

**FACTORS DETERMINING WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN DECISION
MAKING IN ZAMBIA REVENUE AUTHORITY**

BY

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**A dissertation submitted to the University of Zambia in Partial fulfilment of the
requirements of the Degree of Master of Arts in Gender Studies**

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DECLARATION

I, Brenda Nyirenda, declare that this dissertation hereby submitted is my own work and has not been previously submitted for a degree, diploma or other qualification at the University of Zambia or any other University. Where other people's work has been drawn upon, acknowledgements have duly been made.

Signature of the Author:.....

Date:.....

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CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL

This dissertation of Brenda Nyirenda has been approved as partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Arts in Gender Studies by the University of Zambia.

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ABSTRACT

Many African societies limit the roles of women to domestic work and raising children while men are left to handle all the decision making processes. This perspective has been cemented by such opinions as “the societal conventions regarding gender and leadership, traditionally exclude women, and top leadership is viewed as a masculine domain” (Hojgaard, 2002), and that of Ngcongco (1993) who insinuate that should men lead while women follow. Practices such as men walking in front of women and sayings like “*behind every successful man is a woman*”, depict the roles and positions that have been assigned to both gender parties. In this study we examine the factors determining the participation of women in decision making in the Zambia Revenue Authority (ZRA). The study employs a descriptive case-study research design utilising qualitative analysis of factors that contribute to low participation of women in decision making in ZRA headquarters in Lusaka district, Zambia. The population of study included Board Members, senior management members of staff along with intermediate management members of staff, technical staff and support staff members purposely selected to acquire key information across the entire institution. Care was taken to limit the subjects to fulltime workers in ZRA. The sample size was depicted largely by the availability of resources but was considered adequate to capture the existing group variability. Methods including focus groups, interviews, observation and documented resources were used to collect information from the sample population. From the results, it was established that women do not play a major role in decision making roles in ZRA. This was shown by the occupation of most executive positions by men. The governing board had no female members at the time of the study. The senior management members were comprised customarily of men and virtually with no women have ever occupied the top position of commissioner general. There are several cultural, economic, political and social factors contributing to the low participation of women in decision making roles in ZRA. These include lack of ambition, poor qualifications, timidity, family commitment, lack of experience, company policies and practices, and public and personal perceptions of women in decision making roles as well as financial benefits that are doubled in gratuity and pension accompanied by less work in lower positions. Improving the financial benefits, implementing affirmative action in the institution and creating incentives to aspire women to take up higher positions as well as changing the social and cultural perspective of women in decision making roles would increase the participation of women in decision making roles in ZRA.

DEDICATION

I dedicated this work to my late mum, Mrs. Timeke Nkhoma Nyirenda. Who, despite having a humble educational background, encouraged me to go to school and get the best education. You did all you could to ensure that, we all went to school. I salute you in your death. May your soul rest in peace.

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Table of Contents

ABSTRACT.....	iv
DEDICATION	v
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	vi
LIST OF TABLES	xii
LIST OF ACRONYMS	xiii
CHAPTER ONE	1
1.0 INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND	1
1.1 INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.2 BACKGROUND.....	1
1.3 History of ZRA.....	5
1.4 Statement of the problem:.....	9
1.5 Significance of the Study	9
1.6 Theoretical Framework.....	10
1.6.1 Liberal feminism	10
1.6.2 Personal Factors Theory	10
1.6.3 Structural or Institutional Factors Theory.....	11
1.6.4 Cultural Factors Theory	11
1.6.5 Liberal Feminist Theory	12
1.7 Research objectives	13
1.7.1 General objective:.....	13
1.7.2 Specific objectives.....	13
1.7.3 Research Questions:	13
CHAPTER TWO	14
2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW	14
2.1 Ancient Greek History	14

2.2 The middle Ages	14
2.3 World War One and Two.....	15
2.4 The United Nations.....	16
2.5 The Southern African Development Community	18
2.6 Participation of Women in Decision Making in Zambian History	18
2.7 The Zambian Constitution	19
2.8 The Women in Development (WID).....	21
2.9 The Gender and Development (GAD).....	22
2.10 The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)	23
2.11 Status of women in decision making.....	25
2.12 Status of women in decision making in other parts of the world.....	26
2.13 Status of Women in the SADC	27
2.14 Factors determining women participation in decision making	28
2.15 Psychological	31
2.16 Reproductive and Productive Roles	32
2.17 Access to education	33
2.18 Social and Economic Factors	34
2.19 Media	35
2.20 Cultural Factors	36
2.21 Socialization.....	36
2.22 Discrimination and stereotyping	38
2.23 Social Background.....	39
2.24 Institutional Factors	40
2.25 Stereotyping	41
2.26 Work place Policies	42
2.27 Corporate Culture	43

2.28 Lack of Role Models	44
2.29 Strategies.....	44
CHAPTER THREE.....	46
METHODOLOGY.....	46
3.0 Introduction to Methodology	46
3.1 Research design.....	46
3.2 Study Site	47
3.3 Study population	47
3.4 Study Sample	48
3.5 Sample Selection	48
3.6 Data collection	49
3.6.1 Primary data	49
3.6.2 Secondary data	50
3.7 Interviews.....	50
3.7.1 Interview process.....	51
3.8 Observation	51
3.9 Focus Group Discussions (FGDs).....	52
3.10 Data Analysis	52
3.11 Ethical Considerations	53
3.12 Limitations of the study	53
CHAPTER FOUR	54
PRESENTATION OF STUDY FINDINGS	54
4. Background Information of the Respondents	54
4.1 Age of Respondents.....	54
4.1.2 Academic qualifications.....	55
4.1.3 Work experience.....	56

4.2 Decision Making Members at ZRA in 2012 – 2013	57
4.2.1 List of Board Chairmen and Commissioner Generals.....	58
4.5 Gender concerns incorporated in policies, strategic plans and Programmes in ZRA.....	66
4.5.1 Training Policy	66
4.5.2 Education	69
4.5.3 Socio-cultural Influences	70
4.6 Knowledge and implementation of Policy/Strategic/Protocol documents in relation to women’s participation in decision making in ZRA.....	72
4.7 Interventions put in Place to Enhance the Participation of Women in ZRA Senior Management positions	73
4.7.1 Strategies to Enhance Women’s Participation in ZRA Management ...	77
4.7.2 Strategies among Women	78
CHAPTER FIVE.....	80
5. DISCUSSION OF THE RESULTS	80
5.0 INTRODUCTION.....	80
5.1 Decision making in ZRA	80
5.2 Factors that affect women’s aspiration to participate in decision making in ZRA	84
5.3 Factors that contribute to women’s low aspiration to participate in decision making in ZRA.....	86
5.4 Composition of the Recruitment, Appointment and Promotion Committees..	89
5.5 Gender concerns incorporated in policies, strategic plans and programmes in ZRA	93
5.6 Education	93
5.6.1 Limited access to advanced education.....	94
5.7 Socio-cultural influences	95

5.8 Rhetorical Strategies.....	101
5.9 Affirmative action	101
5.10 Positive discrimination strategies.....	102
5.11 Women Activism.....	102
CHAPTER SIX.....	104
6.0 CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....	104
6.1 CONCLUSION	104
6.2 RECOMMENDATIONS.....	105
REFERENCES	107
APPENDICES	110

LIST OF TABLES	Page
Table 1: Percentage of women in decision making.....	5
Table 2: Employment and ranking of men and women in ZRA from 2011 and 2012.....	8
Table 3: Age of Respondents.....	54
Table 4: Marital status.....	55
Table 5: Academic1 Qualifications.....	56
Table 6: work Experience.....	57
Table 7: Decision Making Members at ZRA.....	58
Table 8: ZRA Board Chairpersons from 1994 to date.....	59
Table 9: ZRA Commissioner Generals from 1994 to date.....	59
Table 10: Factors affecting women’s aspiration into decision making roles...	59
Table 11: Sources of information about vacancies in ZRA.....	62
Table 12: Sources of encouragement in ZRA.....	63
Table 13: factors influencing recruitment, appointment and promotion of women in ZRA.....	64
Table 14: Factors influencing appointment of men and women in ZRA.....	65
Table 15: Factors influencing appointment of men and women in ZRA.....	66
Table 16: Strict Adherence to staff development in ZRA.....	68
Table 17: Social and Cultural factors that affect women participation in decision making in ZRA.....	72
Table 18: institutional interventions identified.....	75
Table 19: Encouraging women to participate.....	76
Table 20: Proposed strategies.....	77
Table 21: Advice to women.....	78
Table 22: Women and equal opportunities.....	78
Table 23: Strategies among women to enhance their participation in decision making.....	79
Table 24: Strategies at the societal level to improve women participation in decision making in ZRA.....	80

LIST OF ACRONYMS

BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CG	Commissioner General
CSW	Commission on the Status of Women
DPEVAWC	Declaration on prevention and eradication of violence against Women and children
DFID	Department for International Development
EU	European Union
FDGS	Focus Group Discussions
GAD	Gender and Development
GB	Governing Board
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HRM	Human Resource Manager
IMM	Intermediate Management Members
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ILO	International Labour Organisation
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
NAADS	National Agriculture Advisory Services
NFLS	Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies
NGOCC	Non-Governmental Organizations Co-ordinating Committee
NGP	National Gender Policy
NOW	National Organization of Women
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SMM	Senior Management Members
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation

WID	Women in Development
WWI	World War One
WWII	World War Two
VAT	Value Added Tax
ZRA	Zambian Revenue Authority

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This study aims at establishing factors that determine women's participation in decision making in the Zambian Revenue Authority (ZRA). In this paper, participation is defined as the provision of equal opportunity to women to take part in the leadership, decision making and management of the institution. It implies quantitative and qualitative participation of women in ZRA decision making positions.

In Zambia, the way is open for women in many fields and at different levels. The question is, how far are women interested in going up and to what extent do political, economic, cultural, social, educational and legal constraints and limitation inhibit them? Why are women not occupying positions of decision making?

An analysis of the present social, economic, cultural, education and legal constraints statues of women and the function of their activities must necessarily be rooted in the nature of traditional African societies of which Zambia is part. Each particular society maintains and encourages certain cultural norms and beliefs which are held by members of that particular society. An analysis of these cultural norms, values, customs and beliefs provides an excellent insight into a society's attitude about gender differences and women.

1.2 BACKGROUND

Historically, leadership has carried the notion of masculinity and the belief that men make better leaders than women is still common today. Although the number of female leaders has increased, they are often named as an afterthought. According to Højgaard (2002), the societal conventions regarding gender and leadership traditionally exclude women, and top leadership is viewed as a masculine domain.

The same author further argues that, the cultural construction of leadership in itself instigates difference and this is only now being transformed or contested as women gain access to education and fight for leadership positions. In African societies, it is believed that men lead and women follow (Ngcongco, 1993, in Grant, 2005). It is not uncommon in rural villages in Africa to find the man literally walking ahead of the woman. Different reasons may be advanced for this but ultimately it illustrates the deeply held notion of leadership as masculine.

There was a time that it was believed that leaders were born with certain leadership traits. However, current thinking on leadership assumes that leadership can be taught and learnt hence the many leadership-training programs. Women's academic achievements and roles in society are hardly acknowledged or recognized. This situation has necessitated the call for the empowerment of women by according them their due status, rights and responsibilities and enabling them to participate actively in decision making activities. (De la Rey, 2005).

Throughout the world, women are engaged in a range of productive activities essential to household welfare, agricultural productivity, and economic growth (Olawoye, Samanta, and Jiggins 1994). Women have been seen to play important roles in rural economies throughout Latin America, the Caribbean and the world over. Research indicates that women are also most active in the small-farm sector and on high technology export oriented farms. Women also comprise a large proportion of the labour force employed in unconventional work compared to men. (Kleynsen and Truitt, 1996). Great strides have however, been made in the political realm and women's participation in both the freedom struggles and democratic processes of many African countries have been notable. However, this participation has not always translated into equal representation in political and leadership positions. Once elections are conducted, and positions are assigned, one realizes that women are no longer visible (Kiamba, 2008). Mikel (1997), explains that "Contemporary African women sometimes think of themselves as walking a political or a gender tightrope", in that African women are concerned about the large number of economic and political problems facing their communities, but at the same time

they are “grappling with how to affirm their own identities while transforming societal notions of gender and familial roles” (Mikell, 1997).

Meryerson and Fletcher (2013), note that barriers to women’s advancement in organizations today have a relatively straightforward cause. Most organizations have been created by and for men, and are based on male experiences. Even though women have entered the workforce in droves in the past generation, and it is generally agreed that they add enormous value. It can still be argued that the Organizational definitions of competence and leadership are still centred on traits stereotypically associated with men.

Most organisations uphold traits such as; toughness, aggression and decisiveness as being synonymous with good leadership even though many households today have working fathers and mothers, most organizations act as if the historical division of household labour still holds – with women primarily responsible for matters of the hearth. Outdated or not, these realities drive organizational life, where management in an organization develops a practice of late and last-minute meetings.

This practice only favours men as most men can be available 15 hours a day, unlike women who have reproductive roles to attend to after work. Organizations also tend to develop a practice of screening out female candidates. This is because it is men, who do most of the interviewing, and *naturally* they bond with other men. In other words, organizational practices mirror societal norms. Expectations, perceptions and stereotypes about men and women are commonly expressed through language and communication. For example proverbs like ‘Sina musali kimutu?’ which translates as ‘Is a woman a human being/person?’ create insights into the prevailing gender values and relations.

In generalizing what has perpetually caused lack of women in decision making, Wollstonecraft and Mills in ‘The Subjection of Women’ (1759–1799), concluded that: “*The Subjection of Women in history up until the nineteenth-century is that female subordination is rooted in a set of customary and legal constraints that blocks women’s entrance to and success in the so-called public world*”. To the extent that

society holds the false belief that women are, by nature, less intellectually and physically capable than men, it tends to discriminate against women in the academy, the forum, and the marketplace. This notion and emphasis is still felt in contemporary groups such as the National Organization of Women (NOW) of the seventeenth century and NGOCC currently operating in Zambia, and likely to influence positions of decision making in ZRA.

The earlier liberal feminists saw this discrimination against women as unfair and it is still considered unfair today by international organisations including the United Nations (UN). This can be seen in the many UN conferences, held and supported by the UN. The most notable one being the Beijing platform for action. Many voices have added to the argument that: Women should have as much chance to succeed in the public realm as men do.

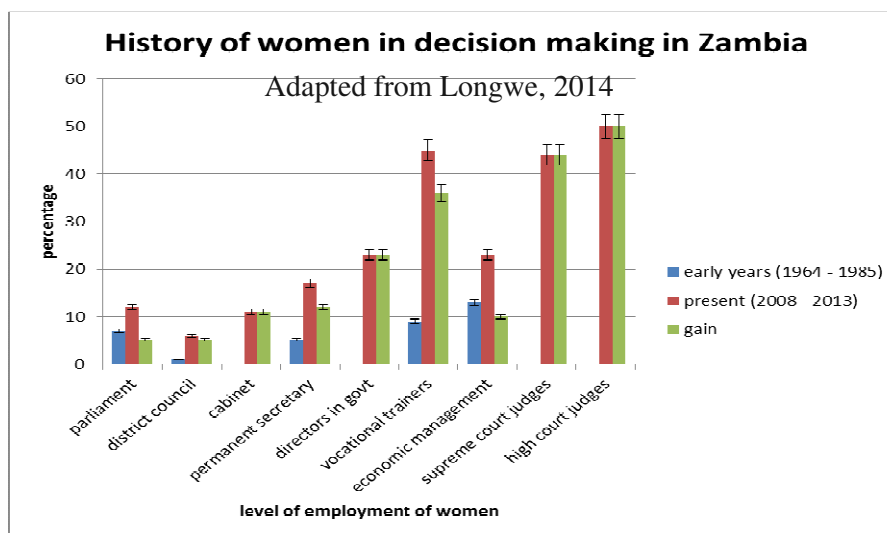
According to the liberal feminist, gender justice requires us, first, to make the rules of the game fair and, secondly, to make certain that none of the runners in the race for society's goods and services is systematically disadvantaged.

Radical feminists argue that what is solely responsible for lack of women in decision making positions is the patriarchal system which is characterized by power, dominance, hierarchy, and competition. There is a strong belief by writers such as Millet (1969) that patriarchy cannot be reformed but only ripped out root and branch. "Millet argues further that it is not just the patriarchy's legal and political structures that must be overturned on the way to women's liberation but its social and cultural institutions. Especially the family and organized religion which must be uprooted."

Looking back, it can still be noted that women have customarily occupied the same roles since Ancient Greek History up to today Zambia.

The table below illustrates the status of women in decision making positions in Zambia from independence to present day. The table shows the percentage difference between the participation of women in political and administrative roles over time.

Table 1: Percentage of women in decision making



Adapted from Longwe. 2014

1.3 History of ZRA

Chapter 321; Act No 28 of 1993, 13 of 1994, 32 of 1996. An Act to establish the Zambia Revenue Authority; to define the functions and powers of the Governing Board of the Authority; to transfer from the Government to the Authority the functions and powers of the Department of Taxes and the Department of Customs and Excise; to transfer from the Government to the Authority the assets and liabilities used by the said Departments; and to provide for matters connected with or incidental to the foregoing.

In the context of declining government revenues from a peak of around 30 percent of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in the late 1970s to just 13 percent of GDP from tax collections in the early 1990s, the Zambian government launched a tax reform programme in 1992. In addition to various tax policy initiatives, this reform programme included a major overhaul of revenue administration through the establishment of ZRA, on April 1, 1994, as a semi-autonomous agency under the Zambia Revenue Authority Act, now chapter 321 of the Laws of Zambia. That culminated in the former departments of income tax and customs and exercise of the then ministry of finance being brought under the revenue authority.

Consequently, at inception, ZRA had two operating divisions named as the direct taxes division, and the customs and exercise division. A third operating division called the Value Added Tax (VAT) division was later created to prepare for the introduction of VAT that replaced sales tax. The VAT division became operational following the enactment of the Value Added Tax in July 1995, this is important development along with policy measures on income tax rates and customs tariff reform, as well as the introduction of VAT saw the contribution from tax collections to rise more than 18 percent of GDP

Zambia was the second country in Africa to adapt to the semi-autonomous model of a revenue authority in 1994 following Uganda that established one in 1992. While Ghana introduced separate Tax and Customs Authorities and Boards in the late 1980s, Uganda in 1992, and then Zambia in 1994 where the first to bring both customs and domestic tax administration under one semi-autonomous institution.

Ten other African countries and more elsewhere have followed this trend. A key driver for this reform was to remove the tax and customs administrations from the constraints of normal civil service rules, thus allowing for the hiring and remuneration of staff on a more competitive and market basis and use modern management methods, leading to a more professional institution that would be more effective in collecting taxes.

The Zambia Revenue Act was established as a body corporate and agency of government under the direction of the Minister of Finance. The commissioner general who is appointed by the president is the chief executive of ZRA, and is responsible for the execution of functions as directed by the board.

The governing board oversees the organization and administration of the authority and management of its resources, services, property, personnel and develops the corporate strategic plan and such other administrative policies as are necessary for the smooth running of the authority. Membership of the governing board includes the secretary to the treasury; the permanent secretary to the ministry responsible for legal affairs; the governor of the bank of Zambia; a representative of the law association of Zambia, a representative each from the Zambian association of chambers of commerce and industry, the Zambia institute of certified accountants; and the

bankers of association of Zambia; and two other members appointed by the minister of finance. The governing board elects a chairman and vice chairman from its membership. The first chairman of the ZRA governing board was Mr. Patrick Chiumya.

The department of international development (DFID) of the United Kingdom was instrumental in assisting the operationalization of the Zambia Revenue Authority by among other things sourcing through international competitive advertisements, experts to run the organisations. Consequently, the first and second commissioner generals of the authority, that is, Mr Jim Scott and Mr Kelvin Donovan were from Britain and New Zealand respectively.

Four years later, in 1998, some Zambians were appointed as commissioners and exactly 8years after the creation of Zambia Revenue Authority, the third president of republic of Zambia, the late Dr. Levy Patrick Mwanawasa SC appointed Mr Berlin Msiska as the first Zambian commissioner general. This marked the end of the reign of expatriates running the organisation.

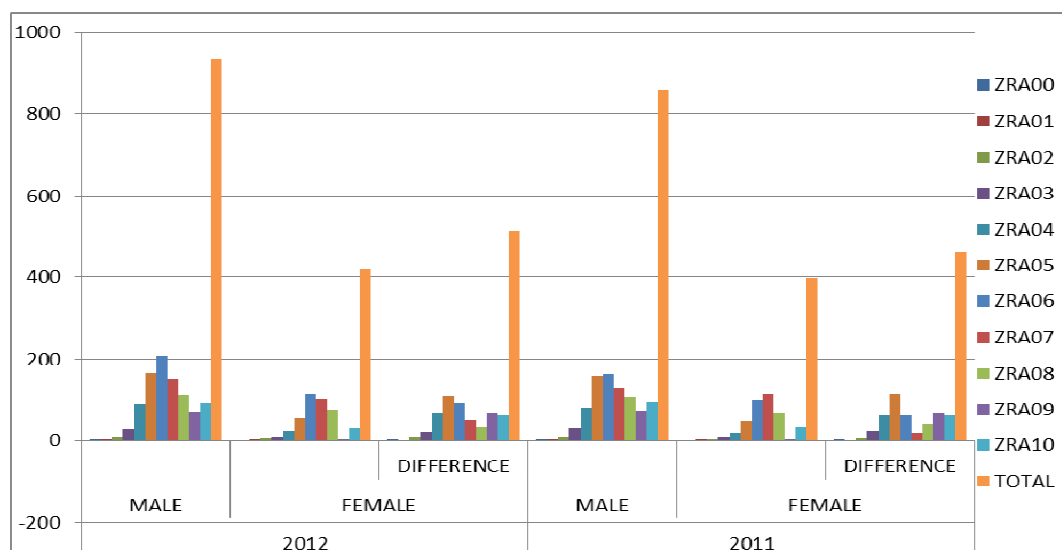
While ZRA has been a success story, there is still need to leverage past achievements for even further improvement. The environment, in which ZRA operates, both domestically has changed and keeps charging. While economic development and macroeconomic stability is stronger, tax collections which peaked in terms of GDP several years ago have been declining. Equally, international trade has grown but with a lower contribution to revenues due to expanding free trade agreements. As such a review and possible overhaul of policies became imminent.

Given these circumstances, in 2000, the government of the republic of Zambia, invited the international monetary fund (IMF) to undertake a diagnostic of the Authority. The findings of the diagnostic study recommended the implementation of tax administration reforms later known as modernization reforms premised on three pillars that included the integration of the fragmented elements of tax administration within a single functionally organized domestic taxes division falling under a single commissioner; the creation of a functionally structured headquarters to design and monitor all operational activities; and the reorganization of field offices on the basis of taxpayer segments, with separate functionally-organized offices focused on large,

medium, and small tax payers respectively. These reforms saw the merger of the direct taxes division and VAT division to create a single domestic taxes division. ZRA therefore now has two operating divisions, namely the domestic taxes division and the customs services division. Each of these divisions is headed by a commissioner.

Looking forward, the initiatives to modernize revenue administration will result in the following: improved compliance with tax, customs, and trade laws increased revenue; provision of better services to tax payers and traders to reduce their compliance burden; improved staff skills, productivity, unintergrity; improving the effectiveness of facilitating legitimate trade; improved usage of information technology in tax administration and reducing the overall cost of revenue administration.

Table 2: Employment and ranking of men and women in ZRA from 2011 and 2012.



Source: ZRA Annual Report 2014

The table on page 18 illustrates the employment and ranking of men and women in ZRA from 2011 and 2012.

