

Exploring the political participation of women
in rural areas in post apartheid societies, a
comparative study between South Africa and
Namibia 2004-2016

TH Tomodi

Dissertation accepted in fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree *Master of Social Science in International
Relations* at the North-West University

Supervisor: Dr N Sempijja

Graduation: May 2022

Student number: 25727214

ABSTRACT

Women in rural areas' political participation is a topic underexplored in International Relations and political studies. Scholars in this field emphasised exploring the political participation of women in urban areas, neglecting that of women in rural areas. The central discussion, therefore, focuses on the political participation of women in rural areas to which these different types of participation have been or can be empowering for women as individuals and as a group. The aim of the study was to explore factors which account for the political participation of women in rural areas, which was done by applying a qualitative research method. Political participation in its basic definition was applied to measure the study's main question, and different themes were explored.

This dissertation explores the political participation of women in rural areas from post-apartheid societies. A broad definition of politics is used, which allowed the researcher to investigate the factors which influence the participation of women in rural areas in local politics.

The study found that women in rural areas' participation and representation face similar challenges and successes. Although non-homogenous, women in Namibia and South Africa initially took interest in politics when in proximity to male comrades, and their political participation holds a 40% chance of translating into roles in local government. However, their representation holds minimal agency due to internal resource frustrations and the political party's mandate taking priority.

In conclusion, the study makes the case that the political participation of women in rural areas is fundamental to achieving an inclusive society and strengthening the region's democracy as well as progressing towards achieving SDG 5 (Sustainable Development Goal).

DEDICATION

To all the women in townships and rural areas who, against all odds have held the knife on the sharp end (*Mosadi o tshwara thipa ka fa bogaleng*). This is especially to my late mother, the comrade, the unionist, the traditional feminist, an entrepreneur, a teacher, a nurturer, a disciplinarian. Everything that you were inspired me to become the woman I am.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I owe a debt of gratitude to so many people who have contributed not only to make this dissertation possible but to all the steps along the way that led up to the dissertation and my ultimate success in my postgraduate degree.

First and foremost, my supervisor, who is also a very important inspiration in life, Professor Norman Sempijja. Through difficult times, you kept to your word, empowering young African scholars, and this dissertation would not be possible without your dedication and patience to teaching and empowering African scholars. Thank you for devoting time to advising me, listening to my research ideas, reading drafts, providing guidance, and dealing with bureaucracy to see that I crossed the finish line.

To my partner, Oagiseng Bojang, you have contributed largely to my personal development and overall wellbeing. You remained a constant support since my first post-graduate degree, during the illness and death of my mother, you reminded me of the dream and vision. The leadership qualities you enthused in me contributed to the success of this dissertation.

.

DECLARATION

Solemn declaration by the student

I, Tshegofatso Hazel Tomodi declare herewith that the mini-dissertation/dissertation/thesis entitled 'Exploring the political participation of women in rural areas in post-apartheid societies; a comparative study between Vryburg in South Africa and Mariental in Namibia, 2004-2016', which I herewith submit to the North-West University as completion/partial completion of the requirements set for the Master's degree, is my work and has not already been submitted to any other university.

I understand and accept that the copies that are submitted for examination are the property of the University.

Date: ____06____ on ____08____ day of ____August____ 2021

Contents

I. ABSTRACT	2
II. DEDICATION	3
III. ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	4
IV. DECLARATION	5
1. CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION	10
1.1 INTRODUCTION	10
1.3.1 DEFINITION OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION	19
1.3.2 LOCAL GOVERNMENT AS A CONCEPT	20
1.3.3 SOUTH AFRICAN LOCAL GOVERNMENT	21
1.3.4 NAMIBIAN LOCAL GOVERNMENT	22
1.4 PROBLEM STATEMENT	22
1.5 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES	24
1.6 RESEARCH QUESTIONS	24
1.7 THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY	24
1.8 THE SCOPE OF THE STUDY	25
1.9 VARIABLE: WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION	26
1.10 CHAPTER OUTLINE	26
1.11 CONCLUSION	27
2. CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	28
2.1 INTRODUCTION	28
2.2 SIGNIFICANCE OF GENDER ANALYSIS IN THE CONTEXT OF RURAL POLITICS	28
2.3 THE CONCEPT OF LITERATURE REVIEW	29
2.3.1 VIOLENT INJUSTICES' INFLUENCE ON WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND REPRESENTATION; POLITICAL PSYCHOLOGY	30
2.3.2 SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY PROTOCOL ON GENDER DEVELOPMENT AND ITS LIMITATION AT THE LOCAL LEVEL	31
2.3.3 2.6 AFRICA UNION MECHANISM TO FOSTER GENDER MAINSTREAMING AND ENSURE WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND REPRESENTATION	33
2.3.4 AU AND SADC LIMITATIONS ON WOMEN IN RURAL AREAS' POLITICAL PARTICIPATION	34
2.3.5 FORCES INFLUENCING WOMEN'S INVOLVEMENT IN POLITICS	35
2.3.6 OVERVIEW OF RURAL WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN LOCAL GOVERNANCE	35
2.3.7 SOUTH AFRICAN AND NAMIBIAN WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION DURING THE ANTI-APARTHEID STRUGGLE	37
2.3.8 SOUTH AFRICA AND NAMIBIA'S GENDER RECONSTRUCTION POST-APARTHEID: WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT	39

2.3.9	RURAL WOMEN’S IMPORTANT ROLE IN PARTICIPATING IN POLITICS.	41
2.3.10	PARTICIPATION AND REPRESENTATION IN NAMIBIA.	42
2.4	GAPS IN LITERATURE	44
2.5	THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	44
2.5.1	THE CONCEPT OF THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....	44
2.5.2	SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIVISM.....	45
2.6	CONCLUSION	46
3.	CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY.....	47
3.1	INTRODUCTION.....	47
3.2	METHODOLOGY IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS	47
3.3	RESEARCH DESIGN: EXPLORATIVE QUALITATIVE	48
3.3.1	RESEARCH METHOD: QUALITATIVE	48
3.4	SAMPLING AND POPULATION.....	49
3.4.1	POPULATION	49
3.4.2	SAMPLING FRAME.....	49
3.4.3	SITE DESCRIPTION	51
3.5	SAMPLING METHOD.....	51
3.6	SAMPLING TECHNIQUE.....	52
3.7	DATA COLLECTION METHOD.....	52
3.7.1	INSTRUMENTS OF DATA COLLECTION	53
3.8	DATA ANALYSIS	55
3.8.1	CONTENT ANALYSIS.....	55
3.9	ETHICAL CONSIDERATION.....	56
3.10	CONCLUSION	57
4.	CHAPTER FOUR: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS.....	58
4.1	INTRODUCTION.....	58
4.2	BACKGROUND INFORMATION OF PARTICIPANTS	58
4.3	CENTRAL THEMES	60
4.4	WHAT FACTORS ACCOUNT FOR WOMEN IN RURAL AREAS’ POLITICAL PARTICIPATION?	61
4.4.1	POLITICAL ACTIVITY DURING APARTHEID	63
4.4.2	STATUS OF POLITICAL ACTIVITY DURING APARTHEID.	64
4.4.3	REASONS FOR BEING POLITICALLY ACTIVE DURING APARTHEID.	67
4.4.4	REASONS FOR BEING POLITICALLY ACTIVE POST-APARTHEID.	69
4.4.5	MOTIVATION FOR CONTESTING FOR A SEAT.	73
4.4.6	ORGANISATION OF POLITICAL CAMPAIGN	75

4.4.7	RESULT OF CONTESTING FOR A SEAT	77
4.4.8	BASE OF SUPPORT	77
4.4.9	TIME SPEND PARTICIPATING IN LOCAL POLITICS.	78
4.4.10	COMPARATIVE SUMMARY ON THE FACTORS THAT ACCOUNT FOR WOMEN IN RURAL AREAS' POLITICAL PARTICIPATION.	79
4.5	CONCLUSION	80
4.5.1	POST-TRAUMATIC GROWTH.....	80
4.5.2	CULTURAL FACTORS	81
4.5.3	ECONOMIC FACTORS	81
4.5.4	POLITICAL SOCIALISATION	81
5.	CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS ON RESEARCH QUESTIONS TWO AND THREE.....	83
5.1	INTRODUCTION.....	83
5.2	QUESTION TWO: DO WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN RURAL AREAS TRANSLATE TO ROLES IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT?	83
5.2.1	ROLES IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT	84
5.2.2	WAYS TO SUPPORT WOMEN IN LEADERSHIP.....	85
5.2.3	CHALLENGES IN ATTAINING ROLES OF LEADERSHIP.	86
5.2.4	SUMMARY FOR POLITICAL ACTIVENESS TRANSLATION TO A ROLE IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT	87
5.2.5	SUMMARY ON SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES BETWEEN VRYBURG AND MARIENTAL ON PARTICIPATION TO REPRESENTATION.	89
5.2.6	CONCLUSION	90
5.3	QUESTION THREE: DO WOMEN IN RURAL AREAS WHO HAVE ROLES IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT IMPACT THE OVERALL IMPROVEMENT OF WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION?.....	91
5.3.1	INITIATION OF EMPOWERMENT PROGRAMS	91
5.3.2	VOTING FOR WOMEN	95
5.3.3	SUMMARY FOR IMPACT ON OTHER WOMEN IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT	95
5.3.4	CONCLUSION	96
6.	CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS	97
6.1	INTRODUCTION.....	97
6.2	REFLECTION ON OBJECTIVES	97
6.2.1	INVESTIGATE THE FACTORS THAT CONTRIBUTE TO WOMEN IN RURAL AREAS' POLITICAL PARTICIPATION POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA AND NAMIBIA.	97
6.2.2	TO ASSESS IF WOMEN IN RURAL AREAS' POLITICAL PARTICIPATION TRANSLATE TO A ROLE IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT SOUTH AFRICA AND NAMIBIA.....	98
6.2.3	TO ASSESS IF WOMEN IN RURAL AREAS IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT HAVE AN IMPACT ON THE OVERALL IMPROVEMENT OF WOMEN IN RURAL AREAS' POLITICAL PARTICIPATION SOUTH AFRICA 2004-2016.....	98

6.3	LIMITATIONS	99
6.4	CONCLUSION	101
6.5	RECOMMENDATIONS AND FURTHER RESEARCH	103
7.	BIBLIOGRAPHY	106

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Exploring the political participation of women in rural areas in post-apartheid societies, a comparative study between Vryburg in South Africa and Mariental in Namibia, 2004-2016.

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Women have historically participated in political activities such as speaking at public meetings and contributing candidates at a lower participation rate than men (Kwabato, 2013). One of the many explanations for this phenomenon is women's under-representation in political institutions, which compromises their sense of political efficacy. The under-representation of women at any level of governance and decision-making results in a democratic deficit: it therefore imperative that local governments strive to involve women in local government, thus contributing to democratic consolidation in post-apartheid societies (International Knowledge Network of Women in Politics, 2018:2).

The patriarchal systems in nations' political systems have for many years curtailed women's political participation in all levels of authority. Kwabato (2013) agrees with Baker (1984) assertion that the constructed system – patriarchy – took away women's human rights, such as women's right to political participation and right of life autonomy.

Kalita (2012:170-174) emphasizes Baker's (1984) argument by adding that it was a global phenomenon that women were subjected to sub-par activities and excluded from politics of the nation, in, for instance, the making of policies and decisions which were taken when waging wars. The decisions were made in the absence of women's perspectives on the matter. Nonetheless, the decisions, directly and indirectly, affected women's social, political, and economic status. The low rate of political participation of women in rural areas is the result of the patriarchal system, norms, and traditions, lack of funding and resources, and a low level of education (Kurebwa, 2016:17-27).

In South Africa and Namibia, women's low rate of political participation resulted from the patriarchal system, how the society is constructed, and the apartheid regime, which governed both South Africa and Namibia. Apartheid was the system of racial and ethnic separation introduced in South Africa in 1948, and later in Namibia in 1966 (Clark & Worger, 2013). Healy-Clancy (2017:1-23) makes an enlightening point, reasoning that apartheid was a

gendered project. The scholar further elaborates that the immediate goal of the white Afrikaner men who led the apartheid state was to control black men; to turn black men from perceived political and criminal threats into compliant workers (Healy-Cleancy 2017: p1-23).

Under apartheid, African men had to travel to work for white people in towns and on mines, but their homes would be in rural ethnic “reserves,” known as “homelands” or “Bantustans.” This vision depended on the labour of African women: while their men migrated to work, women were to maintain their families in the increasingly overcrowded and desolate countryside, reproducing the workforce cheaply while instilling a sense of the ethnic difference in their children (Healy-Cleancy, 2017).

Although black men were subjects in the apartheid regime, apartheid could only successfully work by also controlling women through repressive laws that denied them political, social, and economic freedom. The suppression and oppression were done through the pass laws, the Group Areas Act, and the homeland policy. Apartheid leaders were concerned with black women, as officials saw women as central to creating properly ethnicized and racialized subjects, who would fill their prescribed niches in an economy and polity controlled by white men (Nolde, 1991:1-10; Kgatla, 2013:120-132).

Due to the laws under apartheid, where women’s movements were restricted, they were denied quality education, and their political agency disenfranchised, post-apartheid’s legacy is eminent, particularly in rural areas where women’s political participation is, according to genderlinks (2016), improved but not satisfactory. It is then the premise of this study to explore the political participation of women in rural areas, to compare and draw lessons from both post-apartheid countries.

Schenk (2015) explains that apartheid means separating people or groups according to their race or class. In the last hundred years, the apartheid government passed legislation that formed an ultimately divisive society, one in which the emphasis was always on the differences of people; a social construct which black people were born into, life roles were shaped at birth by the colour of one’s skin and biological sex. Consequently, education, and any achievement (e.g. in sports, jobs, and economic status) were programmed. This applied most effectively to black women, who were disadvantaged in terms of education and political consciousness or participation.

Durako (2000:562-586) asserts that during World Wars One and Two, society was structured so those gender roles were normalized and legalized. Women were subjected to second-class

citizenship, such as in South Africa and Namibia, where both white and black women were marginalized.

White women were granted their right of political participation (the vote) in 1930; this, however, excluded black women who were still marginalized (Walker, 1990). Although black women's movements were restricted by law by forcing them to stay in rural areas, some women rejected this and forcefully moved into urban areas to work.

Governments tend to prioritize a focus on rebuilding and restoring the economy in the immediate aftermath of conflicts, and the efforts are often directed to the rebuilding of infrastructure, essential services, and restoring the nation's economy by creating employment (Hopfer, 1997).

Confirming the above, in these efforts, governments often misunderstand the critical role of an empowered and reconstructed political life for women for the development and growth of the nation. This study focused on and measured political participation, and different themes under political participation were explored. In so doing, the themes under political participation provided clear qualitative data on the participation of South African and Namibian women living in rural areas from 2004 till 2016. These two areas were selected based on the historical fact that they are post-apartheid societies and have been reported to have made strides in SADC local government, with women's representation at 30-40%.

The years 2004-2016 were used to collect data on the factors that contributed to women's political participation in rural areas in post-apartheid South Africa and Namibia. The study used the Northwest Province as its primary source of investigation in South Africa, and the Hardap region for its primary investigation in Namibia. Furthermore, the study explored the factors which account for women's political participation in rural areas and further assessed if their political participation translated to roles in local government. The aspects of political participation that were used in this study are as follows.

- Voting,
- Standing for local elections,
- Protesting.

These aspects were specifically selected as they are fundamental to post-apartheid South African and Namibian democracy, as both countries adopted a democratic system of governance. The aspects form an integral part of human rights which are central to democracy. The presence of elections, the freedom of association, the formation of social movements,

protesting, and voting, were all basic political rights that women did not enjoy during the regime of apartheid. Therefore, to measure the validity of women's political participation in rural areas, it is necessary to use these aspects.

It is noteworthy that participation in electoral processes involves much more than just voting; therefore, it is essential that other aspects of political participation are explored for reliability and to avoid biases. Political participation comprises the freedom of speech, assembly, and association; the ability to take part in the conduct of public affairs; and the opportunity to register as a candidate, and thereby to campaign to be elected and to hold office at all levels of government.

Under international standards, men and women have an equal right to participate fully in all political processes (House, 2014). In practice, however, it is often more challenging for women to exercise this right. In post-conflict countries, there are frequently extra barriers to women's participation, and special care is required to ensure their rights are respected in this regard (Falch, 2010; Sorensen, 1998).

As observed by Caul (1999:79-98), political parties are among the most important institutions affecting women's political participation. This is owing to the system that allows parties to determine which candidates are nominated and elected and which issues achieve national prominence (Matland, 2005:93-111). Therefore, the role of women in political parties is a key determinant of their prospects for political empowerment, particularly at the local level. This is because political parties are excellent avenues of influence in shaping women's political prospects. Governments and international organizations seeking to advance the participation of women in elections justifiably tend to focus on the role of political parties (Cornwall & Goetz, 2005).

Political participation extends beyond parties, Women can also be involved in certain aspects of the electoral process through independent action, particularly at the local level, and by joining civil society organizations (Lere & Dantong, 2015:73-80; Belloni, 2008:182-210). According to Mungai (2014), some women in post-independence countries have gained political experience by participating in non-elected transitional assemblies, women's networks, trade unions, non-governmental organizations, and the media. These can all provide avenues for women's political participation (Rule, 1987).

Voting is a crucial aspect of political participation, typically in democracies. It is a form of political participation whereby the citizens of a state influence the political economy, and the internal and external affairs of a country. In not so many words, Nurmi (2010) challenges the above idea by asserting that voting is not a sufficient condition for democratic governance. Voting is resorted to in a wide variety of contexts: political elections, decision-making in multi-member bodies, electing the best entries in song contests, determining the winners in figure-skating, issuing verdicts, electing officers to various positions in public organizations, etc. (Parry, Moyser & Day, 1992).

This study uses case studies to draw synergies that can contribute both to the countries respectively, and to world politics, within the field of International Relations. Investigating South Africa and Namibia as case studies requires ample time and reliable resources. Therefore, the study did not take a holistic view but rather investigated rural areas in both countries and chose rural provinces/regions, focusing on the local governments of Vryburg (South Africa) and Mariental (Namibia). StatsSA (2011) and IISGIS (2017) have classified rural areas according to the following characteristics namely.

- a) Low education rate,**
- b) Agriculture as the main economy,**
- c) Slow technological progress, and**
- d) Low infrastructure.**

The study focuses on political participation to measure women's political participation and explain the dynamics of women in rural areas' political participation in post-apartheid South Africa and Namibia.

1.2 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

Bongekile (2016) asserts that during the apartheid era, black women were forced into rural areas to live off the land, without opportunities and choices to allow them to build decent lives for themselves. After many decades of apartheid, South Africa finally became a democratic country in 1994 (Malinga, 2016). However, the effect of the legacies of the apartheid system on South African women are evident, particularly women who reside in rural areas with low access to quality education, a low employment rate, and low representation in decision-making structures. A political system such as the apartheid system destabilizes a nation's growth; hence the consequences are more predominant for women in rural areas (Myeni, 2012).

According to Comaroff (1985), urban white women in South Africa and Namibia were politically more privileged than black women, both rural and semi-urban. Several types of discrimination confronted black women in South Africa and Namibia. Firstly, they were oppressed by the apartheid government due to being darker in skin colour, and secondly, because they were biologically female.

Black women, particularly those in rural places and townships were forced to live under suppressive laws that deprived them of their political freedom, a better social life, and better economic opportunities. "Black women experienced the humiliation of the past, the lack of choice of where to live under both the Group Areas Act and the homelands policy of the apartheid state. They were treated unfairly by white employers and faced a future without any political representation" (Nelson Mandela Foundation, 2018). Scholars describe how women's political participation was suppressed by government laws.

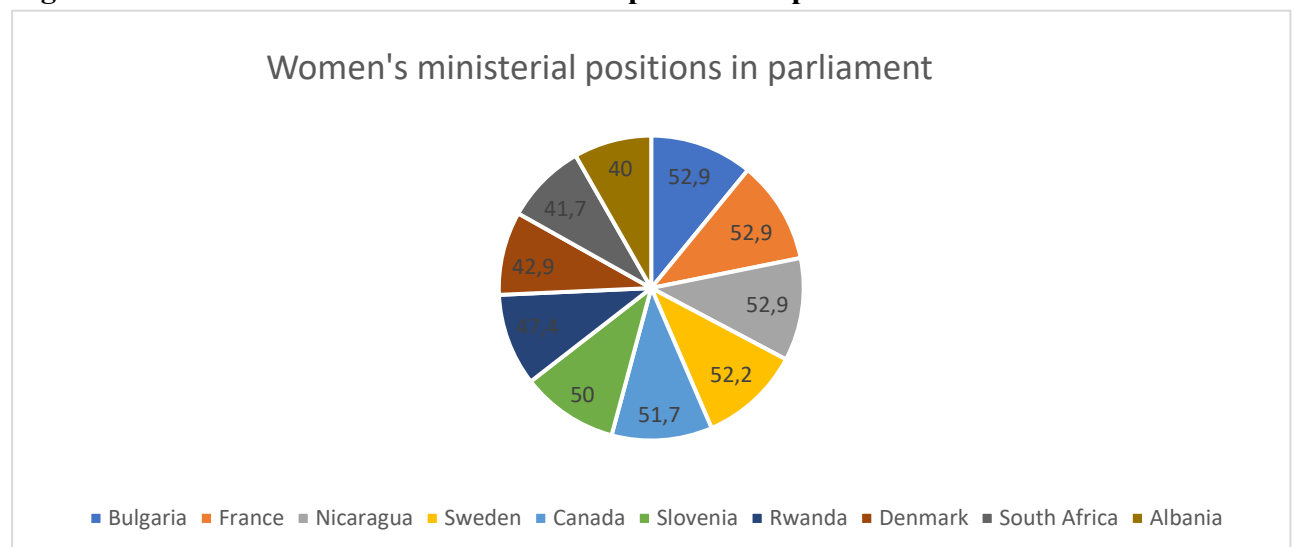
South African and Namibian black women dealt with a triple struggle: patriarchy, capitalism, and apartheid (levy, 2013). Women in rural areas were more exposed to the brunt of being black and female in these countries; their lives were intensely shaped by the social construct which is deeply patriarchal, and it is a religious support system that fuels the drive of patriarchy and capitalism, where women are exploited and suppressed by being told to be submissive, as the Bible states, and made to work in urban areas but at an exploitative rate (Philip, 1991; levy, 2013).

Philip (1991) explains that after the politically sanctioned racial segregation election of 1948, the administration ordered a progression of laws to execute the politically-sanctioned racial segregation framework, the Group Areas Act (1950) and the Pass Laws Act (1952), which

controlled residency and the movement of black South Africans and Namibians. In 1950 the administration suggested alterations to the Urban Areas Act (1923), outlined mainly to keep black women from living in urban areas and townships. This was a deliberate crippling act against black women to keep them in rural areas with a lack of education, infrastructure, and a good social life. South African women in rural areas were not politically active due to patriarchy and racism, which forcefully suppressed them and denied them an improved life (Alexandra, 2004).

South Africa and Namibia form part of the countries which have had a significant change in the politics of women. Some of these countries include Bulgaria after the Cold War, France post-civil war, Sweden, and Canada post-Cold War. In 2017, the World Economic Forum ranked the top ten countries where women's political involvement scores in ministerial positions principally. The ranking was made up of the following indicators: (a) Females with seats in parliament over males, (b) Females at a ministerial level over males, (c).Number of years with a female head of state (in the last 50 years) over males (Genderlinks, 2016).

Figure 1: International Women's ministerial positions in parliament.



Source: (World Economic Forum, 2018)

Although South Africa and Namibia have made good quantifiable progress in positioning women in ministerial positions, women's progress in rural areas lags. Apartheid was a racial system that segregated people politically, economically, and socially. It was a system of power in which the oppressor had the upper hand in making repressive laws. This was between black and white people, where white people were in the position of power.

The apartheid regime was the government system in South Africa and later in Namibia post-World War I. The British took over the Cape Colony in 1806. Many Dutch settlers resented this imposition of alien rule, the enforced usage of English as the official language, and the British attitude to Africans and Coloureds was somewhat better than how the Dutch settlers had previously treated Africans (Beck, 2000; Davenport & Saunders, 2000).

Mhlauli (2015) claims that the Dutch settlers were horrified by the British and their government when in 1812 the British set up the 'Black Circuit' court, which dealt with complaints by servants and slaves against their white masters. The defining point in history came in 1834, when slaves in Southern Africa, as in the rest of the British Empire, were set free. Slavery was a fundamental part of the Dutch settler society and this action seemed to be an attempt to undermine the life they had built for themselves (Dooling, 2008). However, it was part of their tradition to make journeys or treks in search of new land, and this is what they did in 1837. This trek is known as the Great Trek (Krantz, 2008:1-11).

During the colonial period, the Namibian population was stratified into three racial groups – blacks, whites, and "coloureds," which was a colonially-created category for mixed-race persons who fell between blacks and whites in matters such as educational and economic opportunities (Szeftel & Williams, 1984). At the same time, as a divide-and-rule tactic, eleven different "population groups," identified by the colonial authorities, were assigned different second tier governing bodies, with the black groups being relegated to separate geographical homelands (Hubbard & Solomon, 2018:136-186; Ottaway 2010).

Namibia's rich cultural variety was thus made the basis for profound political and economic discrimination, the effects of which are proving difficult to eradicate in the post-apartheid era (Akuupa & Komes, 2013:34-46). Due to this history, sexual oppression has been and is still heavily intertwined with racial and socioeconomic differences.

Independence has given rise to a new black elite that shares more common interests with middle-class whites than black members of the working class, thus blurring racial differences amongst the privileged classes (Namhila, 2015). Be that as it may, women's movements remain divided by race and class distinctions, which overlap with a considerable degree of political fragmentation. Namibia became a sovereign nation on 21 March 1990,

following a 23-year struggle to achieve freedom from South African rule, which was the apartheid system (Soiri, 1996).

1.3 OPERATIONAL CONCEPTS IN THE STUDY

1.3.1 DEFINITION OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Scholars define political participation in different ways, but the concept is fundamental to the field of political science. It may be defined as the actions of citizens seeking to influence or support government and politics (Muller, 1977:63-86; Van Deth, 2001:6-11). Political participation can be understood in terms of the kinds of tools or actions included; this refers to the type of political participation including voting, extremism, petitioning, standing for elections, or using social media to spread one's agenda (Ekman & Amna, 2012:283-300; Muller, 1977:63-86).

Participation is an important aspect of every state, regardless of size. It is John Locke who advocated for ordinary citizens' political participation in his book 'Two Treaties on Civil Government' (1680). Heeding John Locke's social contract, when the government fails to secure the people's natural rights or satisfy the best interests of society (called the "general will" by Rousseau), in addition to withdrawing their obligations to obey, citizens can also change leadership through elections or other methods. The statement alludes to political participation where the people can influence policy that caters to their interests.

It is imperative to investigate then the whys and wherefores of the political participation of women in rural areas. Do these women fathom the importance of their participation? Are they aware of their power in demonstrating and protesting by doing minute things but which are powerful in impact? These are necessary probes into understanding the dynamics in rural women's politics to invent suitable empowering programmes to address the issues. Consequently, out of negligence or exclusion, those who fail to participate are likely to enjoy less influence than others. Participation appears to be a complex phenomenon that depends on many variables of different comparative multitudes (McClosky, 1968:253ff). There are different aspects or methods of political participation, and they are as follows:

Figure 2. Formal and informal methods of political participation.

Formal	Informal
▪ Membership in political parties and groups and active involvement therein.	▪ Filing a lawsuit

▪ Personal contacting (politicians, civil servants, lawyers, associations, media, and corporate actors, friends of officials).	▪ Consumer boycotts
▪ Seeking help from acquaintances in Government or from persons with influence on officials.	▪ Wearing of buttons, t-shirts, etc. that market a political cause.
▪ Organizing a group	▪ Civil disobedience or riots
▪ Signing of petitions ▪ Demonstrations and strikes	▪ Standing for elections at the national, provincial, and local levels.
▪ Involvement with internet political chat sites	▪ Writing of letters to political actors or newspapers
▪ Voting	▪ Culture jamming

Source: Petersson *et al.* (1998:55).

Although the table includes political participation methods which are prevalent in developed democracies, women in rural areas can also use the methods but have limited resources and physical support from both men and women. Kuberwa (2016) states that the misconceptions of women in politics in rural areas are perpetuated by tradition and culture, which is patriarchal.

1.3.2 LOCAL GOVERNMENT AS A CONCEPT

The existence of local government has continuously been defended because it is a crucial aspect of the process of democratization and strengthening of mass participation in the decision-making process (Valenzuela, 1977). Local government is necessary to communicate directly to the masses, mainly in a democracy, in order for a political system to be considered complete and democratic. Direct representatives can be used at the local level for the inclusion of the public.

Cumbie and Kar (2016:15-35) explain that local governments serve two purposes. It is administrative: it provides goods and services; and it represents and engages the citizens in determining what local public needs are and how those needs can be met by local government. Moreover, local representative government encompasses and interconnects local representatives and local administrators within local governments for the benefit of communities (Beetham, 1996:28-49). Consequently, most basic services are delivered by local

municipalities. and local councillors serve as the most accessible politicians within communities.

