Women Empowered for Leadership

Zimbabwe Baseline

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Background

The Women Empowered for Leadership programme seeks to support women's participation in politics and public administration and within civil society. The programme will be implemented against a background of enhanced efforts to increase participation by women in public life from a variety of stakeholders including women's organizations, development partners, State institutions and within civil society. While progress has been noted in the increased number of women becoming engaged in national and local level processes, there still remain discrepancies between the levels of awareness and engagement by women in public processes and the number of women actually represented in decision making positions. In particular, women's representation at the sub national/local government level is very low. Statistics show that the representation of women at Local Government level dropped by about 3% in the last harmonized elections[1] and that the majority of these losses were recorded in rural areas.

Against this background, the WE4L programme aims to promote women's leadership at the political level, in public administration, civil society and at the sub national/local government level. The programme intends to undertake this work through women's organizations and women leaders, to create an environment that values women leadership. HIVOS commissioned this baseline to essentially provide;

1. An understanding of the context for women's participation in politics and public administration in Zimbabwe.
2. An analysis of the context in relation to the objectives of HIVOS WE4L programme
3. Recommendations on what the HIVOS WE4L, in collaboration with identified partners, can do to address the issues identified in the context.

Introduction
Zimbabwe is signatory to key women's rights and gender equality instruments including the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development, the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women and the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action. These instruments form the backdrop for women's participation politics and public administration in Zimbabwe. This is buttressed by the Constitution which provides for equality between men and women[2] and specifically provides for gender balance[3] and the need for equal representation in all institutions and agencies of Government including the Constitutional Commissions. From the foregoing, it is clear that the issue of women's participation in politics and public administration is topical, not just for the State and its institutions, but also for civil society and the private sector because the Constitution is binding on all spheres of Zimbabwean society. While the Constitution provides the framework for meeting equality in Parliament and cabinet, which numerical requirements are still to be met as shown in *Tables 1[A&B] and Box 1* below; there has been significant work done towards increasing women's participation in politics and public administration as part of the attainment of the goal of gender equality. This work has largely been to build the

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[1] Zimbabwe Gender Barometer 2015
[2] Section 56 of the Constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment Act No. 20 of 2013 [hereinafter the Constitution]
[3] Section 17 of the Constitution

leadership capacity of women at the various levels with the aim of increasing the number of women that are engaged and participate within their communities.

Table 1A: National Assembly Composition

	Male	Female
Constituency MPs	185	25
Proportional Representation MPs	0	60
Senators	41	39
Total	226	124

Table 1B: Leadership of Parliamentary Portfolio Committees
There are different types of Investigative committees in Parliament. These include the Portfolio Committees, Thematic Committees, the Public Accounts Committee and Ad Hoc Committees. The National Assembly in 2016 has 19 Portfolio Committees which are fully operational. Of the 19 Portfolio Committees, only five are headed by female members of Parliament*

	Name Of Committee	Chairperson Of The Committee	Gender
1.	Public Accounts	Hon. Mpariwa	Female
2.	Transport and Infrastructure Development	Hon. Nduna	Male
3.	Defence, Home Affairs and Security Services	Hon. Muderedzwa	Male
4.	Environment, Water, Tourism and Hospitality Industry	Hon. Mashange	Male
5.	Energy Mines and Power Development	Hon. Matuke	Male
6.	Higher Education, Science and Technology	Hon. Mataruse	Male
7.	Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare	Hon. Kwaramba	Male
8.	Finance and Economic Development	Hon. Chapfika	Male
9.	Justice, Legal and Parliamentary Affairs	Hon. Majome	Male
10.	Communication Technology, Postal and Courier Services	Hon. Chamisa	Male
11.	Health and Child Care	Hon. Labode	Female
12.	Foreign Affairs	Hon. Paradza	Male
13.	Lands, Agriculture Mechanisation and Irrigation	Hon. Butau	Male
14.	local Government, Rural and Urban Development	Hon. Zindi	Female
15.	Industry and Commerce	Hon. Mhere	Male
16.	Women Affairs, Gender and Community Development	Hon. Nyamupinga	Female
17.	Media, Information and Broadcasting Services	Hon. Dehwa	Male
18.	Small and Medium Enterprises and Cooperative Development	Hon. Mhangami	Female
19.	Education, Sport, Arts and Culture	Hon. Khanye	Male
20.	Youth, Indigenization and Economic Empowerment	Hon. Wadyajena J.M	Male