1.4 Statement of the problem:

Women constitute 52 percent of the total population in Zambia. (Living Conditions Survey 2010). The Zambian government ratified the CEDAW in 1979 and SADC declaration in 1997. (UN Human Development Report, 2011). The declaration emphasizes that the number of women in decision making positions should have reached 30 percent by 2005, with an extension to 2015. Zambia seems to have missed the 2015 target of 50:50 women representation in politics and decision-making positions. (SADC Gender Monitor 2013). The National constitution which is the supreme law of the Land, stresses on equality for all. The gender policy also does give some guidelines on how institutions can ensure fair participation of men and women in the development process. Women in decision making in Zambia Revenue Authority (ZRA) senior management stands at 11percent as compared to the male counterparts who hold 89 percent of the most influential positions including that of the Board of Directors where there is no woman representative. Some of the possible factors that contribute to low participation of women in senior positions could be attributed to what other studies have revealed such as, psychosocial, cultural, (Cheelo, (2002) and negative attitude, lack of gender policy, lack of a gender expert as focal person and lack of gender disaggregated data (Shipolo 2012).

1.5 Significance of the Study

This study set out to determine factors that affect women's participation in decision making in ZRA and identify possible strategies that can be used to enhance women's participation.

A survey of literature on women in ZRA shows that there is very little information on the actual positions of women in decision making in ZRA. There is limited data on the factors affecting women's career advancement. The significance of this study lies in its ability to determine the actual representation of women in ZRA and the factors that affect women's effective participation.

The suggestions from the study would lead to:

- i. New orientation in formulation and implementation of new affirmative action policies that could enhance women's participation in decision making.

- ii. The findings of the study will enable scholars and policy makers to design more progressive management programmes and policies aimed at ensuring equal participation of men and women in ZRA.
- iii. The study will benefit women working in ZRA by identifying obstacles they face or might face en route to senior management positions and by suggesting how to overcome them.
- iv. It will also contribute to the corpus of literature on women in decision making Africa in general, in Zambia and ZRA in particular.

1.6 Theoretical Framework

1.6.1 Liberal feminism

The study was guided by the feminist theory. The theory recognizes the pervasive and the structures in society that espouse this oppression and subordination. The feminist perspective looks at the many similarities between the sexes. It concludes that women and men have equal potential for individual development. Differences in the realization of that potential, therefore, must result from externally imposed constraints and from the influence of social institutions and values (Nzomo, 1995).

1.6.2 Personal Factors Theory

Feminists advance *three broad perspectives* in trying to explain the absence of women from senior management in the public and private sector.

The first perspective is *personal factors* in which the paucity of women in management positions is attributed. This includes, psychosocial attributes, including personality characteristics, attitudes and behavioural skills of women themselves. Among personal factors, we see self-esteem and self-confidence, lack of motivation and ambition to accept challenges “to go up the ladder”, women’s low potential for leadership, less assertiveness, less emotional stability and lack of ability to handle a crisis (Bond, 1996).

According to Singh and Shahabudin 2000), personal factors such as, assertiveness, confidence, resourceful creativeness, loyalty and trustworthiness are major diversing women to ascend to senior management positions.

1.6.3 Structural or Institutional Factors Theory

The *structural or institutional factors* paradigm advances the view that it is the disadvantageous position of women in the organizational structure (few numbers, little power, limited access to resources) which shapes and defines the behaviour and positions of women. The underlying premise of this perspective is that men and women are equally capable of and committed to assuming positions of leadership. The problem is vested in the structure and the remedy is a fundamental change to eliminate inappropriate discrimination in institutional policies and practices. However, some structural factors affect women positively while others affect women negatively. Factors that affect women negatively include: discriminatory appointment and promotion practices; male resistance to women in management positions; absence of policies and legislations to ensure participation of women; and limited opportunities for leadership training and demonstrating of competence as a result of power structure in the work place (Bond 1996).

Structural factors that affect the participation of women positively include the presence of the organizational guidance, good mentoring systems, proper staff development programmes for women, transparent appointment and promotion procedures. Support services for women, access to information technology and flexible work schedule are very important for career progress.

1.6.4 Cultural Factors Theory

Smulders (1998) explores how the cultural factors at the work place, are carried into the work place and kept in place because the actors involved, both dominant and subordinate, subscribe to social and organization reality. She stated that cultural factors lead to stereotypical views about women's abilities within the cultural context. The view that top management positions are only suitable for men relegates women to secondary roles. The emphasis is placed on women's role as mothers, caregivers and nurturers. In this context, women are only seen as mothers, wife or daughter.

1.6.5 Liberal Feminist Theory

There are several feminist theories that are used in gender studies. They attempt to explain issues involved in decision making, policies and practices of organizations such as in ZRA in Zambia. In this study, one of the theories used is 'Liberal feminism. Liberal feminism is rooted in the tradition of the 16th and 17th century liberal philosophy. Liberal feminism focused on the ideas of equality and liberty (Wollstonecraft, 1792). Mary Wollstonecraft western feminist theorist argued, that women's capacity to reason was equal to that of men and that biological sex differences were irrelevant in granting any rights (Ibid). She further argued that the reason women appeared to be intellectually inferior was due to their inferior education and therefore, was a result of inequality, rather than justification for it.

Liberal feminists see women subordination as resulting from gendered norms, rather than biological sex, and aim to change these norms. Liberal feminists focus on equal opportunities for men and women in education and all sphere of life. The same education provided to a man if provided to a woman will allow a woman to assume responsibility for her own development and growth. But unless society provides equal education with the same civil liberties and economic opportunities a man has. A woman will only exercise her hard won autonomy only within the private or domestic realm. These feminists are also concerned with ensuring that laws and policies do not discriminate against women. Liberal feminists are further looking forward to the removal of barriers that prevent women from operating effectively in public spheres on equal terms with men.

Despite the fact that several policies on affirmative action are in place, women are still lagging behind in all aspects. In ZRA for example, though women are employed, very few women are in senior management positions but are concentrated in technical and support staff positions only.

1.7 Research objectives

1.7.1 General objective:

To determine factors that affect women's participation in decision making in ZRA.

1.7.2 Specific objectives

- i. To establish factors that affect women's participation in decision making in ZRA
- ii. To determine the promotion criteria of ZRA officers to higher ranks.
- iii. To examine the extent to which gender concerns are incorporated in policies, strategic plans and programmes at ZRA.

1.7.3 Research Questions:

- i. How do social, cultural, psychological and educational factors affect women's participation in decision making positions in ZRA?
- ii. What criterion was used to promote ZRA officers to higher ranks?
- iii. How are gender concerns incorporated in policies, strategic plans and programmes at ZRA?

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

This section presents a review of work that has been done in Zambia and other parts of the world in relation to the positions of decision making that women and men occupy in organisations. The literatures reviewed also include factors hindering women from advancing to senior decision making and some of the strategies that have been proposed to improve their situation.

2.1 Ancient Greek History

From ancient Greek to today's history, surviving sources are overwhelmingly written by men for men. Temples, buildings and battle memorials all speak of a man's world. Even Athenian democracy which the modern world celebrates, denied women the power of making decisions by disallowing the fundamental right to choose their leaders through the right to vote. Thucydides, a 5th century historian comments "that the greatest glory for women is to be least talked about by men, whether in praise or blame". (Scott, 2009). The range of female influence and experience in ancient history has slowly been brought to the fore; between the fall of Athens in 404 BC and the rise of Alexander the Great in 330s BC. Women who held only household responsibilities, moved to working outside as nurses, wool workers and grape pickers. A social aspect of the woman's role in ancient Greek was of divine power as priests or gods. Plato (1976) explains the economic and cultural roles of women during this time to have changed with the changing political epochs. "*Women controlled the reformation of Athens specifically targeting the disjuncture between the haves and the have nots.*"

2.2 The middle Ages

In the middle Ages, Klapisch (1994) recorded this proverb which captured sentiments that were repeated countless times during this era. "*A house, whether good or bad, needs a spur; a woman whether good or bad needs a lord and master,*

and sometimes a stick”. A statement issued during a period of European history between the 5th and 15th century, the positions of women were initially limited to being a wife, mother, peasant, artisan, spinner and nun. The men wielded legal power over women and heard their confessions, and assailed them with endless treatises and sermons. This suggests that, women were ensnared in webs of rules so constraining that they could not utter a word or move a muscle. However these positions saw the rise of leadership roles such as queen or abbess. The changing concept of ‘woman’ during this period was influenced by such factors as the influence of the Roman Catholic Church and cultural influences of the middle Ages. This not included the preservation of art writing, learning of Latin, but also the development on a centralized administration through the work of the Roman Catholic Church Bishops.

However, the last century of the middle Ages saw the beginning of restrictions being placed on women’s work. Laws did exist which imposed rules and prohibitions which barred women from participating in social representations and practices. Guilds not only became male dominated but saw other changes including the curtailing of women’s right to own property. Allen (1997), concludes that women’s roles in decision making were largely influenced by religious factors. Despite allowing women to hold such positions as queen or abbess, they were restricted from executive positions such as bishops, cardinals and priests. Cultural factors of this era however, emphasised the domestic roles of women. For example women have been known to own their own business or helped their husbands. No woman at the time was known to be head of any important institutions or decision making bodies.

2.3 World War One and Two

In both world war one (WWI) and world war two (WWII), women took on the work of men out of necessity. Women took on male traditional roles out of their gender expectations with an agreement that they would lose these jobs once the men returned from war. WWI saw the role of women to become indispensable means for total mobilization of societies’ resources. The only fee paying jobs occupied by

women before this time were confined to domestic spheres where they worked as servants and housewives or in factory jobs in the textile industry. These industries employed more women than men and regarded such jobs as women's work. Few women managed to enter male dominated professions but for the most part remained in duties at home and women's work.

During WWI and WWII, women's right to vote was allowed by a few countries as fights for equality dominated the era. Minimal involvement in political processes was allocated to women including positions such as nursing; bandage sewing and as spies. This era saw a shift in women's roles with some working as engineers in the Royal Air Force. By the end of the First World War, 68 percent of women had changed jobs. Sixteen percent of workers had moved out of domestic service. But still were not occupying any decision making positions. The jobs occupied by women during the war were merely filled as a matter of survival in the absence of men. By the end of WWI the only women who benefitted were those whose countries gave them the right to vote. The bombing of Pearl Harbor by Japan for example during the WWII, saw America commit itself to total war. This development included the utilising of all assets including women who gave not only their fathers, husbands and brothers to the war effort but also their energies, time and even their lives. Women volunteered in defence plants and war related organisations as well as managing their household duties. The development of skills such as managing finances, clerical jobs, fixing cars and even conductresses on public transport in places such as New Orleans was a result of the absence of men, (Stephen Ambrose, D-Day, 488).

2.4 The United Nations

Over the decades, issues concerning women have taken new dimensions and received varied treatments by the United Nations (UN). The organisation has recognised the principle of equality of men and women since 1945. This is to be seen in the United Nations Charter and subsequently the 1948 Declaration of Human Rights. In spite of these international declarations, of which Zambia is a signatory,

affirming the legal rights and equality of men and women still constitute a disproportionately small percentage of those participating in public decision making. Many global conferences have recognised that, despite the progress made globally in improving the status of women, gender disparities still exist, especially in regard to participation of women in decision making.

Some conferences such as the 1979 convention on elimination of all forms of discrimination against women (CEDAW) provides the basis for the realization of equality between women and men. This is to be achieved through the women's equal access to resources and equal opportunities in the political and public sphere –though not any but also the right to vote and to stand for election, as well as education, health and employment. State parties agreed to all appropriate measures, including legislation and temporary special measures, so that women could enjoy all their human rights and fundamental freedoms.

In the Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies (NFLS) of 1985, governments were directed to secure participation of women in the decision making processes at national, state and local level through legislative and administrative measures. The creation of special offices in government departments each of them, headed preferably by a woman, to monitor periodically and accelerated the process of equitable representation of women was instigated in the strategies. Special activities aimed at increasing the recruitment, nomination and promotion of women, (especially to decision-making and policy-making positions), were some of the proposals made in the documents. So as to increase an upward mobility of women and so on. It was recommended that posts must be publicized more widely until equitable representation is achieved.

Several other conferences discussing issues affecting women's roles in decision making and gender equality have taken place in the United Nations including the Declaration on Prevention and Eradication of Violence Against Women and Children (DPEVAWC) in 1993, the Cairo Conference on Population and Development in 1994, the World Summit for Social Development, the Copenhagen UN conference in 1995 and last and not the least the infamous Fourth UN World Conference or Beijing

Declaration and Platform for Action in 1995. The Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) has been responsible for organizing and following up of the world conferences on women in Mexico (1975), Copenhagen (1980), Nairobi (1985) and Beijing (1995). Although this is the case, not much has changed in the percentage of women participating in decision making roles.

2.5 The Southern African Development Community

The Southern African Development Community (SADC) gender protocol of 1997 instructed its members not to discriminate any person on the basis of sex or gender. Member countries committed to the initiative that mainstream gender into the SADC programme of action and community building initiatives as a pre-requisite or sustainable development. The goals to deepen regional integration and strengthen community building could only be achieved by eliminating Gender Inequalities and marginalization of women throughout the SADC region. The member states noted that, it was of great importance that appropriate policies, legislation, programmes, projects and activities aimed at ensuring gender equality and women's empowerment were implemented in all SADC member states. Despite Zambia's affiliation with the organisation and ZRA having the organisation as a major stakeholder, the gender requirements of the SADC gender protocol of 1997 are still not well implemented by the institution.

2.6 Participation of Women in Decision Making in Zambian History

The Zambian society has confined the role of women to procreation of future generations and care giving to their husbands and families. This confinement has been perpetuated by the cultural norms, customs and beliefs that the country has upheld before independence and even colonial rule (Cheelo, 2002). Women in ancient tradition in Zambia, were only recognised as wives and mothers rising from as far back as the settlement of migrating tribes from the Luba - Lunda kingdom and even those escaping the wars of Shaka, (Haantobolo and Ng'andu, 1998). Because of this, there has been a pre-existing gender imbalance in the Zambian labour system.

Despite the improvements in the educational attainments of women in Zambia, women have continued to lag behind their male counterparts in roles of decision making due to the traditional beliefs and customs that have been held by the country for many years. These beliefs are strongly illustrated in the oral traditions of many Zambian tribes seen through sayings such as this Bemba proverb which says, '*Kwapa tacila kubeya*' The armpit (woman/child) can never be higher than the shoulder (man/adult). Implying that women can never be higher than men in status, hence, leadership and decision making are seen as the preserve of men. As a result, men usually dominate women in the political, religious, economic, academic and domestic spheres, (Zambia Strategic Country Gender Assessment 2004).

2.7 The Zambian Constitution

The ideas of promoting gender equality are reflected in the Zambian Constitution within the human rights perspective. Article 23 of the Constitution of Zambia as amended by Act No.18 of 1996, prohibits the treatment of any person in any discriminatory manner by any person acting in the performance of a public office. The constitution in this regard even before any further action is taken in effecting CEDAW concerns is adequate on its own to guarantee equal representation of men and women in the labour force. In spite of this, the Zambian government undertook measures to adhere to the international, regional and sub-regional instruments including the UN, AU and SADC, (Shippolo, 2012).

Many methods have been used to improve the existing gender inequality in Zambia. Since the 1950s through to the 1970s, Moser (1993) outlines five different approaches employed in gender planning through this period in which the country gained independence from its colonial masters. The approaches outlined comprised; The Welfare Approach- used between 1950s and the 1970s whose main idea was to include women in development as trained mothers and wives. Although women were seen as passive beneficiaries of development during this time, the welfare approach recognised the reproductive role of women. It therefore, endeavours to meet the

gender needs of women in their roles as mothers and wives. This is to be attained through programmes aimed to alleviate such problems as hunger, family planning and malnutrition faced by women.

The Equity Approach - that was used mostly between 1976 and 1985. This approach came at a time when women were viewed as active participants in the development activities. The recognition of women's triple role, paved way for efforts aimed at meeting the gender needs. This was to be achieved through direct state intervention by giving political and economic autonomy, and reducing inequality with men.

The Anti-Poverty Approach- this method shunned equity. But attempted to find ways of ensuring that the poor women sustained increased productivity. Even at a point when poverty was viewed in the form of underdevelopment rather than subordination. This occurrence was experienced in all the developing countries, the majority of NGOs used this method.

The Efficiency Approach Method- in this method, the economic contribution of women in development was ensured to allow women in development to contribute to the efficiency of the county. Participation was however, not equated with equity. The gender need of women while reliant on women's triple role was ignorant of time as the concept of the elasticity of women's time was embedded deeply in the society of the Zambia at the time.

The Empowerment Approach - arising from women in all developing countries, this is the most recent of the approaches. It has been used as a solution to the existing gender imbalances. Empowerment expresses women's subordination not only to emphasize men's oppression but also to demonstrate that it contains a colonial to non-colonial oppression suffered by both men and women. It also identifies the triple roles that women play. It also finds ways to meet the gender and strategic needs using the bottom up approaches.

The Empowerment approach is still used today, and has the potential to challenge the status quo. But due to its avoidance of western feminism, it is unpopular in countries aside from developing countries. The transformatory effects of empowerment are a

result of the approach's aim to change the inequalities and practices which discriminate on other grounds other than gender.

Some organisations that have historically used the above approaches in Zambia and other methods to achieve gender equality are examined below.

2.8 The Women in Development (WID)

Historical perspective of efforts to develop women's participation in decision making saw the rise of two organisations; the Women In Development (WID) and the Gender and Development (GAD). By the 1970s, it became unmistakable that women were left out of the developmental process and benefited negligibly from the country's development and in some cases their status in society was worsened by the country's development.

The WID identified the exclusion of women from developmental programmes as the main problem coupled with the oblivion to women's contributions to development of the country. WID saw women as a group lacking opportunities to participate in development. The solution to this crisis was the integration of women into development processes, a cause WID supported. The focus tended to be on the provision of women's basic needs in terms of food, shelter, income, health care and other such provisions. Although these incentives were provided, the socio-cultural relationships between men and women did not necessarily change and this was attributed to the lack of recognition of the unequal power base for men and women. The WID approach tended to view women as passive recipients of developmental assistance rather than active agents in renovating their own economic, social, political and cultural realities. While the WID approach had its limitations, it increased the visibility of women in development issues and was successful in helping secure a prominent place for women's issues at the United Nations and other development agencies seen in the UN Beijing Conference and other such summits discussed above.

2.9 The Gender and Development (GAD)

GAD emerged in the 1980s marking a revolution in the way Zambia regarded equitable sustainable development. GAD focuses on the impact of development on both men and women. It intends to ensure the participation and profiting of both sexes from development and therefore emphasized the equality of benefits and control. GAD recognises that while women contributed significantly to development in Zambia, they did not benefit from it. Because of this, a new focus on gender was developed by women concerned with the perceived difficulties emerged.

Sensitization on the problems of women in terms of sex, the biological differences between men and women, rather than gender. Gender is defined as the social roles and relationships of men and women. These are socially constructed and they change, and they differ from culture to culture. The forces that both perpetuate the change of these relations became the focus. It was highlighted that women had been systematically subordinated and assigned secondary or inferior roles to men and their needs had been considered in isolation from the larger context.

GAD recognised women as an integral part of all of Zambia's development strategies. GAD is not confined to women alone, but rather to the way in which gender relations allocated specific roles, responsibilities and expectations between men and women often to the disadvantage of the latter sex. The work of GAD focused on changing three main concepts:

The first one is that, while both men and women play a vital role in the creation and maintenance of a society and shape the division of labour, they did not benefit or suffer equally. The organisation's work focused therefore on women because of the historical disadvantage.

Secondly, because women and men socialized differently and functioned in different spheres of the community despite an existing interdependence between the two,

GAD recognised that men and women had different priorities and perspectives and were viewed this way by the nation resulting in men having the power to either restrain or magnify women's options.

Thirdly, GAD finally recognised that development affected women and men differently, and that women and men had differing impacts on projects and policies and therefore there is a need for both sexes to be involved in the identification and solution of problems affecting their communities Zambia inclusive.

Both WID and GAD contributed to the progression of women and increased gender equality in Zambia.

2.10 The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)

Since 2000, Zambia signed to share the commitment to reaching the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). These are actions driven by the achievement of shared goals and results, measured against progress. The MDGs are aimed to ensure that priority is given to the poorest, the most vulnerable and those who are usually excluded from the development process especially women. Generally, the truncated participation of women in positions of decision making affects the progress of the nation in improving the legal and regulatory environment for promoting gender equality. This is because very few women are in influential positions of the legislative process.

The MDGs assist Zambia to identify and investigate the vulnerable individuals so as to find means to address the factors repeatedly causing their exclusion. Following the international and regional conferences on the MDGs, Zambia embarked on a series of platforms and strategically development by placing a variety of measures to correct the existing gender imbalances. Among these strategies are; The National Gender Policy (NGP) of January 2004 which emphasized impartial gender representation at all decision making intensities, the Electoral Reforms Technical Committee, whose formulation incorporated provisions of CEDAW and SADC Declaration of Gender and Development of 1997 to ensure 30 percent representation of women in politics. Other approach Zambia used are several sensitization programmes by civil societies which target women politicians and political parties on the significance of women's participation in decision making. Zambia also

intensified the capacity-building and awareness creation activities and enhanced partnership among the public and private sectors and NGOs so as to address the prevailing gender discrepancies (GIDD 2006).

Despite all the input and efforts by Zambia to improve the state of gender inequality, she has failed to achieve the MDGs goal with only half a year to the 2015 target. Zambia has also failed to fulfil the SADC Declaration of Gender and Development of 1997 which required 30 percent representation of women in politics and major decision making positions. While policies and strategies have been utilized, they have not been without flaw. The inability to achieve the SADC Declaration of Gender and Development can be attributed to the incompetence in utilizing the recommendations made by the declaration.

Zambia has not effectively implemented any of the affirmative action programmes or quota systems which is define as a deliberate or hiring policy which requires that a specific number or percentage of minority group members are hired or admitted Rafał Mańko (2013). Countries such as Uganda, Mozambique and South Africa have employed this system. It can also be said that the lack of political will by previous governments and weak monitoring by the SADC organisation have contributed to the failure to achieve the set goals. This is shown through the constant extensions of deadline as to when the 30 percent women representation goal is to be achieved. Initially set at 2005, the deadline has been extended and now lies at 2015. With only four months to this target and no election in sight, it can be concluded that Zambia has comfortably missed the mark and sits without any repercussions to retort to.

Another failing approach used as an attempt to curb the gender disparity was the National Gender Policy of 2004. Despite the policy having the most appropriate recommendations for including women in decision making, it can only be referred to as a guideline as it has not been ratified by the Zambian parliament. Therefore, the NGP cannot be considered an effective strategy as it is not Zambian law and as such, failure to implement the recommendations of the NGP on women's participation in decision making is not punishable. This then nullifies the effectiveness of the NGP's

recommendations making it a fruitless endeavour to combat the gender disproportion in the Zambian labour force and leaving women at a disadvantage.

2.11 Status of women in decision making

The International Labour Organisation (ILO) review (1999) titled “ *why close the gap*” revealed that there is no doubt that significant progress has been achieved in furthering the cause of gender equality in the labour market over recent decades. It also stated that women have been moving steadily into the occupations, professions and managerial jobs previously reserved for men. While access to education and training continues to improve, providing many with the necessary qualifications to aspire to jobs in senior management still remains a challenge. The review further indicated that businesses, trade unions and women's organizations have devoted much thought and energy to overcoming of the attitudinal and institutional discrimination that bars women from certain jobs and hinders their career development. While the commitment to fight gender discrimination is renewed periodically at international conferences, the gender gaps still remain a major concern.