1.3.3 SOUTH AFRICAN LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Citizens are entitled to certain rights and obligations as well as certain government services which are regulated by the government. The government carries these out by collecting revenue from taxes and uses this money to provide services and infrastructure that improves all the people's lives, particularly the poor (Beetham, 1996:28-49). However, local governments in South Africa receive a budget from the provincial government, and the Constitution of South Africa sets the rules for how government works (Local Government Gazette, 2017). There are three spheres of government in South Africa:

- a) National government
- b) Provincial government
- c) Local government

The whole of South Africa is divided into local municipalities, which are supported by the Constitution for growing local economies and providing infrastructure and services. Each municipality has a council where decisions are made; hence the local institution remains a vital government avenue for women's involvement in political processes which affect their daily lives. The council comprises members elected through regular local government elections. The members are responsible for the approval of policies and by-laws (regulation made by the local authority) for their area (Local Government: Municipal Structures Act 117 of 1998).

As stipulated in the guideline document on the roles and responsibilities of councillors, political structures, and officials by SALGA (2011), the work of the council is coordinated by a mayor who is elected by the council. The mayor is assisted by an executive or mayoral committee made up of councillors. The mayor, together with the executive, also oversees the work of the municipal manager and department heads. The work of the municipality is done by the municipal administration, that is, the municipal manager and other official heads (Atkison 2001:53-77; Salga, 2011).

In areas that fall outside of the six metropolitans, municipal areas are divided into local municipalities. There is a total of 231 of these local municipalities and each municipality is broken into wards. A ward councillor represents the residents in each ward. Half the councillors

are elected through a proportional representation ballot, where voters vote for a party. The other half are elected as ward councillors by the residents in each ward (Visser, 2009:7-25).

1.3.4 NAMIBIAN LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Like South Africa, Namibia is a unitary democratic republic with three spheres of government:

- a) National government
- b) Regional government
- c) Local government

Local government is enshrined in Chapter 12 of the Constitution, and the main governing legislation consists of the Local Authorities Act of 1992. There are 14 regional councils and 57 unitary local authorities. Local authorities are empowered to levy local taxes. The municipal councils are subdivided into three ‘Part I’ municipalities (cities) and 15 ‘Part II’ municipalities (Country Profile, 2017).

- **Unitary local authorities:**

Part I and Part II municipal, town, and village councils: The only sub-committee required for unitary local authorities is the management committee, which reports to the full council (Baumgarten 2007:9). The management committee is the executive arm of the council; it comprises the mayor and deputy mayor plus three, four, or five other councillors, according to the size of the council. In all cases, the executive constitutes much of the full council plus mayor and deputy mayor as ex-officio members (Local Authorities Act 23, 1992).

The council may from time to time establish such committees as it deems necessary to advise it on the exercise of any of its powers. Non-executive mayors are indirectly elected annually from and by the council. At the first meeting of the council, nominations are received from councillors for the position of mayor, followed by elections. Although the mayors are political leaders of their councils, they are ceremonial in the sense that they do not have executive powers. The executive powers reside in the council as a collective body.

1.4 PROBLEM STATEMENT

Although women’s political participation post-apartheid has been largely written about, that of women in rural areas is not extensively explored in the literature. Consequently, factors that contribute to women’s political participation have not been broadly written in the existing literature. Moreover, both the AU and SADC, which exist to serve as guardians of the continent

and region respectively, have ineffectively addressed women in rural areas regarding their participation in politics and the decision-making process.

The method of sensitization is often top to bottom, meaning women in urban and semi-urban areas are the first beneficiaries of policies and protocols aimed at development and empowerment. Women's political participation in rural areas is of importance for democracy and good governance. Women's rights are human rights; however, governments tend to focus on the national level with regards to empowering and encouraging political participation of women in rural areas.

Gender and feminist scholars have established that women's political participation in rural areas is of urgency. Despite this fact, less focus has been given to the improvement and empowerment of women in rural areas to participate politically. Often political parties rely on rural women's uninformed vote during elections; hence promises on policies towards improving women and girls, and a better standard of living are seldom carried through.

The "uninformed" is due to women's low access to education, the patriarchal culture, and traditions in rural areas. Although the post-apartheid government has talked about the women empowerment rhetoric, these efforts have not translated to agency for women in rural areas.

UN Women (2016) suggests that in general, more female representation in parliament contributes to concentrated attention on women's issues. Namibian women hold 40% of the seats in the National Assembly. Similarly, in South Africa, women hold 41% percent of political positions in the National Assembly in Parliament. Nonetheless, their political participation is curtailed by numerous factors, with patriarchy being prominent. Furthermore, the grievances of women in rural areas are not being addressed with urgency (GenderLinks, 2016).

1.5 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

This study aims to explore the political participation of women in rural areas in post-apartheid societies. The study aims to investigate women's political participation in rural areas in Vryburg and Mariental Rural from the years 2004 to 2016.

The objectives of this study are to;

- Investigate the factors contributing to women's political participation in rural areas in Vryburg, South Africa, and Mariental Rural, Namibia from 2004 to 2016.
- To assess if women's political participation in rural areas translates to a role in local government in Vryburg and Mariental Rural, 2004-2016.
- To assess if women in these rural areas in local government impact the overall improvement of women's political participation in rural areas 2004-2016.

1.6 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The research questions were as follows;

- a) What factors account for women in rural areas' political participation in Vryburg and Mariental Rural from 2004 to 2016?
- b) Does women's political participation in rural areas translate to roles in local government from the years 2004-2016?
- c) Do women in rural areas who have roles in local government have an impact on the overall improvement of women's political participation?

1.7 THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The significance of the research is to explore the factors which contributed to the political participation of women in rural areas and examine the role politically active women in rural areas play in improving political participation in post-apartheid societies in Vryburg, South Africa, and Mariental Rural, Namibia. Moreover, to draw synergies from both areas to draw lessons from each country, inform policies and contribute to the literature on international relations.

This study explores the political participation of women in rural areas in post-apartheid societies, thus making it important because this area is not intensely researched. This study is critical because it also reveals the gender gap and highlights the need for women's inclusion, specifically rural women, in local government and decision-making processes. Women in rural

areas are most often overlooked; consequently, there is not much literature written about them. These women are hardly afforded political opportunities even though they have played a role in shaping current politics through their political participation. Therefore, it is crucial to explore rural women's political involvement in post-apartheid societies. This will help the government to create an inclusive political opportunity.

Moreover, this study contributes to the literature on feminism in International Relations. The study supports the perspective of feminists regarding the value of women. The political participation of rural women is equally important as that of men. Rural women's experiences also play a role in shaping politics. They are just as valuable actors in the international arena as men are. Women's voices need to be represented both in local politics and international politics, and emphasize the societal right to employment, more so in the political sphere.

Lastly, this research is a comparative study, thus it shows that gender inequality in the political sphere is not a country-specific problem but rather a regional and global problem. Therefore, this study not only plays an important role in South Africa (Vryburg) and Namibia (Mariental Rural) but also in Africa and the world. Moreover, the study was able to draw synergies from both countries to draw lessons from each country and inform policies as well as to contribute to international relations literature. Finally, the study will also provide solutions how the political participation of rural women or overlooked women can be taken into consideration to bridge the gender gap.

1.8 THE SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The definition of rural is not homogenous, particularly in developing countries. According to Medani (2016), the distinguishing features of an urban locality, as defined by the UN and international experts, are a distinct population cluster, inhabitants living in neighbouring quarters, and it has a name or a locally recognized status.

The characteristics of rural areas are 1. the low density of population 2. agriculture is the main economy of the area 3. social stratification, referring to the society divided into various strata based on caste, and 4. the education level is low (Census SA, 2011). The research setting in South Africa is the North West province and in Namibia is the Hardap region. The areas had several instances where women confronted the apartheid regime through demonstrations such

as boycotting, protesting, forming political movements within their communities, and affiliating with political parties.

1.9 VARIABLE: WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

It is a global issue that women's political participation is circumscribed. Women are under-represented in leadership positions, in key and influential party positions, and elected office, the civil service, the private sector, or academia. Despite the proven abilities to lead as agents of change, the patriarchal systems deny them the opportunity and right to participate alike in democratic governance (UN Women, 2018).

The significance of focusing on political participation and its aspects in post-apartheid reconstruction involves women's political activeness; therefore, women's political participation in rural areas is of significant inquiry.

1.10 CHAPTER OUTLINE.

The study consists of six chapters, and they are structured as follows;

Chapter one: Study Orientation. Chapter one is an introductory chapter to the research project. It introduces the subject matter, states the problem statement (which is the rationale behind the conduct of the study), provides the aim of the study and the objectives, and the research questions.

Chapter two: Literature Review and Theoretical Framework. This chapter provides the existing literature and the theory related to the study, which the researcher has read and reviewed. The literature review shows the extent of what has been written regarding the subject matter and the loopholes in the literature that will be addressed in the analysis of this research. In addition, the theory selected for the study helps to shape and guide the study from a theoretical perspective.

Chapter three: Research Methodology. This chapter covers the methods used to collect and analyse data. These methods are explained step by step to provide a clear picture of how the researcher collected her data including the research design, research methods, sampling, and methods of analysis.

Chapter four: Data Analysis, Interpretation, and Presentation. The chapter provides data that was logically collected by the researcher. This data is interpreted and presented by the researcher. Chapter four focuses on the first research objective. The following chapter is a continuation of objectives 2 and 3.

Chapter five: This chapter will focus on continuation of data analysis.

Chapter six: Summary of Findings, Recommendations for Further Research, and Conclusion. Chapter six is the last chapter of the study. It provides a summary of findings based on each research objective and it provides recommendations for future research and the study conclusion.

The study consists of six chapters. In the following chapters, the study provides a literature review. The review considers different scholars and authors who have debated the issues of women in rural areas, including their political participation in local government, and how women have been included in local government with or without urgency. Chapter three provides a clear flow and understanding of the study's methodology. Chapter four presents both primary and secondary data collected for interpretation and analysis. Chapter six will conclude the study by providing findings of the study and recommendations for a conclusive and reliable study.

1.11 CONCLUSION

Women's political participation is a necessity and relevant conversation that needs thorough scholarly attention. Grouping women into one category is dangerous and not progressive. Although women live in communities and face similar challenges, their individual political experiences are shaped by their residence area, culture, education, and political views. Therefore, conducting political participation studies post-apartheid and mainly focusing on women in urban areas to the exclusion of rural areas is futile, as women have different experiences.

The purpose of this chapter was to provide an overall understanding of the study as well as to guide the reader to follow a chronological flow into the study of women in rural areas' political participation. The following chapter focuses on exploring theories and literature which speak to the subject matter.

1. CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of previous research on knowledge of the subject matter, which investigates the political participation of women in rural areas. This section will provide reliable and valid reviewed literature. Moreover, terms and concepts will be fully explained. The literature review will provide the reader with an understanding of the topic and ideas relating to the thesis.

The chapter introduces the framework for the case studies that comprise the research's focus described in this thesis. The research will follow social constructivism theory to frame the research questions, the problem statement, and support findings and solutions. It is imperative that the purpose of literature review and theoretical framework are both equally understood; therefore, in this chapter, they will be explained:

2.2 Significance of gender analysis in the context of rural politics

It has been argued that rural women's political participation has been overlooked, not only by newly democratic governments but also by long-serving democratic governments in the developed North (Ridge, 2016:17-18). Scholars of political science have also overlooked small communities and gender dynamics; smaller communities are rarely studied regarding the literature of women in African politics, although these make up most populations in rural areas. The absence of studies on gender in a rural context is chiefly challenging since there are many differences between rural and non-rural populations.

For post-apartheid societies, these differences have a major gendered impact on the politics of access to resources and opportunities, because apartheid was a gendered policy as understood by Healy-Cleancy (2016). These differences, when narrowed down, impact the gender dynamics on who can stand for elections, who can protest, why they protest, who can vote, who do they vote for, and what their behaviour is post-elections. Access to education, the illiteracy rate, resources, and equal opportunities influence these behaviours; hence political parties often exploit rural population voters (Larreguy *et al.*, 2015).

Most of the studies on gender and elected officials in American politics focus on state legislatures, and to a lesser extent, Congress (Smith, 2012). This is like Africa, even though women make up most settlements in rural areas.

Most studies on women's participation are focused mainly on urban areas, and on national and provincial governments, thus leaving the most vulnerable behind in the process to develop.

A gender-based analysis makes visible the differing roles and opportunities open to women, men, and children within a family, a community, and the societal structure. It allows for a deeper understanding of the division of responsibilities and benefits and permits the identification of who has control of and access to social goods (Status of Women, Canada 1998; WHO, 2002).

Through such analyses, efforts to redress gender-based inequalities constitute much of the impetus behind women's empowerment initiatives in political and other spheres. Bringing to the fore assertions of gender as an issue of power relations, women's empowerment involves the right to enjoy full and meaningful membership in all levels of society, access to resources, and recognized agency in decision-making processes, and in social progress (CEDAW, 2002; ICRW 2003; Sen *et al.*, 1994)

2.3 The concept of literature review

The basic concept of a literature review refers to how existing information on the topic is consulted to form or substantiate a research topic. The purpose of a literature review is to understand the existing research and debates relevant to a particular topic or area of study, and present that knowledge in the form of a written report/thesis (Kothari, 1990) (Jane Webster, 2002).

Due to the inadequate existing literature on the political participation of women in rural areas, the study will draw parts of the literature review from a holistic view, providing an in-depth understanding of the subject matter by drawing from both countries' national-level literature. Women's political participation in rural areas has been overlooked and exploited by political parties since South Africa and Namibia gained independence from the apartheid regime (Geisler, 2004). Although there is unsatisfactory literature on the subject matter for revision and reference, the validation and reliability of the study will be drawn from primary sources of data collection.

2.3.1 VIOLENT INJUSTICES' INFLUENCE ON WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND REPRESENTATION; POLITICAL PSYCHOLOGY.

The study of politics is broad and expands into psychology, creating a sub-sub-field study of political psychology, which is the study of psychological processes that shape the political behaviours of individuals and groups. It also studies how individuals and groups react to political events and processes and how these events influence the psychological set-up of individuals and groups (Sasley, 2016). Sasley (2016) agree with Stone and Schaffner (2012) by asserting that “Political psychology is the science of political experience, the political behavior and the political interaction of individuals and groups.”

With the above being said, exploring factors that influence women's political choices has been of interest to political psychology scholars such as Tavits and Hadzic (2019). They argue that women's exposure to wartime violence tends to supply post-war societies with high participation and representation of women in politics. This idea is supported by Acemoglu *et al.* (2004), who claim that civil conflicts afford women the opportunity to expand their political participation and representation. They further argue that during a war, women take up new responsibilities and roles that men reputedly dominated previously.

This is a consequence of men serving as soldiers and, in many cases, dying in combat. The Rwandan post-genocide society is a prime example of high political participation and representation of women in the political space post-war. Studies have shown that the social construction of gender roles has the proclivity to evolve in post-war societies, producing women-headed households, and women entering the labour force to have an income, so they can support themselves and their families (Gilligan *et al.*, 2014).

Another concrete example is Liberian women, who contributed to ending the second civil war, producing Africa's first female president. These events prove the hypotheses that states that individuals who experience violent wars tend to participate in community forums and take up leadership positions to either revolutionize the status quo or to protect it from those in opposition (Miguel, 2009; Blattman, 2009; Voors *et al.*, 2012).

Ultimately, this political consciousness can be associated with post-traumatic growth, which is a psychological diagnosis resulting from experiences with violence, influencing individuals to take responsibility for their lives (Blattman, 2009).

This phenomenon can be seen in Frantz Fanon's account of the dynamics of World War II, where his fear of white men disappeared when he saw how they too were human, when bullets killed them just as they would black people (Fanon, 1963).

2.3.2 SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY PROTOCOL ON GENDER DEVELOPMENT AND ITS LIMITATION AT THE LOCAL LEVEL.

In August 2008, at its 28th summit, heads of state and government adopted the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development in Johannesburg, South Africa. The inception of the Protocol is based on measures to empower women, eliminate gender discrimination, and attain gender equality and equity through the implementation of gender-responsive legislation, policies, and programmes. Consequently, various declarations have been applied to address the need to transform and advance women's basic rights, and their political, social, and economic status in Africa. In August 2007, the Southern African Development Community (SADC) Declaration on Gender and Development restated a minimum sex quota at 50% for women's representation in parliament.

Southern African Development Community (SADC) member states actively work towards equal representation of all sexes in politics and decision-making positions. Several countries, including South Africa and Namibia, have on average more than 30% female representation in local governments. In Lesotho, women occupy 58% of local government positions. Article 12 of the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development (2008) requires that, by 2015, women should occupy at least 50% of decision-making positions in public and private sectors.

Article 13 of the Protocol on Gender and Development further specifies aims for women's participation empowerment, which include:

- i. *"States Parties shall adopt specific legislative measures and other strategies to enable women to have equal opportunities with men to participate in all electoral processes including the administration of elections and voting.*
- ii. *States Parties shall ensure the equal participation of women and men in decision making by putting in place policies, strategies, and programs for (a) building the capacity of women to participate effectively through leadership and gender sensitivity training and mentoring; (b) providing support structures for women in decision-making*

positions; (c) the establishment and strengthening of structures to enhance gender mainstreaming; and (d) changing discriminatory attitudes and norms of decision making structures and procedures.

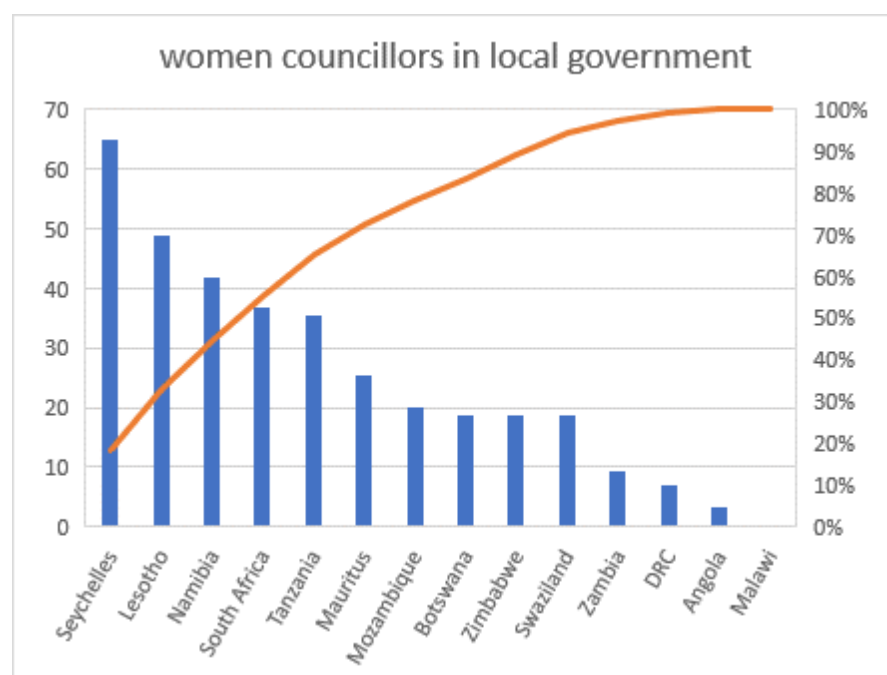
- iii. *States Parties shall ensure the inclusion of men in all gender-related activities, including gender training and community mobilization.”*

(SADC Protocol on Gender and Development, 2008:10)

Although the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development outlined goals which SADC governments should follow, in 2016, only 6 SADC countries had above 20% representation of women in local government (SADC Gender and Development Monitor, 2016). The political participation of women in rural areas has equally been overlooked by SADC and AU, as it has by scholars of women in politics studies. Much of the work has been dedicated to either urban women in politics or rural women's participation in the agricultural sector, thus minimising efforts to achieve a balanced gender participation in local government.

The participation of women in local politics is an essential avenue for feminist progress to an equal society. Decentralization of government allows women to realize their human rights in the form of political activism by articulating their group interests. According to the SADC Gender Monitor Report of 2013, women constitute most of the population in the region. The report explains trends in local government by demonstrating that the Seychelles has the highest female representation in local government. It further shows that Lesotho had the highest proportion of women elected to rural councils, but representation of women in urban councils in both Namibia and South Africa was only 40%.

Figure 3. Women Councillors who were elected in SADC Member states in 2012.



Source: SADC Gender Monitor, 2013

2.3.3 AFRICAN UNION MECHANISM TO FOSTER GENDER MAINSTREAMING AND ENSURE WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND REPRESENTATION.

UN frameworks and instruments have informed the AU's approach to advancing women's rights and gender equality. The commitment to the achievement of gender equality can be traced to the 1948 UN Charter and the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, which states that rights and freedoms will not be limited by a person's gender and establishes that all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights.

The AU is composed of 53 member states and seven regional economic communities (RECs) representing Africa's sub-regions, as well as key programmes and instruments, such as NEPAD and the APRM, all of which reflect the commitment of Africa's leaders to gender equality.

The African Union adopted the Gender Policy and Action Plan in 2009 and 2010 respectively. The Gender Policy provides the basis for the elimination of barriers to gender equality. It fosters the reorientation of existing institutions by making use of gender-disaggregated data and performance indicators. It also establishes measures to hold managers accountable for policy implementation.

The Assembly of Heads of State and Government is the supreme organ of the AU, and one of its functions is to determine the sanctions to be imposed on any member state for non-compliance with the Union's decisions.

The policy commitments target eight areas. One of the commitments is creating an enabling and stable environment to ensure that all political declarations and decisions are geared towards eliminating persistent barriers that militate against gender equality and women's empowerment.

2.3.4 AU AND SADC LIMITATIONS ON WOMEN IN RURAL AREAS' POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

The SADC Protocol provides a general guideline on the empowerment of women in politics. This, however, contributes to the slow progress of political participation of women in rural areas, because the top-bottom approach which government and regional organizations implement in communities tends to benefit urban women more than it does women in rural areas.

Like SADC, the AU, and the UN's Sustainable Development Goals, Agenda 2030 falls short of addressing the involvement of women in rural areas in politics and decision-making processes. Nonetheless, the UN SDGs have made provisions to tackle participation and representation at the local level through gender parity quotas.

SADC's Gender Policy, under gender, governance, representation, and participation, states that the organization shall increase and improve the representation of women in all structures of government at the national and regional level. This mission overlooks the urgency of addressing challenges at the local level.

The AU Gender Policy is guided by the values and principles stipulated in the AU's Constitutive Act and the commitments of its Organs, Member States, and Regional Economic Communities (RECs). The overall goal of the Policy is to achieve gender equity and equality as well as women's empowerment in Africa in the home, community, public and private life. Although women living in rural areas must equally contribute to economic growth, play a role in achieving food and nutritional security, their political participation is equally important, and member states must insist on changing the language and the focus. The aim should then be to empower the overall wellbeing of women in rural areas.

2.3.5 FORCES INFLUENCING WOMEN'S INVOLVEMENT IN POLITICS.

Although the involvement of women in politics using the Western-based political structures started with colonialism, studies indicate that women were involved in politics in one form or another during the pre-colonial era. The participation of women in rural areas in politics differs throughout the world; yet research consistently shows that in many parts, women still linger on the fringes of the political realm (Chen *et al.*, 2005; Malhotra, 2003; Uphoff, 2003; Wieringa, 1994).

In most parts of the world, such as Brazil, India, South Africa, Ghana, and Namibia, women's political participation in government structures is hampered by socio-historic dynamics inherited from separatist movements, patriarchal social policies, and the inherently gendered citizenship of states.

This, however, is not unique to national government structures but is equally present in local governments, although at a higher level than that at national. Political participation has been defined as a citizen's active involvement with public institutions, including voting, candidacy, campaigning, occupying the political office, and/or lobbying individually or through membership in a group (Arora, 1999; Gleason, 2001).

Women in urban areas are influenced by, amongst others, governments' commitment to women empowerment through initiatives aimed at encouraging women to partake in politics, such as gender quotas, which outline gender balances in parliament.

2.3.6 OVERVIEW OF RURAL WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN LOCAL GOVERNANCE.

The United Nation's Women's Report in 2015 argued for women in rural areas to have political participation, hence the amendment of the 1325 resolution, which emphasizes the importance of rural women's political participation and representation (UNW, 2015).

The report further elaborates on how the participation of women in local governance can be enhanced. This can be done in all three essential areas: as voters, policymakers, and as members of decision-making bodies. Kabwato (2013) suggests a need for policies that involve empowering local authorities and communities to develop strategies that combine the empowerment of communities and rural women.

To identify the needs of the community and best promote social and economic development, local authorities need the input of their constituents to be able to best identify those areas that need addressing. The representation and participation of women in local governance are directly linked to women's advancement and are a basic requirement in the journey towards gender equality.

To ensure that the decisions that affect women's lives are taken seriously, women should not be passive bystanders in their development but should be proactively involved to ensure that the socio-economic patterns that marginalize and keep them dependent are changed (Hopfer, 1997:43-59).

On the contrary, Abakah (2018:1) avers that although there is unsatisfactory research output on women's political participation in rural areas, statistics are showing that African countries have some of the most progressive countries in the world. This is because these countries have the highest number of women representatives in national parliaments and they have political participation through voting and standing for election.

Although women form 23.6% of parliamentarians in sub-Saharan African countries, women in rural areas face challenges regarding serving and participating in local government. The issue with Abakah's assertions (2017:1) and findings is the very subject matter of this study – the need to investigate the political participation of women in rural areas. Indeed, women at the national level are represented, with Rwanda leading with a world record of 64% female parliamentary representation. However, the focal issue is that women at the local level in rural areas have far more challenges with representation and participation (Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), 2018).

Namibia, South Africa, and Senegal have more than 40% of parliamentary seats held by women. Nonetheless, these remarkable achievements have contributed little to the political participation of women in rural areas, because at the local level, the participation of women is yet to match that of the national level.

At the local level, the presence of women is yet to be felt in representation and other decision-making roles (O'Neil, 2015). While men continue to wield decision-making power within the local governance space, women's participation within the same governance activities has been

argued as impotent. Participation is proffered to women, yet they are restricted in power and voice to influence decisions regarding those activities.

Women in rural areas are constrained to voting in the electoral process and providing services as labour during community implementation projects, without being recruited into essential decision-making roles.

2.3.7 SOUTH AFRICAN AND NAMIBIAN WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION DURING THE ANTI-APARTHEID STRUGGLE.

African men had been required to always carry their *dompas* for decades; in the 1950s, the apartheid administration-imposed pass laws on African women. African women were not permitted to live in towns and were forced to live in rural and informal settlements, unless they had permission to be employed in urban areas. Extending the pass laws made it more difficult for women without an occupation to take their children and join their spouses in the same urban areas where the spouses and fathers worked (Abrahams, 2000).

Across the country, many challenges against pass laws for African women occurred before the Federation of South African Women (framed in 1955) and the African National Congress Women's League mobilized a massive protest in Pretoria. These events are among the first instances of African women's political participation (Landsberg & Mackay, 2006).

In these instances, African women displayed their political participation through demonstrations which later contributed to women's enfranchisement. Nonetheless, this was particularly an achievement for white women in South Africa. Though women's demonstrations in urban areas were planned through various women's movements, in rural areas demonstrations were unstructured and spontaneous.

According to Healy-Clancy (2017), the government considered women's political participation as the work of external influences. This assertion contributes to the questionable progress of women in rural areas; the narrative that women are homogenous and placing them in one area would slow down natural human development.

Malinga (2016) disputes the assertions by Healy-Clancy (2017), by stating that the women were acting on their own initiative and according to their understanding of how the extension

of the pass laws would affect their lives. He further emphasizes that while women who worked in urban areas brought home new tactics, insights, and information when they returned to the reserves, they were contributing to a momentum that had already gathered on its own there. The women in rural Zeerust joined the resistance; their demonstrations started peacefully but eventually spiralled into violence.

The women revolted for their own reasons also; for the rights of the family, for the traditional authorities and their husbands, as the administration had decided for the women without asking their husbands' opinions. While it could be said that the women's motives began rather conservatively, the course of events helped to radicalize them (Nolde, 1991). In the Western Cape, women formed the Cape Town Women's Food Committees which had associations with South African trade unions and the CPSA (Communist Party of South Africa). These women would demonstrate their grievances about insufficient food supplies; they did this outside Parliament.

Correspondingly, in Johannesburg, women established the People's Food Council in 1943 in an effort to improve the distribution of food; among other activities, it held a conference on the food situation and organized raids on Fordsburg shopkeepers who were suspected of hoarding food.

In 1943 the residents (including many women) of Alexandra Township challenged an increase in the bus fare into Johannesburg and boycotted the buses until the bus company relented (Louw, 2006). These events indicate the grassroots level of women's political participation; they show how women took advantage of their grievances to break through into political participation. Although women can govern politically and contribute largely to a nation's economic status, the social construct in which they are born tends to curtail their capabilities (Nolde, 1991).

In Namibia, the women had organized themselves within the already existing political party, the SouthWest Africa People's Organization (SWAPO); this was the SWAPO Women's Council (SWC). The women's political participation was through mobilizing other women to participate in the national struggle towards independence. They further organised political education to encourage and instil political consciousness in women, making them realize that they have the same natural rights and responsibilities as men to participate in decision-making concerning their lives and the nations' interests.

The SWC encouraged women to develop themselves to be comrades in all spheres of life, and not see themselves as just a homemaker but more than just a reproductive subject (Soiri, 1996:58-56). According to Davies (1987:73-74), women organized themselves to apply pressure internally in the organization and externally to the apartheid regime.