Box 1: Representation of Women in Cabinet

The Executive – Cabinet
Below is a list of Ministers and their deputies [where applicable] including the 3 top positions in public administration, i.e. the President and Vice Presidents. It is important to state that in Zimbabwe's public administration, deputy ministers and ministers of State are not considered full cabinet ministers. They do not sit in cabinet, neither do they act on behalf of cabinet ministers, therefore their role is merely ceremonial, hence the assertion that in fact there are only three women cabinet ministers, even though the list below has a total of 15 women.

	Ministry/Cabinet Position	Name	Gender
1.	President	H.E. R.G. Mugabe	Male
2.	Vice President Justice, Legal and Parliamentary Affairs	Hon. E. Mnangagwa	Male
3.	Vice President Minister of National Healing, Peace and Reconciliation	Hon. P. Mphoko	Male
4.	Minister of State in Vice President Mnagagwa's Office	Hon. Sibanda	Male
5.	Minister of State Policy Coordination & Promotion of Socio-Economic Ventures in the President's Office.	Hon. Moyo	Male
6.	Minister of State in Vice President Mphoko's office	Hon. Kanengoni Malinga	Female

7.	Macro-Economic Planning & Investment Promotion	Hon. Mpofu	Male	
8.	Deputy			
9.	Rural development and Preservation of National Cultural Heritage	Hon. Ncube	Male	
10.	Deputy			
11.	Public Service, Labour and Social Services	Hon. Mupfumira*	Female	
12.	Deputy	Hon. Matangaidze	Male	
13.	Higher and Tertiary Education Science and Technology Development	Hon. Moyo	Male	
14.	Deputy	Hon. Dr. Gandawa	Male	
15.	Energy and Power Development	Hon. Undenge	Male	
16.	Deputy	Hon. Muzenda	Female	
17.	Youth, Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment	Hon. Zhuwao	Male	
18.	Deputy	Hon. Tongofa	Male	
19.	Information Communication Technology, Postal and Courier Services	Hon. Mandiwanzira	Male	
20.	Deputy	Hon. Mlambo	Male	
21.	Welfare Services for War Veterans, War Collaborators, Former Political Detainees & Restrictees	Retired Colonel Tshinga Dube	Male	
22.	Deputy	Hon. Dube	Male	
23.	Finance and Economic Development	Hon. Chinamasa	Male	
24.	Deputy			
25.	Sports, Arts and Culture	Hon. Hlongwane	Male	
26.	Deputy			
27.	Health and Child Care	Hon. Dr. Parirenyatwa	Male	
28.	Deputy	Hon. Musiiwa	Male	
29.	Information, Media and Broadcasting Services	Hon. Mushowe	Male	
30.	Deputy	Hon. Mathuthu	Female	
31.	Tourism and Hospitality Industry	Hon. Engineer Muzembi	Male	
32.	Deputy	Hon. Ndhlovu	Female	
33.	Women's Affairs Gender and Community Development	Hon. Chikwinya*	Female	
34.	Deputy	Hon. Damasane	Female	
35.	Environment, Water and Climate	Hon. Muchinguri*	Female	
36.	Deputy			
37.	Minister of Foreign Affairs	Hon. Mumbengegwi	Male	
38.	Deputy	Hon. Mbwembwe	Male	
39.	Home Affairs	Hon. Chombo	Male	
40.	Deputy	Hon. Mguni	Male	
41.	Primary and Secondary Education	Hon. Dokora	Male	
42.	Deputy	Hon. Prof. Mavima	Male	
43.	Defence	Hon. Sekeramayi	Male	
44.	Deputy			
45.	Lands and Rural Resettlement	Hon. Mombeshora	Male	
46.	Deputy	Hon. Chikwama	Female	
47.	Local Government, Public Works and National Housing	Hon. Kasukuwere	Male	
48.	Deputy	Hon. Chingosho	Male	
49.	Transport and Infrastructural Development	Hon. Gumbo	Male	
50.	Deputy	Hon. Madanha	Male	
51.	Industry and Commerce	Hon. Bimha	Male	
52.	Deputy	Hon. Mabuwa	Female	
53.	Agriculture, Mechanisation and Irrigation Development	Hon. Made	Male	
54.	Deputy - Cropping	Hon. Marapira	Male	
55.	Deputy – Livestock	Hon. Zhanda	Male	
56.	Small and Medium Enterprises and Cooperative Development	Hon. Nyoni	Female	
57.	Deputy	Hon. Muponora	Male	
58.	Mines and Mining Development	Hon. Chidhakwa	Male	
59.		Hon. Moyo	Male	
60.	Minister of State for Liaising on Psychomotor Activities in Education	Hon. Hungwe	Male	
61.	Minister of State for Midlands Province	Hon. Machaya	Male	
62.	Minister of State for Matabeleland South Province	Hon. Ncube	Male	
63.	Minister of State for Matabeleland North Province	Hon. Mathema	Male	
64.	Minister of State for Masvingo Province	Hon. Mahofa	Female	
65.	Minister of State for Mashonaland West Province	Hon. Chidarikire	Male	
66.	Minister of State for Mashonaland East Province	Hon. Matiza	Male	
67.	Minister of State for Bulawayo Metropolitan	Hon. Moyo	Female	
68.	Minister of State for Harare Metropolitan	Hon. Chikukwa	Female	
69.	Minister of State for Manicaland Province	Hon. Chimene	Female	