In support of the ILO review, Meyerson and Fletcher (1999), also attests that the new millennium provides an occasion to celebrate the remarkable progress made by women. The authors also noted that, the fact that women now hold seats on corporate boards, run major companies, and are regularly featured on the covers of business magazines as prominent leaders and power brokers would have been unimaginable even a half a century ago. But the truth is, women at the highest levels of business are still rare. The review conducted in the European companies revealed that, there were only 10 percent of senior managers in *Fortune* 500 companies. This is less than 4 percent of the uppermost ranks of CEO, president, executive vice president. On the average this is less than 3 percent of top corporate earners. Statistics also suggests that as women approach the top of the corporate ladder, many jump off due to frustration or disillusionment with the business world.

In the European Union (EU) publication review Rafał Mańko (2013) indicated that in the EU, women are still largely outnumbered by men in positions of responsibility. It was further noted that women remained substantially under-represented in senior positions, especially at the highest levels, be it in politics, business or administration. Even in the EU Member States, women only represent 27 percent of members of parliament and government ministers. The review was quick to affirm that major progress that has been made over the years. But even then in the European Parliament today, women only account for 36 percent of members. It was lamented however, that the situation was still unfavourable in industry. It was revealed that only women make up an average of 17 percent of board members in the largest EU listed companies and only 4 percent of women members on the Council of presidents.

Lund (1998), conducted a survey on female staff numbers in commonwealth universities to identify the positions women occupied. The survey revealed that, women are still seriously under-represented amongst full time staff in both administrative and academic hierarchies of commonwealth universities. Lund (1998) concluded that in terms of administrative posts, women are more likely to succeed as registrars, librarians, or heads of personnel, than if they aspire to be vice-chancellors or their deputies, directors of finance or deans of faculties.

2.12 Status of women in decision making in other parts of the world

Dines (1993), summarized research findings from different countries (West Africa, Arab States, India, Malaysia, Indonesia, the South Pacific, Peru, the United States, the Caribbean, Finland and France) on the status of women in higher education management and factors hindering their participation in higher education management. She observed that country after country, women held less than 50 percent of academic and administrative posts in higher education institutions. The survey further revealed that representation varied between about 10 and 20 percent at middle management level and from 0 to 10 percent at senior management level.

2.13 Status of Women in the SADC

Available statistics by the SADC gender monitor review (2013), clearly illustrate the limited participation of women in structures of power and decision-making at all levels of society. Statistics show that, the percentage of women in Parliament in the region is 24.5 percent, which is well above the global average of 19.5 percent, but falls short of the desired target of 50 percent. Only five SADC Member States were significantly close to the target of parity in Parliament, that is, Angola, Mozambique, Seychelles, South Africa and Tanzania. The review indicated that at management level, women are seen only concentrated in middle and lower positions, with very few women in top management of the public service, parastatal and private sector as earlier indicated in the ILO and Harvard Business review.

The SADC Gender Monitor Review (2013), on tracking progress on women in decision making revealed that, women representation in the Zambian Parliament following general elections in September 2011 fell short of the regional targets. The 2011 elections indicated a growing awareness by political parties of the need to nominate more women candidates, but the number increased only slightly. It was also revealed that, of the 113 women parliamentary candidates who contested as single-member constituencies, only 17 were elected, accounting for just 11 percent of the constituency seats in Parliament. Presidential appointments increased the number of women in Parliament to 18 and later to 23, increasing the proportion to just over 14 percent, similar to that of Swaziland. In representation of women in Parliament, Zambia is ranked 12th of the 15 SADC Member States, ahead of DRC and Botswana. Zambia's world ranking is 107 (IPU, July 2013).

In 2006, 21 women were elected to Parliament making a representation of 14 percent of elected seats, and only 13 percent of total seats. The highest proportion of women in Parliament in Zambia so far was 18.1 percent in 1997. The review further revealed that, Zambia has missed the 2015 target of 50:50 women representation in politics and decision-making positions, but there remains scope to adopt positive measures for the 2016 General election such as those that have brought results elsewhere.

The Sara Hlupekile Longwe Open Lecture – Zambia Open University (2014) revealed that, the Percentage of Women in Higher Levels of Decision Making in Zambia compared from Early Years to Nowadays at administration level is moving at a very slow pace. She made mention of the position of the Permanent Secretary which in 1985 was at 5 percent and rose in 2011 by only 12 percent. In 1964 there was no woman in the position of Director of government in the Ministries. But by 2011 there was 23 percent representation. Equally Vocational Trainers in 1980 had only 9 percent and it moved to 45 percent in 2008. In the Judiciary too, there was no woman at independence but the figures have now risen to almost 50 percent by 2011.

In conclusion, the status of women in decision making positions compared in almost the whole world except for a few countries like Sweden, recently South-Africa and Uganda can be summed up into what ILO (1999) observes that, over the last few decades, women have attained educational levels comparable to those of men in many countries and have been increasingly hired in jobs previously reserved for men. They have responded to expanding opportunities and invested themselves particularly in business, administration and finance. Women today represent over 40 per cent of the global workforce and have been gradually moving up the hierarchical ladder of organizations. Yet typically, their share of management positions does not exceed 20 per cent, and the more senior the position involved, the more glaring is the gender gap. National surveys reveal that in the largest and most powerful companies worldwide, women's share in top positions is limited to a mere 2-3 per cent. However, this does not happen automatically, different scholars have alluded to the fact that, there are several factors that have contributed to this trend.

2.14 Factors determining women participation in decision making

Myerson and Fletcher (1999) however have got different views as to what factors have led to lack of women in decision making positions. In their article, they emphasise that, “not a revolution. Not this time.” The authors alluded to 1962, 1977, and even 1985, events in which the women’s movement used radical rhetoric and legal action to drive out overt discrimination, but alas most of the barriers that persist

today are insidious – a revolution couldn't find them to blast away. Rather, gender discrimination now is so deeply embedded in organizational life as to be virtually indiscernible. Even the women who feel its impact are often hard-pressed to know what hit them.

Some of the several factors observed by SADC Gender Monitor Review 2013, as a hindrance to women's participation in decision making include personal, institutional, patriarchal, cultural and societal. These have been highlighted as major factors that prevented women from ascending to senior positions in the organisations despite being qualified. It has also been indicated that at personal level, factors such as lack of confidence and fear of public office are deterring women from taking senior management positions, (SADC Gender Monitor 2013).

At the institutional level, discriminatory recruitment, appointment and promotion procedures, political appointments, unclear promotion criteria, absence of documented staff development policies for senior managers and few opportunities for further training deride women's participation in decision making. In addition, social, religious and cultural factors such as discrimination against female child education and general beliefs about women's domestic roles have been identified as eroding women's self-perception just as those women who succeeded in public domain were seen as failures in their domestic roles.

It is argued that, for women to participate in decision making effectively some of these barriers must be removed and Political will is a major factor in this case. Political will is responsible for positive results as demonstrated by Seychelles which does not have any affirmative action or quotas but is close to reaching the target at Parliamentary level. Equally, this trend is visible in other SADC Member States at different levels as shown in the report. Most Member States now recognise that there can be no sustainable democracy without gender equality and women's empowerment.

This is reflected in the Constitutions of most SADC Member States that provide a legal national framework for non-discrimination on the basis of gender differences.

Some Member States that have recently reviewed their constitutions have included progressive clauses on gender equality with potential to enhance gender parity. There is optimism that other Member States will do the same. A few SADC Member States have legislated affirmative action and quota systems that guarantee the participation and representation by women in Parliament and other positions, however implementation remains a challenge. Other Member States must consider legislated quotas and measures that require affirmative action as well as other measures necessary to accelerate gender parity.

In 2005, the SADC Summit of Heads of State and Government upgraded the earlier target of reaching 30 percent representation by women in politics and decision-making positions to 50 percent, in line with the African Union decision. Some Member States have adopted strategies and processes that ensure the achievement of gender parity (50/50) in decision-making by 2015. Zambia has been ruled out because the upcoming elections are only in 2016. Some Member States have reviewed and reformed national constitutions to align with gender equality commitments. There has been selective domestication of these provisions.

The SADC Council of Ministers adopted a Regional Gender Policy in 2007. The specific objectives of the policy include the advancement of equal participation by women in decision-making; and influencing the ratification and domestication by SADC Member States of international and regional instruments related to gender equality and the empowerment of women and girls. The policy framework also provides for the creation of an enabling environment for:

- Promotion of peace-building in the region
- Prevention of human rights abuses during conflict; and,
- Promotion of the participation of women in all peacekeeping initiatives.

The Policy notes the lack of domestication of international human rights obligations that promote gender equality. The Policy recognises the technical, socio-cultural and economic constraints that are encountered in promoting gender equality and equity. These include, among others limited participation and representation of women in decision making processes little or no training or support offered to women parliamentarians weak legal instruments and inadequate enforcement mechanisms. It

was also recognised that there was limited awareness among women of their constitutional and legal rights.

The exclusion of women from decision-making bodies not only limits the possibilities for entrenching the principles of democracy in a society but hinders economic development and discourage the attainment of gender equality. Women around the world are far removed from decision-making positions. The factors that hamper or facilitate women's participation vary with the level of socio-economic development, geography, culture, and the type of political system. Women themselves are not a homogeneous group; there are major differences between them, based on class, race, ethnicity, cultural background and education. But these, are also factors that bind them together, such as the triple roles.

2.15 Psychological

Tripp (2001), revealed that at a personal level, women themselves were often reluctant to run for public positions which is partly attributed to cultural prohibitions on women speaking in public or going to public places. He indicated that some decision making positions require that one travels extensively, spend nights away from home. Even go into bars. It means meeting men, and for women this is not easily accepted in many African societies. He further indicated that women who vie for public offices have to consider the risk of being labelled 'loose' or 'unfit' as mothers and wives, and being socially stigmatized which make many women shy away from politics, and positions that put them in the public eye.

Tsitsi Dangarembga from Zimbabwe, in her interview with BBC News (BBC News, 2005) identified lack of unity among women themselves as one of the reasons why there are few women in positions of power. Since women were vying for scarce resources, women tend not only to see other women as a threat but are also jealous of one another. She further went on to say that women have the potential to bring about change, but they lack organization due to lack of time, given their multiple roles as bread winners, wives and mothers. African women also fear to raise their voices and speak out for fear of victimization (supposedly by fellow women but also by men,

given the cultural expectations of what a woman should or should not do). In this interview, Dangarembga also pointed out that women fear to excel because it makes them seem threatening. Women who want to get married have to present themselves as good marriage material by being meek and submissive.

2.16 Reproductive and Productive Roles

Similar issues have been raised regarding educated Chinese women. Qin (2000), in a study on ‘examining the development of female college students in China’ noted several factors that to restrict their desire to become successful career women. These include, traditional prejudice, social pressures, women’s sensitivity to people’s misconception of successful women, and the tendency of men to choose ‘family-oriented’ wives.

She observed that women even fear being more capable than men, making them shy away from demanding jobs. Women are torn between work and family. They do not want to be housewives per se but at the same time they are challenged to be super women. They wish for and fear the opportunities and challenges of the external world.

African women too have certain expected roles to play. They are expected to bear and nurture children, as well as manage the home. At the same time, today’s African woman is expected to earn a living and contribute to the running of society (BBC News, 2005). In short, Gwendolyn Mikel (1997), referred to contemporary African women as walking a political/gender tightrope, but it is also a leadership and gender tightrope.

Lodiaga and Mbevi (1995), in their study conducted in Kenya, revealed that there were several causes for under-representation of women in positions of authority and responsibility. These were deep-rooted in traditional/cultural and attitudinal concepts that influence both the employers’ and employees’ attitude, including women’s self-concept to be dominated. These socio-cultural beliefs and stereotypical views promoted the notion of women’s unsuitability for positions of power and

responsibility. As a result of these attitudes, there were significant gender-based differences and of conflicts both in family and work places.

One respondent said:

‘We live in a society which has made mothers the key figures in a child’s upbringing. To take up a career and be successful involves enormous amount of organization and planning in which men rarely have much part (Lodiaga and Mbevi 1995,25)’

The studies by Tripp (2001), Dangarembga (2005) and Quin (2000) are relevant to this study as they reveal some of the possible factors that determine women’s participation in decision making in ZRA.

2.17 Access to education

Kebirungi, (2005), revealed that two thirds of the 880 million people in the world are women and girls. Approximately 62 percent are illiterate. Female literacy rates are substantially lower in rural areas than urban areas. He also highlighted that, world’s illiterate women live in the rural areas of developing countries particularly in Africa. The Arab states and East and South Asia the illiteracy rates for women were estimated to be 60 percent. It has been estimated that more than 110 million children, almost two-thirds of the girls in the developing countries have no access to primary education. He further indicated that, in other parts of Africa, Asia and Middle East, women are also at a disadvantaged position in education. He gave an example of Uganda where women lag behind men in terms of education and income (MAAIF, 2000b). The World Bank (1995), report also estimates that, approximately 43 percent of rural women are functionally illiterate as compared to men. The major barriers to women participation in development issues are due to low levels of education.

A study by Driciru, (2005) also affirmed that high illiteracy levels hampers women’s access and ability to understand technical information or even recognize and make use of the available opportunities. The literature does not tell us how women cope with NAADS programmes since they are illiterate and have the biggest number in agricultural production.

Various studies have indicated that level of education is a key factor in farmer's access to agricultural information. Ti Chener *et al.*, (1980), found that the level of education influences flow of information in a social system. Khalil (1994), also observed that education influenced women farmers' role in farm decision making and that those women with little education registered relatively low decision-making and participation in agricultural programme. Khalil (1994), concluded that illiteracy poses a big constraint to women participation in rural development programmes.

The issues raised by the scholars above may point to possible factors contributing to inhabiting equitable female representation in decision making in ZRA. Arising from the issues above, this study aimed at determining whether or not, and if applicable, to what extent, females are less skilled, less educated and less experienced than men in the Civil Service. Further, the study attempted to determine the extent to which such lack of adequate skills, training, and experience and education levels has contributed to the persistence of gender inequality in decision making in ZRA.

2.18 Social and Economic Factors

The socio-economic position of women in societies negatively affects their participation. Typically, women earn less than men, and the sexual division of labour in society also imposes burdens on women that are not normally faced by men. Women often face a triple burden when participating in decision making positions. First and foremost they have a responsibility to their family and profession. Therefore, getting involved in decision making it is like taking on a second full-time job. Most societies fail to organize house hold chores in a manner that enables both men and women with families to share these responsibilities, particularly considering that child-rearing responsibilities tend to fall disproportionately on women.

Another reason for the difficulties African women have in attaining national and international recognition is their daily struggle for survival. It is difficult in the African environment with its extreme deprivation to emphasize women's issues

when there are so many pressing National issues (BBC News, 2005). Tripp (2001), also argues that despite the political progress made by women in the 1990's, their efforts did not pay off in terms of women being appointed to public office. Women lack the necessary financial support or resources (often mobilized individually and publicly) and this is another tactical measure applied to discourage women from taking leadership positions.

In this regard, Pollert's (1981), argument that women only exist as appendages of the human race, decorations and home makers, may seem to make sense. Pollert identifies certain social factors that create lack of self-confidence and self-driven in women. He contends that language, visual art and the mass media prompt women to see themselves as men's sex objectives, helpers and cooks. This tends to disadvantage the women as they work alongside the men. The above issues brought up by Pollert may be relevant to this study because they point to possible factors that perpetuate an inferiority complex in women, hence preventing self-drive and self-confidence.

2.19 Media

As a follow up, the study intended to investigate whether or not, and determine to what extent the mass media, visual arts and language in Zambia contribute to perpetuating a feeling of inferiority and lack of self-confidence in women. How do these perceptions affect women in to viewing themselves, and accepting to be perceived as objectives of sexual attractions and appendages of men? Another factor which has played a role in influencing women's participation in decision making is the support from the media (Sadie, 2005). For instance, in Botswana and Mozambique, the media often fails to give coverage to the campaigns of female candidates or even to interview them. Men have also been known to treat women with hostility during political campaigns. Tripp (2003), reports that in the 1996 presidential elections in Uganda, there were many incidents of intimidation and harassment of women by men (even husbands), who had differing political opinions. Politically active women in that country were threatened with withdrawal of family support, some were thrown out of their homes, and others even killed. Such acts by

media houses could also affect women's perception of what being in the limelight may lead to.

2.20 Cultural Factors

Culture is defined by Willis (1991), as that which surrounds us and plays a certain role in determining the way we behave at any given moment in time. As a concept, culture is not static as it changes with time. It is defined by events that are taking place locally, regionally and internationally. It is shaped by individual events as well as collective ones. Culture is a feature of the time or epoch we live in. Since it is so vast, culture is also often used as a tool to validate all manners of actions. Suffice to say not, all of which may be acceptable to all concerned - and are often intimately, connected to issues of identity. Cultural frameworks are not always imposed, but are open to manipulation and interpretation from many angles and sources (Willis 1991).

A significant social feature resides in the double, if not triple, this is in reference to the responsibilities of women. In most countries, women are perceived to have 'primary' responsibilities as wives and mothers. But in many cases, either as a result of a preference for personal development, or out of sheer economic necessity, women also go out to work in the employment market. Juggling these different occupations and their consequent responsibilities is no easy task for anyone - man or woman (Willis 1991).

2.21 Socialization

The major agents of socialization or institutions that can impress social norms upon an individual are many. Some of these agents include the family, religion, peer groups, economic systems, penal systems, language, and the mass media.

Most African cultures define women in terms of what they should be or do for men. For instance, a married woman's major role is to enhance her husband's career goals by providing him with moral and emotional support. She is left with all the family responsibilities and chores while the husband is away either studying or working.

Women can pursue their professional dreams only after fulfilling their culturally accepted roles, an expectation nearly impossible considering at what age this would be happening (Kamau, 2006).

In most and if not all ethnic groups in Africa, a typical woman has low status particularly lack of power to make decisions on matters affecting her life and those of her family. This results in a culturally determined expectation and attitude towards the girl child which influences less allocation of resources towards the girl as compared to the boys. A boy will always be considered first before a girl. This gender biased cultural assumption and the subsequent differential treatment of boys and girls in a homestead not only mitigate against girls access and performance in the education but also tend to push girls to doing the so called 'feminine careers' e.g. home economics, nursing, teaching and secretarial (Bernaars 1993).

Odhiambo (2006), argues that in Africa, women are discriminated against from birth (five ululations given to boys at birth while a girl is given only two). This is a typical example of how women are unappreciated socially, culturally and even religiously. The author further argues that, though there is no evidence in the bible indicating that a woman is inferior to a man the doctrines preached in most churches expect the woman to remain silent and submissive to the man in all areas of life. The bible tells us that God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he. Him; male and female, created he them (Genesis 1:27). She attributes this to most churches being headed by men hence the perpetration of the wrong teachings. This explains why in most churches just like in any other secular organization men occupy the top positions while women occupy the lower positions.

Sadie (2005), advanced the argument that at the bottom of the constraints that women face is the patriarchal system where decision making powers are in the hands of males. In the African context, traditional beliefs and cultural attitudes regarding the role and status of women in society are still prevalent and many women are part of this system finding it difficult to dislocate from this culture and tradition lest they be ostracized. Despite women's education and entry into the job market, the woman's role is typically one of homemaker. The man, on the other hand, is a bread

winner, head of household and has a right to public life (Sadie, 2005). Confining women's identity to the domestic sphere is one of the barriers to women's entry into politics. Politics by its nature catapults one into public life. Generally, cultural attitudes are hostile to women's involvement in politics.

The socialization of the girl child in many societies is also to blame for perceived inabilities on the part of women. To quote Melody Emmett (2001:67), "The life passages of women are not sacramentalised, celebrated or even acknowledged". This is illustrative of the position ascribed to women, right from the birth of the girl child, in comparison to the boy child and the subsequent position of men in society. In many African cultures, the rituals and rites of passage pertaining to the boy child nurture them for leadership positions, whether at local or national levels of governance, in business, politics or public administration. Religion tends to cement these cultural norms. As observed by Emmet (2001), all mainstream religions have stereotypical roles for men and women where women are perceived as less equal than men, often being kept separate in the way roles are assigned. In her discussion of women's experience of religion, Emmet (2001), analysed the rituals performed for and by men in various religions (including Hinduism, Islam and Christianity). The findings indicate that men are generally valued and empowered by religion in many ways. Women do not enjoy such privileges, being disempowered by religious structures and practices.

2.22 Discrimination and stereotyping

In other public arenas, women's access to leadership positions has been hindered by discrimination and stereotyping. Women are more or less persecuted for seeking an executive position. This is largely due to society's attitude toward appropriate male and female roles. In their discussion on barriers women face in leadership positions, Grove and Montgomery (2000), argue that compared to men, women receive little or no encouragement to seek leadership positions.

There are also few social networks (formal and informal) for women such as membership in clubs, resulting in a lack of recognition that leads to advancement.

Administrative/leadership positions require hard work, long hours and are stressful. For women, this burden is added on to their child-care, home, and family responsibilities, a phenomenon referred to as the 'double shift' in Sader, et al. (2005). These observations are also true of women in ZRA.

Saito et al, (1990), states that entry into activities that provide higher return mainly depend on dissemination of information about such opportunities and on well-functioning labour and capital –markets. One of the main sources of information is formal education.

There is evidence that better educated farmers are more likely to enter into export agriculture because education appears to increase the ability and willingness to reallocate resources efficiently when or technology change. In rural Africa, women have significantly less education as compared to men yet women contribute the majority of agricultural labour, this lack of education inhibits the pace at which women can participate in the development process and in identifying the needs to be addressed.

2.23 Social Background

Højgaard (2002), found that the social background of male and female leaders (an access condition) played a particular role in political leadership. The sample of politicians showed that both parents of female leaders had better education and more highly placed jobs than the parents of male politicians. The main conclusion was that in order for women to get top jobs in politics they have to come from a more privileged social background than men. In addition, there were differences in career paths between male and female leaders, with men being recruited from a wider spectrum of jobs than women. Men also achieve top leadership jobs faster than women.

With regard to conditions of gender positioning, Højgaard (2002), looked at marital status, presence of children and distribution of work at home. The male leaders were more likely to be married, while a higher proportion of women leaders were divorced

or independently living together. Furthermore, a higher proportion of women had no children. The partners of female leaders were also more likely to be working full time, while among the partners of male leaders (especially business leaders) there was a high proportion of part time work and full time housewives. Two thirds of male leaders did little or no housework, indicating that most male leaders (unlike female leaders) are relieved of the burdens associated with family life and can devote all their energy to their jobs.

Real obstacles remain, and these are often rooted in the way work itself is organized or in the challenges that face women who try to reconcile work and family commitments. Women are still concentrated in the most precarious forms of work throughout the world and breaking through the "glass ceiling" still appears elusive for all but a select few. Women hold a mere 1 to 3 per cent of top executive jobs in the largest corporations around the world. Some progress has been made in the United States recently with women in 1999 obtaining 5.1 per cent of executive management positions in the 500 largest companies compared to 2.4 per cent in 1996. For women who also experience race discrimination, the barrier to top jobs seems to be made of unbreakable plexiglass.

2.24 Institutional Factors

Organizational culture is defined as the realities, values, symbols and rituals held in common by members of an organization and which contribute to the creation of norms and expectations of behaviour (Phillips, 1997). It defines the conduct within an organization, determines what is and is not valued, and how authority is asserted (James and Saville-Smith, 1992).

The values, which underpin the great majority of organizations, and thus define success, often include money, power and status. The corresponding behaviours include working long hours and putting in 'face time' (as proxies for productivity), competitiveness and a willingness to put work above all (McKenna, 1997). These values and behaviours, which some authors define as being masculine, have come to dominate organizations for historical and socio-economic reasons but are

increasingly being challenged by women, and many men, who want to 'work to live' rather than 'live to work'.

Burton (1998), suggests that the masculine values underpinning organizational culture have a systemic influence, which creates an environment in which men are more 'at home' than women. In some instances, this influence extends to systemic discrimination. This is defined as a complex of directly and/or indirectly discriminatory practices that operate to produce general employment disadvantage for a particular group. The organizational and managerial values in these organizations tend to be characterized by stereotypical views of women's roles, attributes, preferences and commitments. These in turn influence decisions about who is suitable for particular positions, who is seen to have potential and so forth. When women find themselves selected or assessed on the basis of group membership rather than on their experience and abilities, they experience gender discrimination.