The same political dynamics enthused their political participation as did men's; this included nationalism, the resistance to apartheid, or to any direct or indirect foreign rule. This translated to Namibian women's active participation in the liberation struggle against the apartheid regime.

Davies (1987) further asserts that the young and well-educated women in exile made their mark from within the political party, shaping and influencing party policies, such as the gender quota enacted in the 1970s. These women's ideas contributed to the political perceptions of women, and this encouraged more women to partake in all levels of politics.

Soiri (1996) warns against the idea that women contributed to a gendered development struggle but encourages scholars to understand that women were as inspired as men regarding national liberation, and that women's interests were fought for from within the organization. This clarification is to say that women's participation in politics is not primarily because of their hostile situation but because of their understanding of racial domination.

2.3.8 SOUTH AFRICA AND NAMIBIA'S GENDER RECONSTRUCTION POST-APARTHEID: WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

The South African Constitution requires the national, provincial, and local governments to adopt legislation to advance and promote gender equality. Malinga (2016) points out that, during the apartheid era, in QwaQwa, like in many homelands, life was tough, not only for women but for every black person. Women were deliberately excluded from decision-making positions. The result was that the decisions made for them did not have their best interests at heart.

Women in Qwaqwa were disadvantaged in most aspects of life – socio-economic, political, and even religious aspects; thus confirming their status as second-class citizens. Since most of them were unemployed, they were bound to live in the rural areas under challenging conditions. In these areas, they were subjected to extreme poverty because they were not empowered to

exploit their environment to better their lives. Thus, their political participation was stunted, although Geenberg (2011) notes that women's predicaments have since then changed for the better. The Municipal Structures Act and the Gender Equality Bill have been enacted to give effect to the Constitution.

Consequently, there has been progress in the advancement of women's representation in local government. Nkomazana (2016) stated in the report on gender in the 2016 South African local government elections, report that women's representation in local government increased during the municipal elections, from 38% of elected councilors in the 2011 municipal elections to 41%, following the 3 August 2016 municipal elections. Now, 24 years after the end of apartheid, South African women in rural areas strive to be represented in politics.

In 2016 women participated vigorously in the party proportional representation category (48%), however, they maintained only 33% on ward lists, taking South Africa back to the 2006 position where they held 41%.

Figure 4. Comparative analysis of local election results by political party in South Africa.

Table 2: Comparative analysis of local election results by political party 2006, 2011 and 2016												
Political party	2006				2011				2016			
	Women	Men	Total	% women	Women	Men	Total	% Women	Women	Men	Total	% Women
TOTALS	3 004	4 363	7 367	41%	3 429	5 420	8 849	39%	4 219	6 016	10 235	41%
EFF									448	461	909	49%
ANC	2 400	2 852	5 252	46%	2 665	3 429	6 094	44%	2 751	3 393	6 144	45%
COPE					74	187	261	28%	18	32	50	36%
DA	299	700	999	30%	503	1 158	1 661	30%	740	1345	2 085	35%
Others	65	198	263	25%	92	361	453	20	18	55	73	25%
IFP	196	480	676	29%	95	285	380	25%	131	390	521	25%
UDM	22	68	90	24%					3	19	22	14%
INDEPENDENTS									4	24	28	14%
ACDP	22	65	87	25%					106	297	403	26%
NFP					66	175	241	27%				
NP												
ID	41	106	147	28%								
PAC	13	78	91	14%								
VFP	9	62	71	13%								
AZAPO	2	20	22	9%								

Source: Gender Links South Africa, 2016

Representation is one thing, and political participation is another. The question of agency comes into play, as the objective of the study is to investigate the agency of women in rural areas, or the lack thereof. Although progressive representation should be celebrated, Hughes

(2014) makes a contrary claim that women's representation is not necessarily a win for all women; women should be participating in decision-making, voting, and demonstrating without fear of the patriarchal system in their rural areas.

2.3.9 RURAL WOMEN'S IMPORTANT ROLE IN PARTICIPATING IN POLITICS.

According to Nduhndhu (2018), the overall under-representation of women at any level of governance and decision-making results in a democratic deficit. The author further points out that the claim is mostly valid when it comes to tasks as demanding and challenging as representing the needs and interests of all citizens at the local level.

Maharaj (2002) supports Ndhundhu's (2018) claims, by asserting that decision-making and the influences of policies on safe housing, security, transport, and the economy, the local government makes important decisions that affect the lives of both women and men. Women's equal participation and representation in local decision-making processes is critical for prioritizing women's practical needs and issues in local governments' agendas and for localizing the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Gender-balanced local councils may be an essential step in helping to attain gender balance at the national level (Maharaj, 2002; Ndunudhu, 2018).

A more convincing argument for representation and participation of women in local governance is rooted in the conviction that, unless all sections of society, whether gender, racial or religious minorities, and other disadvantaged groups are represented in legislative bodies, their interests will not be articulated and therefore will suffer from policy neglect (Chowdhury, 1994; Panday, 2008).

Democratic history and practice demonstrate that even democratic institutions, based on the principle of one-person-one-vote, are blind to cultural and gender differences. Therefore, they do not spontaneously provide any guarantee for the effective representation of women's interests or those of other marginalized or excluded groups (Jayal, 2005).

For there to be tangible policy outcomes that consider women's special needs and interests, there is a need for effective representation, which may involve making a case for special arrangements, such as quotas for rural women's participation (Phillips, 1995; Jayal, 2000). Shoola (2014:1-48) found that gender imbalances are still pervasive in the sub-Saharan African region.

Child marriages are prevalent in these regions due to the lack of representation of women in parliament to speak on their rights. In addition, education levels between men and women in these regions are significantly unbalanced, thus contributing to the underdevelopment of women in these regions.

Human rights scientists and promoters recorded women's encounters of partiality and mistreatment in the sub-Saharan African area; for example, inheritance of assets, education, sexual freedom, and political rights are restricted. Despite an impressive number of female representatives in institutions of governance, the number of women who hold powerful political offices remains unbalanced (Allanana, 2013).

Concerning the importance of rural women in local government, Maharaj (2002) shows that women are capable of enacting policies that can protect young girls from child marriages and establish socio-economic programmes which directly speak to women in rural areas, consequently making a positive contribution to policies and decision-making structures. Soiri (1996) asserts that it is difficult to generalize about pre-colonial gender relations in Namibia's diversity of ethnic groups.

However, it can be said that in many communities, there was a sex-based division of labour in which women played an important, if not an unequal, role in both production and reproduction. For instance, in Herero pastoral communities, the exclusion of women from hunting and stock-raising limited their role in the production and confined them mainly to child-rearing and tasks around the house.

In the mixed-farming Owambo communities, women were also barred from animal husbandry but were engaged in crop production and were responsible for reproductive tasks in the household. But it was mainly the men who decided when and how crops and livestock would be used. The harvest from the wife's plot was consumed by the household while that from the husband's plot was disposed of by him as surplus profit. Thus, even though women were involved in the production, their economic role was marginalized (Bhagravan, 1985).

2.3.10 PARTICIPATION AND REPRESENTATION IN NAMIBIA.

Without including women, who constitute nearly 52% of the world's population, in the process of governance, countries cannot reach their full human potential (IPU, 2007; Kamal, 2000). Although Namibian women occupy 41% of National Assembly seats, women in the local government have little to no agency. Kofi Annan, former Secretary-General of the

United Nations, reaffirmed his belief in gender equity in terms of human development and empowerment by stating, "It is impossible to realize our goals while discriminating against half of the human race" (Annan, 2006).

Thus, the greater representation and participation of women in local governance are due not only to the democratization, liberalization, and modernization processes around the world, but instead these are matters of human development for the eradication of poverty and sustainable governance that is necessary for Namibia (Jabeen & Iqbal, 2010).

The empowerment and autonomy of rural women, and the improvement of their social, economic, and political status are essential factors in the achievement of transparent and accountable government and administration, and the attainment of sustainable development.

Achieving the goal of equal participation of women and men in decision-making provides a balance that more accurately reflects society's composition and is necessary to strengthen democracy and promote its proper functioning (Kanjaye, 1999). The first regional and local authority elections were held in 1992. Until 2010, regional and local elections took place separately, keeping in mind their respective six-year and five-year terms of office. Changes to the terms of office of regional councils brought them back into sync, and they have taken place simultaneously since 2010 (Chomba, 2016).

During the most recent regional council elections in November 2015, only 15% of participating candidates were women, and only 16% of the 121 candidates elected as councillors were women. This changed over time, as only three women out of 95 regional councillors were elected in the first regional elections in 1992 (3%), rising to four women out of 102 regional councillors elected in 1998 (4%).

In 2004, female representation on regional councils rose to 11%, and in 2010, 13 regional councillors out of 107 (12%) were women. After the 2015 elections, the Electoral Commission of Namibia commented "Women representation in Regional Councils is far below Namibia's commitment to gender equality. Drastic corrective initiatives must be designed to ensure equal representation of women on Regional Councils country-wide" (Namibian Government Report, 2016).

2.4 Gaps in Literature

Women's political participation in rural areas is not widely written about, thus creating inadequate existing literature. Although studies have explored women's political participation in South Africa and Namibia, studies lack in providing in-depth investigation into the political participation of women in rural areas. Furthermore, regional, and intergovernmental organizations have neglected the women in rural areas, grouping them into people with only one interest, viz. agricultural economy; consequently, discounting women who have interests in leadership or general participation in public life.

Moreover, studies have assumed that women in rural areas are homogenous, and, as such, their experiences are similar. It is assumed without a thorough probe into different rural cultures, education status, and political education possessed by women that their political challenges are the same.

2.5 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.5.1 THE CONCEPT OF THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

A theoretical framework is one of the most important aspects in a research process as it is the foundation from which knowledge is constructed. According to Grant (2014), it is a 'blueprint' for research. It is a framework based on an existing theory in a field of inquiry that is related and/or reflects the hypothesis of a study. "It is a blueprint that is often 'borrowed' by the researcher to build his/her own house or research inquiry, it serves as the foundation upon which research is constructed." (Grant, 2014).

Sinclair (2007), as well as Fulton and Krainovich-Miller (2010), compare the role of the theoretical framework to that of a map or travel plan. Thus, when traveling to a particular location, the map guides your path. Likewise, the theoretical framework guides the researcher so that s/he would not deviate from the confines of the accepted theories to make his/her final academic contribution.

According to Khotari (1990), a framework explains why the problem under study exists by showing how the variables relate to each other. A theory comprises a generalization that methodically explains the relationship between occurrences. Its basic components are concepts; thus, the theory is a set of statements, each of which expresses a relationship among the concepts. The objectives of a theoretical framework are to make scientific findings

meaningful and generalizable, to summarise existing knowledge into coherent structures, and to stimulate new research by providing both direction and impetus.

The study employed social constructivism theory to frame the thesis for the benefit of providing a clear road map into the inquiry.

The question of why social constructivism was used rather than feminism may arise, considering that gender and politics are the basis of the research. Although feminism is the idea that women, diverse as they are, must have political, social, and economic freedom, the theory sets out solutions. Still, it lacks in addressing the construction of societies and answering the question of why women are at the bottom of the food chain.

“Feminism is the idea that women should have rights equal to men’s in political, social, sexual, intellectual, and economic spheres. It comprises a diverse collection of social theories, political movements, and moral philosophies, largely motivated by or concerning the experience of women. Feminism concerns itself with issues of gender difference (a distinction of biological and/or physiological characteristics typically associated with either the males or the females of a species) that advocate equality for women’s rights and interests” (Lerner, 1993).

2.5.2 SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIVISM

Penrose and Jackson (1993) define social constructivism theory as concerned with the way human beings think and structure the world to categorize or create a class. Daddow (2013:160) agrees with Penrose and Jackson (1993), stating that constructivism is a theory that sees the world as socially constructed; the theory explains the way human beings structure their experiences and analysis of the world.

Wendt (1999:47-92) endorses these scholars, explaining that social constructs or social constructions define meanings, notions, or connotations assigned to objects and events in the environment and people’s notions of their relationships to, and interactions with, these objects. In the domain of social constructionist thought, a social construct is an idea or notion that appears to be natural and obvious to people who accept it but may or may not represent reality. So, it remains largely an invention or artifice of a given society.

In South Africa, the apartheid regime was driven by interest and identity, hence the Group Acts of 1950 which divided urban areas into “group” areas in which ownership and residence were

restricted to certain population groups. This Act prohibited rural people from moving into urban areas.

According to Jackson and Sorenson (2007:165), the world is constructed through concepts, ideas, and beliefs. Patriarchy, for instance, excluded women from the politics of the nation due to a belief and the idea that leadership is reserved for male individuals; consequently, these beliefs and ideas came to be a norm and accepted by everyone. According to Boyle (2012), women's roles in rural areas are different from those of male individuals; women are not to participate in traditional meetings, and men are the decision-makers. These traditions have sustained the ideas of patriarchy; as a result, women's political participation in rural areas has been marginalized.

Gender is socially constructed; it portrays ways of male and female talking styles, depicting, or viewing men and women, their strengths, and weaknesses. "Generally distinguished from sex (which is biological), notions of gender represent attempts by society, through the socialization process, to construct masculine or feminine identities and corresponding those identities to gender roles for a child based on their physical appearance and genitalia. (Begger *et al.*, 1966).

Due to the notion that gender is a social construct, this study will use this theory to analyse how gender in rural areas is perceived and how gendered culture impacts women's political participation. Furthermore, this study tests and proves the factors that have affected women's participation in politics in rural areas. Granted that gender is a social construct, the challenges faced by both genders are challenges that through reconstruction can be readdressed progressively.

2.6 CONCLUSION

The idea of the study is to use social constructivism to find practical ways to probe relevant local government and women's participation. The study will rely on social constructivism theory to explore the ideas, norms, concepts, and interests of women's political participation in rural areas, violence, and gender disparities. In addition, the theory will substantiate the significance of the study.

3. CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter describes and discusses the study site, the sample and sampling procedure, data collection techniques, the research instruments used, and the analysis framework.

3.2 METHODOLOGY IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Traditionally, the study of International Relations, a sub-subject of Political Science, is concerned with various political interactions amongst nation-states, societies, and organizations, which either way have an impact on different individuals' everyday lives. Due to the growth of economic interdependence and changes within the international system, scholars have expanded International Relations to three categories, as international environmental politics, globalization, and international ethics (Wolinsky & Sprins, 2002:6).

Brown (2005:1-7) agrees with this assertion by stating that International Relations has expanded to various areas. The scholar further states that one can distinguish International Relations from international relations - the distinction here is the upper case and lower case letters applied.

International Relations, with an upper case, are the study of international relations, with a lower case. This suggests that international relations refer to the diplomatic-strategic relations of states, while the elements of focus in International Relations are on issues of war and peace, conflict, and cooperation (Brown & Ainely, 2005:1-7).

New research methods have developed within the study of International Relations due to the expansion of the field. Examples include the two-level game analysis and the spatial analysis. Additionally, methodologies have considerably expanded over the past decades to utilize a grander application of rational choice analysis and statistical methods (Wolinsky & Sprins, 2002:6-7). Correspondingly, this study is concerned with how these two states relate gender issues post-apartheid. Certainly, this contributes to the sub-field of International Relations as it is concerned with the how, why, and when of states.

This study employs a case study research design in International Relations; the design is also an explorative qualitative research design. Briefly, this study explores two countries as its case study and applies qualitative research methods to conduct research that is valid and reliable. There are several advantages of using case study research designs in International Relations, such as the fundamental flow of drawing synergies between the chosen case studies, identifying

new or omitted variables and hypotheses, developing historical explanations of cases, and attaining high levels of construct validity.

3.3 RESEARCH DESIGN: EXPLORATIVE QUALITATIVE

According to Bryman (2016), research design provides a methodology framework, data collection, measurement, and data analysis. The framework is the overall strategy that a researcher chooses to address the research problem effectively. Vaus (2006) is of the same view by stating that research design refers to the overall strategy that one chooses to integrate the different components of the study coherently and logically, thereby ensuring that one will effectively address the research problem. It constitutes the blueprint for the collection, measurement, and analysis of data.

This study used exploratory research design, as the study aims to provide insights into an understanding of the problem faced by the researcher. Furthermore, although the literature exists, the study employed a new perspective on women's political participation in rural areas.

According to Michael and Cutthil (2002:79-89), an exploratory design is conducted about a research problem when there are few or no earlier studies to refer to or rely upon to predict an outcome. The focus is on gaining insights and familiarity for later investigation or undertaken when research problems are in a preliminary investigation stage. The study uses explorative qualitative design for both primary and secondary data collections. This will provide an in-depth understanding of the problem, assisting the researcher to explore all methods exhaustively.

3.3.1 RESEARCH METHOD: QUALITATIVE

Hancock *et al.* explain the qualitative research method as research interested in finding reasons and explanations of societal phenomena; this is often conducted using the qualitative research method. According to Bryman (2016:294), qualitative research is a research approach that often emphasizes words rather than numerical figures during the process of data collection and in the data analysis of research.

In congruence with Hancock *et al.* (2006), Flick (2015:117) avows that qualitative research is more concerned with “understanding subjective experiences and social processes in the making than in collecting facts.” The research then used the explorative qualitative method to explore the given problem in depth. The study is concerned with exploring subjects' experiences and social processes, which are political dynamics within provinces.

3.4 SAMPLING AND POPULATION

3.4.1 POPULATION

Due to the limitation of studying the whole population of the North West province and Hardap region, the study selected participants to represent a certain population from the two countries, and these two areas form part of rural South Africa and Namibia, respectively. This is done by selecting one area from the Northwest Province and another from Hardap Region. The population targeted consists of women of ages 40 and above.

3.4.2 SAMPLING FRAME

A sampling frame is a list or other device used to define a researcher's population of interest. The sampling frame defines a set of elements from which a researcher can select a sample of the target population (Kothari, 2004).

Sampling was conducted by travelling to the selected areas, interviewing women aged 40 and above; these women are the selected population that the study used to sample. In total, twenty (20) women were sampled. Ten from each country partook in an unstructured telephone interview organized by the municipality and facilitated by the researcher.

These women were selected based on the finding that the women are well informed regarding the subject matter and have a reliable personal experience, and informed knowledge on post-apartheid reconstruction. This number of participants is to ultimately avoid distortions.

A sample of the years 2004-2016 was used to better measure the factors that contributed to women's political participation in rural areas. The years cover post-apartheid South Africa (from 1994) and post-apartheid Namibia (from 1990). Moreover, the time frame includes three electoral cycles of the local government elections, and it allowed the study enough background to explore and investigate the subject matter. South Africa's first local government election post-apartheid was in 1995, and in 1992 it was Namibia's first local and regional elections post-independence.

Two local elections cycles passed in Namibia and one in South Africa. It then makes a logical argument to measure women's participation in both countries considering that the countries were then familiar with local government management. Lastly, the years make logical sense in case-study comparative research.

The study's setting is South Africa and Namibia, with a focus on two locations:

- I. North West Province: Vryburg (21,589 population)
- II. Hardap Region: Mariental Rural (13, 596 population)

Older females aged 40 and above make up 16.2% of the population in Vryburg (Statisticssa.org year). The older female population of the area in Hardap is at this stage unknown, hence the non-probability, purposive sampling technique was employed. However, the study investigated the actual population before the data collection stage. The study will then use Raosoft, which is a survey tool that assists with determining a valid sample for a study. It calculates the most accurate sample using fractions (Hazra, 2016).

The sampling population is selected through purposive sampling, selecting the participants based on the researcher's findings.

The participants will be selected based on the following:

- i. If the participant has voted in local elections
- ii. If the participant has campaigned for any reason such as service delivery
- iii. If the participant has protested for any reason, including service delivery.
- iv. If the participant has stood for elections (in local government elections)
- v. If the participant has a role(s) in local government

These political participation aspects of the women assist with selecting reliable women aged 40 and above. This population is selected as they lived through the Namibian colony under Germany and apartheid Namibia, and South African apartheid, and have oral history on the South African Anglo-Boer war. They are a reliable primary source for ethical and valid data collection.

The two regions were intentionally chosen for sampling as they are all underdeveloped and classified as rural. Moreover, proximity was an advantage for mobility reasons during primary data collection. Hardap region is next to the border with Northern Cape Province, which is close to North West Province. Each government has neglected both regions hence there is high poverty, high unemployment, and a low number of educational institutions. Lastly, there is insufficient literature on women's political participation; therefore, the two areas will benefit from such a study that will inform policies and contribute to the literature.

3.4.3 SITE DESCRIPTION

South Africa, North West, Vryburg.

Vryburg is a small area in the North West Province. It is categorized as rural, as it does not possess the fundamental attributes of an urban area, some being high illiteracy, high unemployment, few industries, and the primary mode of income is in the agricultural sector. Vryburg forms part of Naledi Local Municipality, under its local municipality conglomeration. Vryburg, which means ‘free fort’ in Afrikaans, has maintained its name despite its historical significance. Way back in 1882, this area was part of the proclaimed Republic of Stellaland, and its citizens regarded themselves as ‘free’ from British rule.

Namibia, Hardap region, Mariental Rural

The Hardap Region is situated in the south-central part of Namibia. The name assigned to the region reflects the prominent role of the Hardap Dam in the agro-economic development and tourism of this Region. The region is dominated by commercial farmland, which makes up 75% of the total area of the region. The remainder is taken up by the Namib Naukluft National Park (15%) and communal farmland (10%).

During the colonial periods, the indigenous populations were deprived of large tracts of land. In 1962 a commission recommended that the homeland (communal system) be created. After Namibia's independence in 1990, the Hardap region was divided into six constituencies. In 1996, the new government adopted Namibia's decentralization policy, which is aimed at the devolution of power to lower tiers of Government within the context of a unitary state.

3.5 SAMPLING METHOD

The research employed non-probability sampling. This is because not every individual of the population was the desired sample for the study. Therefore, a group of the population was selected; women aged 40 and above. This is due to the given statistics that they lived through the apartheid regime.

Non-probability sampling is a method in which some population units do not stand a chance of being selected (Bhattacharjee, 2012).

In this study, a non-probability sampling method was used to measure results of women's political participation in rural areas, and their role in governance in South Africa (North West Province) and Namibia (Hardap region).

3.6 SAMPLING TECHNIQUE

Sampling is the method of selecting a representative subset of the population called a sample. Sampling makes research more accurate and economical. It is the sampling method that determines the research findings' generalisability (Showkat, 2017). Therefore, to draw a sample from the population which was used to investigate women's political participation in rural areas, the study uses a non-probability sampling method. This method will allow the researcher to select subjects who will complement the research study explicitly.

A purposive sampling technique was used for this research's sampling. Strydom (2011) describes purposive sampling as a technique in which the researcher counts on their findings when selecting members of a population to partake in the study. This method is time and cost-efficient.

Sampling was generalized to women in rural areas who experienced apartheid, and in the same breath, carefully selected. In South Africa, the sample will be the North West Province, and Hardap Region in Namibia. The women (subjects) are selected purposively since they experienced apartheid in both countries.

3.7 DATA COLLECTION METHOD

The study makes use of qualitative methods for the collection of data. Liamputtong (2009) claims that a qualitative approach to collecting data emphasizes describing a phenomenon in a profound, wide-ranging manner. This is generally done in interviews, with open-ended questions, or focus groups. The quantitative approach to the collection of data emphasizes describing a phenomenon across more participants, thus providing the likelihood of succinct features across groups or relationships (Taylor *et al.*, 2015).

The study used both primary and secondary data collection methods. The primary data collection method assisted with exploring women's political participation in rural areas. Interviews were used to substantiate existing literature. Secondary data was used to provide existing literature and perspectives on the problem. However, secondary data is not adequate; hence the study used primary data to answer the research questions and to provide a more in-depth understanding of the problem.

3.7.1 INSTRUMENTS OF DATA COLLECTION

For a valid and reliable study when answering the research questions, the study utilized both primary and secondary data collection methods, including measuring 20 women's political participation, 10 from each area. Although the study uses both methods, primary data is of importance in this study due to inadequate accessible literature.

a. Secondary data collection

1. Qualitative: Documents, documentaries, and records that deal specifically with the subject matter. These data collection instruments will assist the research with reliable qualitative literature on women's political participation in rural areas.

2. Quantitative: Documents, non-governmental organizations' reports, Statistics South Africa, Gender Links, and local government statistical documents. These data collection instruments will assist the research with reliable qualitative literature on women's political participation in rural areas.

b. Primary data collection

1. Qualitative: Telephone interviews. For qualitative primary data collection, the method used will be open-ended.

Interviews were open-ended. These operated in a structured form; the participants were asked the same questions but given a platform to answer uniquely. Allowing participants to engage with questions differently provided a platform for ethical, validity, and variations in data collections, allowing the data analysis process to be more straightforward and clearer.

The primary data process of the gathering was from:

- i. South Africa, Vryburg: Ten women (primary subjects) aged 40 and above.
 - a. Naledi Local Municipality,
 - b. Gender Commission of South Africa
 - c. Independent Electoral Commission
- ii. Namibia, Mariental Rural: Ten women (primary subjects) aged 40 and above.
 - a. Mariental Rural Council
 - b. Ministry of Gender Equality and Child Welfare
 - c. Experts on the field of women and local government
 - d. Electoral Commission of Namibia

Regarding the ethical processes of gatekeepers of the communities, the study sought permission from the municipal managers of local governments in both countries. Furthermore, these gatekeepers were given documents detailing their informed consent and an explanation of the research objectives.

Additionally, the researcher did the recruitment process with assistance from the municipality. With a clear non-probability guideline, the municipalities provided a database of women who met the requirements as per the study's interests; following this, the researcher selected ten women from the database to participate in the study.

The women (subjects) were recruited by requesting a database of women residing in these areas (Vryburg and Mariental Rural) and selected the subjects based on a few themes such as:

1. If the participant has voted in local government elections, from 2004-2016
2. If the participant has campaigned for any reason, such as supporting a candidate
3. If the participant has protested for any reasons during and post-apartheid for any reason, such as service delivery
4. If the participant has stood for election as a ward councillor, mayor, speaker, or chief whip.
5. If the participant has a role(s) in the local government.

This process occurred through telephone interviews. In the cases where mobility was not a challenge and when a subject did not have access to a mobile phone, the researcher travelled to the subject's residence to conduct a face-to-face interview.

It is of paramount importance that participants understand their rights to participate in any research. Therefore, a consent form and a detailed understanding of what the study is about, what the study aims to achieve, and who the study will benefit from was read out to all women before signing their consent form.

This was to assist both the researcher and the subjects in maintaining ethical principles. The brief role the municipality played was to scout out the subjects that the researcher selected and oversee that the researcher read out a consent form to the subjects before the interview took place.

3.8 DATA ANALYSIS

3.8.1 CONTENT ANALYSIS

According to Howell *et al.* (2001), content analysis is a research tool used to determine concepts within the data collected from primary data to make informed findings. Researchers quantify and analyze the presence, meanings, and relationships of such words and concepts, then make inferences about the results. Other scholars agree with Howell's explanation of content analysis, by stating that the objective of qualitative content analysis is to strategically organize and transform vast amounts of collected data into a precise and succinct summary of crucial outcomes (Erlingsson *et al.*, 2013:93-99).

This study employed qualitative content data analysis to determine critical results from the collection of data process, and to;

- Identify the intentions, focus, or communication trends of subjects from both countries.
- Reveal international differences in communication content using language that subjects are comfortable with and understand.
- Reveal key political participation patterns.
- Analyse interviews and open-ended questions to complement quantitative data.

There are generally two types of content data analysis: conceptual and relational. Conceptual analysis refers to establishing the presence and occurrence of ideas and concepts often represented by phrases or words within the collected data (Carly, 1992). Although relational content data analysis also begins with identifying concepts present in each set of texts, a relational analysis is concerned with going beyond concepts' existence in texts by exploring the relationships between concepts identified (Palmquist, Carley & Dale *et al.*, 1997).

The study then makes use of conceptual data analysis type of content analysis. This affords the researcher room to understand concepts occurrence among subjects in the North West Province and Hardap. Furthermore, this type of analysis also assisted in making sense of the concepts in texts from the data collected in two countries, South Africa, and Namibia.

Moreover, the summative content analysis theory employed assisted the researcher with counting and comparing themes, keywords, and/or content.

Content analysis, unlike statistical analysis, does not measure or quantify patterns. It is based on interpreting opinions and perspectives of various subjects, and it consists of 8 steps which are as follows:

1. **Preparation of data:** this includes clearly defining and justifying the choice of content from the set of data collected from both primary and secondary.
2. **Defining the unit or theme of analysis:** this is done by selecting key themes, discourses, or phrases such as councillors, mayors, protests, participation.
3. **Developing categories and coding schemes:** the third step is to create sub-categories and coding schemes for the analysis.
4. **Pre-testing the coding scheme on the sample:** this step is to ensure consistency.
5. **Coding all the text:** After the coding consistency in the previous stage, the coding process then applies to the overall data.
6. **Assessing the consistency of coding employed:** After coding the whole data set of the collected data, the following step consists of testing the validity and reliability of the data and the procedure.
7. **Drawing inferences based on coding or themes:** To explore the properties, dimensions and identify the relationship and uncover patterns to present the analysis.
8. **Presentation of results:** Presentation of the results under each theme with conclusions is done, and the results are supported by secondary data and quotes from the developed code.

The justification for content analysis.