Total Number of Female Ministers - 3
Total Number of Female Ministers of State - 5
Total Number of Female Deputy Ministers - 6

1. The Actors

There are several actors working to enhance the women's participation in leadership and decision making [*See Table 2 below*]. However, it is important at the outset to distinguish the interventions of the various actors in relation to women's participation in politics and public administration. There are generally two types of organizations working to enhance women's participation in politics and public administration i.e., those that work to enhance the woman's capacity to engage with issues in her community as a citizen; and those that seek to enhance the capacity of the individual woman to pursue political representation and/or public administration representation. It would appear that the majority of women's and civil society organizations are invested in building citizens' capacity to engage on issues that affect them on a daily basis, and there is only a handful of organizations that work directly with the woman who seek political or public administration representation. In this category there are a few organizations such as WiPSU and WILD

Table 2: **Key Women's Organizations working on issues of Participation in Leadership, Politics and Decision Making**

Women's Participation	Women's Participation in Politics and Public Administration
Women's Coalition Jekesa Pfungwa/Vulinqondo [JPV] Women Of Zimbabwe Arise (WOZA) Lupane Women's Resource Centre Emthonjeni Women's Forum Matabeleland Widows Inkanyezi Development Trust Basilwizi African Women In Development (AWIDE), Musasa Project Zimbabwe Women's Resource Centre and Network [ZWRCN] Katswe Sistahood Youth Empowerment Trust[YETT] SAY WHAT South Western Region Gender Network (SWRGN) Gender Links	Women in Politics Support Unit [WiPSU] Women in Leadership and Development [WILD] Women's Trust Women Politicians Incubator Zimbabwe [WOPIZ]

The reason the majority of civil society and women's organizations are invested in working to build the leadership capacity of women to engage with the issues that affect them in their communities is largely a result of the socio-economic decline in Zimbabwe. The decline, and in some cases disappearance, of public service delivery to citizens has inspired a new wave of citizen engagement. It is this work that has inspired the move towards building of the leadership capacity of women that contributes towards women becoming empowered community level leaders. The focus of the work with women at this level is mostly about building their advocacy capacity and features modules that aim to raise awareness on the rights of individuals and the community at the local level, as well as effective communication and engagement strategies with local level policy makers and implementers.

The work of the women's organizations converge at the point where organizations are strengthening the capacity of women to become active citizens that are able to demand their rights; and the same

are empowered to seek political or public office. This work has resulted in there being more women registered as voters, compared to men see *Table 3* below. Ideally the work done by the different women's organizations should be incremental in the sense that active citizens are likely to be empowered to seek to represent their community interests. In practice, however, the interventions by the different actors are often not coordinated as organizations pursue institutional mandates individually.