McKenna (1997), and Cornelius (1998), argue that it is these values and behaviours that create the kind of organizational culture which many women find so inhospitable. Women, and many men, not only find the environment inhospitable but the patterns of interaction potentially ineffective (Marshall, 1995). Women say that an inhospitable culture is one of the most significant barriers to their advancement and a major factor in diminishing their satisfaction with work in large organizations (Phillips, 1997).

2.25 Stereotyping

Stereotyping can have an influence on the way in which men and women are perceived in the workplace. The use of stereotypes as the basis for assessment of individuals can result in advantage or disadvantage, not because of individual ability or lack of it but because of group membership. Gender stereotypes are still pervasive and widely shared even today (Cornelius 1998).

However, despite all the evidence, beliefs persist about differences between men and women and how these differences impact on labour market outcomes. Men and

women share descriptions of 'typical' men and women, and both tend to describe men and women in terms of opposites, men typically being described as strong and active and women as weak and passive. Moreover, male traits tend to be valued more highly than female traits. Achievement orientation of men, for instance, tends to be valued more highly than the nurturing and affiliation typically ascribed to women.

Contrary to commonly held stereotypes; research has indicated that there are few gender differences in terms of abilities, attitudes or commitment, or in management styles and leadership attributes (Phillips Little 1997). In terms of management, a number of researchers (Eveline, 1998; Marshall, 1995; Powell, 1988) have shown that a good manager is described predominantly in masculine terms so that not only are most managers men but good management is thought to be a 'manly business'.

2.26 Work place Policies

Women are not the same as men. They have particular biological functions that make them different, which in turn make their work experiences different. To this end, treating men and women the same has effectively created a systemic form of indirect discrimination for women (Wel submission 1999). True equality can only be achieved when industrial policies and workplace practices take account of these differences. This should be a basic working right, reinforced with legislation. The imperative for this has never been greater, with an increasing percentage of women participating in paid employment, and industrial relations reforms that emphasise family-friendly initiatives.

The failure to take account of women's differences, and to provide the same leave entitlements and work arrangements for women and men is a form of indirect discrimination. Providing the same leave entitlements to men and women, such as sick leave and parental leave, appears to be a fair deal. The reality is, the fact that women have additional physical demands, such as sicknesses that are directly related to pregnancy, and may encounter complications during and after the pregnancy.

Current Certified Agreements and Awards fail to take account of these differences (Wel submission 1999).

2.27 Corporate Culture

Professional women in managerial positions face many challenges and those in institutions of higher learning are no exception. Moutlana (2001) noted that the socialization of women at the work place occurs within a system of power and inequality and that such systems tend to reproduce various forms of inequality. In for example, South Africa, traditional universities have had corporate cultures whose norms and values were those of the dominant white male society (Moutlana, 2001).

When women join such institutions as leaders, they soon realize that they are expected to conform or assimilate to the established culture. After all, how can one be admitted to an exclusive club, and then contradict the club's core values? Moutlana argues further that, women (Black women particularly) in management are more visible, experience more hardship and feel isolated. Women have to work extra hard as they do not seem to be given the latitude to make mistakes.

Other literature on women's leadership in higher education reveals that women are less likely than men to participate in upper levels of administration (Tedrow, 1999). This author advances the theory that there is some kind of 'success-avoidance' by women that influences their leadership ability or interest in leadership positions. Advocacy in the higher education arena has tended to rely upon and respond to government legislation on equity rather than being something that women in the sector actively struggle for.

Clearly, many women do make sacrifices in the effort to succeed, whether professionally or personally. For example, women still expect and are expected to take responsibility for bringing up their children, but less parental responsibility is expected of men. As observed by Polly (1988), "If women don't care enough for their children, they know their children risk neglect. If men don't care enough, they know their wives will" (Washington Monthly, May 5, 1988). This observation is true

for many working African women today. The issue of children, or family for that matter, is one that disturbs many women as they make the decision to take up a leadership position. Therefore, it is not surprising that some women are perceived as avoiding success in order to care for their families.

2.28 Lack of Role Models

Lack of highly prominent women visible as role models in positions of authority and responsibility is one major factor that stands out. Other factors include; the flouting of recruitment and promotion procedures, and the attitudes of principals and heads of departments to women employees. The domination of the professional/decision-making body by males, coupled with intimidation, and uncomfortable working environment due to gender and occupational segregation in task assignment on one hand remain a big challenge.

Nzomo (1995), contends that the socio-cultural beliefs and myths about the role of women in society are the major determinants of women's failure to advance to top management positions both in the public and private sector.

The other factors, in order of their importance, are inadequate formal education and training, absence of strong women's movement and networking, and absence of government legal and policy framework to support women's advancement. Indeed, as the study has shown, women unlike men face a number of barriers in their career advancement, some of which are found within the institutions while others are external.

2.29 Strategies

There are several strategies that have been advanced by scholars as a means of trying to advance women's participation. These have evolved over a long period of time. They have been some general reasoning and when the worst have come on the scene women have resorted to strikes, protests and even war.

There are many strategies that have been formulated to increase the participation of women in education, decision-making and development activities in general. Some Global strategies are outlined in the Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women (1985) prepared during the United Nations Decade for Women in 1985 (Onsongo 2004).

One of the strategies outlined in the document applicable to this study is the one which states that research on the causes of absenteeism and dropout among girls should be intensified (United Nations 1985). This would ensure rectification of the lower education levels among young girls as compared to boys. It would also allow an equal chance in educational qualification between the two sexes allowing women to be equally capable of taking up key decision making roles in their communities. The fourth world Conference on women in Beijing reiterated 69% of these strategies. But, strategies proposed at international forums tend to be too general, ignoring the specific obstacles in independent nations. One instance in this regard is their failure to directly address the formal education system (Onsongo 2004).

Intervention strategies commonly suggested include: increasing women's participation in education at all levels so as to raise the number of women from which able managers could evolve; formulating equal opportunity policies, changing the environment in which women work, and the attitudes towards educated women, flexibility in working hours, and reviewing of recruitment and promotion policies in higher education (Poskitt 1998; UNESCO 1994; Dines 1993). Implementation programs and creation of laws governing these strategies so that they are correctly and effectively applied would propagate these strategies towards equity between men and women.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction to Methodology

The chapter presents the research design, study site, study population, sample size, sampling procedures, data collection and instruments used, and data analysis and the ethical considerations undertaken.

3.1 Research design

The study employed a descriptive case-study research design. The descriptive case study design involved careful and in-depth investigation of a particular unit or event under study for purposes of understanding factors that contribute to low participation of women in decision making in ZRA. Descriptive research design is a process through which social researchers find solutions to fundamental questions such as “*what is going on?*” Descriptions can be concrete or abstract. Good description provokes the ‘why’ questions of explanatory research-“*why is it happening?*” (Cook and Campbell 1979).

To this effect the study used both quantitative and qualitative methods. The use of quantitative and qualitative methods in one study is commonly referred to as a multi method/mixed methods approach or triangulation. The study opted to use this approach as it sought to understand factors that contribute to low participation of women in decision making in the Zambia Revenue Authority (ZRA). The multi-method approach helps to enrich the study and makes data trustworthy.

The study also used participant observation. Participant observation allows the researcher to get as close as possible to the action as it is actually happening. Participant observation is a technique of unobtrusive, shared or overtly subjective data collection. It involves the researcher spending time in an environment observing behaviour, action and interaction, so that he/she can understand the meanings

constructed in that environment and can make sense of everyday life experiences (Grbich, 1999).

This technique has been used to study a range of situations in which the details of everyday life and institutional practices are required.

3.2 Study Site

The study was conducted at the Zambia Revenue Authority Headquarters in Lusaka. The site was chosen for two reasons. First, as the headquarters, this is where most senior personnel and the data bank of all employees are found. Secondly, the site was convenient for the researcher as it is located in the city Centre of Lusaka District and is easily serviced by public transport.

3.3 Study population

The study population included the Board Members, personnel in both senior and middle management, technical and support staff.

The Board Members were selected to participate in the study because it is the board that oversees the general operations of the authority. The Senior Management Members (SMM) or what is usually referred to as the top management of the Authority, are entrusted with the responsibility of developing strategic directions for the organization, drawing of action plans, monitoring overall delivery against commitments and initiating corrective action. This team is led by the Commissioner General. The Commissioner General is also responsible for approving necessary resource shifts and Action Plans. In addition the Commissioner General is responsible for and, assuring Parliament, Government and the taxpayers that the integrity of the tax system is being maintained. This includes assurance of the performance reports.

Other than different responsibilities, the Middle management and technical staff were selected to participate in the study because this type of cadre of personnel is spread

throughout the country especially in boarder areas. This enriches the study. The responsibility of the support staff is to control the importation and exportation of goods and revenue collection in the border areas. It turned out to be that women are in the majority.

3.4 Study Sample

The study comprised of 32 respondents. This is broken down as follows; 01 Human Resource Manager (HRM), 01 Deputy Director for Research and Planning (DDRP) 01 Department and 01 senior Economist from the Department of Research and Planning. These were the key informants. The other units of analysis included 02 Board members, three (03) Senior Management staff, four (04) middle management, (10) technical staff and (10) support staff. Bringing the number of participants to a total of 32. The study sample was dictated by saturation. In qualitative studies, saturation is said to occur when you receive the same information over and over again.

3.5 Sample Selection

Purposive sampling was used to select the study participants. Purposive sampling was used because of the nature of the study. The study sought to interview people who were knowledgeable about the issue under study. As such purposive sampling became relevant as it enabled the researcher to have access to the units that were knowledgeable about the operations of ZRA. Secondly, the majority of personnel operate from the border areas especially the support staff. As such, convenient had to be employed in some cases. Purposive sampling, often (but by no means exclusively) a feature of qualitative research. A researcher can hand pick the units of analysis to be included in the sample on the basis of their judgment of their typicality or possession of the particular characteristics being sought (Cohen, 2011). This enables the researcher to build up a sample that is satisfactory to the specific needs of the study.

In addition purposive sampling was utilized because some respondents were regarded as being key respondents. The Human Resource Manager (HRM), Deputy Director for Research and Planning (DDRP) Department and the senior Economist from the Department of Research and Planning for example, these are specialists in the organization who are charged with spear heading the programmes in place. It is believed that they are well placed to provide firsthand information on the strategies put in place, problems encountered and achievements made so far.

Purposive sampling was also used to select the participants from the Middle Management and technical staff. This was because of the nature of the study. The study sought to interview people who had knowledge about the issue under study. The middle management and technical staff do not occupy policy making positions but are concentrated at implementation where women are the majority.

However, Interval sampling was used to select participants for Focus Group Discussions

3.6 Data collection

The study collected both primary and secondary data.

3.6.1 Primary data

Primary data was collected using participant observations, questionnaires and unstructured interview guides. Interview guides were used to conduct in depth interviews and Focus Group Discussions (FGDs). In-depth interviews, focus group discussion and observation provided for qualitative data.

Questionnaires were filled in by candidates who could not participate in the interviews and FGDs due to non-availability of time. In this case Questionnaires were used to collect quantitative data. Observations lasted for 03 months; the researcher was attached to the institution for three months.

3.6.2 Secondary data

Secondary data were collected through document analysis. This was achieved through the review of Government documents, publications and reports. Much of these documents were from ZRA and included, Annual Reports, Strategic Plans, National Gender Policy, Gender and Development Division (GIDD), Central Statistics Office (CSO), Human Resource Policy, Training Policy, dissertations, UN and SADC reports, national strategic plans and other relevant reports both published and unpublished.

Other sources included the NGO publications. The notable ones being from ZARD and the NGOCC.

Accessibility to these documents enabled the researcher to have an over-view of programmes and structures to be examined and evaluated. The secondary data collected exposed the magnitude of imbalances in relation to women representation in decision making positions.

The internet was another source that was consulted. The internet provided some insights into secondary information on gender inequality from a theoretical point of view.

The secondary data helped to enrich the researchers understanding of the topic at hand and to go into the study with a more focused approach than before.

3.7 Interviews

Interview guides were used to obtain information from four key informants. These were the HRM, DDRP and Senior Economist and one participant from SMM. These key informants included they were selected because they are implementers of ZRA programs. These participants are believed to possess some information on some factors which determine women's participation in decision making in the institution.

Interview guides were also used for support staff to obtain information on their access and factors that determine participating in decision making in the institution.

Face to face in-depth interviews were conducted in English with the support from Customs Services Division.

3.7.1 Interview process

The meeting started by greeting the participants and then I introduced myself. I explained to the participants the purpose of the study. I then informed the participants of their rights. I emphasized to them that their participation to the study was voluntary and that they were free to withdraw from the interview if they were not comfortable to continue. I assured the participants of confidentiality.

The interview took a form of a discussion. When the question was not clear to the participants, the question was rephrased. Enough time was given to allow the participants to think through the responses. This allowed for flexibility in asking some of the questions (Bailey 1994). However, uttermost care was taken to ensure that, there was no wandering off the topic. This procedure was again repeated during the focus group discussion. It was also explained that the interviews will be hand written as well as tape recorded. But the participants rejected to the recording of the proceedings. This was respected.

3.8 Observation

Observation guide was used for assessing women's participation in expression of their views in the presence of men, all observable aspects like the decisions they can make in the organization. The method approached reality in its natural setting. Observation is a fundamental way of finding out about the world around us. Information is picked up in detail by our human senses. Observation is part of the systematic way that we enquire information so as to make it public through research. As a method of data collection, observation is more than just listening and looking around. It is highly selective as we are constantly bombarded with streams of information both relevant and irrelevant as we monitor our environment. Observation focuses on information that is perceived as critically important to the research study

at hand. Observed information must then be recorded effectively for analysis and interpretation. (Stenhouse, 1975).

3.9 Focus Group Discussions (FGDs)

Two focus Group Discussions were held. Krueger (1988), highlights that, a Focus Group Discussion is also considered a good way to gather people with similar background/experiences (financial benefit) to discuss a specific topic of interest (factors determining women's participation in decision making).

Each FGD was composed of 06 participants. The first one was composed of 03 male and 03 female participants. The second one had only 6 females.

During the discussions, the researcher was the moderator. The discussions, the dominating members were regulated while the shy ones were encouraged to put across their views. During the FGDs, the researcher wrote key words in a note book for use in writing detailed notes after the discussions. To ensure that the information from FGDs was not forgotten or distorted, the researcher immediately wrote down the detailed notes to avoid memory loss since recording was not allowed. The participants refused to be recorded as they were scared that the recordings may reach the CG.

3.10 Data Analysis

Qualitative data were analysed qualitatively, while quantitative data were analysed quantitatively.

In qualitative data, data were edited, coded and descriptions were used where necessary and narration of personal experiences were recorded verbatim. While the rest of the information was reduced into clusters, themes were then generated and then conclusions were drawn. This technique allowed the researcher to categorize data according to the study objectives and research questions.

Quantitative data were analyzed using descriptive statistics. Frequency tables and graphs prepared using Microsoft Excel were used to show percentages to proportions of the sampled population.

3.11 Ethical Considerations

Permission to conduct research was obtained from the relevant authorities. An introductory letter was obtained from the Department of Gender Studies in the School of Humanities and Social Sciences. The letter was delivered to ZRA Human Resource Manager. The HRM informed me that I needed to write a letter to the Commissioner General of ZRA stipulating the objectives of the study. The letter was written and delivered to the office of the CG. Based on that letter, the CG granted my request to conduct the research and attached me to work with the Research and Planning Department.

The researcher explained the purpose and the aim of the study to the participants before the commencement of the study.

As a way of protecting the participants in the study, verbal consent was obtained and promised to keep confidential the information obtained. The participants were informed that no name or any form of identification would appear in the final document.

3.12 Limitations of the study

The following problems were encountered in the course of the study.

- i) Some respondents who were targeted were not available due to commitments thus necessitating substitution.
- ii) Respondents were drawn from corporate organizations. The organizations have policies barring dissemination of information to outsiders thus some vital information was withheld.
- iii) Some targeted respondents were unwilling to co-operate, they were unwilling to read the questionnaire due to lack of interest.
- iv) Some interviewees misplaced the questionnaires, hence necessitating extra expenses and time in producing more.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRESENTATION OF STUDY FINDINGS

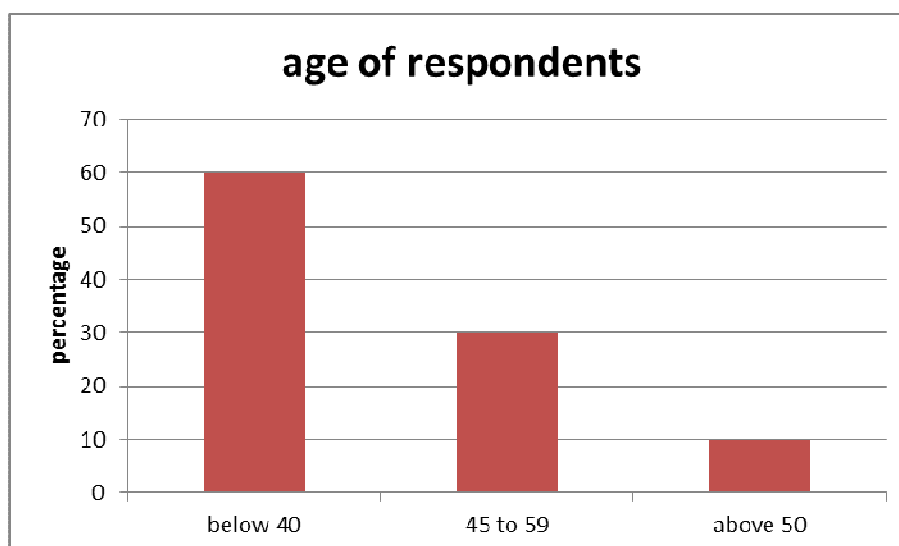
This chapter presents the main findings of the study. This study set out to examine the factors that determine the participation of women in decision making in ZRA. Data were collected from the institution's headquarters in Lusaka. The subjects included two Board Members, four senior management members, eight middle management members, twelve technical staff and six support staff.

4. Background Information of the Respondents

4.1 Age of Respondents

Age was regarded as an important element because it would give an indication of the age at which women usually ascend to management positions as compared to men. The study revealed that age was not a factor because both young and old are still employed in ZRA especially those occupying senior management positions. For example, 60 percent of the respondents were below the age of forty, 30 percent, between 45 and 59 and 10 percent above fifty five years.

Table 3: Age of Respondents

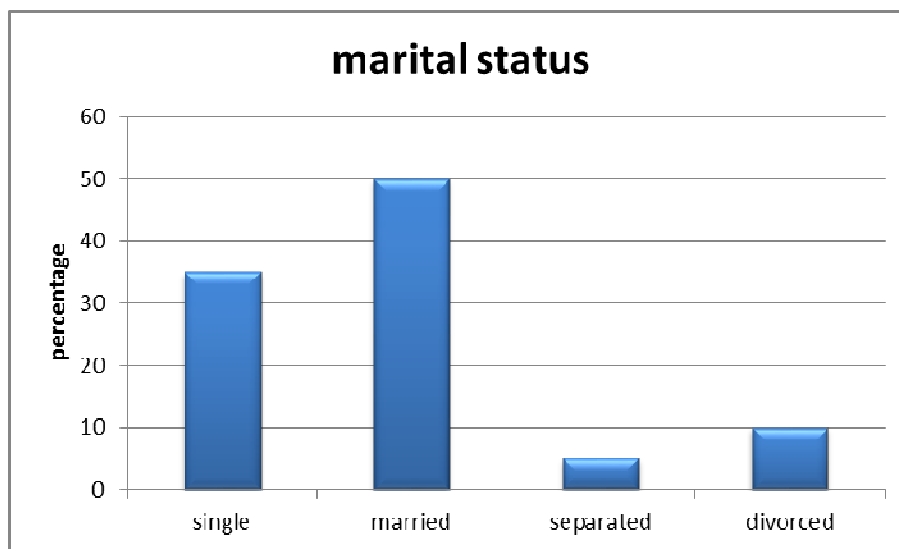


Source: field data

4.1.1 Marital Status

Respondents were asked about their marital status. Information obtained from the administered questionnaires revealed that this question of marital status had a bearing on the participation of women in decision making positions. Top most positions such as board members are mostly occupied by women who are single, while most married women occupy the middle management positions which are less demanding in terms of work and travelling and transfers. Respondents that are single represented 35 percent, married 50 percent, separated 5 percent and widowed 10 percent

Table 4: Marital status

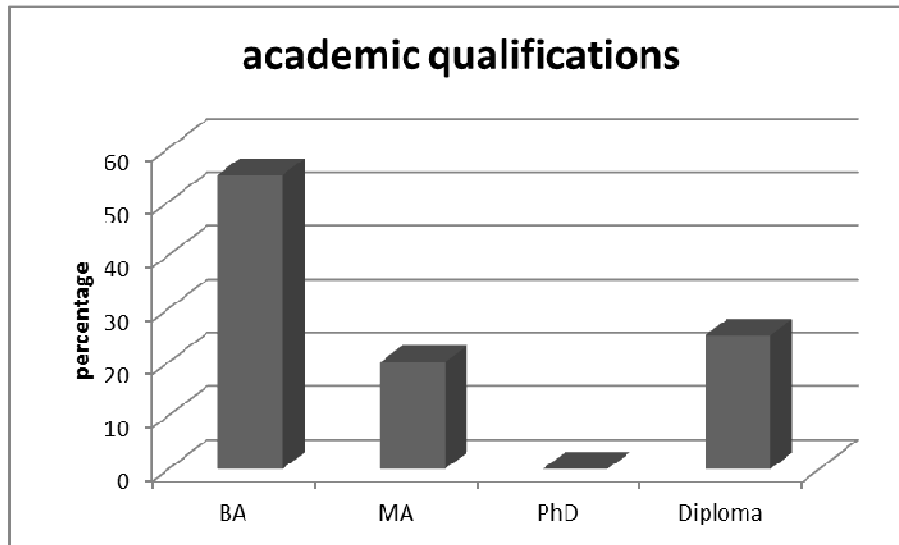


Source:field data

4.1.2 Academic qualifications

The table below shows the education levels of participants who were asked to state their highest level of formal education attained. Results showed that for female respondents, 55 percent had Bachelor's degrees; 20 percent had attained Master's Degrees, 25 percent diplomas and none with PhDs.

Table 5: Academic Qualifications

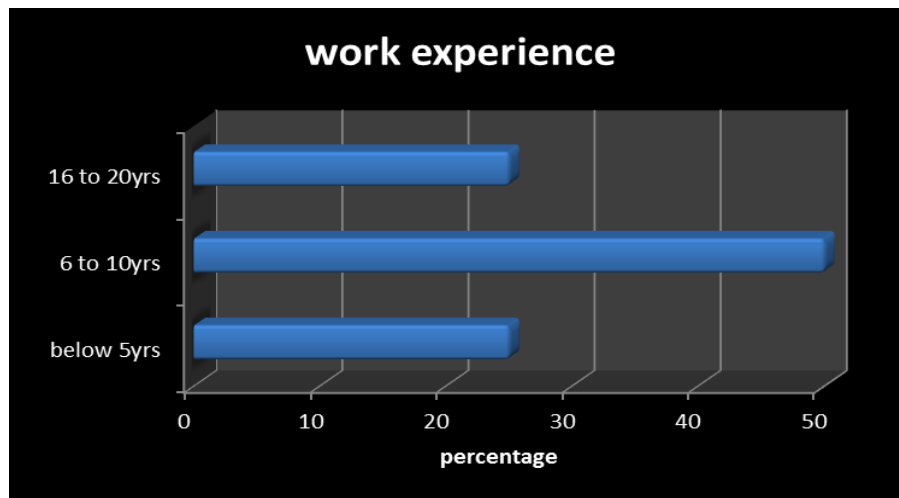


Source:field data

4.1.3 Work experience

The study revealed that, 50 percent of participants had worked for ZRA between 6 to 10years twenty percent who worked for the organisation for 16 and 20years respectively while those who had worked for the organisation for 5 years were the lowest with 25percent.

