The Engagement of Women in the Student Governance of the University of Kwa Zulu Natal with the Organizational Mandate So As To Transform the Politics in Terms of Policy.

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DECLARATION

This serves to declare that this work in its entirety is the original work of my own. Any citations and references made have been duly acknowledged. This work is being submitted for the fulfillment of the degree of Masters of Social Science in Public Policy and has not been submitted in its entirety or in part for purposes of the completion of any academic qualification at any institution of learning.

Student Signature:…………………………. Date:……….………………….

Acknowledgements

Dedication

I dedicate this dissertation to my mother who passed away just when I started primary school. Little that I remember about her is what has kept me going. It always felt like she was watching over me and was always proud when I did good and disappointed when I did not do good. I would also like to dedicate this dissertation to my son Ndalo who was still born. His mother became pregnant with him few months after I had started with this research project. The anticipation of his birth thus became a source of courage. I wanted to complete the study prior to his birth so that I could give his arrival an undivided attention. Unfortunately his birth was not to be, but the study has however been completed. Let me not forget his mother – my girlfriend Miss Phakamile Ndlovu. However tough completing this dissertation was for me, but for her, it was multiple times tougher as she had to be subjected to negligence from time to time while she was pregnant. Though she needed my attention, but she always tried to ensure that I did not compromise this project on her account.

ABSTRACT

Although the political participation and representation of women has been increasing in South Africa, in other political sectors, this is debatable. In other words, the transformed nature of South African government institutions suggests that in politics, gender transformation has been achieved. While this may be true of the national government, the same is the contested terrain in as far as other levels of political activism are concerned. For example, a look at student politics raises questions on the idea that there is gender equality in South Africa political sphere. Furthermore, there is an assumption that when women are in governance, they use their positions to influence policies to be responsive to issues that affect women. Even this is a highly contested debate, particularly in the context of student politics.

In the context of South African institutions of higher learning, Student Representative Council (SRC) is a body through which students are represented in governance of such institutions. In most institutions of higher learning, SRCs have been dominated by male students. However, there has been development which has seen more women getting into SRCs, and this development is credited to policies of individual institutions as well as that of the student political movements which provide for gender transformation.

The genesis of gender transformation in student politics has been on the question of presence. In other words, the focus has been on ensuring that women are part of the composition of the SRCs (descriptive representation). And when descriptive representation has been achieved, the focus will extend to the notion of substantive representation. It was therefore important for this study to use a specific institution, University of Kwa Zulu Natal (UKZN) and explore the composition of its SRC with the aim establishing whether the representation of women is descriptive or substantive in nature or even both. The point of entry was to acknowledge the presence of women in the SRC. In exploring the nature of their representation, the researcher focused on how they engage their political movements and the mandates thereof in order to advocate for the feminization of policies.

The findings of this study firstly reveal that the SRC of UKZN has not achieved the descriptive representation of women, let alone the substantive one. This needs to be elucidated on. While there are some women in the SRC, their number is too small which is 10 out of 60 and that equals to 16.6%. Politics being the game of numbers, this would naturally make it hard for women to exert a lot of influence. Furthermore, this is a lot less than the target of the vanguard political movements. Secondly, of all the women that are in the SRC, only a small number of women indicated to be contributing a lot of substance in promoting the gender transformation agenda. What separates these women from others is political experience and will power which may translate into capacity. However, the same cannot be said of the other women.

Key words: Student Representative Council; feminizing policy; Substantive representation; Descriptive representation; and Gender transformation.

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INTRODUCTION AND OUTLINE OF THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

This is an introductory chapter which is aimed at introducing the study and subsequently setting the tone for the chapters that will follow. In so doing it will serve as an outline of the study that will provide guidance to this study. To begin with, this section of the dissertation will start by contextualizing the study by accounting for a brief background of the overall study and the outline of the research problem that the researcher seeks to address.

In addition to the above, the rationale for venturing into this study is succinctly captured, while the objectives and key questions underpinning this study are accounted for. Furthermore, the basis for conducting this study is briefly discussed in the way of giving an overview of the available literature and the theoretical framework that was employed as a tool of analysis. This chapter ends by offering a description of this study which is ultimately the breakdown of all the chapters.

1.2 Rationale of the Study
1.2.1 Background of the Study

Over the years, institutions of higher learning in South Africa have been the space for political activism for students. This trend became vivid during the apartheid era when students used student organizations to conscientize other students about the politics of the day, thus effecting mass mobilization which became a strong force against the forces of apartheid. In essence, institutions of higher learning offer interested students a political space from which they can unleash their zest to be political activists. In so doing, this space thus serves as a springboard from which students can jump-start their political careers. In the post-apartheid era, student politics continue to be relevant, though not very much as a liberation movement of some sort, but as a strategic mechanism for advancing political socialization which not only grooms people into becoming politicians and public servants, but also entrenches the principles of democracy.

Today, South Africa is regarded as one of the best democracies in the world in terms of inter alia the progressiveness of her constitution and the independence of her judicial system (Inman;

2013). However, within this vibrant democracy exists a number of human disparities namely class, gender, and racial inequalities among others. Though recognizing the importance of exploring other forms of inequalities, this research focuses specifically on gender inequality as it transcends in politics. Even though South Africa is regarded as one of the countries that has made a remarkable progress in as far as the political empowerment of women is concerned, gender inequality is undeniably still in existence. This means that there is still a lot that needs to be done for this country to reach gender egalitarianism. The national agenda of increasing the participation and representation of women in politics has trickled down to other political avenues and student politics is not an exception.

The Education and the Higher Education White Papers of 1997 regard the student body as an important stakeholder in as far as the public higher education is concerned. This, consequently, places the student governance in centrality to the notion of co-operative governance. What this means is that universities are obligated to provide for the participation of students in the decision making bodies of the university. And in such bodies, students are represented by Student Representative Council (SRC) member(s).This is the indication of the democratization of higher education in South Africa.

Because the setting of this study is in the University of Kwa Zulu Natal, the analysis is going to consequently pay an exclusive focus on this university. However, reference will be made to situations of other universities from time to time mostly for purposes of comparative analysis. Therefore, the guiding policy to the running of institutions of higher learning in South Africa foregrounds the Statute of the University of Kwa Zulu Natal which dictates that there should be representation of students via the Student Representative Council (SRC) at all levels of decision making of the university (Education and Higher Education White Papers, 1997 & The Statute of UKZN, 2006).

Most of the student political organizations active in the University of Kwa Zulu Natal are aligned with or affiliated to the vanguard political movements within the South African politics. The ideological beings as well as the policies of these organizations are deeply influenced by those of their mother bodies. For example, South African Student Congress (SASCO)'s alignment with African National Congress (ANC);African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL)'s affiliation to the ruling party – African National Congress (ANC); Young Communist League

(YCL)'s affiliation to the South African Communist Party (SACP); Democratic Alliances Student Organization's affiliation to Democratic Alliance (DA); National Student Movement (NASMO) is affiliated to National Freedom Party (NFP); South African Democratic Student Movement (SADESMO) is affiliated to the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP).Then there is Student Christian Fellowship (SCF) which even though a religious group, is actively involved in student politics. This religious movement is not affiliated or aligned to any political movement, not even to religious cum political movements such as African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP) and United Christian Democratic Party (UCDP).

The SRCs (central and or local from all five campuses) of the University of Kwa Zulu Natal are led by the ANC aligned or affiliated organizations in the name of either SASCO or ANCYL/YCL respectively which in the past were in alliance known as Progressive Youth Alliance (PYA). This is no longer in existence due to political infighting. Because the ANC is committed to the promotion of women's participation in politics, not just as voters, but more so as decision makers, it has also influenced its affiliates to push that same agenda. Therefore, women are among the echelons of the student political organizations. Also, there are female office bearers in the SRC, though male student politicians are dominant. What does the representation of women by women in the SRC means for the gender transformation agenda?

It is assumed that the increased number of women in governance further the advancement of gender transformation agenda. That presumption is grounded on the assumption that women, especially those in politics, are aware of the plight of women and therefore when they are in the position of political power, they influence governing policies to be more responsive to the plight of women (Grey 2002; cited in Philips, 1995). However, some scholars of political science have warned that reality does not necessarily resonate with this assumption. Bystdzienski (2001) and Francis (2009) have thus argues that increasing the political participation of women does not always translate to the feminization of policy. This is because of among other things, the reality that women in governance are sometimes confronted by the dilemma of having to act within the parameters of the organizational mandate which might not necessarily prioritize gender transformation.

There is a dead lock in the debate on the presence of women in governance and whether that translates to the feminization of policy or not. There are those who are in support of the view that

increased number of women in governance translates to the feminization of policy, and there are those who believe this view to be a prima facie analysis (Mansbridge, 1999; Fanccis, 2009 & Mthiyane, 2009). These commentators argue instead that there is no automatic correlation between the number of women in governance and the extent to which the policy is feminized. It is, therefore, the primary aim of this research to unlock this deadlock. Using theories of political representation (descriptive and substantive representations as well as quota system) as tools of analysis and qualitative research tools as a method, this research is going to investigate the manner in which women in student body governance (SRC) promote the interest of other women and whether that necessarily lead to the feminization of policy.

In light of the above the aim, of this study therefore is to explore the ability and the political will of the female SRC members to advocate for gender transformation agenda by raising issues that affect other women and consequently influence policies to advance the cause of women. Ultimately, the impact of women SRC members in ensuring the implementation of gender transformation policies is to be assessed. Even though vanguard student political organizations have committed to advancing the gender transformation agenda, but gender transformation is in competition with other policy issues for prioritization. This is a qualitative study which is underpinned by Pitkin's (1967) theory of political representation. The overarching question is therefore, how do women strike the balance between their political organizations' representative mandates with that of their gender.

1.2.2   Reasons for the topic choice

From the theoretical point of view, while there is some literature on the political participation and representation of women, but such a literature is exclusive of student politics at institutions of higher learning either in developing or developed countries. Where studies have been done, a focus is usually paid on numerical representation of women without investigating the question of whether women when in governance, substantially promote the cause of women. This comes from a presumptuous understanding that in executing their duties as the incumbents, women face the challenge of having to advance the interests of women in situations where such issue does not always occupy the top priority position on the mandates of political organizations.

This study, upon its completion, will contribute to the body of knowledge that is already in existence regarding the representation of women in governance by other women. It will focus on how women in political party entities address the challenge posed by their organizational mandates in advancing the course of women. Student politics within the institutions of higher learning is a microcosm of a political community in many respects and as it has been stated above, it does not exist in isolation to what may be referred to as mainstream politics. It is unfortunate, therefore, that the relevance of student politics is not well documented. This study could assist with the ushering of student politics into being a means for political capacitating of women to be effective political leaders who will not just add numbers when they are in governance positions, but add substance as well, in the way of making a meaningful contribution to transformation drive. Secondly, this study could also be used to transform male student politicians to realize the necessity of gender transformation so that they do not perceive it as a political threat of some sort. In essence, this could accelerate gender transformation not just in the university, but also in the country at large.

From a practical point of view, the researcher intends to identify challenges that confront female students on their quest to be politically active and the implications of this on their performance when in SRC. In addition to this, this study also seeks to investigate the implications that these (challenges) have on the gender transformation agenda. In the identification of these challenges and their implications, it is further hoped that such a stride will lead to the generation of possible and viable solutions to improve this state of affairs. It is my vision that the results and recommendations of this study must be used progressively by institutions of higher learning to deepen the notion of democratization with in institutions of higher learning. Another reason for venturing into this study is to provide useful information to institutions of higher learning and the student political organizations that exist within these institutions. Furthermore, this study intends to influence the student political movements to effectively evaluate their strategies to promote the political participation of women especially in the SRC. This will ultimately lead to the development of the mechanisms to empower women and remove all stumbling blocks if there are any. The ultimate motivation for engaging this subject matter is to effect improvement of the participation of women as student politicians.

1.3 Overview of the Literature

1.3.1 Overview of literature

There is a scarcity of local and international literature on the topic of the political representation and participation of female students in governance. It particularly becomes clear that the question of how women engage their organizational mandates in order to influence the feminization of governance policies with reference to the university student governance is not well researched as a critical point of enquiry which speaks to gender transformation strategies and programmes.

In reviewing the literature of this study, the researcher engaged a mixture of international and local literature in order to broaden the depth of the study. As a point of departure, the literature begins by engaging the concept of governance and the concepts that are associated to it and are relevant to this study such as: democracy, political participation, gender inequality, co-operative governance and etc. In so doing the researcher furthers the contextualization of this study to the concept of democracy by giving a brief account of countries that have made a remarkable progress in as far as political participation and representation of women is concerned. Following this is an overview of South African Politics with respect to governance and gender. The researcher then goes on to elaborate on the phenomenon of student governance which is a central issue to this study.

At this stage, the literature is narrowed down to focus on student politics at institutions of higher learning. In doing this the researcher makes a brief account of selected African cases. The most important of these is the account of the South African case because it further indicates that the study is located within the South African context. In this regard, the studies reviewed look at the importance of student governance for co-operative governance. However, the one which this study builds upon was conducted by Mthiyane (2009) in UKZN and explores the topic of the substantive representation of women. The findings of Mthiyane's (2009) study reveal some of the issues that hamper women in student governance to substantially represent other women such as the male political dominance and lack of leadership training among other things. Building from these findings, this study therefore focuses on how women engage the political mandates of their organizations for the purpose of feminizing policies when in governance positions.

1.4 Overview of theoretical framework

The theoretical framework is one of the essential tools of a research project. According to Mertens (1998) theoretical framework "relates to philosophical bases on which the research takes place and form the link between theoretical aspects and practical components of the investigation undertaking." Furthermore, continues Mertens, "The theoretical framework therefore has implications for every decisions made in the research process" (Mertens, 1998: 3). Therefore, the theory is employed to underpin this research, is political representation as advanced by Pitkin (1967). Pitkin categorizes political representation into four views: formalistic; symbolic; accountability; descriptive and substantive forms of representation. Of these four, only two were employed in this study namely: descriptive and substantive representations. Though other forms of political representation were not particularly important for purposes of conducting this study, they will however be revisited in the theoretical framework aspect of this study to be accounted for in the following chapter. The usage of this theory (political representation) for purposes of this research was linked to liberal feminism because this is a feminist grounded study.

1.5 Outline of the Research Problem
1.5.1   Overall purpose of the study

There is a lack of literature on the subject of the political participation and representation of women focusing on student politics. Even studies that have been produced do not go deep into analyzing the political participation and representation of women in governance. In particular, they do not pay attention to the extent to which women who are in governance (SRC) confront the limitations in their representation of other women. Limitation in this regard may be posed by the fact that they account to political organizations that deploy them to SRC not to focus only on gender transformation, but also on other issues in the organizational agenda.

The purpose of this study is therefore to explore the ability and the political will power of the female SRC members to advocate for gender transformation agenda by raising issues that affect other women and consequently influence policies to advance the course of women. Ultimately, the impact of women SRC members in ensuring the implementation of gender transformation policies is to be assessed. Even though prominent student political organizations have committed to advancing the gender transformation agenda, but gender transformation is in competition with

other policy issues for prioritization. The overarching question is therefore, how do women strike the balance between their political organizations' representative mandates with that of their gender.

1.5.2 Research objectives

The main objectives of this study are:

1. To investigate the political environment of the SRC in terms of its allowing women to participate in political processes.
2. To explore ways in which women in the SRC balance their organizational mandate with their duty as women to advance the course of women.
3. To interrogate the extent to which women in the SRC have contributed to the advancement of the gender transformation agenda.
4. To investigate challenges that women face in the quest to feminize policies.

1.5.3 Key research questions

The following questions formed the point of investigation for this study:

1. Does the SRC reflect the gender quota commitment of SASCO and ANCYL/YCL?
2. Are women in SRC capacitated by their organizations to be competent in carrying their duties?
3. Does the political environment of the SRC allow for women to participate in political processes?
4. How do women balance their organizational mandates and their duty as women to be vocal on issues affecting women?
5. How much contribution, have women who have been in the SRC made towards the gender transformation agenda?
6. What challenges do women face in trying to feminize policies as SRC members?

1.6 Overview of Research Design and Methodology

1.6.1   Research design

In conducting this study, the qualitative research design was employed. The study uses UKZN student representative body (SRC) as a subject of enquiry.According to Neuman (2011: 174) qualitative research design as a tool of enquiry is "a systematic subjective approach used to describe and give meanings to social phenomena." And Walman and Kruger (2001: 184) have pointed out that such an approach "relies on the description and thorough understanding of the field of study as well as obtaining of the insider perspective through participant observation."

The research design and methodology was employed with the purpose of generating evidence in order to critically study and analyse the subject matter. Findings generated therefore lead to the generation of solutions that may be discovered with respect to the phenomenon being studied. For this, raw data and literature review were crucial. This study may thus be referred to as "textual hybrid data, medium control study" (Mouton, 2001: 146). This type of design is as Mouton (2001) has posited; suitable for this study because the analysis of policy documents and other sources was used, as well as the raw data collected through the interview technique. The conclusions reached, and recommendations made are based on the results of this data collection.

1.6.2   Research methodology

This study uses both the secondary and raw data. The secondary data was collected through engaging and therefore analyzing the policy documents (related to gender transformation) of UKZN; UKZN SRC; as well as that of the political student movements active at UKZN. Raw on the other hand was gathered through the use of in-depth interview schedule. The SRC members (for both central and local structures) were used as participants. In participating, the SRC members were subjected to individual face to face interview sessions. Initially, I intended to conduct individual interviews with 43.3% of the SRC membership which equals 26 out of 60 members. This was based on among other things the gender composition of the SRC at the beginning of the study. When the gender composition changes, the number of target participants also changed.

For the purpose of this study, the purposive sampling was employed to recruit participants. The purposive sampling, also referred to as the judgement sampling, is the sampling technique where

the researcher chooses the participants on the basis of the predetermined criteria. In other words, the person must possess certain characteristics that will make them useful for the purpose of the study in order to be selected as participants. Therefore this non-random sampling gives a researcher room for deciding which criteria are important for the study and then target only those people who possess such characteristics (Benard, 2002). For this research, the researcher targeted the students who are members of the student representative body (SRC) of UKZN. This group of participants consisted of ten (10) women and twelve (12) men who were selected on the grounds that they are presidents and deputy presidents who are policy holders of the SRC. Therefore, the total number of people who took part in the study was twenty two (22) which is four (4) less than the intended number. The reduction in the number of female participants was due to the fact that the number of female SRC member went down from fourteen (14) to tent (10) after the 2012 SRC elections.

1.7 Outline of the Study

This study is broken down into six chapters and these are succinctly outlined below.

Chapter One: Introduction and Background of the Study

This is an introductory chapter which provides a background and an outline of the study. It covers the problem statement, objectives, key questions, researcher's motivation; the overview of literature review and theoretical framework; and the overview of research methodology and design. In so doing, it sets the tone for the overall study.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

The notion of women's political participation and representation is rich in literature. It is on the background of some of that literature that this study is conducted. Therefore, chapter two is an account of some of that literature and perusing through it will show that it covers both the local and international contexts. This chapter begins by offering working definitions of key terms such as democracy, co-operative governance, political participation etc. It goes on to look at the concept of political participation and account for some cases that pertain to political participation of women. Furthermore, this chapter also explores the notion of the representation of women in

the democratic context. Lastly it explores the subject of student governance in terms of its relevance and driving transformation.

Chapter Three: Theoretical Framework

This chapter introduces the theory upon which this study is grounded. To give this study a theoretical context, this study employs the concept of political representation with a particular focus on its two forms: descriptive and substantive representations, as advanced by Pitkin (1967). This chapter thus looks at what constitute political representation. In this regard, Pitkin's views of political representation are presented and merged with the literature that contextualizes the issue of political representation to the question of gender transformation. This theoretical encounter is also contextualized to public policy through the introduction of the concept of 'feminization of policies'.

Chapter Four: Methodology

This chapter starts with an establishment of the methodology that was employed for the undertaking of this study. Following this is the justification for the suitability and therefore relevance of the selected research methodology. Methodology includes aspects such as sampling, data collection and analysis.

Chapter Five: Findings and Data Analysis

This chapter presents the findings and the analysis of such findings as made by the researcher. This data analysis establishes the barriers that hinder gender transformation. It also establishes barriers that hinder female student politicians from championing the gender transformation agenda.

Chapter Six: Conclusions and Recommendations

Chapter six establishes the general conclusion of the study based on the analysis and presentation of findings. In other words, this chapter is the synthesis of the study which also gives a highlight of the current state of the representation of women is the SRC of UKZN in as far as the feminization of policies is concerned. Recommendations on how the political environment of UKZN can be made to more conducive for gender transformation are also offered.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The study under investigation aims to expand on the already existing knowledge on political participation and representation of women in the context of institutions of higher learning. What is meant by this is that the research area of the political participation and representation of women has been done before and it is such studies that form the foundation for this research. This is what the reviewing of the literature entails. The literature review is therefore an account of the available and accessible previous studies that have been done on the subject of political representation of women and pays a particular focus on student governance at institutions of higher learning. This chapter is thus referred to as the literature review and it is the foundation upon which this study was built. Furthermore, concepts related to student governance will also be unpacked and the feminist perspective will also be accounted for.

2.2 Preliminary literature review and reasons for choosing the topic

Throughout the history of mankind, human society has been characterized by various human disparities. Chief among these disparities are race, class and gender. Gender is arguably the most enduring of these three forms of inequalities. That is because for one, both racial and class inequalities have the gender dimension. On top of this, too much focus has been paid to race and class issues while gender ones have been trivialized because of the misconception that the gender status quo in its both historical and current state, is natural. What this means is that the idea that women occupy a lower social status compared to men was seen and accepted as natural. As such, attempts to change this global view were viewed in the reductive manner – as the intent to tamper with nature. However, the rise of feminism in the 1960s and 1970s marked the paradigm shift in how the question of gender is viewed and this in turn, brought about some changes in gender relations (Scott, Crompton & Lyonette, 2010).

Though there have been some notable changes in the gender status quo, women still have a long way to go before achieving the ultimate victory of being equal to men and contribute in important aspects such as politics and economy. For Africa, the pace towards gender equality has been even slower because of among other things the fact that Africans have been too

preoccupied with resisting colonialism and therefore racism, so much so that the issue of gender inequality has been ignored to say the least (Hassim, 2006). However, Hassim (2006) further points out that the last two decades have witnessed the intensification of the struggle for the emancipation of women, not just in Africa, but throughout the world. Africa is the special case though because of what has been stated above that the gender question has not been the mainstream issue in as far as political agendas are concerned. Scholars and feminist activists have paid a closer attention into the functionality of institutions in liberal democracies. Their point of focus has been on discovering weaknesses in these institutions that hinder the progress of the women's emancipation agenda.

One's gender is an important determining factor for their social status, power and class. The gender status quo is thus based on the principles of patriarchy which places men on the dominant position over women. The power that men possess spans over important social aspects (Lovenduski, 1997: 19). The patriarchal way of thinking produces and therefore reinforces this idea of male dominance over important areas such as politics and economics. As the results of this, women have been subjected to the history of being governed by the laws which maintains power relations that exists on premises of gender inequality and inequity, thus ensuring the oppression of women. According to Vickers (1997: 8) these "patriarchal power relations construct sexual differences as political differences by giving legal form to the belief that women, because of their sex are fit only to serve as wives and mothers." This makes it hard for women to participate in politics and influence political decisions because they are not seen as men's equals. And if women cannot influence the political decision making, changing their socio-political position is at the discretion and mercy of men.

However, the socio-political position of women has been improving over the years. This improvement is different from country to country depending on various political environmental factors such as the system of governance, the electoral system and the general political trends. Though this change seemed dependent on men's political will, but it was not handed to women, they fought for it through feminist movements that gained momentum in the 1960s – 1970s. The primary focus of these movements was to obtain women's voting rights and ultimately their active and valued participation in democratic political activities. The growing impact of the notion of women's movement has been acknowledged by scholars such as Burt who have

remarked that "The women's movement has touched the lives of many women, radically transforming their everyday experiences" (Tamarius, 1995: 9).

There is a consensus within the scholarly community that whereas the global population of women is bigger than that of their male counterparts, politically, it is the latter that is dominant. In other words, the huge portion of political power is possessed by men while the role of women is still confined within the domestic sphere and this is attributable to the long history of patriarchy. However, the 1970s marked the beginning of the political emancipation process for women. Such remarkable process began in the Nordic countries. Owing to this remarkable political development, this block of countries is today acknowledged as the champion of the feminization of democracy and in Africa, it is Uganda and South Africa that have made the progress (United Nations Development Plan, 2011). It is thus estimated that by 2005, women constituted fifteen percent of representatives in the legislatures around the world (Bari, 2005: 1).

Hassim (2006) has attributed this political progress to the renewed and growing interest of women in politics and therefore their willingness to participate. On this issue, Hassim (2006) explains that which he/she means by this assertion, that women now engage the political parties and the state to influence political and policy decisions. Tripp (2005) attributes this paradigm shift to both the regional and global influences which has made women to organize themselves. And this mobilization is grounded on the rights based approach. This has translated into "…the diffusion of norms and values to increase women's political representation" (Tripp, 2005).