Qualitative content analysis provides a reliable technique to determine the findings from face-to-face interviews and telephone interviews in ethical practice.

3.9 ETHICAL CONSIDERATION

The study followed North-West University ethical principles, which outlines the following:

i. Beneficence.

Beneficence is the action that is done for the benefit of others. The principal position that a researcher is ethically obliged to carefully assess the projected benefit of the research vs. the potential harm it can cause.

ii. Respect for research subjects/participants.

The researcher must treat the subject of study or participant as an autonomous agent, i.e. as capable of self-determination. If the subject of study is incapable of such self-determination,

the research must be conducted in such a way as to protect the subject against harm, considering the principles of beneficence and justice. Therefore, the researcher carefully engages with the subjects in a manner that respects the subjects' human rights. Subjects were informed about their roles before the interviews took place; the researcher, in writing, documented the objectives of the research while explicitly stating that the subjects have the right to opt-out whenever they are either uncomfortable with the line of questioning, or for any other reason.

According to the Marquette University ethics training, the moment political opinions and questions are asked, it renders the research at risk. Therefore, the study is a minimal, low, or negligible risk according to the North-West University ethical principles and code of conduct. In detail, the guidelines are outlined below:

Minimal, Low or Negligible Risk: "The probability, magnitude or seriousness of unexpected negative consequences, harm or discomfort anticipated in the research is negligible and not greater than that ordinarily encountered in daily life. Research in which the only foreseeable risk is one of the minimal unexpected negative consequences, discomfort or inconvenience" (North-West University, 2016).

Lastly, the study adhered to the anonymity and confidentiality of the subjects, with an understanding of the research objectives and the agreement that subjects are to withdraw from taking part in the study if they at any point feel/think that they want to change their minds.

If the subjects are comfortable with remaining anonymous, the study will reference the subjects' data by coding, i.e. Source A and B are of the view that... Moreover, the researcher will store subjects' data on Google cloud and the researcher will be the only person with access to the folder with encryption.

3.10 CONCLUSION

This chapter outlined the processes of how the research was conducted, illustrating the methods used to select participants ethically, the methodology used to collect both primary and secondary data, and lastly the approach used in analysing the data collected.

The next chapter investigates the promotion of women's participation by international organizations and countries of subjects in the study.

4. CHAPTER FOUR: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the findings of the research and their analysis and interpretation; where necessary, aids such as tables and network diagrams were used to demonstrate the meaning of the data presented. The findings presented in tables and network diagrams are further explained to the reader with a clear depiction and understanding of the phenomenon under analysis. This chapter focuses much on the research objective one and its findings collected in South Africa, Vryburg, in the Northwest Province, and in Namibia, Mariental, in the Hardap region. Furthermore, the chapter expands on the first question and provides detailed findings. Chapter 5 will follow research objectives 2 and 3.

4.2 BACKGROUND INFORMATION OF PARTICIPANTS

Twenty women who reside in rural areas were interviewed; ten from each country participated in the study.

The background information of the participants is shown in Table 1.2.1.

Table 5: Profile of the participants

ID	Age	Educational background	Employment status	Area
P1	40 years	University	Employed	Mariental rural
P2	61 years	Primary	Pensioner	Mariental rural
P3	53 years	No formal education	Pensioner	Mariental rural
P4	50 years	Secondary	Pensioner	Mariental rural
P5	79 years	Secondary	Pensioner	Mariental rural
P6	66 years	No formal education	Pensioner	Mariental rural
P7	50 years	No formal education	Employed	Mariental rural
P8	42 years	University	Employed	Mariental rural
P9	72 years	Primary	Retirement	Mariental rural

P10	55 years	Secondary	Self-employed	Mariental rural
P11	55 years	University	Employed	Vryburg
P12	68 years	Secondary	Employed	Vryburg
P13	66 years	Secondary	Retirement	Vryburg
P14	41 years	Tertiary	Employed	Vryburg
P15	75 years	Primary	No employment history	Vryburg
P16	68 years	University	Employed	Vryburg
P17	53 years	Secondary	Self-employed	Vryburg
P18	79 years	No formal education	Pensioner	Vryburg
P19	45 years	Secondary	Self-employed	Vryburg
P20	60 years	Primary	Pensioner	Vryburg

The women interviewed were aged 40 and above. This selection was made after making necessary considerations regarding their ages and the period of apartheid. These women lived through apartheid, its demise, and the birth of democracy in both countries.

During the face-to-face interviews, the women were requested to indicate their age. This was for the study's confirmation of participants' ages as well as for following ethical protocol – the women had already been recruited following a short criterion organized by the researcher. It is important to note that only key subjects were requested to provide proof of their age through their local government mayor's office.

The women were requested to indicate their highest level of education. This variable was particularly requested because it can influence people's beliefs on gender and patriarchal attitudes. Essentially, education influences culture and affords people the opportunity to be socially and politically aware of their surroundings as well as their rights and that of other people, which in some instances instils a sense of activism through political participation. In Vryburg, seven of the ten women have matric and three out of the seven continued to tertiary.

Compared to Mariental, five of the women at a minimum have matric, two of the ten have tertiary qualifications.

Although these women have basic education, their perceptions and opportunities are limited by the ability to access higher education, which in turn leads to a lack of financial independence and education which awakens consciousness.

4.3 CENTRAL THEMES

The data were categorized into themes and sub-themes used as guiding themes which resulted in providing answers to the research questions of the study. In this context, a sub-theme is used to break down into detail a central theme that will provide nuanced findings on respective research questions. A thematic approach was utilized in the data analysis and the data was partitioned into three main themes.

The data main themes and subthemes are presented in Table 1.3.1 below.

Table 6: Themes and sub-themes

Theme	Sub-theme
Factors influencing women in rural areas' political participation	➤ Political activity during apartheid ➤ Status of political activity during apartheid ➤ Reasons for being politically active during apartheid. ➤ Reasons for being politically active post-apartheid. ➤ Motivation for contesting for a seat. ➤ Organization of political campaign ➤ Result of contesting for a seat ➤ Base of support ➤ Time spent participating in local politics
Political activity translation to a	➤ Roles in local government

role in local government

- Ways to support women in leadership.
- Challenges in attaining roles of leadership

**Impact of women on other women
in local government**

- Initiation of empowerment programmes
- Voting for women

The central issue was to explore women's political participation in rural areas in post-apartheid societies of Vryburg and Mariental for the years 2004 to 2016.

The study sought to answer three research questions which are:

- What factors accounted for women's political participation in rural areas in South Africa and Namibia from 2004 to 2016?
- Does women's political participation in rural areas translate to roles in local government from 2004 to 2016?
- Do women in rural areas, who have roles in local government, impact the overall improvement of women's political participation?

The findings from the in-depth interviews will be presented in the following sections.

4.4 WHAT FACTORS ACCOUNT FOR THE POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN RURAL AREAS?

The first objective of the research was to investigate what factors account for the political participation of women who reside in rural areas. The first inquiry into the research question was to determine how women participated in politics during and post-apartheid. This is because the apartheid regime relegated both female European colonial settlers and female African natives to a subordinate status in society. Nonetheless, female African natives were at the bottom of the food chain, whereas female European colonial settlers enjoyed some socio-economic privileges.

Like Cleancy's (2016) assertion that apartheid was a gendered policy, Andrews (2001) further argues that the legal terrain was engrossed with gender inequalities, consequently leaving both the South African and Namibian political terrain more male-dominated, resulting in women's subjection to childbearing as well as paid and unpaid domestic work.

Thus, an investigation into factors contributing to women's political participation in rural areas is fundamental to knowledge in political science and International Relations.

Much effort has been invested in asserting women in urban areas in politics, neglecting women in rural areas. Studies have investigated factors posing as threats to women's political participation, and this research question is particularly concerned with positive aspects that encourage women to participate in politics (Shedova, 2005; Ocran, 2014).

The aim is to understand women's political consciousness and socialization because it is of interest to the body of knowledge in political science and its sub-disciplines. For instance, the factors that influenced first world women's politics include World War I's conflict dynamics, where American women of the National Woman's Party (NWP) demanded their right to vote. This move was influenced by the government placing women in jobs that were traditionally for men; this was because most men were being deployed to fight in the war.

The research question was divided into nine sub-themes, as shown in Figure 1.4.1.

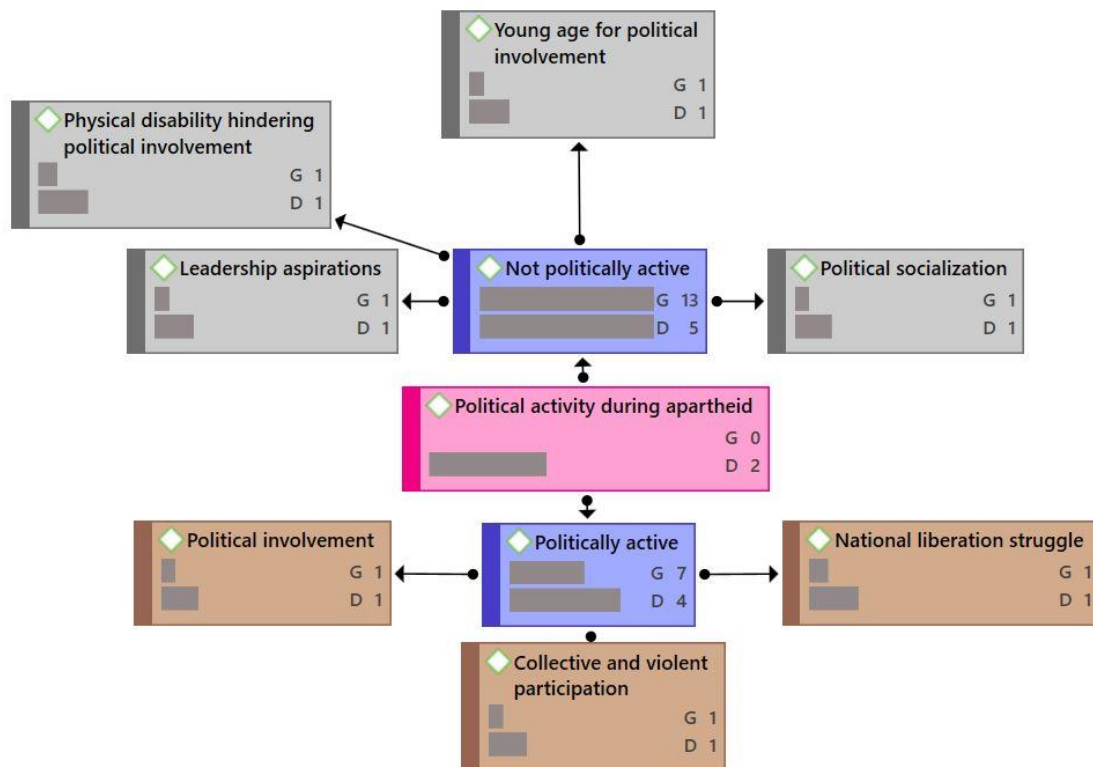


Figure 1.3.1: Theme and sub-themes for Factors influencing women in rural areas' political participation.

The results of the sub-themes are presented in the following subsections.

4.4.1 POLITICAL ACTIVITY DURING APARTHEID

Nine key concepts emerged when the women were asked whether they were politically active during apartheid. The key concepts are shown diagrammatically in Figure 1.4.1.



Key: G – Grounded which shows how many times a code has been applied and D – Density which shows the number of links between entities

Figure 1.4.1: Political activity during apartheid

The participants interviewed showed that seven of the twenty women were politically active during apartheid, while thirteen were not. Of the seven politically active women, four were from Mariental, while three were from Vryburg. Participant five from Mariental indicated that she was a struggling veteran who served the liberation movement since she was a teenager. Of the three women who were politically active in Vryburg, participant sixteen was involved in collective and violent participation. She recalled her involvement in burning a school child alive who was known to be a traitor.

She is a woman who is stern about her beliefs and pledges loyalty to social justice and was quoted saying that “*when the consensus was made to riot at our local secondary school, I was a delegate in the decision-making process. This came when a learner informant to the*

apartheid police exposed our protest strategy, which incriminated our leaders. Consequently, the learner was necklaced. A gruesome but necessary strategy to deal with spies.” This means she was instrumental in decision-making and participating in riots during apartheid in her secondary school days.

In Mariental, six of the ten women were not politically active during apartheid. Participant one indicated that she was not politically active due to her age, and she was at an age which her parents (uneducated) feared any political involvement. Nonetheless, she aspired to leadership positions and had a vision of being an activist while growing up.

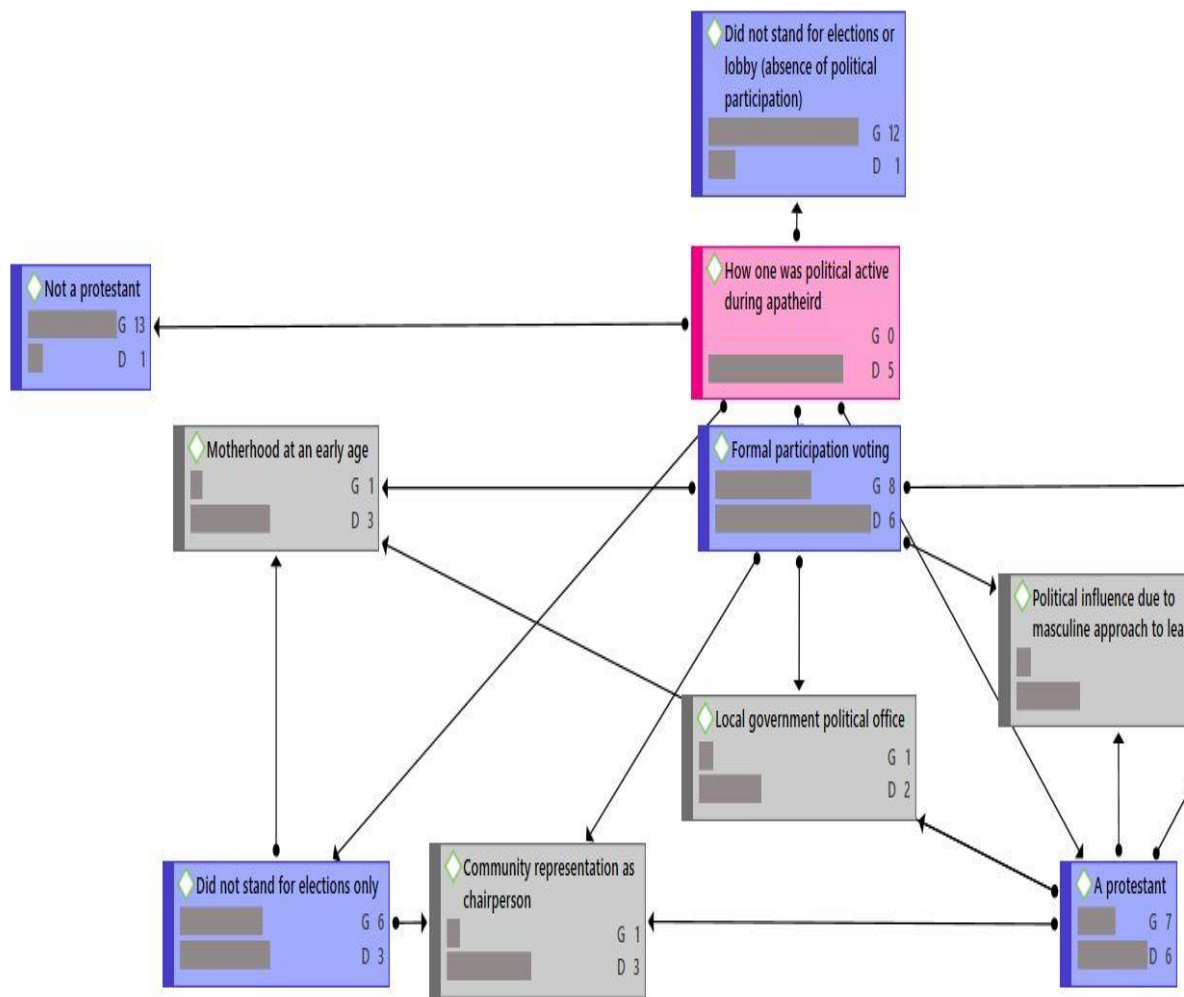
Participant three is a physically impaired woman who is unable to walk but can speak fluently. She indicated that her disability played a significant role in her inactiveness in politics, although she had political aspirations. This expression is after the exclamation that she is living with a disability and therefore is not seen although she has interests in participating in local politics.

In Vryburg, there were seven out of the ten women who were not politically active during apartheid. Participant eleven added that although she was not politically active, she was politically conscious because she lived near political revolutionaries who inspired a sense of rebellion and an awakening of human rights.

It is also worth noting that the subjects interviewed both in Vryburg and Mariental pay loyalty to major political parties: the African National Congress and the South West Africa People's Party of Namibia. Both parties delivered democracy in both countries.

4.4.2 STATUS OF POLITICAL ACTIVITY DURING APARTHEID.

The women were asked how they participated in politics during apartheid. The key concepts that emerged are shown diagrammatically in Figure 1.4.3.



Key: G – Grounded which shows how many times a code has been applied and D – Density which shows the number of links between entities

Figure 1.4.3: Status of political activity during apartheid

The participants were asked whether they protested, stood for elections, or lobbied during apartheid. The question was based on the political activities relating to either social movements or political parties; this was not extended to local government or national politics because political expression and association were restricted by the apartheid regime.

Seven indicated that they protested, while thirteen did not. Of the seven who protested, four were from Mariental (participants 02, 04, 05, and 09), while three were from Vryburg

(participants 13, 14, and 16).

Participant four was a protestor who stood for elections and lobbied. Thus, she did formal participation in voting. She was quoted saying that *“since our right to political association was suppressed, our participation was limited to community advocacy. In post-apartheid, I was elected as the district councillor. I had political influence because I adopted a masculine approach to leadership. Within SWAPO, I was elected branch secretary, then branch coordinator and later, district treasurer.”* Notably, she rose through the hierarchy in political appointments. Participant five managed to be a protestor and lobbied, but she did not stand for any elections.

She indicated that she always aspired to serve her country as its leader. However, she elaborated that the dream never materialized because she became a mother at a very young age. This prevented her from committing herself more to the revolutionary movement since she had to build a home for her family. She went on to say that even while pregnant, she still attended party meetings and briefings and did not leave politics. Participant nine was a protestant, stood for elections, and lobbied. She managed to have organizational leadership as branch chairperson.

In Mariental, the participants who neither protested, stood for elections, nor lobbied during apartheid were six (namely participants 01, 03, 06, 07, 08, and 10). Thus, they were not politically active during apartheid.

In Vryburg, participants 13, 14, and 16 protested during the apartheid regime. The three participants protested, lobbied but did not stand for elections, while participants 11, 12, 15, 17, 18, and 19 neither protested, stood for elections, nor lobby during apartheid. Participant 20 neither protested nor stood for elections, but she lobbied, making the number seven participants that did not protest in Vryburg.

Both areas had six participants each that neither protested, stood for elections, nor lobbied. In terms of formal participation in voting, in Mariental Rural, there were four, while in Vryburg, there were also four. The three people who mentioned political party leadership and membership were from Mariental Rural, Namibia (participants 04, 05, and 09). The issue of political influence due to the masculine approach to leadership was mentioned by participant four from Mariental Rural, Namibia. She also managed to hold a local government political office position. Participant five, from Mariental Rural, also indicated that motherhood at an

early age prevented her from actively participating in politics. However, she managed to do party meetings and briefings.

4.4.3 REASONS FOR BEING POLITICALLY ACTIVE DURING APARTHEID.

The participants were asked to give reasons for their political activity during apartheid, and the information is shown in Table 1.4.1.

Table 1.4.1: Key concepts on reasons for being politically active during apartheid.

Key concepts	Occurrence
○ Did not participate in politics	13
○ Human rights violations and poverty perpetuation	4
○ Abuse and oppression from the government	2
○ Proximity to male comrades	2
○ Revolution to reclaim rights and dignity	2
○ The disgrace of a mother (post-traumatic growth)	1
○ Imprisonment of breadwinner	1
○ The personal experience drove one to the liberation movement (political socialization)	1
○ The Resistance movement spoke to personal convictions	1
○ Unfair treatment of women	1
Totals	28

Thirteen participants were not politically active during apartheid and six were from Mariental (namely, participants 01, 03, 06, 07, 08, and 10), while seven were from Vryburg (viz. participants 11, 12, 15, 17, 18, 19 and 20).

In Mariental, participant two was politically active and was quoted saying that “*the domination of white people over black people both in South Africa and Namibia perpetuated poverty and human rights violations of black people. The revolution was ours and we wanted to enjoy the fruits of our land, self-rule, and reclaim our dignity and respect as a people. My husband is a respected community leader, and his endorsement of me in politics saved me from the critics.*” Thus, participant two was motivated by the white domination over blacks that perpetuated poverty and human rights violations, and the ideology to reclaim their rights and dignity.

She also indicated that she was supported by her husband, who was a respected community leader, while participant four said that “*I could not stand the unfair treatment of women...our*

human rights stripped off us, church endorsing submission, I wanted to be a part of the revolution because I wanted to change the status quo so the next generation will not endure the inhumane laws and treatment of the apartheid government.” For participant four, the issues at stake were unfair treatment of women, human rights violation, and motivation to change the status quo.

Participant five was quoted saying that *“I wanted to see through the liberation of our nation. The abuse and oppression of the then government on our people were receiving arms support from Russians and South Africans which assured us that the revolution is near. Moreover, amongst the struggle soldiers imprisoned, one of them was my brother who was our breadwinner; so, his release and others meant that we could be free.”* She was mainly concerned with the nation’s liberation, abuse, and oppression from the government, and imprisonment of the breadwinner.

Participant nine from Mariental said, *“The resistance movement spoke to my convictions. I knew as a people we deserved respect and humanity. I had witnessed the harassment my neighbours and father went through, and I vowed to myself that never again will I sit back and watch as we suffer under the apartheid government.”* The resistance movement spoke to personal convictions and was also encouraged to participate due to harassment and lack of respect and humanity on the part of the apartheid regime.

In Vryburg, participant thirteen, a retired woman who had been politically involved in her community since the birth of democracy, expressed that *“The apartheid regime forced us to participate alongside our men for our freedom. At some point, our freedom as women was not a priority; all that we wanted was our men to be liberated because we knew that our men liberated meant half the fight was done.”* Fighting to gain freedom and liberation of the men were the main issues that encouraged her to be politically active. At the same time, participant 14 said, *“my father was a comrade and sometimes the white policemen would sexually harass my mother in front of us all, including my father. I felt his masculinity stripped and my mother’s dignity disregarded. Seeing these acts of violence conscientious me and I vowed to be useful to the liberation movement.”*

Participant fourteen’s personal experience drove her to the liberation movement because her father was a comrade, and her mother was disgraced. Participant sixteen said that her political participation during apartheid was because she wanted to assist her nation and release it from years and years of racial oppression.

It can be noted that six people from Mariental were not politically active during apartheid compared to seven in Vryburg. One of the participants from each area talked about abuse and oppression from the government. One participant from Vryburg had post-traumatic growth as her mother was disgraced. She spoke of the personal experience that drove her to the liberation movement (political socialization).

In terms of the issue of human rights violations and poverty perpetuation, this was mentioned by four participants - all from Mariental Rural. One participant talked of the imprisonment of a breadwinner, and she was also from Mariental. The two participants who discussed proximity to male comrades and those who discussed revolution to reclaim rights and dignity were one from each area. The participant from Mariental Rural is the one who discussed the resistance movement speaking to personal convictions and unfair treatment of women. These results show that women from Mariental Rural were more expressive in giving their reasons than women from Vryburg.

4.4.4 REASONS FOR BEING POLITICALLY ACTIVE POST-APARTHEID.

The participants were asked to give reasons for their political activity post-apartheid and the information is presented in Table 1.4.2.

Table 1.4.2: Key concepts on reasons for being politically active post-apartheid.

Key concept	Occurrence
○ Did not participate in politics	7
○ Changing of status quo by transforming the constitution to make provision for women's rights	2
○ Political apathy amongst older generation and youth	2
○ A servant of the people	1
○ Aware of political dynamics at an early age	1
○ Constitutional rights afforded enfranchisement	1
○ Different political ideology	1
○ Discontents with the liberation movement	1
○ Disregard for women's human rights	1
○ Grassroots level socio-economic transformation	1
○ Loss of political focus due to faux economic freedom	1
○ Mothers fighting for free education for children	1
○ Only participation in voting	1

○ Personal interests not represented	1
○ Political and economic independence	1
○ Political socialization	1
○ Tired of failed promises by politicians	1
○ Vows have not changed	1
○ Witnessing of protests	1
○ Youth individualistic instead of communitarian	1
Totals	28

Seven participants did not participate in politics post-apartheid. They did not elaborate on their reasons, and these were three from Mariental (participants 03, 07, and 10) while four were from Vryburg (participants 12, 15, 18, and 20). Participant eight was also not politically active and elaborated on her reasons alluding to political apathy and having a different political ideology from the popular ideology in Mariental Rural.

In Mariental Rural area, participant one was quoted saying that *“The status quo motivated me, the aspiration to transform the Namibian constitution to make provision for women’s rights.”* She participated due to the status quo and the aspiration to transform the constitution to make provision for women’s rights while participant two said, *“Constitutional rights afforded us enfranchisement; therefore, I have vowed to know, teach and practise my rights which my husband and our comrades fought for.”* Participant four said, *“voice to the voiceless because there’s a high trend of political apathy amongst my people. They are tired of failed promises by politicians. Moreover, I wanted a grassroots level socio-economic transformation.”* She was motivated due to the high trend of political apathy among people, tired of failed promises by politicians, and wanted grassroots-level socio-economic transformation.

Participant five said, *“our people lost their political focus. The faux economic freedom made them forget their political mandate; therefore, I live to remind them and make a change in our people’s lives however I can.”* To her, the loss of political focus due to faux economic freedom was her big motivation. According to participant six, *“there is a disregard for women’s human rights, and I want to be a part of the movement which will bring about change in women’s socio-economic and political status.”* She was driven by the disregard for women’s human rights and her desire to be part of the movement in changing women’s socio-economic and political status. Participant nine talked of political and economic independence and she was

quoted saying, *“we have brought political independence to our people; I will die trying to bring economic independence.”*

In Vryburg, participant eleven, a 55-year-old woman living with her two children of ages 27 and 32 in her government house, said *“my political consciousness began just when I was in primary school doing standard 4, living next door to the late Dende Tladi, a political activist who was exiled. I was aware of the political dynamics of my neighbourhood because the white policemen would often come to harass our men, demanding to them and traumatizing kids like us. What cemented my socio-political consciousness was witnessing a protest at my primary school where mothers were fighting for free education for their children. Women who demonstrated were very few; most of them were in their early and late thirties. These women’s desires and voices inspired me to participate in politics. However, I only became confident to stand for organizational seats once I was in high school. I am not fighting a different cause, making sure that my children and the children from my community will be well cared for..* In this case, one can say that she was aware of political dynamics at an early age and witnessed protests when mothers fought for free education for children and gained confidence in high school.