Table 3: Women as Percentage of Registered Voters

	Total Population Numbers in 2012	Percentage of People in Zimbabwe in 2012	Registered Voters as per 2013 Voters Roll	Percentage of Total Registered Voters
Male	6234931	48.06%	2824458	48.08%
Female	6738877	51.94%	3050651	51.93%
Total	12973808	100%	5874114	100

2. Interventions and Strategies

The majority of actors involved in building the leadership capacity of women, are organizations that are concerned with service delivery. Since the development and administrative architecture of Zimbabwe is such that service delivery is a Local Government issue, the majority of those organizations, working to enhance the leadership capacity of women, are doing so targeting local governance structures or local government related processes. Only those organizations working directly with women in politics and public administration are working at both the local and national levels. Given the currency of women's participation in politics and public administration, some of the work by the women's organizations has also reached the regional [SADC] and UN levels. The work at the regional and international levels is aimed at increasing support for international instruments designed to increase the numbers of women in politics and public administration.

The interventions at the local level have included advocacy and lobbying, awareness and consciousness raising, constitutional literacy, educative campaigns and training workshops among other interventions. The organizations that work directly with women in politics have more specialized interventions that include role modelling by change agents, political education, electoral processes training, including voter education and community mobilization. It is noteworthy that a lot of the work that is being done to support women's participation and women's political participation does not always seem to be connected. It would appear that there are coordination challenges, because the organizations operate at different levels and they do not always seem to share information resulting in duplication rather than incremental interventions. Thus for example the work that is being at the local level with women's participation should ideally be the basis upon which women seek to effect change and seek political office. However this is often not the case, thus calling for concerted efforts to rationalize the interventions of the different actors.

It is also noteworthy that there are very few interventions from mainstream civil society organizations that promote women's participation in politics and public administration leadership. A number of mainstream civil society organizations partner with women's organizations or on rare occasion undertake active citizen participation interventions at the community level usually in ways that are not even informed by gender analysis; and it is through these community engagements that women are then targeted by mainstream civil society, as part of communities broadly and not directly as an interest group. The rationale for this process is that women are part of communities.

However this approach suggests that there is need for civil society to progress and embrace the gender equality agenda beyond rhetoric.

The interventions and strategies are however also limited in terms of interventions that support young women's participation in politics and public administration. While most organizations working to build the capacity women for active citizenship purport to have mentorship programmes for young women, in reality these interventions are not substantive outside of a few workshops on personal leadership. Young women therefore are only visible and heard in their own silo of young women's organisations. While some organizations do have mentorship programmes for young women on professional lines[4], there are few examples of effective mentoring young women for leadership in the political and public administration arena. A final challenge with the strategies for women's participation is also that a number of organizations work in ways that are not sustainable and incremental. Organizations tend to work on activity based interventions rather than programme based interventions. This results in lots of activities being done which may not necessarily contribute to a greater programme outcome.

3. Women's Organizations

Women's organizations are located in broader civil society; however their participation remains ancillary to the broader mainstream civil society priorities. While women play a part in mainstream civil society organizations, their participation is limited as very few women have meaningful roles in leadership or decision making. Thus for example, other than the Women's Coalition, none of the civic organizations have substantive representation of women, and statistics show that in the mainstream trade unions, women account for only 21.9% of the membership. Women may be appointed to be leadership positions, but they are often not able to influence much change because they are unable to make substantive decisions as they often in the minority. For example, women are leading key institutions such the Crisis Coalition whose chairperson is the coordinator of the Women's Coalition and the director of the largest elections organizations coalition who is a woman; but women are in the minority on the boards and in those institutions, such that the agendas of the institutions are not driven from gender inclusive rights based approach, but rather the more patriarchal and mainstream approach to rights and leadership prevails.

Against the foregoing, women's organizations' vibrancy is therefore related more to the execution of the mandate rather than presence and activism, given the economic decline that has affected the implementation by civil society organizations. In this regard a number of organizations that can be considered vibrant are those that work directly to support women's participation in politics, such as WiPSU, WILD and Women's Trust. However these women's organizations' work is limited by challenges that include:

- The lack of resources to support direct participation of women in politics;
- Competition for funding from other non-women's CSOs who get resources meant for women's rights in the name of gender mainstreaming;
- Negative stereotypes and social attitudes to women's leadership;

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[4] For example ZWLA in Bulawayo has a young women lawyers mentorship programme under which senior lawyer support young women lawyers for litigation and legal practice.