2.3 Defining governance and related concepts

The focus of this study is on the state of female student politicians and the extent to which they exercise their political power and influence and represent other women when they are in student governing body – SRC. This will lead to the provision of the evidence to answer the key question of this study. Furthermore, this investigation will also produce strategic recommendations on how the student governance should be improved in order to unleash the potential of women to advance gender transformation agenda and consequently entrench the democratic character and the feminization of policies within the political environment of institutions of higher learning. In a long term, this will also lead to the realization that political empowerment of women is of essence. This subsection will therefore give a definitional clarity to the concept of governance and related concepts such as political participation; gender quota system and feminization of

policies. Because governance is viewed from the democracy point of view and because the student governance under scrutiny is democratic in nature, democracy will also be defined albeit in brief.

2.3.1 Democracy

The concept of democracy is famously defined as "the government for the people by the people" and in such a government, "the supreme power is vested in and exercised by them directly or indirectly through the system of representation usually involved periodically held free elections" (Schumpeter, 1960: 269 as cited in Fish, 2005: 154). This Schumpeterian definition succinctly captures the essence of democracy and positions the notion of 'free elections' as some form of a sine qua non. This conception has however been criticized for being philosophical and too narrow. As such those who have identified such a short coming have brought forward the much improved and theoretically grounded definitions. Scholars such as Dahl, Linz, Di Palme, Huntington, Bobbio and Sartory among others all contributed to the development of this Schumpeterian definition of democracy. However, for the purposes of this study, the researcher employs Ranney's definition of democracy as it succinctly captures and therefore conflates the conceptions of these influential scholars. Democracy is a "…form of government organized in accordance with principles of popular sovereignty, political equality, popular consultation and majority rule" (Brynard, 1996:53 as cited in Bekker ed.). This definition put a lot of emphasis on public participation in political activities.

Types of Democracy

Direct democracy – According to Calland (1999:61), this type of democracy is grounded on the premise that "…the people assemble and every citizen is directly involved in every government decision." Direct democracy materializes in the form of citizenry participation in elections by a way of voting or referendums.

Representative democracy – According to Calland (1999:62), this type of democracy is premised on the assumption that the elected representatives have a duty of representing the views of the people or their constituencies. This representation of people that the elected representatives are mandated to do, materialize in the form of being vocal on issues which pertains to the interest of

the people as well as casting a vote in political decision making. It therefore suffices to say that the rhetoric and voting must reflect the views of the represented constituency.

Carrim (2001:107as cited in Sayed and Jansen eds.) is of the view that representative democracy as a system of governance, tends to "…homogenize intra-group differences in the interest of manageability". This suppresses the freedom of expression and consequently, makes it hard for the public to raise views in defense of their interests. The elected representatives have a duty to hear and respond to the call of those who vote them in power. The elected representatives have to account to their voters.

Participatory democracy - Three sections in the South African Constitution 108 of 1996 (59, 72 and 118) call for the realization of the participatory democracy. According to Calland (1999:62), there is more to participatory democracy then the articulations of the Constitution. He thus assert that "It is important not to underestimate the growing crisis in other pluralist, liberal democracies throughout the past century when declining voting levels, lack of real political choice, rise of shadow security governments and decay in popular trust in the electoral process has prompted the need for reviewing public participation. Public participation strengthens institutions of representative democracy, democratizing those institutions".

Calland (1999:62) further notes that participatory democracy is characterized by among other things the active involvement of the public or the masses in the government decision making processes. This active involvement happens in the form of either the representation of citizenry by political parties and or interest groups.

2.3.2 Governance

Governance is defined as:
> "The capacity of a county's institutional matrix to implement and enforce public policies and to improve private sector co-ordination, affect the incentives of politicians, bureaucrats and private economic agents alike and determines the terms of exchange among citizens and between them and government official" (Ahrens, 2002: 7).

Contextualizing this definition within the student governance at institutions of higher learning, governance is the ability of the SRC to execute policies and improve the political environment in order to effect the empowerment of the students and be the link between the students and the university management.

2.3.3 Co-operative governance

As per chapter three of the South African Constitution of 1996, the concept of co-operative governance encapsulates the involvement of the multiplicity of stakeholder in the affairs of governance, more importantly in the decision making. The implication here is that it cannot be that in a democratic country especially when that country strives for the consolidation of that democracy, that a single social group has a monopoly of governing power because that would be tantamount to quasi democracy (Ch. 3 of RSA Constitution 108 of 1996). Such a concept is very relevant in the case of South Africa because there are multiple state organs which are required to co-operate with one another and involve the citizenry while doing so. In this way, democracy will be entrenched. The application of the concept of co-operative governance in South African Higher Education is clearly articulated in the policy framework as:

> "Increased co-operation and partnerships among a broader range of constituencies will require participatory, responsible and accountable structures and procedures. These will depend upon trust and constructive interaction among all constituencies. The results of this, would be, a higher education sector that is more participative, democratic, accountable and transparent" (National Council for Higher Education, 1996: 5).

2.3.4 Political participation

As a concept, political participation has a number of competing definitions. According to Uhlaner (2001), these multiple definitions though they are different, have something in common and that is the idea that there is "…the limitation to activities that are addressed towards (influencing) the state". Huntington and Nelson (1973:3), define political participation as a "…activity by private citizens designed to influence government decision making". While this

definition is commendable for its identification of the rationale for political participation, but it is too implicit as it fails to clearly address the question of how political participation influence the decision making of the government. It provokes more questions instead of addressing them. Verba, Sidney, Burns, Nancy, Schlozman and Lehman (1995) define political participation in a more explicit manner. These authors state that political participation is an "activity that has the intent or effect of influencing government action – either directly by affecting the making or implementation of public policies or indirectly by influencing the selection of people who make those policies" (Verba, Sidney, Burns, Nancy, Schlozman and Lehman, 1995:38).

The accounted for definitions of political participation agree on the point that it is an activity. The word activity is too folded and does not explicitly articulate that which the citizenry do in the name of political participation. The unpacking of activity therefore becomes compelling. The word activity in the context of political participation therefore encapsulates politically motivated acts such as mass demonstrations whereby people mobilize and convey their demands; signing of petitions and forward it to those who are charged with the responsibility of policy making and lastly, the citizenry may be involved in the selection of the public officials by a way of voting for a political party or individuals, they may also run for office if they wish so. These actions may either be legal or illegal (Weitz-Shapiro and Winters, 2008).

Weitz-Shapiro and Winters (2008) while agreeing with the conventional definitions of political participation which revolves around the idea of being politically affiliated, they raise an argument that there is more to political participation than just the activities that fall within the conventional definitions of political participation. These scholars maintain that the concept of political participation is both complex and ambiguous. They for example consider activities of organizations such as those of sports, cultural, trade unions and etc., as political, albeit in a covert sense. They substantiate this view by pointing out that it is these interest groups that set the tone and context of politics and that people affiliated under these organizations cast their votes with the aim of advancing the agendas of such organizations.

2.4 Gender and Democracy

It is stated above that women are coming from the history of being politically marginalized due to patriarchal way of life of yesteryears. Patriarchy positioned men in superior social position and that came with political power. Women on the other had were reduced into being the inferior gender and consequently relegated to the domestic sphere. This changed at the beginning of the 20th century when women's demand for political emancipation came into the fore. As such, the notion of gender equality assumed the center stage of the global political agenda (Carli and Eagly, 2001:629).

The turning point for the struggle and the call for the emancipation of women was when the United Nations made a declaration that 1975 was to be the women's year. This declaration was followed by another declaration according to which the decade starting from 1976 to 1986 was to be the Women's Decade. And according to Inglehart and Norris (2003:3), this declaration mapped the strategies that were to be employed ensure the development of women, the integration thereof into politics and consequently the mainstreaming of gender issues. Carli and Eagly (2001:629) acknowledges that though the social position and status of women improved, the same could not be said about the political sphere.

According to scholars such as Hassim (2006:2), lack of women's representation in political institutions such as parliament was partly attributable to "ideological underpinnings of liberalism which regards family and market as lying outside the realm of the state action." For Inglehart and Norris (2003), the crux of the problem lies in the fact that in the main, the political leadership is not gender equal. And it is from political leadership that political and policy decisions are generated. While this is a problem in itself, but the extent to which it is problematic is increased by the fact that the status quo of political leadership reflects the views and attitudes of the populace towards the idea of the representation of women in the political leadership. This is mostly the case in the developing countries whose value system is still traditional and conservative compared to developed countries. Thus Inglehart, Norris and Welzel (2004:6) make a two-fold conclusion that the majority of the population of the developing countries subscribe to the notion that "Men make better political leaders than women", a notion which is likely to be subjected to rejection in the first world countries.

Inglehart, Norris and Welzel (2004) further point out that there is a correlation between the population's belief in the above notion and gender representativeness of the political leadership. Where the majority of the population rejects the notion, women have more opportunities of being political leaders and vice-versa. Zamfirache (2010) accounts for two theories that were coined by scholars who deliberated on the point that social attitudes are the important determining factors for the political advancement of women. Glass ceiling and gender affinity effect otherwise referred to as gender mainstreaming are theories that the scholars use to engage and analyze the attitudes and perceptions of the populace towards the female political leaders. The media perceptions were also subject to this analysis.

Glass ceiling encapsulates "those artificial barriers based on attitudinal or organizational bias that prevents qualified individuals from advancing upward in their organization into management level positions" (Lorber, 1994:227). What are these artificial barriers that counter the advancement of individuals as asserted by Lorber (1994) in defining glass ceiling? According to Zamfirache (2010:2) these artificial barriers "are stereotypes, media related issues, informal boundaries" and etc. These inform people's attitudes and perceptions. Unfortunately for women with political ambitions, the media portray them in line with patriarchal norms and values. This inform the public's gender attitudes and dictate how one think of themselves in relation to their opposite gender. Because the sphere of politics is defined in masculine terms, it is then viewed as the men's game. Women are therefore relegated to the domestic sphere.

Another concept central to Zamfirache's study is 'gender affinity effect' which is an assumption that people are gender loyal, meaning that gender plays out in elections whereby the populace support candidates of their gender (King & Matland, 2003; Sanbonmatsu, 2002). Contextualizing this assumption to this study, it means that women are more likely to support female candidates. Dolan (2008) warns against relying too much on this assumption to avoid running the risk of overlooking the intricacy that the gender dimension can bring to election. To substantiate on this point, this scholar thus argues that while it is true that women are more likely to support female candidates, but "…this support is not automatic and is often based on additional considerations beyond candidates' sex" (Dolan, 2008:79).

There is a lot that has been said about women in politics, but the question of why is it of importance that women are present in political institutions is intriguing and worth looking into

because of its relevance to this study. Luvenduski and Karam (2000:152) give a two point answer: the first one is that political institutions or the composition thereof must reflect the demographics of the society; the second one is that the interest of women needs to be represented and promoted in political decision making, and women are in the better position than men to do this. Karam (1998:21) agrees with these points and further argue that when given a political opportunity and platform, women exert a great deal of influence on political and policy decisions.

Over and above the reasons for the importance of the political participation and representation of women as mentioned above, it important to perhaps also note that such is also a crucial requirement of democracy. Fore Rosenthal (1995) has observed that numerically, most societies have more women than men, it therefore makes a democratic sense that this is reflected in political institution and that anything less than this, questions the extent to which a particular society is democratic. Inglehartet al (2004:2) thus concludes that "if half of the population does not have full political rights, the society is not democratic."

2.5 Political participation of women in the global context

In the context of this study, political participation is defined within the parameters of democracy. The definition of political participation offered above suggests that it application differs from one type of democracy to another. It is however an important aspect of participatory democracy, though it is applicable in other types as well. Political participation may also vary depending on the number of environmental factors. This point is best elucidated on by Bratton et al (2005:263) who notes that "theorist have long recognized that political participation is a multifaceted concept that embraces a variety of forms, including voting, campaigning for candidates, lobbying and contacting leaders and (when all else fails) protesting".

2.5.1 Theoretical background to political participation

It is stated above that the political participation is an important concept of this study is defined within the parameters of democracy. In order to advance the discussion on political participation, it is therefore necessary to begin by tracing the origin of democracy as a term that encompasses political participation. According to Clapper (1996:52 cited in Bekker ed.), when the word came into being, it was used in reference to the certain kind of governance whose ruling power rested

within the people or the masses. The idea of democracy is credited to Athenians who coined the term at the time of Periscles. In explaining the functionality of democracy at that time, Brynard (1996:73 cited in Bekker ed.) states that "Under this system all important decisions affecting the citizens of Athens were made directly by the aklesia, which was the face-to-face assembly of all the citizens." Brynard (1996:52 cited in Bekker ed.) is of the view that such democratic engagement is typical of participatory democracy. This scholar therefore deduces that democracy originated in a participatory form though other forms have emerged over the years.

Nel and Van Wyk (2003:55) look at democracy in the context of modern society. They thus concede that though democracy is still defined as the notion of "the government for the people by the people", but there has been a paradigm shift over the years, which is the consequence of the formation of other types of democracies. These scholars further note that the modern conception of democracy no longer prioritises participation, but instead, participation has been reduced to just voting in which case the masses or citizens are not encouraged to participate in political decision making.

According to Parry and Moyser (1994:44-46) the realist democratic theories are the ones that put the emphasis on crucial factors such as responsible leadership, representation, and the involvement of the political elite. These authors also make mention of the notion that such realist theories must also consider direct participation as an essential condition of democracy.

2.5.2 Rationale for Political Participation

The perceived development of democracy globally, is characterised by among other things the emphasis on participation as *sine qua non* of democracy itself. Whereas in the historical context, the important element of democracy used to revolve around the right in electing government leaders, the contemporary conception places the importance on giving power to the people and put in place relevant mechanisms for them to participate in political decision making (Creighton, 2005:17). It therefore suffices to conclude that any democracy that compromises the political participative element by limiting it to voting is devoid of the character of the authentic democracy. Gildenhuys, Fox and Wissink (1991:124) attest to this point and further note that political participation in democracy must also be inclusive of public participation which should

ultimately translate to participation in decision making in other important activities such as public policy making and implementation.

Why is the issue of political participation so important and why is it so pertinent in both the global as well as the South African context? The importance of participation is centred on the idea of democratic advancement. The participation of the majority of people in all political processes is indicative of the increased public confidence in democracy. This also ensures that public officials are accountable. In this way democracy matures and moves closer to the state of being a consolidated democracy.

2.5.3 Challenges Confronting Political Participation around the World

Even though the emphasis on participation as *sine qua non* of democracy has been increasing over the years, but such a call has been confronted by a number of challenges. And in the context of this study, the core point of these challenges is the issue of inequality. There is social inequality that exists throughout the globe. Such inequality exists in different forms. It is for this reason that Sociologists view the world as a stratification system which is based on power relations which is hierarchical in nature. According to Bergmann (1974) social inequality usually materializes in three forms: race, class and gender, though this does not mean that there is no social inequality in more homogenous societies. For purposes of this study, while acknowledging the existence of other forms of inequality as important, an exclusive focus is going to be paid to gender inequality with a particular focus on political participation and representation.

2.5.3.1 Gender Inequality

The concept of gender inequality encapsulates the unequal treatment of human beings based on their gender. From the onset, this statement suggests that social positions that men and women occupy, are not equal in importance. For Sociologists, this is social stratification which is deeply influenced by principles of patriarchy. As such, men are and have always been dominant over women (Giddens and Sutton, 2010).

For Soule and Nairne (2006), there are more reasons why political participation is important than what has been accounted for above. For instance, when people participate, the level of political consciousness increases, and when that happens, people are able to make valuable input into

political processes. Furthermore, participation also enables people to pursue their own political interests and that makes politics competitive. Political participation influences political empowerment which produces vibrant civic activism.

Schlozman, Verba and Brady (1995) make a contribution that is of policy context. Whereas public policy may be regarded as the responsibility of the executive or public servants, but there is a room for the citizenry to participate. For example, in the South African context, before a policy is passed, it becomes a green paper where people can contribute. If people are not empowered in this regard, such input is not going to add value. Hence, the assertion that: "when more members of community are active, it is easier to produce and to deliver good public policy of benefit to larger communities" (Soule and Nairne, 2006: 1). In so doing, people act as policy agents as well as checks and balances. Women are said to have low levels of such participation and as such, they miss out on opportunities to communicate their policy preferences.

Some scholars have paid attention on issues of comparative political knowledge. In other words, they have studied the extent of the political knowledge of women compared to that of men. The results of this place women below men in terms of having political knowledge (Schlozman, 1997). Given the interest that was generated around the issue, other scholars followed soot and study other aspects of the gender gap in political knowledge. For instance, Mondak and Anderson (2004) tried to find an explanation for this knowledge gap. According to these scholars, this knowledge gap is caused by technical issues such as the fact that women are generally reluctant to engage on political issues. This means that they are likely to respond "I don't know" to questions that relates to politics. Men on the other hand are said to be more engaging. Therefore, it could be said that women have a competitive political knowledge, but are just not interested to share it. Political knowledge is thus correlated to political interest.

2.5.4 The Concept of Gender Equality and Political Participation

Political participation is a broad concept which constitutes a number of political activities some of these have already been captured above. This study is however specific to the notion of political representation and narrowing into this concept is indeed compelling. This pays a particular focus in the representation of women in political institutions of governance where political and policy decisions are taken. To this effect, studies have revealed that even though the

interest of women in politics and ultimately their participation has increased, but their presence in parliament for instance, is not on par yet. As it was found in 2001, that only 39 countries have had a woman as the head of state and that women made up slightly over 13% of female parliamentarians worldwide (Norris and Inglehart, 2001).

Morna (2004) acknowledges the political progress that women have achieved over the years as the number of female parliamentarians has been increasing. But she/he adds on that such progress happens at a very slow pace. Therefore, according to this view, achieving a 50/50 gender representation in global parliaments is inconceivable in the near future. There is however countries that have made so much progress that achieving this goal seem realistic. Some of these countries are briefly reviewed below.

2.5.4.1 Selected International cases of women's political representation

In line with the above definitions of political participation and its cognate concepts, a selected number of international cases of women's political participation are being reviewed. Throughout the world, calls have been made to extend the fruits of democracy to women by allowing them to participate in political processes. For example, the Millennium Development Goal number three calls for the promotion of gender equality and women empowerment. One of the things that are highlighted within this goal is the promotion of women's participation in politics. To this effect, progress has been made though the targets have not been achieved. Countries that have made a remarkable progress in this regard are: Rwanda with 56.3% of women's representation in parliament; Sweden with 45%; South Africa with 44.5% and Cuba with 43.2%. Other countries in which MDGs were implemented either have not make a remarkable progress, or they have not recorded any progress. (Millennium Development Goals Report, 2011:23).

2.5.4.1.1 Rwanda

Rwanda is a reflection of the fact that Sub-Saharan Africa is leading in as far as the political participation of women is concerned. And this remarkable progress is attributed to the use of gender quota system which is a common tool of promoting gender equality in politics throughout the continent (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2003). For the country that is coming from the experience of genocide which took place in 1994, Rwanda's political progress has been dramatic. It is also interesting that all these political gains are achieved in a country which is not

the best of democracies and on top of that. Rwanda is what may be referred to as a quasi-democratic country because her political landscape is dominated by a single political party. This country is coming from far in as far as political development is concerned (Powley, 2005).

Even though Rwanda has made a progress so significant in increasing the participation of women in politics, she still epitomizes the underdeveloped country. The levels of poverty in this country are rife. It is further said that the position of Rwanda as the global leader in terms of women's political participation and representation, does not in any way reflect the social position of women in Rwanda. The majority of women in Rwanda suffer more victimization under the hands of poverty than their male counterparts. Women are uneducated, do not enjoy fully the legal rights, do not have access to resources and also, they make up huge numbers when it comes to the victims of diseases (Powley, 2005).This means that at the grass root level of the political landscape, the picture is somewhat different. In other words, the parliamentary statistics according to which Rwanda has achieved beyond the gender parity does not reflect the realities of the grass root level and unfortunately, there is not much research that has been done about the level of participation at the grass root level. Despite this, the Rwandan progress is acknowledged so much so that it is dubbed as a model that needs to be followed by other countries in the world (IPU, 2003).

2.5.4.1.2 Sweden

Nordic or Scandinavian countries are reputed as the best democracies in the world and Sweden is one of such countries. Campbell (2010) attests to this by capturing the findings of the Democracy Rankings of 2010 which places Sweden in the top five best democracies in the globe. The other four are: Norway, Finland, Demark (fellow Nordic countries) as well as Switzerland. Off these countries, it is however Sweden that has made a remarkable progress when it comes into the promotion of gender parity in political activities. The MDG rankings by the United Nations (2011) place Sweden on the second spot in this regard.

According to the IDEA (2008), the process of encouraging women to participate in political activities started in the early 1970s when two vanguard political movements (Liberal Party and the Social Democrats) came into the realization that women could play a critical role in the political activities. It is worth noting that then the participation of women judging by their

representation in parliament was estimated to be at 14%. From this, it went up into the impressive 45.3% as per the MDG Report of 2011.

IDEA (2008) further states that the 2002 Swedish electoral results saw women occupying over 50% of the parliamentary seats while they scored low in the number of seats they held in the cabinet. The parliament and the cabinet it can be said reflects the realities of the vanguard political movements, some more than others. The climax of the agenda of promoting equal gender political participation happened in 2006 when the political parties unanimously adopted a slogan in their campaigns which said "every second seat for a woman" (IDEA, 2008). This indicated that Sweden intends to maintain its position as the leader when it comes into women's representation. Gender quota system, is a tool through which the agenda of gender equal participation in politics, is advanced. And this is said to be the case both at the national level (parliament), as well as political party level.

2.5.4.1.3 South Africa

South Africa is coming from the experience of the worst brand of racial discrimination under the cruelty of the apartheid regime. While in general women have been oppressed, for black women this meant triple oppression as they also had been subjected to race and class oppression (Simen, 2006). However, 1994 marked the turning point in this regard. The democracy which was attained in 1994 meant a number of things to women's struggle. Most important of these is the emphasis on the promotion of gender equality. This was not just given a lip service, but it was also enacted in the constitution as a way of demonstrating the seriousness of the country towards the pursuit of gender equality (Gutto, 2001:151).

The AfriMAP and Open Society Foundation for South Africa published a paper entitled: South Africa: Democracy and Political Participation, in 2006. In this paper, these entities made their contribution towards the reviewing of the progress with respect to political participation that has been made by South Africa. One of the reviews that are made in this paper is that of the trends of women's political participation. According to this review, the political participation indicated signs of improvement as from the year 2006. This review is based on the outcomes of the local elections of the same year. Whereas the African National Congress (ANC) used the quota system to ensure the increase of the participation and involvement of women in political activities, the

Democratic Alliance (DA) did not use the quota system, but it did however ensured that there is a significant presence of women in strategic political positions (AfriMAP and Open Society Foundation for South Africa, 2006).

In light of the above, it therefore comes as a no surprise that, five years later, South Africa was found to be occupying the third place according to the UN Report on the progress of the MDGs with regards to the political participation of women (UN, 2011). However, regardless of this massive achievement, South Africa remains one of the gender unequal societies in the world. Therefore, it can be deduced that the picture of parliaments in terms of the representation of women is somehow not reflected on the grass root level of politicking and vice-versa. What is also concerning is the lack of the research attention to such a level and that cause the reliance on the parliamentary statistics for points of generalization.

2.5.4.1.4 Cuba

According to the UN's MDG progress Report, Cuba occupies the fourth spot in as far as the participation and the representation of women in parliament is concerned. For Cuba, the drastic changes with regards to gender equality started to materialize after the Cuban revolution of the 1950. This revolution did not only liberate the Cuban people from the dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista, but it also led to the beginning of the emancipation of women from gender oppression. Like it is the case in South Africa as stated above, the notion of gender equality is enacted in the form of the number of articles in the Cuban Constitution (Women in Cuba, 2012).

While there is ample literature which points to the fact that progress has been made with respect to the struggle for the emancipation of women so as to ensure the inclusiveness of women in political processes, such literature is not reliable because it is biased against the citizenry at the grass root level. There is therefore a research vacuum at the grass root level that must be entertained by scholars. This will unleash the notion of dealing with problems related to lack of women's participation in politics, using the bottom up approach.

The UN survey of women in politics ranked this country in the third place when it comes to the political participation of women (UN, 2012). However, these findings are subjected to the same criticism that any finding accounted for in this literature review has been subjected to, that of being limited to parliamentary activities. The danger which comes with using a parliament as the

point of measurement is that it might not be reflective of for example the situations of grass root politics. This does not only pose problems for the extent to which such findings can be generalized, but it also cause problems for attempting to establish whether women play a meaningful role even when they are parliamentarians.

