has decimated the potential of ESA in achieving its Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Swaziland has the highest HIV prevalence rate in the world with an estimated 26, 0 percent, followed by Botswana which has 23, 4 percent and Lesotho with 23, 3 percent. South Africa is home to the world's largest epidemic with 5, 6 million people living with HIV (17, 3 percent) (UNICEF Eastern and Southern Africa, n.d.). The biggest question is why is it that with slightly above 5 percent of the world's population, eastern and southern Africa is home to half of the world's population living with HIV? According to UN, the ultimate goal of MDG 2015 number six to prevent the spread of HIV was curbed by lack of knowledge of the virus and how to avoid transmission (UN, 2013: 5). This is true because if people had adequate knowledge about the virus, some of the reckless sexual behaviours such as having unprotected sex with anyone whose sexual history you do not know completely (and it is very difficult to know it), cheating and promiscuity could be avoided. This then explains why there is need for behavioural change so that people avoid risky behaviours.

Worldwide, at the end of 2011 an estimated 34 million people were living with HIV, which is 4, 7 million more than in 2001 (UN, 2013: 35). Sub-Saharan Africa is the most affected region where nearly 1 in every 20 adults is infected. This accounts for 69 percent of the people living with the virus globally (UN, 2013: 35). More resources are now being channelled towards eradicating new infections and taking care of the infected and affected. It is out of question that AIDS is a serious threat to human security. It does not only kill but leave homes filled up with orphans and many dependences who require timely humanitarian interventions in order to get food, shelter and even pay school fees. The number of children who have lost one or both parents to AIDS remains spectacularly high. The global tally rose to 17, 3 million in 2011. Almost all of these children (16 million) live in sub-Saharan Africa (UN, 2013: 35). In 2012, the global figure of children aged 0 to 17 years who had lost either one parent or both to AIDS was 17, 8 million (UN, 2014: 35). It therefore remains true that eastern and southern Africa shoulder the burden of the HIV and AIDS pandemic. This should serve as an eye opener to policy makers about the need for peace in the region. Violence only makes the situation worse.

THE IMPORTANCE OF WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN DECISION-MAKING

Women's participation in decision-making does not only benefit them but it is a pre-requisite for development and democracy in general. Any nation that does not take steps to include both men and women in its government cannot be considered

fully democratic because women constitute more than 50 percent of the population (Report: Online discussion on Women, political participation and decision-making in Africa, 2007: 6–7). If women are excluded from decision-making bodies, it limits the opportunities for embedding the principles of democracy in a society thereby impeding economic development and discouraging the attainment of gender equality (Shvedova, 2005: 33). The fiftieth session of the Commission on the Status of Women asserted that the neglect of women and their perspectives at all levels of decision-making means that the goals of equality, development and peace cannot be achieved. Women's equal participation is also considered as a necessary condition for women's and girls' interests to be taken into account. This is desirable in order to reinforce democracy and uphold its suitable functioning. It is important to realise that women have specific needs and interests that are better represented by other women than anyone else (Report: Online discussion on Women, political participation and decision-making in Africa, 2007: 7). The equal representation of women in political decision making structures is generally justified. The involvement of women in political structures is recognised as a human right and an important principle of fair democratic representation. Democracy is about representation and resources (Sabha, 2010: 210). When women who constitute the majority of the population are underrepresented in politics, they do not benefit equally from the country's economy and social pie. Following this argument, any nation which fails to include both men and women in its government cannot be considered fully democratic. It is therefore in line with the good democratic practices that women should be represented in proportion to their numbers or at least in equal number to men (Sabha, 2010: 212).

Problems affecting women such as breast cancer, cervix cancer and other cancers of the reproductive system, as well as infertility can be better dealt with women than men. The participation of women in decision making is thus a human rights issue (Report: Online discussion on Women, political participation and decision-making in Africa, 2007: 8). Women and children frequent hospitals more than men. It is therefore important for women to be voted into power so that they lobby governments to address issues affecting other women. The Beijing Platform for Action (1995) posits that every individual should be allowed to participate in, contribute to and enjoy cultural, economic, political and social development (UN, 1995: 136). Guided by this vision, it becomes apparent that governments and political parties in the world should make sure that women are given the same support given to men so that they occupy positions of authority, not for its sake but for democracy, equity and egalitarianism to prevail.