Participant thirteen said, *“there are discontents within the liberation movement, there are factions and the youth have prioritized individuality over communitarianism. It is, therefore, our duty as veterans to shape our movement for the betterment of the nation.”* She was not happy with the current youth ideology, while participant fourteen indicated that her participation post-apartheid was because her vows have not changed. Participant sixteen was quoted saying that *“I am a servant of the people. I live to serve.”*

Participant seventeen said, *“I vote and that is all I do as far as political participation,”* while participant nineteen felt that her interests were not represented and was quoted saying, *“my interests are not represented, it is therefore necessary that I advocate for my interests through voting and protesting.”*

Looking at the results of the participants from Vryburg and Mariental, the participants discussed issues on

Vryburg

Mariental

The need to be a servant of people,	The aspiration of changing of status quo by transforming the constitution to make provision for women's rights,
Being aware of political dynamics at an early age,	Disregard for women's human rights,
witnessing of protests,	constitutional rights afforded enfranchisement,
Mothers fighting for free education for children,	Different political ideology,
Political socialization,	Political apathy amongst older generation and youth,
Discontents with the liberation movement,	Grassroots level socio-economic transformation,
Youth individualistic instead of communitarianism	Tired of failed promises by politicians,
Participating in voting,	Loss of political focus due to faux economic freedom and
Personal interests not represented and	Political and economic independence
Vows not changing	

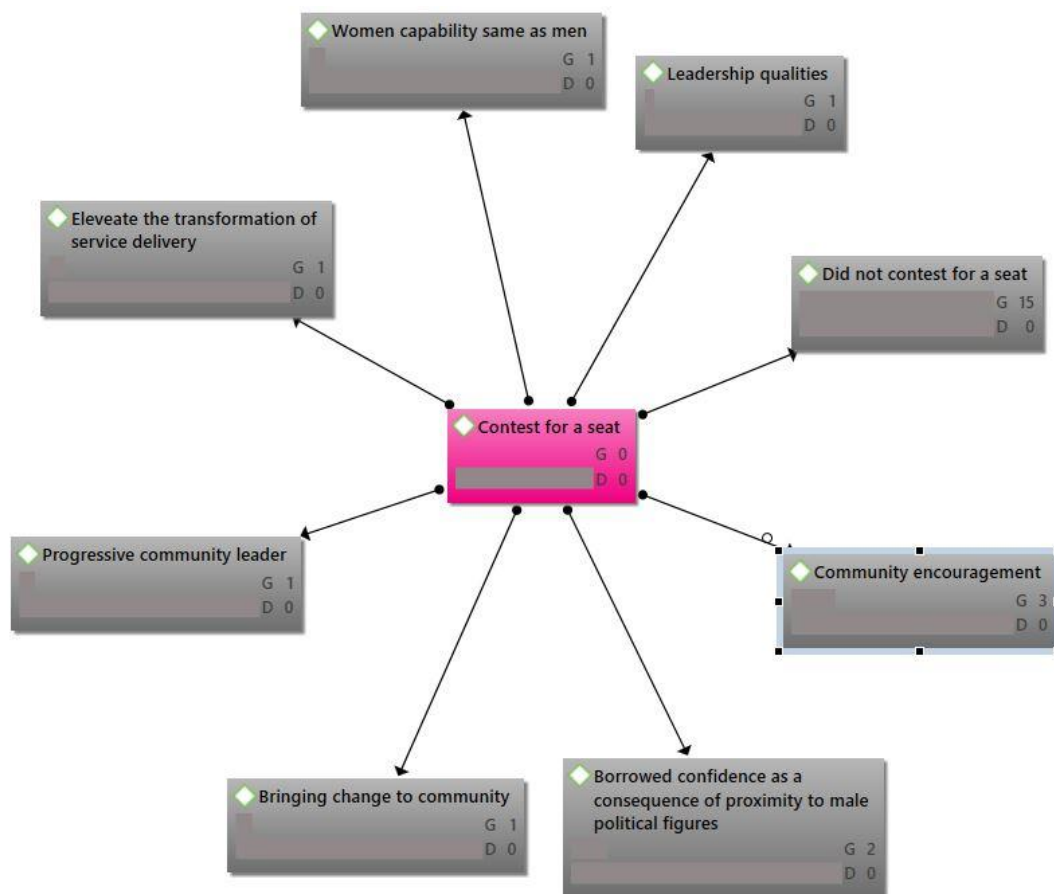
The findings show that women in both rural areas took an interest and participated in post-apartheid politics due to being politically aware and socialized into the culture of politics by close friends and relatives at a young age. However, they show political apathy in the post-apartheid political arena due to mismanagement of state resources that were initially to empower and enrich the people of their respective countries.

The differences found in responses to the question above include women's rights and equality for all. Where Mariental women participated in politics due to the freedom to participate in politics through constitutional rights affording women political enfranchisement, Vryburg women took part in political activities because of their exposure to informal politics during apartheid.

Some of these women contested for a seat in either the local government or within their political organizations. The study will expand further below.

4.4.5 MOTIVATION FOR CONTESTING FOR A SEAT.

The participants were asked what encouraged them to contest for a seat. The key concepts that emerged are presented diagrammatically in Figure 1.4.4.



Key: G – Grounded which shows how many times a code has been applied and D – Density which shows the number of links between entities

Figure 1.4.4: Motivation for contesting for a seat

Out of the twenty participants, fifteen did not contest for a seat. Mariental had eight

participants who did not contest for a seat (namely, participants 02, 03, 05, 06, 07, 08, 09, and 10) while from Vryburg, there were seven participants (viz. participants 12, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19 and 20).

In Mariental, participant one was quoted saying, *“the women in my community inspired me to become an activist/ politician. I saw the revolution in them. They reminded me of who I wanted to become, a progressive community leader; moreover, my ward encouraged me to contest. I think they believed in me and what I represented.”*

Thus, her participation was motivated by women in her community, while according to participant four, she worked with both men and women in advocacy and political activities, which conscientized her on the fact that women are just as capable as men. However, she was also interested in bringing change to her community for the mostly disadvantaged people like herself.

In Vryburg, participant eleven said, *“a respected man in my community, who is also a family friend, encouraged me to contest. He lobbied for me as he organized campaigns for me. This helped me realize the confidence in myself and strive to impress not only him but my church leaders as well.”* Her contestation of a seat was due to community encouragement from a respected man in the community and church leaders. Participant thirteen indicated that they fought alongside their men. She said that *“we had fought alongside our men; it was only fair that as women we get to share the seat at the table.”*

Participant fourteen alluded to her contestation for a seat due to her father’s motivation, leadership qualities, and zeal to liberate people from socio-economic oppression. She was quoted saying, *“my father encouraged me to commit myself to politics. His friends were impressed by my learned ideologies, and I could pull a crowd. Moreover, the goal is to liberate my people from socio-economic oppression.”*

The issues raised were:

Vryburg	Mariental
Borrowed confidence as a consequence of proximity to male political figures.	Bringing change to the community

Community encouragement	Community encouragement
Elevate the transformation of service delivery	Women capability same as men
Leadership qualities	Progressive community leader

Voting is a form of political participation which affords people the option to choose the candidate they want as their representative in electoral processes, contesting for a seat in either the local government or political party. Therefore, women must stand for elections to voice out their interests and represent those very interests.

There are differences and similarities as to why and how people generally participate in politics and stand for elections. Equally, women have different political interests and subscribe to different political ideologies. Also, because cultures are different, women within those cultures have different political perceptions. To this end, the study found that both groups of women share the same sentiment as to why they stood for elections. Ten of them expressed that they wanted to contribute to their communities by advancing service delivery. However, Vryburg women seem to have stood for elections due to men's proximity, which helped their confidence to face elections.

4.4.6 ORGANISATION OF POLITICAL CAMPAIGN

Campaigns are how candidates and political parties prepare and present their ideas and positions on national issues to the voters in the period preceding election day. Taking part in campaigning for candidates or just assisting a political party is one way to get involved in local or national politics. In this way, one is trained and gains familiarity with political processes, consequently affording one the confidence and capacity as demanded by the political environment. This is generally important for women but particularly important for women in rural areas, and it can serve as empowerment to motivate women's participation in community politics, regardless of its scale.

The participants who contested for a seat were asked to indicate how they organized their campaigns. The following ways were obtained and are presented in Table 1.4.3.

Table 1.4.3: Key concepts on the organization of the political campaign

Key concept	Occurrence
-------------	------------

○ Door to door	5
○ Mass meetings	5
○ The majority of the community were women (community-based)	3
○ Political party organized	1
Totals	14

Participants 01, 04, 11, 13, and 14 indicated that they did door-to-door campaigns and mass meetings. Participant 01 elaborated by saying, “*my political party and my community nominated me to stand as local authority councillor in regional elections. Therefore, my campaign was organized by the party. I did not campaign much because I had my community’s support of whom the majority were women. Nonetheless, the ratio was slightly different; unfortunately, I cannot recall from the top of my head.*” Other than door-to-door campaigns, her campaign was organized by the political party, and she also did mass meetings and involved the community members in campaigns. According to participant 04, besides door-to-door campaigns, she also made the people feel heard by organizing mass meetings. This was also supported by participant 14, who alluded to doing door-to-door campaigns and mass gatherings and engagements. Participants 11 and 13 also organized door-to-door campaigns, mass meetings and involved the community members in the campaign.

In Mariental, the issues that came up were.

Vryburg	Mariental
Door to door,	Door to door,
Most of the community were women (community-based) and	Most of the community were women (community-based),
Mass meetings.	Mass meetings and
	The political party was organized.

All methods used for campaigning were the same in both areas except in Mariental; the political party was the one that organized the events as mentioned by the participants

4.4.7 RESULT OF CONTESTING FOR A SEAT

The participants that succeeded after contesting a seat were participants 01, 04, 11, and 13, while 14 failed. Participant 14 was quoted saying, *“I must add that although I was able to pull in crowds, I did not receive much support from women because I did not represent their interests and address their concerns.”* She attributed her failure to not representing the women’s interest in the community. It can be observed that two of the contestants from each area were successful, while from Vryburg, the candidate who was not successful acknowledged that she did not represent women fully.

4.4.8 BASE OF SUPPORT

Participant 01 indicated that she received overwhelming support from men. She was quoted saying, *“from my political party, I received overwhelming support from men and very few supporters from my fellow women. This disappointed me because I was opposed by the very women, I drew courage from.”*

Participant 04 was supported by men and women between the ages of 25 and 60, and Christians, while participant 11 indicated that most of her support consisted of older women, and the gender ratio was 60:40 for females and males, respectively. Participant 13 was supported by older men and youth with a ratio of 60 women and 40 men while participant 14 indicated that most of her support was older men.

Vryburg	Mariental
Most of the support consisted of older women,	Christians
Older men	People aged 25 to 60 years,
Youth with most women	Male-dominated support,

In politics, the term ‘base’ refers to a group of voters who support a particular candidate for elected office. Base voters are very unlikely to vote for the candidate of an opposing party, regardless of the specific views each candidate holds.

The base is premised on political ideologies, religion, political socialization, and political interests. Patriarchy and the subjugation of women act as ideologies shaping people’s views on political issues. Therefore, women’s political base is often shaped by these factors, making it challenging to penetrate the political space due to a lack of support.

The study found that, contrary to Mariental Women, Vryburg women participated more in politics by receiving the most support from older women and men. This indicates that society is welcoming of women's involvement in politics.

4.4.9 TIME SPENT PARTICIPATING IN LOCAL POLITICS.

The participants were asked to indicate the duration of time they have spent in local politics. The information is presented in Table 1.4.4.

Table 1.4.4: Key concepts on time spend participating in politics.

Key concept	Occurrence
○ 29 years	2
○ 16 years	1
○ 20 years	1
○ 28 years	1
○ 30 years	1
○ 31 years	1
○ 32 years	1
○ 42 years	1
○ 44 years	1
○ 48 years	1
○ 50 years	1
○ 52 years	1
○ 63 years	1
Totals	14

Many of the participants have spent more than 30 years in politics. The participants were quoted as saying:

- *P1: Participated since I was 24 years old (16 years)*
- *P2: Since I was 30 years old (31 years)*
- *P4: Since I was 20 years old (30 years)*
- *P5: Participated since I was 16 years old (63 years)*
- *P6: Participated since I was 16 years old (50 years)*

- *P7: Since I was 30 years old (20 years)*
- *P9: Since I was 20 years old (52 years)*
- *P11: I was interested in politics while I was still in primary school, where I joined COSAS (Congress of South African Students) as an ordinary member. So, I was around 13 years of age (32 years)*
- *P13: Participated since I was 24 years old (42 years)*
- *P14: Since I was 13 years old (28 years)*
- *P16: Participated since I was 24 years old (44 years)*
- *P17: Participated since I was 24 years old (29 years)*
- *P19: Participated since I was 16 years old (29 years)*
- *P20: Participated since I was 16 years old (48 years)*

It can be observed that the Mariental participants were involved in local politics by the age of 30 while in Vryburg, South Africa, by not later than 24 years old. It can also be noted that in South Africa, participants start to be involved in local politics at an earlier stage compared to Mariental.

4.4.10 COMPARATIVE SUMMARY ON THE FACTORS THAT ACCOUNT FOR WOMEN IN RURAL AREAS' POLITICAL PARTICIPATION.

Similarities

- i. The women interviewed from both areas show a trend in answering the first question, which aimed to investigate if women participated in politics during apartheid and what propelled them to participate. The study found those who participated in politics during and after apartheid did so after experiencing violent discrimination against their race when police officers would either raid their areas looking for anti-apartheid activists, or personally being victims of harassment by apartheid authorities.
- ii. The apartheid regime segregated blacks from whites systematically, depriving them of basic human rights. It further marginalized and repressed black women's human rights by enforcing laws that prohibited them from associating with revolutionary groups, and disenfranchised them. These laws were implemented in both countries, and consequently, women in rural areas were at the bottom of the chain.
- iii. Although these laws were enforced to instill fear amongst black people, black women felt the violent brunt of it. Therefore, regardless of the fear instilled, black women took part in politics, which was not a space for them, but they created the space for themselves for a higher cause that was the liberation of the nation. Regardless of the

repressive laws, women in both countries dared to participate in politics, although only 7 out of 20 women took the risk; this indicates women's natural aspiration to politics. They too were aware of the injustices, consequently evoking the inclination to partake in transforming the unjust status quo.

- iv. Participation in politics of women residing in post-apartheid rural areas was owing to their proximity to influential men who were revolutionaries during the apartheid regime. They drew inspiration from them, and these men encouraged them to join the resistance movements.

Differences

- i. Without formal education, these women had the political consciousness necessary to understand the political dynamics of the countries of the time. However, in South Africa, Vryburg, the women took up some form of education to advance themselves and position themselves for employment (cadre deployment), whereas in Namibia, the women rarely studied further post-apartheid.

4.5 CONCLUSION

The study found four factors that contributed to the political sensitization and participation of women to be as follows:

1.5.1 POST-TRAUMATIC GROWTH

PTG (post-traumatic growth), as defined by Tedeschi and Calhoun (2009:1-18), is the positive mental shift experienced because of adversity. Existing literature on women and post-war suggests that women are inclined to participate in politics in higher numbers post-war/conflict. This study found the claim to be valid when processing and analysing data.

The women show a positive mental shift towards participation in post-conflict societies; it is no different in post-apartheid societies. The interview scripts illustrate how experiencing a family member, or a fellow community member, who was harassed and violated by the apartheid policemen, could inspire political participation. This is owing to what is known as post-traumatic growth, which is seen in how individuals react after experiencing complex life challenges. It is seen in the resilience of individuals who went through traumatic events.

1.5.2 CULTURAL FACTORS

Generally, women's ability to take the lead and participate in politics is driven or limited by a society's cultural norms, which can either empower or disempower women. Vryburg and Mariental are culturally alike, as lukewarm patriarchal. This means that although society is constructed in such a way that a man is traditionally the community leader, there is room for women to speak.

Participant 12 (interviewed on the 10th of December 2019 at her home, which she shares with her 2 grandchildren and three children), when asked what propelled her participation in the struggle against the apartheid movement, explained that male political activists in her community encouraged her to attend SWAPO local meetings and assigned tasks to her such as to mobilize and be an informant.

The data showed a trend of men subliminally encouraging women's involvement in the struggle against the apartheid regime, which is similar in both areas.

1.5.3 ECONOMIC FACTORS

The economic status of women plays a vital role in influencing their participation in politics. During the apartheid regime, women's economic opportunities relied on what their spouses or fathers could provide for them. The apartheid laws restricted women from working and living in industrialized areas, cementing their gendered constructed role, which was primarily reproduction.

Most women expressed how they wanted independence from the apartheid regime and men who led them in the community and home. Moreover, they wanted the freedom to participate in the economy so they could fend for themselves and their offspring. Literature finds that women can "fight for their economic interests" (Braybon, 1989:49), thus supporting sentiments shared by the women interviewed.

1.5.4 POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION

Socialization is in the art of how individuals learn and sometimes adapt to the norms and values of their society. According to Braanthal (1960:364-366), political socialization is the "modes and manners in which people first learn to behave politically and in which their learned behaviors change" (Heyman, 1918).

Some of the women from both areas indicated they had been politically socialized by either family or neighbours. Watching and living through the experience of their family members and

or neighbours being wanted by police in their small communities, showing defiance and unity for black people's revolution, shaped these women's political perspectives, which further contributed to one of the factors which influenced their political participation.

During the interviews, when asked what initially encouraged their political participation, most women shared similar experiences where they had either heard tales told by their family and friends or experienced first-hand political violence towards members of their communities who were anti-apartheid and worked closely within the ANC and SWAPO political parties. This later reinforced their political association and loyalty to these respective political organizations. Studies (Diamond, 1977; Githens & Prestage, 1977; Rule, 1981; Welch, 1978) have exerted efforts into investigating why women do not participate in electoral politics.

They have found several factors such as "overt discrimination by voters and electoral gatekeepers" overlooking the importance of proximity to political performance. This study found that most women who had personal experience of political brutality or second-hand experience have the proclivity to take an interest and participate in politics.

In conclusion, the evidence shows that although women in rural areas are not homogenous, the roots of their socio-economic and political struggles are, to an extent, identical. Both Namibia and South African state laws enforced limits on women's movement from rural areas into urban areas. These laws were influenced by cultural perceptions which were also shaped by patriarchal religious standards excluding women from leadership roles.

However, as laws on racial discrimination were removed, women were then provided with the opportunity to compete in the political arena, with the help of men who held different ideas on gender roles. This is evidenced from the findings in both areas; where there is opportunity to participate in politics, women are seen to be interested in leadership roles. The study found that women in rural areas in both countries were influenced mainly by the four factors mentioned above to participate in local politics.

CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS ON RESEARCH QUESTIONS TWO AND THREE

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter 5 expands on the findings for questions 2 and 3, which investigated the possibilities of women's political participation translating into roles in government and how women impact the overall participation of women in local government. These questions allow the understanding of the dynamics of women's political participation in rural areas.

5.2 QUESTION TWO: DOES WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN RURAL AREAS TRANSLATE TO ROLES IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT?

According to UN Women (2019), women in local government can contribute to the more significant task of transformation and effective service delivery, provided they are afforded the space to freely participate in politics and presented with a fair chance at ascending to and occupying political posts. The case in point is India where research shows that the drinking projects which were women-led councils were 62% higher in success rate than those led by men (Oxfam, 2016).

Women's political and socio-economic status improves when women become more involved in decision-making and policy development at all levels of governance. Yadav and Sahu (2018:65-71) maintain that through rural women politicians' involvement in community development and women's socio-political movements, these activities are evidence that rural women are aware of the challenges their communities face. The scholars further explain that these women are directly affected by these challenges and, therefore, they are uniquely positioned to address them adequately.

For this reason, women's representation in rural areas in local government is equally important as their participation. Therefore, governments must prioritize participation and representation of women in rural areas to benefit from women's input and to promote the human rights of women in rural areas.

The research question was subdivided into three sub-themes as shown below

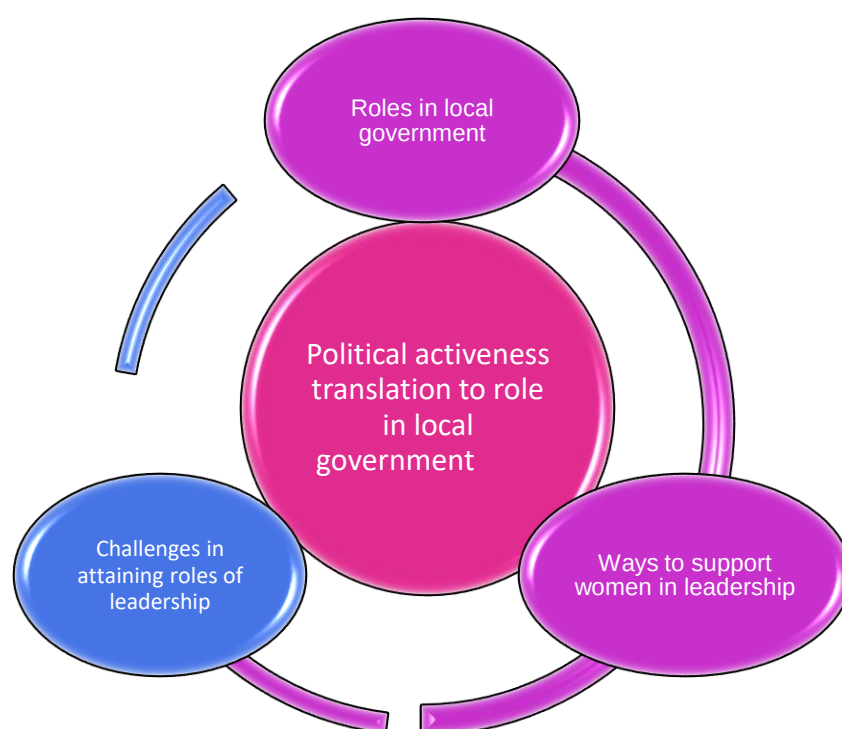


Figure 1.5.1: Themes for political activeness translation to a role in local government.

The results of the sub-themes are presented in the following subsections.

5.2.1 ROLES IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The participants were asked to indicate the political roles they had attained in local government.

The information is presented in Table 1.5.1.

Table 1.5.1: Key concepts on roles in local government

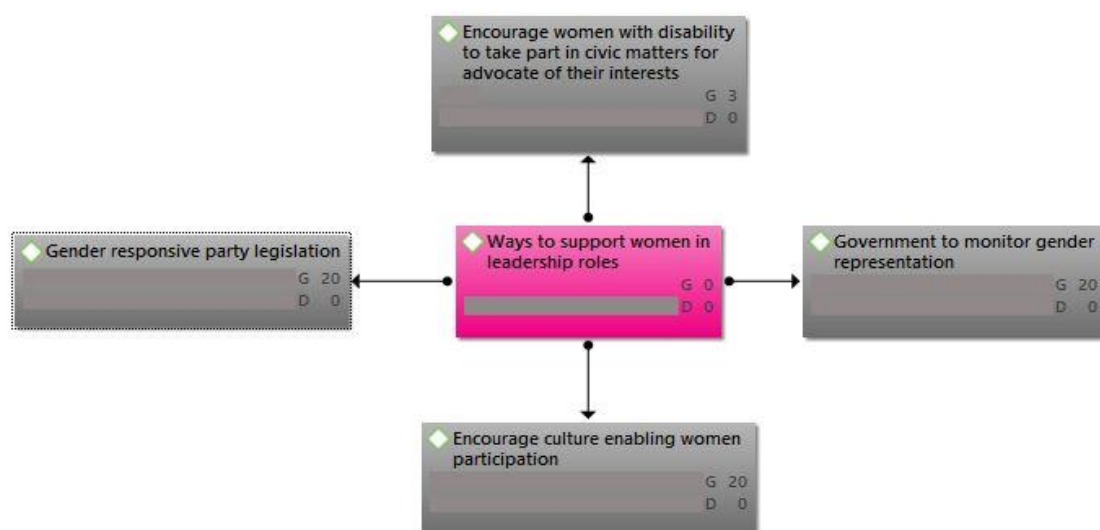
Key concept	Occurrence
○ House speaker role	20
○ Mayoral role	19
○ Councillor role	16
○ Councillor role	4
○ Gender imbalance in local government	1
○ Mayoral role	1
○ Welfare and basic services roles for women and financial roles reserved for men	1
Totals	62

Sixteen of the participants did not have any mayoral role, councillor role, or house speaker role in the local government. These are participants 02, 03, 04, 05, 06, 07, 08, 09, 10, 12, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19 and 20. Thus, nine participants from Mariental Rural did not have any role, while seven were from Vryburg. Participant 03 advocated failure to attain roles as gender imbalance in the local government. She was quoted saying “*we have seen the representation of women in the local government serving in political office. However, they are nowhere balanced to the men in the local government.*”

According to participant 04, finance tends to be reserved for male comrades. She said “*the portfolios we often find ourselves in are subpar, such as welfare and basic services. Finance is reserved for male comrades.*” No participant in Mariental managed to attain a local government role except participant 01, who managed to be a councillor. In Vryburg, participants 11 and 16 were able to be councillors, while participant 13 was both a councillor and a mayor. The success of attaining local government offices was more in Vryburg than in Mariental Rural.

5.2.2 WAYS TO SUPPORT WOMEN IN LEADERSHIP.

The participants were asked what encouraged them to contest for a seat. The key concepts that emerged are presented diagrammatically in Figure 1.4.4.



Key: G – Grounded which shows how many times a code has been applied and D – Density which shows the number of links between entities

Figure 1.5.2: Ways to support women in leadership

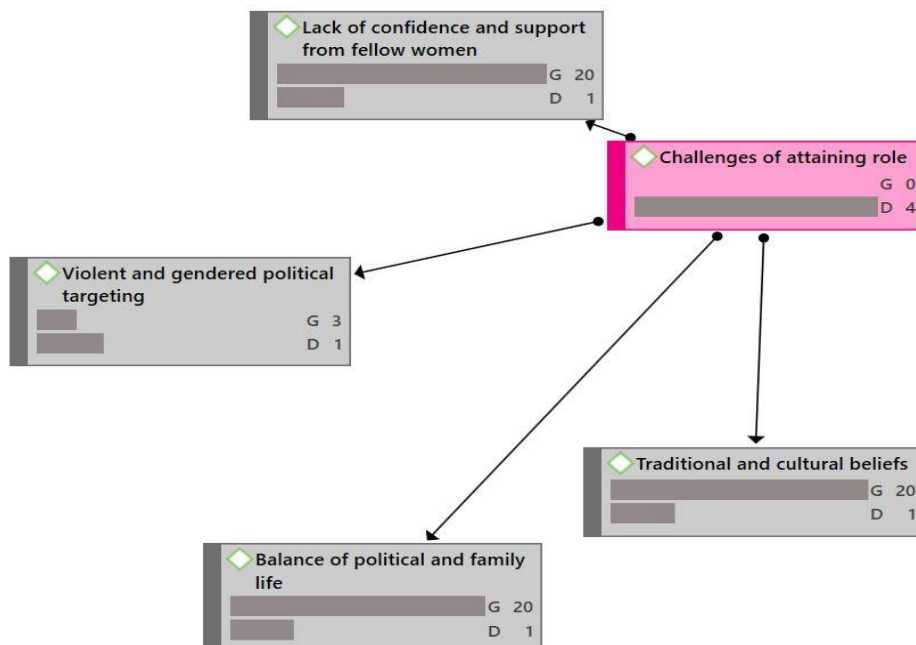
The participants were asked to indicate ways women in leadership could be supported. All the twenty participants indicated that they should encourage a culture that enables women to participate in local politics and have gender-responsive party legislation. Also, the government must thoroughly monitor and enforce gender representative quotas.

Participant 11 further expressed that male leader must endorse female leaders, as this will contribute to changing the damaging perception of women. Participants 03, 10, and 18 indicated that they should encourage women with disabilities to participate in civic matters so that their interests can be advocated.

Both areas mentioned the same ways to support women. One participant from Mariental mentioned encouraging women with disabilities, while in Vryburg, the common sentiment was eradicating patriarchal undertones in the electoral process. By this, the women referred to electoral systems which pose a threat to their full participation.

5.2.3 CHALLENGES IN ATTAINING ROLES OF LEADERSHIP.

The participants indicated the challenges in attaining roles of leadership. The key concepts that emerged are presented diagrammatically in Figure 1.5.2.



Key: G – Grounded which shows how many times a code has been applied and D – Density which shows the number of links between entities

Figure 1.5.2: Challenges in attaining roles of leadership

All the participants indicated the challenges including traditional and cultural beliefs, lack of confidence and support from fellow women, and balance of political and family life. On traditional and cultural beliefs, the participants indicated that there are cultural and traditional views on women where leadership/kingship is reserved only for men. In addition, lack of support and confidence from fellow women resulted in a lack of confidence associated with masculine women, who will remain unmarried and lack sisterhood.

In terms of balancing political and family life, the participants indicated that there was a double burden, as one must balance a political and social life. Participants 03 and 18 indicated violence and gender political targeting as a challenge for women's participation in local politics. They indicated that there are violent politics where men manipulate and violate women to threaten them off politics. This was supported by participant 11, who was quoted as saying *“targeted violence on female comrades is a consequence of intimidation from male comrades who hold strong misogynist values.”*

Both areas mentioned the same challenges for women in politics; traditional and cultural beliefs, lack of confidence and support from fellow women, and balance of political and family life. In addition, one participant from Mariental mentioned violent and gendered political targeting, while in Vryburg, there were two participants.

5.2.4 SUMMARY FOR POLITICAL ACTIVENESS TRANSLATION TO A ROLE IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Diversity is a necessary component for consolidating democracy; thus, it is equally paramount to include women in decision-making processes and institutions that require differences in voices. Studies (Alonso *et al.*, 2011; Luckham *et al.*, 2003) have cautioned against the under-representation of women in government as this results in a democratic deficit. Nonetheless, equal representation of women in local government remains a challenge for many African countries. Similarly, although the study was measured using a small sample, the results show validity, because 10 random women were interviewed after the recruitment process by the respective municipality.

The results are somewhat similar; of the 10 women, 8 in Mariental explained that although they have participated in local politics, this did not translate into seats in the local government as ward councillors, although 5 of the 10 held aspirations to hold office.

It is also worth noting that women who indicated that they had the ambition to run for office hold different personal manifestos. Many have the propensity to advance political party aspirations than for women or other disadvantaged groups.

Results in Vryburg are slightly different; more women seem to have had a seat in the municipality since the 2004 local government elections.

Figure 5: Local government electoral cycle of Namibia and South Africa

2004 Cycle

Vryburg: All interviewed women voted in local government elections, however none of them assumed a seat in local government as a councillor.

Mariental: All interviewed women voted in local government elections. Similar to Vryburg, none of them were elected as ward councillors.

2010 cycle

Vryburg: Of the 10 women interviewed, 3 held office as ward councillors who also served in the municipal council serving in the following:

- Community services and Local economic development
- Water and sanitation
- Social development

Mariental: Of the 10 women, only one served as a ward councillor under the community development portfolio. 8 of the other women expressed their aspirations but did not campaign for themselves due to self-doubt as well as threats from male and female opposition.

1 woman held office

2016 Cycle

Vryburg: Numbers increased during this election cycle in Vryburg municipality. 5 women stood for the local government and won seats, 2 served in the municipal council:

Mariental:

- Community services
- Basic services

Not much changed in Mariental, during the 6th election cycle, only 1 woman was voted in as ward councillor, two of the women who stood for elections in previous cycles claim that they worked for the community irrespective of the electoral results.