This is the picture of how far the world has gone in improving the political status of women. It relevance in the study which is so narrow and based in South Africa like this one, is in so far as it appreciate the fact that South Africa belongs to the global community. Therefore, such a literature so broad is accounted for here to lay the foundation for the analysis of South African contextualized literature. Furthermore, this literature will further be narrowed down to the student governance at institutions of higher learning.

2.6 An overview of South African politics with respect to governance and gender issues

The democratic dispensation which happened over eighteen years ago led to the introduction of the constitution that came to be reputed as the most progressive in the continent and one of the most progressive in the world. ANC has been credited for this. One of the factors that make this constitution to stand out is among other things the fact that it is a pro gender transformation. This progressive constitution calls for gender equality and contains clauses that make unlawful gender discrimination. The constitution of South Africa also provides for civil society and this has afforded lot of gender based organizations to influence the constitution to be more responsive to the issues affecting women as well as advocating for the feminization of policies. The results of the growth of influence by women through organizations have resulted to the promulgation of a number of pieces of legislation to further advance the gender transformation agenda. (Constitution o the Republic of South African, 1996).

For the nuanced analysis of South Africa with respect to governance and gender dimension, revisiting the insightful work of Hassim is perhaps compelling. This scholar begins by locating South Africa within the broader African context without necessarily making a comparative analysis of this respective country and its fellow African countries. She achieves this by briefly exploring the topic under discussion in the African context. She/he remarks on the increased representation of women in African parliaments and this she argues is because of gender quota

system that has been adopted by the African Union and therefore by other African countries (Hassim, 2006).

Back to South Africa, Hassim (2006) makes a contrast between a transformational feminist approach and an inclusionary feminist approach in order to educe the criteria that would enable him/her to make an assessment of the challenges that confronts women's movements in South Africa. Before getting into the crux of this matter, it is perhaps important to ponder upon the definitional aspect of these two approaches. For this, Molyneux's 1998 work is the most relevant. In defining transformational feminist approach Molyneux makes a distinction between the notions of "strategic gender interests" and that of "practical gender needs." She defines "practical gender needs" as emanating from the responsibilities of women in relation to the division of labour. "Strategic gender interests" on the other hand relates to the interests that women have which pertains to changing power relations. These notions are socio-political and economic. They are however not easy to distinguish, even Molyneux acknowledges this. She further points out though that however uneasily distinguishable these notions may be, but they are central to the political project of feminist movements which is to advance radical political change (Molyneux, 1998).

On the definition of the inclusionary approach, Baldez's views are the most relevant. As a point of departure, this scholar looks in retrospect and points out that, women are coming from the history of political marginalization. Therefore, because of the paradigm shift in as far as this is concerned, there has been an increase of women in politics and this is what the inclusionary feminist approach promotes, for women to be included in politics (Baldez, 2002). Though there has been some notable change, Hassim maintains that compared to other disparities (race, class and ethnicity), gender inequality has achieved the least political transformation as "…women are consistently defined as political outsiders and second class citizens, whose entry into the public sphere is either anachronistic and short term, or condition upon their material social roles." The inclusionary approach therefore puts emphasis on the importance of women to access political power, thus challenging exclusion. In this regard, things like the disenfranchisement of women, promotion of the increase in the representation of women in parliaments and the removal of all stumbling blocks to gender equality, are important aspects of the feminist political project. While this approach may be complemented for creating a political climate that is conducive for women

to participate in political activities, its potential to effectively lead women into their political emancipation is limited because of its reluctance to confront structural basis of inequality (Hassim, 2006).

2.6.1 Policy context

To complement the constitution in the entrenchment of principles of gender equality, the South African government has established many institutions that are together referred to as the National Gender Machinery (NGM). This group of institutions includes Commission for Gender Equality and the Department of Women, Children and People with Disabilities. Furthermore, in all levels of government and departments, there is now the post of gender focal persons. This move has been viewed as the government strategy to mainstream and has been hailed by many formations as the most progressive.

Sanger (2008) offers a critical analysis of the NGM. In her analysis she makes note of the limitations of such a strategy despite is nobility and good intentions. At the core of these limitations are unequal power relations between men and women. She thus argues against the notion that "NGM would function in the environment supportive of gender equality and women's empowerment." Her major concern is that views which speak against patriarchal power by which women are suppressed, are either marginalized or silenced and the most concerning part is that even in government institutions, marginalization of such views is the order of the day. Such a situation makes any effort of emancipating women to be susceptible to failure. It is worth mentioning that this article was written two year prior to the introduction of the ministry for Women, Children and People with Disabilities. There is also a new draft bill which was published in 2012 known as "Women Empowerment and Gender Equality Bill" which is aimed at supplementing and strengthening the already existing programmes and institutions. One of the principles that it seeks to reinforce is the notion of 50:50 representation of women as entailed in the Constitution. The emphasis is placed on capacitating women to lead effectively. (Women Empowerment and Gender Equality Bill, 2012).

2.7 Student governance

The institutions of higher education provide students with the political environment from which they can advance their aspirations and kick start their political careers. Furthermore, this

environment also affords student a platform to participate in the governance of their institutions. This means that students are now part of the decision making bodies within institutions of higher learning. This is what the concept of student governance encapsulates. The notion of student governance is not new, yet the literature on it is limited. Miller and Nadler (2006) trace the existence of the concept of student governance back to the 1900s. According to these scholars, the idea of student governance was brought about by the administrators of the university as the mechanism to instill order within students. Elected student body therefore served as a tool to bridge the communication gap between the administrators and the students. Meaning that even though student governance largely existed to help the administrators to maintain order, but secondarily it also had to empower students by communicating their concerns to the administrators. Student governance operated in the passive form until the 1960s and 1970s where, as the results of riots in some universities, students began to be represented in the decision making bodies.

The sixth chapter of Eckel's (2006) book begins with an account of three testimonials made by the administrative staff members of different institutions. These persons make remarks on the extent to which the university governance has changed over the years with the special reference made to the involvement of students in the decision making. Contrary to the assertion that student governance began in the 1900s made by Miller and Nadler (2006) as accounted for above, Eckel (2006) is off the view that it was in fact in the 1800s that students started to campaign for their well-being as students. According to this, students at that time did not form part of the decision making body. They however influenced the decisions through newspapers; demonstrations; petitions sit-ins and etc. For Eckel, the 1900s marked the broadening of the scope of student activism as they through organized groups took part in the societal related issues. As the time goes on, students were included in the policy making bodies of universities (Eckel, 2006).

Furthermore, Eckel (2006) attributes the lack of student involvement in decision making of institutions of higher learning to the philosophy of in loco parentis according to which students are children who are not fit enough to make decisions and as such, they should be subjected to the care of the adults in the form of university administrators. This philosophy was dismantled in the 1960s when the position of students improved to being viewed as adults and were

consequently admitted in the policy decision making bodies. This paradigm shift came to be referred to as the "student empowerment philosophy" (Eckel, 2006).

In 1999 the "Bologna Declaration" was signed. This Declaration articulated the importance of student participation in governance (Bologna Follow-Up Seminar, 2003). Since then, the interest and attention paid to the notion of student governance has increased – including the scholarly attention. It must however be noted that the notion of student governance as a research area is not well explored. There are however studies that are worth noting.

Luescher-Mamashela (2011) produced a paper that partly traces the history of the concept of student governance and partly presents strong arguments for the importance of the participation of students in the decision making of their respective universities. According to this scholar, the concept of the 'democratization of higher education' started to get some attention in the 1960s in the European countries. This concept which calls for the active participation of students in decision making of their universities has been growing in importance over the years. In her insightful paper, Luescher-Mamashela (2011) presents a five point case for the importance of student participation in decision making structures of universities.

The first point speaks to the issue of student process in universities over a number of issues. This scholar thus points out that to strategically deal with student protests which is disruptive to academia and its programmes there must be a paradigm shift where students are viewed as active stakeholders rather than the consumers of higher education. Secondly, in as much as students are consumers of higher education, but they need to participate in the decision making so that they can shape their own destinies. Thirdly, a university is viewed as a microcosm of the community and it follows from this view that students are therefore members of this community who are the beneficiaries of institutional policies. It therefore makes democratic sense that students should be represented in the decision making body of the university. Fourthly, the university is viewed as the springboard for students to kick starts their political careers. Involving them in decision making at the university level, thus further prepares them for their future role as public servants. Lastly, university is a socialization agency. Therefore, democratizing the university by promoting the participation of student in decision making, instils democratic norms and values.

Dunatchik (2010) conducted a study which searched for reasons behind the low participation of women in student politics in the American universities. As a point of departure, this study hypothesized that the lack of political participation of women is attributed to socialization which inculcates patriarchal norms and values. And this creates an inferiority complex in women who in comparison to their male counterparts, becomes less politically ambitious. The society as a whole tends to see politics as the man's game. The findings resonated with this assumption and added on that the fact that women have been reduced to secondary citizens. This disadvantages them in competing for political positions, if they do, they do not add much value as they are not confident to do so. The society across gender spectrum questions their capability on the grounds of their gender.

However, even though American students have been characterized as being politically apathetic, Lipset and Altbach (1966) argue in favour of the contrary. For these scholars, the 1960s marked the paradigm shift in student politics of the United State of America as students began to pay more focus on government related issues. This scholars also add on that it was not just in the USA where political consciousness grew among students, but the trend began to spread to other places for example, middle east, and Africa. This increased political consciousness was indicated by student protests against some decisions that they felt were not serving their best interest.

Another intriguing and insightful study was done in the United Arab Emirates by Al-Othman in 2008. In this study, this scholar intended to explore the attitudes of the university student towards women's public life. The notion of public life encapsulates social, economic and political participation. Furthermore, this scholar intended to identify independent factors and trends that influence attitude of the target population, however different it may be. This study produced interesting findings. It reveals that while the attitude of students is favourable towards the participation of women in some part of public life such as civil societies; volunteer societies and municipal councils, the majority is not in favor of women's participation in economic or political activities (Al-Othman, 2008). It is interesting that the concept of municipal councils is not viewed as a political activity whereas in other countries such as South Africa, it is indeed a political phenomenon.

2.8 Student Movements

The political environment of institutions of higher learning, particularly in South Africa is surprisingly very competitive. This makes one wonder as to why the scholarly literature to this effect is so scarce. Students use student movements to pursue certain political agendas. It is through such organizations that students during apartheid were able to contribute to the anti-apartheid struggle. The relevance of these organizations continues to be in existence in the democratic era as it ensures that students in institutions of higher learning realize their democratic rights. Even though the literature of this subject matter is scarce, but there are studies that are worth being accounted for.

By now, it has become clear that the political environment of institutions of higher learning mirrors the general political environment because of among other things the existence of political movements through which students drive their activism. And according to Altbach (1984), these student movements are informed by certain political ideologies. Most of these organizations are said to subscribe to the leftist ideology (socialism) with nationalist tendencies. This makes student activist to be idealist and assume the oppositional stance whereby they operate to oppose the management in order to ensure that the interests of the students is promoted and protected. Altbach (1984) further points out that most student movements have been influenced by the ideas entailed within the Marxist ideology and this has implications on how students engage political matters.

However, the notion that student movements are leftist in ideology is somewhat an over statement of reality. That is because such a notion seems to suggest that the politics of the left is what student politics is defined by. Meanwhile Steinberg (1977) has observed that student movements in European institutions were in actual fact shaped by the rightist ideology. This scholar however concedes that even though the rightist ideology has some influence in how student politics is shaped, but the leftist ideology is still more dominant. This is for instance true of South African student politics where most student movements are informed by the leftist ideology and there are very few that subscribe to the rightist one.

2.9 Selected African cases

Altbach (1984) wrote an article on student politics in institutions of the third world countries. According to this author, students at institutions of higher learning are politically active and this is mostly materializes in the form of unrest. It follows from this that the management of such institutions have a negative attitude towards student politics. They feel that it disturbs academia and does not add much value into the affairs of students apart from being a destructive force.

Altbach (1984) however contends that there is more to student politics than it destructive character. Things that are pointed out to support this argument are: the ability of student politics to contribute to nation building, as well as it being an agent of political socialization. This view positions political activism of students as a support mechanism to political systems.

Altbach (1984) goes on to point out that student politics is not homogenous. In this he distinguishes between the student politics of the industrialized nations as well as that of the third world countries. But he further points out that the student politics of the third world countries is also not homogenous, owing to a number of factors. He thus suggests that such differences ought to be taken into cognizance when this subject matter is being studied.

The literature on student governance accounted for above is largely dominated by the American literature. This means that the African outlook which is of interest in this research is not well studied. The generalizations are therefore drawn from the American experiences and as argued by Atbach (1984), such tendency does not give an all-encompassing reflection because student politics exist in heterogeneous contexts. Even though the student politics of the third world, particularly that of Africa is not well studied, but there is some literature that is worth being reviewed. Chimanikire (2009) present a compelling study on student political activism that was conducted in four African countries: Cameroon; Eritrea; Zimbabwe and South Africa. This study looked at different aspect aspects of student politics of each of these countries.

2.9.1 The case of Cameroon

Most of this study was conducted in the University of Buea where the researchers intended to determine the character of student politics or activism of this particular university and compare it to that of the University of Yaounde. This research revealed that the major focus of student activism was around the issue of pressurizing the university to commit more funds into the

financial aid scheme. It is further reported that this issue led to violent confrontation between the university administration and student and this led to the burning of student politics. However, when the university decided to unban the student politics, it placed a lot of restrictions to guard against radicalism buy students. Student activism is therefore highly restricted (Chimanikire, 2009).

2.9.2 The case of Eritrea

The author points out that Eritrean people place a particular importance in student politics primarily because of the remarkable role that students played in the liberation of this country. Currently therefore, student activists are still important though for the nation building and the transformation of the country. For instance, the government made it compulsory for students of eighteen years and above to give service to the country in the form of taking part in the war and participate in agricultural projects. The study further reveals that at the beginning of the millennium and in the wake of human rights notion, the students began to challenge the government. They objected to the role that the government mandated them to play on the grounds that it was the violation of their human rights. However, suppressive measures were employed by the government to crush the resistance and this led to the extinction of student movement. Therefore, the student political activism has since gone very weak (Chimanikire, 2009).

2.9.3 The case of Zimbabwe

The history of student political activism in Zimbabwe is not different from that of the African countries accounted for above in that students also played a pivotal role in the liberation struggle. However, the role of students began to diminish in the post-colonial era. This study therefore intended to analyze the extent to which the political role of students has evolved since the achievement of independence in 1980. It is pointed out in this study that upon realizing that the direction that the government was taking after the attainment of independence was contrary to their aspirations, students took the opposition side. This means that they began to oppose the government that they collaborated with in the struggle for independence. In 1988, this opposition role reached epic point when the students forged ties with the opposition party Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) in the quest for democracy.

2.9.4 The South African case

The topic on student governance is under researched in South Africa. The available literature is dominated by University of Cape Town. An example is the study done by Student Governance Review (SGR) Team based in UCT. The position taken in this study on the importance of student governance for co-operative governance is in resonance to the Education and Higher Education Policy of 1997. According to this line of thought, the participation of student leaders in decision making structures of the university is important for the proper functionality of the university. That is the rationale of the SRC (SGR Team, 2000).

The SGR Team goes on to identify and outline three types of student governance functional in South Africa. The first type is characterized by having relatively small SRCs (not more than fifteen) and is common with the previously black universities. Furthermore, in this type, there is a vibrant existence of political organizations through which student advance their political ambitions. It is thus concluded that SRCs elected under this type are "issue-driven rather than project based" (2000: 6).

The second type is characterized by having the large SRC (in access of fifty members). This type is also grounded on the notion of "issue-driven" which means as an informal qualification to run for SRC, one must be affiliated to a particular political organization. Just like it is the case with the first type, in this type, popularity dominates the reasons for which candidates are elected and this compromises competency (SGR Team, 2000: 6).

The third type is the one which is mostly used by the former Afrikaner universities like Stellenbosch University. In such universities, SRC are small and candidates are elected per portfolio (SGR Team, 2000: 6).

Badat (1999) wrote a book on the political activism of black students in higher education. In this book, Badat (1999) gives a historical account of the most prominent student political movement in South Africa, South African Student Congress (SASCO) formerly known as South African National Student Congress (SANCO). This history is traced back from 1968 to 1991. According to this account, SASCO was started by the group of student at the then University of Natal's

Medical School, who broke away from National Union of South African Students (NUSAS). This organization came to be known as SASO and one which Steven Biko was founding President. As a way of revolving, this organization went on to become SANCO and after 1990, it changed its name again to SASCO.

From this background, Badat (1999) thus makes an analysis of the role of this organization in a number of spheres such as education and politics. Using a social movement theory, Badat (1999) thus concludes that SASCO in its former self (1968 - 1990), qualified to be referred to as the national liberation movement primarily because of the role it played in the eradication of apartheid, but most importantly, this organization offered a different perspective of viewing black students. And contrary to the popular view of the time, black students were not just victims of apartheid, but they were also thinkers who had a lot to offer the transformation agenda.

In light of the above, it is evident that the notion of student political movements in institutions of higher learning was a force to be reckoned with. Fore, the students' political influence is beyond the boundaries of the politics of higher education. However, there is a view according to which the legacy of student political movement is coming into an end. Such a view so reductive came out of the study that was done by Cebekhulu, Mantaris and Nhlapho (2006). Using Ginsberg's transition theory and Friere's transition articulation theory, these South African scholars hypothesized that the South African student movements lack radical critique. The cause of this perceived lack of radical engagement of student movements is attributed to among other things apathy that corrodes within student and the fact that these student movements are linked to political parties. Being linked to political parties has certain implications and consequences for students' political activism. For one, it means that the extent of being radical with which these movements are going to critique the government for instance is going to be compromised in order to fit in into the stance of the political party that they are aligned to.

To describe a political dilemma that the students' political movements find themselves in for being aligned to political movements, Cebekhulu et al (2006) use the old saying that "a dog cannot bite the hand that feeds it." In this view, the vanguard student movements such SASCO and ANCYL have thus become neutral on issues that pertains to government because they want

to maintain a healthy political relationship with the ruling party from which they derive structural and ideological support. For these scholars, it is this very relationship that has made these organizations to be ineffective, thus the conclusion that student movement has died a slow and painful death.

In another study conducted by Luescher-Mamashela, Kiiru, Mattes, Mowollo-Nallima, Ng'ethe, and Romo, (2011), three African universities are used as case studies. One of these universities is UCT. Other universities are: the University of Nairobi in Kenya and the University of Dar es Salaam in Tanzania. This study paid focus to "the relationship between students' active political involvement on and off campus, and students' attitudes towards democracy," thus locating the students or the role thereof within the mass democratic movement (Luescher-Mamashela et al, 2011: x).

In Chimanikire's work, the accounted for study on student political activism is a general one and is not specific to a particular university. In reporting, the author begins by remarking that student played a critical role in the fight against apartheid and goes on to note that since the democratic dispensation, the political role of students has changed remarkably. In this research the researcher intended to trace and therefore document the trends within student political activism which came about in the democratic era as the results of the 1997 Education and Higher Education White Papers which provide for the involvement of students in the decision making of the university. The investigative point of this study is therefore around the issue of the credentials of the ideal student representatives. To this end, the findings reveal that the policy which guides student political activism is not specific on the credentials' issue, which means that institutions of higher learning have discretion to determine credentials. It is thus revealed that some universities use academic performance as the criterion to determine the ideal representative and for others it is purely populism. Race and gender issues are not of significance in this regard. The issue of gender is however a point of focus of the study under investigation (Chimanikire, 2009).

2.9.5 Gender dimension of student governance in South Africa

Sanger points out that it is a constitutional requirement that women occupy 50% of the elected positions. This is logical in a democratic country where women are the majority in numbers. In this regard, Sanger further states that women must not just make up numbers in elected positions, but most importantly they must advance the course of women by influencing policies to be responsive to women's issues (Sanger, 2008). This is possible because in the study conducted by Caiazza (2002) in the United State of America (USA), it came out that when women are in elected positions, they advocated for policies to be women-friendly and this leads to the feminization of policies. The relevance of this on student governance discourse is that it serves as a point of inference and set a tone for the literature to be accounted for. Whereas at the national level of politics of South Africa the Constitution dictate that women must be represented and that is why there are so many of them in legislative position, student politics are somewhat different in that there is no such obligation. This has implications on the political participation of female students and their presents in the SRC as well as the extent to which they represent other women.

There is a study conducted by Mthiyane (2009) in UKZN to investigate the political representation of women in the SRC. This scholar pays a particular focus on the substantive representation of women. In other words, he intended to ascertain whether the presence of women in the SRC translate into the feminization of SRC institutional policies. This study reveals that women are confronted by four challenges when they get into the SRC: The first of these challenges is the structural problems facing women representatives which look into institutional policy as an important element in promoting effective representation of women by women. The comparison is made between that mainstream or national politics and student politics in order to put this point across. Whereas the government is compelled by the Constitution to ensure that there are women in legislative positions. Furthermore, there are policies and mechanisms to ensure that women are represented, in the SRC of UKZN such measures are in existence and this hinders the ability of women to represent other women.

The second challenge is male institutional dominance. This is coming from an angle that women have experienced political marginalization at the gain of their male counterparts and this is the product of patriarchy. The fact that men dominate student politics limit the chances of women to get into the SRC and when they get there they struggle to raise concerns that affect women

because such concerns may not be part of the organizational mandate; The third challenge is lack of training for women representation, according to this, the ability of women to champion the cause of other women is in question because women are not capacitated by their organizations to be effective leaders; and lastly, organizational political mandates whereby women have to deal with conflict of priority between the organizational mandate and the pushing the struggle for women.

What can be extracted from these challenges is that the student political environment in its current state is not conducive for women to effectively champion the cause of women. Furthermore, the author articulates that there is a need to improve this state of affairs by way of policy if gender transformation is to be realized. One of the challenges accounted for above is "organizational mandates" deserves exclusive elucidation because it is closely related to this study. In elucidating on this challenge it is revealed that while women understand that they have a duty to promote gender transformation in advancing the cause of women, but they are faced with a dilemma of having to choose the cause of women over other issues within the mandate of their organizations. This therefore raises the question of how women deal with the priority conflict of their organizational mandate and the course of women. This critical question forms the basis of this study.

2.10 Significance of the study

This research is of significance to the domain of gender transformation as it adds to the knowledge base that currently exists. As it has already been noted above student governance is not a well-researched topic in South Africa, let alone when it relates to gender transformation. Therefore, the research which explores student governance in terms of how women represent other women when they are in governance and how women balance between their organizational mandate and the will to advance the cause of women will help in the identification of factors that impede such a gender equality campaign. Furthermore, awareness will be created to student politicians that they have an important role to play in the advancement of gender transformation agenda.

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CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

</div>

3.1 Introduction

The theoretical framework is one of the essential tools used in a research project. According to Mertens (1998) a theoretical framework "relates to philosophical bases on which the research takes place and form the link between theoretical aspects and practical components of the investigation undertaking." Furthermore, continues Mertens "the theoretical framework has implications for every decisions made in the research process" (Mertens, 1998: 3). The theory that was employed for the undertaking of this research project was political representation. This chapter will therefore conceptualize political representation by considering Pitkin's views. In addition to this, this chapter will explore the concept of political representation in it democratic context. Because this is a feminist grounded study, the exploration of this concept is also going to be aligned with relevant feminist ideology namely: liberal feminism. Through this exploration, this chapter will ultimately construct a theoretical framework for this study which will provide philosophical guidance for the exploration of how women in the student governance engage the mandates of their organizations so as to transform the politics in terms of policy.

3.2 Defining the Concept of Political Representation

The advancement of democracy is causing the notion of representation to growing in importance. That is because the idea of representation is the means through which democracy is distributed to the populace. This makes the meaning of being represented in the context of democracy, a question of interest that is worth being considered. Such a consideration will also trace a history of this concept. Defining the concept of political representation provokes the question of the relationship between the citizenry and the elected parties in a democratic setup or context. In subsection 2.3.1 the working definition of democracy is that it is:

> "the government for the people by the people" and in such a government, "the supreme power is vested in and exercised by them directly or indirectly through the system of

representation usually involved periodically held free elections" (Schumpeter, 1960: 269 cited in Fish, 2005: 154).

This Schumpeterian definition locates the citizenry at the center of political representation as manifest in the democratic state. One, it sets out clear that the relationship between the two parties in political representation is grounded on authority and accountability. On one hand, the citizenry elect the politicians into governance and when the elected assume their positions in governance, they are charging themselves with a responsibility of representing those who elected them and to whom they also account. This is what the concept of political representation in a nut shell encapsulates.

Mthiyane (2009) has remarked that the theory of political representation is as old as the existence of the human beings. Even though many associate it with democracy, but it was functional even before the democratic era. To elucidate on this assertion, this scholar use the example of how political representation was carried out in the monarchical system of governance whereby the kings were viewed as the representatives of God on earth. In such a system, the rulers had absolute power that could not be challenged by the subjects. Other forms of governance such as those that were informed by communism, political representation of the citizenry was in question.