CHALLENGES FACING WOMEN IN DECISION-MAKING

Political and Socio-Economic Factors

Although women's entrance into politics is important, there are a number of obstacles which inhibit their participation in decision making. Shvedova (2005: 35)

notes that there are numerous political hurdles which define women's reluctance to join politics. Political life is organised according to male norms and values, and in some cases even male lifestyles. Politics is masculine which means men enjoy the game. Women also lack support, for example, there is limited financial support for women candidates. The sacking of Joice Mujuru as the first female Vice President of Zimbabwe in December 2014 reveals that politics is a male field. Women need support from the party and party structures. Women in opposition, for example, face the challenge of being female and of being in opposition. Although women are known to be very good campaigners, persuasive and eloquent, fear sometimes prevents them from contesting elections and from participating in political life (Shvedova, 2005: 45). This fear is mainly generated by the violent nature of African politics especially if you are standing for the opposition. Women in Zimbabwe revealed that they have become increasingly unsafe during elections, and very huge numbers exposed that they have experienced violence during elections (Reeler, 2011: 2–3). Resultantly, politics becomes a man's field. The socio-economic obstacles impacting on women's participation in parliament are: illiteracy and limited access to education and choice of professions; and the dual burden of domestic tasks and professional obligations (Shvedova, 2005: 41).

Culture

In many countries, traditions continue to emphasise on women's primary roles as mothers and housewives and therefore restricts them to those roles. In African countries, women participating in politics are usually associated with prostitution. This therefore deters many women from taking part in political activities. Culture is an acknowledged contributory factor in many cases of GBV and the spread of HIV and AIDS. Certain cultural and religious beliefs strengthen male dominance and the subjugation of women (Safaids, n.d.: 2). SAfAIDS (n.d.: 2) revealed that spousal violence is the leading form of GBV in countries like Zimbabwe. This form of GBV is grounded in cultural practices which have dimensions of gender inequality. The HIV epidemic in southern Africa is grounded in a cultural context that often facilitates the spread of HIV. This context is evidenced in uneven gender relations that limit communication about sexual matters between men and women which often results in women being unable to negotiate for safer sex with their partners (Chikombero, 2011: 12). HIV protection for women is very difficult because it is a man's choice whether condoms are used or not. Women who try to talk about such issues are associated with infidelity. Women end up being powerless in matters of sexual health (Duffy, 2005: 27). The Ministry of Women Affairs, Gender and Community Development (2012: v) noted that despite the presence of many policies and laws against GBV in place, implementation has been slow due to inconsistencies between statutory and customary law, lack of resources and resistance based on patriarchal and religious beliefs. Acts of male dominance do not help in the fight against HIV and AIDS. The epidemic can be even brought home

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by male partners who go for official missions or go to work in foreign countries. Examples include Zimbabwe Defence Forces (ZDF), Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP) and the Zimbabwe Prisons and Correctional Services (ZPCS) personnel who are actively involved in peace keeping missions in countries such as Somalia, Cote d'Ivoire, East Timor, Eritrea, Kosovo, Liberia, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Sudan, South Sudan and Angola (Netsianda, 2015). These external missions have had an impact on the spreading of HIV and AIDS in the armed forces to and from the civilians both at home and abroad (Duri, 2013: 19).

It must be emphasised that although many cultural practices entrench male dominance, the intention behind cultural practices such as widow inheritance (*kugara nhaka*) was to protect and preserve the family of the deceased (UN Women, 2013: 9). The objectives were noble but now extremely dangerous in the era of HIV and AIDS. This implies that such practices must be halted because culture after all is dynamic. The relatives of the deceased can safely and comfortably look after the children and wife of the dead without "owning" the wife. The other cultural practice that exploits women involves a situation whereby the relatives of the deceased wife provide the husband with a young girl for a wife. The new wife will be known as *chimutsamapfihwa*. There are many practices linked to culture which exposes women and their partners to HIV. Dry sex which is practiced in many parts of southern Africa increases HIV risk for women as a result of lacerations resulting from drying agents used by women to minimise vaginal lubrication during intercourse (Chikombero, 2011: 12). Cultural traits such as widow inheritance and widow cleansing confirm the subordination of women in many African societies. Widow cleansing is known to be prevalent in Malawi. The practice involves having unprotected sexual intercourse with a widow before she can be re-married (Mojapele et al., 2011: 16). Practices such as spirit appeasement (*kuripa ngozi*) where young women are given away to appease/avenge the spirits of murdered people and become wives of the deceased's relatives intensify HIV risk (Chikombero, 2011: 12). Also known as child pledging, the motive behind this practice is to compensate the family whose member has died. By having children in that family, the girl 'replaces' the person who has died (UN Women, 2013: 9).