None of the 20 women interviewed in respective areas was ever a mayor except one, and speaker of the house in the local government parliament. The representation that translates into the agency is of paramount importance, more particularly for achieving gender equality in decision-making processes. Therefore, the absence of women in rural areas' agency by sitting in higher political offices indicates the lack of true transformation.

It is equally important to consider that the results generated here reflect ten women residing in rural areas, based on their political aspirations and their subject criterion based on the researcher's selection guide.

According to Sifiso from Genderlinks (2019), women's under-representation in higher political decision-making offices is due to patriarchal ideas which have spilled into how genders interact based on preconceptions on gender roles. In congruence with Sifiso's assertion, many subjects agreed to this claim by asserting that several factors come to play which all emanate from patriarchal structures and attitudes.

The question of whether political participation translates into roles in government indicates that from the ten women interviewed, there is an underrepresentation of women in the local government. This is particularly evident in Mariental, Namibia. Nonetheless, Vryburg indicates measurable progress.

5.2.5 SUMMARY ON SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES BETWEEN VRYBURG AND MARIENTAL ON PARTICIPATION TO REPRESENTATION.

Similarities

- i. Women's political participation translates into roles in both areas; 40% of the participants indicated to be councillors in local government.
- ii. No participant held a role as speaker of the house, although 80% expressed interest in chairing the house.

In 2016, the SADC Gender and Development Monitor reported South Africa and Namibia amongst the highest ranked for women in local government representation. However,

representation does not afford them agency because of presiding over welfare and sanitation positions which are considered subpar, and secondly their allegiance to the party mandate often takes priority.

Differences

- i. Only one woman from Vryburg has ascended to the mayoral role. However, she also indicated that her role was limited by the party's mandate as well as violent and gendered political targeting within the party and external individuals.
- ii. Although women's political participation in Vryburg translates to roles in local government, their portfolios are subpar, which does not necessarily afford them tangible influence to drive transformation. Contrary to Vryburg, Mariental women hold office as ward councillors, which curtails their women-lensed ideas on how to empower women.

5.2.6 CONCLUSION

In conclusion, both women in Vryburg and Mariental expressed similar obstacles which limit attaining roles in the local government, including low self-esteem, traditional and cultural stereotypes, violent and gendered political targeting, and the inability to successfully balance family and political life. The study found that education also played a role in acting as barriers for women entering the local government as community leaders. (Diamond, 1977) supports this assertion by stating that "women tend not to work in the fields of law and business fields from which most congressional and state legislative candidates emerge."

They often lack the objective qualifications and economic autonomy to pursue elective office. This is true to the life experiences of women in rural Vryburg and Mariental. The data showed that many did not ascend to higher education; even the jobs they occupied did not yield interest and awareness of political participation.

Nonetheless, these barriers can be removed by encouraging a culture that enables women's freedom of political expression, extensive gender-responsive party legislation, as well as grave government monitoring on gender representation in local government. These measures can assist in achieving the Sustainable Development Goals, which both South Africa and Namibia pledged to invest efforts towards.

5.3 QUESTION THREE: DO WOMEN IN RURAL AREAS WHO HAVE ROLES IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT IMPACT THE OVERALL IMPROVEMENT OF WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION?

There is a lack of data that translates the impact women have in the local government. In third-world countries, women's political participation is impeded by low literacy levels and a lack of resources and knowledge to be effective community leaders. Women's effective leadership is an underexplored human resource necessary for achieving radical equality. The research question on whether women in rural areas who have roles in local government impact the overall improvement of women's political participation was subdivided into two sub-themes as shown in Figure 1.6.1.

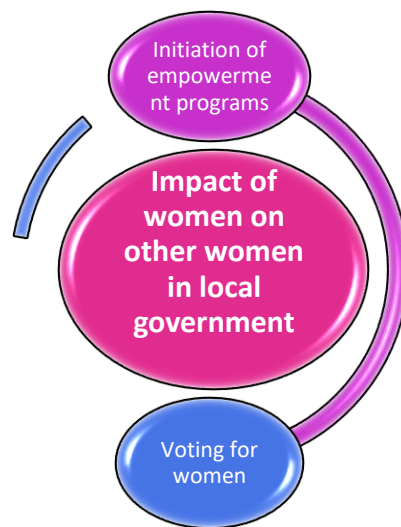
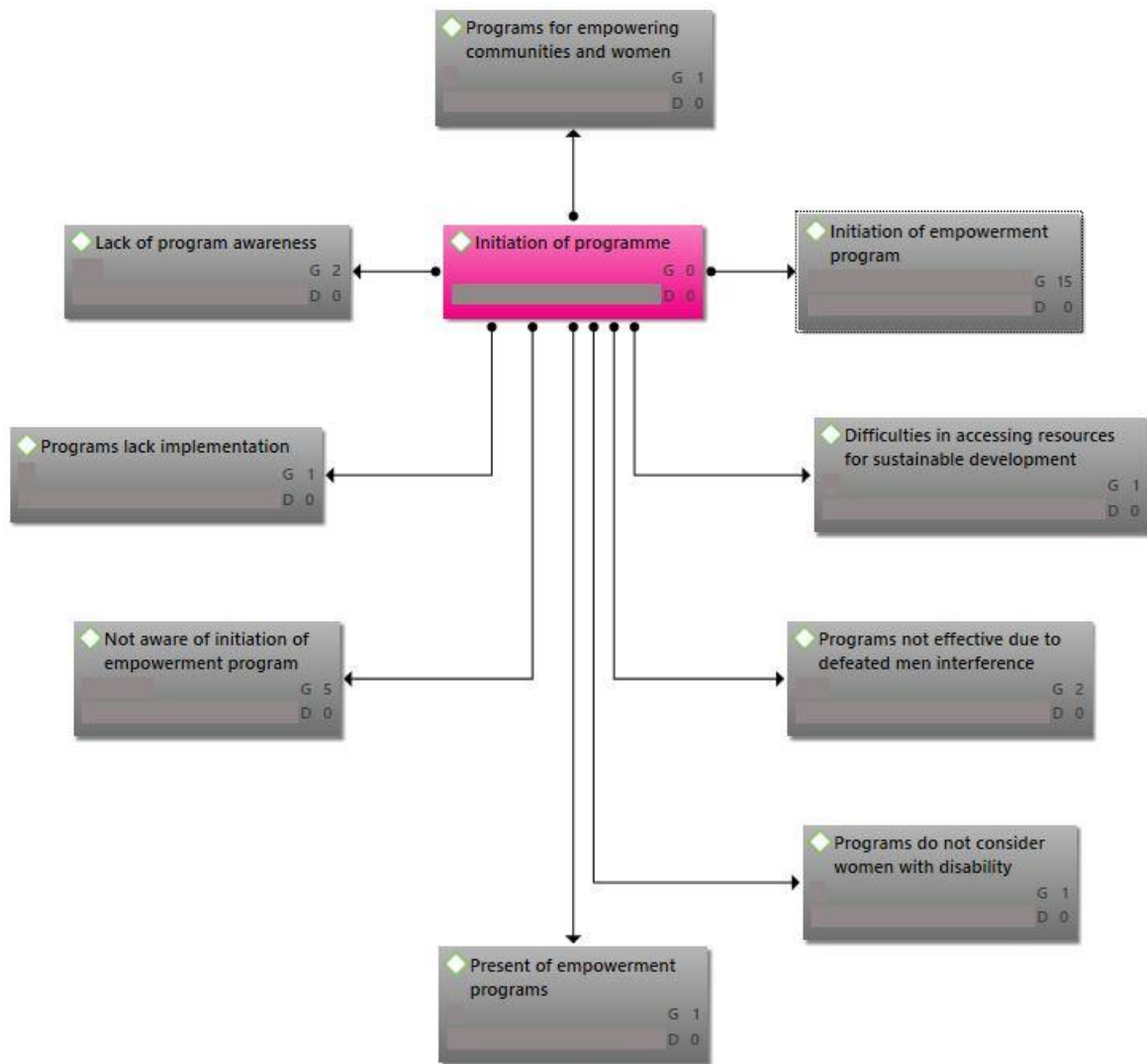


Figure 1.6.1: Theme and sub-themes for the impact of women on other women in local government

The results of the sub-themes are presented in the next subsections.

5.3.1 INITIATION OF EMPOWERMENT PROGRAMMES

The participants were asked whether they initiate empowerment programmes, and the key concepts that emerged are presented diagrammatically in Figure 1.6.1.



Key: G – Grounded which shows how many times a code has been applied and D – Density which shows the number of links between entities

Figure 1.6.1: Initiation of empowerment programs

Fifteen out of twenty participants, namely, participants 01, 02, 03, 04, 05, 07, 08, 09, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, and 19, indicated that there was an initiation of empowerment, while five were not aware of any initiation empowerment programmes. It can be noted that nine are from Mariental rural, while six are from Vryburg.

Participant 01 said “*although they do initiate programmes aimed at empowering women, most aim to support women in agriculture. Even so, some programmes are initiated but lack implementation.*” Thus, the participant indicated that the programmes were aimed at supporting women in agriculture. However, the initiated programmes lacked implementation. Participant

02 was quoted as saying *“women in local government see to it that their interests and interests of the party they serve to take priority than the public interests. Some women have disappointed us during the years; they perpetuated nepotism and corruption where they rendered basic services to their friends and family leaving most of our people in need. These women seldom organize section engagements with the community...as far as I am concerned the gender of the candidate does not qualify him/her of humility.”*

She further said that the programmes are ineffective because men who were defeated during elections frustrate processes when trying to access resources that allow portfolio holders to deliver sustainable development in our communities.

Participant 04 thought that *“the challenge with women politicians has to do with male validation; therefore, women in local government tend to cater for individual interests aligned with party interests. In this way, their political status is secure. In most cases, we see men vouching for a certain woman they can manipulate to push their agenda. Nonetheless, when I served as regional councillor, not only was I able to fight for casual workers to be employed on permanent status, I was also able to initiate programmes that aimed at empowering women by teaching them basic education and basic electoral processes.”*

Thus, participant 04 indicated that women in local government prioritize personal and party interests over public interests, men support women they can manipulate, casual workers have been employed on permanent status, and teaching of basic education and electoral processes to women.

Participant 03 said although there were initiation empowerment programmes, the programmes should, however, also consider women with disabilities, and this can encourage disabled women to take part. Participant 8 said that the programmes were there, but she is not aware of them since they are not effective.

Participant 13 was quoted saying *“I have initiated programmes which aimed at empowering our communities and our fellow women. However, the trend that I have seen during my time in leadership is that information does not effectively reach women; hence there’s low participation of women in such programmes.”* She acknowledged that there are programmes for empowering communities and women, and there is low participation of women due to lack of awareness.

Participants 06, 15, 17, 18, and 20 were not aware of the initiation of the empowerment programme. Only one person was not aware of the initiation of programmes in Mariental, while there were four in Vryburg.

The issues raised by participants from Mariental in terms of initiation of programmes were:

Vryburg	Mariental
Lack of programmes for empowering communities and women and	Difficulties in accessing resources for sustainable development,
Lack of programme awareness.	Programmes not effective due to defeated men interference
	Present of empowerment programmes,
	Programmes lack implementation,
	Programmes do not consider women with disabilities and
	Lack of programme awareness.

To achieve gender equality, women must be empowered through education and training. Therefore, initiating empowering programmes in post-apartheid regimes is fundamental in the transformation agenda. Cultural and political customs such as patriarchy and discriminatory legislatures disempowered women during apartheid, consequently disenfranchising them.

Politics is socially constructed by people who define the rules of their societies. The construction of politics was created such that it discriminates against women participating in making rules for a society into which they are born. Therefore, implementing programmes aimed at including women in the decision-making process is a necessary feminist agenda that can deconstruct traditional politics to allow more women's involvement.

Once women lead in the local government, their impact is not always seen due to several factors, including the fact that they initiate programmes but fail to implement them. This is owing to the issue relating to defeated men, who also ran for electoral office, using their influence to frustrate women's access to resources within the local government and political party. This trend was apparent in both Vryburg and Mariental. It can safely be stated that although women aspire to change, their efforts are curtailed by the persistent patriarchal culture eminent in political parties.

5.3.2 VOTING FOR WOMEN

The participants were asked whether they have voted for women. Twelve out of the twenty women indicated that they voted for women, and these were participants 02, 04, 07, 09, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 18, 19, and 20, while participant 10 did not vote for any women.

Participant 13 indicated that although she voted for a woman, she voted based on merit rather than the gender of the person.

Participant 17 indicated that she was not aware whether she was voting for a woman. It can be noted that four participants from Mariental rural voted for women, while eight were from Vryburg.

5.3.3 SUMMARY FOR IMPACT ON OTHER WOMEN IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Studies have shown that there should be a progressive change for the rest of the community when women lead in government. However, in Vryburg and Mariental, the trend seems to be that women experience challenges with meaningful leadership once they are elected in the local governance due to the inability to implement programmes and projects to advance not only the standard of living of women, but also empowering their political participation.

Similarities

- i. During the apartheid regime, women were barred from voting and discriminated against from (a) Associating with political parties, and (b) Casting a vote.

These forms of discrimination lessened women's participation in the political arena in the early years post-apartheid.

Both Vryburg and Mariental women's political participation increased as the years progressed. As women climbed the political ladder assuming leadership roles, their impact was curtailed by party interests, where the party mandate took precedence over the community's interests. Additionally, fellow male comrades harassed women leaders, thus blocking them from carrying out programmes necessary to improve women's political lives.

Differences

- i. Initiation of empowerment programmes is fundamental in the transformation agenda. For example, for women to partake freely and fairly in politics, they must be empowered through projects and programmes sensitizing them to the importance of their involvement in decisions affecting their everyday lives.

Taking the above into consideration, women in Vryburg indicated that there is a lack of such programmes; and apart from the rare cases where there are such programmes, no effort is invested in raising awareness.

- ii. Contrary to Vryburg, in Mariental there are programmes focused on empowering women in rural areas through political education. However, the women face challenges such as difficulties in accessing resources for sustainable development. This is due to political parties not prioritizing such programmes and consequently these fall short of implementation.

Scholars do not effectively address the experiences of women leaders' inability to empower and sensitize women having an interest in politics in rural areas. One study reported that women leaders face structural and institutional barriers, whereby political parties act as gatekeepers influencing political party interests over community interests by interpreting national policies in a manner beneficial to the political party's mandate (Institute for Policy Research, 2018). Both Vryburg and Mariental women leaders reported similar challenges. Consequently, women in rural areas remain desensitized on political and socio-economic issues directly affecting them due to structural and political barriers.

5.4 CONCLUSION

This chapter analysed and presented data that assisted in exploring the political participation of women in rural areas from 2004 to 2016. The data indicate that although the local and national governments have made concerted efforts to increase women's political participation at the local level through gender quotas and empowerment programs, gendered stereotypes undo the work. This is done through the political parties' damaging patriarchal culture, which curtails women's interests in politics due to sexual harassment that takes place pre-elections.

The data also show that although women have had an interest in participating in community forums to be part of the community solutions, their political activities are often minimized and overlooked.

Although most studies investigate what hinders women's political participation, this study investigated the opposite; factors that contribute to women's political participation in post-apartheid countries. The study found 4 factors that can be attributed to women's interest and participation in politics; these are post-traumatic growth, political socialization, economic factors, and cultural factors. The next chapter will provide a summary of the overall study.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides the conclusion of the whole study, proffers recommendations that policymakers and other private players can adopt and implement to enhance the participation of women in rural areas, and lastly reflects on the limitations of the study.

6.2 REFLECTION ON OBJECTIVES

6.2.1 INVESTIGATE THE FACTORS THAT CONTRIBUTE TO WOMEN IN RURAL AREAS' POLITICAL PARTICIPATION POST-APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA AND NAMIBIA.

The study managed to investigate the factors that contribute to women in rural areas' political participation in Mariental and Vryburg. The factors are similar in both countries. Apartheid, as a gendered social construct of society, as well as religion, suppressed women's political and leadership interests. Therefore, years of psychological inferiority setting contributed to the low participation of women in politics. However, the efforts of constructivists and feminists have shaped the political lives of women since the dawn of democracy, hence both countries have seen an increase in women's political participation and representation in local governments.

During apartheid, women fearfully got involved in politics so to bring about the change which is democracy in modern South Africa and Namibia. The transition from the end of apartheid to democracy was quite difficult to adjust to, taking into consideration the laws and social conditioning in which women were the sub-par gender.

Moreover, culture was reported to be one of the factors which impede the full political participation of women in local politics. Entrenched customs, as well as gendered socio-cultural beliefs and roles, have hindered women's involvement in politics. However, local governments have made efforts in empowering women to participate in local politics by providing training on leadership.

In post-apartheid South Africa, women reported that the factors which contributed to their political participation included the need to be heard as well as to play a role in local government decision-making. This factor seemed to be the central reason for all the women.

6.2.2 TO ASSESS IF WOMEN IN RURAL AREAS' POLITICAL PARTICIPATION TRANSLATES TO A ROLE IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA AND NAMIBIA.

The presence of women in the decision-making levels not only enhances their social, political, and economic status but also strengthens democratic institutions. This statement is true for post-apartheid societies such that women's involvement in politics contributes to the consolidation of a new democracy. It is a necessary transition from the apartheid suppressive laws which stripped women of their autonomy, therefore affording women the right to have a voice in their everyday lives.

The study's objective was to assess if women in rural areas' political participation translated into roles in local government in post-apartheid Vryburg and Mariental Rural. It was then found that although government and SADC gender quotas provided guidelines to political parties to achieve the 50/50 gender representation balance, the leading political parties struggled to achieve this in these rural areas. However, it is noteworthy that both South Africa and Namibia have overall of above 40% female representation in local government.

The focus however was on Vryburg and Mariental, and it can be safely concluded that in Mariental, representation of women in local government is low when compared to Vryburg. Women in both areas do get involved in community development, which is an indication of their involvement in politics; they vote in local government elections, they stand for political office, they campaign, and lobby for their respective political parties, and they protest. However, the rate at which they become elected office bearers is comparatively lower in Mariental than it is in Vryburg.

6.2.3 TO ASSESS IF WOMEN IN RURAL AREAS IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT HAVE AN IMPACT ON THE OVERALL IMPROVEMENT OF WOMEN IN RURAL AREAS' POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN SOUTH AFRICA 2004-2016

In trying to enhance women's participation and representation in local government, women who occupy seats in local government must work toward the empowerment of women who aspire to political office. The study found that women in rural areas find it challenging to advance the empowerment of other women, because political parties rather champion their own party's mandate to solidify mass power which is often populist and rhetorical than accountable work.

The study also found that women are not a homogenous group. They share same-gender consequences, but however can have dissimilar perspectives and principles. This means that women ascend to power for different reasons; some women stand for political office for personal gain, or financial stability, or and status which further enables access to financial opportunities.

In conclusion, although the study encountered some limitations, the study's objectives were successfully met. This was done by employing a theoretical framework which assisted in proving a structure within which the relationships between variables and phenomenon are explained.

Furthermore, the study achieved its objectives through collecting primary data necessary for the completion of the study, so it is essential to appreciate that in the absence of adequate pre-existing literature on these respective areas, primary data was collected and thoroughly engaged to produce a reliable and valid study.

6.3 LIMITATIONS

The researcher experienced challenges which in one way or another contributed to the limitations which are as follows:

- Access to existing data: International Relations has for long overlooked the study of women's politics and its significance in the international arena. The insufficiency of existing literature on rural women's activism in politics resulted in the study's dependence on primary data.

It is therefore important to encourage further research on rural politics and women's involvement in local politics. Nonetheless, the researcher employed primary data collection, supported by existing literature, as tools to explore the research questions and find answers to the main topic of the research.

- Financial resources: the researcher experienced challenges with financial support to adequately carry out the research. However, the researcher was able to use university funds to travel to Namibia, Mariental, and Vryburg in the North West Province of South Africa. The funds were used for a bus ticket, accommodation, food, internet fees, traveling, the printing of documents, making phone calls, and payment for tour guides

in both areas. Taking these expenses into consideration, it should be that a study of this magnitude should have strong financial muscles.

- Accessibility of participants: in Mariental, Namibia, participants were challenging to access due to the municipality's difficulty in cooperating with a student during national elections months. However, the researcher was able to schedule an appointment with local politicians who then assisted in the processes of scheduling consultation with relevant public servants.
- Scope: the study is limited in scope; the central focus is on the political participation of women residing in rural areas. The study focuses on unpacking political participation in measuring the state of women's involvement in politics using both formal and informal means to participate in local politics, with hopes to ascend to public office. Therefore, future research can be conducted by expanding the scope as well as the sample size to provide a much broader understanding of factors that account for women in rural areas' political participation.

6.4. SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIVISM ANALYSIS ON THE STUDY

Social constructivists such as (Wendt, 1999) are of the view that international relations should not be reduced to materialistic explanations through neorealist lenses, instead should be broadened to sociological theories. Furthermore, the socio-political and affairs of the global world is not a physical entity or material object that exist outside human consciousness hence individuals and groups can change structures within the international system. "It exists only as an intersubjective awareness among people".

Patriarchal norms have shaped generations of societies, rural areas across the globe continue live in such a structure where women are subjected to childbearing and domestic work. However, leadership tasks are reserved for men consequently perpetuating women's marginalization in the political space.

Through social constructivism, the study finds that factors contributing to women's political participation are somewhat similar in both areas because of the gendered apartheid regime which enforced discriminatory and marginalizing policies on race and gender.

Feminist scholars have influenced states to become more women inclusive in decision making processes. it thus subsequently changing patriarchal norms to feminist norms. Nonetheless, the study finds that political participation of women in rural areas has increased since 2004 to 2016 although it's nothing close to the increase in urban areas.

Social constructivism demonstrates how gender norms and identities are constructed, contested and reconstructed in historical, and socio-political contexts. It thus demonstrates that the international system can be shapes with ideas to become more gender responsive and friendly to women in political spaces. South Africa's gender responsive strategies can thus be used as a benchmark in Southern Africa to achieve gender equality.

6.5 THE EFFICACY OF THE RESEARCH DESIGN

An exploratory design is employed when conducting a study about a research problem when there are a few or no earlier studies to refer to. One of the goals of an exploratory design is the generation of new ideas and assumptions. Thus, the study employed an exploratory design for the above reasons which resulted in generating new literature and contributing to international Politics knowledge on the how and why women in rural areas participate in politics.

6.5 CONCLUSION

The apartheid regime marginalized primarily black people, however black women who reside in rural areas bore the brunt of the apartheid laws' negative effects which discriminated against the progress of black people and women's economic, political, and social lives.

In truth, the apartheid laws affected not only black people, but all women of all races however, the distinction comes to play in post-apartheid South Africa where most women reside in rural areas because of apartheid special settlements projects. South African and Namibian societies were both constructed within an oppressive and patriarchal philosophy that materialized marginalization of "other" as the common norm, consequently disadvantaging them economically and psychologically by entrenching the idea of inferiority in them.

One of the many laws which were deemed oppressive to women and stripped them of their natural rights, included the legal capacity, where married African women did not share the same benefits as their spouses under both customary and statutory laws.

The laws stipulated that unless a Bantu woman has been emancipated, she was considered a minor who had no self-autonomy, therefore essentially belonging to her husband. This meant that women were socially conditioned to the belief that they cannot form political expressions

different from those of their husbands. This conditioning bled into women's understanding of political dynamics which is essentially a no-go area for women, hence women struggle to find their bearings within the political sphere.

The study has addressed two gaps in the literature. Firstly, although there is sufficient pre-existing literature on women's political participation, scholars have overlooked women in rural areas' political participation, by injecting more effort into a generalized investigation into women's political participation at the national level as well as women in urban areas' political participation. Nonetheless, the study has collected primary data, thus contributing to the body of knowledge around women in rural areas' political participation, both in South Africa and Namibia.

Secondly, existing literature on factors contributing to hindering women's political participation is dominant in women's political participation. The study has therefore addressed this gap by investigating positive factors which account for women in rural areas' political participation in post-apartheid societies. From this study, findings show that the political participation of women in rural areas has increased since 2004 due to several reasons including relaxed restrictions on women's involvement in politics, meaningful women empowerment platforms, gender quotas, male comrades' encouragement, and open space for free participation.

Some women meaningfully participate in some decision-making structures as well as participate in social justice, while others do not. The following are conclusions that have been made on women from Mariental and Vryburg:

Factors which contribute to women's political participation are similar in both areas. During the apartheid regime, women were unable to fully participate in politics due to repressive laws, therefore they could not vote, stand for election, protest, or form social movements. Although women eventually moved from rural areas into the cities to protest the pass laws, the radical revolution was not permitted.

The women's radical participation was then empowered in post-apartheid whereby they were allowed to vote and have the freedom to associate with any political party, as well as freedom of expression amongst many other human rights. Women were not only suppressed by apartheid laws but also socially conditioned to believe in the patriarchal structures which cemented gendered stereotypes harmful to their human development.

Wendt (1999) argues that societies are shaped by group ideas rather than nature; this is evidenced both in South Africa and Namibian societies. Apartheid was a socio-economic and socio-political policy constructed by a group of white supremacist leaders based on their interests. Consequently, both societies were then a reflection of a group's interests. Similarly, gender equality can be argued to be a group's interests, because human beings are diverse in thought and some believe in the equality of sexes, some belief in patriarchal structures.

Some of the respondents share a belief in equal societies, where women are equal participants in shaping societies, while others believe in traditional views of women as child-bearers and men as key leadership figures in communities.

Some respondents were not aware of the importance of political participation and how it promotes gender equality and overall development. This is due to the rhetoric around women's political participation and the absence of meaningful developments rendered by their political participation in their communities.

There is thus a need to create awareness through campaigns and training so that women are empowered through basic local government teachings, political participation, and meaningful development in their communities.

6.6 RECOMMENDATIONS AND FURTHER RESEARCH

Governments should ensure that women's political participation should not end at voting stations and recruitment drives during elections, because this perpetuates the idea that women in rural areas are not good enough for leadership roles.

Local governments should recruit unemployed young women for a year's training on leadership and electoral processes. These women should run for political office and serve as mentors to the community.

Gender-targeted violence should be mainstreamed to raise awareness and conscientize both genders equally against political violence. This opens the political space for fair competition for women without educational backgrounds on human rights and political responsibilities and rights.

Government should extend the quota system which was introduced at the national level for legislators to the local government level to increase the representation of women. When the quota system was introduced at the national level, it led to an increase in women's representation in parliament.

Local Authorities should effectively practice gender budgeting. This means the capacity gaps for female councillors can be overcome through holding empowerment programmes for these women, particularly female councillors. This in turn enhances women's participation in local governance, particularly in councils.

Political parties must encourage and offer support to their female politicians. Trying to adhere to the South African NDP policy of 50% representation is not enough, therefore political parties must provide women-specific training which aims to empower women politicians all through the year.

The Electoral Independent Commission of both countries must reconsider the PR system. The system creates a platform for political parties to discriminate against women.

Local governments should encourage political participation amongst young women by introducing initiatives specifically aimed at advancing the political life of women in rural areas. This way, gender stereotypes are confronted at an early age.

Several areas where pre-existing literature is lacking were highlighted in the methodology chapter. Whilst some of these were addressed by the research in this thesis, others remain. There is a lack of studies on how women in rural areas have participated in politics in the specific period of 2004-2016. Future studies might, for example, look for trends in how, why, when, and where women in rural areas have participated in politics in post-apartheid governments.

More studies can be done to analyse how civil society organizations promote women in rural areas' political participation and education on human rights. Lastly, studies can embark on investigating the effectiveness and awareness of SDG 5 in local governments situated in rural areas, as well as the management of gender-responsive budgeting of local government.

In conclusion, women's political participation is an important component of an equal and democratic society, thus governments, civil society organizations, and international organizations ought to prioritize the political agency of women at local government structures to reach full circle on equality of the genders in decision-making processes. With the above said, further research should be conducted using a larger population sample to draw a broader understanding of the study's objectives 1 and 2.

7 BIBLIOGRAPHY

Acosta-Belen, Edna, and Christine E. Bose. September 1990. "From Structural Subordination to Empowerment: Women and Development in Third World Contexts." *Gender & Society: Official Publication of Sociologists for Women in Society* 4 (3): 299.

Africa Community Publishing and Development Trust (ACPD) and Women's Movement

(2015). *Raising Hopes, Raising Lives: The Rights of Women in the Constitution and the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development*. Triton: Harare.

Adams, Mark, and Mark Bradbury. 1995. *Conflict and Development: Organizational Adaptation in Conflict Situations*. OXFAM Discussion Paper 4. OXFAM England.

Afsharipour, Afra. January 1999. "Empowering Ourselves: The Role of Women's NGOs in the Enforcement of the Women's Convention." *Columbia Law Review* 99 (1): 129.

Arnvig, Eva. 1994. "Women, Children, and Returnees." In *Between Hope and Insecurity: The Social Consequences of the Cambodian Peace Process*, edited by Peter Utting. A UNRISD Monograph, Geneva.

Aron, Adrienne, et al. 1991. "The Gender-Specific Terror of El Salvador and Guatemala: Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder in Central American Refugee Women." *Women's Studies International* 37: 37-47.

Agency for Co-operation and Research in Development (2001) *The Situation of Child Heads of Households in Rwanda: A Significant Challenge*. Kigali, Rwanda: ACORD.

Afshar H and Eade D (eds) (2004) *Development, Women and War: Feminist perspectives*. Oxford: Oxfam GB publishers.