Under democracy as a political ideology, political representation functions in a complete opposite to its functionality in autocratic systems accounted for above. At the core of this difference is the fact that in a democratic state, people are at the center of governance. This is explained better by the definition of political representation offered by Philips (1995) that political representation means "acting in the interest of the represented in a manner responsive to them and that fair representation is achieved in a continuous process depending on the level of responsiveness to the electorate" (Philips, 1995: 4). This is in contrast to how political representation functions in autocratic systems in that the rulers prioritize their interests while compromising that of those they rule.

While political representation seems like a simple enough concept, the extent to which it is simple, is in question. The questionable aspect within this concept is indicated by multiple of definitions offered by various political science scholars and practitioners. However the one that stands out is the one offered by Pitkin: "to make present again" (Pitkin, 1967: 5). This is a succinct definition which captures the essence of representation within a public policy context. To put it in simple terms, political representation is the means through which the citizenry opinions and views becomes part of the public policy making process. This is why people vote politicians into political power – to represent them in political and policy processes.

However, even though Pitkin's simple definition is helpful, but the assertion that political representation does not have an exhaustive definition is inescapable. It is therefore for this reason that Sacchetti (2008: 2) identifies structural elements of this concept and thus defines it as: "a relationship between a principal (representative) and an agent (represented), concerning an object (interests, opinions and etc.) and taking place in a particular setting (political context)." While this definition is commendable for identifying structural elements which are crucial in understanding the scope of political representation, it is a bit too loose because it fails to recognize the importance of the issue of responsibility as emphasized by ideas of modern democracy. According to Cotta (2002), political representation in the context of representative democracy may be understood as "an institutionalized system of political responsibility, realized through the free electoral designation of certain fundamental political organisms (mainly parliaments)."

Castiglione and Warren (2006: 2) warn against looking at political representation at face value. These scholars argue that this concept is actually broad and this is due to the fact that it has been evolving over time. Rehfeld (2005) attests to this point and further points out that the concept of political representation has been in the political discourse for over two millennia. This scholar continues by offering an account of some of the scholarly figures who have contributed to the development of political representation: from Marna Charta to Dahl. What is of more interest to this research though is what Rehfeld dubs the "standard account of political representation" which is said to be a contemporary conception and is credited to Pitkin. In this regard, the contemporary definition of political representation is therefore issued: "political representation

purportedly involves *inter alia*, authorization, accountability and look out for other interests" (Rehfeld, 2005: 6).

Rehfeld's definition of political representation is an interesting one and according to Sacchetti (2007) this definition is in line with the notion of legitimacy which means that in as much as the representatives are advancing the mandates of those who elects them i.e. the populace, but the representative are the ones who make decisions on what is in the best interest of the represented. This is what Rehfeld (2005) refers to as the substantive obligation which is placed on political representatives.

In light of what has been said about the concept of political representation, it becomes clear that the reason why it has been hard for scholars to agree on a single definition is because the term itself is not stable. Furthermore, the fact that it can be used in different contexts is an indication that it means different things to different people. The implication explicated here is that defining political representation in an all-encompassing manner is still very much problematic. Scholars continue to search for better ways of defining this concept. For example, instead of defining what political representation is, Castiglione and Warren (2006; 15) divide it into two forms based on evolutionary trends as discussed above: "election of political representatives and a universal franchise." These scholars further note, that the division of political representation into these two forms had two main consequences. The first one is around the extension of democracy or mass democratization. In other words, the electorates were conscious of the mandates for which they were elected. The second one is that the masses participated in the political decision making through the politicians they elect.

From the above, it is clear that the debate on how political representation should be defined is an on-going one. However, where theorists find common grounds is on the importance of this concept in the extension of democracy to the populace. For example, the Dahlian conception of democracy purports that for a governing system to be democratic, one of the fundamental requirements it must meet is to be open to the participation of citizenry as a whole and not just limiting the political decision making to the elite (Dahl, 1989). However, it is impractical to have every citizen participating in political decision making. This is the problem that political

representation counters. In other words, the citizenry delegate people to participate on political decision making on their behalf.

3.3 Pitkin's views of political representation

Judging by the contest involved in defining the concept of political representation, it is clear that the concept has attracted a lot of scholarly attention. Of the scholars who have been involved in engaging political representation, Hanna Pitkin is one of the most influential. This scholar gives the most insightful views of political representation in the book: *The Concept of Representation* (Pitkin, 1967). Before delving into the concept of political representation, Pitkin (1967) start pointing out that political representation is a broad concept that can be used in different situations for different purposes. Therefore, suggests this scholar, it is important to take into consideration different uses of this concept so that it can be applicable in different context.

For Pitkin (1967), political representation may be categorized into four views: formalistic representation; symbolic representation; descriptive representation and substantive representation. Of these only two are relevant for the purposes of informing this study. These are: descriptive and substantive political representations and the discussion of these forms of representation, is accounted for below. This will also shed light into the relationship that each of these views has with liberal feminism to substantiate the argument that political representation is in some way a product of liberal feminism. Even though only two views of political representation are relevant for this study, the other two views are also going to be discussed perhaps for comparative analysis purposes and also to indicate as well as appreciating that they to have some relevance.

3.3.1 Formalistic representation

The common thing among these views of representation is that there are elements of authority and accountability which defines the relationship between the representatives and those they represent. The nature of this relationship is better explained by Pitkin herself that the citizenry give authority to the representative by among other things a way of voting in the elections. Such

an authority is for the representatives to represent those that vote them into political power. In return, the representatives have a political duty of accounting to their constituency. It follows from this that for such an arrangement to be functional, there has to be an element of formality hence it is dubbed the 'formalistic view of representation.' Pitkin thus concedes: "It defines representation in terms of transaction that takes place at the outset, before the actual representing begins" (Pitkin, 1967: 39).

3.3.2 Symbolic representation

The idea of symbolic representation draws one into wondering of the kind of relationship that art has with politics. Of course politics has some art of its own, but in most cases, symbolic representation usually refers to the visual aspect of art. Interestingly, as the point of entry Pitkin (1967) uses representation in the form of paintings to arrive at explaining the concept of symbolic representation. For Pitkin, drawings and paintings as the form of art are used as the representative symbols and in politics politicians are voted to represent. In this regard Pitkin (1967) compares the artist or painter/drawer to the political spin doctor or campaigner and points out that both are insignificant at the end of the day. The only problem with such a comparison though is that in art, paintings and artistic images cannot be held accountable whereas in politics the politicians who are the representatives have the responsibility of accounting to their constituency.

The use of visual art as an analogy to explain the symbolic nature of political representation and then point out where such an analogy comes short rather complicates things then unpacking the concept. To dismantle this potential confusion, it is pointed out that the key in such a comparison lies in the informative nature of the two. Thus Pitkin writes "When this view of representation is applied to the political realm, the implication is that in politics, too, the function of representative institutions is to supply information, in this case about the people or the nation." (Pitkin, 1967: 84).

3.3.3 Descriptive Representation

Every society is characterized by certain levels of heterogeneity or diversity within it members. The most common of such differences is gender. Fore, there is no society that is homogenous in terms of gender. The extent to which the society is diverse is one of the important factors for political scientists and philosophers especially those who support the democratic idea of proportional representation. They maintain that each and every group (people with common traits such as gender, race and disability) should be represented by those who are like them in bodies such as legislatures. Pitkin thus concedes that there is an assumption that "people's characteristics are a guide to the actions they will take" (Pitkin, 1967: 89). Noris (1996) echoes on this point by applying Pitkin's conception to the public policy context and use gender differently for elucidation purposes, that the presence of women in legislature has an impact in the public policy outputs. Fore, women bring a gender dimension in policy deliberations and articulate issues affecting women in ways that only women can articulate.

Before jumping into the crux of this theory, it is important to perhaps start by revisiting the definitional aspect of descriptive representation. Like some champions of this concept, Pitkin (1967: 89) uses the word mirror to express what she means by descriptive representation: "The legislature must be the mirror of the nation or public opinion that it mirrors the people, the state of public consciousness and the movement of social and economic forces in the nation." To put it in simple terms what Pitkin means is that the representative body must accurately reflect all the characteristics of those that it represent meaning that by looking at the composition of the representative body, one must have a clear idea of the represented and vice – versa.

The basic premise of descriptive representation is that the represented should be represented by the representatives who are similar to them because people can truly be represented by those who have certain fundamental characteristics as them (Pitkin, 1967). Mansbridge (1999), defines this concept further in mentioning that descriptive representation is conceived as the representation where the "representatives are in their own persons and lives in some sense typical of a larger class of persons whom they represent." In other words, there must be a resemblance between the representatives and the represented. This definition is grounded on the assumption that when

people are alike, they have the same background and if the background is similar, the representative does a better job of representing because not only he/she has the first-hand experience of the experiences of the represented, but there is an understanding between them (represented and representative). Mansbridge (1999) thus argues that women would better be represented by other women because they have something in common – the shared experience of being oppressed by men.

While it makes a perfect logic that women would better be represented by other women, this is not a political guarantee. In some political contexts, the practical reality can be contrary to the logic of such theoretical assumption. This counter argument to descriptive representation is better elucidated by Gritzfeld (2011) who uses the example of Sara Palin – a woman who ran as a Deputy Presidential candidate in the American elections of 2008. The expectation was that as a woman she would prioritize gender transformation in her campaign. However, against all expectations she showed no signs of having an intention to advocate for gender transformation. As the matter of fact some commentators went as far as concluding that if she became the Deputy President that would deal the struggle for the emancipation of women a heavy blow.

The assumption that the proponent of descriptive representation make is that likeness translates into having common aspirations and ultimately that means the political agenda of a certain group of people can only be pursued truly by those who resemble them. However, as it has been seen in the example of Sara Palin, this is not always the case. Regardless of some indication that in practical terms descriptive representation does not always suffice.

It is interesting to note that though the notion of descriptive representation was Pitkin's creation, but its assumptions or the practicality thereof, were criticized by her. This scholar rejected the assumption that seems to suggest that there is a link between characteristics and action. In other words, characteristics cannot be strong bases upon which people's actions are determined by their characteristics. Likewise, people with similar characteristics, may have different interests. This scholar therefore proposes that a focus must be paid to the actual representation before issues pertaining to characteristics are considered (Childs and Webb, 2012).

3.3.4 Substantive Representation

In her 1972 work, Pitkin defines substantive representation as "acting in the interest of the represented, in a manner responsive to them" (1972: 209). This definition encapsulates three critical components of substantive representation. These are: the representatives' actions; the interests of the represented which must be served by the actions of the representatives and lastly is the responsiveness requirement of the representatives towards the represented. This view thus places the represented in the position of importance in the representation process.

Building on Pitkin's conception of substantive political representation, Childs and Webb (2012: 2) point out that substantive representation is the type of political representation "where the representative seeks to advance a group's policy preference and interests." This means that the representative has to understand the group that they are representing so that they can have an idea of what the policy preferences and interests of this group are.

Some political science scholars who have written on this form of political representation from the feminist point of view have come up with two contrasting assumptions. The first one is advanced by scholars such as Grey and Bytsdzienki according to whom the mere presence of women in governance positions ultimately results in the representation of women. This is grounded on the assumption that when women are in governance; they raise issues that affect other women (Bytsdzienki, 1992; Grey, 2002; Philips, 1995). However, Francis (2009) warns against this assumption, thus indicating that the presence of women in governance does not necessarily lead to the increased representation of women. In advancing this counter argument Francis (2009) further points out that sometimes women in governance are not conscious of the role that they need to play in advocating for gender transformation. This counter argument is in resonance with the Sarah Palin example mentioned above.

3.4 Implementation of Descriptive and Substantive Representation

There is a strong feminist and democratic argument that postulates that the inclusion of women in political activities is in the best interest of democracy. One of the points used to justify this

position is that for one, women are the majority when looking at the population of the world. This therefore implies that if women are not liberated and given space to participate in democratic processes, then the world cannot by any means claim to have any democratic character. Others have pointed out that women govern better than men and that having women in governing institutions would ultimately translates into the entrenchment of democracy (Urbinati, 2008). It is for this reason that the struggle for gender equality has intensified. Everyone agree with the idea that women must enjoy equal human and political rights, but where there are debates is on the question of how should women be represented - descriptive versus substantive. One of the strategies that have been used to implement this idea is gender quota and it is hoped that it will achieve both the descriptive as well as the substantive forms of representation.

3.4.1 Gender quota system

Human disparity on the bases of gender has been viewed as an issue of secondary importance throughout the world. However, the 1960s marked the turning point in as far as the issue of gender is concerned. This turning point materialized in the way of growing feminist movements that intended to advocate for the eco-political rights of women to be equal to that of their male counterparts. Over the years, this movement has been growing in influence. As the results of this, the issue of gender equality is now among the issues that occupy the centre stage of the modern democratic political arena. Hence the assertion that:

> "The pursuit of democracy is incomplete without policies, measures and practices that seek to reduce inequalities between men and women in all spheres of life and which anchor democracy and its intersection with gender. Democracy is supposed to transform power relations between men and women by promoting the equal distribution of power and influence between women and men" (Institute for Democratic and Electoral Assistance, 2005).

One of the strategic mechanisms through which democratic governments around the world try to enforce and uphold principles of gender equality is gender quota system. Quota system in the political context is an affirmative action strategy which is aimed at redressing the previously

marginalised and therefore disadvantaged population groups and in the context of this study, that population group is women. This concept is best defined by IDEA (2005) as the means of ensuring that there is a women representative in all political spheres, i.e. political parties in which women can be in the electoral candidate list; government and or other public institutions.

Gender quota system is justified on historical grounds that women have been excluded and deprive off opportunities of participating in the mainstream politics. They were instead relegated to domesticity. Therefore, to redress this, a quota system was devised as a strategy that dictates that those who are responsible for the electoral process either at a party level or public institutions, "to start recruiting women and give women a chance which they do not have today in most parts of the world" (IDEA, 2005:141).

From the above, it is clear that the quota strategy is about numbers. In the case of gender quota therefore, this means that this system is about the politics of presence which according to Philips (1995) is descriptive representation. Franceschet and Piscopo (2008: 393) clarify this assumption by stating that "quota laws, which bring greater numbers of women into parliaments, are frequently assumed to improve women's substantive representation." And by substantive representation, what is meant is that the representatives advocate authentically for the group(s) that they represent (Pitkin, 1967). The argument for gender quota system, therefore, is that descriptive representation necessarily translates into substantive representation. Before getting into a deep analysis of gender quota system, it is pivotal first deliberate on what it entails.

IDEA (2005:142) accounts for two types of gender quotas. These are:

1. **Candidate Quota** which applies to the nomination of candidates for elections at the political party level. In some instances, candidate quota exist on legal grounds in which case there is a special provision in the constitution of the political party which compels that political party to have a certain specified percentage of women in its party list. Candidate quota may also exist on the discretion of the political party, meaning that the political party may voluntarily enforce the gender candidate quota.

2. **Reserved Seats** is a quota system used to guarantee or ensure that women have representation in for example the parliament irrespective of the outcomes of the elections. In other words, a number of seats in parliament are reserved to be occupied by women

and therefore, whether they win or not does not matter in this regard. In some parts of the world, reserved seat is stipulated in the constitution while else where there is a special legislation for its enforcement. Reserved seats are either filled through voting or appointment.

As it has already been indicated above, the rationale of the quota system as the whole is to improve the representation and presence of women in mainstream politics. Those who advocate for this, point out that it is more fitting since women are the majority in terms of the global population size.

Though in many political contexts gender quota system has been regarded as the mechanism that can increase the representation of women, in both descriptive and substantive terms, but Franceschet and Piscopo (2008) have evidence that proves the contrary. These scholars did a research testing the assumption that descriptive representation of women translates into substantive representation, using the Argentine parliament as the case study. The findings of this study reveal that instead of advancing substantive representation, descriptive representation complicates substantive representation because it reinforces the idea that women lack capacity. These scholars however, do not dispute the importance of descriptive representation, but merely warn against the exaggeration of quota system as the way of improving the representation of women.

3.5 Policy Rationale for the Political Representation of Women

The notion that increased participation and representation of women in political processes is an essential aspect of entrenching democracy is a suitcase statement which needs some further elucidation. This elucidation is encapsulated in the two forms of representation: descriptive and substantive forms. In other word, while women are expected to be participative, such participation is expected to be both quantitative (descriptive representation) and qualitative (substantive). In the context of this study, a focus is therefore paid on the importance of women to influence policy decisions to be inclusive of issues which affect women. This may be referred to as the feminization of policies.

While engaging political representation, Pitkin paid less focus into issues related to gender. And this according to Childs and Webb (2012) was a common trend among scholars of Pitkin's time.

What this implies is that the political discourse was as male dominant as its practice (Pateman, 1988). However, the end of the 20th century witness a paradigm shift in this regard where the theorists of political science began to pay a particular interest on gender issues. As expected, only a small number of scholars considered gender dimension on the concept of political representation (Philip, 1995).

The gender dimension paid attention to descriptive and substantive representations. For example, whereas Pitkin (1967) viewed descriptive representation in a reductive manner which resulted to it being regarded as of less importance, Philip revived it importance. As Childs and Webb (2012: 2) put it: "Arguably, after Pitkin, no one regarded descriptive representation as important, whilst after Philips no one regarded it as unimportant." This paved the way for other scholars such as Young (2000) and Mansbridge (1999) who entered this debate in support of Philips arguments.

The feminist scholarship went on to explore the impact that the synthesis of descriptive and substantive representation could have. This was premised on the idea that to change the gender status quo, mirror representation is important (Mansbridge, 1999), but having numbers alone is not enough. Therefore, descriptive representation needs to be complimented by or translate to substantive representation.

3.5.1 Gender transformation

The notion of the political representation in the context of gender is about giving women a space in the political sphere to participate in the decision making. What this means therefore is that women in governing institutions, have the responsibility of advocating for policy decisions that are in the best interests of women. This may be encapsulated on the concept of feminization of policies. It means that the policy advocacy has to be in line with the gender transformation goals.

Why is feminization of policies regarded as an important aspect of gender transformation? All answers to this question are based on historical grounds, that women have been politically marginalized. And this marginalization was also reflected in policies (Childs and Webb, 2012). It therefore makes sense that when embarking on the gender transformation agenda, policies are also part of that transformation. Women are in the better position to champion policy

feminization because they know better in terms of issues pertaining to women. This does not mean men must not be part of this movement, but it means women must be given a space to express themselves politically. There is some evidence that in practical terms, women do advance the feminization of policies when in legislative structures.

United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women (DAW), Department of Economic and Social Affairs (DESA), Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) and Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) (2005) conducted a study on the equal participation of men and women on political decision making with the focus on leadership among other things. This study is premised on the notion that it is important for women to be in the forefront of the formation of gender equality policies because that in itself is advancing gender equality as it levels the playing field for women. What is even more interesting is the revelation that women do advocate for policies that advance gender equality. Apart from coming up with policies exclusive to gender equality, women also add a gender perspective in other policy decision making and political processes in general.

3.6 The Relevance of the Theory of Political Representation for this Study

There are a number of interesting questions that have come about as the way of putting political representation under scrutiny by feminist scholars. Childs and Webb (2012: 4) note two of such questions: "when women make a difference" and "how does substantive representation of women occur?" Other scholars have also tried to interrogate these questions. What this indicates is that the concept of political representation (in its descriptive and substantive forms) is a critical tool that can be used for the analysis of the political representation of women. In the context of this study therefore, these views of political representation will be used in the analysis of the manner in which women represent other women in the SRC as well as to address the question of how does this happen. Grounding the analysis are the two arguments presented above. Therefore in essence, this study will put such assumptions into the test to ascertain whether in practical terms: (i) women in governance by the virtue of being women are in a better position to represent the views of other women; and (ii) the presence of women in governance ultimately lead to the feminization of policy. In so doing, this will also shed light into the question of how women

engage the mandates of their political movements for the purpose of driving feminization of policies and that is the core question of this enquiry.

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter gives an account of a theoretical overview of political representation as advanced by Pitkin in her various scholarly masterpieces. Though all Pitkin's views of representation have been accounted for, it is only two of these (descriptive and substantive representations) that are relevant to this study. Furthermore, other concepts which have some association to political representation have also been considered in the construction of this theoretical framework. This chapter has thus unpacked political representation with a particular focus on two forms as conceived by Pitkin. In so doing, it has also captured the relevance of political representation specifically for the purpose of conducting this study.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

4.1 Introduction

According to Dawson (2002: 14) research methodology and methods are different aspects of the research project. Whereas methodology is "general principle that guides your research," methods are the tools that are used for the purposes of data gathering. Such tools include interviews, surveys, observation and etc. This chapter is therefore an outline of the research methodology and methods that were used in the undertaking of this research project. Aspects that will be covered in this section are research design, sampling, measurement of variables and data analysis.

4.2 Research Design

Qualitative research design is going to be employed for the undertaking of this study. According to Neuman (2011: 174) qualitative research design as a tool of enquiry is "a systematic subjective approach used to describe and give meanings to social phenomena." Such an approach "relies on the description and thorough understanding of the field of study as well as obtaining of the insider perspective through participant observation" (Walman and Kruger, 2001: 184).

The point of enquiry for this study is on student governance at institutions of higher learning in South Africa. Specifically, the researcher intended to investigate the extent to which women in student governing body i.e. SRC utilize their position strategically to influence the political environment of their political organization as well as the SRC itself to advance the gender transformation agenda which should as a consequence lead to the feminization of SRC policies. This study was however narrowed down to focus on the University of Kwa Zulu Natal as a case study. Therefore, this is a case study research and according to Welman and Kruger (2001) its other important aspects include among other things: clear conceptualization, description of context, multiple sources of data collection and a particular type of analytical tool. This study is in compliance with these aspects and uses content and policy analysis approaches as the tools of assessing and analyzing the literature as well as the collected data.

The research design and methodology are employed for the purpose of generating evidence in order to qualify the hypothesis as being valid. Findings generated will, therefore, lead to the generation of problems that may be discovered, alternatives and solutions with respect to the phenomenon being studied. For this, raw data and literature review are crucial. This study may thus be referred to as "textual hybrid data, medium control study" (Mouton, 2001: 146). It may be characterized as such because it is an empirical study in nature which uses the combination of fieldwork and desk top research in order to seek answers for the research question.

4.3 Research Setting

The researcher is based at UKZN's Howard College campus and ultimately, this campus is the setting for this study. However, even though Howard College campus is the setting of this study, raw data will be collected in all five campuses of UKZN, namely: Westville, Medical School, Edgewood, Pietermaritzburg and Howard College campuses. The dissertation will be compiled and submitted in Howard College campus.

4.4 Study Population

The study population in research is said to be a subset of theoretical population. In this population, researcher can apply their conclusions. Also important to point out is that this population is accessible to the researcher. This research population is specific with respects to the selection criteria in terms of traits or attributes for example demographics such as gender, age and etc. This population must be accessible for the study (Gliner & Morgan, 2000).

The study population for this research undertaking therefore are student representatives who form the SRC. SRC members are people who are elected through elections by other students. Each of the five campuses of UKZN has ten member SRC body and the Central SRC has fifteen members, ten of these are elected members with the additional five being the presidents of the campuses who are *ex oficios*. In total, the UKZN SRC consists of sixty members. This being the feminist grounded study which intends to explore the representation of women, it is important to take into cognizant the gender breakdown. The reflection on the gender character of the UKZN SRC will be accounted for in the section that deals with sampling.

4.5 Sampling

When conducting a research, it is almost not feasible for every member of a population to participate. If this were to happen, the researcher would not be able to handle the load because of among other things the fact that it is both expensive in terms of financial capital and it is also time consuming. To counter this potential dilemma, researchers employ sampling. According to Gliner and Morgan (2000: 144), sampling "…is the process of selecting part of the large group of participants with the intention of generalizing from the smaller group called the sample, to the population, the larger group."

4.5.1 Sampling Technique

For the purpose of this study, purposive sampling was employed to determine participants for data collection. The purposive sampling, also referred to as the judgement sampling is the sampling technique where the researcher chooses the participants on the basis of the predetermined criteria. In other words, the person must possess certain characteristics that will make them useful for the purpose of the study in order to be selected as participants. Therefore this non-random sampling gives a researcher room for deciding which criteria are important for the study and then target only those people who possess such characteristics. (Benard, 2002). For this research, the researcher targeted the students who are members of the student body Student Representative Council (SRC) of University of Kwa Zulu Natal (UKZN). This being a feminist grounded research, the issue of gender representation was of paramount importance. It is for this reason that in this research all women who are in the SRC (fourteen) were targeted for participation. This is a reasonable proportion given that women only make up the small number of SRC membership. All Local Student Representative Councils (LSRCs) and the Central Student Representative Council (CSRC) had a minimum of one female in the SRC with the exception of Westville campus LSRC which only consisted of males. The campus with zero women was the special case. Therefore as it has been stated above, the plan was to have a sample comprising of fourteen women and twelve men, all purposively selected. The reason for this has been accounted for above.