- Cultural, traditional and religious practices that hinder women in participating in leadership, decision making and political participation;
- The inability to work creatively in shifting context and adapt to creative ways of working in advancing the gender equality agenda.

In addition to these challenges, the operating context for civil society organizations is characterized by economic decline and shrinking operational space for civic society. This is because the socio-political environment is limiting for civic society as NGOs are regarded with suspicion by the State. Civic society has to undergo multiple layers of state approval before they can work with communities, especially if the work is regarded as having a political party agenda. This means that the work of women's organizations, although considered less threatening than mainstream governance organizations, is not always guaranteed at the community level. This creates uncertainty for organizations working to advance citizen participation as their work is always at risk of being perceived to be about advancing unwanted political agendas. Thus in terms of working to groom a new generation of leaders, women's organizations have to be creative in how they engage with women at the community level, without being perceived to be pursuing political agendas.

3. Public Perceptions of Women's Leadership

Public perception in Zimbabwe is still negative to women's participation in leadership. Generally the public still perceives leadership to be for men, and not for women. Society still regards women who perform well in roles outside of the home as the exception rather than the norm. There is a general belief that women who participate in politics and advance in their political careers, are women who are willing to compromise integrity and morality. Thus political culture in Zimbabwe is created around men taking leadership; rather than women and coloured by stereotypes of the roles of men and women in society see *Table 4* below showing how leadership of political parties in Parliament is male dominated.

Table 4: Political Party Leadership Representation in the National Assembly

	Position	Name	Gender
1	Leader of Government Business in Parliament	Hon. Emerson Mnangagwa	Male
2	Leader of the Opposition in Parliament	Hon. Thokozani Khupe	Female
3	Chief Whip ZANU PF	Hon. Lovemore Matuke	Male
4	Deputy Whip ZANU PF	Hon. Annah Rungani	Female
5	Chief Whip MDC T	Hon. Innocent Gonese	Male

The ways institutions are created and operate are such that they do not accommodate women. This is reflected in *Box 2* below which shows the representation of men and women in the political and administrative leadership of Parliament. An example is how until a few months ago the Parliament building in Zimbabwe did not have facilities for MPs to attend to their babies and yet Parliament has a bar. Even terms and conditions of certain positions are designed in such a way that they are convenient for men, for example senior positions in the private and public sectors make provision for "entertainment allowances" which are sometimes tied to specific entities such as bars or other institutions, which some women in senior positions may not feel comfortable patronizing.

Box 2: Representation of Women and Men in the Political and Administrative Leadership of Parliament

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Gender configuration of the Parliamentary Commission/Equivalent Speaker's panel

"In terms of section 135 of the Constitution of Zimbabwe of 2013, the Speaker of the National Assembly is the head of Parliament and in the exercise of his or her duties is guided by Standing Orders, the Constitution of Zimbabwe, other statutes and parliamentary practices.[5]" The Speaker is supported in his/her work by a Speakers Panel, which consists of the Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly and 3 MPs. This represents the political leadership of Parliament.

	Position	Name	Gender
1	Speaker of The National Assembly	Adv. Jacob Mudenda	Male
2	Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly and Chairperson of Committees	Hon. Mabel Chinomona	Female
3	Member of the Speakers Panel	Hon. Melody Dziva	Female
4	Member of the Speakers Panel	Hon Ruben Marumahoko	Male
5	Member of the Speakers Panel	Hon. William Mutomba	Male

Administrative Leadership in Parliament

	Position	Name	Gender
1	Clerk of Parliament	Kennedy Chokuda	Male
2	Deputy Clerk of Parliament	Hellen Dingani	Female
3	Deputy Clerk of Parliament	Nomasonto Sunga	Female
4	Counsel to Parliament	Gladys Pise	Female
5	Principle Director Finance	Bernard Zvamada	Male
6	Principle Director Human Resources	Anthony Malunga	Male
8	Principle Director Information Services	Andries Rukobo	Male

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The political parties possibly provide the best reflection of society's perception of leadership. This is because political parties are the microcosms of society's structures. Generally political parties are male led. Thus for example, ZANU PF had Joice Mujuru in the Party's presidium [the top three positions] before her expulsion, now the presidium is all male. The MDC also had a female Secretary General [Priscilla Misihairabwi] but since her resignation from office bearer to ordinary party member and MP the party replaced her with a man. These political parties do not have gender policies and while they expressed desire for greater women's participation, none of them had substantive local government or gender specific issues in their manifestos. In addition of these parties, only ZANU PF prior to the 2014 Congress had a 30% quota for women in all organs in the party. This has not been implemented and in 2014 was rewritten in the Party Constitution for the presidium level. The 2015 Congress however resolved to change this back to the status quo. This has not yet happened. The other political parties do not have provisions for quotas for women in place.