Amone-P'Olak K (2005) 'Psychological impact of war and sexual abuse on adolescent girls in Northern Uganda' in *Intervention*, 3, 1: 33-45.

Begoña Aretxaga, *Shattering Silence: Women, nationalism, and political subjectivity in Northern Ireland*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ, 1997, p. 6.

Bennett, Elizabeth. "Rwanda Strides Towards Gender Equality in Government." *Harvard Kennedy School Review* August 15, 2014.
<http://harvardkennedyschoolreview.com/rwanda-strides-towards-gender-equality-in-govenment/>

Buenos Aires Herald. "In Argentina, women hold only 22 percent of top government positions." June 2, 2016, <http://buenosairesherald.com/article/215411/>

Burnet, Jennie. "Women Have Found Respect: Gender Quotas, Symbolic Representation, and Female Empowerment in Rwanda" *Politics and Gender*, November 1, 2011. <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/politics-and-gender/article/women-have-foundrespect-gender-quotas-symbolic-representation-and-female-empowerment-in-rwanda/951DD720A7A606928E1F5287668B465>

CEDAW, UN. (1981). *Convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women*. CEDAW.

Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. (1995). *Federal democrat republic of the Ethiopian constitution*, procl. no. 1/1995, federal Negarit Gazeta:
Year 1 No. 1, Aug 21. Addis Ababa: National legislative bodies or authorities.

Davies, G. M., Smith, S., & Blincoe, C. (2008). A "weapon focus" effect in children. *Psychology, Crime, and Law*, 14, 1928.

Cornwall, A. & Goetz, A.M. (2005). *Democratizing Democracy: Female's perspective*. *Democratization*, 12(5), 783–800.

CRDA. (2005). *Women in leadership and decision making: The Ethiopian perspective*. In *Proceedings of a workshop on women in leadership and decision making* (pp. 2–15). Addis Ababa: CRDA.

Dahlerup, D. (2005). Increasing women's political representation: new trends in gender quotas. In J.B.A.A. Karam (Ed.), *Women in parliament: Beyond numbers* (pp. 141–153). Stockholm: International Institute for Democracy Electoral Assistance.

Delys, S. (2014). *Women and political representation, a handbook on increasing women's political participation in Georgia*. Georgia: Human Rights Education and Monitoring Centre (EMC).

Erlingsson, C. and Brysiewicz, P., 2017. A hands-on guide to doing content analysis. *African Journal of Emergency Medicine*, 7(3), pp.93-99.

Hancock, B., Ockleford, E. and Windridge, K., 2001. *An introduction to qualitative research*. Trent focus group.

Jo Anne Durako: *Second-Class Citizens in the Pink Ghetto: Gender Bias in Legal: Journal of Legal Education*, Vol. 50, No. 4 (December 2000), pp. 562-586: Association of American Law Schools

kgatshe & van Rooyen 2005: *Livelihood activities in Female-Headed Households: Letlakane Village*. Abstract: Masters Dissertation. Johannesburg: University of Johannesburg: Department of Anthropology and Development studies. UNESCO/UNICEF: *Educating Girls and Women in Africa*. 1995

Cottam, Martha K., Elena Mastors, Thomas Preston, and Beth Dietz. *Introduction to Political Psychology*. 3d ed. New York: Routledge, 2016

Goldgeier, J. M., and P. E. Tetlock. "Psychology and International Relations Theory." *Annual Review of Political Science* 4 (2001): 67–92.

McDermott, Rose. *Political Psychology in International Relations*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004

Stone, W.F. and Schaffner, P.E., 2012. *The psychology of politics*. Springer Science & Business Media.

Hadzic, D. and Tavits, M., Wartime Violence and Post-War Women's Representation. *British Journal of Political Science*, pp.1-16.

Fernandez, R., Fogli, A. and Olivetti, C., 2004. Preference formation and the rise of women's labor force participation: Evidence from WWII (No. w10589). National Bureau of Economic Research

Voors, M.J., Nillesen, E.E., Verwimp, P., Bulte, E.H., Lensink, R. and Van Soest, D.P., 2012. Violent conflict and behavior: a field experiment in Burundi. *American Economic Review*, 102(2), pp.941-64.

Fuest, V., 2008. 'This is the Time to get in Front': Changing Roles and Opportunities for Women in Liberia. *African Affairs*, 107(427), pp.201-224.

Bulhan, H.A., 2004. *Frantz Fanon and the psychology of oppression*. Springer Science & Business Media.

Fanon, F., Sartre, J.P. and Farrington, C., 1963. *The wretched of the earth* (Vol. 36). New York: Grove Press.

Shvedova, N., 2005. Obstacles to women's participation in parliament. *Women in parliament: Beyond numbers*, 33, pp.22-45.

Ocran, R.K., 2014. *Women's political participation: A comparative study on Ghana and Tanzania*. The University of Eastern Finland.

Kuug, B., Osei, R., Oteng, B. and Adams, W., 2018. Voter apathy in local government elections: An evidence-based phenomenon in the Berekum Municipality, Ghana. *African Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies*, 11(1), pp.87-98.

Schaupp, L.C. and Carter, L., 2005. E-voting: from apathy to adoption. *Journal of Enterprise Information Management*.

Abraham, H.J., 1952. What Cure for Voter Apathy? *Nat'l Mun. Rev.*, 41, p.346.

Drew, D. and Weaver, D., 2006. Voter learning in the 2004 presidential election: Did the media matter? *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 83(1), pp.25-42.

Buranajaroenkij, D. et al. (2018) 'Expansion of Women's Political Participation through Social Movements: The Case of the Red and Yellow Shirts in Thailand', *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 53(1), pp. 34–48. DOI: 10.1177/0021909616654508.

Esteve-volart, b., and m. Bagues (2012): "Are women pawns in the political game? Evidence from elections to the Spanish Senate," *Journal of Public Economics*, 96, 387–399.

Fox, r. L., and j. L. Lawless (2004): "Entering the arena: gender and the decision to run for office," *American Journal of Political Science*, 48, 264–280.

Brollo, f., and u. Troiano (2016): "What happens when a woman wins a close election? Evidence from Brazil," *Journal of Development Economics*, 122, 28–45.

Government of South Africa, Commissioner of Police, Annual Report, various issue
Robinson, J. (1997). The geopolitics of South African Cities: States, Citizens, Territory. *Political Geography*, 16: 5, 365-386.

Pycroft, C. (1996). Local Government in the new South Africa. *Public Administration and Development* 16: 233-245.

The Republic of South Africa. (1998). *Municipal Structures Act*, Pretoria: Government Printers

The Republic of South Africa. (1998). *White Paper on Local Government*, Pretoria: Government Printers
Republic of South Africa. (2000).

Municipal Systems Act, Pretoria: Government Printers Republic of South Africa. (2000). South African National Framework on Gender and Women Empowerment. Pretoria: Government Printers.

Selee, A. (2004). Exploring the Link Between Decentralization and Democratic Governance. In Tulchin, J. & Selee, A. Decentralization and Democratic Governance in Latin America (pp 3-36). Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center.

Hubbard, D. 2001. '50/50: Options for Namibia', paper prepared for the Namibian Women's Manifesto Network. Windhoek: Legal Assistance Centre.

Hubbard, D. & K. Kavari. 1993. Affirmative Action for Women in Local Government in Namibia. Windhoek: Legal Assistance Centre.

Hubbard, D. & C. Solomon. 1995. 'The many faces of feminism in Namibia', in Amrita Basu, ed. The Challenge of Local Feminisms: women's movement in global perspective. Boulder, CO: Westview.

Jaquette, J. 1994. 'Introduction: from transition to participation - women's movements and democratic politics, in J. Jaquette, ed. The Women's Movements in Latin America: participation and democracy. Boulder, CO: Westview.

Karam, A. ed. 1998. Women in Parliament: beyond numbers. Stockholm: International IDEA.

Keulder, C. 2000. 'Voting behavior in Namibia', in Keulder, ed. State, Society, and Democracy.

Keulder, C. ed. 2000. State, Society, and Democracy: a reader in Namibian politics. Windhoek: Gamsberg Macmillan.

Khaxas, E. 2002. 'Analysing the impact of the 50/50 campaign in Namibia'

Machangana, K. 1998. 'Emang Basadi Women's Association and the Women's Manifesto: advocating for women's rights in Botswana', in P. Camay & A. Gordon, eds.

Advocacy in Southern Africa: lessons for the future. Johannesburg: Cooperative Research and Education.

Matland, R. 1998. 'Enhancing women's political participation: legislative recruitment and electoral systems', in Karam, ed. Women in Parliament

Sadie, Y., 2005. Women in political decision-making in the SADC region. *Agenda*, 19(65), pp.17-31.

Goetz, A.M., Hassim, S. and Luckham, R. eds., 2003. No shortcuts to power: African women in politics and policymaking (Vol. 3). Zed Books.

Mama, A., 2017. Women in politics. In *Routledge handbook of African politics* (pp. 147-162). Routledge.

SADC, S., 2013. SADC Gender Monitor 2013: Women in Politics and Decision-Making Positions. Meer, F., 1985. Women in the apartheid society.

Uy, K.K. and Okubo, Y., 2018. Re-storying the trauma narrative: Fostering posttraumatic growth in Cambodian refugee women. *Women & Therapy*, 41(3-4), pp.219-236.

Sideris, T., 1998. Women and apartheid. *Collective Trauma and Social Reconstruction. The Way*, pp.80-92.

Mkhize, G.P., 2012. African Women: An Examination of Collective Organizing Among Grassroots Women in Post-Apartheid South Africa (Doctoral dissertation, The Ohio State University).

Neimeyer, R.A., 2004. Fostering posttraumatic growth: A narrative elaboration. *Psychological Inquiry*, 15(1), pp.53-59.

Williamson, C., 2014. Towards a theory of collective posttraumatic growth in Rwanda: The pursuit of agency and communion. *Traumatology: An International Journal*, 20(2), p.91.

Curry, D.Y., 2006. An African American construct and confronts the social construction of race in post-apartheid South Africa. *Safundi: The Journal of South African and American Comparative Studies*, 7(2), pp.1-26.

Norval, A.J., 1996. *Deconstructing apartheid discourse*. Verso.

Shefer, T., 2010. Narrating gender and sex in and through apartheid divides. *South African Journal of Psychology*, 40(4), pp.382-395.

Bond, G.C. and Gilliam, A. eds., 1994. *The social construction of the past: representation as power* (Vol. 24). Psychology Press.

Sideris, T., 2007. post-Apartheid South Africa—Gender, rights, and the politics of recognition. *The Security-Development Nexus*, p.233.

Pini, B. ed., 2013. *Women and representation in local government: international case studies* (Vol. 39). Routledge.

Jayal, N.G., 2005. *From Representation to Participation: Women in local government*. Nehru University, New Delhi.

Kabemba, C., 2003. The impact of democracy on public participation in the SADC region.

Ogunsanya, K., 2004. Namibia elections and conflict management. *ACCORD Occasional Paper*, 2004(2), pp.1-16.

Beyani, C., 2004. Governance and human rights in the SADC region. *Journal of African Elections*, 3(1), pp.62-80.

Sadie, Y., 2005. Women in political decision-making in the SADC region. *Agenda*, 19(65), pp.17-31.

Shale, S., 2012. Transforming women's role in local government in Lesotho through a women's quota. *Journal of African Elections*, 11(2), pp.93-115.

Maphunye, K., 2013. 'Why participate in elections if we're not properly represented?' Women's political participation and representation in SADC countries. *Journal of African Elections*, 12(3), pp.142-169.

De Waal, M., 2005. Local government and local government elections: bridging the private and public lives of women and men. *Journal of Public Administration*, 40(si-3), pp.706-715.

Matari, D., 2013. Women Participation in Local Government Decision Making: The Case of Kinondoni Municipal Council (Doctoral dissertation).

Moyo, G.T., 2016. Women participation in diplomatic missions: A case study of Zimbabwean diplomats in SADC states. 1995-2015 (Doctoral dissertation, BUSE).

Kgatla, S.T., 2013. Forced removals and migration: a theology of resistance and liberation in South Africa. *Missionalia: Southern African Journal of Mission Studies*, 41(2), pp.120-132.

Falch, A., 2010. Women's political participation and influence in post-conflict Burundi and Nepal. Peace Research Institute Oslo Working Paper.

Sørensen, B., 1998. Women and post-conflict reconstruction: Issues and sources (No. 3). WSP Occasional Paper.

Caul, M., 1999. Women's representation in parliament: The role of political parties. *Party politics*, 5(1), pp.79-98.

Lamprianou, I., 2013. Contemporary political participation research: A critical assessment. In *Democracy in transition* (pp. 21-42). Springer, Berlin, Heidelberg.

Cornwall, A. and Goetz, A.M., 2005. Democratizing democracy: Feminist perspectives. *Democratisation*, 12(5), pp.783-800.

Lere, I. and Dantong, R., 2015. Political Participation and Women in Public Offices. *OIDA International Journal of Sustainable Development*, 8(12), pp.73-80.

Belloni, R., 2008. Civil society in war-to-democracy transitions. *From war to democracy: Dilemmas of peacebuilding*, pp.182-210.

Mungai, P.W., 2014. Factors influencing women participation in political process the case of the Orange Democratic Movement party, Kenya (Doctoral dissertation, University of Nairobi).

Parry, G., Moyser, G. and Day, N., 1992. Political participation and democracy in Britain. Cambridge University Press.

Malinga, B., 2016. Women's empowerment and gender mainstreaming in post-apartheid South Africa: an analysis of governmental policy frameworks and practices (Doctoral dissertation).

Beck, R.B., 2000. *The History of South Africa*. Greenwood Publishing Group.

Davenport, T. and Saunders, C., 2000. *South Africa: A modern history*. Springer.

Dooling, W., 2008. *Slavery, emancipation and colonial rule in South Africa* (Vol. 87). Ohio University Press.

Cohen, D.W. and Greene, J.P. eds., 2020. *Neither slave nor free: The freedman of African descent in the slave societies of the new world*. JHU Press.

Muller, E.N., 1977. Mass politics: Focus on participation. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 21(1), pp.63-86.

Van Deth, J.W., 2001, April. Studying political participation: Towards a theory of everything. In joint sessions of workshops of the European consortium for political research, Grenoble (pp. 6-11).

Ekman, J. and Amnå, E., 2012. Political participation and civic engagement: Towards a new typology. *Human affairs*, 22(3), pp.283-300.

Cumbie, B.A. and Kar, B., 2016. A study of local government website inclusiveness: The gap between e-government concept and practice. *Information Technology for Development*, 22(1), pp.15-35.

Geurtz, C. and Van de Wijdeven, T., 2010. Making citizen participation work: The challenging search for new forms of local democracy in the Netherlands. *Local Government Studies*, 36(4), pp.531-549.

Beetham, D., 1996. Theorising democracy and local government. In *Rethinking local democracy* (pp. 28-49). Palgrave, London.

De Visser, J., 2009. Developmental local government in South Africa: Institutional fault lines. *Commonwealth Journal of Local Governance*, (2), pp.7-25.

Pietilä, P., 2005. Role of municipalities in water services in Namibia and Lithuania. *Public Works Management & Policy*, 10(1), pp.53-68.

Makumbe, J., 2010. Local authorities and traditional leadership. *Local government reform in Zimbabwe*, 87.

Baumgarten, R., 2007. Gender and local government: developing a strategy for Namibia. *Sister Namibia*, 19(4), p.9.

Biography

Participant: 1.

Age: 40

Educational background: University

Employment status: government employed.

Area: Mariental rural, Namibia.

1. Factors influencing women in rural areas' political participation.

1.1 Were you politically active during apartheid?

YES
NO

Participant elaborated that she was not politically active due to her age, she was at the age which her parents (uneducated) feared any political involvement. Nonetheless, she aspired leadership positions and visioned herself as an activist while growing up.

1.1.1 How?

- Protested:

YES
NO

- Stood for elections:

YES
NO

- Lobbied:

YES
NO

1.2. Why were you politically active during apartheid?

- No available data since the participant did not take part in local politics.

1.3. Why are you politically active post-apartheid?

The status quo motivated. The aspiration to transform the Namibian constitution to make provision for women's rights.

1.4. What encouraged you to contest for a seat in post-apartheid government?

The women in my community inspired me to become an activist/ politician. I saw the revolution in them. They reminded me of whom I wanted to become, a progressive community leader, moreover my ward encouraged me contest. I think they believe in me and what I represent.

1.5. How did you organize your campaign?

My political party and my community nominated me to stand as local authority councillor in regional elections. Therefore, my campaign was organized by the party, I did not campaign much because I had the support of my community of whom the majority were women. Nonetheless, the ratio was slightly different, unfortunately I cannot recall from the top of my head.

- Door to door
- Mass meetings
- Involved community members in campaign.

1.6. Did you succeed?

YES
NO

1.7. What was your base of support?

From my political party, I received an overwhelming support from men and very few support from my fellow women. This disappointed me because I was opposed by the very women, I drew courage from.

1.8. How long have you participated in local politics?

Participated since I was 24 years old.

2. Does your political activeness translate to roles in local government?

2.1. did your political participation translate to role/s in local government?

-As mayors?

YES
NO

-Councillor?

YES
NO

-House speaker?

YES
NO

2.2. what can be done to support women in leadership roles?

-Encourage a culture that is enabling women to participate in local politics

- have gender responsive party legislation

-government must thoroughly monitor and enforce gender representative quotas.

2.3. what are the challenges with regards to attaining roles?

- Cultural and traditional views on women where leadership/kingship is reserved only for men.
- Lack of confidence and associated with masculine women who will remain unmarried.
- Lack of sisterhood
- Double burden; must balance political and family life.

3. how do women impact other women once in local government?

3.1. Do they initiate empowerment programs?

YES
NO
Not aware

“Although they do initiate programs aimed at empowering women, most are aimed at supporting women in agriculture. Even so, some programs are initiated but lack at being implemented’.

Biography

Participant: 2

Age: 61

Educational background: primary

Employment status: pension

Area: Mariental rural, Namibia.

2. Factors influencing women in rural areas' political participation.

2.1 Were you politically active during apartheid?

YES
NO

2.1.1 How?

- Protested:

YES
NO

- Stood for elections:

YES
NO

“No, I did not stand in for any political office, I was however deployed by my community to serve as the chairperson of my section. This came after our people lost faith in elected politicians who serve their own interests”.

- Lobbied:

YES
NO

1.2. Why were you politically active during apartheid?

The domination of white people over black people both in South Africa and Namibia respectively perpetuated poverty and human rights violations of black people. The revolution was ours and we wanted to enjoy the fruits of our land, self-rule and reclaim our dignity and respect as a people. My husband is a respected community leader and his endorsement of me in politics saved me from the critics”.

2.2. Why are you politically active post-apartheid?

“Constitutional rights afforded us enfranchisement; therefore, I have vowed to know, teach and practice my rights which my husband and our fellow comrades fought for.”

2.3. What encouraged you to contest for a seat in post-apartheid government?

- No data because the participant did not contest for any seat.

2.4. How did you organize your campaign?

- No data because the participant did not contest for any seat.

2.5. Did you succeed?

YES
NO

2.6. What was your base of support?

- No data because the participant did not contest for any seat.

2.7. How long have you participated in local politics?

Since I was 30 years old

3. Does your political activeness translate to roles in local government?

3.2. did your political participation translate to role/s in local government?

-As mayors?

YES
NO

-Councillor?

YES
NO

-House speaker?

YES
NO

3.3. what can be done to support women in leadership roles?

- Encourage a culture that is enabling women to participate in local politics
- have gender responsive party legislation
- government must thoroughly monitor and enforce gender representative quotas.

3.4. what are the challenges with regards to attaining roles?

- Cultural and traditional views on women where leadership/kingship is reserved only for men.
- Lack of confidence and associated with masculine women who will remain unmarried.
- Lack of sisterhood
- Double burden; must balance political and family life.

4. how do women impact other women once in local government?

“women in local government see to it that their personal interests and interests of the party they serve take priority than the public interests. Some women have disappointed us during the years, they perpetuated nepotism and corruption where they rendered basic services to their friends and family leaving most of our people in need. These women seldom organize section engagements with the community...as far as I am concerned the gender of candidate does not qualify him/her of humility”.

4.1. Do they initiate empowerment programs?

YES
NO

Not aware

“...The programs are not effective because men who were defeated during elections frustrate processes when trying to access resources which will allow portfolio holders to deliver sustainable development in our communities”.

4.2. Have you voted for a woman before?

YES
NO

Biography

Participant: 3.

Age: 53

Educational background: no formal education

Employment status: pension

Area: Mariental rural, Namibia.

3. Factors influencing women in rural areas' political participation.

3.1 Were you politically active during apartheid?

YES
NO

The participant is a physically impaired woman who is unable to walk but can speak fluently. She indicated that her disability played a major role in her inactiveness in politics although she had political aspirations.

How?

- Protested:

YES
NO

- Stood for elections:

YES
NO

- Lobbied:

YES
NO

3.2. Why were you politically active during apartheid?

- No available data since the participant did not take part in local politics.

3.3. Why are you politically active post-apartheid?

- No available data

3.4. What encouraged you to contest for a seat in post-apartheid government?

- No available data

3.5. How did you organize your campaign?

- No available data

3.6. Did you succeed?

YES
NO

3.7. What was your base of support?

- No available data

3.8. How long have you participated in local politics?

- No available data

4. Does your political activeness translate to roles in local government?

4.3. did your political participation translate to role/s in local government?

“We have seen representation of women in local government serving in political office. However, they are nowhere balanced to the men in local government.”

-As mayors?

YES
NO

-Councillor?

YES
NO

-House speaker?

YES
NO

4.4. what can be done to support women in leadership roles?

-Encourage a culture that is enabling women to participate in local politics

- have gender responsive party legislation

-government must thoroughly monitor and enforce gender representative quotas.

- Encourage disabled women to take part in civics matter so that their interests can be advocated for.

4.5. what are the challenges with regards to attaining roles?

- Cultural and traditional views on women where leadership/kingship is reserved only for men.
- Lack of confidence and associated with masculine women who will remain unmarried.
- Lack of sisterhood
- Double burden; must balance political and family life.
- Violent politics, men manipulate and violate women to threaten them off politics.

5. how do women impact other women once in local government?

5.1. Do they initiate empowerment programs?

YES
NO
Not aware

“yes, however, the programs should also consider women with disabilities. This can encourage disabled women to take part”

Biography

Participant: 4

Age: 50

Educational background: secondary

Employment status: pension

Area: Mariental rural, Namibia.

4. Factors influencing women in rural areas' political participation.

4.1 Were you politically active during apartheid?

YES
NO

4.1.1 How?

- Protested:

YES
NO

- Stood for elections:

YES
NO

“due to the fact that our right to political association was suppressed, our participation was limited to community advocacy. In post-apartheid, I was elected as the district councillor. I had political influence because I adopted a masculine approach to leadership. Within SWAPO, I was elected branch secretary, then branch coordinator and later, district treasurer”.

- Lobbied:

YES

NO

1.3. Why were you politically active during apartheid?

“I could not stand the unfair treatment of women...our human rights stripped off us, church endorsing submission, I wanted to be a part of the revolution because I wanted to change the status quo so the next generation will not endure the inhumane laws and treatment of the apartheid government.”

4.2. Why are you politically active post-apartheid?

“voice to the voiceless because there’s a high trend of political apathy amongst my people. They are tired of failed promises by politicians. Moreover, I wanted a grassroots level socio-economic transformation”.

4.3. What encouraged you to contest for a seat in post-apartheid government?

“ I worked with both men and women in advocacy and political activities which conscientized me on the fact that men are just as calculated as women are...more than anything, however, I was interested in bringing change to our community for our people who are most disadvantaged like myself”

4.4. How did you organize your campaign?

- Door to door
- I made the people feel heard by organizing mass meetings.

4.5. Did you succeed?

YES

NO

4.6. What was your base of support?

- Men and women of the ages 25 and 60
- Christians

4.7. How long have you participated in local politics?

Since I was 20 years old

5. Does your political activeness translate to roles in local government?

5.2. did your political participation translate to role/s in local government?

“Yes, however, the portfolios we often find ourselves in are subpar such as welfare and basic services. Finance is reserved for male comrades”

-As mayors?

YES
NO

-Councillor?

YES
NO

-House speaker?

YES
NO

5.3. what can be done to support women in leadership roles?

-Encourage a culture that is enabling women to participate in local politics

- have gender responsive party legislation

-government must thoroughly monitor and enforce gender representative quotas.

5.4. what are the challenges with regards to attaining roles?

- Cultural and traditional views on women where leadership/kingship is reserved only for men.
- Lack of confidence and associated with masculine women who will remain unmarried.
- Lack of sisterhood
- Double burden; must balance political and family life.

6. how do women impact other women once in local government?

“The challenge with women politicians has to do with male validation therefore women in local government tend to cater for individual interests aligned with party interests. In this way, their political status is secure. In most cases, we see men vouching for a certain woman whom they can manipulate to push their own agenda. Nonetheless, when I served as regional councillor, not only was I able to fight for casual workers to be employed on a permanent status, I was also able to initiate programs which aimed at empowering women by teaching them basic education and basic electoral processes”

6.1. Do they initiate empowerment programs?

YES
NO
Not aware

6.2. Have you voted for a woman before?

YES
NO

Biography

Participant: 5th.

Age: 79

Educational background: secondary

Employment status: pension

Area: Mariental rural, Namibia.

5. Factors influencing women in rural areas' political participation.

5.1 Were you politically active during apartheid?

YES
NO

Participant is a struggle veteran, served the liberation movement since she was a teenager.

5.1.1 How?

- Protested:

YES
NO

- Stood for elections:

YES
NO

“I always aspired of serving my country as its leader. That dream nedver materialized because I became a mother at a very young age. I could not commit myself more to the revolutionary movement, I had to build a home for my family. Although pregnant, I still attended our party meetings and briefings, I did not leave politics, I just limited my dreams because it was necessary”.

- Lobbied:

YES
NO

5.2. Why were you politically active during apartheid?

- "I wanted to see through the liberation of our nation, the abuse and oppression of the then government on our people were receiving arms support from Russians and South African which gave us the assurance that the revolution is near. Moreover, amongst the struggle soldiers imprisoned, one of them was my brother who was our breadwinner so, his release and others meant that we can be free".

5.3. Why are you politically active post-apartheid?

- "our people lost their political focus. The faux economic freedom made them forget their political mandate therefore, I live to remind them and make change in our people's lives however I can."

5.4. What encouraged you to contest for a seat in post-apartheid government?

- No available data because participant did not stand for elections.

5.5. How did you organize your campaign?

- No available data

5.6. Did you succeed?

YES
NO

5.7. What was your base of support?

- No available data

5.8. How long have you participated in local politics?

Participated since I was 16 years old.

6. Does your political activeness translate to roles in local government?

6.3. did your political participation translate to role/s in local government?

-As mayors?

YES
NO

-Councillor?

YES
NO

-House speaker?

YES
NO

6.4. what can be done to support women in leadership roles?

-Encourage a culture that is enabling women to participate in local politics

- have gender responsive party legislation

-government must thoroughly monitor and enforce gender representative quotas.

6.5. what are the challenges with regards to attaining roles?

- Cultural and traditional views on women where leadership/kingship is reserved only for men.
- Lack of confidence and associated with masculine women who will remain unmarried.
- Lack of sisterhood
- Double burden; must balance political and family life.

7. how do women impact other women once in local government?

7.1. Do they initiate empowerment programs?

YES
NO
Not aware

Biography

Participant: 6.

Age: 66

Educational background: no formal education

Employment status: pension

Area: Mariental rural, Namibia.

6. Factors influencing women in rural areas' political participation.

6.1 Were you politically active during apartheid?

YES
NO

6.1.1 How?

- Protested:

YES
NO

- Stood for elections:

YES
NO

- Lobbied:

YES
NO

6.2. Why were you politically active during apartheid?

- No available data since the participant did not take part in local politics.

6.3. Why are you politically active post-apartheid?

- There is a disregard for women's human rights, and I want to be a part of the movement which will bring about change in women's socio, economic and political status.

6.4. What encouraged you to contest for a seat in post-apartheid government?

- No available data

6.5. How did you organize your campaign?

- No available data.

6.6. Did you succeed?

YES
NO

6.7. What was your base of support?

- No available data

6.8. How long have you participated in local politics?

Participated since I was 16 years old.

7. Does your political activeness translate to roles in local government?

7.2. did your political participation translate to role/s in local government?

-As mayors?

YES
NO

-Councillor?

YES
NO

-House speaker?

YES
NO

7.3. what can be done to support women in leadership roles?

- Encourage a culture that is enabling women to participate in local politics
- have gender responsive party legislation
- government must thoroughly monitor and enforce gender representative quotas.

7.4. what are the challenges with regards to attaining roles?

- Cultural and traditional views on women where leadership/kingship is reserved only for men.
- Lack of confidence and associated with masculine women who will remain unmarried.
- Lack of sisterhood
- Double burden; must balance political and family life.

8. how do women impact other women once in local government?

8.1. Do they initiate empowerment programs?

YES
NO
Not aware

Biography

Participant: 7

Age: 50

Educational background: no formal education

Employment status: government employed.

Area: Mariental rural, Namibia.