However, by the time the research reach the data collection stage, the composition of the UKZN SRC had changed because the SRC that was in office at the time when the research plan was

developed, was no longer in office with the exception of few member who returned to serve the second term, while others graduated from being in the LSRC to CSRC. Furthermore, the number of female SRC members decreased from fourteen to ten. It is also important to observe that in the current CSRC, there is no representative from Pietermaritzburg campus – a trend that almost never happens. Another notable change is that whereas when the researcher began with this project the LSRC of Westville campus had no female representative, this is not the case with the current LSRC respectively.

Due to changes accounted for above, gender break down as well as the number of participants had to change. The research could either do one of the following to counter the challenge imposed by the change in SRC composition: recruit new SRC members based on the original criteria or track down the out gone SRC member and continue with the original plan. Both these options presented undesirable challenges. The former option meant that the gender aspect had to be changed. The latter option would have been hard to execute because accessing the former SRC member when they are out of office was never going to be easy and there was a possibility that they would not want to associate themselves with this kind of research because of the outcomes of the elections. Besides, them being out of the SRC office meant that they no longer qualify to be participants based on the core criterion that dictates that participation was only exclusive to SRC members.

After carefully assessing the feasibility of both options with respect to time effectiveness, the researcher decided to recruit participants from the current SRC. This brought about a number of changes to the composition of the sample and the sample size. The first change is the number of female participants. According to the original plan the researcher had targeted fourteen women all of whom were in the SRC at the time when this research project began. This number changed to ten female participants as the number of women in the SRC was reduced to ten. Ten women plus twelve male participants purposively chosen equals a total of twenty two participants and this is less than the original number that was decided on initially.

4.5.2 Sample Size

This being the study about women, it is imperative therefore that the views extracted through data collection activity, reflect this reality. It is therefore for this reason that the researcher

intended to recruit all fourteen women who were in the SRC (both CSRS and LSRCs). Male SRC members were also as per the research plan going to be among the participants in order to ascertain their political views on gender transformation. The criterion for selecting the male SRC member was that they are either President or Deputy President. This is grounded on the fact that according to the SRC Constitution; the President is the official spokesperson of the SRC and the Deputy President is mandated to develop the policy and procedures for the SRC (UKZN SRC Constitution, 2006). Therefore, of the forty six men who were members of the SRC of UKZN at the time when this project started, twelve men were to be recruited as participants in this project. The total sample size was therefore to be twenty six participants which is forty three per cent the total number of SRC membership.

4.6 Research Methods

4.6.1 Data collection method(s)

This is a qualitative study which according to Bogdan and Biklen (2010: 197) relies mainly on four methods of data collection: the analysis of policy documents which involves engaging policy documents; participant observation – as data collection, this method "demands first hand involvement in the social world chosen for study" this affords the researcher an opportunity "to hear, to see and begin to experience reality as participants do" (De Walt and De Walt, 2001: 77). Another crucial data collection tool identified by Bogdan and Biklen (2010: 197) is in-depth interview technique. Simply defined, in-depth interview is "a conversation with purpose" (Kahn and Cannel, 1957: 149).

Of the data collection methods accounted for above, two were employed for purposes of data collection. These are: the analysis of policy documents and in-depth interviews. The former data collection technique will be used to analyse important documents such as the UKZN Transformation Charter which is a policy framework by which all policies must comply; SRC policy documents, particularly the ones that speak about gender transformation will also be analysed. Furthermore, because the SRC as a governance body is led by certain student political organizations, the assumption is that these organizations influence the policies of the SRC and such influence is underpinned by political ideologies of these movements. Therefore, gender policies of those organizations will also be analysed. Twenty two SRC members selected based

on the characteristics outlined above, were interviewed. This interviewing was in-depth in nature so that the researcher could elicit rich and substantial information. This type of interviewing afforded the researcher a room to probe the interviewees when the necessity arose.

4.6.1.1 Data collection method(s) and process

This is a qualitative study that relied on empirical evidence for the validation of the pre-disposed assumptions. Below is the account of the data collection techniques that were utilized for purposes of data collection and the process thereof:

i. Analysis of policy documents: In the analysis of policy documents, a number of policy documents were selected based on their perceive relevance to the study under investigation. Such policy documents include: the Education and Higher Education White papers of 1997; the UKZN Transformation Charter and SRC Constitution. These were accessed through internet search. As per the data collection plan, the researcher intended to also include the engagement of the SRC gender policy. An attempt was made to search for it online. After doing so for a number of times without succeeding, the researcher approached the university's Student Governance Office. It was revealed by the employee of this office that SRC does not have any policy that speaks to the question of gender transformation. Thirdly, it was mentioned in the research proposal for this study that the researcher also intended to gather the gender policies of the vanguard student political movements, particularly the ones that lead the SRC. Such documents were accessed through extensive internet search.

ii. In-depth interview schedule: The in-depth interview schedule was developed. To this end, two different sets of interview questionnaires were developed: one was targeting female SRC members while the other was targeting male SRC members.

The researcher conducted the interview on individual bases. These interviews as it was planned were to take the maximum of thirty minutes. However, some interviewees spoke for longer than expected while others spoke for a short period. There were however a few who kept to the time. Therefore, each interview took approximately thirty three minutes on average.

4.6.1.2 Participant access strategy

The researcher started by going to the UKZN SRC Administrator to make a request for the list of the current SRC members. This list had the details (names, contact details, campus and the

portfolio that each SRC member is occupying) as well as the photographs of this population. The participants from the SRC of Howard College campus were easily accessible because the researcher is a student in this campus. What also made matters easy was that the SRC has unarticulated open door policy which means that anyone is welcome to just budge into their offices as long as such budging is not accompanied by destructive forces. The researcher just went into their offices and upon issuing the details of the research, made a request for their participation. For other participants who were not based in Howard College campus at the time the interviewing ensued, e-mails were sent to make the same request. This e-mail explained what the study is about and made a plea for their participation. The informed consent document was also attached for them to get more clarity on the contents of the study. Some responded and others did not. Those that responded to the request and did so positively were immediately pursued. To get the attention of other potential participants the researcher used networking as the strategy. What this means is that the researcher ask for help from those he knows who are in politics. This had a very positive outcome as the majority of the participants were accessed in this way.

In interviewing these participants, the researcher made it a point that it is at their utmost convenience. It is for this reason therefore that the researcher visited the participants wherever they were.

4.6.1.3 Dates and setting of interview sessions

The UKZN SRC elections took place on the 24 and 25 of November 2012 and after that the electoral commission took too long to publish the outcomes of the elections. This frustrated the researcher's plan of conduction interviews within a certain time frame. The researcher planned to start doing the interview sessions at the beginning of December. However, this did not happen because at that time, there was uncertainty on what the over the elections' results. It was after December hit the half way mark that such uncertainties were removed from the target participants and for the researcher, this meant things were starting to fall into place. As such, the researcher began sending invitations to potential participants. Actual data collection therefore began at the beginning of 2013.

4.6.2 Data capturing

Most of the interviews were not recorded via the voice recorder because the participants requested that it must not be recorded for their own protection beyond the fact that the researcher upheld the anonymity clause unless the participant wanted to be identified. The participants who refused to be voice recorded argued that their identifiable voices in a recorder meant their protection was compromised. The researcher had no option, either than to write the responses. Those who agreed to be recorded did so on the condition that the portfolios they occupy would not be identified. Therefore, the researcher wrote the responses and recorded those who did not have a problem with being recorded. The hand written responses were typed into an electronic format and the recordings were transcribed and saved on the computer.

4.6.3 Data analysis and interpretation

For the analysis of the gathered data (secondary), content analysis technique was employed. This analysis technique was also used for the analysis of the collected data (raw data). The suitability of this tool of analysis primarily stems from the fact that this is a qualitative study which utilizes both raw data generated through field work as well as the secondary data which was generated through collecting policy documents. Furthermore, this attests to the fact that this is a "textual hybrid data, medium control study" (Mouton, 2001: 146).

In this study, both textual and content analysis types of content analysis were applied. In doing this the researcher engaged literature which formed the basis for the theory that was employed. Also important is to point out that in addition to feeding certain critical aspects of the research project, the literature formed the basis of this research in its entirety as it served as a strategic foundation. The data gathered was also qualitative in nature and this further justifies the use of content analysis.

As stated above, in this study, the researcher also analyzed policies of the student political movements of UKZN; the Transformation Charter of UKZN as well as the gender policy of the SRC. For this, policy analysis was used.

The point or unit of analysis for this research project in the nutshell was the student representative body which is otherwise referred to as SRC in this research, of UKZN which

consists of five campuses each. In UKZN there are five campuses and each of these campuses has its SRC structure. There is also a central SRC to which these five SRC are subordinated to, though they have a certain level of autonomy. The nature of this respective university in as far as its academic status is concerned, makes it a strategic means from which to generalize. Following the merger, this institution obtained the character of those universities that were not very privileged in terms of commanding the resources that enables them to maintain high academic standards. In so doing, this institution maintained a character of those previously privileged institutions which means that it still thrives for exceptional academic standards and is still on par with those South African universities that epitomize the 'ivy league institutions' – a reference to best and exclusive institutions in the United State of America. UKZN is in the middle of this academic spectrum and this makes it a true representative of other universities and ultimately validates the extent to which the study can be generalized.

Through conducting an in-depth face to face interview sessions with the female SRC member as well as with the leaders of the SRCs (LSRCs and CRSC) in the stature of Presidents and their deputies, the researcher was able to solicit the information which pertains to (i) the state of gender transformation of the student governing body and the perceptions of the SRC members towards this subject and (ii) the extent to which female SRC members are aware of their expected role in the advancement of gender transformation agenda and challenges they face in trying to influence the policies to be responsive to issues affecting women. Furthermore, policy documents that govern the SRC and ultimately the student politics within the university were engaged and therefore analyzed. These policies include the UKZN Transformation Charter which is the broader policy framework for UKZN transformative policies; the UKZN SRC Constitution by which all SRC policies or the formation thereof is guided; the gender policies of the vanguard student political movements in the names of South African Student Congress (SASCO); African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL)/Young Communist League (YCL); Democratic Alliance Student Organization (DASO); South African Democratic Student Movement (SADESMO); National Association Student Movement (NASMO) and Student Christian Fellowship (SCF) which even though is a religious movement, but is very much politically active. The researcher discovered that there is a development in student governance in South African institutions of higher learning, that there is now a student union called South African Union of Students (SAUS) which has an agenda of politically influencing the SRCs

around the country beyond the student political movements. Analyzing the gender policy of this organization whose membership is exclusive to SRCs, became relevant. The reason for this relevance was that this organization is positioned to exert a lot of influence on the SRCs around the country. Furthermore, this organization occupies a position that allows it to directly engage the government (Department of Higher Education in particular) and the Council of Vice Chancellors. The gender policy of SAUS also reflects the diverse views of student political activists around the country.

4.6.4 Ethical consideration

Conducting research requires the researcher to be responsible and considerate, especially when that research initiative involves human beings. Some research activities may be very detrimental to the welfare of the people and in circumstance such as these the researcher must take precautions to ensure the welfare of the people is not compromised in any way. This is what conducting research in an ethical manner is about. It is for this reason therefore that over the years the focus in ethics has grew in academia and as such, researchers are subject to immense scrutiny when venturing into a research project (Best & Kahn; 2006).

Understanding the importance of ethics in conducting research, the researcher ensured that the research activities that were done towards the completion of this research project were in strict compliance with the ethical code of conducting research as prescribed by the UKZN's Higher Degrees Committee. The researcher presented the research proposal to this committee. This proposal was accompanied by the Ethical Clearance Form (where the researcher indicated points of ethical considerations). The Higher Degrees Committee gave guidance and approved the research which indicated the satisfaction with the manner in which the researcher was considerate and therefore upheld the code of ethics. Below is the account of important ethical considerations.

4.6.4.1 Consent

It is an important principle that the researcher allows people to exercise their free will when participating in the research. It is therefore the responsibility of the researcher to divulge what the research entails and the purpose thereof. Also important is to let the potential participant know the techniques to be employed, and if there are any potential risks, such must not be

concealed. It must also be brought to the attention of the potential participant that his or her participation is absolutely voluntarily and that there are no benefits which may be gained or lost out of participation. Subsequent to this is the clause that grants the participant the right to excuse themselves from answering questions that they are not comfortable with and that they may withdraw at any time, should they wish to do so without being subjected to any form of punishment. In short, the researcher must ensure that the potential participant takes the decision either to participate or not from an informed position which include understanding their rights as participants (Jones & Kottler; 2006).

The researcher drafted a letter called the informed consent form, the sample of which was attached to the Ethical Clearance form which was submitted to the Higher Degree Committee for the review and approval. The contents of the informed consent form included all the important information outlined above and was aimed at inviting some within the study target population to participate. Upon agreeing to participate the participants were required to sign the form to indicate that they understood what the study is about and therefore their consent to participate. This informed consent also guaranteed the participants that their identities would be protected through the anonymity clause and that it may only be disclosed if they so wish. Therefore the data is going to be treated with utmost confidentiality and in this dissertation anything that may reveal the identity of the participants is not going to be used such as their names and portfolios that they hold within the SRC. Some participants also requested not to be voice recorded because of the fear that the information might leak out. This was respected and therefore granted. Furthermore, it was fortunate that participation in this research did not have any potential harmful effects to the participants. This made it somewhat easy to obtain consent to participate.

4.6.5 Limitations of the study

The UKZN political environment is highly political in nature and this presented a major challenge. It appeared as though the incumbents do not necessarily distinguish between the politics of their political movements and the politics of the SRC. Therefore, the interviews which were supposed to be about the SRC were reduced to organizational politicking. The participants mainly made reference to the state of their organization with respect to gender transformation. They mostly focused on the policy stances of their political organizational affiliation more than that of the SRC. The absence of SRC gender policy made matters even worse. Therefore the

views that the participants accounted for were very ideologically subjective which was the misdirected propaganda and political canvass.

Another limitation of this study was that the composition of study population comprised of people who lack knowledge when it comes into policy and political matters. This factor made it hard for the researcher to solicit an in-depth views and opinions from participants despite trying to probe. Some participants seemed offended by such probing attempts as they felt that the implied intention was to expose their lack of knowledge. This in a way therefore made using interviewing as the data collection technique challenging to say the least.

Even though the researcher has argued for the suitability of UKZN as a point of generalization, such a view is in disregard of the possibility that in some institutions, the criterion for being in the SRC, might differ significantly from that of UKZN. For example, whereas UKZN prioritizes political populism, there might be an institution that might prioritize academic competence as a prerequisite.

4.7 Conclusion

In conclusion, it is clear from the above that the researcher designed the research methodology that is simple to apply as no major obstacles were foresaw at the inception of the project. However, time was of essence and it is from this that a major challenge emanated. Research is a timeouts process. Therefore, certain occurrences frustrated the time plan of the researcher to the point that data collection process began after the time that the initial plan prescribed. Secondly such factors also tempered with the composition of the study population and the researcher was compelled to devise a strategy as a way of improvising. This of course has impact on the findings, but the researcher tried to manage the situation in order to keep such impacts to the minimum unless they add value to the study.

CHAPTER FIVE

FINDINGS AND DATA ANALYSIS

5.1 Introductions

This chapter is going to provide the presentation of the collected data. This will be followed by the analysis of this data. This data analysis is going to be qualitative in nature and will be informed by both the literature review and theoretical framework accounted for in chapter two.

5.2 Structure of Interview Schedule and Response Rate

It is stated on the methodology chapter that the data was collected through the use of interview schedule as a data collection technique. The questions that were used in this interview schedule were open ended, thus allowing the researcher to ask follow up questions and probe issues to ensure that the collected data is rich. The questionnaire was originally made up of ten questions, but because of the nature of the questionnaire (open ended); further questions were generated to follow up in some interview sessions. Furthermore, the interview questionnaire was gender specific, meaning that there was a separate and different questionnaire for women and men. This was done for the purpose of making an exploration into differing views on the basis of gender. The researcher intended to conduct twenty six interviews in all campuses of University of Kwa Zulu Natal (UKZN). However, due to political changes with respect to gender representation in the Student Representative Council (SRC), this number went down to twenty two.

The methodology of enquiry used to conduct this research and therefore to collect data is qualitative and this makes it hard for instance to quantify the response rate beyond stating the number of participants. However, perhaps what may be possible to do and may even be necessary is to ponder upon the general quality in the content of responses. The overall impression of the content of the responses is that it had substance, though there were few interviewees who for one reason or another came short in this regard. The collected data is thus categorized into three clusters: The first cluster is gender and political background. This is to explore the issue of whether gender determines one's political participation and the extent thereof. The second cluster is level of political consciousness. This was intended at exploring the political knowledge gap on the bases of gender differences. In addition to this, this cluster also

intended to examine the willingness of the participants to engage issues pertaining to gender transformation on the same bases. The third cluster explores the current status quo in the student governance at UKZN and the need for the feminization of policies.

5.3 Political Context of UKZN

Before getting into the crux of this data presentation and analysis, it is important to start by revisiting the political context of UKZN. This is because of, among other things, the fact that the political context has an impact on critical aspects of this research which are going to be presented on the sections bellow. The account of a political context therefore paves the way for the points of discussion that are going to unfold as this chapter continues.

The political context of UKZN has already been accounted for in the first chapter. However, due to the ever changing nature of the politics of UKZN, revisiting such a context is compelling. It suffices to point out, therefore, that unlike in the first chapter, the political context or the discussion thereof is going to pay a particular focus at the remarkable political changes that have come into the fore since this research project began. The most remarkable of these changes is the resurfacing of Progressive Youth Alliance (PYA) which as it is stated in the first chapter; a political alliance between South African Student Congress (SASCO); African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL) and Young Communist League (YCL). This alliance is grounded on the principles of the socialist political document called the 'Freedom Charter' drafted by the ANC in the 1950s. At the beginning of September 2012, there was a big political summit at Howard College campus where the Provincial Executive of the ANC influenced and facilitated the resurfacing of PYA. However, terms upon which this alliance exists are not the same as those that were in place before the break away. For instance, in the past ANCYL and YCL did not contest SASCO for SRC elections, but focused on influencing the internal policies and processes of SASCO. Last year this was not the case.

While still on the subject of PYA, another interesting fact worth mentioning is that in Pietermaritzburg campus, this alliance did not exist. In addition to this, for the first time in the history of student politics in UKZN, YCL which after the breakup of PYA joined forces with ANCYL, contested SRC elections as independent political movement. This suggests that YCL

and ANCYL for some reason were not in cahoots with one another, at least for the SRC elections of 2012.

South African Democratic Student Movement (SADESMO), which used to be the number one opposition party to PYA, lost so much support that there are hardly any branches in all campuses of UKZN. National Association of Student Movement (NASMO), on the other hand, improved from the performance of 2011 as it won the seat in the central SRC. Democratic Alliance Student Organization (DASO), even though is still in existence, has not participated in the elections since 2010. The only SCF branch that is politically active is that of Westville campus. From this, it can therefore be deduced that the student political movements that are dominant at UKZN are SASCO; ANCYL and YCL followed by NASMO.

In addition to the political changes accounted for above, it is worth noting that there is another political entity that those who have written about student politics such as Mthiyane (2009) have not mentioned. This political entity is called South African Union of Students (SAUS) which "operates as the SRC liaison body with the Department of Education as well as representing student views in the Council of Vice Chancellors and working directly with the Minister of Education" and its membership is exclusive to SRCs. The SRC of UKZN is among many SRCs of institutions of higher learning (including Further Education and Training colleges) which are part of SAUS (SAUS; 2005).

5.4 Political Organizations Policy Document Analysis

UKZN has a document called Transformation Charter. Even though this document is short in length, but it is pregnant with substance. One of the aspirations enshrined in this document postulates that race and gender and the representation thereof must be reflected in the student population as well as the management structures of the university. UKZN has made remarkable strides in as far as implementing this charter is concerned. For instance, looking at the profile of its management, one would realize that the gender aspect of it is impressive as forty eight per cent (48%) of the management personnel are women. There are however departments that are lagging behind in this regard and this means that there is still a lot that needs to be done (UKZN Transformation Charter; 2004).

The Transformation Charter does not only map out the commitment of UKZN to drive transformation, but it also serve as the critical framework and point of reference of the formation of policies. What this means is that policies of UKZN must be in line or in compliance with the principles entailed in this charter. As it has already been stated above, at UKZN there are organizations that subscribe to the transformational vision of the Transformation Charter in the context of the studentship. The charter calls for the involvement of students in the management of the university and this materializes via the SRC. Through its policies, the SRC has to play a critical role to ensure that the vision of the Transformation Charter is realized. In this context therefore, organization that constitute the SRC use the Transformation Charter as the guiding document for their activism and formation of their policies.

5.4.1 Organizational Policies

The above accounted for political movements are also policy agents. This is very important to note because the political spectrum in which these organizations operate impact on the institutional decision making. For instance at the university like UKZN, the SRC represent students at both the Council and the Senate which are the two decision making bodies. Members of the SRC are delegates of these organizations. SAUS on the other hand influences institutional policies at macro level. It was therefore important for the researcher to take into cognizance the gender policy positions of the vanguard student political movements of UKZN as well as that of SAUS in the pursuit of this research project.

5.4.1.1 South African Student Congress (SASCO)

It was not clear whether or not SASCO has a gender policy as searching for it proved to be an abortive exercise. This was despite the fact that the participants affiliated to SASCO, kept on referring to it as something that is in existence. However, what was obtained on the website of this organization was a gender policy discussion document which was tabled in it sixteenth National Congress which took place in the year 2009. There is a fine line between a policy or a policy document and a policy discussion document. Though policy is a contested terminology in terms of scholarly definitions, but the common idea in various definitions is that policy is articulation or declaration of the statement of intent which seeks to respond to a social problem or prevent perceived future social problems (Parsons, 1995; Cloete and Wissink, 2002 and

Colebatch, 2006). In other words, policy is a programme of action which has the beginning phase, has a clearly defined goals and an end. Therefore, policy is aimed at achieving these set goals. The policy discussion document on the other hand is devoid of some of these characteristics and that disqualifies it as a complete policy

The policy discussion document is not a complete policy, but a step towards policy formulation. What this means is that the policy discussion document is in actual fact the articulation of a particular policy idea or proposal which is then subjected to discussion by the members of the organization concerned. Policy discussion papers take the form of a green paper, but the difference is that while the former is exclusive to members of a certain organization, the letter is open to all South African citizens as it is a document produced by government. The common thing between these documents is that they are both geared to solicitation of the input from the stakeholders of either the organization or government respectively. That is why for instance on the policy discussion document of SASCO it is stated that this document would be distributed to the Provincial Executive Committees and in turn Provincial Executive Committees would circulate it to their respective branches (SASCO, 2009).

The question of whether or not SASCO has a policy that speaks to the question of gender transformation remains unanswered. Instead, from this emanated more questions. One has to do with the question of accessibility. Assuming that SASCO indeed has a policy, it makes one wonder why such a policy is not easily accessible. The website of SASCO only has discussion documents and not actual policies. Another interesting question is whether the SASCO affiliated participants who made a lot of reference to the 'supposed existing' gender policy, know what a policy is. That is because it could be that for them, a policy discussion paper or document is synonymous with an actual policy. This could also means that the policy does exist, but its access is exclusive to members only and that also raises more questions. The bottom line is that there is no concrete proof that SASCO has the policy that speaks to the issue of gender transformation.

The absence of SASCO's gender policy or the inaccessibility thereof (if it exists), left the researcher with no choice but to look into this policy discussion document to obtain this organization's policy stance and political initiatives pertaining to gender transformation agenda. In this regard, after perusing through this document, the researcher identified two points of

discussion that are of critical relevance to this study. The first point is "gender transformation in higher education" (SASCO; 2009). The critical question underpinning this point is the question of the extent to which the status quo at institutions of higher learning has improved since the democratic dispensation.

This policy discussion document articulates the problem of gender inequality as attributable to apartheid and this position is still perpetuated even after over a decade since the eradication of apartheid (SASCO; 2009). This is typical of political activists who have a tendency of attributing every social problem to apartheid. While it is not deniable that the remnants of this legacy are still there, but surely, there is just more to social problems than just its relationship with apartheid if it has any. The truth of the matter is ten years is a long period of time to effect change considering that the government has the resources at its disposal. In this instance, apartheid is overused as a political means to shield against criticism pertaining to the slow pace of service delivery. The government is not perfect, but when the entire criticism overlooks the fact that the government is partly to blame and in some cases is supposed to take a full blame, this suggests that the government perceives that it is immune to making mistakes. Furthermore it suggests that as long as the history of apartheid still exists in the memories of South Africans, the government must never take the blame because every problem is inevitable due to the legacy of apartheid. This therefore, means that progress in this regard is impossible because what happened will never change.

It is alleged in this policy proposal that the oppression of women transcends in academia because women are still limited in terms of academic options when they want to pursue studies. For instance according to this view, women are still pushed to humanities as opposed to studying scarce resource degree such as Engineering; Medicine; Accounting and etc. There is no evidence provided to substantiate on this allegation (SASCO, 2009).