The low representation of women in political parties is also reflected in key state institutions. For example in the police service's leadership there are only five women out of the twelve that are the Commissioners. *See Table 5 below.* While there only two independent Commissions are chaired by women out of a total of six independent commissions see *Table 6* below*.*

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[5]http://www.parlzim.gov.zw/senators-members/national-assembly-speaker

Table 5: Zimbabwe Republic Police Commissioners

	Position/Rank	Name	Gender
1	Commissioner General	Augustine Chihuri	Male
2	Deputy Commissioner General: Operations	I. Matibiri	Male
3	Deputy Commissioner General: Administration	G. Matanga	Male
4	Deputy Commissioner General: Human Resources	L. Sibanda	Male
5	Deputy Commissioner General: Crime	J. Shambare	Female
6	Commissioner: Crime	S. Mubatapasango	Male
7	Commissioner: Human Resources	N. Ncube	Female
8	Commissioner: Training and Development	G. Ndebele	Female
9	Commissioner: Planning and Development	R. Mpofu	Male
10	Commissioner: Administration	Dr. E. Magejo	Male
11	Commissioner: Operations	M. Tanyanyiwa	Male
12	Commissioner	O. Bangu	Female

Table 6: Independent Constitutional Commissions

	Independent Commissions	Name of Chairperson	Gender
1	Electoral	Rita Makarau	Female
2	Human Rights	Elasto Mugwadi	Male
3	Gender	Margaret Mukahanana Sangarwe,	Female
4	Media	Godfrey Majonga	Male
5	National Peace and Reconciliation	Cyril Ndebele	Male
6	Anti-Corruption Commission	Job Wabhira	Male

However, even against the background of negative perceptions of women's leadership and male dominated political parties; there are opportunities in the current environment for women's leadership interventions to take place. The first such opportunity is through the current Constitution. As already stated, the Constitution provides a strong constitutional framework for gender equality through the provisions for equality in appointments and leadership. In addition, the fact that Zimbabwe has a comprehensive policy framework for gender equality such as the National Gender Policy and the Broad Based Framework For Economic Empowerment.

Furthermore the fact that there is an election in 2018, is an opportunity for a women's participation in politics and a programme such as WE4L. Since women's rights are considered non-threatening to governance actors, women's organizations can begin to advance women's participation in the public domain as it relates to women's rights to be heard as citizens and political actors themselves. There is work already being supported and being spearheaded by the Gender Commission and Ministry of Women's Affairs and Community Development. This work is promoting gender equality at the community level, including getting women to participate in their community's development. Hence support for women's participation into leadership would be considered as expanding this work.

However it must always be stated that because women's leadership is directly related to political party power struggles, work seemingly seeking to shift focus political power will be viewed with suspicion. Thus there may be resistance to women's leadership interventions from political parties, to the extent that they would like to control not only who runs for political office, but also for those in power, they may resist the potential challenges from new actors. In addition, a major threat to the

work to enhance women's participation is the fact that the Constitution provides for proportional representation seats. These seats have already been resisted and viewed with suspicion by male politicians, thus another initiative likely to guarantee or increase women's chances of increased participation may also be resisted.

The fact that women's participation in political and public administration leadership has been spoken about and programmed around for a number of years means that there may be a blasé attitude to interventions as communities may not be willing to engage because the issues of women's leadership has been overdone. Further, given that in the current context where there are more pressing issues such as the looming humanitarian crisis as a result of the drought and serious economic decline, there may actually be no interest in interventions related to women's participation, unless the interventions are directly linked to livelihoods and disaster mitigation at the local level.