It is also a norm in African communities for a man to engage in polygamy (*barika*). These multiple sexual relationships are not questioned but in fact the eldest wife (*vahosi*) could play a leading role in securing more wives for the husband. Research by Wekwete et al. (2014: 25) revealed that married women in polygamous relationships were more likely to experience GBV than women in monogamous relationships. It is also evident that in societies where female genital mutilation (FGM) is carried out, it is a highly valued cultural practice and social norm (WHO, 2012). All these practices mean that women are usually at the receiving end of the HIV/AIDS epidemic. In fact, women are recognised to be more vulnerable and susceptible from all fronts, that is, biologically, economically, and culturally than men (Duffy, 2005: 23).

Religion

According to Mapuranga (2013: 178), the teachings of Christianity tend to supress women to such an extent that they are not afforded the opportunity to realise their potential in assuming political positions. Christianity is rooted in gender roles and stereotypes which serve to discriminate against women through persistence of responsibilities which side line women. Women's participation in political and public life is limited by patriarchal traditions which state that men are the head of the family (Colossians 2:3).

BACKGROUND TO ZIMBABWE'S POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CRISIS, 2000–2008

The period from 2000–2008 is referred to by some scholars of Zimbabwean history as the "Decade of Violence" mainly because of the unmatched levels of political violence used by ZANU PF (Mangena & Hove, 2013: 227). Sachikonye refers to it as "Zimbabwe's Lost Decade". ZANU PF's unpopularity reached record levels in 2000 when it attempted to amend the country's constitution to give more powers to the executive. The proposed constitution had also the effect of increasing presidential powers. These measures met stiff resistance from the majority (Meldrum, 2004: 120). The vote against the constitution in 2000 marked the first political defeat for ZANU PF. Between 2000 and 2008, Zimbabwe effectively plunged into authoritarianism in which state-sanctioned violence became a major instrument of containing dissent and manipulating the electoral system (Sachikonye, 2012). An honest assessment of the period 2000–2008 reflects on a decade of madness and extreme authoritarianism. The Mugabe regime valued political survival using violent tactics. Economic woes which reduced three-quarters of Zimbabweans to paupers were effectively ignored. The country's economy deteriorated from one of the continent's strongest to the world's worst with the official inflation rate estimated at more than 1,000% in 2006. The situation expectedly resulted in Zimbabwe experiencing critical shortages of liquid fuels, foreign currency, food stuffs, medical equipment, electricity and drugs (Duri, 2013: 16). Economic challenges encountered from 2000–2008 inevitably resulted in utter poverty. Multiple coping strategies were devised in order to mitigate food and foreign currency shortages. Women engaged in cross border trading mainly with regional countries. This exposed them to sexual and other forms of abuse during the execution of their transactions (Duri, 2013: 16). Hyperinflation, large scale retrenchments, unemployment and shortage of foreign currency resulted in a number of households living in poverty. Many people, especially women, were pushed to the informal or parallel economy. Ninety percent of the population is structurally unemployed with many of them earning a living through activities such as vending, illegal mining and currency trading. Women were the most affected thereby making it difficult for them to have a choice of participating in politics. They ended up

focusing on family issues. Of all the countries in the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) region, Zimbabwe is the only country experiencing a negative economic growth rate following political and economic crisis since 2000 (Duri, 2013: 16).

As a matter of fact, all elections in Zimbabwe since 2000 have been violent, and none have been internationally accepted. The only exception could be the 2013 harmonised elections. The condemnation of the violent and fraudulent June 2008 Presidential re-run was the cause for the establishment of a government of national unity (GNU) brokered by SADC (Reeler, 2011: 3–4). The period between March 2008 harmonised elections and June Presidential run-off elections witnessed high levels of violence as President Robert Mugabe unleashed security forces from the intelligence, soldiers, police and militias to crush anyone who had made Morgan Tsvangirai 'win' the 2008 elections. This resulted in many men running away to urban areas where security was far much better. This meant women, children and the elderly suffered the horrors of a regime desperate to hold onto power through the Machiavellian style.