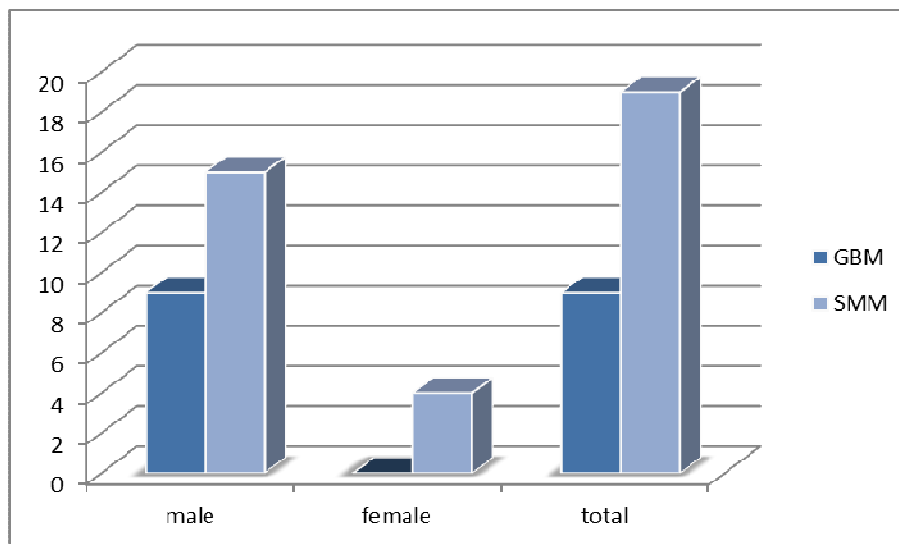
Table 6: Work Experience



Source:field data

4.2 Decision Making Members at ZRA in 2012 – 2013

Table 7: Decision Making Members at ZRA



ZRA 2012 Annual Report

The graph above presents the members of the two decision making organs of ZRA; the Governing Board and the Senior Management Members as presented in the 2012 ZRA annual report. We can infer from the table that women are not part of the current ZRA Governing Board which as stated in the annual report oversees the

operations of the institution. This board is comprised of senior government members and holders of such high positions as Governor of the Bank of Zambia. None of whom are women.

The table also shows that out of the nineteen members of the Senior Management Members, only four are women making only about 21.1 percent of the decision making board. The institution which was established in 1994 is headed by the Commissioner General who is appointed by the President of Zambia and heads the Senior Management Members. In the 20 years of ZRA's existence, the position of Commissioner General has never been occupied by a woman. The Governing Board is headed by the Chairman of the board, elected from amongst the members of the board, and this position has also never been occupied by a woman since the institutions establishment. Finally, we can deduce from the table that of the twenty eight members of the decision making organs of ZRA, only four are women, making only 14.3 percent of the total.

4.2.1 List of Board Chairmen and Commissioner Generals

Table 8: ZRA Board Chairpersons from 1994 to date

Years Operating	Board Chairman
1994 – 1998	Male
1998 – 2002	Male
2002 – 2006	Male
2007 – 2011	Male
2011 – to date	Male

2012 ZRA Annual Report; (www.zra.org)

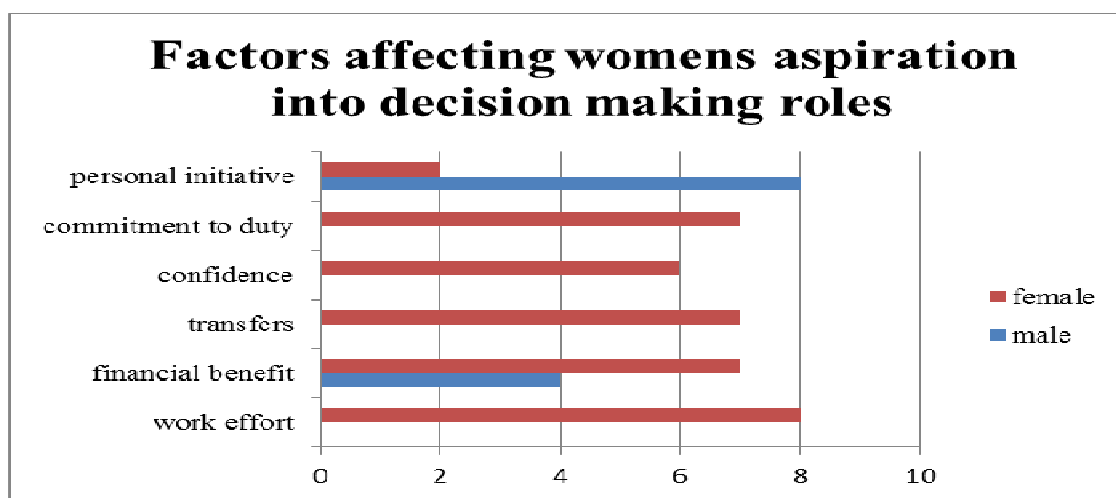
Table 9: ZRA Commissioner General from 1994 to date

Years Operating	Commissioner General
1994 – 1997	Male
1997 – 2001	Male
2002 – 2006	Male
2007 – 2010	Male
2010 – 2011	Male
2011 – to date	Male

2012 ZRA Annual Report; (www.zra.org)

The tables above were created from documentary analysis of the 2012 ZRA Annual Report and the 2012 – 2015 Strategic Plans (www.zra.org) made available to the researcher for analysis both of which are public documents. All the previous Board Chairmen and Commissioner Generals are listed. As seen from the tables, none of the heads of either decision making organs have been women despite some of the Commissioner Generals being recycled into their positions over time.

Table 10: Factors affecting women’s aspiration into decision making roles



Source: field data

4.3 Promotion Criteria in ZRA

The managers were asked to indicate the formal qualifications that were required on their first appointments. The formal qualifications required on recruitment to senior positions were a minimum of Master's degree. This highlights that academic qualifications play a key role in the recruitment of ZRA staff. Looking at a job advertisement by ZRA in the dailies highlighted a matter of concern. The advert demanded experience and qualifications as prerequisite to appointment into senior management positions. This creates a serious limitation to most ZRA employees who while having the necessary qualifications have never occupied positions of senior management and therefore lack the necessary experience advertised to be essential for appointment to senior management positions in the company. It is true that the women did not join ZRA as managers, but had started out from junior ranks before ascending to management positions but only very few ascend to senior management staff. Interviews with the male managers revealed that academic qualification was the main criteria used when appointing senior management staff. The female respondents were asked to indicate their first rank on appointment. The responses are summarized as twenty five percent joined ZRA rank support staff, while sixty percent of women joined ZRA as technical staff ranking at ZRA. While ten percent joined at the ZRA rank, only five percent joined at the ZRA rank.

Respondents were then asked to indicate the duration of the term in their first appointment. Responses to this question showed that women stayed on their appointment for a period ranging from less than one year to twelve years.

Research conducted elsewhere has revealed that entry into junior ranks mainly depends on academic qualifications but seniority in the hierarchy changes as the criteria for promotion becomes rigid. For example, some of the participants interviewed had attained their management positions due to sudden events. One man said that he attained the senior management position due to a crisis. The then assistant director resigned. He was not asked to act as he was new and did not understand the politics of the institution.

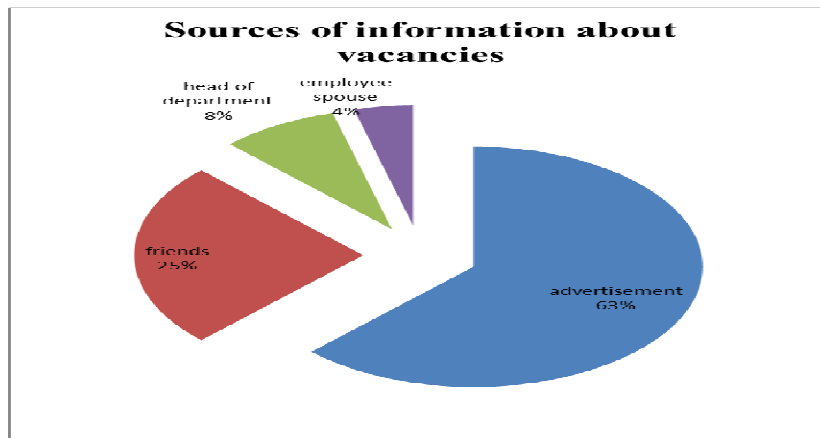
Apart from the academic qualifications, there were other criteria followed especially when it came to appointing senior management staff. These criteria included experience in the relevant field, administrative abilities, commitment, assertiveness, and decisiveness. Another criteria pointed out was that vacant positions were advertised both internally and externally. The internal memos were used to make members aware of available positions.

In an in-depth interview with some senior managers of ZRA on the criteria used to appoint senior administrative staff also revealed that academic qualifications, administrative abilities, and experience, were key in the appointments. They also emphasised lack of promotion policy as a major factor that has led to having few women in decision making positions.

They also wondered as to whether the criteria were strictly followed. The majority of the participants felt that the criteria were strictly followed in order to maintain quality. However, a few felt that sometimes the criteria were not strictly followed. Asked about the methods used to select people for available positions, the senior management staff also emphasized the fact that qualifications and experience were the main factors considered. One of the respondents who thought that recruitment, appointment and promotion were fair to all argued that recruitment appointment and promotion are based on merit. The implications are that if an area has more men trained in it than women, it will tend to be populated by men (male respondent).

The respondents were asked about how they had learnt about the vacancy. This question was intended to find out whether the information about vacancies was made available to all eligible applicants and in a transparent manner. The responses to this question are summarized below:

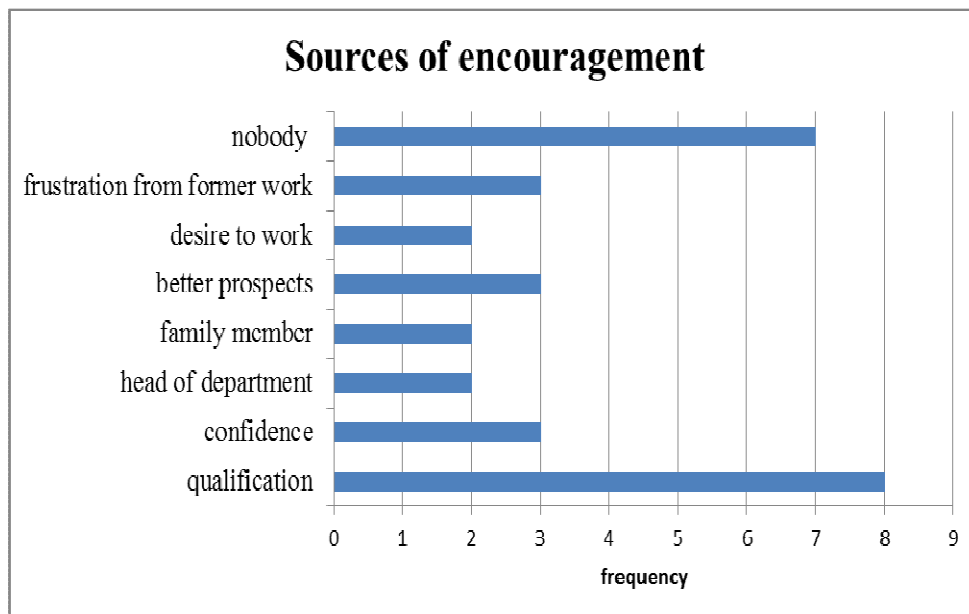
Table 11: Sources of information about vacancies in ZRA



Source: Field data

As seen in the chart above, the majority of the respondents got their information through job advertisement. This was mainly due to the fact that any vacant positions were normally advertised in the media and internal memorandum. The former further cementing the notion that it is merely a formality to apply for such positions as outsiders are the ones who come in to take up senior positions.

Table 12: Sources of encouragement in ZRA

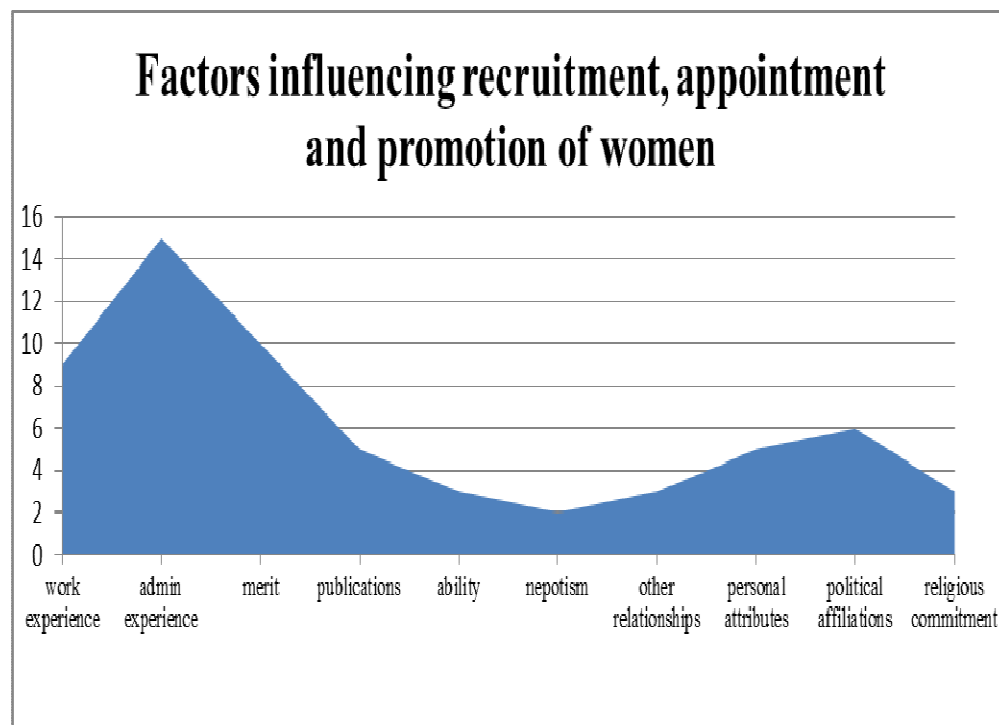


Source: Field data

The table above highlights that academic and professional qualifications were the most motivating factor for applying for jobs. This was closely followed by personal initiative. The other senior management staff also indicated that academic qualification and professional experience were instrumental in making them apply for positions they were holding. The findings indicated that academic qualification and professional experience negatively affect women's participation in senior management positions. When they possess the necessary academic and professional qualifications they become confident to apply for available positions. The desire for career advancement also comes second after professional and academic qualification. It was impossible to get any applications from the ZRA as these and other documents were not availed to the researcher for assessment to be used in the study.

Another question asked was; what factors participants thought influenced the recruitment, appointment and promotion of females to senior management positions in ZRA. The responses to this question are summarized below:

Table 13: factors influencing recruitment, appointment and promotion of women in ZRA



Source: field data

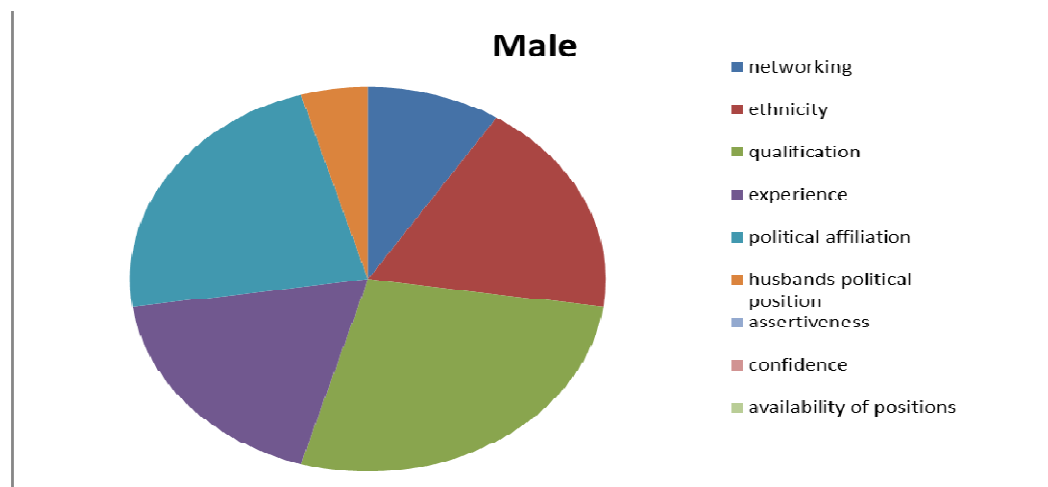
Majority of the respondents considered administrative experience to be the main factor influencing the recruitment, appointment and promotion of women into senior management positions which was closely followed by merit, experience, political affiliation, publications, and personal attributes. The administrative experience requirement was seen by some women to be unfair since men dominantly occupied management positions in ZRA. One woman manager commented that other unclear criteria were followed on the factors influencing the appointment of women into senior management said:

“Women are sometimes appointed as compromise candidates for a promotion when powerful male candidates are competing for a position or during a crisis when office politics embarrassments preclude preferred male appointees.”

In responding to the question of what factor influenced the recruitment, appointment and promotion of women into senior management positions, the respondents gave varied responses as summarized in the two pie chart below:

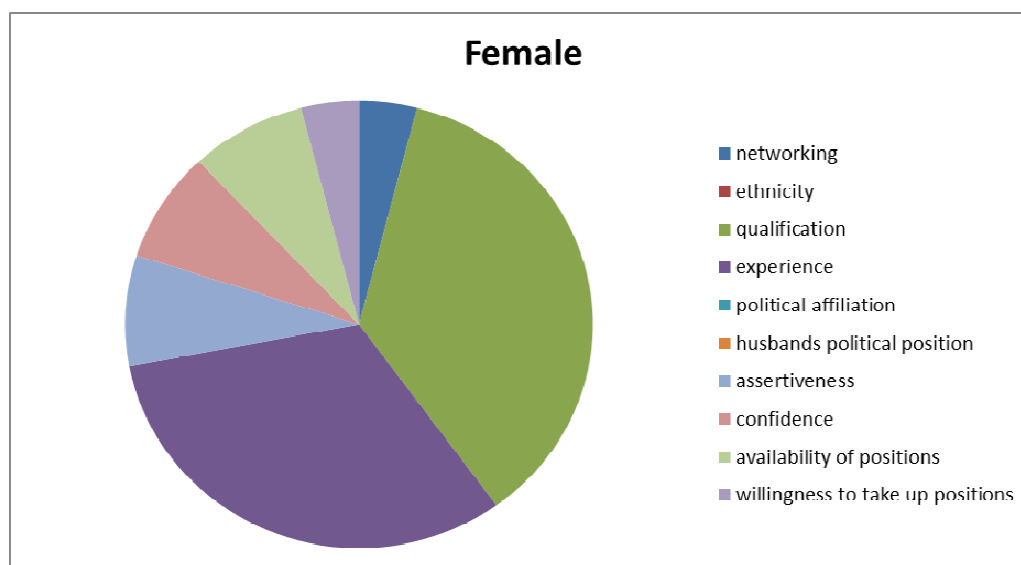
4.4 Factors influencing appointment of men and women

Table 14: Factors influencing appointment of men and women in ZRA



Source: field data

Table 15: Factors influencing appointment of men and women in ZRA



Source: field data

From the two pie charts, it can be deduced that academic qualification, administrative and work experience in ZRA are key to the appointment, recruitment and promotion of women into senior management positions.

However, respondents also thought that political affiliation played a significant role in the appointment of the Commissioner General position. This response may imply that some people are appointed to this position that they do not merit. It was also presented in the charts that some of the factors influencing appointment of women into decision making roles did not affect men in the same way and others did not affect men at all. It is seen from the charts that women are more challenged by qualifications when it comes to appointing them into decision making positions than men.

Men however, faced ethnicity and political affiliation as major factors hindering their appointment into senior positions while women cited experience, confidence, availability of positions and assertiveness as factors hindering their appointment, most of these, caused men no problems even though women cited them as major issues of concern.

4.5 Gender concerns incorporated in policies, strategic plans and Programmes in ZRA.

4.5.1 Training Policy

A review on the training policy in the literature revealed that the Authority's training and development principles are to:

- 4 Encourage individual self-development initiatives through the provision of a conducive environment and support to help employees achieve their individual and the Authority's objectives;
- 5 Link individual training and development needs to both short-term and long-term business strategies and plans
- 6 Comply with existing legislation as regards training
- 7 Apply the Authority's competency profiling process on an annual basis to identify individual performance gaps, with a focus on the skills and knowledge required to perform a job to the expected standard; and the skills and competence of an individual design and make full use of training programme.

The last point is used to identify individual's performance gaps with a focus on the skills and knowledge required to perform to the expected standard may disadvantage women to senior positions if a gender blind senior manager carried out an assessment whose mind would be like what McCulloch (1984) views on the society's assumptions that regard women as:

- a. Women tend to be aggressive instead of being assertive
- b. Women tend to be apologetic when they are expected to be decisive
- c. Women become easily angry when they should be calm
- d. Women are inclined to wonder when they should be focused; and
- e. Women tend to become negative when they should be positive.

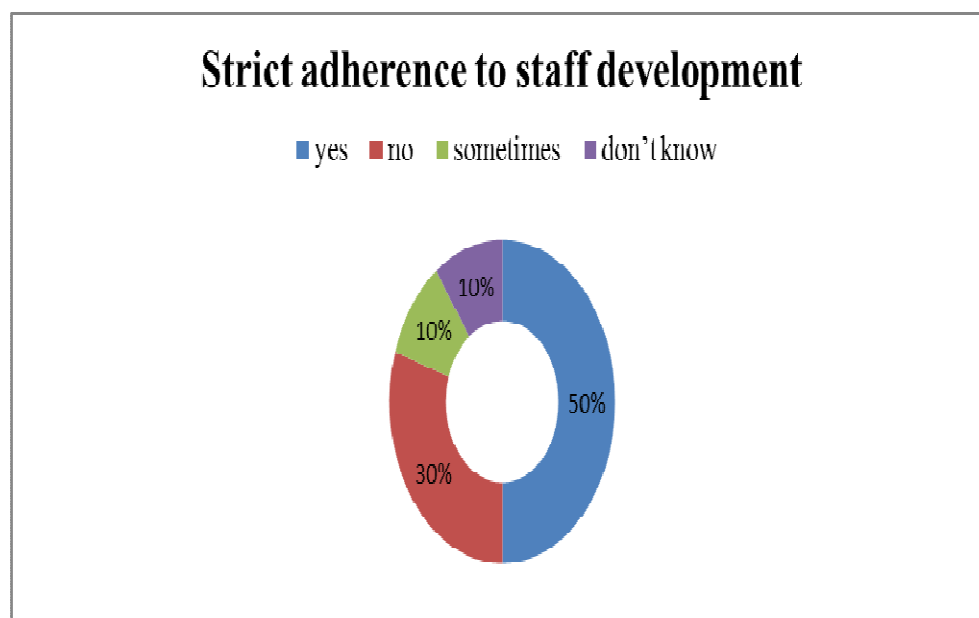
One male manager interviewed in the study pointed out that there were opportunities available for staff development for senior administrative staff. These included attendance at international conferences, regular in-house seminars and workshops. Some male managers, however, said there were no opportunities available.

The majority of the women managers indicated that there was a policy statement with regard to staff development while a few said they did not have a staff development policy.

Asked whether they had attended any further or in-service training related to their work in the university, the majority of the women managers said they had not. Those who had attended training were asked where and for how long. About half of the women managers said they had attended an in house training at their institution, while the other half said they had attended courses outside their institutions.