Furthermore, this policy proposal under this point recognizes that women are under-represented in governance structures of institutions with the particular focus on the management of universities. According to this, the management of universities in general is male dominated and this is grounded on the premise that out of a total of twenty five public universities in South Africa, only two have female Vice Chancellors. While this may be true, but it is narrow in scope because the Vice Chancellorship is not the whole management, but just a leader of the broader

management which constitutes many designations. Concluding on the bases of the gender of the Vice Chancellor is misleading because it disregards the rest of the management team of a particular institution. Therefore it suffices to say that just because the institution is headed by a woman, it does not necessarily means it is gender transformed and vice-versa. It is however undeniable that having a female leader is a step in the right direction.

There is a policy question or issue that is most pertinent to this study that this policy proposal does not engage and that is student representative. The White Paper of Basic Education as well as that of Higher Education of 1997 (as cited above) calls for the students' participation on the decision making bodies of their respective institutions and this is an epitome of inclusive or cooperative governance. According to scholars such as Luescher-Mamashela (2011), this is necessary for the democratization process of higher education. That is why in UKZN the President and Secretary of the SRC are members of the Council and Senate which are the decision making bodies, as enshrined in the Statute (UKZN Statute).

It is therefore surprising to say the least, that on the policy proposal of SASCO under the discussion point in question, the issue of student representative is not included. SASCO in this regard is an advocate for gender transformation, but there is no indication that it internal processes and procedures are informed by the principles of the notion of gender transformation and there is no statement of intent to this effect. As a student movement, SASCO should engage the question of transforming the SRCs to promote the representation and participation of women.

What is even more controversial is the fact that the participants who are affiliated to SASCO kept on making a reference to this organization's supposedly existing gender policy which possibly does not exist. They for instance cited some policy statements which indicated in some way that SASCO, has a concrete gender policy. For instance some participants introduced the notion of gender quota system (60:40 ratios of men is to women) as a mechanism which is employed by SASCO to promote the political participation and the representation of women especially in governance structures.

There are number of proposed strategies to drive gender transformation in higher education of South Africa. These strategies are foot noted and lacking in detail. It is more what needs to be done and does not address the question of how that which needs to be done is to be done. For

example, one of the strategies is that "Develop the mechanism to change the underlying patriarchal nature of our curriculum" (SASCO, 2009: 3). This proposed solution is incomplete in the sense that there is no details given to justify it necessity and also, there is not proposed implementation strategy for it. This conclusion is in resonance with Cloete and Wissink (2000) who have posited that a policy (or a policy proposal) must have a statement of intent, clearly defined goals, proposed implementation strategy, timeframe as well as the monitoring and evaluation strategy. However, SASCO's policy document lacks these characteristics.

Another point of discussion entailed in this policy proposal and relevant to this study is the development of women's leadership. Interestingly, in unpacking this call for "Developing Women's Leadership", SASCO begins by making a self-introspection. In so doing it acknowledges the fact that there is little that the organization has done to capacitate women with leadership skills. Secondly, its leadership structures are not gender balanced and therefore not in accordance with its commitment. This is in resonance with one of Mthiyane's recommendations that in order to reduce male dominance in student politics, a strategic commitment must be made to equip women with leadership skills so that they can have confidence in their capabilities and inspire confidence in the stakeholders of their organizations. The ultimate aim therefore is to ensure that when women are granted an opportunity to lead, they do so successfully (Mthiyane, 2009). For SASCO, the patriarchal element within it political culture must also be uprooted so that the organization can change the gender status quo (SASCO, 2009).

One of the proposed interventions in this regard is that there must be a leadership department which will complement the gender quota strategy. This is an example of how substantive and descriptive forms of representation as advanced by Pitkin (1967) can complement each other. That is because, while numbers in terms of gender proportions are important, it is important to have capable women leading the organization to ensure that it is not a "political compromise" which according to one interviewee is a perception of male student politicians against the notion of gender transformation.

However, commendable this policy discussion point may be as it layout is better than the first one above, but it is not without short comings. While comparatively, it is a bit more detailed, but it subject to some of the similar criticism as the first one. Whereas the first point of discussion focuses its entire attention on political environment external to SASCO, this one is the opposite.

It focuses exclusively on the internal structures and processes of SASCO, rightfully so because it is an internal organizational policy proposal. However, as an advocacy political movement, the ultimate intention of SASCO is to or at least should be to transform the environment of higher education whether it is academic, social or political. This means that its policy is therefore not complete if it is devoid of how is SASCO planning on influencing this environmental change because at the end of the day, as the governing organization in terms of SRC structures, it policies must either be transferable into SRCs or guide SRC policy makers in developing policies as well as influencing institutional policies.

5.4.1.2 Overall Reflection SASCO's Gender Policy Position

This policy discussion document may be credited for engaging one of South Africa's burning policy issues: gender transformation agenda and therefore for its articulation on what could be done to improve this state of affairs. This credit is due because the organization's policy position is informed by the principles of gender equality enshrined in the Constitution of the country (RSA Constitution 108 of 1996). However, this is a political consideration meaning that when looking at the political aspect of this policy proposal, this policy entrepreneurial initiative is a noble one. However, weighing this policy proposal against the conception of policy, it becomes short of spectacular.

The first and the most glaring short coming of this policy, is in the manner in which it is written. This policy is poorly drafted with a lot of grammatical errors. Such errors are unexpected from an organization of SASCO's caliber. Secondly, the document itself is thin on details and is also baseless and theoretically weak to say the least. There is only one citation made throughout the whole document. There is therefore no indication that any research was done in the development of this proposal. There is not even a citation made from the constitution of SASCO. The arguments raised are therefore loose and uncoordinated. This policy proposal has no evidence to justify its necessity. Lastly, while it has the implementation strategies though it is narrow on detail, it clearly does not have a monitoring and evaluation proposed strategy. In addition to this, this policy proposal is also unspecific in terms of time frame.

5.4.1.3 African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL)

As it is stated above, the ANCYL is the youth wing of the ANC. In other words, the ANCYL or the existence thereof is provided for in the constitution of the ANC. Though the ANCYL is subject to its mother body, but it enjoys a certain level of autonomy which affords it a space to influence policies and processes of the ANC through complying with the prescribed rules of engagement. That is why it has its own constitution that is informed by the constitution of its mother body. Furthermore, in the policy context, this also means that the ANCYL may develop its policies as long as such policies are advancing the political agenda and vision of the ANC and are in line with the policies of the ANC (ANCYL Constitution, 2004).

In its constitution, the ANCYL succinctly articulates it commitment to promote equal gender participation in its internal processes and activities. This is informed by the principles of affirmative action act. Therefore, like it is in the ANC, the ANCYL employs the quota system of 50/50 which is a ration of women is to men in leadership structures (ANCYL Constitution, 2005: 5).

Drawing from it constitutional commitment of promoting gender equality, the ANCYLL developed a gender policy discussion paper which was published in 2011. This document is broad in scope and covers a wide variety of policy issues that related the gender transformation agenda. However, in analyzing this document, not all such issues are going to be deliberated on. Only those that are deemed to have a critical relevance to this study are going to be subjected to this analysis. To this effect, there are five such issues that have the most crucial relevance to this study:

    a) **Gender Discourse within the National Liberation Movement**

        Gender transformation as it is stated above is a policy issue of national interest which is provided for in the constitution of the country. ANC as the ruling party is the chief engineer of the machinery that promotes gender transformation. It does so by for instance, producing pro-gender transformation policies, primarily for itself. Eventually such policies are transferred into the government. What this means for the ANCYL is that its policies have to be informed by the policies of the mother body. For this reason,

in drafting it gender policy document, the ANCYL revisits the position of the liberation movement which is led by the ANC and which the ANCYL is part of.

Under this point of discussion, the ANCYL gives an account of political debates on the issue of gender transformation within the ANC. These debates date as far back as before the democratic dispensation. Democratic dispensation has obviously brought about the intensity in this debate and as the results it has also escalated to the rest of the continent. Also unpacked in this point of discussion is the diversity of perspectives that are very crucial in policy making. For example, there is obviously a political perspective and this perspective is synergized by economic and social perspectives. In essence what is mostly captured here the socio political and economic consequences of gender inequality and it impact to women from various social and demographic backgrounds.

After giving an account of gender transformation discourse in the broader context of the ANCL, this document further narrow it down into the ANCYL. The ANCYL makes a compelling argument here which begins by accounting for the mechanism which is currently operational in promoting the political participation and representation of women. That strategy or mechanism is the gender quota system which dictate that a certain proportion of leadership positions must be given to women and this is in resonance with Pitkin's conception of "descriptive representation" (Pitkin, 1967).

This document makes a compelling case against the notion of gender quotas. The first argument is that gender quota undermines capacity in choosing leadership because it guarantees women leadership position by the virtue of being women. Whether women are capable or not, is overlooked. Others see gender quota as creating a gender divide as it antagonizes politically ambitious men who regardless of their capacity are nonetheless overlooked by the virtue of being men. Gender quota system in this regard as implying that women are less capable of leading and hence they need special treatment. Furthermore, gender quota system is said to be undemocratic as it limits the right of people to choose the leader of their choice.

Though ANCYL is somewhat critical of the gender quota system, but the positive aspects of gender quota are also accounted for. Grounding this view is that women are still subject to discrimination irrespective of whether they have capacity or not. The

position of the ANCYL therefore is that gender quota system is necessary, but insufficient.

b) **A Programme to Transform Gender Relations in Society**

Upon the identification of a social problem, an intervention must be devised to curb or eradicate that problem, or else there is no point in deliberating on the problem if the intention is not to address it. In light of this, this policy has presents the heart of the problem which revolves around the issue of the current gender status quo and its untransformed character. This policy discussion paper therefore outlines a number of issues that needs to be dealt with, in order to change the gender status quo in South Africa. Of these, there is only one that is of particular interest to this study: a call for a "decisive and gender conscious leadership." This call defines the caliber of a leadership that is necessary in order to promote gender transformation in its entirety ().

c) **Transforming ANCYL into Being a Home for Young Gender Activists**

Here, the ANCYL takes a critical look at itself and generate mechanisms that it can employ to further enforce its role in the struggle for gender equality. The introduction of self-defense training initiative for women, change of organizational culture and strengthening of Women Assembles are some of the interventions that the ANCYL regards as necessary in its quest to emancipate women and achieve gender equality. The ultimate goal here is to ensure that women achieve optimum independence.

The perusal of this policy leads into a conclusion that this is a well drafted and coordinated policy proposal that is rich in literature. In this policy proposal, pertinent issues are deliberated on in a very detailed manner using the literature to substantiate on arguments raised. It is a well-grounded policy proposal that has clearly defined social problems, sought after goals and implementation strategies. It is an epitome of evidence based policy proposal, though monitoring and evaluation strategies are neglected.

However, the relevance of this policy proposal remains in question. First and for most, the existence of the student chapters of ANCYL is not provided for in the constitution of this organization. One may argue that such a clause is unnecessary because the constitution is perhaps all inclusive. However, student politics is a lot different from other political clusters and problems that are there are also unique. Therefore having a general policy that is devoid of issues

of student politics is not going to assist in this regard. There needs to be pronouncements of how the student chapters of ANCYL should promote gender transformation in institutions of higher learning. Furthermore, such pronouncements must also consider the question of the SRCs.

5.4.1.4 Young Communist League (YCL)

As it has been noted above, YCL is a youth wing of the South African Communist Party (SACP). SACP has a long history in as far as advocating for the equal rights of women is concerned. For instance, if you browse through its website, there are a lot of documents in the subject of acquiring the political rights for women and these documents are compiled under the heading "No Women, No revolution." All these articles are premised on the socialist ideology which means that they express the socialist view on the subject of gender inequality. SACP's struggle for women's rights reached it climaxing in point in 1954 when the Federation of South African Women (FEDSAW) was launched. In this founding conference, SACP also unveiled it blue print called Women's Charter. What is remarkable about this stride is that it transpired fourteen months before the launch of ANC's Freedom Charter.

YCL being the youth wing of SACP, subscribe to the very same principles that are entailed in the Women's Charter. Like SASCO and the ANCYL, YCL does not have a policy on the question of gender. The only thing that it has, are policy statements within its documents that succinctly captures it position to the subject. For example, in its 3rd National Congress Leadership Document, it is pointed out that "Non-sexism – there is no reason whatsoever that the 1st team of office bearers and the national working committee of YCL should have less that 50% of women in its composition" (YCLSA, 2010: 32).From this, it can thus be deduced that YCL employs gender quota system as the mechanism to promote the political participation and representation of women. Other than this, there is no other policy document or proposal, even in its list of policy discussion document; the policy on the issue of gender is missing. Furthermore, its position on student governance is unknown. This therefore raises few fundamental questions: What is the rationale of having the YCL branch at institutions of higher learning? Is it just for mobilization purposes?

According to its 2010 organizational report, YCL does have a document which deliberates and engages the question of gender. This document is entitled 'Gender Quotas in South Africa: A

Numbers Game?' Attempt of getting hold of this document were abortive as it is not even in the website of YCL where other organization documents are located. Perhaps having a policy that is in the context of student politics is somewhat unnecessary because even though YCL has branches at institutions of higher learning, but it operates under the banner of the ANC now that PYA to a great extent, is inexistent. However, even that must find a policy expression which will clearly map out the mandate and the strategies upon which such a mandate is to be advanced.

5.4.1.5 Student Christian Fellowship (SCF)

As it is stated above, SCF defines itself out of the political sphere because it is not a political organization, but a religious group. It is only in one campus of UKZN where SCF contest SRC elections and that is Westville campus. Therefore, attempt at soliciting its policy stance with regard to the question of gender transformation proved abortive. All that was possible to ascertain were views grounded on religious doctrines. Such views are not even worth accounting for as they lack substance and relevance.

5.4.1.6 National Association Student Movement (NASMO)

NASMO is fairly new in student politics and it is stated above, it was born out of the breakaway of what then became National Freedom Party (NFP) from the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP). NASMO therefore broke away from the SADESMO which is a student wing of the IFP. Searching the policy documents of this organization was the most challenging one because for one, it does not have a website yet, secondly, even its mother body (NFP) does not have one. What was detected here is that there is a probability that this organization does not have any policy relating to the question of gender transformation because even the participants affiliated to it rarely made any reference to a policy. Their claim that NASMO is one of the most progressive organization is as far as gender transformation is concerned was grounded on the fact that its mother body (NFP) is headed by a woman. Therefore, the policy stance of NASMO remains unknown.

5.4.1.7 South African Democratic Student Movement (SADESMO)

SADESMO subscribe to the ideology and principles of the IFP as it is aligned to it. Therefore, to ascertain the stance of this organization with regards to the issue of gender transformation, the

policy of the IFP is going to be looked into because SADESMO does not have any available such policy. However, in its website of the IFP there are no policy documents, but the summaries of policies bullet pointed. This deprives one an opportunity of generating an understanding of where that particular policy position comes from in term of premises. Analyzing it becomes challenging because there is not enough information upon which to base that analysis.

Though IFP was formed in 1975, but it history is a lot longer than that as history reveals that it has existed, albeit in another form and scope. In the 1920s, the Zulu King of that time (Solomon) started a cultural movement called Inkatha with the view to revive the Zulu culture and instill a sense of pride to people who subscribe to such cultural practices. This was in response to the force of the western culture which threatened the traditional ones. It was from such a background that IFP was formed. The intention of this step was to politicize this organization so that it can be a catalyst against apartheid especially given that the vanguard anti-apartheid movements such as the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) were banned. Even though in its current version, IFP is a political party, but it has never shifted from its traditional or cultural premise. This is what it gender stance is pillared on (IFP, 2011).

One may wonder whether the history of the IFP is of any relevance. Well, the answer is that because given that SADESMO does not have it policy on gender transformation, using IFP's policy position is a viable option as it will give an indication of where SADEMO lies. The IFP's policy position on the question of gender transformation is a conservative one, owing to its loyalty to the principles of culture upon which it was found. It however does call for the participation of women in policy and political decision making, though this is rather abstract. It is in defense of practices such as polygamy for instance which other have characterized as perpetuating gender inequality at the expense of women. It is therefore fair to assume that by the virtue of its affiliation to IFP, SADESMO also subscribe and therefore promote such views. It must however be noted though that even in its constitution, SADESMO does not have any clause that speaks to the question of gender transformation which could mean that such an issue is a trivial matter.

5.4.1.8 Democratic Alliance Student Organization (DASO)

DASO is a student chapter of Democratic Alliance Youth which is a youth wing of DA. DA is not big on gender politics by any margins. However, it (DA) does have a women's chapter called DA Women's Network (DAWN) which is provided for in the constitutions (DA Constitution, Section 12.2: 58). DAWN is more of mobilization machinery that seeks to focus on marketing the political brand of DA to women around the country with an ultimate view of increasing the support base of DA.

Other than what is presented above, no gender policy was found either for DASO, DAWN< DAY or even DA, hence the assertion that DA is not big on gender transformation politics. In as far as UKZN is concerned, DA is no longer political active as it no longer participates in elections as it used to. Reasons for this are unknown.

5.4.1.9 South African Union of Students (SAUS)

As it is stated above, SAUS is an advocacy group whose rationale is to influence institutional policies to ensure that the learning space of institutions of higher learning is conducive for students to study and be productive citizens. This organization is strategically positioned to eliminate party politics as it membership comprises of SRC members across political spectrum. These members are therefore able to draw from the experiences of various contexts and inform policy directions and decisions.

The participants of this study spoke negative of this organization (SAUS) pointing out that its role is not clearly defined. Others point out that it does not do what it ought to do in terms of being the policy agent for the SRCs. For this, UKZN did not renew its membership for this year. However, without necessarily ignoring such view, reviewing the gender transformation policy is still relevant because this organization still exert some influence in the critical policy making bodies in as far as the ministry of higher education is concerned.

Attempts of locating SAUS's policy document that relates to gender transformation proved abortive as the source could not be found. SAUS used to have a website which all important documents were stored. However, that website is no longer running. The only source that could

be found was a blog which does not have a ling to the documents of an organization. Therefore, the policy position of SAUS could not be obtained for purposes of analysis.

5.4.2 Overall reflection of UKZN student movement

UKZN has seven student movements that participate in political activities, some more than others. Six of these organizations (with the exception of SCF) are aligned or affiliated to the vanguard political movements of South Africa from which they generate structural and ideological support. Student movements therefore get their political mandates from the parties that they are aligned to, to influence the academic environment of institutions of higher learning. On the flip side of the coin, the student movements are also charged whether covertly or overtly, with the task of influencing the policies of their mother bodies on the behest of students that they represent. This therefore means that the representational mandate of these student movements should be two-fold: it must represent the ideological views of their mother political parties, but also represent the views and the interest of their members who are students, in their political organizations.

On the researcher's quest to make an analysis of the gender transformation related policies, the glaring challenge was that the majority of these organizations either do not have such policy or such policy is not accessible to the public. SASCO is therefore the only organization that has a policy which is relevant to student politics. The ANCYL on the other hand does have the gender policy discussion document which is unfortunately without the perspective of the student politics.

5.5 Gender and Description of the Sample

5.5.1 Political Background and Experience

The SRC structure consists of ten political seats. Five of these are captured through a direct representative and proportional party representative. The point for mentioning this is to indicate that for one to become an SRC member at UKZN, they have to have a certain level of political popularity. Therefore in this regard, by virtue of being in SRC, all participants have a certain level of political popularity and this is gained out of being politically active. This is what the

concept of 'political background' relates to. Furthermore, in the context of this study, the notion of political background is also cognizant of political experience and affiliation.

The issue of political activism or the extent thereof as well as the political experience of the participants was of critical importance to this particular study. This is precisely because in a way it solicited an idea of their knowledge of student politics as well as their political pedigree. Furthermore, this gave an indication of the extent to which as political leaders they are conscious of the gender transformation both as a political and policy agenda, as well as their willingness to advance it. Lastly, this question also flirted with the issue of ideological prescription of these participants. Though establishing ideological prescription was not the main intention of the question, but it became pivotal point because it sort of gave an indication of each participant's political affiliation and in a way, that sort of determines their political and policy stances.

Out of 22 participants, 18 (over 80%) were not shy of articulating their political experience. And the way they made such articulations was in a boastful manner which could be interpreted as intending to assure the researcher of their political credibility and therefore reservoirs of the political knowledge in as far as student politics is concerned. There was a noticeable difference in how participants responded to the question of political experience. Such difference was based on among other things gender as well as political affiliation.

Out of ten women interviewed, only two (20%) had the remarkable political experience. One started being politically conscious and therefore active when she was in high school through Congress of South African Students (COSAS) which is a political movement for learners at the basic level of education. This movement is also affiliated to the ANC. This participant proved to have an in-depth understanding of South African politics, student politics in particular and this is due to the fact that she has been in politics for a much longer period than all the other participants across gender spectrum. This participant also demonstrated a sense of being politically ambitious. With this, this participant showed to have a greater understanding of the type of challenges that female politicians are subject to just by the virtue of being females.

The other one has been a student for a long period of time and has been active since first year. This political activism of years has been through SASCO. In engaging the questions, this particular participant kept on referring to her experience to elucidate on her cases. Her

experience has exposed her to lot of predicaments that make it hard for women to be full participants in political activities. These participants are affiliated to ANCYL/YCL and SASCO respectively. This translates to a similar political ideological prescription as their political movements are aligned to the ANC.

The other eight (80%) female participants do not have a long political experience in comparison to the two (20%) discussed above. Whereas the above discussed participants boast a political experience more than five years, this group of participants have the experience ranging from one to four years. There are some who even though have been in the political sphere for a certain period of time, but were there with the intention of being political activists and therefore advance a particular political agenda. Interestingly, these participants were however affiliated to some of the political formations that are present at UKZN.

In relation to the question 'Please brief me about your political background and your reason(s) for becoming a student politician' this is how some of the male participants responded:

Participant A: 'Ngiyiqabane mina (Iqabane is a reference to the staunch and proud ANC member and the participant is declaring that he is the ANC member). However in the context of student politics I'm the member of the giant student movement SASCO. SASCO is not only big in this university of you and me, but it's the greatest student movement throughout the country and possibly the world. It is this very organization that politically socialized me into the student struggle. And today I say long live SASCO long live, long live the student movement long live'.

Participant B: 'While I started my political activism through student political organizations, but even out of the varsity, I'm very politically active. I am the true comrade. I am the member of the African National Congress.'

Participant C: 'Ay wena nsizwa yakithi, mina ngiyikhomanisi (My brother, I am the Communist member of the South African Communist Party [SACP]). I have been in this organization since I came to this campus. Last year I was deployed in the House Committee of Denison Residence where I served as a Chairperson. Because of great work that the House Comm. (House Committee) under my leadership did in Denison, I was then deployed into the

SRC where I became the President. As a President off course is a great platform to champion the interest of the students. And serving the students is what defines me.'

Participant D: 'Eer, ngakithi ikakhulu kugcwele Inkatha (Where I come from, Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] is mostly dominant) and therefore my personal political consciousness emerged under the guise of IFP. So when I came into the university, I joined SADESMO and I was very active member. I then parted ways with SADESMO when NFP was formed. Angeke-ke ngimoshe iskhathi ngilokhu ngikutshela ukuthi (I will not waste time in order to tell you) why I left because I think you can figure that one out yourself. Why I became a student politician, because I believe in the course for student and off course I want to play my part to increase of the fan base.'

Participant E: 'Okay err…my interest for politics began when I was doing my first year, during the recruitment of one of the political organisations (SASCO), at this time they were conducting door-to-door campaigns encouraging students to join their organisation. At this time I knew nothing about politics whatsoever and they told us we can attend their political school classes if we wanted to learn more before joining. This I did for few times but was too afraid to join since I realised that the meetings were time consuming and I was still struggling to manage my time and focus on my studies, and so I waited until I was doing my second year to join. When I finally joined, I was very active and was willing to learn a lot about student affairs then six months later I was voted into being the branch secretary, a position which I held for two terms and which personally taught me a lot about student politics. After much exposure to student issues and the recognition that other comrades were not really willing to help such students, I pushed for the position into the SRC. With this dream in mind I was lucky because I was from the most active residences on campus and I got lot of support from the comrades. My previous position, the branch, the fact that I was doing my post-graduate studies, the need to learn more about politics and that will to assist in student matters all motivated me to become a student politician, especially running for the SRC."

Participant F: 'Ayi-ke uyabona owami umlando nomzabalazo wabafundi mude kakhulu (You see, my history with the struggle for students, is too long). I trace it back to when I was a first year when as soon as I came, I recognised the organization that I am sure will go in the history

books as among the best when we speak of the struggle for the students. That is SASCO which says 'Forward with the struggle for students forward!' Now, that says a lot about the organization as well as those of us who are affiliated with it. Because for you to understand my political background you have to understand what SASCO represent, It's very cardinal we Mr. Nsele, very much so because indeed we subscribe to such progressive views and indeed we do so no matter what and who says what. I am the student politician because circumstances called me for such and I want to go down into history books as among those who stood up and were counted when circumstances challenged them to do so.'