EXPERIENCES OF ZIMBABWEAN WOMEN DURING THE CRISIS PERIOD

Zimbabwean women suffered from state orchestrated violence despite the fact that the country has ratified a number of international and regional instruments which recognise the importance of addressing gender based violence in order to contribute to gender equality and development in general. Below is a list of some of the treaties and/or conventions Zimbabwe is a signatory to:

CEDAW (The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women) Recommendation Number 19 (1992)

With the motive of ending discrimination faced by all girls and women, the United Nations endorsed CEDAW on 18 December 1979. CEDAW realised that GBV in all its forms, that is, emotional and verbal abuse, physical abuse, economic abuse and sexual abuse was a form of discrimination that seriously inhibited women's ability to enjoy rights and freedoms on a basis of equality with men. The UN enacted CEDAW because in some parts of the world, girls and women are treated differently or unfairly because of being a girl or a woman, even though they have the same rights as boys and men. Such kind of discrimination results in girls and women not getting proper education, health care, jobs and voting or running for elections (UNICEF, 2011: 4). At the fifty-first session held in February 2012, the CEDAW Committee urged the Government of Zimbabwe to devise complete measures to prevent and address GBV and to ensure that perpetrators are prosecuted and punished (Ministry of Women Affairs, Gender and Community Development, 2012: 5). Governments that have ratified CEDAW have an obligation to curb discrimination faced by girls and women in their countries.

Beijing Platform for Action (BPFA 1995)

Zimbabwe is a signatory to BPFA which confirmed that violence against women is an impediment to the accomplishment of the goals of equality, development and peace. This was based on the fact that GBV had the dual effect of violating and nullifying the enjoyment by women of their human rights and fundamental freedoms (Beijing declaration and platform for action, 1995: 48).

The Africa Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (1999)

The Charters ensures that the rights and welfare of children are observed especially concerning gender equality. The charter states that children who become pregnant while in school should be able to continue their education. Moreover, it also addresses healthcare for expectant and nursing mothers, protection from sexual abuse and sexual exploitation and protection against harmful cultural practices (Ministry of Women Affairs, Gender and Community Development, 2012: 5).

The African Union (AU) Protocol to the Africa Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (2003)

Article 2 stipulates the need by governments to combat all forms of discrimination against women through appropriate legislative, institutional and other measures. AU also encourages member states to eliminate harmful cultural and traditional practices and all other practices which are based on the idea of the inferiority or the superiority of either of the sexes, or on stereotyped roles for women and men (Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa, 2003: 4–5). In fact, the African Union's thrust is to ensure that there is gender equality in member states. A host of measures were put in place to guarantee the rights and freedom of women but five years down the line Zimbabwe was butchering men and women for taking part in the activities of the opposition party MDC.

SADC Protocol on Gender and Development

Articles 20 to 25 makes provisions for the implementation of a variety of strategies including enacting, reviewing, reforming and enforcing laws aimed at eliminating all forms of GBV and trafficking. The Protocol sets a target for reducing GBV levels by half by 2015 (Ministry of Women Affairs, Gender and Community Development, 2012: 6). Article 28 of SADC Protocol on Gender and Development on *Peace Building and Conflict Resolution* stipulates that member states should make it a priority to make sure that women and children are safe from human rights abuses during times of armed conflict and other forms of conflict. Perpetrators of abuses should also be brought to justice before a court of competent jurisdiction (SADC Protocol on Gender and Development, n.d.). There are known perpetrators of

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gender violence in Zimbabwe especially from 2000–2008 but are walking scot free. Documents can be easily signed but it would not help if governments gather year in year out to affirm their disapproval of GBV without taking any concrete action to guarantee the safety and freedom of women.

At country level, Zimbabwe has enacted a number of laws and policies meant to prevent and protect survivors of gender based violence. These include the following:

Law adopted	Stipulations of the law
Section 23 of the Constitution	It prohibits discrimination on the grounds of sex, gender and marital status
The Domestic Violence Act of 2007	Provides for protection and relief to victims of domestic violence and long term measures for prevention of domestic violence
The Sexual Offences Act of 2002	Criminalises marital rape and wilful transmission of HIV
The Administration of Estates Amendment Act of 1997	Seeks to protect the property of the deceased for the welfare of the surviving spouse and children
The Maintenance Act of 1989	Ensures provision of monetary or material support for the upkeep of the spouse, children and other dependents where there is a duty to do so.
The Matrimonial Causes Act of 1987	Ensures equitable distribution of property upon divorce.
The Legal Age of Majority Act of 1982	Now part of the General Laws, the Amendment Act gave women all the rights and benefits of full citizens and changed the practice of inequality based on race and sex, upon reaching the age of 18 (Ministry of Women Affairs, Gender and Community Development, 2012: 6).