Some senior managers were also asked whether their policy statements regarding staff development were strictly followed. Their responses are summarized in the chart below.

Table 16: Strict Adherence to staff development in ZRA



Source: field data

Those who said the policies were not strictly followed gave the following reasons; that sometimes the personnel available does not meet the criteria; that individuals

talk to higher authorities to flout the policies; that other rules are bent to suit individuals. Senior academic staff expressed similar sentiments.

The respondents were asked how they thought the policies on staff development affected women's participation in ZRA management. Other respondents felt that the absence of staff development policies for senior managers disadvantaged women who are appointed to senior management without any training in management skills. Other women managers indicated that the requirements for staff development sometimes conflicted with family roles. This is especially the case when the training is far from the place of work. Women with young families often choose to take care of their families and forget the (PhD). This affects their career progression (Kamau 2001). Yet, other women argued that the policies provide for equal training opportunities for men and women but the women are few.

However, one male senior manager observed that

“When the policies are not clear to everybody those who do not know them feel insecure and may miss out on some opportunities to acquire more skills.”

This shows the importance of ZRA developing clear documented policies on staff development for senior managers. The findings from the study on staff development policies revealed the importance of training related to one's job. However, document analysis did not reveal any documented policy on staff development for senior ZRA managers. The documented policy, which was mainly for all ZRA staff, described the procedures for applying for doctoral studies leave only.

The senior administrative staff were assumed to have acquired skills from previous work experience and sometimes learn on the job. This is why the job advertisements probably required up to ten years of previous experience in the same position. Again, even the training the women managers had attended mostly a few days' workshops and seminars and these may not exactly relate to their job performance. Moreover, study leave that is granted is up to eighteen months only and most of the courses that are offered are beyond two years. This kind of limited leave has had an impact on the education advancement of ZRA staff as they cannot pursue and complete a doctorate degree within the given time.

The findings on lack of training in management means that ZRA managers use trial and error to perform their duties. The question one needs to ask is how much can we rely on experience for good management?

4.5.2 Education

The study also revealed that, limited access to advanced education hinder women from participating in decision making positions in ZRA. Fifty percent of male staff in senior management positions had acquired masters' degree and only ten percent of female staff had master's degrees which allow them to aspire in senior management positions. The majority of the women have bachelor's degrees and diplomas with sixty and thirty percent respectively. While forty percent of male participants had bachelor's degrees and ten percent male with diploma. Some of the reasons for limited access to education are due to family responsibilities. The burden of caring for the family members such as children and sick members of the family as well as household chores.

The respondents were asked to state the extent to which the level of education can influence upward mobility of women in decision making positions in ZRA. Eighty percent of the respondents said to a very great extent, fifteen percent great extent and five percent moderate.

Respondents were further asked to explain how low education affects the progression of women to top executive position. One of the respondents in an in-depth interview stated that:

'Women are too reluctant to get to senior management positions due to their low levels of education and they are content with the qualifications they have''

Some respondents argued that education did not matter as one of the ladies who was vocal but with low qualifications made herself visible and found herself in senior management positions.

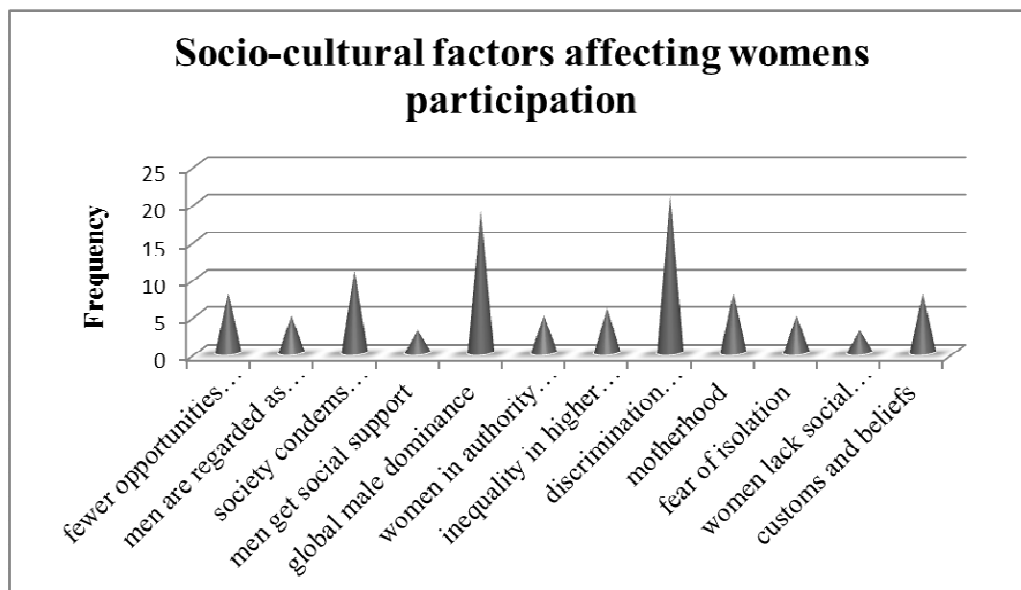
4.5.3 Socio-cultural Influences

The respondents were asked whether there are societal factors which prevent women from accessing senior management. Socio-cultural factors are a result of traditional beliefs about women's roles. The gender-based roles even though irrelevant to the work place are carried into the workplace. Hammond, (1993), argues that stereotype notions about women constitute major barriers to women's advancement to management positions in higher education. Shahabudin and Singh, (2000), found that cultural factors such as men's stereotype views of women within the cultural context, and perceptions that top positions are not for women all affect women from accessing senior management positions.

The influence of religion which sometimes relegates women to a secondary role were some of the societal factors affecting women's participation in top management positions. Stereotyping can have an influence on the way in which men and women are perceived in the workplace. The use of stereotypes as the basis for assessment of individuals can either advantage or disadvantage on the effect could not because of the individual ability or lack of it but because of group membership. Cornelius (1998) Gender stereotypes are still pervasive and widely shared.

The respondents' responses are summarised in the graph below:

Table 17: Social and Cultural factors that affect women participation in decision making in ZRA.



Source: field data.

The male managers attributed the absence of women from ZRA management to cultural world of male dominance, discrimination against women and discrimination against girl child education. While the women managers, on the other hand see a variety of factors, this include;

Discrimination against girl child education, male dominance society, condemning women to subordinate status and discrimination against women in the church as some of the societal factors barring women from attaining senior management positions. Some of the societal factors were illustrated further by some of the respondents. For example, a senior male respondent in ZRA said:

“The socio-cultural attitudes are the single most barriers to women’s access to leadership positions in society. Women are not appointed leaders because they are not yet ‘mature for leadership’”.

Asked why he thought this was the case he explained that *“they do not aspire for higher positions and look up to their spouses as the provider.”*

The women in management positions also lamented on how the social cultural attitudes were affecting them. One woman manager said that: *‘commitment to family’* was a major barrier that prevented women from aspiring senior management positions in ZRA.

The socio-cultural factors indeed have affected women’s participation in leadership in society. Even in the political arena these attitudes still relegate women to a subordinate role. Most men in society think that leadership should be reserved for men. A man being interviewed on the issue of women and leadership had this to say: *‘Women should not be in positions of leadership. How can a woman lead men? For example, if a woman becomes a president and gets pregnant or sick, who will be in the office?’*

Another male responded said: *‘You women (including the researcher) are the worst enemies of each other. Women seem to work against each other. Why do they keep complaining that they have no equal chances whereas when they get to the top they do not support each other? Such attitudes only serve to reinforce the subordinate status of women in society. They make women lack self-confidence and inhibit their motivation to go for senior management positions.’*

4.6 Knowledge and implementation of Policy/Strategic/Protocol documents in relation to women’s participation in decision making in ZRA

The respondents were asked if they were aware of any policy documents where government had made commitment for implementation of tackling issues of gender equality. The policy documents are key and should seek to address a wide range of issues relating to gender imbalances in the country. The documents must address issues of power relations between men and women, cultural and traditional practices that systematically subject females to male domination. The feminisation of poverty

which is reflected in the women's limited access to health services, maternal and child care, food, safe water and sanitation, social services, employment opportunities and decision making must be tackled read on (GIDD, 2004).

The respondents were asked to explain their knowledge and understanding of policy, strategic, protocol documents with regard to gender mainstreaming. The study revealed that 60 percent of the respondents were aware of the gender policy, 10 percent SADC protocol, 20 percent Millennium Development Goals, ten percent Beijing Platform of action while 10 percent stated that they were not aware.

Respondents were probed further as to whether ZRA had an institutional gender policy. All the respondents stated that there was no gender policy in ZRA. In an in-depth interview, one respondent stated that,

“Gender issues do not exist in ZRA and having a Gender policy is just a way of putting unqualified women in management positions where they will fail to perform”

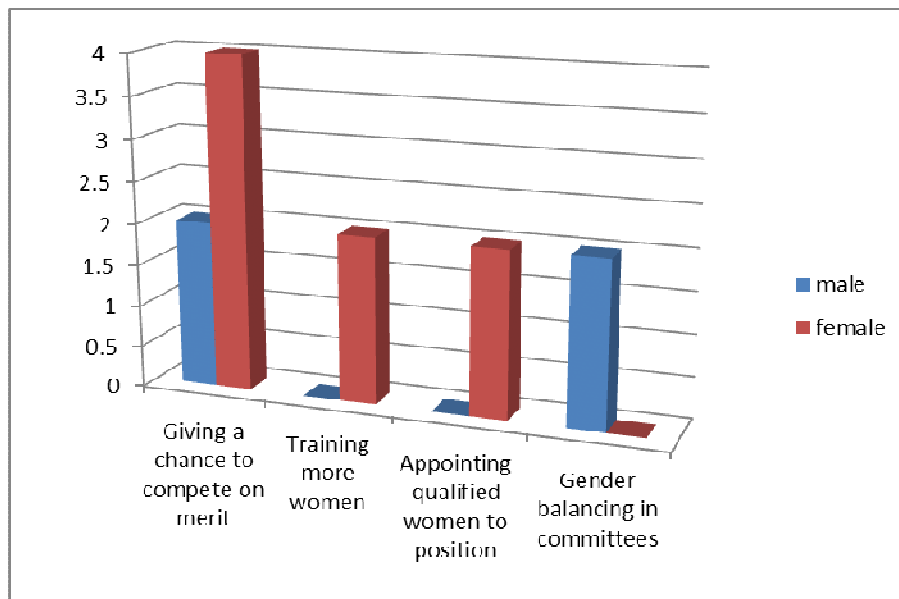
4.7 Interventions put in Place to Enhance the Participation of Women in ZRA Senior Management positions

Having established that women are few in senior management positions in ZRA, the researcher tried, through interviews and document analysis, to establish whether there were any interventions put in place to enhance the participation of women in senior management positions.

The respondents were asked whether they were satisfied with the current ratio of women to men in senior management in ZRA. Fifty percent of the total respondents said they were satisfied and the other half said they were not. Those who said they were satisfied were asked to state reasons. The main reason for their satisfaction was the fact that women get into those positions on merit and through competition with men. Those who said they were not satisfied were asked what they were doing to readdress the imbalance. The majority said they were doing nothing, while some said they were encouraging women to go for further studies.

The respondents were also asked whether they had seen the need to enhance the participation of women in senior management. The seventy five percent of the respondents said no while, twenty five answered yes. Those who answered in the affirmative were asked to say what was being done at the institutional and societal level to change the situation. At the institutional level, the interventions identified are summarized in below.

Table 18: Institutional interventions identified



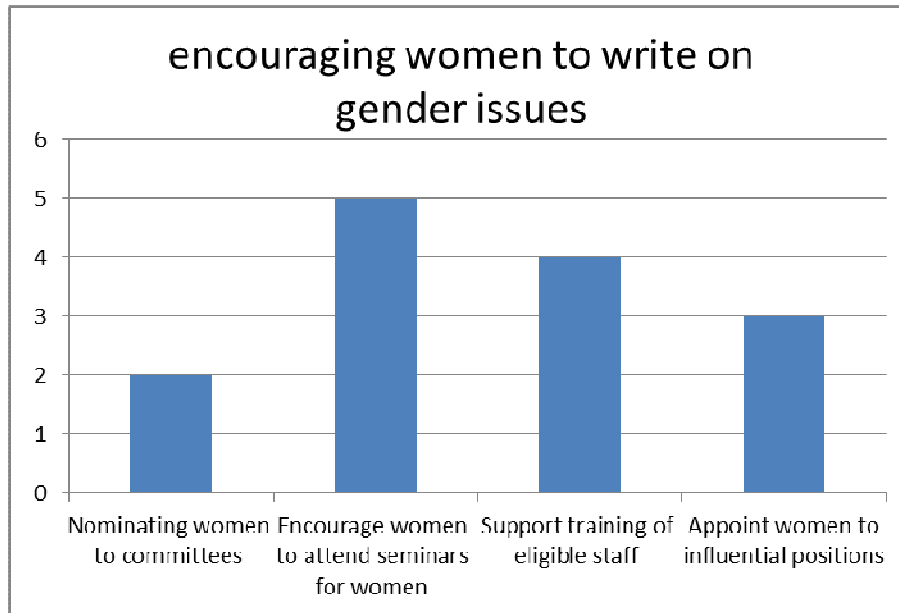
Source: field data

The interventions identified by the respondents displayed in the table above were informal attempts perceived to be geared towards improving the status of women in general and women's participation at the institutional level. The responses from those in senior management (men and women) and document analysis revealed that there were no formal interventions. One male senior manager said that, "the training policy has provided opportunities for both male and female to them get high qualifications.

The respondents were also asked what they were doing as individuals to enhance the participation of women in ZRA senior management positions. This question was

aimed at proving whether the assertion or common belief held that women do not help each other when they get to the top positions was true. The responses to the question are summarized below:

Table 19: Encouraging women to participate

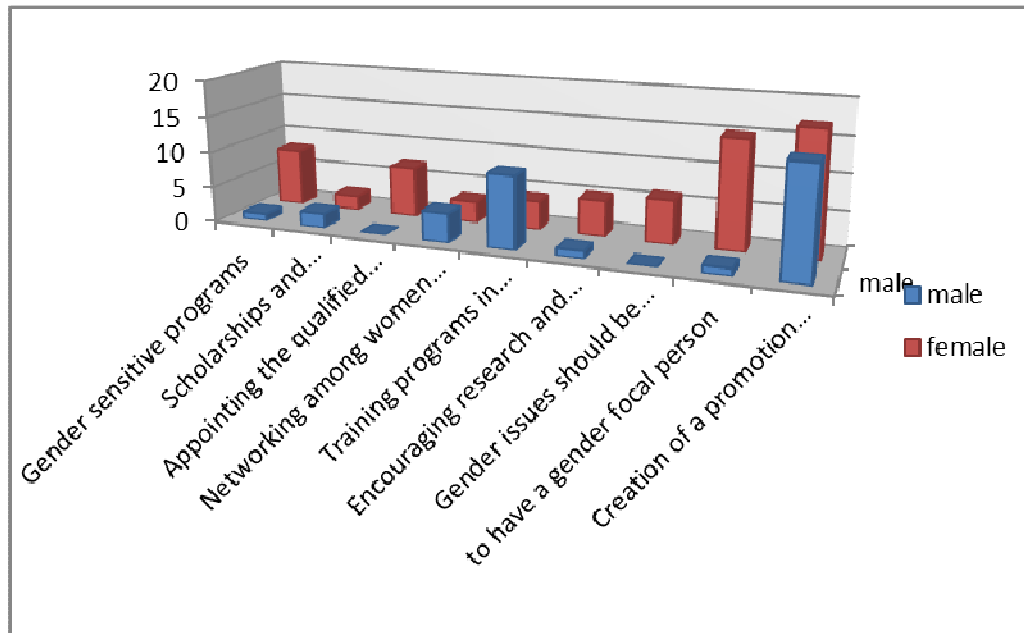


Source: field of data

Therefore, the allegation that women, once at the top, do nothing to help other women is not true. The view could be attributed to the fact that these women's activities are informal and therefore nobody gets to know that the women in management are doing to help others.

Respondents were also asked to propose areas in which ZRA can begin or expand on all equal opportunities or affirmative action programs and who should be the target groups for gender sensitization. The following areas were suggested:

Table 20: Proposed strategies

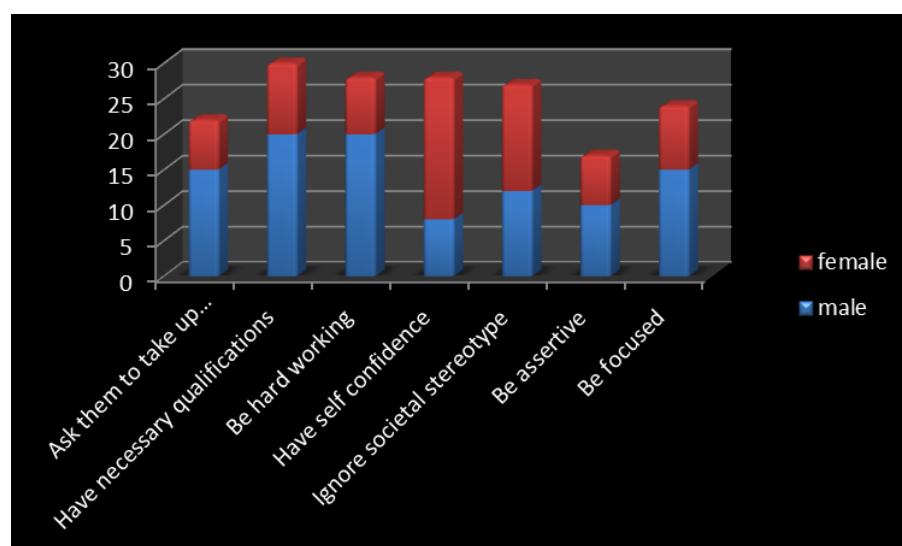


Source: Field data

The people to be targeted in the gender sensitization and social mobilization in ZRA include the top managers, middle management members and other decision making members of the organization.

In another question, respondents were asked to give advice to women aspiring for senior management positions. The advice is summarized below.

Table 21: Advice to women

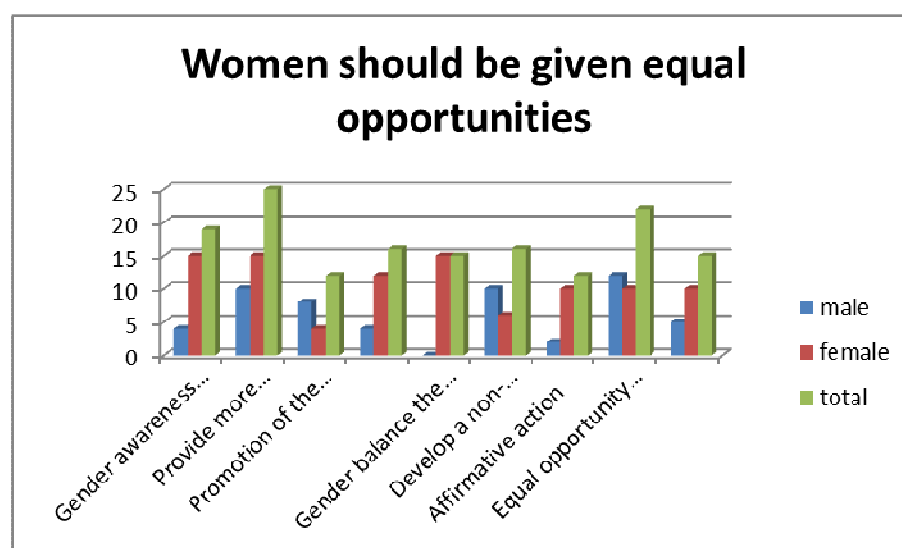


Source: field data

4.7.1 Strategies to Enhance Women's Participation in ZRA Management

The respondents were asked to suggest strategies that would be used to enhance the participation of women in ZRA senior management positions. Their suggestions are presented in the section below:

Table 22: Women and equal opportunities



Source: Field data

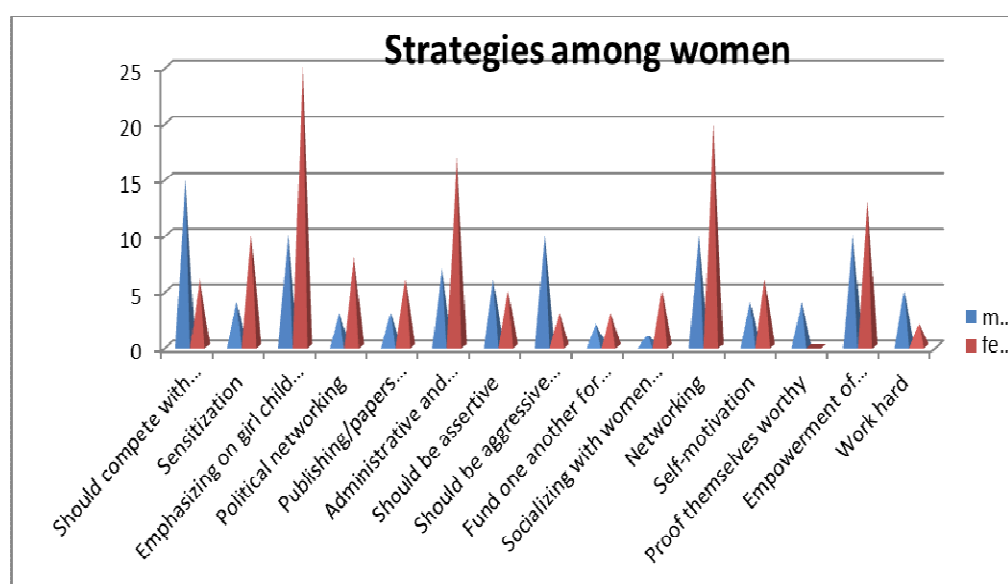
The majority of respondents felt that encouraging women to acquire the necessary qualifications and affirmative action would go a long way in improving women's

participation in decision making positions in ZRA while most respondents felt that gender awareness seminars would improve women's status.

4.7.2 Strategies among Women

Women have been accused of being their own enemies by most men, what could be done amongst women to improve their status? The answers to this question are summarized below.

Table 23: Strategies among women to enhance their participation in decision making



Source: field data

From the table above, it is clear that most respondents see emphasizing girl education at all levels as key in improving the status of women in the society and in higher education management. This was closely followed by networking among women, administrative and training and empowerment of women to bridge the gender gap. Women were also urged to be assertive and aggressive so as to get management positions.

One male respondents during an in-depth interview said,

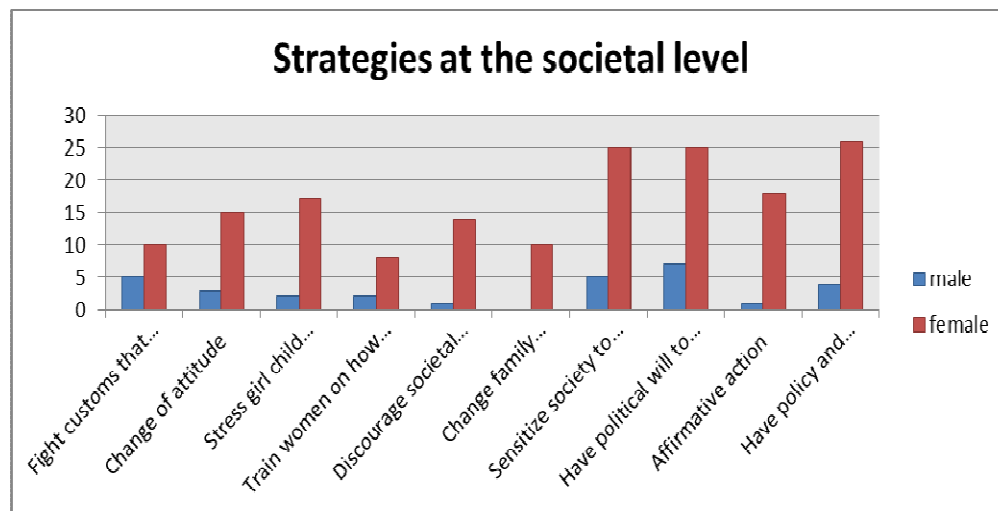
“Women should assert themselves by genuinely and aggressively participating in all aspects of life and should not think that men are not giving them the opportunity”

The respondents were also asked to propose strategies that would involve the whole society. The socio-cultural attitudes towards women have been found to have a negative impact on women to actively participate. As Mutindi-Mumbua (2001,13) argues:

“Providing women with more education without changing the gender and power structures that reinforce and perpetuate gender inequities, will not facilitate their access to educational, employment level and political and management opportunities equal to those of their male counterparts”

This entails the strategies proposed are summarised in the table below. Therefore, that for real change to take place there is need not only to change gender structures, but power structures that reinforce and perpetuate gender inequalities as well.