General Analysis of Male Responses

Statistically, out of the six male responses presented above, five (83%) are of the affiliates of either: SASCO, ANCYL and YCL or some combination of these. The remaining participant identified himself as the member of NFP. Contextualizing the utterances of this participant to student politics, it may thus be concluded that he is affiliated to NASMO. Why this is important to note is because it gives an indication of the political ideology that the participants subscribe to. Furthermore, it locates the political dominance within this particular political context. The indication given by the responses above is that the majority of these participants (83%) subscribe to the political ideals that are enshrined in the Freedom Charter which is the premises for the political ideology that SASCO, ANCYL and YCL subscribe to. The remaining participant obviously subscribe to the political ideology which is advanced by NFP and that is because he is affiliated to NASMO which is a student wing for NFP.

In light of the above, it is clear that the political dominance in UKZN lies with those movements which subscribe to the Freedom Charter which are SASCO, ANCYL and YCL. Another interesting point to delve into is the manner in which articulated their political experiences in response to the question as stated above. The participants who identified themselves as being the affiliates of SASCO, ANCYL and YCL answered the question of political experience with zest and the sense of pride. For example, participant A chanted the slogan: "long live SASCO long live, long live the student movement long live" and participant B boldly stated: "I am the true comrade". Participant D on the other hand does not only have a different political affiliation, the manner in which he articulate his political experience is also different from that of his

counterparts. It is precise and less boastful. In this way it succinctly captures the essence of the question which is to unveil the political experience and identify the affiliation. Furthermore, this participant proactively evades the possible controversial question by pointing out that he started his political activism with SADESMO and left it for NASMO, but he is not prepared to deliberate on his reasons for his change of political affiliation.

In relation to the question 'Please brief me about your political background and your reason(s) for becoming a student politician' this is how some of the female participants responded:

Participant A: 'Oh Nsele, my history of being an activist is long and rich hey. I started politicking when I was very young back in school. Then I was a member of COSAS, active member of COSAS for that matter. I must have been what 12 of 11 when I became politically conscious. I have led in my school as well as in COSAS structures, successfully so. When I came into the university, I immediately identified with comrades and I became a member of Young Communist League as well as the ANC Youth League. As we speak I am in the interim structure of the PEC of YCL. I've always been passionate about being in progressive liberation movements and I have to tell you, after this, its hello ANC. My political ambition is to lead in that organization and I strongly believe I have everything it takes to go all the way.'

Participant B: 'Well, when I came to this campus, I was introduced into student politics via SASCO which I am affiliated to, ok. So over the years I have been a very active SASCO member and over time I've been given leadership opportunities. I must have done good in such positions because the organization then pushed me into the SRC. Why I became an SRC member? Because SASCO believes in me, that's why.'

Participant C: 'It's not that much mfethu (brother). I'm just a student and I am in SASCO and there is nothing more to tell. At least I warned you. Why I became a student politician, I'm flattered that you see me as the politician, really am. I was encouraged by friends to go into politics.'

Participant D: 'My story isn't one of those interesting stories that I think other interviewees have told you. When you become a student you have all lot of organizations that market themselves to you and that kinda (kind of) makes you believe that being part of an organization is an important part of being a student. You know when you see other students wearing t-shirts of certain organizations. That's my story of how I ended up in politics.'

Participant E: 'I, I don't know, I just think I enjoy politics. As for my political background, well I'm the member of SASCO.'

Participant F: 'My brother, em, I wouldn't really consider myself as a politician. I think there is a misconception that all SRC member are politicians, that is no really true because some of us enter the structure through Student Christian Fellowship, we are not into politics. Therefore, I can't speak of any political background as you would like me to because it is not there. I am just a Christian who has been delegated by the Christian organization into the SRC because SRC is not a political structure though it has been politicised.'

Participant G: 'Well, when I came into the university, I became friends with people who had interest in politics. Even my boyfriend was sort of a politician and that sort of made me to develop some interest. And I think it is fun and interesting. I have met a lot of people that I wouldn't have met and I have learnt a lot. I think being in politics has made me somewhat less ignorant than I ever was and that is really cool you know.'

Participant H: 'Um, I don't know hey, I, em, there is just nothing much to tell. My gosh, I don't even consider myself as a politician. I just wanted to participate in student life by joining clubs and societies and I ended up in student politics somehow. So it is by coincidence really that I end up being in the SRC.'

Participant I: 'I am a student who participates in political activities of the university, that's all there is to tell. Like many I belong to an organization which is the ANC YL. Why this organization, it is by fate I guess. You know, for some of us, it wasn't a matter of choice that we became student politicians, but it just happened. When you are new in this place you make friends and if those friends are in politics, then you end up in politics. That's how we get our

political consciousness. I therefore believe the relevant question should be why I chose to stay in politics. And the answer to that is that because somebody had to and because the experience or what some call political consciousness introduces you to a much broader perspective of student affairs. So from this you then want to contribute meaning fully. Need I say more?'

Participant J: 'I am surprised someone actually takes me serious or even student politics for that matter. I mean the over whelming majority of students don't even vote. They think participating in such activities is the waste of time, that we become SRC members for our own interest and greed. They don't strike when there is a need. But it seems you do take student politics serious. Hey chief, I have been part of the struggle for students since I came into the university and I am not going to tell you when did I come least I risk being characterised as someone who forgot why they came. Anyway, when I came I was introduced into SASCO, actually that was before I was even registered. This organization, member of this organization helped me a lot you know to deal with registration. I realized then that this organization is doing a lot for student. I guess I was then hooked into it. Just like how I was helped, I also wanted to help fellow students and potential students.'

General Analysis of Female Responses

Six (60%) of female participants identified themselves as the affiliates of either SASCO or ANCYL/YCL. The other four (40%) is divided between other smaller organizations such as SCF and NASMO. When asked to explain their political background, most female participants were rather humble in their articulations with some rejecting being referred to as 'student politicians'. For example participant H stated: "I don't even consider myself as a politician". Participant F who also sees herself less as a politician argued: "I think there is a misconception that all SRC members are politicians, that is no really true because some of us enter the structure through Student Christian Fellowship, we are not into politics." Lastly, it must be pointed out that these women generally lack the political experience.

However, though the majority of female participants lack political experience and therefore, did not demonstrate boldness in their responses, but there is a small group of women – only two (20%) who proved to be contrary to the rest of the female participants. That is participants: A

and J and have been labelled as the 'exceptional 20%' in this study. Based on their responses, these participants are more politically astute and that came from years of political activism.

Looking at the response of participants A and J, it is clear that some women are as engaging as men are if not more in as far as political discourse is concerned. Like the male participants, this group of women boldly highlighted their political affiliation and experience. However, without necessarily side lining the views of these women, it is evident that the political engagement of women is less vocal compared to that of men. Though the fact that there was a small number of women whose level of engagement competes with that of men, suggests that women are as much capable of being effective in political activities as men are.

Comparative Analysis of all Responses

Comparatively, the male participants had more political experience and that translate to a greater political acumen compared to the female ones. It must however be noted that the first discussed twenty per cent (20%) of women have more experience than their male counter parts and therefore also demonstrated to have superior political acumen. Also in terms of being politically conscious, particularly in relation to the politics of UKZN, it is the male participants and the exceptional twenty per cent (20%) of female participants who proved to be more conscious. Lastly, these participants were dominated by SASCO affiliates followed by ANCYL/YL.

5.5.1.1 Why does the Notion of Political Experience Matter?

From the above, it is evident that the notion of political experience is of critical importance in the political participation and representation discourse. The results of this study show that there is a correlation between political experience and the level of political participation. Those who possess more political experience were more engaging on political matters and demonstrated to have a greater understanding of politics in general. Furthermore, political experience equips one with the understanding of their organizational processes and this enables them to better position themselves in order to effectively influence political agendas. After all, one of the English dictionaries defines experience as "practical knowledge, skill or practice derived from direct observation of or participation in events or in a particular activity" (Mariam Webster Dictionary, 2013).

Drawing from the definition of experience accounted for above, it can thus be assumed that political experience is one of the factors that determine the quality of the political input that an activist may contribute. Therefore, it follows from this that those who have a lot of political experience, input more quality in terms of political participation. The notion of political experience therefore can either facilitate or hinder ones engagement with political issues. In the context of this study for instance, those who lack experience projected a more passive engagement to political issues.

5.5.2 Relationship between Gender and Political Participation

The data excerpts provided above clearly exposes the discrepancy in how gender can be seen as the determinant factor in as far as political engagement is concerned. The manner in which the participants responded to the question related to experience presents male politicians as more politically active then female politicians. However tempting it to draw this conclusion, but as stated above, how female participants responded to questions, is not necessarily applicable to the female population. This is backed by the fact that there were women whose engagement with political matters may be defined as robust as that of the majority of the male participants. Furthermore, not all male participants demonstrated any sense of robustness in their engagement with questions. Arguably, this group could not be matched by any participant in terms of having general political knowledge; understanding of their organizations and articulating their political will to champion the policy feminization agenda in this institution.

This study revolves around the notion of gender transformation agenda. It was therefore important generating views from the participants that would give an indication of the extent to which the participants understand such a notion as well as their attitudes towards it.

In relation to the questions 'What is your view on gender transformation agenda?' and 'Do you support it?' This is how female participants responded:

Participant A: 'First of all ours is a gender unequal country. When I'm speaking about this country I am referring to all social sectors in a political sense which also includes the university environment. Therefore gender transformation is of critical importance in order to change the status quo. ANC has been very instrumental in as far as that particular agenda is concerned. In this university therefore, ANC Youth League and YCL are in the fore front of ensuring that

women are politically empowered that is why a women like myself has been granted an opportunity of being in the SRC. I am a woman, how can I not support it Nsele? Look I believe in gender equality and the notion that women are equally capable, I strongly believe in that.'

Participant B: 'You know, I would like to invite you to read a SASCO's policy proposal on that issue. It is very progressive and I subscribe to such views that say that because women were previously politically and otherwise oppressed, that must change to reverse all of this. It is quiet the best policy stance I think, but making it an SRC policy and for it to yield any results is going to be a mammoth task indeed because of what we are confronted by. But something must be done about it, because it is necessary. And I do support it, no doubt about that. Why? Because I am a woman and I would love our position in society to be better than how it is. I would like for us to have unlimited access to opportunity. I would like for us to be valued, you know.'

Participant C: 'My view is that it is happening. That is why you are interviewing me today; it is because it is happening. We now have opportunities of being politically active so that as women we can make a meaningful contribution and I believe we are given our circumstances that we are still finding our feet in the game. Also there are men who resist this change, even though it very necessary. There are even women who resist it.'

Participant D: 'My view is that it is a necessary political call because it is very true that women have been deprived of opportunities just because they are women and nothing else. If we want this country to be an open opportunity society, we have to start dealing with things that went wrong. We have to start fixing the system in order to level the playing ground for all to compete. And that is where SASCO they start when they look at it. Off course I support it because I think it is preaching fairness. It's like I said that to deal with the problem, one has to look at how thing went wrong and start from there. And I am saying as women I think we have to be brought up to speed before we are, before we can say actually that ours is an open opportunity society. At the moment it is not. This notion of transformation therefore becomes necessary because the playing field has to be levelled. That is my position.'

Participant E: 'That is a very important matter that I think needs to inform programmes of the SRC because as women, we are still politically backward. We still see politics as the man's

game. We are afraid of challenging men and we sort of succumb to their views in the way, but some of us have taken an initiative and we are trying. I think it is because of the university's transformation charter, but there is still a long way to go because I am part of the SRC that doesn't even have a gender policy yet organizations that lead that SRC have great gender policies and I think we have to question SASCO in this regard. Off course I do, how can I not, I'm the woman remember.'

This is the fifty per cent (50%) of female participants. As it can be seen from the views entailed in the data excerpts provide above that this group of female participants demonstrated to have an understanding of the notion of gender transformation as a political agenda. Furthermore, they also support it as they see it necessary as the political agenda because of the current status quo. What is also important to note is that most women in this group are affiliated to either SASCO of ANCYL/YCL. The views expressed by these women are informed by the positions of their political movements. There is only one woman who expressed an independent view. Interestingly, this participant is affiliated to one of the ANC aligned organizations. This means that while among this group there are staunch activists who see things in the eyes of their organizations, there are some few who are not as staunch in the sense that they do not base their every thought on the organizational doctrines.

This is how other female participants responded to the same question:

Participant F: 'My views on this subject are in line with SASCO gender policy. If you want to know what the policy says, you will have to Google it. And whatever the policy says, I agree with. If you try and probe me on this question you will be wasting my time because I have already given you the answer. Look man, by the virtue of being a SASCO member which is for gender transformation suggests that I also support it. You mustn't try to separate me from SASCO, no you mustn't do that.'

Participant G: 'Gender transformation agenda? Eysh, the thing is I'm not really interested in those things and plus I know that the world will be dominated by men until eternity whether we have women in governance or not, men rule. You can have the all women SRC, but trust me, it will be run by men and so for me there's no point. It doesn't matter whether I support it or not,

men rule this world, period. Others can run around like headless chickens, nothing is ever gonna (going to) change.'

Participant H: 'I think that it shouldn't be the constitution that provide direction in this regard, but it should be the Bible because that constitution that we are supposedly guided by, is actually misleading in terms of telling us what things ought to be. My perspective is in line with what the Bible says, that the woman must submit into the man. This doesn't mean men must abuse women. It simply means that we must follow and men, and men, they must lead us. For men to lead us the right way, they must be Christians. That is the perspective that SCF tries to instil in the SRC that we need to look into God for guidance. Gender transformation should be about empowering women to be able to contribute meaningfully to societies and not for them to take over in politics; I don't think that is how it is supposed to be. No there is nothing like that and that is interesting because many would actually pretend that it is there. It is not there. What it means is that SRC is a very confused structure. In paper it is there, but in practice it is not, all of it misleading. My position, I think I have said enough on this very boring issue, but just to add, it shouldn't be about politicising. It should be about wanting to change the situation of women.'

Participant I: 'Yoh, yoh. Look, we are not in politics because we are women, but more so because we have the right passion and the will and we believe what the organization stands for. But now I think you are dragging me into gender politics which I am not really interested in. All I can tell you is that ANC support the agenda that you are referring to, so does the ANC YL. Now what more do you want. Why? Why does it matter so much to you or for you study or whatever? Is it because I am a woman and you think I should sulk about how things are gender-wise? No, it ain't happening babe, it's not. Look I am the ANC because I believe in what it stand for overall, not just how its promote gender equality. Everything about the ANC is perfect. I don't think I like your questions because they don't make much sense, not to me anyway. Please ask another one!'

Participant J: 'It's a good idea, though not for SRCs to deal with because there are enough student related problems on our plate you know. Accommodation, residences, financial aid exclusions and whatever else. And things like gender transformation are not and shouldn't really

be to priority because it's not really going to assist students. But it is a good idea though. I a way I do and that is why I say it is a good idea. I however do not think we have the capacity as the structure of the student to deal with such issues because as I said, we have a lot to deal with.**'**

Holistically, the following notions characterise the responses of the other group of women:

i.   Using affiliation to hide ignorance – Some participants refer to the political stances of their organization as the bases for their views. However, it is interesting that for one, they could not articulate the stances of their organizations that they argue they subscribe to and secondly, they could not articulate their personal views as informed by their organizational positions. The views of participants F and I falls into this category. The observation made here is that these participants lack the knowledge of the very organizations that they are part of and used the name of their organization to sugar coat their ignorance. The observation drawn from this is therefore that these participants lack the understanding for gender transformation as the political agenda.

ii.   Believes gender status quo to be unchangeable – The views expressed by some participants indicated that they believe that male political dominance to be the natural phenomenon that is impossible to change. Views of participant G falls into this category. For this participant, the closest that gender transformation advocacy can get is to achieve descriptive representation which is though crucial, but is not sufficient to improve the status of women.

iii.   Informed by religious doctrines – As stated above, some participants subscribe to religious doctrines. Though this group is the minority in terms of the composition of the study population for this research project, but their views are as important as those of the majority because it reflect the views of many people in the university community. Participant H is the example of participants with the views that are grounded on religious doctrines. Without saying much on gender transformation agenda, this participant argues for the use of the Bible as point of reference in governance, thus dismissing the gender transformation as being contrary to the principles entailed in the Bible and informs the Christian religion. Such a view regards any male dominance as the natural phenomenon and a legitimate way of life.

iv.   Gender transformation is beyond the scope of the SRC – As it is stated above, some students see SRC as the non-political entity. The views of participant J attest to this as it dismisses gender transformation as an irrelevant agenda for the SRC. For this participant SRC should concern itself with issues that directly affect the academic progress of students.

Interestingly, the notion of gender transformation is strongly supported by male participants. This is interesting because given the fact that South Africa is still deeply patriarchal, one would have expected male participants to be anti-gender transformation. The views of the male participants who support this agenda are informed by the political and policy positions of the political movements that these men are affiliated and all of them are either SASCO or ANCYL/YCL members. However, there were some male participants who despite being affiliated to pro gender transformation organizations such as SASCO and ANCYL/YCL, but are against gender transformation. For example, one participant who is a member of one of these organizations stated:

'Mfoka Nsele, uyabona mina ngingum'Zulu (You see Mr. Nsele, I am the Zulu) and I was raised in a deep, deep, patriarchal background. And to me there's nothing wrong with the status quo. However, men must not then abuse their power and be suppressive to women. That's my personal view. However, YCL's view is contrary to this one. YCL is in the forefront of the course to politically emancipate women and I, em, I have to support that because no one is bigger than YCL, akukho namunye (no one). You see politics is not the place to express yourself, but you succumb your personal views to those of the organization'

It can be deduced from the above excerpt that the participant, on his personal capacity does not support the notion of gender transformation as a political agenda that is worthy of any political pursuit. Such a stance is grounded on cultural beliefs. However, because of the loyalty and respect that he has for the organization, he compromise and suppresses his anti-gender transformation stance. This however does not negate his anti-gender transformation which obviously has implications on how it is translated into organizational political mandates. For one, such an issue might be subjected to being neglected and be excluded in the SRC policy agenda setting. Furthermore, even if it is there, and makes it into policy, it might not be implemented properly.

As it has been stated, not all male participants agree with the notion of gender transformation. One of the reasons for this is that those students are affiliated to political movements that do not promote gender transformation in the form of policy and any empowerment program. For example, political movements such as NASMO do not have a gender policy and as such, its members are either neutral or against the gender transformation agenda. For instance, one participant stated:

'It is a wrong focus in my view because we have other very pressing issues that we can give attention to then trying to fix gender number. Either way, we have women, so don't blow that out of proportion, no don't. Beside, NASMO is still at infancy and once the certain level of stability is achieved then we will see. In my view it needs to be reserved for appropriate time when other issues have been fixed.'

From the data excerpts and the analysis thereof presented above, it can thus be concluded that most participants have an understanding of what gender transformation as the political agenda entails and agree that it is relevant in the political discourse. However, there are some who differ with this view either on religious or cultural grounds. What also became clear is that political movements play a critical role in the political socialization of activists as it enables them to be tolerant of things that they do not necessarily agree with.

Off the number of women who understand what gender transformations is about, and support it, how many of them translate such ideological support into practical activism? This is a fundamental question which flirts with the question of whether female student politicians have the political will to promote the feminization of policies. To ascertain an indication of how much political will women have of promoting gender transformation, a question of how the participants have contributed to this agenda was asked and this is how some of them responded:

Participant A: 'Yeywena (hey you), SRC is not a one man or one women's show. You can't do as you please over there otherwise you'll never survive. Secondly for advocacy to be successful, you do it at a political party level and then through the political party, it gets into the SRC which I must tell you that in this varsity is led by SASCO. My contribution though is more practical. By that I mean while there are no policy that has changed because of me, but I have made it a point that I find other ways of making a contribution. For one, I always make sure that whatever I do

in the SRC, I do it to perfection in order to prove a point that the mentality that giving women is a political compromise is not at all true. In political discussions I am always there to ensure that there is a female presence. And I read Nsele, mainly book and newspaper just to be informed. And I can tell you, people respect you when you are informed.'

Participant B: 'Yes by participating in policy discussions of the movement that I am part of. For instance I always attend the policy conferences of SASCO and make sure that I raise gender related issues. Today you hear of SASCO's quota system, I contributed to that. That is good and well, but we have a problem with implementation and in the next policy conference, I will engage comrades in this regard. You must know that I am also in the branch executive of SASCO and I am in charge of political education. With this I pay a close focus on female comrades to make sure that they are politically competent.'

Participant C: 'I am going to be very honest with you, I haven't even thought about it, let alone making a contribution. When you are in the SRC you are appointed to a particular portfolio and that portfolio has some serious tasks to be performed, so I guess we kinda (kind of) get too focused on those tasks such that we don't pay attention to issues of policy. So I haven't done anything man. It is a shame I guess, but hey, that is the fault of the system of governance I guess.'

Participant D: 'Yo, should it be this hard to be interviewed by the Public Policy student? Why should everything boil down to policy? I am assuming that you did a lot of research before you come to me and that research has already told you that SRC don't have a gender policy per se, but there are student programmes that the specific SRC body in a particular time and context, come s up with. Other than this, nop (no). SRC is more like and advocacy group then a governing structure, and the management is government. We try our best to influence the institutional policies that the council and the senate make. That is as far as we can go.'

Looking at the above excerpts it can be seen that of the five women who are pro gender transformation only two made an account of what they have done to promote gender transformation. It is also interesting to note that these women, champion the gender transformation agenda even beyond the SRC activities. One these women revealed that she uses

her position as the Commissar in her organization to target women and subject them to intense political socialization.

The rest of the female participants though showed a discomfort towards this question, thinking that the researcher was trying to expose their incompetency. For example, one participant stated:

> 'I am not sure what you are trying to do or achieved by this question. Perhaps you are trying to expose me, I don't know, but don't because you are not going to succeed. The structure works as a collective and there is no me or I. It's about the effort of every member. Even our organizations function like that. So like everyone, I make my contribution, but I am not now going to pat myself on the back and say I did it, no ways. That is not how things work around here, no ways man.'

There were other female participants who were not shy of saying they have not made the contribution to the course of gender transformation and this is in resonance with their anti-gender transformation views. In responding to the question of whether she has contributed to gender transformation agenda, one participant thus stated: 'I don't, what's the point?' This participant is of the view that gender status quo which is characterized by male dominance is a natural phenomenon and therefore see no point in opposing this in a political sense. The other participant stated: 'Na, nop (No), and I for one, am glad that I haven't promote the course for which I have no understanding.' This is on religious grounds.

Drawing from the above, it is clear that though gender transformation may be regarded as the mechanism that seeks to promote the status of women, not all women support it which means that women favour the current status quo. The impression that may be drawn from this study is that the majority of women accepts how things are and among those that do not accept, it only a few who are doing something to change the status quo. Applying Pitkin's conception of political representation to this revelation, it is clear that the SRC of UKZN has not achieved both descriptive and substantive form of political representation. That is because for one, women do not even make twenty per cent (20%) of SRC membership and secondly, the views of the majority of these women does not contribute to the gender transformation agenda. Political participation is looked here in terms of the advancement of gender transformation.

Mthiyane (2009) speaks of the fact that politics is dominated by men and that organizations have competing issues in its mandates as potential barriers to the participation and representation of women, not just a descriptive one, but a substantive one. This is true because some women who participated on this study shifted the responsibility of feminizing policies to men because that is where the political power lies while some male participants argued that women should be in the forefront of this course. Therefore, women by the looks of this seem to be passive on issues that they should fully participate on. The participation of women and the representation thereof seems to be still descriptive though it is slowly transforming into having some substance. There is therefore a clear correlation between one's gender and their level of political participation whereby men are the most dominant.

5.6 Gender Transformation at UKZN: A Model of Incremental Implementation

In section 4.3 above where policy matters were deliberated on, the document called the Transformation Charter was introduced as a policy framework by which all policies must be informed. It is a map out of social factors that policy entrepreneurs must take into cognizant when making policies. One such factor, which is also of great interest to this study, is gender. History reveals that UKZN started as early as 1988 to promote gender transformation. At that time, it was still Natal University (the Durban campus). This progressive step happened in the form of the introduction of the module which was referred to as Women's Studies which later forged ties with a group of gender scholars from the Natal University and University of Durban Westville. This group was called Gender Research Group (Gender Research Group).

At a later stage, the name of this module changed into being Gender Studies which may be viewed as the paradigm shift as it addressed the implication that such discipline is exclusive to women. Apart from this, it was also taking a direction toward mainstreaming gender issues. Therefore, Gender Studies as an academic discipline intends to generate an understanding of and explain gender relations through the use of social research methods and theories. This discipline is thus one of effective socialization mechanisms that have changed the mindsets of many people especially students.

The gender aspect within the Transformation Charter joined in on this evolution as the way of rubber stamping gender within the transformational agenda of the university. This evolution as

outlined here epitomizes incremental implementation model. By incremental implementation is meant the type of implementation that is not grounded on rationalist approach. Through experiential learning, policies for instance may change in a gradual form rather than a total onslaught. What this means is that policy changes are influenced by discoveries (Lindblom, 1959). This is better explained by Hogwood and Peters (1983) who thus concede that those who are responsible for making policies modify such policies with incremental changes for adaptation purposes as well as ensuring their relevance.