Despite the enactment of these laws, Zimbabwean women are vulnerable to all forms of abuse. What makes matters worse is that the state is the biggest perpetrator of violence as evidenced by the political crisis that took place from 2000 to 2008 and other previous conflicts such as Gukurahundi in the early 1980s. The laws are there

but lack enforcement and the government is to purely blame for that. This therefore calls for a grand strategy whereby everyone, everywhere and every time should play a part (Mutanda & Rukondo, 2015: 92). The government alone cannot be trusted with reducing GBV as demonstrated by past events.

Many women were targeted for torture mainly because their families were perceived to be supporters of either ZANU PF or the MDC. Reports of rape cases are scanty as a result of the stigma attached to rape and sexual torture (Mashiri, 2013: 96). Women suffered as a result of physical abuse perpetrated mainly by ZANU PF. In Zaka District located in Masvingo Province, a prominent ZANU PF member was killed by MDC supporters in the run up to the 2002 Presidential elections for taking part in terrorising MDC members in the area. After killing the ZANU PF supporter, the group went on to beat his wife. What hurts most is that the vagina of the woman was thoroughly beaten as MDC supporters told her that it was the vagina that motivated the husband to be so overzealous in ZANU PF activities (Mambo, interviewed 15 May 2015). In response, ZANU PF deployed soldiers and militias (called youths although not by definition) to deal with anyone linked to the MDC. This resulted in a trail of destruction as all acts of violence such as torture, arson, theft and harassment were committed. Beasts belonging to MDC supporters were slaughtered at ZANU PF bases. Many men fled away to urban areas for relative safety leaving women and children at the peril of ZANU PF members who behaved without any form of restraint. ZANU PF youths wielding logs sang songs with violent messages on their way to homes of MDC supporters. Women were forced to attend all rallies conducted at these bases.

It is no doubt that women suffered most as a result of ZANU PF activities in the 2002 and 2008 Presidential elections. All acts of violence reported to the Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP) by MDC victims were ignored. The Zimbabwe Republic Police were rendered passive, a situation that is noticeable beginning in 2000. It is evident that ZRP was compliant to ZANU PF instruction not to interfere with party activities but to support anything holy or unholy. The bottom line is that the force was well conversant of its duties but its hands were tied while some members were just overzealous for political gains (Mutanda, 2013: 41). In such instances, women bore the brunt of ZANU PF's madness because on one hand there were no husbands to provide for the families whilst the state ignored their plea but rather punished them because they supported the opposition MDC.

Although women were easy targets compared to men, they also contributed to violence by selling out other women or relatives with links to the MDC. In one instance, a lady in Zaka District who lives in an area under the jurisdiction of Chief Nhema sold out her sister's son for not joining youths who operated from bases. The base at Padare or Rusere subsequently gathered at the homestead to beat up the mother for "hiding" her son and also to deal with the "evasive" boy. Both survived torture because they were not home by the time the youths arrived. The youths never came back. It is therefore a fact that although women were victims, they contributed to the victimisation of others by either laying false accusations due

to personal vendettas or selling out MDC supporters as a form of security (Masimba, interviewed 9 May 2015). The violence from 2000–2008 substantiates the point that politics is masculine in nature. Women had very little voice but were victims of physical and verbal abuse from men. Men who opted to stay in their areas could do little to protect their wives from torture.

Some of the women who chose to contest either as Members of Parliament or councillors dropped out of the election race because they were afraid to be beaten. Cases of abduction were rampant. Standing in elections was not worth the sacrifice they had to make. Mai Lydia Njerere an aspiring opposition councillor candidate for Ward 19 in Gutu was even forced to join ZANU PF and desert the opposition for the sake of her family and life. This followed her abduction by ZANU PF youth militias (Njerere, interviewed 9 January 2015). This was one way of eliminating women from political participation. Houses were destroyed making it unsafe for women to stay at home in the lead up to the elections. The violent nature of Zimbabwean politics deters women from standing for local political offices. Women in Gutu district expressed disappointment at the decline in their representation in Zimbabwe's 2008 elections describing the development as retrogressive. Only six women were elected as councillors out of 41 seats. The women's names were Mai Dhobha of ward 11, Mai Mushoriwa ward 40, Mai Chitsa ward 12, Mai Tabvanya, Mai Chironda and Mai Maswa of ward 16.