Table 24: Strategies at the societal level to improve women participation in decision making in ZRA



Source :field data

The data in the table show that the majority of the respondents advocated for the development of policy and legislation to enhance the participation of women in management. Some respondents also suggested sensitization of members of society to accept women’s leadership. Worldwide, there are three policies that are applied to ensure women’s representation in various structures, and Norris (2000) outlined these as rhetorical strategies, affirmative action programs, and positive discrimination strategies.

CHAPTER FIVE

5. DISCUSSION OF THE RESULTS

5.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the main findings of the study which set out to determine the factors influencing the participation of women in decision making in ZRA.

5.1 Decision making in ZRA

From the results, it was deduced that women do not play an active role in decision making in ZRA. With only about 14 percent representation in the entire decision making board at ZRA it is easy to see that decision making is a man's responsibility while women are left to do other jobs. This is consistent with the way Zambia has operated since historical times as depicted in the findings of other studies. (Longwe 2014), explains that the government is male and dispenses things to women and that men have continually had the discretion to decide whether women are to be empowered or not. Women empowerment has been viewed as a gift given by men. Women are currently disempowered and men dominate the political system and therefore influence the way the nation and national institutions such as ZRA are run. The women who manage to acquire political power are forced to adopt male vocabulary in order to accommodate themselves within male structures, serving male interests and behaving as honorary men (Longwe, 2014). Women therefore, have no political power allowing them to make decisions or power of control over gender relationships or behaviours.

There is a tendency for the oppressor usually to blame the oppressed with men, including the government encouraging women to empower themselves even though empowerment in this right has come not to mean power to control their own lives by possessing equal participation in decision making as their male counterparts but instead power to women is defined by increased access to resources in order to participate fully in development.

Men, including the government further challenge women to take a more proactive role in the Zambian politics.

This however, is hindered by the existing discriminatory practices, obstacles, sexist insults and other gate keeping barriers (Longwe, 2014). Positive discrimination strategies set mandatory quotas for the selection of candidates from certain social or political groups (Norris, 2000). Quotas can be set at different levels (to indicate proportion of representation) or at different stages of the selection process. Quotas can also be binding and implemented by law or other internal party rules. Obviously when quotas are legally specified as part of the constitution, they are more likely to be implemented, and guarantee women (or other minority groups) inclusion in leadership. Some people view this process as unfair as some people are automatically included or excluded from recruitment processes exclusively on the basis of their sex or race. It has been argued that such strategies violate the principles of fairness and competence and contribute to a culture of laxity in women (Sadie, 2005).

The SADC countries are committed to fair gender politics and policies and set a minimum target of 30% representation by women in decision making structures of member states, with the SADC parliamentary Forum Constitution having been amended to ensure 50% representation of women (Sadie, 2005). The quota system has been applied in the SADC region, although in many cases the application has been voluntary.

Grove and Montgomery, (2000), noted that women's access to leadership positions has been hindered by discrimination and stereotyping leading to the persecution of women who seek executive positions in the institutions. This can be attributed to society's attitudes towards the differing roles that they believe men and women should occupy. The level of discrimination towards women seeking executive roles leads to the reluctance of women to run for such offices.

From the study, the researcher echoed Longwe, (2014), that male subjects of the study tended to blame women for this reluctance without considering the attitudes and stereotypes that women have to face. In the findings, it has also been seen that

the personal factors or reasons that women gave for not seeking decision making positions in ZRA such as confidence and assertiveness did not affect men.

The researcher then wonders why and how women are to overcome these factors when society has instilled such an attitude of stigmatization of women wanting to progress in the workplace.

Tripp, (2001), also explains that women who vie for public office have to consider the risk of being labelled loose or unfit for household roles as mothers and wives and being socially stigmatized. Such considerations, Tripp (2001), make many women shy away from politics and positions that put them in the spotlight. Africa has the lowest female legislative participation in the world, as politics is considered a male affair. Despite women's education and entry into the job market, the woman's role is typically one of the homemaker, (Sadie, 2005). This notion does not only confine women's identity to the domestic sphere but it is one of the barriers to women's entry into politics. Politics requires one to be constantly under the public scrutiny.

Worldwide, there are three policies that are applied to ensure women's representation in various structures. Norris (2000), outlined these as rhetorical strategies, affirmative action programs, and positive discrimination strategies. Rhetorical strategies are an informal means of getting women to participate in decision-making structures articulated through political and other public speeches. Rhetorical strategies are often viewed as merely symbolic gestures made in order to appear politically correct and thus gain political mileage. However, rhetorical strategies may also represent the first step toward more substantive reforms if they encourage more women to be selected as parliamentary candidates (Norris, 2000). For instance, in Kenya a target of 30% representation of women in public service positions was set only through a presidential decree but has never been legalized. But this decree has resulted in many more women being nominated to parliament.

Unfortunately, rhetorical statements are made that may not always result in implementation and there are usually no mechanisms to ensure or enforce compliance. Rhetorical strategies have not been employed by the Zambian

government and could be a means of enhancing women's participation in decision making in Zambia especially in the parastatal institutions such as ZRA.

Generally, African cultural attitudes are hostile to women's involvement in politics and decision making at a national and institutional level, (Kiamba, 2009). It is then not surprising that the results revealed that the key decision making position in ZRA are occupied by men and this has been the case since the inception of the Revenue Authority. The members of the governing Board at ZRA are composed of the Secretary to the Treasury, the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Justice, the Governor of the Bank of Zambia, the Zambia Association of Chambers of commerce and Industry, the Bankers Association of Zambia, the Zambia Institute of Chartered Accountants and two other members appointed by the Minister of Finance. The Chairman of the Board is elected from amongst its members (ZRA Annual Report, 2012). Of the members of the current governing board, no position is occupied by a woman. This illustrates the level to which decision making in ZRA and Zambia as a whole is a male affair. All the members of the governing board are prominent members of the Zambian government or are chosen by such. Men pick other men to make legislative decisions.

The CEO of ZRA is the Commissioner General who is handpicked by the President of the Republic of Zambia. Politics which has been affirmed time and again to be male dominated is a key player in the operations of ZRA. This makes it difficult for women to make a jump from lower levels in the institution to decision making roles. Longwe, (2014), elaborates that males dominate the political sphere and preference in allocation of resources and positions given to men. This leaves women to do larger work and men to receive larger rewards for work they have not done because of the patriarchal dominance of decision making bodies in Zambia. While great strides have been made to improve women's participation in administrative roles, it only implies that women are allowed to implement policy but not to create it and to administer law but never to make laws.

The study by Onyango, (2004), revealed that political appointments has been identified as a big problem in some organizations. Achola and Aseka, (2001), also argued that, political appointments violates the merit principle. Merit principle is a cherished ideology that an organization goes against.

Merit principle is the spirit of openness and rules of fair play that strive to uphold in appointments and promotions in senior and lower level administrative. Political appointments, make appointees wield immense powers on other members of staff who did not participate in their appointment. It smacks of leaderships by imposition which is an anomalous practice in an institution suffused with democratic ethics such as a ZRA. For ZRA surely political appointments invariably disadvantage women.

5.2 Factors that affect women's aspiration to participate in decision making in ZRA

The results of the study showed that the major factors hindering women from participating in decision making roles in ZRA include commitment to duty, the existing gender bias, lack of confidence, fear of transfers associated with promotion into these roles and the perceived financial perks of being in the lower ranks in ZRA. Despite listing work effort as not a reason for not seeking promotion into decision making roles, women expressed commitment to duty as a reason for their lack of aspiration. This can be attributed to women's triple roles. Although women have the same number of hours in a day as men, there exists a notion of elasticity of women's time expecting them to perform the same corporate roles as their male counterparts while still having plenty of time left to fulfil their domestic and communal duties. Women then have to accommodate themselves into male dominated institutions previously run as exclusive male clubs. Work places operate according to male norms, intolerant to female needs for child care, facilities or crèches and even flexible working hours (Longwe, 2014).

With regard to conditions of gender positioning, Hojgaard, (2002), looked at marital status, presence of children and distribution of work at home. The male leaders were more likely to be married, while a higher proportion of women leaders were divorced or co-habiting. Furthermore, a higher proportion of women had no children. The

partners of female leaders were also more likely to be working full time, while among the partners of male leaders (especially business leaders) there was a high proportion of part time work and full time housewives. Two thirds of male leaders did little or no housework, indicating that the majority of male leaders (unlike female leaders) are relieved of the burdens associated with family life and can devote all their energy to their jobs (Kiamba, 2009).

As documented in many studies, women perform a disproportionate share of domestic work and this makes their participation in decision making constrained by their lack of time and access to information. Shvedova, (2014), further explains that women have full time jobs as wives and mothers as well as full-time careers. Women are then forced to choose between their personal life and their participation in time consuming decision making which is not the case for men.

Financial stability at home due to breadwinner husbands demotivates women to aspire to higher positions. From the research, it was found that women who have attained economic stability in their marriages are reluctant to aspire to higher positions in the institution. They are content with having their husbands as breadwinners and providers in the home. Women tend to give priority to societal concerns such as social security, health care and issues concerning children. Once women have achieved the financial stability allowing them to be comfortable, they exhibit contentment with the work they have to do and also their social environment in the work place. Because of this, women do not aspire to climb the corporate ladder. The psychological self-satisfaction with added social and cultural perceptions which have imparted in women that the proper way is to let men lead in the household and at work then allows women to lurch in this dyke of contentedly not participating in leading roles.

Women are expected to put their families before their jobs while men are viewed as providers for their families. Because of this, there is an anxiety tied to any promotions that may make women look like they have prioritised their jobs before their families. From the results, this was best illustrated by women's reluctance to take on roles that required them to be transferred to other parts of the country where

they would occupy decision making roles in ZRA. Women chose to stay in these positions to satisfy more than their family commitment but also their social lives and such primitive views like city life is better than life in rural areas.

The political appointment of the institution's Commissioner General for instance, is a vivid example of the existing gender bias found to be a factor hindering women's aspiration for decision making roles in ZRA. Over the years of the institution's existence, the role of Commissioner General has never been occupied by a woman. Ninety percent of the respondents felt that since the office of the Commissioner General is a political appointment, it was useless to aspire for the post as many of them have no ties to the Office of the President which reduces the chances of ever getting favoured into that position. This is despite any hard work put into the institution's progression.

5.3 Factors that contribute to women's low aspiration to participate in decision making in ZRA

The findings of the study revealed that women do not aspire to be in decision making positions in ZRA. There were many factors found to be attributed to the lack of aspiration by women in the organization. The first finding is, the attitude women have towards work which is inappropriate for progression in the institution. Once a woman has decided to have a career, what is work like for her? First of all it is not lucrative as it should be. Gender has a profound impact on how others within the work place perceive a woman and on how she views herself, on what she can expect from life, and on whether, indeed, still she can expect even expect to survive from day to day (Cheelo 2002).

After a decade of equal opportunity laws, women still brings home pay cheques only 60 percent as large as those of their male counterpart. After summarising research on the missing 40 percent, Elizabeth Almgvist (1993) concludes that the gap is due not to the characteristics of employed women, neither to their education. Occupation, work experience, or married status nor to the number of children at home but apparently to employer discrimination against women.

One of the respondents gave a discriminatory view point stating that:

“The problem I have in this department is women. Right now, all the departments are sending women to this department because they are tired with their excuses. Right now six of them in my department are pregnant”

Another man not part of the interview remarked:

“They are just lazy! They don’t work! They spend most of their time chatting on how they have been disappointed or left.”

The views expressed by the participants highlight the general attitude which the women in the institution possess towards their work. However, the remark on pregnancies is a natural phenomenon which cannot be avoided. Women are procreators and complaining on the issue of pregnancy does not warrant any fare discussion. Although the general attitude of women at times is bad.

Employees perceive women as less productive and committed to work than men. This notion is based on the perception of women as being full time housewife’s and mothers and only secondarily as workers when economic pressure necessitates them to seek income generating activities as the case was for the world war one and two. A significant social feature resides in the double - if not triple - responsibilities of women: In most countries, women are perceived to have ‘primary’ responsibilities as wives and mothers. But in many cases, either as a result of a preference for personal development, or out of sheer economic necessity, women also go out to work in the employment market. Juggling these different occupations and their consequent responsibilities is no easy task for anyone - man or woman (Willis 1991).

Women have the problem of sexist remarks combined with a pervasive social isolation. Many business and professional decisions are made over coffee, lunch and cocktails. Important contacts are established and maintained on the golf course, on the squash court, and in other traditional male setting. Being excluded from these informal social occasions does not just make the professional feel lonely; it can seriously interfere with her ability to do her job. From the findings, women in ZRA responded with regard to socialising incentives with reluctance to participate in activities such as sport which is useful for networking. One participant argued that;

‘My husband is very jealousy to allow me to attend to golf tournaments over the weekend. Even if the company pays for entertainment it is just a waste of money for us women as no normal woman can go to play golf leaving her husband and children’.

Women are precluded from high status occupations such as management executive policy related jobs on the grounds that such positions require commitment and responsibility which is assumed as lacking among women because of their primary commitment and responsibility towards family welfare. Some employers believe that women are less intellectually capable than men, particularly in tasks perceived as masculine.

However the participants expressed lack of aspiration by women to be promoted into decision making roles in ZRA. When compared with men, it was seen that women were reluctant to take higher ranks in ZRA compared to men. Some of the reasons expressed by women for not wanting to go up the corporate ladder in ZRA included the gender imbalance in hiring and promotion that exists in the company.

Women explained that they face limitations when getting into decision making roles because the system favours their male counterparts in progression in the company. Most women did not express personal initiative as a reason for not participating in decision making even though all the male participants in the study expressed personal initiative as a hindrance only twenty five percent of women felt this way. About eighty eight percent of the female participants cited heavy responsibilities as a reason for not wanting to move into higher ranks. This can be attributed to most women’s commitment to domestic duties and therefore they could not commit fully to the time consuming work that is required of higher ranks.

No male respondents expressed a fear to commit to the duty required of them. Seventy five percent of women said that they lacked confidence to aspire into top decision making positions in the organisation. No men considered confidence as a reason for not aspiring into decision making roles. About ninety percent of female participants in the study indicated that transfers associated with top positions made them reluctant to apply for promotions into these positions. However, none of the

male participants in the study viewed transfers as a hindrance to not seek promotion into top decision making positions.

An interesting finding was that ZRA has a financial program that grants gratuity and pension to lower ranking members of the company while higher ranks only receive gratuity. Even though the gratuity in the higher ranks is received every three years, lower ranks are still preferred by most women as they accumulate pension while receiving gratuity every five years. This was regarded as a financial benefit and women listed this as a reason for not seeking higher ranks. Only fifty percent of the male participants agreed while ninety percent of the female participants refused to be promoted because of this benefit. The researcher believes this factor is not an independent reason for not seeking promotion but serves as a comforting reason for women to stay in lower positions.

Finally, while work effort was listed by all the male respondents as a reason for not seeking promotion, women did not mind the work associated with higher ranks in ZRA despite the time limitation associated with commitment to domestic duties. Women would seek top positions if they had the time regardless of the work effort associated with these top positions. These results are summarised in the graph below.

5.4 Composition of the Recruitment, Appointment and Promotion Committees

The study sought to find out the composition of the appointment committees because in the annual report of 2012 it was shown that these committees are male-dominated. The final authority is the senior management which is composed of very few women. This leads to women's interests being ignored especially during interviews making many women feel intimidated during the interviews.

Gachukia, (2002), identifies the composition of interview panels as a formal barrier to women's participation in decision making positions. She argues that the interviewing panels are frequently male-dominated and women candidates are usually subjected to irrelevant gender biased prejudices, for example, "*Are you still giving birth?*"

The above argument is true with ZRA because the senior most position has never been held by a female. Because the position is the final authority on decisions pertaining appointments with the recommendation from other senior managers who are mostly men, women are disadvantaged at getting a fair chance.

The respondents were asked how they ensured that nobody was disadvantaged in the recruitment process because of their sex.

They indicated that the issue of sex did not arise in the short-listing and recruitment process. They referred this to the equal opportunity policy that exists in the organisation. The policy seeks equal access to employment and equal opportunity for individuals to develop their potential and be recognised within the Authority.

The aim of the policy is to create equal employment programme insofar as appointments are concerned. The policy also aims at ensuring that the best available person is appointed to any given position, free from discrimination of any kind, and without regard to factors such as gender, marital status, tribe, religion, disability, age or sexual preference. This however, is irrelevant to the position under consideration. For the authority to promote an employee it will be originated by the Commissioner/Director.

The committees were expected to be fair and gender sensitive but no deliberate effort was made by the management to ensure gender sensitivity and equal opportunity. Such an argument has been disputed by some scholars especially feminists in the area of women and higher positions.

Oakley, (2001,1,) argues that whatever is represented as gender neutral is likely to obscure the power relations of gender;...It is simply fiction that tests of excellence are neutral and that merit is an objective assessment. Women 'fail' to gain inclusion because they are judged in systems set up by men reflecting male standards and criteria.

Evidence from the study revealed that the composition of the recruitment panel determined who is recruited, appointed and promoted. Some male respondents interviewed argued that women should stop blaming masculinity for their low status in society that. They have sat on interview panels for many years and there was no time when gender became an issue as all positions were advertised openly for both male and female. They wondered why women do not apply. For example, *“positions are advertised openly, why can’t women apply?”*. One male responded by saying that women were missing from senior positions because: *“they do not trust other women who are in senior management positions. They doubt the way they reached the top. Some even think they slept with the men who appointed them.”*

Another male felt that the presence of women on the appointment committee will not help. This is because *“women, once appointed managers, they stop discussing gender inequality or even women issues and join the men’s club. He thought that the best thing was for women to liaise with women who have reached the top and learn from them the tricks they used to reach the top.”*

During an open lecture women’s participation in decision making by Zambian Open University held at Taj Pamodzi on 28th of March 2014, some men and a few women felt that there was no need for affirmative action as women are not discriminated against. Those claiming that women are discriminated upon have their own agenda. The majority of women are satisfied. What women need is humility, canvassing and networking skills to land them into plumb jobs, instead of heckling and making constant complaints. Women were naturally endowed with patience, which they should use to win concession and opportunities. They felt that all women needed were just better networking at the highest level. The same men and women however, were quick to acknowledge that women leaders face challenges which arise from gender-based prejudices.

The views of the men and women leaders above are shared by some women managers in ZRA. One woman heading a department, refused to be interviewed because she did not believe that women were discriminated upon in Zambia. When she discovered that the study had been propelled by Zambia’s failure to attain the

SADC's 30 percent representation of women in decision making, she argued that Europeans were pouring money into the developing world to break the family by cheating women that they were discriminated against. She believes that God created man and woman with different roles to play because she had witnessed families breaking up due to women's demanding equality with men. As such, she did not want to be part of the study as she felt that her views will be doctored to suit the donors' interests and reflect badly on the Zambian people.

The findings from the study on the composition of recruitment and appointment committees showed that women are not represented in these committees simply because they do not hold managerial positions that would make them qualify to be members. The absence of women from these committees has a negative effect on women's participation in higher positions management. As Mullei (1995, 75) rightly observes: *"Since women are never present when decisions affecting them are taken such as, appointment, promotion and recruitment of staff, their problems are ascribed a position of secondary importance."*

The respondents were further asked if they were aware if any of the policy documents were being applied in ZRA. The policies such as the Gender National policy are used to achieve equal participation of men and women in all endeavors of life with a view of achieving equal opportunities in the social, economic and political spheres. The National Gender policy outlined concrete measures for the government to promote equal representation in decision-making positions (National Gender Policy, GRZ 2000). To address women's low representation in decision-making positions in various institutions the government of Zambia endeavored to:

Develop criteria for recruitment, appointment and promotion of more women to advisory and decision-making positions; promote and facilitate continuous gender orientation programmes using appropriate channels to change people's attitudes regarding the role of women in decision making; restructure, recruitment and career development programmes to ensure that all women, especially young women and persons with disabilities have equal access to managerial leadership training including on-the-job-training; facilitate and carry out gender training and

awareness programmes at places of work in public, private and in the communities; take positive action to build a critical mass of women leaders, executives and managers in strategic decision-making positions to act as role models in the public offices including defence and security; ensure equitable representation of women and men in decision-making at all levels (GRZ, 2000).

5.5 Gender concerns incorporated in policies, strategic plans and programmes in ZRA

Women are not the same as men. They have particular biological functions that make them different, which in turn make their work experiences different. To this end, treating men and women the same has effectively created a systemic form of indirect discrimination for women.

True equality can only be achieved when industrial policies and workplace practices take account of these differences. This should be a basic working right, reinforced with legislation. The imperative for this has never been greater, with an increasing percentage of women participating in paid employment, and industrial relations reforms that emphasise family-friendly initiatives. Failure of governments to respond to women's industrial needs is perpetuating a systemic disadvantage against women (Mbugua, 2004).

5.6 Education

According to Wirth (2001), the pursuit of women's education in the last decades has contributed to rising education levels of many women world-wide and has led to higher value being placed on their contribution into the labour force. The gender gap is slowly closing even in some instances exceeding that of men in which theoretically should allow women more access to management jobs in future. Despite the significant progress in education by most women, gender gaps still exist in the nature and quality of training provided to them which are obstacles to their recruitment and later careers. Improving women's education depends on family and community support by providing the same education and career opportunities to both men and women, but mostly women undertake further education to increase their chances of finding employment later that is at a lower level and prevents them to participate in

senior management positions while men undertake higher levels of further education of longer duration and allows the men to raise higher in their future careers.

The findings of Wirth's (2001), study are similar to the findings of this study which has revealed that on the quality of education and training for women in ZRA, and the identification of staff training needs is the joint responsibility of an employee and an employee's immediate supervisor. The support from the Corporate Support Services Division needs to come in, and analysed through a formal process of Performance Management and Development. ZRA puts a lot of emphasis on Performance Management and Development Process as the main method used to determine the training and development needs of staff. This might put women at a disadvantage because the top management positions are male dominated with social cultural values that undermine women's ability to participate in decision making positions. The employee does not participate fully in the training process because identification and management of the whole process is done by the Corporate Support Services Division. This department is mostly headed by men who may only consider women's training for the positions they are occupying currently and not for senior managerial positions.

Education and training are a major influence on upward mobility of women since staff promotion and upward mobility is merit based and is therefore more likely to favor staff with necessary educational qualifications, training and skills. Women should strive to acquire more education and form constructive engagements and mentorship at work place to enable them access training and development opportunities (Mbugua, 2004).

5.6.1 Limited access to advanced education

The ZRA limited access to education can be compared to what Winnie (2006), cited in Muthoni (1999), that, because of Social discrimination, seventy percent of illiterate people in Kenya are women, with many girls kept at home to work, while their brothers go to school. According to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) (1995), report, out of the developing world's 900 million illiterate people, women outnumber men, two to one, and girls constitute the majority

of the 130 million children without access to primary school. Further, because population growth has superseded the expansion of women's education in some developing regions, the number of women who are illiterate has actually increased.