5.7 Challenges Confronting Gender Transformation at UKZN

As per the above, UKZN has made remarkable strides in as far as gender transformation is concerned. However, within this success, there are a number of challenges that either hinder or undermine such progress. Some of these challenges relates to the findings of the study done by Mthiyane (2009) and were in the context of women's political participation. In the context of this study though, the focus is on women's representation in student governance.

5.7.1 Female Political Apathy and Male Political Dominance

In the context of student governance, the agenda of gender transformation is championed by organizations or students societies and the most influential of these are political movements. However, Mthiyane's (2009) study reveals that there are structural barriers that are created by the organizational factor. Organizations have a number of issues that are competing for the top spot in the agenda. And for Mthiyane (2009) issues pertaining to gender transformation might not be that particular organization's main priority and as the results, it gets neglected. The participants of this study therefore were challenged to explain how they influence the agendas of their organization to ensure that gender transformation is among the issues that are prioritized on the political agenda at organizational level and ultimately at SRC level.

In the main, the majority of male participants share the sentiment that women should be in the forefront of their own struggle and men have to play a supporting role. This came from the view that women are generally apathetic. What this means therefore is that, men have to decide for women which in itself has sexist implications. It follows from this therefore that women's disinterest to participate meaningfully in political activities becomes a de-motivating factor for

organization to pursue gender transformation agenda. Such views were common among those male participants who identified themselves as either SASCO's or ANCYL/YCL's affiliates.

Male participants who are affiliated to other organizations did not give much substance when responding to how they engage mandates of their organizations to prioritize gender transformation in its agenda. Some of these participants were unable to outline in brief what their organizations' position with regards to the representation of women is. For most, the issue of women's representation is an issue that falls out of the scope of their political activism. There was unanimity on the view that women are generally apathetic when it comes to political activities.

On the subject of apathy, the female participants expressed interesting views. One participant believes the reason why women are apathetic is because men have an attitude that feels undermining to women. This deprives women of an opportunity to grow in politics. One woman attributes the lack of political participation by women to the fact that men are political dominant and that they misuse such dominance at the detriment of women. One daring example of how men misuse their political dominance to oppress women as pointed by one of the experienced women:

> 'The problem is that male comrades take too much advantage of the female students. For instance, when they help them say to get financial aid or res, the benefitting female has to thank the helper by giving sexual favours. The rest as they say is history because this ruins somebody's life. You see, when female are new at the university, they are most vulnerable and the last thing that should happen, is for male comrades to take advantage of them.'

Another experienced female participant pointed out that some ambitious female politicians look to males as the vehicle through which they can advance their ambitions. So they:

> 'sleep their way through and when they do that, they open themselves to being controlled by men. Things like this make it hard for women to unite against men because every woman thinks that other women sleep with men for political favours. This is a very sad state of affairs Nsele, really is and female comrades are suffering from it while male

comrades die of suspicion that if the female get a political support from male, it must be because they are shagging each other.'

It is clear from this that the lack of political participation by women is partly caused by the manner in which some men view women. It is true that some men view and treat women as sex objects and this entrenches the oppression of women. Furthermore, it means that in the political context, men who hold such a view do not take women seriously as equal political participants. This renders male dominance to be problematic. The patriarchal political socialization leads into female political apathy and conversely to male political dominance.

5.7.2 Patriarchal Political Socialization

Patriarchal grounded thinking which inculcates the notion that men are the superior gender compared to their female counterparts is still deeply entrenched on social norms and values. This is despite the fact that the feminist movement has tried to dispel such a conception. Different socialization institutions are in some way guilty of perpetuating patriarchal ways of thinking by among other things, making policies that reflect this male superiority.

One of the findings that are revealed in this study is that women are less politically active than men. There are many contributing factors to this problem. In other words, this study discovered that being a woman is not the core reason why women are less politically active especially given that there was that exceptional twenty per cent (20%) of women whose political engagement is comparable to that of male participants. Secondly, there were male participants who rendered a very low political engagement. What this means is that to understand why there are disparities in terms of political participation between men and women, it is important to look beyond the gender issue.

Why are women less politically active than men? While there are potentially many answers to this question, the answer that this study generated is that political socialization is to a certain extent, grounded on principles of socialization. The UKZN case is an interesting one. That is because the prominent political movements that are active in its political sphere do promote gender transformation through political programs at an organizational level as well as at the SRC level. However, irrespective of this, patriarchal thinking still persists. One female participant pointed out that there is a mentality among male activists that entrusting women with political

responsibilities is a political compromise. This is in resonance with Soule and Nairne (2006), assertion that the answer to the question of why women have lower interest in politics compared to men, lies in how they were brought up.

5.8 Attitudes towards Women in Leadership Positions

One of the calls that the notion of gender transformation in the political context make is that women should be granted opportunities to lead in the respective structures that they are involved in. However, some scholars have observed that in reality, women do not really have opportunities to lead, but what they have is the impression of political leadership opportunities. In other words, even when women occupy leadership positions, men control them.

The above indicates that the general public does not have confidence in the leadership capabilities of women. Jacobs (2009) produces findings that indicate that even though the general public has the negative attitude towards women occupying leadership positions, but South Africa is different. According to this view, the general South African public believes that women are competitive leaders and are therefore worth being given leadership opportunities. Perhaps this is the reason why there are female SRC members at UKZN.

However, the fact that there are women in the SRC is not enough to conclude that the student public of UKZN has a positive attitude towards female leaders. That is because Carli and Eagly (2001) argue that it is no longer the matter of being in the leadership structure that is an indication of positive attitude, but the question of whether women are valued when they are in such a leadership structure. That is because there have been instances where women get into the leadership structure, but are restricted to unimportant activities to deal with. This is possibly the case with the SRC of UKZN. It has women, but none of these women occupies those leadership positions that are considered to be critical for instance, President, Deputy President, Secretary or Treasurer.

Apart from the fact that in the hierarchy of the SRC structures women are positioned at the bottom, even the implied attitude of the participants suggested that they have the negative attitude towards the idea of being led by women. Interestingly, this implied attitude came from the participants of both genders. There was no question that dealt with the issue of attitude towards leadership, but the researcher was able to detect from the way they responded to some

question, the state of their attitudes. Almost all the participants indicated to have a preference for men's leadership as opposed to the women's one. In this regard, men are assumed to possess superior leadership skills and qualities than women. Even in terms of having political ambitions, men seemed more ambitious and optimistic that they are destined for greater things in politics. Only twenty per cent (20%) of women proved to have as much optimism.

The possible logical explanation for this implied attitude towards women occupying leadership positions lies in the discussion of patriarchal political socialization accounted for in the above sub-section. Even Richter (2001) points out that leadership preferences; are normally influenced by patriarchal ideologies which disregard democratic norms by reinforcing the notion that men are the superior gender. On the same token, it could also be another possibility that women in the structure are not confident towards their leadership capabilities and as the results of this, being allocated a lower position is comfortable for them because they are not going to be subjected to the kind and amount of pressure that comes with being in leadership.

5.9 SRC Policies with Respect to Gender Transformation

As per the methodology, in the analysis of policies, the researcher also intended to subject the SRC policy that speaks to the question of gender, to critical analysis. Attempt at securing this policy failed because it is not placed at the website of the institution. When requesting it from the SRC Administration Office, the researcher was referred to Student Governance Office. It was at this office where it was revealed that SRC does not have a policy that addresses gender issues.

Interestingly, there were participants who indicated that SRC has such a policy. These contrasting views present two critical problems: For one, if the policy does exist, it would mean that it is not accessible unless if one is the member of the SRC. This would be controversial because it would imply that the SRC lacks transparency and that they conceal such critical information to avoid accounting to their electorate, the students. Secondly, if the policy does not exist, yet SRC members allege its existence, would imply that such members do not know what a policy is. In the worst case scenario, this might imply confusion whereby some SRC members do not know much about the SRC that they are serving in.

5.10 Political Willingness to Feminize Institutional Policies

The participants agree on the point that gender transformation is a relevant political agenda, but differ on how it should be driven and on who should take such a political responsibility. Another point of unanimity was that all policies should have a gender dimension which would supplement the existing women empowerment programs. However, the point of difference came where the question of 'who' came into the fore. Few male participants see gender transformation as not being a necessary political agenda. For some this is because the SRC has enough student problems to address. For instance, there are problems with regards to student accommodation, financial aid, academic exclusions and etc. The issues affect the general student population across gender. It therefore seems form this point of view that the SRC is normally preoccupied with these problems.

For others it could be because they subscribe to patriarchal ideas. That is because they expressed views which implied that they believe gender inequality to be a natural phenomenon which does not qualify to be regarded as a problem that is worth political attention. There were also female participants who showed discomfort towards being attached into a responsibility to advance the course of women – the do not want to be seem as "political whiners" who make a big deal out of trivial matters.

There is the twenty per cent (20%) of women who indicated to have a lot of political will to champion the feminization of policies. One of these women pointed out that for her, it should not start at the SRC level, but it should start at the organizational level. She made an account of her attempts to push this agenda. All these women agree that the political society expect them to be less competent just because they are women. They are however adamant to prove the society wrong because as one participant put it: "Action speaks louder than words." They have to send a message to men that women have a capacity. In so doing, they will inspire other women.

5.11 Factors Hindering the Formation and Implementation of Gender Transformation Policies

The lack of programs and policies that implement the gender transformation agenda is attributable to a number of factors. Some of such factors have been accounted for above either directly or indirectly. For instance, lack of capacity to develop policies and programs, party

political squabbles and etc. Another factor that may have been mentioned in passing is SRC's extreme preoccupation with general student issues such as in adequate financial aid and residences. While it is undisputable that these issues deserve attention that is accorded to it, but the SRC needs to do a lot more. It needs to develop strategies that respond to other issues either than these.

Financial aid is an important issue as it affords a great number of students who are from low economic backgrounds an opportunity to acquire higher education. The same can be said for residences. However, SRCs needs to pay a particular focus to empowerment related programs. The participants seemed to be of the view that as long as the SRC is delivering on the above issues, it is doing enough. In as much as this preoccupation with these issues is a good thing, but it limit the impact that the SRC could have on the lives of students.

5.12 Conclusion

In light of the above data presentation and analysis, it may thus be concluded that women do not really take part in the formulation of organizational political agendas. If they do, they do not push for the feminization of policies in the quest to drive transformation. The political representation of women in the SRC of UKZN may thus be regarded as more descriptive than substantive because while women are the in numbers, but they are not making significant impact in terms of doing policy and program advocacy to promote the interests of other women. What has become the common trend is for women to dismiss the idea that they are charged with focusing more on other issues pertaining to women.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Introduction

The primary focus of this chapter is to sum up this research project or the finding thereof and also outline the recommendations that could be considered in the rectification of circumstances that hinders gender transformation in the Student Representative Council(SRC) of the University of Kwa Zulu Natal (UKZN). However, before laying down the conclusions, this chapter will start by making an attempt to link the attitudes of participants towards gender transformation as a political agenda and the representation of women in the SRC.

The point of departure for this research was to explore the level of political activism of the student politicians who are the SRC members of UKZN. This was aimed at laying the foundation for the crux of the study which is to explore how female SRC members engage the political mandates of their political movements in order to feminize SRC policies. This would generate a sense of the extent to which SRC as the governing entity informed by the notion of gender equality which is an important aspect of democracy. Fore, Inglehart and Norris (2001: 624) have observed that gender equality or the lack thereof is what causes stumbling blocks for democracy to be consolidated.

Linking the attitudes of the participants towards gender transformation as a political agenda and the representation of women in the SRC of UKZN enabled the researcher to explore the political will within student political leadership to advance gender transformation agenda and the extent to which that is being done. To do this, Pitkin's conception of political representation (descriptive and substantive) was adopted. Using the concept of political representation as an analytical tool, the researcher argued that while the proportional representation of women is important, but such representation must also be substantive as it is descriptive. For, gender transformation is about affording women participating meaningfully in the decision making of political and policy institutions. Therefore, having women in numbers is good, but if they do not participate in decision making, that defeats the whole purpose of them being there.

South Africa has made a remarkable progress in terms of changing attitudes towards the idea of women in leadership. Gender equality in leadership is, to a great extent, acceptable. It can therefore be concluded that the notion that "men make better political leaders than women" is slowly being challenged (Inglehart and Norris, 2001). This is an indication of a democracy in progress. However, whether the same can be said of the SRC is the question of debate. That is because for one the number of women who are in the SRC decreased between 2011 and 2013 instead of increasing. Scholars such as Morna (2004) and Philips (1995) have argued that having the number of women in governance is indicative of gender transformation, but it takes a lot more than that for a particular society to be regarded as an epitome of gender transformation. This means that if the numbers are not on par, then there is still a very long way to go before true transformation is achieved.

From the theoretical point of view, it was concluded that the representation of women in the SRC of UKZN has more characteristics of descriptive representation than substantive representation. However, given that the number of women in the SRC has been decreasing, the idea of descriptive representation of women in the SRC remains debatable. That is because the numerical decrease indicates regression. This therefore means that there is a lot of work that needs to be done to improve the descriptive representation of women in the SRC.

Following the need to improve descriptive representation is the need to devise ways of ensuring that descriptive representation translates to substantive representation. That is because the majority of women did not seem to understand that by the virtue of being women, they are mandated to advance the gender transformation agenda by trying to feminize policies and programs of the SRC. There were only a small number of women who proved to be conscious of this role.

In addition to the above revelation, it was also identified in this study that that the representation of women is confronted by a number of obstacles such as the political apathy of female students which make the advancement of gender transformation agenda seem not worth a political pursuit; political male dominance which have the intimidating factor of female politicians. Political male dominance also compromises the gender transformation agenda in that it trivialized it on organizational mandates. Another identified obstacles is the lack of gender policy

from student political movements and as the results of this, even the SRC does not have such policy.

6.2 Summary of the Findings

The following is a brief summary of the findings of the study:

1. *UKZN lacks a political competition*

   When considering the number of political movements that participate in the political sphere of UKZN, one may think that there is an intense political contest. However, on closer inspection, it becomes clear that such a political sphere is dominated almost exclusively by the African National Congress (ANC) aligned South African Student Congress (SASCO) and African National Congress Youth League (ANCYCL)/Young Communist League (YCL). This therefore makes UKZN to be almost synonymous with a single party political context which according to Dahl (1998) is not good for democracy it may lead to the party that enjoys a political power monopoly to being a dictatorship. Apart from this, it deprives the political environment the contest of political idea and ideologies while limiting the choices of the populace. In such a situation, improvement is hard to come by.

2. *Lack of policy*

   It was discovered that the vanguard political movements lack policies with respect to gender transformations. All they have are policy discussion documents some of which lack relevance and substance. Furthermore, there is also a sense that in some of these political movements, there is a lack of policy acumen, hence the lack of quality and substance in either policy discussion documents as well as programs.

3. *Correlation between the political experience and the level of political activism.*

   The discovery was made that there is a correlation between the political experience of the participants and their level of activism. Those with long political experience have the higher understanding of political environment and their activism may be characterized as being bold and vibrant.

4. *Gender and the level of political activism*

   Women were found to have low level of political participation compared to their male counterparts. There was a difference even in the manner in which the participants were engaging with political issues. Whereas the majority of male participants had passion, the

majority of women were the opposite. They were not expressing themselves openly and articulating on issues to show that they understand politics and the context of their political environment. There was however a group of women which has been referred to as "the exceptional twenty per cent (20%)" in this study. The women have the experience and political knowledge.

5. *Male Political Dominance*

   The politics of UKZN are male dominated and it is this dominance that affords men opportunities to shape and influence the policy direction of political movements and such policy directions trickles down to SRC. This is especially the problem for the need to feminize policies and programs because for men that is not a priority. Women therefore have to work with whatever they have to include the gender issue. It was also found that some male politicians abuse their political power and manipulate women when they are in need of assistance and that manipulation is regressive to the struggle for the emancipation of women.

6. *Female Political Apathy*

   Women have been found to have less interest in politics when compared to men. Male dominance and the consequences that come with it have been identified as one of the factors that push women away. In addition to this, there is also a question of political socialization that manifests itself in the bases of patriarchal ideas.

6.3 Implications of the Findings

The main implications of the findings explicated above are three fold. The first one is that though political organizations ought to be promoting gender transformation, in actual reality, they are not because members who are charged with implementing this agenda by coming up with policies and programs lack a political will to do so. On one hand women are politically apathetic and those that participate are making a tiny impact due to factors accounted for. On the other hand, men are relegating the responsibility of advancing gender transformation to women and further regard it as of less political importance.

Another implication is that there is a lack of gender equal political leadership and this makes it hard for women to advance the policy feminization agenda. The SRC's ratio of women is to men is 1 is to five (1:5) and in politics where numbers matter, even if women have the political will,

they will always be outvoted given the fact that for most men, gender transformation is a trivial issue. This therefore means that the number of women needs to increase so that women's political leverage can increase. That will make the SRC more democratic.

The last implication highlighted is that gender transformation as a political agenda is not taken with seriousness it deserves. That is because, for one, the participants did not sound intrigued towards the subject and secondly, the organizations do not have clearly defined policies and programs that map out how the question of women's representation is addressed. In addition to this, there is little that women do to engage their organizations. The representation of women that is there is thus more descriptive than substantive.

6.4 Recommendations

After analyzing the findings of this study, the researcher came up with the following recommendation:

➢ **Leadership Empowerment of Women**

It became clear from the above that the leadership capacity is seriously lacking. This makes it hard for them to be agents of gender transformation especially considering that they have to engage their organizational mandate which makes them prone to be unpopular. To address this, strategies in the way of programs need to be devised to equip women with leadership skills to enable them to couch challenges that come with being active in the male dominated political environment. This will ensure that that they become effective when they are in leadership positions. That will ultimately lead to the transfer of descriptive representation to substantive representation and consequently the feminization of policies.

➢ **Equipping SRC Members with Governing Skills**

SRC members lack capacity to execute SRC duties. This is one of the possible reasons why there seems to be no programs developed to deal with for instance gender transformation. It therefore becomes necessary that before they assume their duties, they should be subjected to training to this effect which will bring them abreast in terms of what the SRC about. This will also enhance their innovativeness.

6.5 Concluding Remarks

Advocacy for gender equality has a long history and in many ways, it has led to some remarkable milestones. The intention of this study was to explore the experiences of female politicians and hopes to provide a description and nuanced analysis of the manner in which female student politicians engage the political mandates and processes of their political movements with the aim of ensuring that the SRC policies are pro gender transformation. The SRC of UKZN is not equal in terms of its gender composition and this has been going on for a number of years. What is even worse is that the representation of women that can be spoken of takes the form of descriptive representation. This descriptive representation does not indicate any progress because the number of women in the SRC in 2013 decreased compared to 2012. What this means is that the descriptive representation has not been achieved yet. This is one of the reasons why the SRC does not even have a gender policy despite the fact that the vanguard political movements support it.

This low representation of women in the SRC structure may be attributed to the political attitudes and values which are informed by ideas of patriarchy. This means that even though these politicians purport to be in support of gender transformation, but their mentalities are not transformed. What therefore, needs to happen is; the re-socialization and dismantling of patriarchal attitudes and structures in the context of politics. This should be done to both men and women. This will add substance to the representation of women.

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<u>Unpublished Papers</u>

Mthiyane, V. V. 2009. *The Substantive Representation of Women in the Student Governance of the University of Kwa Zulu Natal.* Unpublished paper.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

241 Ansel May Hall
Howard College campus
Durban
4001

Doctor J. S. Chalufu
Executive Director of Student Services
25 L Block 0 Level
University of Kwa Zulu Natal
Westville campus
Durban 4001

Dear Sir

REQUEST FOR PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH

I hereby wish to make a request to be given a permission to conduct research for the completion of a Masters Degree. I am a student who is pursuing a Masters of Social Science Degree in Public Policy at the University of Kwa Zulu Natal, Howard College campus.

The intention of the study is to explore the political representation of women in student body governance of UKZN. The main focus of this exploration though is on the extents to which women that are in the SRC engage their organizational mandate in order to influence policies with the purpose of advancing the gender transformation agenda. Furthermore, this study aims to investigate the extent to which the political climate within the SRC allows for the feminization of policies by women. The title of this study is: "The Engagement of Women in the Student Governance of the University of Kwa Zulu Natal with the Organizational Mandate So As To Transform the Politics in Terms of Policy".

In carrying out this study, one-on-one interviews of more than 30 minutes will be conducted with SRC members after business hours. In addition to this, a participant observation will be made to two most important political events; the institutional body congress and the SRC elections. The

information gather out of these activities will be treated with confidentiality and when it is used, any identity will be protected through the use of the anonymity clause. The findings of this research will be shared with Student Governance of UKZN.

Please feel free to contact me at any time should you have any queries or require any clarification. My cellular phone number is: 0748475092 or via e-mail at thandananinsele@gmail.com.

I am looking forward to hear from you at your soonest.

Thanking you.

_____

Thandanani A. Nsele

APPENDIX B

14 February 2013

Mr Thandanani Amon Nsele 207504506
International Relations and Public Affairs
Howard College Campus

Protocol reference number: HSS/0072/013M
Project title: The engagement of women in the student governance of the Univeristy of KwaZulu Natal with the organizational mandate so as to transform the politics in terms of policy.

Dear Mr Nsele

Expedited Approval

I wish to inform you that your application has been granted Full Approval through an expedited review process.

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment/modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number. Please note: Research data should be securely stored in the school/department for a period of 5 years.

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours faithfully

....
Professor Steven Collings (Chair)
/px

cc Supervisor Dr Janet Muthoni Muthuki
cc Academic leader Professor VN Muzvidziwa
cc School Administrator Ms Sisanda Vapi

APPENDIX C

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Research Project: **The Engagement of Women in the Student Governance of the University of Kwa Zulu Natal with the Organizational Mandate So As To Transform the Politics in Terms of Policy.**

Dear Participant

I, Thandanani Nsele (207504506) – a Masters student at the College of Humanities would like to invite you to take part in the ground breaking research project on. This study is purposed towards investigating the political participation and representation of women in governance, looking at how women in governance engage the organizational mandates with the view to feminize policies, focusing on Student Representative Council (SRC) of the University of Kwa Zulu Natal.

This study will employ interviewing as the data collection technique which means that your involvement will therefore by being interviewed. This interview session will take between 30 to 45 minutes and will be on individual basis. If and when the necessity arises, follow up interview may be conducted to seek more information.

Your participation in this study will be on anonymity basis which means that your identity will not be revealed in any way for in any scholarly endeavours unless you so wish. It suffices to point out also that the information obtained through interviewing you will not be provided any one without your full permission. The results of this research will however be used for academic purposes only.

This research is risk free which means that there are no potential risks that you might encounter while participating in this study. Your participation in this research project is voluntary and you have a right to withdraw at any time should you see fit and there are no penalties that you will be subjected to for this.

Please indicate with your signature bellow that you have been given an explanation on what this study is about and that you understand and therefore fully agree to participate it voluntarily.

……………………….	…………………………	…………..
Participant (Full Name)	Signature	Date
……………………….	…………………………	…………..
Researcher (Full Name)	Signature	Date

Yours Sincerely

……………………….
T.A. Nsele

APPENDIX D

Data Collection Tools

Interview Questionnaires:

Interview Questionnaire 1

1. **Please brief me about your political background and your reason(s) for becoming a student politician.**
2. **What motivated you to run for SRC elections?**
3. **What is your view on the gender transformation agenda?**
4. **Do you support it? Please explain your position.**
5. **Do you think men have an important role to play to feminize policies?**
6. **Have you contributed anything to the gender transformation agenda in terms of policy?**
7. **How do you engage your organization to formulate policies that are gender sensitive?**
8. **What are some of the challenges do you face as a woman trying to represent women?**
9. **Moving forward what do you think needs to be done in as far as student politics is concerned, to feminize policies of both the organizations and the SRC?**
10. **Are the any similarities between what is happening in the government of the country and what is happening in the student governance of this institution in as far as gender transformation is concerned?**

Interview Questionnaire 2

1. **Please brief me about your political background and your reason(s) for becoming a student politician.**

2. **What motivated you to run for SRC elections?**

3. **What is your view on the gender transformation agenda?**

4. **If that is the case, why there are so few women in the SRC?**

5. **Do you support it? Please explain your position.**

6. **Do you think men have an important role to play to feminize policies?**

7. **Have you contributed anything to the gender transformation agenda in terms of policy?**

8. **How do you engage your organization to formulate policies that are gender sensitive?**

9. **What are some of the challenges do you face as a man trying to represent women?**

10. **Moving forward what do you think needs to be done in as far as student politics is concerned, to feminize policies of both the organizations and the SRC?**

11. **Are there any similarities between what is happening in the government of the country and what is happening in the student governance of this institution in as far as gender transformation is concerned?**