In Gutu, just like in all parts of the country, there were bases which were set up by ZANU PF so as to intimidate, conscientise and victimise members suspected to be of the opposition party. The bases in Gutu were established in the following areas: Nyamande, Chitsa, Jaravaza, Mutero, Gonye, Mushayavanhu and Gutu Mission Hospital. It was a reign of terror where women were also supposed to move around campaigning for men and terrorise members of the opposition. There were numerous cases of sexual violence at the bases. Women at bases were forced to engage in sex with ZANU PF leaders. At a base called Padare in Zaka District, there was a ZANU PF member called Shanga who had sex with numerous girls. Refusal would lead the bosses to create false allegations against the ladies leading to thorough beatings by other youths. Shanga also forcibly married a girl at the base. Shanga finally died of AIDS (Ngambi, interviewed 14 May 2015). Many girls were impregnated at ZANU PF bases. Although a lot of girls were forced to attend base "programmes", some volunteered because of "better" life where meat from seized beasts was abundant (Ngambi, interviewed 14 May 2015). As narrated by a victim of ZANU PF violence, women suffered unimaginable forms of violence:

> The seemingly drunk youths came to my house at the dead of the night. They tried in vain to break the door but after failing they smashed the window. One of them, probably the commander, jumped inside. I fought back but lost out because he was a huge man. I was raped and then thrown outside. I was frog marched semi-naked to the nearest torture base which was five kilometres away. I was subjected to inhuman treatment that included swimming in

mud, drinking urine and being beaten under my feet. This was done because they suspected me to be a supporter of the MDC. (Chipashu, interviewed 28 May 2015)

It is a fact that there were multiple sexual relationships at bases and this had an impact on the spread of HIV. If one of the prominent persons at a ZANU PF base such as Shanga died of the virus, it implies that many women and ultimately their sexual partners suffered the same fate. This tallies with the evidence that in sub-Saharan Africa, the region most affected by the HIV epidemic, only 39 percent of young men and 28 percent of young women aged between 15 and 24 have comprehensive knowledge of HIV (UN, 2014: 35). Global statistics reveal that the figure of fresh HIV infections has considerably surpassed the number of AIDS-related deaths. This consequently means that more people are living with HIV than ever before.

ANALYSING THE RESPONSES OF "COMMUNITY-BASED" STAKEHOLDERS TO VIOLENCE

The Role of Traditional Leaders

Despite being custodians of tradition and culture in African societies, traditional leaders were part of the system that suppressed civilians from 2000–2008 in Zimbabwe. Under normal circumstances traditional leaders were expected to play an influential role in curbing numerous violations against women because they are highly respected and influential in their communities (Wangulu, 2011: 7). As a result of their position in society, vulnerable groups in the community such as women, children, the elderly and the disabled turn to them for guidance and solutions to an array of challenges they might face. It is an undisputed fact that traditional leaders are recognised persons with genuine authority. They are mandated to settle disputes between villagers and preside over issues of community development (Mojapele et al., 2011: 27). Many African countries recognise traditional kings and queens as custodians of the customary laws and traditional norms that govern people at community level (Mojapele et al., 2011: 27). It is important to realise that traditional leaders have a critical role to play in shaping opinion and public perceptions of communities who hold them in high regard. Sensitising community leaders on GBV helps in promoting the message of social change for a zero tolerance to GBV (Ministry of Women Affairs, Gender and Community Development, 2012: 14). Due to the authority vested in them, traditional leaders have the right to chase away people suspected or found guilty of not conforming to societal norms and values. Chiefs have the power to fine and punish people. In addition, they can act as enforcers of government programmes. In Zimbabwe, traditional leaders such as chiefs, headmen and kraal heads are bestowed with the power to ensure peaceful co-existence in communities.

The people in Zimbabwe have ways to peacefully resolve conflicts. A close family friend known as *sahwira* handles disputes usually involving immediate

family members. There is also *Dare* or panel of elders and or wise men chaired either by the kraal head (*sabhuku*) or headman/chief (*mambo/ishe*) who deals with conflicts among the subject people (Mutanda, 2013: 132). Speaking in the context of the role of traditional leaders in combating HIV and AIDS, Mararike (2011: 33) noted that traditional leaders and political party leaders share the same constituents. Consequently, they must cooperate in a number of areas such as HIV and AIDS. This then means to say they must agree on how problems can be solved even if it means influencing people's behaviours. During the period 2000–2008 there was an "unholy alliance" in Zimbabwe as traditional leaders joined forces with the ZANU PF government to terrorise villagers in rural areas. There was no protection from people expected to be fire fighters. At Mugabe's inauguration in 2013, Chiefs Council President, Chief Fortune Charumbira said traditional leaders rallied behind President Mugabe because he was principled and because of his stance towards western forces (ZBC, 2013). If traditional leaders had stuck to their role as protectors of women, children and the vulnerable, incidences of violence could have been significantly reduced. There were, however, a handful of traditional leaders who acted to prevent the harassment and torture of their people. The bulk sold out villagers suspected of supporting the MDC.