ILO report of (1998) also drew attention to the implications of government's reductions on educational budgets cuts to education. This has resulted in fewer girls and women attending classes and higher dropout rates for girls.

Structural adjustment and economic restructuring programs also reduced educational and work opportunities for women.

This has had implications for women's opportunities to accede to managerial level posts. Given the importance of education in helping to create a new concept of power, less stereotyped, less focalized on hierarchical aspects more women need to take the challenge. ZRA is currently experiencing a similar situation in terms of women's limited access to advanced education. In a study carried out by Kamau (2006), on lack of access to doctoral studies as a main hindrance to their career advancement in universities, yet without a doctorate there is no hope of rising to seniority in the universities.

Obtaining a doctorate degree for women in Kenya is usually much more challenging than it is for men. This is because the country does not have very well established doctorate programs. When available, the field is limited. The best option is to study abroad which is a major challenge for women, due to their social roles as wives and mothers. The only option for women is to study locally. This also presents a new challenge of having to combine career, family and studies as negotiating for a study leave is not usually easy. Funding for the doctoral studies is another challenge that has discouraged many women, as funds are not easy to access.

5.7 Socio-cultural influences

Culture is that which surrounds us and plays a certain role in determining the way we behave at any given moment in time. Culture is also defined by events that are taking place locally, regionally and internationally. Culture is shaped by individual events as well as collective ones. It is a feature of the time or epoch we live in. This is because culture is not just vast, but it is also often used as a tool to validate all

manners of actions. Cultural frameworks are not always imposed, but are open to manipulation and interpretation from many angles and sources (Willis 1991).

Most African cultures define women in terms of what they should be or do for men. For instance, a married woman's major role is to enhance her husband's career goals by providing him with moral and emotional support.

She is left with all the family responsibilities and chores while the husband is away either studying or working. Women can pursue their professional dreams only after fulfilling their culturally accepted roles, an expectation nearly impossible considering at what age this would be happening (Kamau, 2006).

The corporate world as it exists today is composed of values, traditions, structures, and behavioural norms linked to masculinity. Yet much of what masculinity promotes is by definition alien to the majority of women in our society. Neither nature nor social conditioning adequately prepares women for their first encounter with corporate masculinity (Mbugua, 2004).

Stereotyping can have an influence on the way in which men and women are perceived in the workplace. The use of stereotypes as the basis for assessment of individuals can result in advantage or disadvantage, not because of individual ability or lack of it but because of group membership. Gender stereotypes are still pervasive and widely shared (Cornelius, 1998).

The above analysis is similar to the study findings in relation to women's participation in decision making positions in ZRA. The absence of women in the ZRA management has been traced to cultural world of male dominance and discrimination against women and discrimination against girl child education. While the women managers on the other hand, perceive discrimination against girl child education, male dominance society, condemning women to subordinate positions as limitations. Discrimination suffered by women in the church is another of the societal factors barring women from attaining senior management positions. Furthermore, some of the societal factors illustrated in the study are the socio-cultural attitudes as barriers to women's access to leadership positions. This has led to women not being appointed leaders as they are not considered mature for leadership positions. It was

also revealed that women themselves do not aspire for higher positions instead they look up to their spouses as providers.

Smulders (1998:50) argues that cultural factor theory, leads to stereotypical views about women's abilities within the cultural context.

The view that top management positions are only suitable for men relegates women to secondary roles. The emphasis is placed on women's triple role theory. This is as procreators, community caregivers and also members of the corporate world.

Commitment to family' was another societal barrier that prevented women from attaining senior management positions in ZRA because they are expected to put their families before their jobs, while men are viewed as providers for their families. The study revealed that women do not easily take demanding senior management promotions that may make them look like they have prioritised their jobs before their families. From the results, this was best illustrated by women's reluctance to take on roles that required them to be transferred to other parts of the country where they would occupy decision making roles in ZRA. Women chose to stay in low positions not only to satisfy more of their family commitment but also their social lives. As it is viewed that city life is better than life in rural areas.

The above revelations have been echoed by Kiamba (2006). In her study of Women and Leadership Positions. Sadie (2005), advanced the argument that at the bottom of the constraints that women face is the patriarchal system as decision making powers are in the hands of males.

In the African context, traditional beliefs and cultural attitudes regarding the role and status of women in society are still prevalent. Many women are part of this system and finding it difficult to dislocate from this culture and tradition lest they be ostracized.

Despite women's education and entry into the job market, the woman's role is typically one of homemaker. The man, on the other hand, is a bread winner, head of household and has a right to public life (Sadie, 2005). Confining women's identity to

the domestic sphere is one of the barriers to women's entry into politics and politics by its nature catapults one into public life. Generally, cultural attitudes are hostile to women's involvement in politics.

Some women were able to transcend cultural barriers and rise to positions of leadership (whether in politics or elsewhere). But more often than not, it meant having to juggle cultural expectations with their leadership roles. Perhaps one of the most notable examples in literature is Grace Onyango (extensively covered elsewhere in this journal_) who in 1969, was not only elected the first female Member of Parliament in Kenya, but had previously held several leadership positions, including that of mayor of the third largest City in Kenya. Grace Onyango was well versed with the Luo traditions, respected and even adhered to them yet at the same time playing into the political/official roles of a mayor, and that of a parliamentarian. It must be realized that the Luo, like many ethnic groups in Kenya, is traditionally patriarchal. When Onyango came to power in the 1960s, Africa, according to Tripp (2001), had the lowest rate of female legislative participation in the world (p. 142), as politics was a male affair. Ascending to leadership/power positions was not easy for Onyango.

She often faced opposition with people (men in particular) arguing that these positions were only suitable for men. Musandu's (2008), chronicle of Onyango's political career shows a woman who was not only bold, but knew what she wanted, and had specific skills that appealed to men and women. Onyango seems to have been cautious not to offend her people by opposing respected elders especially males. Musandu (2008:14). However, Musandu further reckons that at one point Grace Onyango was *"at an ethnic and national political crossroads and her survival as a politician depended on the successful balancing of the two important interests"*.

Musanda's (2008) study also revealed that women were enemies of each other as they seem to work against each other. Also, those who get to the top positions do not support the ones who are down and equally those down have an attitude that only serves to reinforce the subordinate status of women in society. One explanation given for the under representation of women in educational administration is that women

themselves are the cause. It has been said that women are sometimes reluctant to run for public office as they are not assertive and do not want power, as they are usually unwilling to play the game (Grove & Montgomery, 2000). Women also tend to see other women as threats, leaving successful women unsupported in confronting discrimination (sexism, racism), and the 'old boys' network' (de la Rey, 2005, Sader, et al. 2005). For women to develop the confidence to take up leadership there is need for support from other women.

The socio-cultural factors indeed have affected women's participation in leadership in society. Even in the political arena these attitudes still relegate women to a subordinate role. Most men in society think that leadership should be reserved for men. Society on the issue of women and leadership consider women as not suitable for senior positions of leadership because they feel a woman cannot lead men such as being a president would be difficult because when she gets pregnant she is unable to continually perform her duties.

The findings of this study revealed lack of knowledge on policy/strategic and protocol documents in the organization. The majority of the participants stated that they were aware of the policy documents but had no knowledge of where the documents were and when they were used. It is evident that even with gender equity policies in place women need to monitor implementation themselves. As observed by Nzomo (1997), an over reliance on policy makers and/or state bureaucrats will only bring limited, sometimes superficial, reforms. Also, voluntary quotas are at the mercy of the government of the day for enforcement and may be abandoned at any time. In any case, women should not lose sight of the fact that the policy makers, state bureaucrats and political parties that implement present reforms are still male dominated. One would wonder and question that, to what extent are present reforms genuinely implemented for women? Could there be another reason for these reforms? Until women take full charge and responsibility for issues that concern them changes will remain superficial and slow. There is need for continued lobbying by women for women's issues.

The findings indicate that ZRA has no gender policy as indicated by the respondents. The respondents explained that the institution did not have a gender policy which

could be used as a guide for women's participation in decision making. However, the ZRA management believes that ZRA is an equal opportunity employer where everyone has to compete for the same position and selection is made on merit.

Having role models and mentors is a useful support structure for women. Mentors can have a critical effect on the career paths of women who aspire to advance in higher education administration. It helps women to deal with the barriers and obstacles at the work place. Mentoring also helps to develop self-esteem, aggressive managerial personalities, and overall nurtures future leaders (Grove & Montgomery, 2000). In view of the foregoing, women must avail themselves for mentorship. Networking is also an important factor which can take the place of the "old boys club." According to Grove & Montgomery (2000), networking, role models, and mentors allow women to get advice, moral support and contacts for information.

Moutlana (2001), also contends that women in leadership positions should not be shy to project feminine traits such as being caring, empathetic, trusting, sharing, and empowering. Women should acknowledge these traits as strengths and not weaknesses. It is possible that a persistent display of such values can make them "core values" that will be embraced in future organizations as the normal culture. Women have to learn to be comfortable in leadership, and "just run with it" (Sader, et al, 2005).

There has been a concerted effort to ensure female representation at all levels of governance as such representation is now recognized as a fundamental human right in many countries, and adheres to the principle of fair democratic representation. So far the main strategies used to address the gender imbalances in the various structures of the private and public sectors are affirmative action, the quota system (where a certain number of positions are allocated to women), and through presidential appointments (in the case of parliament and cabinet). It is assumed that once the situation of gender equality has normalized, the attainment of such positions will be through a competitive process. However, it appears that it will take time to get to that stage due to the various challenges that confront women in public spaces.

5.8 Rhetorical Strategies

Rhetorical strategies are an informal means of getting women to participate in decision-making structures articulated through political and other public speeches. Rhetorical strategies are often viewed as merely symbolic gestures made in order to appear politically correct and thus gain political mileage. However, rhetorical strategies may also represent the first step toward more substantive reforms if they encourage more women to be selected as parliamentary candidates (Norris, 2000). For instance, in Kenya a target of 30% representation of women in public service positions was set only through a presidential decree but has never been legalized. But this decree has resulted in many more women being nominated to parliament.

Unfortunately, rhetorical statements are made that may not always result in implementation and there are usually no mechanisms to ensure or enforce compliance.

5.9 Affirmative action

Affirmative action has been used in many countries to correct gender imbalances. According to Norris (2000), affirmative action programs are meritocratic policies that aim to achieve fairness in recruitment by removing practical barriers that disadvantage women. Affirmative action programs provide training (on public speaking for example), advisory group goals, financial assistance, and monitoring of outcomes. Gender quotas may fall into this category if they are advisory in nature.

The SADC countries are committed to fair gender politics and policies and set a minimum target of 30% representation by women in decision making structures of member states, with the SADC parliamentary Forum Constitution having been amended to ensure 50% representation of women (Sadie, 2005). The quota system has been applied in the SADC region, although in many cases the application has been voluntary. Yolanda Sadie (2005) indicates that there has been pressure to have constitutionally mandated quotas for women in politics in order to safe guard the commitment to gender equality. However, it is only in Tanzania that legislative quotas at the national level exist. Sadie (2005) defends the quota system by saying

that the uneven playing field on which men and women compete is such that it requires measures to ensure that women are included.

5.10 Positive discrimination strategies

Positive discrimination strategies on the other hand set mandatory quotas for the selection of candidates from certain social or political groups (Norris, 2000). Quotas can be set at different levels (to indicate proportion of representation) or at different stages of the selection process. Quotas can also be binding and implemented by law or other internal party rules. Obviously when quotas are legally specified as part of the constitution, they are more likely to be implemented, and guarantee women (or other minority groups) inclusion in leadership. Some people view this process as unfair as some people are automatically included or excluded from recruitment processes exclusively on the basis of their gender or race. It has been argued that such strategies violate the principles of fairness and competence and contribute to a culture of laxity in women (Sadie, 2005).

The system of presidential appointments has been a key strategy used to ensure female representation in political governance. In Swaziland, women have gained access to parliament mainly through appointment by the King, and in many other African countries (including Botswana and Zimbabwe) it is often direct intervention by the presidents that redeems the situation for women in the parliaments (Sadie, 2005). South Africa is a special case where the President appointed a woman as deputy president, appointed a substantial number of female cabinet members, and increased the number of female provincial premiers from one to four.

5.11 Women Activism

There is also a need to change the mindset of women themselves. This requires further work in developing strategies to empower women so that they have the capabilities and confidence to attain leadership positions without waiting for those positions to be given to them. It is important to develop self-worth and dignity among African women. On the other hand, the socialization of the girl child and perceptions of gender roles are issues to be addressed in a more systemic manner. Such a cultural shift does not happen overnight, but until men and women share

domestic and childcare responsibilities more equitably women will continue to shy away from accepting leadership positions. This inequity counteracts the efforts of women's activism.

One explanation given for the under representation of women in educational administration is that women themselves are the cause. It has been said that women are sometimes reluctant to run for public office, are not assertive, do not want power, or are unwilling to play the game (Grove & Montgomery, 2000). Women also tend to see other women as threats, leaving successful women unsupported in confronting discrimination (sexism, racism), and the 'old boys' network' (de la Rey, 2005, Sader, et al. 2005). For women to develop the confidence to take up leadership there is need for support from other women.

CHAPTER SIX

6.0 CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 CONCLUSION

The findings of the study are provided in a brief conclusion of the study which revealed that social cultural factors influence the upward mobility of women in top management positions. It was further revealed that women are as capable as men in discharging leadership responsibilities. The work place policies are also insensitive to women roles as mothers. It was further revealed that policies addressing gender imbalance are not being implemented. The study therefore established that organization policies, culture, limited access to education and discrimination inhibit women's progression to top management positions.

The study further revealed that, commitment to family' was another societal barrier that prevented women from attaining senior management positions in ZRA. This is because they are expected to put their families before their jobs while men are viewed as providers for their families. The study also established that women do not easily take up demanding senior management promotions that may make them look like they have prioritised their jobs before their families.

It was also found that women do not aspire higher due to the perceived financial benefit that comes with lower ranking in the organization. The company has a contract renewal policy which grants gratuity to lower rank holders every five years coupled with pension accumulation which does not apply for those in senior managerial positions who only get their gratuity at the end of the contract. The other revelation in the study is that, the position of the Commissioner General like any other parastatal position is a political appointment by the President. So far, only male have been appointed to this position. This indeed makes women feel intimidated because no woman has been appointed to this higher position.

As indicated by Nair (2004), it is the search and constant yearning for something that has not yet materialized that keeps one on the path of activism. For women and the leadership agenda, the ultimate position would be one where affirmative action, positive discrimination or presidential appointments are no longer necessary. Similarly, Women themselves have to create an alternative culture that will challenge the embedded traditions that dictate what women should or should not do or be, especially in the African setting. This will make people uncomfortable, but as Hannah Rosenthal in her speech at the Wisconsin Women in Higher Education Leadership Conference in 2005, as quoted by Santovec (2006) said:

“We have to be a little more comfortable with making others a little more Uncomfortable, so we can look back in 30 years and say ‘we did make a Difference.’”

6.2 RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The National Gender policy needs to be made into a legal document. So that lack of implementation by institutions should warrant legal reappraisal.
2. The institution should review and revise existing policies related to: legislation, Policy codes of conduct and protocols to ensure that they are not discriminatory. The institution should also take into account the specific needs and capacities of female and male employees. This recommendation is in line with one of the Beijing platform for action recommendation to promote gender equality in decision making position. In line with this recommendation, government should promote an active and visible policy of mainstreaming in all policies and programs so that before decisions are taken, an analysis is made of the effects on women and men respectively.
3. There is a serious need for gender sensitization in ZRA which will even demand for an institutional gender policy as a guideline.
4. The appointment of the Commissioner General should be left to the governing board to allow appointment on merit.
5. Study needs to be extended from one year to at least a period of two years to allow the aspiring employees to top management positions attain the required qualifications such as master’s degree?

6. ZRA needs to revisit the conditions of service for permanent employees which entitle them to both gratuity and terminal benefits so that women who are hesitant to aspire upwards are encouraged to do so because they would lose nothing.
7. The recruitment policy which requires many years of experience to be recruited in senior management positions to be revisited so as to allow internal employees women included to occupy those positions that already have the knowledge of how ZRA is operating. This is to allow for experienced people to take up positions. Women should also earn it not just given on a silver platter.
8. There needs to be a change in attitude towards work by the women themselves.

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APPENDICES

The University of Zambia QUESTONNAIRE

To.....

.....

**RE: A QUESTONNAIRE ON FACTORS DETERMINING WOMEN'S
PARTICIPATION IN DECISION MAKING IN ZAMBIA REVENUE
AUTHORITY**

I am a postgraduate student in the department of Gender Studies at the University of Zambia. I am carrying out a study on the factors determining participation of women in decision making in Zambia Revenue Authority.

The purpose of the study is for a partial fulfillment of attainment of a Master of Arts in Gender Studies. I will be grateful if you answer the questions in the questionnaire and also share your experiences with me. Your responses will be kept in confidence. Kindly complete all sections of the questionnaire. Please do not indicate your name on the questionnaire.

Thank you.

Yours faithfully,

Nyirenda Brenda

Instructions

For each question, you tick [] or write an appropriate answer.

Section A: Background Information

Sex:

Male ☐ Female ☐

Age

Below 40 years ☐ 40-49 ☐ above 50 years ☐

Marital status

Single ☐ married ☐ separated ☐

What is your highest academic/ professional qualification?

PhD ☐ Masters ☐ Bachelor degree ☐ Diploma ☐

Certificate ☐ Secondary School ☐ other (specify).....

How long have you been working with ZRA?

0- 5 years ☐ 6-10 ☐ 11-15 ☐ 16-20 ☐ 21and above ☐

In which department are you working?.....

Please indicate your current position in your organization.....

What are the main tasks of your job?

.....
.....
.....

Section B: Factors that affect women's participation in decision making

What qualifications are required to be recruited for middle management positions in ZRA?

Master's degree ☐ Bachelor's degree ☐ Doctorate degree ☐

What qualifications are required to be recruited for senior management positions in ZRA?

Master's degree [] Bachelor's degree [] Doctorate degree []

What qualifications are required to be recruited for Commissioner General's positions in ZRA?

Master's degree [] Bachelor's degree [] Doctorate degree []

What criterion is used to promote officers to positions of decision making in ZRA?

.....
.....
.....
.....

In your view what are the chances of you being promoted from this job?

Very good [] Just good [] Good [] I don't know [] Not good [] Very bad []
Nil []

If your chances for promotion are good or very good, how high do you think you will go in this organisation?

.....
.....
.....
.....

What does your immediate supervisor say your chances of being promoted are?

Very good [] Good [] Nothing [] Not good [] very bad [] Nil []

Have you ever turned down any appointments to higher positions?

Yes [] No []

What is the composition of recruitment committee?

.....
.....

What is the composition of promotion committee?

.....
.....

What is the composition of appointment committee?

.....
.....

Section C: Factors influencing staff development

Have ever attended any seminars, workshops or training since your appointment?

Yes [] No []

If yes, did it have an impact on your current position? Explain

.....
.....
.....

Have you ever experienced fear due to failure to meet your deadlines?

Yes [] No []

If yes how did you handle it?

.....
.....
.....
.....

In your opinion what factors enable women to get to senior management positions?

Administrative skills []

Eloquence []

Assertiveness []

Diligence []

Outgoing personality []

Perseverance []

Handwork []

Commitment to duty []

Self-confidence []

Decisiveness []

Interpersonal skills []

Visibility []

Section D: Factors that determine women's effective participation in decision making in ZRA

What qualities have made women to remain in their current positions?

Administrative skills []

Eloquence []

Assertiveness []

Diligence []

Outgoing personality []

Perseverance []

Handwork []

Commitment to duty []

Self-confidence []

Decisiveness []

Interpersonal skills []

Visibility []

What guiding principles and belief systems affect the way women perform in management positions?

Inspiration to be the best []

Self-motivation []

Personal conviction []

Laid down policies []

Honesty []

Transparency []

Confidence []

Motherhood []

Hard work []

Service to people []

Integrity []

Christian beliefs []

What outside factors affect women's participation in decision making?

Attending conferences []

Support from family/friends []

God given abilities []

Experience in working with diverse cultures []

Personal initiative []

Being very principled []

Financial support []

How would you consider your work environment?

Supportive

Hostile

Moderate

Poor

Section E: Personal Factors that Limit Women's Professional Development in ZRA

Are there factors at work or at home that hinder women's participation in decision making?

None []

Lack of money []

Lack of psychological/intellectual/emotional support from senior management []

Being the only woman in senior management []

Lack of research facilities []

Heavy workload []

Gender biased policies []

Political appointment of Commissioner General []

Meager opportunities for further studies []

What challenges have you encountered at the family Level with regard to your educational advancement?

None []

Family demands hinders performance []

Lack of support from husband []

Heavy work led to divorce []

Moral obligations []

Limited resources []

How do you manage to combine personal and professional roles?

It is very challenging and difficult to work and do house chores []

Have co-operative family members who work at home []

Strict time management without compromise []

Prioritize roles []

Self-organization []

Not bothered with limitations as a woman []

Institutional Practices and their effect on Women's Participation in Decision Making in ZRA

Which Institutional practices are sensitive to women?

Maternity leave duration []

Heavy workload []

Working on weekends []

Meetings starting early, late []

Gender imbalance []

Gender discrimination in appointment to senior management position []

Transfers []

Reasons why there are few Women Occupying Senior Management Positions in ZRA

In your opinion, what could be the reasons why there are few women in senior management positions?

Women do not aspire higher []

Lack of confidence among women []

Eligible women turn down appointments []

Timidity of women []

Family commitments []

Lack of ambition []

Low academic qualification []

Lack of motivation []

No role models []

Women tend to be helpers []

Lack of experience []

Women want favours []

None

What factors contribute to the absence of women from senior management positions?

Few numbers of women []

Male chauvinism []

Management positions dominated by male []

Patriarchal structure []

Political appointment []

Men fear female domination []

Notion that women are not good managers []

Discrimination against women []

All panelists are men []

Unclear promotion procedures []

Favoritism []

Lack of extra-institutional networks for women []

Irrelevant questions asked at interviews []

Victimization of women

Appointment requirement (long experience) []

Are you familiar with any of the following documents?

National Gender Policy	Yes []	No []
SADC Declaration	Yes []	No []
Beijing Declaration	Yes []	No []
Millennium Development Goals (2000)	Yes []	No []

Are you aware if any of these instruments are being applied in your work place?

National Gender Policy	Yes []	No []
SADC Gender Protocol	Yes []	No []
Beijing Platform for Action	Yes []	No []
Millennium Development Goal3 (2000) for promoting gender equality	Yes []	No []

What traditional beliefs prevent women from attaining senior positions?

Fewer opportunities for women in education []

Men are seen as decision makers []

Society condemns women to subordinate status []

Discrimination against women in the church []

Men get social support []

World male dominance []

Women in authority not recognized []

Inequality in higher education management []

Discrimination against girl education []

- Motherhood []
- Fear of isolation []
- Women lack social networks []
- Culture []

What personal barriers or obstacles do women experience to attain senior management positions?

.....

.....

.....

.....

What barriers do encounter en route to positions of decision making?

- No staff discipline mechanism []
- No influence/powers []
- Delays in processing matters/documents []
- None []
- Gender discrimination []
- Lack of co-operation from men []
- No job description or guidance []
- Vague promotion criteria []
- Ethnic barrier []
- Male networks and alliances []

What barriers do women encounter in society en route to positions of decision making?

.....
.....
.....
.....

In your opinion which other factors affect women's participation in senior management positions?

Attending conferences, seminars []

God given abilities []

Experience in working with diverse cultures []

Personal initiative []

Being very principled []

Shortage of well-trained computer scientists []

Media coverage []

Religion []

END OF QUESTIONNAIRE

THANK YOU