7. Factors influencing women in rural areas' political participation.

7.1 Were you politically active during apartheid?

YES
NO

7.1.1 How?

- Protested:

YES
NO

- Stood for elections:

YES
NO

- Lobbied:

YES
NO

1.4. Why were you politically active during apartheid?

- No available data

7.2. Why are you politically active post-apartheid?

- No available data

7.3. What encouraged you to contest for a seat in post-apartheid government?

- No data because the participant did not contest for any seat.

7.4. How did you organize your campaign?

- No data because the participant did not contest for any seat.

7.5. Did you succeed?

YES
NO

7.6. What was your base of support?

- No data because the participant did not contest for any seat.

7.7. How long have you participated in local politics?

Since I was 30 years old

8. Does your political activeness translate to roles in local government?

8.2. did your political participation translate to role/s in local government?

-As mayors?

YES
NO

-Councillor?

YES
NO

-House speaker?

YES
NO

8.3. what can be done to support women in leadership roles?

- Encourage a culture that is enabling women to participate in local politics
- have gender responsive party legislation
- government must thoroughly monitor and enforce gender representative quotas.

8.4. what are the challenges with regards to attaining roles?

- Cultural and traditional views on women where leadership/kingship is reserved only for men.
- Lack of confidence and associated with masculine women who will remain unmarried.
- Lack of sisterhood
- Double burden; must balance political and family life.

9. how do women impact other women once in local government?

9.1. Do they initiate empowerment programs?

YES
NO
Not aware

9.2. Have you voted for a woman before?

YES
NO

Biography

Participant: 8.

Age: 42

Educational background: University

Employment status: government employed.

Area: Mariental rural, Namibia.

8. Factors influencing women in rural areas' political participation.

8.1 Were you politically active during apartheid?

YES
NO

8.1.1 How?

- Protested:

YES
NO

- Stood for elections:

YES
NO

- Lobbied:

YES
NO

8.2. Why were you politically active during apartheid?

- No available data since the participant did not take part in local politics.

8.3. Why are you politically active post-apartheid?

- The participant is not politically active and have elaborated on her reasons alluding to political apathy and different political ideology than the popular ideology in Mariental rural.

8.4. What encouraged you to contest for a seat in post-apartheid government?

- No available data

8.5. How did you organize your campaign?

- No available data

8.6. Did you succeed?

YES
NO

8.7. What was your base of support?

- No available data

8.8. How long have you participated in local politics?

- No available data

9. Does your political activeness translate to roles in local government?

9.3. did your political participation translate to role/s in local government?

-As mayors?

YES
NO

-Councillor?

YES
NO

-House speaker?

YES

NO

9.4. what can be done to support women in leadership roles?

- Encourage a culture that is enabling women to participate in local politics
- have gender responsive party legislation
- government must thoroughly monitor and enforce gender representative quotas.

9.5. what are the challenges with regards to attaining roles?

- Cultural and traditional views on women where leadership/kingship is reserved only for men.
- Lack of confidence and associated with masculine women who will remain unmarried.
- Lack of sisterhood
- Double burden; must balance political and family life.

10. how do women impact other women once in local government?

10.1. Do they initiate empowerment programs?

YES
NO
Not aware

- “There are programs, but I am not aware of them and that tells you that they’re not effective.”

Biography

Participant: 9

Age: 72

Educational background: primary

Employment status: retirement

Area: Mariental rural, Namibia.

9. Factors influencing women in rural areas' political participation.

9.1 Were you politically active during apartheid?

YES
NO

9.1.1 How?

- Protested:

YES
NO

- Stood for elections:

YES
NO

- Yes, organizational leadership position as branch chairperson.

- Lobbied:

YES
NO

1.5. Why were you politically active during apartheid?

- "The resistance movement spoke to my personal convictions. I knew as a people we deserved respect and humanity. I had witnessed the harassment

my neighbours and father went through, and I vowed to myself that never again will I sit back and watch as we suffer under the apartheid government”.

9.2. Why are you politically active post-apartheid?

-we have brought political independence to our people; I will die trying to bring economic independence”.

9.3. What encouraged you to contest for a seat in post-apartheid government?

- No data because the participant did not contest for any seat.

9.4. How did you organize your campaign?

- No data because the participant did not contest for any seat.

9.5. Did you succeed?

YES
NO

9.6. What was your base of support?

- No data because the participant did not contest for any seat.

9.7. How long have you participated in local politics?

Since I was 20 years old

10. Does your political activeness translate to roles in local government?

10.2. did your political participation translate to role/s in local government?

-As mayors?

YES
NO

-Councillor?

YES
NO

-House speaker?

YES

NO

10.3. what can be done to support women in leadership roles?

- Encourage a culture that is enabling women to participate in local politics
- have gender responsive party legislation
- government must thoroughly monitor and enforce gender representative quotas.

10.4. what are the challenges with regards to attaining roles?

- Cultural and traditional views on women where leadership/kingship is reserved only for men.
- Lack of confidence and associated with masculine women who will remain unmarried.
- Lack of sisterhood
- Double burden; must balance political and family life.

11. how do women impact other women once in local government?

11.1. Do they initiate empowerment programs?

YES
NO
Not aware

11.2. Have you voted for a woman before?

YES
NO

Biography

Participant: 10

Age: 55

Educational background: secondary

Employment status: self-employed

Area: Mariental rural, Namibia.

10. Factors influencing women in rural areas' political participation.

10.1 Were you politically active during apartheid?

YES
NO

10.1.1 How?

- Protested:

YES
NO

- Stood for elections:

YES
NO

- Lobbied:

YES
NO

10.2. Why were you politically active during apartheid?

- No available data since the participant did not take part in local politics.

10.3. Why are you politically active post-apartheid?

- No available data since the participant did not take part in local politics.

10.4. What encouraged you to contest for a seat in post-apartheid government?

- No available data since the participant did not take part in local politics.

10.5. How did you organize your campaign?

- No available data since the participant did not take part in local politics.

10.6. Did you succeed?

YES
NO

10.7. What was your base of support?

- No available data since the participant did not take part in local politics.

10.8. How long have you participated in local politics?

- No available data since the participant did not take part in local politics.

11. Does your political activeness translate to roles in local government?

11.3. did your political participation translate to role/s in local government?

-As mayors?

YES
NO

-Councillor?

YES
NO

-House speaker?

YES
NO

11.4. What can be done to support women in leadership roles?

- Encourage a culture that is enabling women to participate in local politics
- have gender responsive party legislation
- government must thoroughly monitor and enforce gender representative quotas.

11.5. what are the challenges with regards to attaining roles?

- Cultural and traditional views on women where leadership/kingship is reserved only for men.
- Lack of confidence and associated with masculine women who will remain unmarried.
- Lack of sisterhood
- Double burden; must balance political and family life.

12. how do women impact other women once in local government?

12.1. Do they initiate empowerment programs?

YES
NO
Not aware

12.2. Vote for women?

YES
NO

Biography

Participant: 11.

Age: 55

Educational background: University

Employment status: government employed.

Area: Vryburg, South Africa.

11. Factors influencing women in rural areas' political participation.

11.1 Were you politically active during apartheid?

YES
NO

Participant added that although she was not politically active, she was however politically conscious because she lived near political revolutionaries who inspired a sense of rebellion and an awakening of human rights. (Political conscious; Inspiration from political revolutionaries on sense of rebellion and wakening of human rights)

11.1.1 How?

- Protested:

YES
NO

- Stood for elections:

YES
NO

- Lobbied:

YES
NO

11.2. Why were you politically active during apartheid?

- No available data since the participant did not take part in local politics. (Did not participate in politics)

11.3. Why are you politically active post-apartheid?

“my political consciousness began just when I was in primary doing standard 4, living next door to the late Dende Tladi, a political activist who was exiled. I was aware of the political dynamics of my neighbourhood because the white policemen would often come harass our men, demanding them and traumatising kids like us. What cemented my socio-political consciousness was witnessing a protest at my primary school where mothers were fighting for free education for their children. Women who demonstrated were very few, most of them were in their early and late thirties. These women’s desire and voice inspired me to take part in politics, however, I only became confident to stand for organizational seats once I was in high school. I am not fighting a different cause, making sure that my children and the children from my community will be well cared for”. (Aware of political dynamics at an early age; Witnessing of protests, Mothers fighting for free education for children; Gained confidence in high school)

11.4. What encouraged you to contest for a seat in post-apartheid government?

“A respected man in my community, who is also a family friend encouraged me to contest. He lobbied for me as organized campaigns for me. This helped me see the confidence in myself and strive to impress not only him but my church leaders as well”. (Respected man in community, Encouragement from church leaders)

11.5. How did you organize your campaign?

- Door to door
- Mass meetings
- Involved community members in campaign.

11.6. Did you succeed?

YES

NO

11.7. What was your base of support?

- Majority of my support consisted of older women; the gender ratio was 60:40.
(Majority of support consisted of older women)

11.8. How long have you participated in local politics?

I took interest in politics while I was still in primary school where I joined COSAS (Congress of South African Students) as an ordinary member. So, I was around 13 years of age. (32 years)

12. Does your political activeness translate to roles in local government?

12.3. did your political participation translate to role/s in local government?

-As mayor?

YES

NO

-Councillor?

YES

NO

-House speaker?

YES

NO

12.4. what can be done to support women in leadership roles?

- Encourage a culture that is enabling women to participate in local politics
(Encourage culture enabling women participation)

- have gender responsive party legislation (Gender responsive party legislation)

-government must thoroughly monitor and enforce gender representative quotas.
(Government to monitor gender representation)

- male leaders must endorse female leaders, this will contribute to changing the damaging perception on women. (Male leaders should endorse female leaders)

12.5. what are the challenges with regards to attaining roles?

- Cultural and traditional views on women where leadership/kingship is reserved only for men. (Cultural beliefs of leadership reserved for men only)
- Lack of confidence and associated with masculine women who will remain unmarried. (Lack of confidence)
- Lack of sisterhood
- Double burden; must balance political and family life. (Balance of political and family life)

Targeted violence on female comrades (Targeted violence on female comrades)

13. how do women impact other women once in local government?

13.1. Do they initiate empowerment programs?

YES
NO
Not aware

13.2. Vote for women?

YES
NO

Biography

Participant: 12.

Age: 68

Educational background: secondary

Employment status: government employed.

Area: Vryburg, South Africa.

12. Factors influencing women in rural areas' political participation.

12.1 Were you politically active during apartheid?

YES
NO

12.1.1 How?

- Protested:

YES
NO

- Stood for elections:

YES
NO

- Lobbied:

YES
NO

12.2. Why were you politically active during apartheid?

- No available data since the participant did not take part in local politics. (Did not participate in politics)

12.3. Why are you politically active post-apartheid?

- No available data since the participant did not take part in local politics. (Did not participate in politics)

-

12.4. What encouraged you to contest for a seat in post-apartheid government?

- No available data since the participant did not take part in local politics. (Did not contest for a seat)

12.5. How did you organize your campaign?

- No available data since the participant did not take part in local politics. (Did not contest for a seat)

-

12.6. Did you succeed?

YES
NO

12.7. What was your base of support?

- No available data since the participant did not take part in local politics. (Did not contest for a seat)

-

12.8. How long have you participated in local politics?

- No available data since the participant did not take part in local politics. (Did not participate in local politics)

-

13. Does your political activeness translate to roles in local government?

13.3. did your political participation translate to role/s in local government?

-As mayors?

YES

NO

-Councillor?

YES

NO

-House speaker?

YES

NO

13.4. what can be done to support women in leadership roles?

-Encourage a culture that is enabling women to participate in local politics (Encourage culture enabling women participation)

- have gender responsive party legislation (Gender responsive party legislation)

-government must thoroughly monitor and enforce gender representative quotas. (Government to monitor gender representation)

.

13.5. what are the challenges with regards to attaining roles?

- Cultural and traditional views on women where leadership/kingship is reserved only for men. (Cultural beliefs of leadership reserved for men only)

Lack of confidence and associated with masculine women who will remain unmarried. (Lack of confidence)

- Lack of sisterhood (

- Double burden; must balance political and family life. (Balance of political and family life)

14. how do women impact other women once in local government?

14.1. Do they initiate empowerment programs?

YES
NO
Not aware

14.2. Vote for women?

YES
NO

Participant: 13.

Age: 66

Educational background: Secondary

Employment status: retirement

Area: Vryburg, South Africa

13. Factors influencing women in rural areas' political participation.

13.1 Were you politically active during apartheid?

YES
NO

13.1.1 How?

- Protested:

YES
NO

- Stood for elections:

YES
NO

- Lobbied:

YES
NO

13.2. Why were you politically active during apartheid?

- "The apartheid regime forced us to participate alongside our men for our freedom. At some point, our freedom as women was not a priority, all that we

wanted was our men to be liberated because we knew that our men liberated meant half the fight was done". (To gain freedom; Fighting for liberation of men)

13.3. Why are you politically active post-apartheid?

- There are discontents within the liberation movement, there are faction and the youth have prioritized individuality over communitarianism. It is therefore our duty as veterans to shape our movement for the betterment of the nation."(Discontents with the liberation movement; Youth individualistic instead of communitarianism)

13.4. What encouraged you to contest for a seat in post-apartheid government?

- " we had fought alongside our men, it was only fair that as women we get to share the seat at the table" (Fought alongside men)

13.5. How did you organize your campaign?

- Door to door
- Mass meetings
- Involved community members in campaign.

13.6. Did you succeed?

YES
NO

13.7. What was your base of support?

- Youth with ratio 60 women and 40 men
- Older men. (Youth with most women, Older men)

13.8. How long have you participated in local politics?

Participated since I was 24 years old. (42 years)

14. Does your political activeness translate to roles in local government?

14.3. did your political participation translate to role/s in local government?

-As mayors?

YES

NO

-Councillor?

YES

NO

-House speaker?

YES

NO

14.4. what can be done to support women in leadership roles?

-Encourage a culture that is enabling women to participate in local politics (Encourage culture enabling women participation)

- have gender responsive party legislation (Gender responsive party legislation)

-government must thoroughly monitor and enforce gender representative quotas. (Government to monitor gender representation)

14.5. what are the challenges with regards to attaining roles?

- Cultural and traditional views on women where leadership/kingship is reserved only for men. (Cultural beliefs of leadership reserved for men only)

- Lack of confidence and associated with masculine women who will remain unmarried. (Lack of confidence)

- Lack of sisterhood

- Double burden; must balance political and family life. (Balance of political and family life)

15. how do women impact other women once in local government?

15.1. Do they initiate empowerment programs?

YES

NO
Not aware

I have initiated programs which aimed at empowering our communities and our fellow women. However, the trend that I have seen during my time in leadership is that information does not effectively reach women hence there's low participation of women in such programs. (Programs for empowering communities and women; Low participation of women due to lack of awareness)

15.2. Voted for women?

YES
NO

"I do however vote based on merit than the sex of a person" (Voted on merit nit gender of person)

Biography

Participant: 14

Age: 41

Educational background: tertiary

Employment status: employed.

Area: Vryburg, South Africa

14. Factors influencing women in rural areas' political participation.

14.1 Were you politically active during apartheid?

YES
NO

14.1.1 How?

- Protested:

YES
NO

- Stood for elections:

YES
NO

- Lobbied:

YES
NO

1.6. Why were you politically active during apartheid?

“my father was a comrade and sometimes the white policemen would sexually harass my mother in front of us all, including my father. I felt his masculinity stripped and my

mother's dignity disregarded. Seeing these acts of violence conscientized me and I vowed to be useful to the liberation movement. (Father a comrade; Disgrace of mother; Personal experience drove one to the liberation movement)

1.7. Why are you politically active post-apartheid?

- "My vows have not changed". (Vows have not changed)

1.8. What encouraged you to contest for a seat in post-apartheid government?

- "My father encouraged me to commit myself to politics, his friends were impressed by my learned ideologies and I can pull a crowd. Moreover, the goal is to liberate my people from socio-economic oppression." (Father encouragement to be a politician; Leadership qualities; To liberate people from socio-economic oppression)

14.2. How did you organize your campaign?

- Door to door
- Mass gatherings and engagements (Mass meetings)

14.3. Did you succeed?

YES
NO

" I must add that although I was able to pull in crowds, I did not receive much support from women because I did not represent their interests and address their concerns" (Not much support from women since their interests and concerns were not addressed)

14.4. What was your base of support?

- Majority, older men (Older men)

1.9. How long have you participated in local politics?

- Since I was 13 years old (28 years)

2. Does your political activeness translate to roles in local government?

15.3. did your political participation translate to role/s in local government?

-As mayors?

YES
NO

-Councillor?

YES
NO

-House speaker?

YES
NO

15.4. what can be done to support women in leadership roles?

-Encourage a culture that is enabling women to participate in local politics (Encourage culture enabling women participation)

- have gender responsive party legislation (Gender responsive party legislation)

-government must thoroughly monitor and enforce gender representative quotas. (Government to monitor gender representation).

15.5. what are the challenges with regards to attaining roles?

- Cultural and traditional views on women where leadership/kingship is reserved only for men. (Cultural beliefs of leadership reserved for men only)
- Lack of confidence and associated with masculine women who will remain unmarried. (Lack of confidence)
- Lack of sisterhood
- Double burden; must balance political and family life. (Balance of political and family life)

how do women impact other women once in local government?

15.6. Do they initiate empowerment programs?

YES
NO
Not aware

15.7. Have you voted for a woman before?

YES
NO

Biography

Participant: 15

Age: 75

Educational background: primary

Employment status: no employment history

Area: Vryburg, South Africa

15. Factors influencing women in rural areas' political participation.

15.1 Were you politically active during apartheid?

YES
NO

15.1.1 How?

- Protested:

YES
NO

- Stood for elections:

YES
NO

- Lobbied:

YES
NO

14.5. Why were you politically active during apartheid?

- No available data since the participant did not take part in local politics. (Did not participate in politics)

14.6. Why are you politically active post-apartheid?

- No available data since the participant did not take part in local politics. (Did not participate in politics)

-

14.7. What encouraged you to contest for a seat in post-apartheid government?

- No available data since the participant did not take part in local politics. (Did not contest for a seat)

14.8. How did you organize your campaign?

- No available data since the participant did not take part in local politics. (Did not contest for a seat)

-

14.9. Did you succeed?

YES
NO

14.10. What was your base of support?

- No available data since the participant did not take part in local politics. (Did not contest for a seat)

-

14.11. How long have you participated in local politics?

- No available data since the participant did not take part in local politics. (Did not take part in local politics)

15. Does your political activeness translate to roles in local government?

15.8. did your political participation translate to role/s in local government?

-As mayors?

YES
NO

-Councillor?

YES
NO

-House speaker?

YES
NO

15.9. what can be done to support women in leadership roles?

-Encourage a culture that is enabling women to participate in local politics (Encourage culture enabling women participation)

- have gender responsive party legislation (Gender responsive party legislation)

-government must thoroughly monitor and enforce gender representative quotas. (Government to monitor gender representation)

15.10. what are the challenges with regards to attaining roles?

- Cultural and traditional views on women where leadership/kingship is reserved only for men. (Cultural beliefs of leadership reserved for men only)
- Lack of confidence and associated with masculine women who will remain unmarried. (Lack of confidence)
- Lack of sisterhood
- Double burden; must balance political and family life. (Balance of political and family life)

16. how do women impact other women once in local government?

16.1. Do they initiate empowerment programs?

YES

NO
Not aware

16.2. Vote for women?

YES
NO

Biography

Participant: 16

Age: 68

Educational background: University

Employment status: employed.

Area: Vryburg, South Africa

16. Factors influencing women in rural areas' political participation.

16.1 Were you politically active during apartheid?

YES
NO

“when the consensus was made to riot at our local secondary school, I was a delegate in the decision-making process. This came when a learner informant to the apartheid police exposed our protest strategy which incriminated our leaders. Consequently, the learner was necklaced. A gruesome but necessary strategy to deal with spies”.
((Delegate in decision making during riots in secondary school; Learner exposed protest strategy to police; Learner necklaced)

16.1.1 How?

- Protested:

YES
NO

- Stood for elections:

YES
NO

- Lobbied:

YES
NO

15.2. Why were you politically active during apartheid?

- I wanted to assist my nation and release it from years and years of racial oppression. (Assist nation in releasing it from years of oppression)
- No available data since the participant did not take part in local politics.

15.3. Why are you politically active post-apartheid?

- "I am a servant of the people. I live to serve". (A servant of the people)

15.4. What encouraged you to contest for a seat in post-apartheid government?

- No data (Did not contest for a seat)

15.5. How did you organize your campaign?

- No data (Did not contest for a seat)
-

15.6. Did you succeed?

YES
NO

15.7. What was your base of support?

- No available data

15.8. How long have you participated in local politics?

Participated since I was 24 years old. (44 years)

16. Does your political activeness translate to roles in local government?

16.3. did your political participation translate to role/s in local government?

-As mayor?

YES
NO

-Councillor?

YES
NO

-House speaker?

YES
NO

16.4. what can be done to support women in leadership roles?

-Encourage a culture that is enabling women to participate in local politics (Encourage culture enabling women participation)

- have gender responsive party legislation (Gender responsive party legislation)

-government must thoroughly monitor and enforce gender representative quotas. (Government to monitor gender representation)

16.5. what are the challenges with regards to attaining roles?

- Cultural and traditional views on women where leadership/kingship is reserved only for men. (Cultural beliefs of leadership reserved for men only)
- Lack of confidence and associated with masculine women who will remain unmarried. (Lack of confidence)
- Lack of sisterhood
- Double burden; must balance political and family life. (Balance of political and family life)

17. how do women impact other women once in local government?

17.1. Do they initiate empowerment programs?

YES

NO
Not aware

17.2. Voted for women?

YES
NO

Biography

Participant: 17.

Age: 53

Educational background: Secondary

Employment status: self-employed

Area: Vryburg, South Africa.

17. Factors influencing women in rural areas' political participation.

17.1 Were you politically active during apartheid?

YES
NO

17.1.1 How?

- Protested:

YES
NO

- Stood for elections:

YES
NO

- Lobbied:

YES
NO

16.2. Why were you politically active during apartheid?

- No available data since the participant did not take part in local politics. (Did not take part in politics)

16.3. Why are you politically active post-apartheid?

- "I vote and that is all I do as far as political participation" (Only participation in voting)

16.4. What encouraged you to contest for a seat in post-apartheid government?

- No available data (Did not contest a seat)

16.5. How did you organize your campaign?

- No available data (Did not contest a seat)

16.6. Did you succeed?

YES
NO

16.7. What was your base of support?

- No available data (Did not contest a seat)

16.8. How long have you participated in local politics?

Participated since I was 24 years old. (29 years)

17. Does your political activeness translate to roles in local government?

17.3. did your political participation translate to role/s in local government?

-As mayors?

YES
NO

-Councillor?

YES
NO

-House speaker?

YES
NO

17.4. what can be done to support women in leadership roles?

- Encourage a culture that is enabling women to participate in local politics (Encourage culture enabling women participation)
- have gender responsive party legislation (Gender responsive party legislation)
- government must thoroughly monitor and enforce gender representative quotas. (Government to monitor gender representation)

17.5. what are the challenges with regards to attaining roles?

- Cultural and traditional views on women where leadership/kingship is reserved only for men. (Cultural beliefs of leadership reserved for men only)
- Lack of confidence and associated with masculine women who will remain unmarried. (Lack of confidence)
- Lack of sisterhood
- Double burden; must balance political and family life. (Balance of political and family life)

18. how do women impact other women once in local government?

18.1. Do they initiate empowerment programs?

YES
NO
Not aware

18.2. Vote for women?

YES
NO
Not aware

Biography

Participant: 18.

Age: 79

Educational background: no formal education

Employment status: pension

Area: Vryburg, South Africa.

18. Factors influencing women in rural areas' political participation.

18.1 Were you politically active during apartheid?

YES
NO

How?

- Protested:

YES
NO

- Stood for elections:

YES
NO

- Lobbied:

YES
NO

17.2. Why were you politically active during apartheid?

- No available data since the participant did not take part in local politics. (Did not participate in politics)

17.3. Why are you politically active post-apartheid?

- No available data (Did not participate in politics)

-

17.4. What encouraged you to contest for a seat in post-apartheid government?

- No available data (Did not contest for a seat)

17.5. How did you organize your campaign?

- No available data (Did not contest for a seat)

-

17.6. Did you succeed?

YES
NO

17.7. What was your base of support?

- No available data (Did not contest for a seat)

-

17.8. How long have you participated in local politics?

- No available data (Did not contest for a seat)

-

18. Does your political activeness translate to roles in local government?

18.3. did your political participation translate to role/s in local government?

-As mayors?

YES
NO

-Councillor?

YES
NO

-House speaker?

YES
NO

18.4. what can be done to support women in leadership roles?

-Encourage a culture that is enabling women to participate in local politics (Encourage culture enabling women participation)

- have gender responsive party legislation (Gender responsive party legislation)

-government must thoroughly monitor and enforce gender representative quotas. (Government to monitor gender representation)

- Encourage disabled women to take part in civics matter so that their interests can be advocated for. . (Motivation to partake in politics for women with disability)

18.5. what are the challenges with regards to attaining roles?

- Cultural and traditional views on women where leadership/kingship is reserved only for men. (Cultural beliefs of leadership reserved for men only)

- Lack of confidence and associated with masculine women who will remain unmarried. (Lack of confidence)

- Lack of sisterhood

- Double burden; must balance political and family life. (Balance of political and family life)

- Violent politics, men manipulate and violate women to threaten them off politics. (Violent politics; Harassment of women by men)

19. how do women impact other women once in local government?

19.1. Do they initiate empowerment programs?

YES
NO
Not aware

19.2. Vote for women?

YES
NO

Biography

Participant: 19.

Age: 45

Educational background: secondary

Employment status: self-employed.

Area: Vryburg, South Africa

19. Factors influencing women in rural areas' political participation.

19.1 Were you politically active during apartheid?

YES
NO

19.1.1 How?

- Protested:

YES
NO

- Stood for elections:

YES
NO

- Lobbied:

YES
NO

18.2. Why were you politically active during apartheid?

- No available data (Did not participate in politics)

18.3. Why are you politically active post-apartheid?

- "My interests are not represented, it is therefore necessary that I advocate for my own interests through voting and protesting." (Personal interests not represented)

18.4. What encouraged you to contest for a seat in post-apartheid government?

- No available data because participant did not stand for elections. (Did not contest for a seat)

18.5. How did you organize your campaign?

- No available data (Did not contest for a seat)

-

18.6. Did you succeed?

YES
NO

18.7. What was your base of support?

- No available data (Did not contest for a seat)

18.8. How long have you participated in local politics?

Participated since I was 16 years old. (29 years)

19. Does your political activeness translate to roles in local government?

19.3. did your political participation translate to role/s in local government?

-As mayors?

YES
NO

-Councillor?

YES

NO

-House speaker?

YES

NO

19.4. what can be done to support women in leadership roles?

-Encourage a culture that is enabling women to participate in local politics (Encourage culture enabling women participation)

- have gender responsive party legislation (Gender responsive party legislation)

-government must thoroughly monitor and enforce gender representative quotas. (Government to monitor gender representation)

19.5. what are the challenges with regards to attaining roles?

- Cultural and traditional views on women where leadership/kingship is reserved only for men. (Cultural beliefs of leadership reserved for men only)

- Lack of confidence and associated with masculine women who will remain unmarried. (Lack of confidence)

- Lack of sisterhood

- Double burden; must balance political and family life. (Balance of political and family life)

20. how do women impact other women once in local government?

20.1. Do they initiate empowerment programs?

YES

NO

Not aware

20.2. Vote for women?

YES
NO

Biography

Participant: 20.

Age: 60

Educational background: primary

Employment status: pension

Area: Vryburg, South Africa

20. Factors influencing women in rural areas' political participation.

20.1 Were you politically active during apartheid?

YES
NO

20.1.1 How?

- Protested:

YES
NO

- Stood for elections:

YES
NO

- Lobbied:

YES
NO

19.2. Why were you politically active during apartheid?

- No available data (Did not participate in politics)

19.3. Why are you politically active post-apartheid?

- No available data (Did not participate in politics)

-

19.4. What encouraged you to contest for a seat in post-apartheid government?

- No available data because participant did not stand for elections. (Did not contest for a seat)

19.5. How did you organize your campaign?

- No available data (Did not contest for a seat)

-

19.6. Did you succeed?

YES
NO

19.7. What was your base of support?

- No available data (Did not contest for a seat)

-

19.8. How long have you participated in local politics?

Participated since I was 16 years old. (48 years)

20. Does your political activeness translate to roles in local government?

20.3. did your political participation translate to role/s in local government?

-As mayors?

YES
NO

-Councillor?

YES
NO

-House speaker?

YES
NO

20.4. what can be done to support women in leadership roles?

- Encourage a culture that is enabling women to participate in local politics (Encourage culture enabling women participation)
- have gender responsive party legislation (Gender responsive party legislation)
- government must thoroughly monitor and enforce gender representative quotas. (Government to monitor gender representation)

20.5. what are the challenges with regards to attaining roles?

- Cultural and traditional views on women where leadership/kingship is reserved only for men. (Cultural beliefs of leadership reserved for men only)
- Lack of confidence and associated with masculine women who will remain unmarried. (Lack of confidence)
- Lack of sisterhood
- Double burden; must balance political and family life. (Balance of political and family life)

21. how do women impact other women once in local government?

21.1. Do they initiate empowerment programs?

YES
NO
Not aware

21.2. Vote for women?

YES
NO