The Role of Christianity

Although Zimbabwe is a multi-religious country, Christianity controls a major share of the spiritual market. This means the church plays a critical role in social, political and economic issues affecting the country. Due to historical factors which saw the church working closely with the state, the church became a strategic actor in issues of national interest. Women and men who supported the opposition found no protection from the church which overtly declared its allegiance to ZANU PF. A number of apostolic sects have identified themselves with the ruling ZANU PF and have mobilised support for the party and President Robert Mugabe (Ncube, 2015). Family of God Church leader Reverend Andrew Wutawunashe, Anglican Church leader Bishop Chad Gandiya, Pentecostal Assembly of Zimbabwe bishops: Trevor Manhanga and Rev. Jengeta Jengeta, Johannes Ndanga leader of the apostolic association and Zion Christian Church leader Nehemiah Mutendi among others stampeded to congratulate Mugabe at his inauguration in 2013. Although some leaders did not openly condemn the MDC, the bulk tried to gain mileage by showering praise on the President. Mutendi even told his followers to support the ruling party, of which resistance would lead to expulsion from the church. This implies that those church members who voted otherwise were prone to victimisation psychologically, verbally or both.

Youth militias pounced at church gatherings and forcefully addressed the people. Mai Albertina Madombi was one of the people affected by state instigated violence. She was attacked during a Roman Catholic Church service. She was severely beaten and threatened so that she could be a member of any Apostolic Sect. Many catholic

priests and sisters at that time had run away from violence. Her position as *mbuya vecarticas* (youth catholic trainer) led to her persecution. She was challenged to talk about ZANU PF first before teaching catholic ethos to young people. A lot of people decided to run away from rural areas to urban areas for safety (Madombi, interviewed 3 May 2015).

It is a herculean task for churches in Zimbabwe to end violence against women because the church itself is the biggest oppressor of women. Marrying at a young age is common in apostolic sects such as Johane Masowe Echishanu, Johane Marange and Mugodhi. Child brides are more prone to spousal abuse, often due to generational gaps between spouses. Some male members of the church take in girls as young as nine into the custody of either their mothers or older wives until the onset of puberty. From here they would assume their full responsibilities as wives. According to an insider in Johane Marange (born Muchabaya Momberume) Apostolic Church led by Noah Taguta, in order to hasten the sexual maturity of young girls, older wives fondle the breasts of these girls to initiate puberty (Chiketo, 2012). The dangers of marrying underage girls are that they increase maternal mortality because their bodies would not be fully developed to either safely carry a pregnancy to term or experience a normal delivery (Chiketo, 2012). Young women are also forced to deliver at home. Taguta himself has more than 100 wives and hundreds of children. There are numerous cases in apostolic sects where members can bury as many as 15 children in a space of six years due to shunning of modern health facilities (The Zimbabwean, 2014). Malaria is the biggest killer of children belonging to apostolic sects. Many die between the age of 10 and 11 whilst in grades three or four (Muzenda, interviewed 17 June 2015). Zengeya who was a branch chairperson for ZANU PF in Chihon'a branch from 2000 to 2009 is a Bishop of the Johanne Marange apostolic sect and commands a large following. All church members could be seen at political rallies vehemently supporting ZANU PF. With the inferiority status of women in this denomination, politics is a man's zone. Women are allowed to sing songs and vote. This is an indication that women occupy peripheral roles in the home, church and political arena. As at political gatherings, Christianity restricts women to learning in silence and singing as meaningful leadership roles are reserved for men.