5. The Media and Women in Leadership

Ideally the media should profile women seeking public office and create media platforms for women seeking political support to engage with the citizens. However, the media[6] in Zimbabwe has not been very useful, if anything the media has served to perpetuate gender stereotypes. In some regard, the insensitive reporting and coverage of women in the media in Zimbabwe should be understood in context. Zimbabwean society is still largely patriarchal and the media as the voice and mirror of society has tended to perpetuate gender insensitive stereotypes in the media and stories of men in leadership are covered more than those related to women in leadership. During elections, the tendency is cover the campaigns by the male politicians over women politicians. Thus for example, between December 2012 and February 2013 the media carried very few political stories that exclusively dealt with women's political participation or leadership. Of a total of 1 189 political reports in the media carried only 33 (public media [18] and private media [15]) were wholly devoted to political issues directly related to women and featured them as the primary sources of information[7].

There are several factors for this, key being that the media is concerned with stories that sell. For example, the print media focus on high public appeal issues [such a political mudslinging and violence] rather than the content of the information they are disseminating. Second, journalists increasingly seem to perpetuate negative gender stereotypes because they appear not to have knowledge and information on gender sensitive reporting. However this can be contested, given that women's organizations and other media organizations such as MISA and have invested in training media practitioners. This then raises questions of conviction on issues of gender equality. A third factor is the fact that women are under-represented in the hierarchy of the media in Zimbabwe. The media is predominantly owned and controlled by men. Women tend to be reporters who are obliged to observe editorial policies that may limit the depth or focus of their articles on women. Further the societal pressures steer women reporters away from politics and public administration and often political reporters or those assigned to elections and politics tend to be men.

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[6] i.e. electronic, print and lately social media
[7] Media representation of Women in Politics –Part 2 (December 1st 2012 to February 28th 2013) – Media Monitoring Project of Zimbabwe

In the light of the above, there may be value in the WE4L to invest in some capacity building for the media. There is need to build the capacity of journalists, to understand the links between development and women's participation, i.e. some training on political education. The other issues such as gender and women's rights are would also be incorporated into the training. In addition, it is important for there to be some engagement on editorial policies and practices with the various media houses, as there are instances where journalists are gender sensitive in their approach, but they are unable to reflect this in their work because their organizations do not have gender sensitive policies and response.

6. Recommendations

From the foregoing, it is critical that the WE4L programme take into account the following issues;

1. There is need for a clear distinction between interventions aimed at enhancing women's participation as citizens and women's participation in politics and public administration as elected or appointed representatives. This is critical in ensuring the type of support that would be available to the various partners.
2. Given that Zimbabwe is headed for an election in 2018, it is important that this programme is immediately launched, because of its local government level focus, the work in the communities must begin immediately. Delays in starting the project could result in the WE4L being suspended because traditionally, communities tend to be inaccessible towards elections due to political party tensions.
3. The programme should as much as possible facilitate partner organizations to enhance citizen engagement so that the agenda for the WE4L is driven by the women at the community level. These interventions could include women being facilitated to engage with national debates on national issues such as the forthcoming national consultations on electoral reforms.
4. The WE4L should invest in supporting partner organizations to undertake research, so that case for women's participation is backed by evidence. Related to this would be the need to enhance the knowledge generation and management of the work that is being done to promote women's participation in leadership.
5. There is need to make women visible in politics and public administration, in particular during the forthcoming elections. The media and other forms of information dissemination tend to be urban focused and promoting; there is therefore need for the WE4L to invest in raising the visibility of women seeking public office or representation at the local government level in their localities, with a particular focus on women in the rural areas. This would include supporting citizen journalists that work at the local level to profile women seeking elective or appointed leadership positions.
6. The WE4L should consider working to strengthen young women's movement, thought supporting youth organizations that work to empower young women to seek political office. This could be done through working with schools and tertiary institutions, so that young women aspire to leadership from an early age. Another key target group would be the youth leagues of political parties.

7. Given the political context and terrain of Zimbabwe, there is need for WE4L to consider ways of supporting the resilience of partner organizations that will implement the WE4L activities.

Additional Data Sources

The information in this annexure was developed using resources available in the public domain. The data sources were organisational websites, organizational reports and news articles. Institutions listed below may be additional sources of data, which data may or may not be in the public domain;

1. Election Resource Centre
2. Gender Links
3. Media Institute of Southern Africa
4. Media Monitoring Project
5. Research and Advocacy Unit
6. UN Women
7. Women in Politics Support Unit
8. Zimbabwe Electoral Commission
9. Zimbabwe Institute