It is no secret that numerous women especially in apostolic sects suffer abuses in the name of religion. Abuses in the church are not questioned because it will be tantamount to opposing the "Holy Spirit". A woman who divorced her husband belonging to the Paul Mwazha apostolic sect where she was the second wife revealed that she was now in love with a husband belonging to Marange apostolic sect to be the third wife. Before divorce, they were each allocated two days per week for sex and if the husband was tired there was nothing to do about it, although such instances were rare (Muza, interviewed 5 June 2015). It is also common in apostolic sects, especially those which permit polygamy such as Marange for wives to provide for their children. If the husband comes to your house the wife must appreciate by preparing delicious meals. It does not matter where you get the food

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from. There are even instances where the wives carry a chair for the husband to sit whilst they do work in the fields (Mombe, interviewed 29 May 2015). Many apostolic sects in Zimbabwe are patriarchal to the chore. Children are usually not send to school on the basis that they are taught self-reliance. It is actually 'Boko Haram style' where western education is considered evil. There is even an example in Zaka District of a lady who was the 18th wife to an apostolic husband belonging to Marange. The husband provided her with everything in terms of basic needs but she still engaged in sex with other men in the area because she lacked enough time for sex (Matendera, interviewed 7 June 2015). Apostolic sects' belief of marrying many wives exposes them to HIV and AIDS especially considering the neglect many of these women experience. Even those who are provided with basic needs end up engaging in prostitution. Many men now know the situation of apostolic wives and take advantage of it to propose "love". The challenges faced by the church itself are an eye opener to the challenges faced by women as a result of political violence. Women were made to participate in politics as men desired.

The Johane Marange Apostolic sect commands a following of over 1, 8 million people, which means more than 10 percent of the country's population go by the doctrines of this institution for their day to day needs including medical care (Chiketo, 2014). Although not unique to apostolic sects, low levels of education also contribute to spousal abuse. A Chitungwiza man who belonged to an Apostolic sect was dragged to court for not sending his nine year old daughter to school because of his Apostolic religious beliefs. He rather argued that:

> I will not send my children to schools that were established by white people because our religion does not allow us to do that. At these schools, there are some activities like traditional dance(s) and the reading of the Bible, which we condemn in our church. (Saunyama, 2014)

The most disadvantaged in such situations are girls who end up marrying men who will be in total control of women submerged in elements of Christianity and culture which reinforces patriarchy. In addition, hundreds of apostolic sect members, particularly children, die because their churches forbid them from seeking medical health (The Zimbabwean, 2014). Spousal abuse is therefore facilitated by early marriages, lower levels of education and lack of financial independence, to mention but a few. Women trapped in such marriages are very vulnerable. Only 9 percent of women in Zimbabwe have property registered in their names (Safaids, n.d.: 2).

Although churches acted as agents of ZANU PF violence, those members who opposed the party suffered abuse and even death. At Mukaro mission in Gutu, a catholic sister's convent was burnt to ashes in the 2008 presidential run-off. The priest in charge was abducted and severely beaten. Thinking he was dead, they left him by the road side. He was only saved by a Good Samaritan and taken to Parirenyatwa hospital for medication (Hama, interviewed 23 March 2015). This was a clear message to anyone including women that death was imminent to those harbouring political ambitions.

CONCLUSION

Despite being a signatory to many laws and conventions governing the fair treatment of women, Zimbabwe does not respect the rights of women. Cases of GBV in the private and public spheres are rampant. The government shoulders the largest chunk of the blame in light of its role in perpetrating and perpetuating GBV from 2000 to 2008. This implies that there is need for a multi-pronged strategy by the civil society, in total cooperation with the civilians, to handle challenges affecting women during times of conflict. Although many traditional leaders were accomplices in the violence that took place from 2000 to 2008, they still remain central in protecting women in their constituencies. The Zimbabwe Republic police cannot be trusted considering the partisan manner in which they handled and still handle cases of political violence. Women in positions of authority cannot be trusted because they remained silent when their colleagues were being butchered. All hope is not lost though. Communities should be solid when it comes to GBV and other forms of violence. This means that they should promote peaceful co-existence than petty hatred based on political orientation. Importantly, there is need for political will on the part of the government in order to thwart all forms of violence. Of course it is a mammoth task to convince the perpetrator to stop it. Although the 2013 harmonised elections had incidences of violence, they moved nearer towards what is expected in an election free of violence and madness. Unity of purpose among communities remains central if societies hope to stop violence in all its forms in the future.

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Interview with Miriam Muza (pseudonym), approx. 25 years, 5 June 2015, Harare.
Interview with Neria Ngambi (pseudonym), 28 years, 14 May 2015, Harare.
Interview with Ngonidzashe Matendera, 24 years, 7 June 2015, Harare.
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